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A HIDDEN CULTURE OF CARELESSNESS: A COMPARATIVE QUALITATIVE STUDY OF GENDER EQUALITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK WOMEN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS

by

Dawn S. Singleton

A Dissertation

Submitted to the
Department of Educational Leadership
College of Education
In partial fulfillment of the requirement
For the degree of
Doctor of Education
at
Rowan University
October 13, 2015

Dissertation Chair: Ane Turner Johnson, Ph.D.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my angel mother, Robin, who is strength personified. Her high regard for education and perseverance in reaching her own goals, instilled an unwavering tenacity within me to continue my educational and personal goals. Her abiding love, steadfast faith, and good humored advice resound in my heart, although she is no longer here. All that I am and aspire to be, is just a small fraction of the woman she was.

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Abstract

Dawn S. Singleton
A HIDDEN CULTURE OF CARELESSNESS: A COMPARATIVE QUALITATIVE STUDY OF GENDER EQUALITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK WOMEN HIGHER EDUCATION ADMINISTRATORS
2015-2016
Ane Turner Johnson, Ph.D.
Doctor of Education

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore and compare the lived career experiences of Black women higher education administrators in the United States and South Africa. This comparative study elucidated the women's experiences while giving voice to Black women, whose experiences and status are often further marginalized under new managerial ideology in higher education. This research used the theoretical lenses of intersectionality and *carelessness*, a new managerial practice within higher education, to uncover the challenges, opportunities, and contexts experienced by these women within historically gendered organizational structures and practices. A major finding of the research is that Black women shared many commonalities in their lived and professional experiences, despite context. Constructs such as institutional culture, ethnic and community expectations informed their career paths and lived experience, playing an integral role in the participant's development of malleable extensions of their identity. The participants effortlessly transitioned through the various roles prescribed to them as Black women in their community and as leaders on campus, to help them negotiate highly gendered institutional culture.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

> There is an irony in this situation. If higher education is truly to be proactive with respect to social change, if higher education is to instill in its students both social and ethical patterns for leading productive and responsible lives, then these same institutions should be at the forefront of equity issues; the role of women in the academy being one of the most significant issues of equity. At a time in American higher education when many institutions are concerned with issues of diversity and multicultural representation, there should be an equal commitment to gender balance in the hiring, promotion, and retention of administrators and faculty alike (Schlegel, 1993, p. 180).

Historical consideration of women in academia reveals that from their ingression, women were treated unfairly and marginalized at institutions of higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). The history of women in academia in the United States (U.S.) shows incongruity between the espoused values and actual practices of institutions of higher education. Dating back to the colonial era, women who ventured outside of their house were mistrusted and unwelcomed on campuses where anti-female discrimination was the norm (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Park (1978) summed up early society's view of women in higher education by writing, "Women seemed to have a weakness for heresy and were therefore not thought reliable in doctrinal matters…education was not considered to be a remedy for these deviationist tendencies" (as cited in Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Well into the late nineteenth century, women were excluded from higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). In 1833, women in the U.S. first gained entry into institutions of higher education, which was almost 200 years after Harvard College was founded for young men (Chamberlain, 1991; Cohen & Kisker, 2010). A review of the history of academia reveals history of patriarchy and discrimination against women. Although the espoused

values of higher education claim academia to be an inclusive and diverse arena, the slow inclusion of women and the subsequent issues of inequity, expose the inherently gendered nature of its policies, practices, and structure.

Women, Work, and Equality in Higher Education

Women at Work

Labor force participation has increased significantly for women, allowing for women to attain increasingly higher levels of education, resulting in women now composing 51% of the entire workforce (U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 2011; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013). In 2011, women accounted for 50% of all workers within several industries, with education being one of the top three. Correspondingly, women now account for 51% of all workers in high-paying management, professional, and related positions in all industries, of this percentage 63% of these women work as education administrators (U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 2011; University of Denver, 2013). However, this proliferation of women in the workforce is not an accurate expression of gender equality in the workplace. There are large disparities in the number of women managers and leaders despite the fact that women make up half of the workforce (Jackson & O' Callaghan, 2009; O'Farrell, 1999; White House Project, 2009; University of Denver, 2013). Men continue to hold the top management positions in a variety of professions across various sectors of the workforce (White House Project, 2009; University of Denver, 2013). Despite women having more equalized opportunities, men still hold the high paid more skilled jobs, while women hold the lower paying, less skilled, and more traditionally female positions (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009;

O'Farrell, 1999, Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Lynch, 2010; White House Project, 2009; University of Denver, 2013).

This disparity permeates academia. Only 26% of university presidencies are held by women, with 17 % of all positions being held by women of color (University of Denver, 2013). While these numbers represent an upsurge since 2006, women comprise only one quarter of all sitting presidents and most of these women are leading community colleges (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; University of Denver, 2013). On average, women make up only 40% of chief academic officers (CAO) with fewer women CAOs in the higher paid, more influential institutions (American Council on Education, 2009; University of Denver, 2013). These statistics indicate obvious disparities still exist for women administrators in their efforts to advance professionally within academia (ACE, 2009: Cook, 2012; University of Denver, 2013).

Similarly, the Center for the Advancement of Women at the University of Denver's Colorado Women's College study, *Benchmarking Women's Leadership in the United States,* found that women comprise an average of 24.53% of positional leaders in academia, and that women of color accounted for 11.4% of instructors, 10.6% of assistant professors, and only 3.7% of professors (University of Denver, 2013). Moreover, the NCES indicates that women in academia have not made any progress in closing the salary gap with their male counterparts. From 1999 to 2010 male full professors on average consistently earned more than their female counterparts, when controlling for academic rank and type of institution (NCES, 2011; University of Denver, 2013). At four year institutions, women still earn 20% less than their male counterparts (University of Denver, 2013).

Despite female administrators in higher education currently outnumbering male administrators in higher education in all racial and ethnic groups except White, the ratio of women's earnings compared to men have remained virtually unchanged since the 1980s (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009; NCES, 2011; University of Denver, 2013). In 1980-1981, women faculty earned 81.6 percent of the salary of men, compared to 82.4 percent in 2010-2011 (NCES 2011; University of Denver, 2013). Moreover, women are outperforming men in all capacities, faculty and administrative; when women are in leadership there are significant increases in revenue and collaboration and partnerships, and industry distinction are markedly increased (University of Denver, 2013). Yet, women still are not earning salaries or obtaining leadership positions that reflect their high performance (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 1999; University of Denver, 2013). The statistics for women and women of color working in the academy paint a disparaging picture of continued inequity.

Despite the creation of the aforesaid federal and global policies, women in higher education still face huge obstacles to participating and working within academia (Belk, 2006; Bingham & Nix, 2010; Chisholm, 2001; 1980; Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012; O'Farrell, 1999; Rathgeber, 2003; Rehnke, 1980; University of Denver, 2013). Many believe the battle for gender parity in the workplace has been won. However, data-sets collected from the American Council on Education and The National Bureau of Labor Statistics provide evidence that institutions of higher education continue to perpetuate social and cultural processes that create gender disparity (Johnson, 2014). These inequalities often reveal themselves as hindrances in obtaining employment opportunities within the university as well as barriers to the

overall participation of women in academia (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Chisholm, 2001; Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012;). In some cases, even the type of employment women are able to obtain at an institution is affected (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Chisholm, 2001; Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012; Rehnke, 1980). In addition, women deal with disparity in treatment based on gender, which include constraints because of care-giving responsibilities, and potential limitations to their career (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Chisholm, 2001; Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012; Rehnke, 1980;)

The Care Ceiling in Higher Education

While there are now more women in higher education than ever before, this increase of female participation has not resulted in a quality experience. Instead, it has created different methods of gender disparity for women working in academia. Women in academia continue to deal with challenges of gender, such as being forced to perform the domestic roles and duties that men are not typically assigned (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). In the current organizational culture in higher education, the glass ceiling has been replaced with the *care* ceiling for women (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012).

"The concept of a glass ceiling is generally viewed as a set of impediments and/or barriers to career advancement for women and people of color", which can materialize into conscious and sub-conscious discriminatory practices (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009, p.460 Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Ridgeway 2001). As a social construct the glass ceiling discourages women's advancement by putting strategic barriers in place;

essentially giving women the impression they are not prepared to advance their organization's ladder. Underrepresentation, salary disparity, and exclusion of women in the workforce were some of the more salient characteristics of the glass ceiling (Jackson & O'Callaghan, 2009, p.460 Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Ridgeway 2001). Women still face these sundry of challenges, but now with the inclusion of different obstacles as a result of the care ceiling. Lynch et al. (2013), describes in detail the imposition of the care ceiling, which symbolizes how women are now relegated into marginalized professional roles like counselors or advisors, where they are relegated to being the nurturers of their organizations. Moreover, women are the extemporized individuals responsible for providing a soft touch, due to expectations regarding gender (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). Thus, women still cope with gender-based discrimination in academia today. However, it is manifested differently through the care ceiling. As a result of the care ceiling, women deal with isolation, a lack of mentorship, lack of promotion and salary inequity, among other challenges (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012).

Gender and Race in Higher Education

Gender scholars have long argued the importance of gender to structure and operation of organizations (Acker, 1990). Moreover leadership is a particularly gendered construct which causes women in academia to cope with ongoing issues of gender bias (Billing & Alvesson, 2000). While women in general deal with the aforementioned challenges in academia, Black women face very unique challenges as opposed to other women in academia. First, it is difficult to identify the total number of Black women in the United States who work in higher education administration because the related

theoretical and empirical body of work is sporadic (Belk, 2006; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Holmes, 2003, 2008; Jones, 2012; Moses, 1997; Patitu & Hinto, 2003; Ramey, 1995; Rusher, 1996; Wolfman, 1997). However, upon review of the available literature, Black women as administrators and faculty are disproportionately underrepresented in academia in comparison to White women and Black and White men (Belk; 2006; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Holmes, 2003, 2008; Jones, 2012; Moses, 1997; Patitu & Hinto, 2003; Ramey, 1995; Rusher, 1996; Wolfman, 1997). In 1997, Black women compromised less than 5% of all higher education administrators (Wolfman, 1997). Holmes (2003) reported that Black women comprised less than 5% of the overall managerial group in higher education administration.

Since 2003, there has been some progress. NCES (2006) indicates there are now more Black women administrators than men. Comparatively, the number of Black women in full-time administrative positions has also increased. In fall of 2009, there were 13,394 Black women in administrative, managerial and executive leadership positions within academia in the U.S. (NCES, 2010). These increases come as result of special recruitment initiatives designed to recruit, hire, and maintain women of color (Jones, 2012). However, this progress is limited to specific segments of higher education administration (Holmes, 2003; Jackson, 2006; Patitu & Hinto, 2003). Black women still struggle to obtain leadership positions and are still concentrated in midlevel positions in which they are relegated to implementing policies and programs created by senior level administrators (Jones, 2012). These figures signify little improvement in the representation of Black women administrators in higher education over the years.

Coupled with the aforesaid findings from University of Denver (2013) regarding the status of Black women faculty, it is explicitly clear that Black women remain underrepresented in senior-level administrative and faculty positions within higher education (Belk, 2006; Hamrick & Carlisle, 1990; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Holmes,2003; Jones & Komives, 2001; McEwen et al., 1990; Moses, 1997; Twale, 1995; Reason et al., 2002; Reason, 2003; Walker, 2001; Wolfman, 1997; University of Denver, 2013). The limited number of Black women in senior higher education administration points to a barrier to senior leadership. Black women are concentrated in mid-level positions in which they don't often interact with senior administrators. Subsequently they are unable to obtain leadership positions in which they can develop policy or lead efforts for institutional change (Jones, 2012).

U.S. Federal Policies for Equality

Since the 1970s, women have made notable progress in the labor force, which has led to significant advancement for women working in higher education. The progress of women in academia can largely be attributed to the civil rights movement which led to the formation of various feminist organizations in the 1950's and 1960's (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Mann & Huffman, 2005). Throughout the era, organizations, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) successfully worked to improve issues of racial and gender discrimination**.** Many of these organizations recruited young activists on college campuses and subsequently had a profound impact on changing the hegemonic nature of higher education during the time (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). Their work led to the passage of federal legislation such as the

Equal Pay Act (1963), which prohibits gender discrimination in wages for women and men working in the same jobs and Title VII of The Civil Rights Act (1964) as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, which prohibits discriminatory hiring practices on the basis of sex, race, religion, color, or national origin In addition, the Affirmative Action Executive Order of 1965 was ordered to categorize all actions taken to alleviate discrimination while providing equal opportunity in employment. The aforementioned civil rights policies culminated in the passing of Title IX of the Education Amendment (1972), which had the most significant impact on higher education. Title IX of the Education Amendment is a comprehensive federal law that prohibits discrimination or exclusion of any person, on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program or activity.

Gender, Race, and Higher Education: Not Just a Domestic Issue

Internationally, higher education is pervaded by institutions built upon patriarchal standards (Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Morley, 2010; Morley & Walsh, 1996; Steady, 2002). Gender and other structures of inequality are located and perpetuated in academia transnationally (Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch, Grummell & Devine, 2012; Morley & Walsh, 1996; Lynch). Mathur-Helm (2000) asserts that South African women, regardless of their racial identity have always "stood in the secondary echelon of society" (p.56). This marginalized position, is attributed to South Africa's history of apartheid. From the 1950s to the mid-1990s, no other social institution reflected the government's racial philosophy of apartheid more clearly than the education system, because schools were required to teach and practice apartheid (Mabokela, & Mawila, 2004). This historical context created a societal system which deliberately favored White men, while

excluding Black women from various aspects in life (Mathur-Helm, 2000; Msimang, 2001; National Gender Policy Framework, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). Present day South Africa has implemented many equal opportunity polices to rectify the inequity created by apartheid. Women's issues such as violence against women, access to education, equality, rights, welfare, and empowerment have garnered major attention, leading to the South African government's charging of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the passing of the Gender Policy Framework (GPF), which was developed to integrate gender policies that ensure equal opportunities and rights for South African women in private and public sectors, community and family (Mathur-Helm, 2004; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004)

A review of literature indicates that relatively little has been written about the career experiences of women administrators in African countries. However, the existing research does show parallels among the issues that women face in the US and South Africa (Bunyi, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Manya, 2006; Nkomo &Ngambi,2009, 2004; Mabokela, 2000; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Onsongo, 2000). The aforementioned research reveals women in South Africa also report cases of racism, isolation, and segregation in higher education settings. South African women cope with institutionalized racism and organizational practices and policies that work against the advancement of women professionally (Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009). Much like African American women, Black women working in South Africa, cope with the stresses of being a double minority (Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Mabokela, 2003). Black women in South Africa, deal must also deal with

traditional African cultural expectations which relegate their existence to being good mothers and good wives (Kamau, 2004; Onsongo, 2005, Mabokela, 2003; Manya, 2000). Subsequently, the gender gap in education is more pronounced in poorer countries like sub-Saharan Africa (Johannes, 2010; Mabokela, 2003; Singla, 2006).

The experiences of South African women also reflect the constant struggle with trying to achieve identity and a voice in academia (Johnson, 2014; Mabokela, 2003). The traditional African society's attitude on women's roles in society significantly influence the culture of the university, and restricts how women serve the institution, thus contributing to a gendered division of labor (Johnson, 2014; Morley, 2006; Skjortnes & Zachariassen, 2010). Kamau (2004) discusses the some of the archaic beliefs of traditional culture, noting how African women academics are regarded as deviants or outsiders within the institution; confirming the hierarchical male-dominated university structures. Thus, there are commonalties, domestically and internationally, among Black women in academia, as a result of persisting challenges of inequality in higher education. Both groups of women experience challenges that stem from gender inequality (i.e. salary inequity and hiring and promotion), racism (i.e. isolation, stereotyping, and tokenism) and other antecedents such as career and family issues, socio-cultural values, and beliefs and practices (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi & Osirium, 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne, Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Humphreys & Leach, 2006; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Mabokela, 2003; Mosley, 1980; Rathgeber, 2003; Rusher, 1996; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001).

In general, women have different needs and concerns than their male counterparts in academia. Morley (2010) asserts that women educational leaders operate in a paradigm of patriarchy. In this culture of leadership males are dominant, which perpetuates a highly gendered organizational culture in academia where women are forced to conform, leaving them silenced and marginalized (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Mabokela, 2003). Daily women deal with the manifestations of the long standing inequality of systems within higher education (Lynch, 2010). Subsequently, women who work in academia face issues such as inequity in salary and position, discrimination, high stress levels, and significant barriers that include isolation and gender motivated victimization (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Quinlan, 1999). In addition, women note that the quality of their work is more scrutinized and valued less than men's work. Women also note there are more constraints placed on women because of home responsibilities in academia (Bingham & Nix, 2010). Compounding the problem is the perception that a woman's familial responsibilities will limit her career advancement and fragment her career growth (Bingham & Nix, 2010). Furthermore, because, positions of power are disproportionately held by men in higher education, the academic success and tenure of women in academia is hindered (Lynch, 2010). The multiple identities of women create complex realities for them and often make their experience in the field of higher education challenging and vastly different than those of men.

Even with federal and global policy implementation resulting in more equalized opportunities for women in the workforce, women still face obstacles in academia. Manifestations of gender inequality continue to persist for women administrators in higher education. Odhiambo (2001) contends a discussion of higher education leadership

and gender is important because academia is a central site of cultural practice, identity formation, and symbolic control. Subsequently, this research aims to explore the intersection of gender and race in academia for African American and South African Black women.

Global Policies for Equality

The aforementioned federal regulations were significant in promoting gender and racial equality in the workplace within the U.S. However, issues of gender parity and racial inequality are so prevalent, that global initiatives were also put in place to ameliorate issues of gender and racial discrimination from a more global perspective. The most notable is The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Initiated by the United Nations (UN) in 1979 and enforced in 1981, CEDAW is the landmark international agreement that affirmed the principles of fundamental human rights to fight for the equality of women around the world (CEDAW, 1972). CEDAW defined and asserted the rights of women to be free from discrimination. It also established core principles to protect this right, which is significant for women in underdeveloped and impoverished countries such as sub-Saharan Africa. Essentially, CEDAW (1972) is a treaty that is composed of thirty articles that provide a comprehensive outline to promote human rights, achieve growth in gender parity, and overcome barriers of discrimination against women and girls, beyond the U.S. and other more developed countries.

CEDAW established an agenda for national action to end discrimination by providing the basis for achieving equality between men and women through ensuring women’s equal access to, and equal opportunities in political and public life as well as

education, health, and employment. In their analysis of CEDAW's equality principles, Facio and Morgan (2009), provide a thorough analysis of the CEDAW articles, noting key provisions that best embody the purpose of CEDAW. CEDAW surpasses other international gender equality instruments because it not only imposes general obligations on states and countries in recognizing equality before the law of women with men, it goes further to describe in detail obligations relating to human rights in order to achieve this equality (Facio & Morgan, 2009). What is it most important to women globally, is that CEDAW (1972) includes special articles that address ending discrimination against rural women and clarifies that violence against women is indeed discrimination against women that states are obligated to address. Furthermore, CEDAW recognizes that masculine and feminine roles are socially constructed and maintained through patriarchal culture. Subsequently, CEDAW provides that State Parties are obligated to take all appropriate measures to modify socio-cultural patterns and stereotypes, and to eliminate prejudices and cultural practices based on sexist ideas (CEDAW, 1972; Facio & Morgan, 2009).

In 2010, the UN General Assembly created UN Women, which is the UN's prescribed entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women. The creation of this entity was to merge some of the more disjointed UN offices that focus on gender equality and women's empowerment. This entity acts to support inter-governmental bodies in the development, and implementation of policies, global standards and norms. It also serves as measure of accountably, because its purpose is to regularly monitor system wide progress to hold the UN system accountable for its commitments on gender equality.

Black Women in the Academy

Black Women in the United States

Black women in higher education are marginalized in ways not experienced by other women in academia due to *intersectionality* (Collins, 1998, 2000). Integral to this research, intersectionality, is a framework that posits that "systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization, which shape Black women's experiences" (Collins, 2000, p. 299). Black women at universities and colleges across the United States face a multitude of issues that extend beyond gender. Despite great advances in access, African American women still find themselves working in academic environments they perceive as chilly. This perception of a chilly climate refers to the lack of acceptance which typically results in a lack of respect and/or challenges to the authority and competence of Black women (Belk, 2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Moses, 1989; Mosley, 1980; Sandler, 1991). While Black women in academic institutions have different beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences they are intrinsically connected because of their struggle to be respected, accepted, and to have a voice at their institution (Collins, 2000; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Therefore, while Black women do not share a homogenous existence, it is fair to say they share a common struggle that is not shared by women who are not minorities, which is to rise above the "ideological hegemony that silences their voices and prevents full participation in all facets of society and education in the United States" (Collins, 2001, p. 93; Holmes, 2003).

Black women are faced with general challenges of gender inequity, balancing career and family, performing the domestic/care work of their institutions, and salary disparities. However, they also deal with isolation, tokenism, and racism in the academy (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Greene, 2000; Moses, 1989). Moreover, Black women struggle with the stresses of being an administrator, in addition to often being perhaps the only Black woman in their department, office, or senior management (Collins, 2001). Thus, there is a perpetual feeling of isolation and loneliness (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Mosley, 1980; Rusher, 1996). The isolation faced by Black women administrators, faculty, and students can lead to stress, feelings of invisibility and insecurity, and the perception that they are voiceless at their institutions (Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003). Collins (2001) refers to this as *outsider within* status.

Other unique barriers faced by Black women administrators due to their race and gender include being assigned to be unofficial mentors to other Black women and students, as well as the questioning of their authority and competence (Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Therefore, coexisting issues of racial and gender discrimination and a lack of support systems and networks are often reported in connection with the Black woman's experience in academia (Belk, 2006; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Accordingly, Black women are more likely to suffer from physical and/or mental exhaustion than women of other races and/or the other gender as a result of isolation,

tokenism, or being the only Black woman in her department (Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003).

Furthermore, the status of Black women in higher education is a reflection of their status on the national level, the bottom (Moses, 1989; Collins, 2001). Black women administrators are often hired for what Sandler (1991) called “dead end positions”. These positions are usually found in areas such as multicultural affairs, minority affairs, and equal opportunity programs (Sandler, 1991; Belk, 2006). Due to their isolated environment and sometimes at the behest of their organizations, Black women often take on duties outside of their professional roles such as mentoring other Black women or the Black students on campus. Collins (1998) describes the position of the “other mother’’, which is a care-giving role that Black women are forced to perform. In this role they serve as surrogate mothers to students. As a result of these added responsibilities as mentors and other mothers, Black women often juggle their other professional responsibilities, which results in having less time to commit to other career obligations (Belk, 2006; Collins, 1998; Sandler 1991). Researchers’ note that because of the underrepresentation of Black women in the field, minority women are even more likely than White women to be overburdened in their professional responsibilities (Belk, 2006; Sandler, 1991).

In all, Black women are isolated and their academic opportunities are limited by barriers that have nothing to do with their preparation, qualifications, or competency (Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; McKenzie, 2002;

Moses, 1980; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Additionally, Black women in higher education suffer from a lack of role models, mentors, and very little psychological support. For many Black women in academia, there is no one to share experiences with or with whom to identify. Moses (1989) poignantly described the Black female administrator as an alien in a promised land; obscure, unwelcome and unwanted. For the African American and South African Black woman this observation remains true. The status of Black women in academia has not changed in the last 25 years. Thus, while all women face gender discrimination, the unique experiences of Black women warrant further review of their experiences and current status within the current culture of higher education based on the intersection of race and gender

Black Women in South Africa

Research on sub-Saharan African women has echoed the revelation that like African American Black women, sub-Saharan African Black women often work in environments that may cause them to experience challenges, such as racism, sexism, isolation, and tokenism (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Dunne et al., 2006; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2001, 2003). As educational leaders in Africa, women face challenges of ethnicity, religion, class, and in regard to national origin (Johnson, 2014). Moreover, the academic environment for African Black women is often hostile due to gender-based violence and sexual harassment (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne et al., 2006; Johnson, 2014; Morley, 2010). Chisholm (2001) describes how women in South Africa are relegated to the sidelines, professionally, because of the “masculinist”

enterprise of leadership. African Black women face challenges in taking leadership positions, including barriers related to culture and cultural expectations; the choice and/or balancing of work and family, and the stress that accompanies positions of leadership as experienced differently by men and women (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Bets, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008). Johannes (2010) asserts there is no other society in the world that strongly emphasizes that women stay in their reserved employment positions such as African society.

Mikell (1997) elucidates the dilemma for African Black women in leadership positions by revealing that modern African women essentially walk a political/gender tightrope as a result of economic and political problems affecting their communities. These women must contemplate how to affirm their own identities while working to change society's outdated views on of gender and familial roles. Thus, African Black women carry a dual burden that impedes their abilities to freely contest gendered roles expectations; they must pursue their academic careers, while meeting traditional and ethnic group obligations as well (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000). Moreover, Mabokela (2003) described how women administrators at a university in South Africa refer to themselves as the "donkeys of the university", using this phrase as a symbol of their roles as managers with challenging responsibilities and a lack of accompanying respect. In all, the literature suggests the highly gendered attitude toward women's roles significantly impacts the culture of the university in Africa. Subsequently, this restricts how women serve the institution and perpetuates gender inequity (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango,

2000). Taking into account the findings of the aforementioned scholars, it is necessary to review how the current culture of management practiced in higher education further influences the experiences of Black women in academia.

The Careless Manager: Gender and New Managerialism in Academia

The Impact of New Managerialism

Institutions of higher education have always been deeply gendered in both their practices and outcomes (Acker, 2008; Bailyn, 2003; Deem, 2003; Saunderson, 2002). However, over the last two decades, the culture of higher education has changed (Lynch, 2010). Neoliberal policies, economic conditions, and government interventions have transformed the culture of work at institutions of higher education (Deem, 1998; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). In fact, many feminist scholars have documented the influence of neoliberal policies on women in higher education (Blackmore, 1999, 2002; Blackmore & Sachs, 2000; Deem, 2003; Deem & Orgza; 2000; Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2009; Morley, 1999; Stanley, 1997). The aforementioned scholars report that neoliberal policies, economic conditions, and government intervention have changed the way in which work is performed at institutions of higher education (Altbach, Berdahl & Gumport, 2005; Deem, 1998, 2007; Keily, 2007; Kezar, 2004; Lynch, 2009). Deem (1998) discusses how the culture of new managerialism has pervaded higher education, and allowed for practices that are commonplace in the private sector, to be used in public institutions of higher education. Framing new managerialism as a quasi-market that creates both external and internal pressure on staff to do more work with fewer resources, Deem (1998) posits that this approach creates a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge.

Moreover, colleges and universities have transformed from communities of scholars, to workplaces in which corporate language and practices have replaced traditional academic administration where educational values were once central to decision making (Deem, 1998, 2007; Kezar, 2004; Lynch 2012, Lynch et al., 2012). As a result, university administrators are now using corporate approaches, like new managerialism, to manage public institutions (Deem, 1998). According to Lynch, Grummell, and Devine (2012), new managerialism has pervaded governance structures in higher education. New managerialism refers to the practices that are commonplace in the private sector, that are now being used in public institutions of higher education. In this approach to management, there is a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge (Deem, 1998; Deem, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Lynch 2010, Lynch et al., 2012).Under new managerialism, workers (faculty and administrators) are driven by efficiency, external accountability and monitoring, and special emphasis is placed on financial returns (Lynch, et al., 2012). In addition, productivity is kept under tight control by managers, employees are driven by market outputs, and the major emphasis is placed on standards (Altbach et al., 2005; Deem, 1998; Harvey, 2005; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). Thus, universities and their administration are now operating under a more business focused approach to management in academia (Altbach et al., 2005; Deem, 1998; Kezar, 2004; Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012).

Deem (1998) describes how universities were once perceived as communities of scholars researching and teaching together in collegial ways. The individuals running universities were regarded as academic leaders rather than as managers or chief executives. Under new managerialism, the old practices of academic tradition and

collegiality no longer exist. Instead, new managerialism promotes a system that prioritizes financial outturns over intellectual excellence and integrity. Academic leaders who run universities are now expected to ensure that quality and value is provided. Hence, the role of the academic leader is now overshadowed by a greater concern with management of sites and finance rather than staff, students, teaching and research (Deem, 1998). Moreover, as a result of new managerialism, institutions of higher education are implementing new management policies that are negatively affecting already marginalized women. In addition, there is now an expectation of unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from employees, both male and female (Deem, 2003; Lynch, 2010)

What is particularly different about new managerialism in higher education is the importance it ascribes to the culture of carelessness in academia. Lynch (2010) points out that the concept of the "care-free" academic is not a new phenomenon in higher education. The hierarchal and patriarchal practices of universities have long promoted and praised the care-free worker who has no ties or responsibilities that will hinder his or her productive capacities (Lynch, 2010). However, these care-free workers are disproportionately men (Lynch, 2010).

Essentially, carelessness reproducing a masculinist academic environment by using patriarchy to relegate women to feminized work. Femininity is constructed as opposition to masculinity; and is a set of assumptions about and expectations for women's behaviors, speech, interests, skills, emotions, and desires (Wood, 2006). Therefore, what is expected of women in the academic environment is the opposite of what is expected of men.

Disparagingly, the ideals of new managerialism perpetuate and promote carelessness among employees. Thus, managers create a work environment in which scholarly work is expected to be separate from emotional thought and feeling (Lynch, 2010, Lynch et al., 2012). Consequently, this creates a culture where human relationships are defined on a transactional basis in order to promote the desired outcomes of high performance and productivity within the organization (Lynch, et al., 2012). New managerialism perpetuates the old standards of patriarchy, by implementing an unofficial doxa of *homosociability*, which ensures that men of like mind hold the majority of the more strategic leadership roles in education (Lynch, et al., 2012). Moreover, the hidden pressures of the performance driven environment of new managerialism create a system that is absence of care for employees (Lynch, et al., 2012). Under new managerialism, the care-less manager perpetuates unrealistic expectations for employees, particularly women, who are already at a disadvantage because of their gender and the patriarchal traditions of academia that new managerialism perpetuates (Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012).

Carelessness

Lynch (2010) asserts "neoliberalism exacerbated the demand for care-free workers, but the origins of carelessness in education lie deeper within the Cartesian thinking that underpins the very organization and scholarship of education itself" (p. 58). As previously discussed, the ideals of new managerialism in higher education create a system of carelessness for employees. In this new culture of higher education, the prototypical employee is expected to be "care-less" without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work. In the careless environment women are also

"disproportionately encouraged to do the 'domestic' work of the organization, and/or the care work (e.g. running courses, teaching, thesis supervision, doing pastoral care)" (Lynch, 2010, p. 56).

Lynch et al., (2102) assert that carelessness has significant implications for gender because of the traditional patriarchal nature of academia. Women are expected to do care work of the organization, while men are care-less, which leads to highly gendered outcomes. Moreover, Lynch et al. (2012) claims that new managerialism is not gender neutral and affects women more than men because of the implicit homosociability found in this organizational culture. Thus, the performance-driven nature of our current management makes it more difficult for women to combine care and family with the demands of leadership. Lynch (2010) captures the double standards that are perpetuated for women in academia by revealing how men rely on the moral imperative on women to care, which enables men to renege on primary care work. She contends that women have no such option. Subsequently women are defined as the default careers in society; making "women care's foot-soldiers while men are care commanders" (p.57).

Subsequently, the work-place challenges of women are further intensified and ultimately this new culture further oppresses and marginalizes women of all races and ethnicities. By perpetuating gender disparity, the culture of carelessness has substituted the glass ceiling for the care ceiling (Lynch, 2010). In all, the literature tells us that women are relegated to serving in the traditional care roles in academia. Moreover, the culture of carelessness does not take into account the intersectional experiences of Black women, who carry multiple identities because of their race and gender, according to the basic tenets of Black Feminist Thought (BFT) (Collins, 2001).

Problem Statement

Women have different needs and concerns than their male counterparts in academia. Research had shown that women are still at a disadvantage not only in the U.S., but globally (Ampofo et al., 2004; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne et al.,2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards in Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Patton & Harper, 2003; Simpson, 2001; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Despite federal and global legislation enacted to prevent it, gender inequality continues to pervade higher education transnationally. The field of higher education is highly gendered; daily women deal with the manifestations of the long standing inequality of systems within higher education (Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010). Subsequently, women who work in academia face issues such as inequity in salary and position, discrimination, high stress levels, and significant barriers that include isolation, and gender motivated victimization (Quinlan, 1999). Positions of power are disproportionately held by men in higher education, thus, the academic success and tenure of women in academia is inhibited (Lynch, 2010). Moreover, the multiple identities of women create complex realities for them and often make their experience in the field of higher education challenging and vastly different than those of men.

Women often work in environments that may cause them to experience challenges, such as sexism, isolation, and tokenism (Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Green, 2000; Moses, 1989). Thus, they have a more difficult time establishing themselves and

advancing professionally in academia in comparison to their male counterparts. Moreover, women are more likely to be encouraged to perform the *care* work of the institution, and are often concentrated in nurture-oriented roles such as counseling, advising, and teaching (Lynch, 2010). According to Lynch (2010) universities have a long history of perpetuating gender disparity by cultivating cultures that are both hierarchal and patriarchal. Hence, the current culture in higher education of carelessness and gender inequality is not a new phenomenon for women in higher education (Lynch, 2010). Carelessness is a culture in which emotional thought and feeling are separate from academic work and performance (Lynch, 2010). In this practice of higher education, the prototypical employee is "careless" without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work. However, this model doesn't take into account the experiences of women, who because of their gender, are often expected to be the primary care givers in academia (Lynch, 2010).

One particular subset of women who may report a unique experience with gender and the concept of the careless manager are African American and South African women. African American women have long been involved in educational processes, despite challenges to their efforts. They experience many of the same challenges as women in general, in regard to stress, inequality in position and salary, as well discrimination because of gender. However, as a result of intersectionality Black women also struggle with obtaining a voice and identity in academia. Black women in the U.S. deal with the various disparities as a result of the intersection of gender and race in their lived experiences and career paths (Belk, 2006; Bunyi, 2003; Collins, 1998, 2000; Collins & Anderson, 2007; Dunne et al., 2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon,

2004; Gregory, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Morley, 2006; Moses,1989; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Patton & Harper, 2003; Simpson, 2001; Steady, 2002; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Furthermore, they must cope with the double bind of being Black and a woman in a profession where their existence remains at the margins, and their experiences and leadership are often overshadowed by those of White women and Black men (Collins, 2000, 2001; Collins & Anderson, 2007; Johnson & Thomas, 2012).

Comparatively, South African Black women deal with intersectional experiences of gender and the socio-historical antecedents of their locality, such as ethnic group affiliation, and/or the effects of colonialism and apartheid. Much like African American women, Black women abroad cope with the stresses of being a double minority (Ampofo et al., 2004; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Mikell, 1997; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000). The experiences of African women also reflect the constant struggle with trying to achieve identity and a voice in academia (Johnson, 2014). In fact, the gender gap in education is more pronounced in poorer countries like Sub-Saharan Africa (Singla, 2006). Internationally, both groups of women experience challenges that stem from gender inequality and racism such as career and family issues, tokenism, hiring, promotion, and salary inequity (Ampofo et al., 2004; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne et al.,2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Patton &

Harper, 2003; Simpson, 2001; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003).

According to the available literature, both African American and South African women have unique experiences due to the intersection of race and gender in their lives and career paths. While African American women have different realities than South African women, both groups are often marginalized and relegated to performing the care work associated within their profession in higher education. However, little research has explored the race and gender specific experiences of these women, taking into consideration the current culture of carelessness in higher education. A key question to investigate is how African American and South African women describe the influence of intersectionality on gender roles in their career paths and lived experiences.

Recently, more has been written about women in academia. There is research on the feminization of the student body in higher education (Madsen, 2011; White House Project, 2009). In addition, there is literature on gender equity for students (Benokraitis, 1998; Carli, 1998; Chrisler, Herr & Murstein, 1998; Martinez Aleman & Renn, 2002). There is also a body of research that looks at female faculty members' job satisfaction, means for career advancement including tenure review and leadership, the role of mentoring, motherhood, and etc. (Allan, 2011; Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Martinez Aleman & Renn, 2002). However, there is very little research regarding mid-level women campus administrators and even fewer that focus on issues pertaining to mid-level Black women administrators in the U.S. and South Africa (Allan, 2011; Belk, 2006; Cintrón, 1995; Harlan & Berheide, 1994; Rusher, 1990; Starzyk, 2013; Tedrow, 1999). The research available is sporadic and exists in isolated pockets, according to academic administrators'

roles (i.e., deans or chief academic affairs officers) or as a discussion of glass ceiling effects for administrative professionals (Allan, 2011; Cintrón, 1995; Harlan & Berheide, 1994). Moreover in 2011, the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) published *Empowering Women in Higher Education and Student Affairs* which argues that the lack of research on women in student affairs administration is a way to help continue to silence a voiceless population on the margins of society (Yakaboski & Donahoo, 2011).

With that said, there exists a need for additional literature regarding woman educators outside of the classroom, within administration and specifically at mid-career status (Renn & Allen, 2004; Yakaboski & Donahoo, 2011). Black women administrators are more likely than their male counterparts to perceive disparities related to career advancement factors (Banner, 2003; Belk, 2006; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Holmes, 2003; Jones, 2012; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Rusher, 1990; Scott, 2003; Taylor, 2000; Tedrow, 1999). These women experience a myriad of inequalities such as elevated professional standards, gender discrimination, underutilization of their skills, and negative societal attitudes regarding Black women (Ampofo et al., 2004; Banner, 2003; Belk, 2006; Beoku-Betts, 2005; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Mabokela, 2003; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Rusher, 1990; Scott, 2003; Taylor, 2000; Tedrow, 1999). In addition, Black woman administrators experience various career advancement barriers and are more likely to be employed in midlevel and lower-level positions within academia (Banner, 2003; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Holmes, 2003; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Scott, 2003; Taylor,

2000). The aforementioned perceptions and trends indicate the need to focus scholarly attention to factors that could prevent Black women administrators from advancing into senior-level positions such as the intersection of race and gender, colonialism, and/or ethnic group relations (Ampofo et al., 2004; Banner, 2003; Beoku-Betts, 2005; Coleman, 2002; Gregory, 1995; Mabokela, 2003; Moses, 1997; Scott, 2003; Singh, Robinson, & Williams-Green, 1995, Taylor, 2000).

As we enter into a more globalized and privatized academic environment where new managerialism and carelessness dictate collegial practice, it is critical that the unique needs of African American and South African Black women are considered. To fully grasp the extent of change in the new culture of carelessness in academia, and the impact of that change on women in the academy, it is imperative to focus on women administrators. Furthermore, it is important to study the life and career paths of African American and sub-Saharan African women for several reasons: (a) to reveal the unique experience of women of color in academia and start a discussion based solely on their experiences, (b) to explore how life and career paths intersect in regard to gender and race, (c) to address the gap in literature in regard to domestic and international Black women, and (d) to reveal the hidden phenomenon of carelessness in higher education, specifically, how this practice does not consider the double standard and multiple identities of African American and sub-Saharan African who work in higher education (Lynch, 2010).

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this qualitative study was to compare and explore the unique experiences of Black women to increase the pipeline for careers in higher education, by

focusing scholarly attention on factors that could prevent Black women administrators from advancing into senior-level positions within higher education, both in the U.S. and South Africa. Moreover, this comparative study was performed to give voice to Black women whose unique experiences and status are further marginalized under the ideals of carelessness and new managerialism. Subsequently, the culture of carelessness in higher education will function as a theoretical lens by which the current climate in higher education for Black women will be understood. This phenomenological inquiry seeks to illuminate the lived experiences and career paths of U.S. and South African Black women, who are mid-level professionals in higher education through the lens of intersectionality to better understand their experiences as it relates to the intersection of gender, their local context (i.e. race, colonialism, apartheid, xenophobia, ethnic group) and new managerialism.

Research Questions

In hermeneutical inquiry, the researcher focuses on illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within the participant's experience that may be taken for granted in their everyday lives, with the goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (van Manen,1990). Subsequently, this study will focus on four primary research questions:

1. How do African American and South African Black women describe the influence of the careless phenomenon on their professional and life experiences?
2. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and their local context in their career path?

3. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and socio-historical antecedents in their personal lives?
4. How do Black women's experiences as higher education administrators converge and compare across contexts?

A Framework for Understanding the Experiences of Black Women

Black Feminist Thought

Maxwell (2005) relates theory in research to a coat closet, asserting that the use of existing theory is like a coat closet because it gives you something on which you can hang your research. The theoretical underpinnings that guided this research were Collins (2000) interpretive analysis for understanding Black women' experiences, Black Feminist Thought (BFT) and Lynch (2010) framework for carelessness in academia. BFT asserts that all Black women share common experiences due to the intersection of race, gender, and social class, known as intersectionality (Collins, 2000). In this study, the lived experiences of both US and South African Black women were studied. Subsequently, it was crucial that the theory used be appropriate for both African American and South African Black women. While feminist theory in general was suitable for studying and understanding the experience of women working in higher education, the use of Black feminist epistemology as a standpoint was the best choice for this study. Black feminist epistemology is a viewpoint that brings clarity to Black women's perceptions of their lives in consideration of their history of oppression and marginalization (Collins, 2000). Focused on the historical marginality and oppression of Black women, this theory recognizes how systems of power are formed and consequently maintain socially constructed categories of race, gender, and class (Collin, 2000). Taking this into

consideration, I used Collins (2000) which also includes an *Afrocentric/africentric* paradigm of Black Feminist Thought, to better understand the marginalization of Black women at institutions of higher education transnationally.

Black Feminist Thought is aligned with africentric worldviews as espoused by africentric scholars, who commonly believe that Black people throughout the African diaspora possess remnants of African culture and tradition (Collins, 2000). However, the africentric paradigm uses Africa and African traditions and culture as a standpoint. Moreover, the africentric paradigm of Black feminism is anchored in the belief that remnants of historical African culture and tradition create an interconnectedness of experience and a shared culture for all Black people, regardless of their location in the world (Asante, 1992; Green-Smith, 2008). The africentric paradigm seeks to understand the phenomenon by first analyzing the African person as a human agent (Asante, 1992). Very similar to BFT, the africentric worldview allows for dialogue as a means of discourse and uses the three components of the ethic of caring (value placed on individual expressiveness, the appropriateness of emotions, and the capacity for empathy), to articulate and understand the experiences of African Black women (Green-Smith, 2008).

Among African American and South African Black women, there are varying experiences of oppression, colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and apartheid. However, africentrism asserts this shared history connects Black women and creates a distinct africentric perspective for all Black women (Asante, 1992). Black women have a different view of their reality due to their history and because of their unique experiences. In addition, Black women have different interpretations of their realities than those held by the dominant group. Furthermore, BFT asserts the same techniques cannot be used to

study the dominated group and the powerful (Collins, 2000). Moreover, the experiences of Black women are characterized differently than the experiences of other groups and must be understood contextually, through the use of theory that allows culture and tradition to be central to the inquiry (Collins 2000, Green-Smith, 2008; Tillman, 2008). The Black woman's experiences of oppression are, in fact, their culturally structured "ways of knowing" for Black women (Collins, 2000). The use of Black Feminist Thought and its epistemology for africentricism as a lens, allows for the elements of tradition and culture to be woven into the conceptualization of experiences in this study. Subsequently, Black Feminist Thought was the most legitimate form of knowledge and framework to give credence to the perceived realities of African American and South African Black women.

Carelessness

The framework of carelessness is centered upon the practices of new managerialism. Lynch (2010) contends that as a result of new managerialism, institutions of higher education have new management policies that are negatively affecting women, and have become greedy with unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from their employees. Thus, new managerialism creates a system of carelessness for employees. In this new culture of higher education, the prototypical employee is "careless" without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work. Lynch et al., (2012) assert that carelessness has significant implications for gender because of the traditional patriarchal nature of academia.

The relationship between the theory of carelessness and Black Feminist Thought's theory of intersectionality was well suited as theoretical framework for this research.

Specifically, carelessness clearly connected to the contradiction in the espoused values of gender equality in the workplace and the actions and culture that are in place in academia. Higher education is highly gendered and daily women deal with the manifestations of the long standing inequality of systems within higher education (Lynch, 2010). While some researchers are declaring significant progress in gender equality in the workplace, there is a hidden culture of carelessness that is detrimental to fully improving the quality of the experiences and career paths for women in academia (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010).

The current culture of carelessness in higher education must be considered because in this neo-liberal view of education, emotional thought and feeling is expected to be separate from academic work and performance. However, this model doesn't take into account the experiences of women, who because of their gender, are often expected to be the primary care givers in academia (Lynch, 2010). Moreover, this culture doesn't take into account the duality of Black women, who have unique experiences within academia due to the intersection of race and gender among other factors. Using both theories as a framework, the central research problem was explicitly addressed, which was to explore the experiences of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women as it relates to the hidden culture of carelessness in academia as well as the intersection of gender and their local context in their lived experiences to discover how gender and their local context play a role in their career paths.

Key Terms

To effectively frame this discourse, provide clarity, and define this study's scope on U.S. and South African Black women in higher education administration, it is important to identify key terms and their meaning in the context of this research.

- African American and Black (used interchangeably): as it relates to this research, Black is used to denote persons of color who identify as Black or African American, or mixed race women who identify as Black.
- Africentricism: Known as *afrocentricism* domestically, africentricism is anchored in the belief that the historical vestiges of tradition and African culture create an interconnectedness of experience and a shared culture for all Black people, regardless of location in the world (Asante, 1992; Green-Smith, 2008).
- Black Feminist Thought: An interpretive framework used to understand the standpoint of Black women. Essentially, BFT is the reproduction of Black womanhood through the experiences of Black women (Collins, 2001).
- Carelessness: A framework that centers on the belief that emotional thought and feeling should be separate from academic work and performance. In this new culture of higher education, the careless manager assumes that the prototypical employee is one who is "careless" without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work (Lynch, 2010).
- U.S./African American Black women: Black or African American women who currently work and reside in the United States.

- Double-bind/Duality: A term used to characterize the position of African American women and other women of color, because they fall into two oppressed categories (Collins, 2001).
- Intersectionality: The study of intersections between different disenfranchised groups or groups of minorities; specifically, the study of the interactions of multiple systems of oppression or discrimination. Also, the cornerstone of Black Feminist Thought, intersectionality asserts that Black women share common experiences due to the intersection of both race and gender (Collins, 2001).
- sub-Saharan Africa : The area of the continent of Africa that lies south of the Sahara Desert (i.e. south Africa, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Rwanda, Togo, Mozambique, Zambia and other geographically located within).
- Sub-Saharan African women: Black women born in countries located in sub-Saharan Africa, who also currently work and reside in a country within sub-Saharan Africa. For literature review purpose, this term may be used to describe research related to women in South Africa other countries found within the geographic area of sub-Saharan Africa.
- Mid-level: Women who were no longer novices, yet not in the final years of their career; mid-career is not defined merely as being in a middle management position, though mid-career professionals predominate among mid-level managers, assistant and associate directors, deans and vice presidents (Renn & Hughes, 2004).
- Socio-historical antecedents: The pre-existing conditions, traditions, or events that impact the experience and careers of African American and South African Black

women in higher education. For U.S. Black women this could include: racism, culture, community beliefs, home-life obligations, and religion. For South African Black women, this could include: colonialism, ethnic group customs, traditional beliefs, apartheid, and traditional/ethnic practices of the community.

Significance of Study

This research has implications for future research, policy implementation and practice in higher education. The following is a summary of how the findings of this study will impact the aforementioned areas:

Research

As a result of this research, a significant void can be filled in the literature surrounding African American and African Black women in academia. Currently, there is a paucity of literature about this subgroup of women in academia. Recently, more has been written about women in higher education, yet little of that pertains to the unique experiences of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women who work in the academy. This research has the potential to create a better and more focused understanding as it relates to the experiences of Black women in the academy. Moreover, because this topic is focused on the lived experiences of Black women, both domestically and internationally, it will reveal the diverse experiences and the multiple identities of Black women internationally. This research could advance the field of research that focuses on Black women administrators transnationally.

Moses (1989) noted how Black women have been participants in higher education for more than a century, yet they are almost totally absent from the research literature. Moses (1989) adds that "rarely has the impact of racism and sexism on Black women in

academe examined" (p.1). Although researchers are beginning to examine the experiences of African American women in higher education Moses' recommendation are still relevant today because the focus of the majority of studies is still focused on students and faculty and rarely administrators. Perhaps the greatest advantage of conducting this research is the implications for adding to the discussion and available literature. It is crucial that research in this area be conducted so Black women, especially those aspiring to hold senior leadership positions in higher education, as well as administrators and other individuals across all race and gender lines, can also understand the challenges, strategies, and contexts of Black women in higher education (Chisholm, 2001; Collins, 2001; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Johnson, 2014; Mabokela, 2003; Mosley, 1980; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Rathgeber, 2003; Rusher, 1996;Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Moreover, this study advocates the importance of Black women's perspectives in understanding their situations in higher education. In order to facilitate this understanding, the theoretical framework of Black Feminism is utilized to examine the issues reflected in the experiences of African American women.

Another area in which research will be augmented is through the use of Black Feminist Thought's theory on intersectionality and the carelessness framework. Higher education is evolving and under new managerialism the careless manager has presented significant change to how work is conducted in the field of higher education. This impact of new culture has not been explicitly connected to how it will impact the work of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women, who have different

experiences based on their intersectionality. Subsequently, this research will address the paucity of literature surrounding two different marginalized groups by using a different framework, not just that of intersectionality or Black Feminist Thought, but something that could be viewed as a more main stream concern for both Black and Caucasian women, which is the culture of carelessness in higher education (Lynch, 2010).

Policy

The policy implications of this study are extensive and imminent. A review of the current literature indicates that there is not an existing body of literature that connects the ideals of new managerialism, the agenda of the care-less manager, and the intersectionality of Black women. Moreover, past university policies were formulated on the assumption that White and Black women and even Black men have the same experiences (Holmes, 2003). Because of the lack of studies, the literature does not adequately address Black women administrators' disparities in higher education. Subsequently, there is also a lack of recommendations and resources to help institutions be more supportive and aware of the needs of Black women administrators. The findings of this study could help senior level administrators in higher education has foster an academic climate that is more conducive for African American and South African Black women administrators. This opens the door for policy creation, development, and augmentation.

Essentially, this study could begin a discussion on policy formation that is more sensitive to the unique needs of women in general and then specifically Black women. As previously mentioned, research on new management and neo-liberal policies assert that management has become greedy and expect unrealistic levels of commitment,

productivity and emotional engagement from their employees. As a result of these neo-liberal policies, the work-place challenges of women are further exacerbated and the culture in higher education further oppresses and marginalizes women of all races and ethnicities. Universities could use this study, to create gender responsible environments and equal opportunities for women, by creating and implementing policies that will counteract the neo-liberal and new management policies creating care and gender ceilings, and act as obstacles to career advancement, tenure, and equality for women in academia

Practice

This study advocates the importance of Black women's perspectives in understanding their situations in higher education in light of the practices of new managerialism. In order to facilitate this understanding, the theoretical framework of Black Feminism is used to examine the issues reflected in the experiences of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women. By having an enhanced understanding of the unique experiences of Black women in academia, university administrators can work toward eliminating the invisible barriers in the workplace and improve the climate in academia for Black women administrators. In order to create a warmer environment, colleges and universities must know the needs and concerns of Black women, specifically administrators. Universities have not adequately addressed these issues (Harvey, 1999; Moses, 1989).

Delimitations

This phenomenological inquiry, like most qualitative research, was subjective in nature because it is focused on the lived experiences of its participants and how they

make meaning of their experiences. My specific choices in gender, theoretical perspective, geographic location, and sample population traits are all factors that could limit the relevancy of my study to other populations or individuals (Bryant, 2004; Creswell, 2007). However, phenomenological inquiry must be richly intentional to portray phenomena from the personal and contextual perspectives of those who experience them (Creswell, 2007; Kupers, 2009; Van Manen, 1997). Accordingly, the following delimitations are factors that can be controlled by the researcher and were considered in designing a valid and rigorous inquiry.

Sampling and Participants

The population of this study was limited to mid-career African American and sub-Saharan African Black woman administrators, who resided within a specific country in sub-Saharan Africa or lived in the northeastern tristate area in the U.S. This study did not take into account the wide variances in response that may have been received from other groups of women in different regions in Africa or different states within the U.S. The participants were specifically and intentionally mid-level Black female administrators because they are underrepresented at senior level higher education administrator positions and are highly concentrated in midlevel and lower-level positions within academia (Banner, 2003; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Scott, 2003; Taylor, 2000).

In addition, this study was limited by the choice to obtain data from only one region in the U.S. and only one country in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, this research does not speak for all Black women administrators in higher education; however, it is representative of the experiences challenges that African American and South African

Black women have encountered in their personal and professional lives. Finally, this study did not include a comparison of non-Black women administrators. As a result, the results of this study cannot be generalized to all mid-career woman administrators. It is important to note, this study was not designed to determine the differences between the challenges that Black and non-Black women encounter and the coping mechanisms they utilize to successful manage the conflicts in higher education. Instead, it provides in-depth understandings about the experiences of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women in academia in light of the new culture of carelessness and there intersectional experiences in academia.

Subjective Nature of the Researcher and Self Reflection

In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection, Therefore, qualitative researchers "conduct the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner" which indicates the need to identify biases and assumptions (Creswell, 2005, p. 39; Patton, 2002). This research was susceptible to researcher bias because I am an African-American woman and a higher education administrator conducting research about gender inequality and race in higher education. However, as researcher using the hermeneutical approach to phenomenology, I understood the importance of using methodological procedures such as epoche and bracketing to explicate my own worldviews and assumptions. The hermeneutical approach to phenomenology is a study of essences, in which the researcher both describes and interprets the participant's experiences (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 7). Thus, in this approach, data analysis must begin with a process of self-reflection, in which biases and assumptions of the researcher are considered. Throughout the study, I engaged in a continuous process of epoche, the

questioning of my assumptions and commonly held beliefs, and bracketing. This allowed me to set aside my natural predispositions in order to conceptualize and fully understand the experiences of my participants as they emerged.

The hermeneutical approach also requires that data analysis begin with a process of self-reflection. Thus, before I analyzed my data, I re-considered my biases and assumptions. Considerable thought was given to my own experiences through a researcher journal in which I shared my position and experiences as they related to my research (van Manen, 1990; Laverty, 2003). Van Manen (1990) asserts that phenomenological research is also a lived experience for researchers because the purpose is to engage in phenomenological reflection in order to try to grasp the essential meaning of the phenomenon (van Manen, 1990). Accordingly, the aforesaid assumptions were not fully bracketed or set aside; they became essential to the interpretive process of the study (Laverty, 2003).). Therefore, this perceived limitation was inherently planned for by undergoing a cyclical process in which meaning was created through a circle of reading, reflective writing, and interpretations that addressed my assumptions and helped me to better understand the experiences of the participants (Gadamer, 1998).

Performing Culturally Sensitive Research

A number of complex issues can affect the conduct of international field research. Doran (2002) explains, “research design in multiple cultures, particularly where little previous research exists, is a minefield of potential problems” (p. 828). This is especially true in developing countries. This study was focused on two different groups of women who share some socio-historical characteristics such as intersectionality, and other disparities as a result of their race and gender. Despite this shared experience, the socio-

historical antecedents of Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Black women are vastly different due to their locality. Therefore, pertinent topics such as issues of gender and race are perceived as private matters proscribed from general discussion, for both groups of women. Subsequently, there is a possibility that participants will feel uncomfortable and may not answer questions truthfully. In sub-Saharan African women do not talk about issues of gender because of traditional beliefs and customs (Mabokela, 2003; Mama, 2001, 2003). Correspondingly, African American women may be apprehensive to discuss various systems of oppression within their community and their personal experiences to researchers (Collins, 2001; Tillman, 2008). I planned for this limitation by intentionally creating a protocol and interview environment that was sensitive to these two groups of women, by employing the culturally sensitive research approach to my methods.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest the use of culturally responsive practices in their five interpretive paradigms of qualitative research. The ethnic, feminist, and cultural paradigms, discussed by the authors, all demonstrate how interpretive paradigms offer greater possibilities for the co-construction of multiple realities and experiences, and how knowledge can lead to improved educational opportunities and academic experiences for Black women (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Tillman, 2008). Moreover, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) methods for the evaluation of research include Afrocentric, lived experiences, and social criticism components, which are directly correlated to the reconceptualized framework for the culturally sensitive approach to research found in Tillman (2008). Culturally sensitive research uses the cultural knowledge and experience of researchers

and their participants in the design of the research as well as in the collection and interpretation of data (Tillman, 2008).

Based on the assumption that culture can be intellectualized and defined differently depending on one's worldview and the particular needs of the researcher, the culturally sensitive research approach is intentional about understanding the cultural and historical contexts of participants, particularly people of color, in order to position culture as central to the research process (Tillman, 2008). This approach asserts the importance of *cultural intuition*, citing that Black women may not be as forthcoming or comfortable with researchers who do not have knowledge of their history and cultural roots (Collins, 2000; Dillard, 2000; Tillman, 2008). Tillman (2008) posits that the culturally sensitive approach must be viewed as appropriate, legitimate, and critical to understanding the experience of people of color, particularly in educational contexts. Furthermore, this reconceptualization of culturally sensitive research draws on Collins (2000) notion of "endarkened" feminist epistemology, which allowed me to align my strategies for addressing study limitations, with my conceptual framework of Black Feminist Thought (Collins, 2000; Dillard, 2000; Tillman, 2008).

When research about African American and sub-Saharan African Black women is approached from a culturally sensitive perspective, the varied aspects of their culture and their varied historical and contemporary experiences are acknowledged, making them more comfortable with the research process (Tillman, 2008). With this in mind, the culturally sensitive approach was used in the following ways:

1. Use of culturally congruent research methods: I used culturally sensitive qualitative interviews (individual and life history), observation, and participant

observation. These methods were used to investigate and capture holistic contextualized pictures of the social, political, economic, and educational factors that affect the everyday existence of the Black women involved, particularly in educational settings (Tillman, 2008).

2. Use of culturally specific knowledge*:* I used the unique self-defined (Black self-representation) experiences of the participants as frame for understanding their experiences. I also accepted responsibility for maintaining the cultural integrity of the participants and other members of the academic community. Prior to conducting this research, I carefully considered the extent of my cultural knowledge and same-race perspectives, and insider and outsider issues related to the research process (Tillman, 2008).
3. Cultural Resistance to Theoretical Dominance: Tillman (2008) asserts that culturally sensitive research approaches attempt to reveal, understand, and respond to unequal power relations that may minimize, marginalize, subjugate, or exclude the multiple realities and knowledge bases of African Americans. Thus, I chose a theoretical framework that was sensitive to the culture and history of Black women, which is Black Feminist Thought. BFT is a theory that recognizes the multiple realities of Black women. This theory understands oppression is a cultural phenomenon that can be found among diverse groups of Black women. Moreover, this theory has a paradigm that addresses both US and SSA Black women (Collins, 2005). In addition, I considered the social-historical antecedents of both groups before making a choice and ultimately chose BFT because it was

appropriate for understanding both African American and sub-Saharan African Black women's worlds views (Collins, 2005).

4. Culturally Sensitive Data Interpretations: According to Tillman (2008) culturally sensitive research positions experiential knowledge as legitimate, appropriate, and as a method to ensure the connectedness of the researcher to the research community. As a researcher, I embraced the heuristic nature of this research in order to uncover and discover the multiple realities and experiences of the participants. In addition, collaborative (co-construction) interpretation of the data was used to produce emancipatory knowledge and to place Black women at the center, rather than on the margins of the inquiry (Tillman, 2008).

Combined with the culturally sensitive approach, this qualitative research facilitated cultural intuition by expressing the unique viewpoint of Black women Therefore, the use of the culturally sensitive research approach in this research focused on Black women in the U.S. and abroad, was critical in addressing the limitations in place because my specific choices. This approach ensured that my participants were comfortable and able to give rich and forthcoming description, because I was intentional about placing their culture and experiences at the center of the inquiry (Collins, 2001; Tillman, 2008). Thus, this approach was also used to better understand the culture and history of sub-Saharan African Black women.

Limitations to Fieldwork

All aspects of fieldwork have limitations. As a researcher, it is impossible to investigate every aspect of a site. In conducting an international study, there was a range of personal, logistical, and social issues I needed to consider before performing fieldwork

in sub-Saharan Africa (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003). In order to build a rapport, be culturally competent, and address the limitations to my fieldwork, it was imperative that I considered the possible consequences of my fieldwork that may arise while working with Black American women and sub-Saharan Black women. Such concerns were prior because I was studying marginalized populations, whose societal position, placed them at an increased risk for experiencing violence, discrimination, and exploitation in a variety of contexts (Mama, 2001, 2003; Martin & Meezan, 2003; Mabokela, Kiamba, 2008). There is a body of literature from the schools of anthropology and sociology that provide guidance concerning the issues that one may encounter in the field. However, there is little literature that focuses on cross-national research field work in developing countries. Using the available literature, I planned for the following limitations to my field work.

The emic/etic dichotomy was informative in exploring the limitations in regard to honesty in this work. An emic perspective, or insider standpoint, represents the viewpoint of the members of a culture or group being studied or observed; while an etic viewpoint reflects more the perspectives or values of the researcher, resulting in an outsider stance (Pike, 1990). Accordingly, what the participants were willing or comfortable enough to share with me, as well as the overall integrity of this study, were dependent upon my standpoint as a researcher. In this study, I was aware that as an African American woman I was privy to an emic understanding that would allow me to formulate salient questions, establish a rapport, and communicate the expressions and sentiments of the Black American group (LaSala, 2003). In his research on maximizing insider advantage in qualitative research, LaSala (2003) asserts that "oppressed minority respondents may

want to participate in research done by an inside investigator because they perceive that the researcher shares their desire to rectify societal misperceptions of their group" (p. 18).

However, Wheeler (2003) reminded me that "even when researchers are members of the target group, based on demographics or other characteristics, the process of conducting the research places them in somewhat of an 'other' category" (p. 67). Furthermore, being an insider did not grant me unreserved access, as trust must has to be gained, even by researchers, investigating populations to which they belong (Meezan & Martin, 2003, p. 11). In contrast, in my work with the sub-Saharan Black women, I was regarded as an outsider. The etic perspective became critical and was integrated in order to identify components of their sub-Saharan culture that were parallel to Black American women (LaSala, 2003). In all, the etic perspective allowed me to describe the phenomenon from a vantage external to the culture, based on the understanding that members of a culture are often too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially (Bowman, 2007; LaSala, 2003; Meezan & Martin, 2003).

Another concern limitation, linked to honesty, in my field research was issues of bias and power balances. Field research in developing countries can be affected by the personal characteristics of the researcher, which are identified as power gradients (Momsen, 2006). Therefore, my social position, gender, marital status, religion and age, could possibility influence the research, if these characteristics are considered important to my participants (Momsen, 2006; Peil, 2001). Differences in power between researchers and participants may result in bias (Momsen, 2006). The most common form of bias found in research, is social desirability bias also known as courtesy bias (Neuman, 1997). This occurs when formidable cultural norms cause participants to hide anything

objectionable or give answers that the participant thinks the interviewer wants or might not be necessarily true (Neuman, 1997). In my study, both groups of Black women were subject to developing social desirability bias. In order to address this limitation, the most important thing for me to do was to be cognizant that it exists and use reflexivity to combat it. The use of reflexivity was strategic throughout my study, because it helped me to realize and acknowledge that the personality and presence of my participants would indirectly and directly influence the research (Neuman, 1997; Nightingale, 1999).

Another limitation to my fieldwork was resources and access. As an American researcher conducting research in a country, where the geography and cultural norms of the research site were unknown to me, it was important that I developed a special set of skills and research sensitivities. Before my arrival, I researched the local area I would be staying at in sub-Saharan African. Sundries such as language, currency, local foods, religion, customs and traditions, had to be thoroughly reviewed, so that I could familiarize myself with the challenges of the location; plan for language barriers, bring appropriate funds, as well as be considerate of the local customs and traditions. I also researched in detail, the local customs in regard to scheduling meetings and holding conversations, so that I could understand the best manner in which to make interview appointments and determine how to establish a rapport with my participants (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003).

Dissertation Outline

The following dissertation includes an in-depth description of the research completed as well as an analysis of the data collected. Chapter two is an abridged literature review that explores the historical perspective of women in higher education, the impact of gender, race and other obstacles, the culture of new managerialism and carelessness, along with the theoretical lenses that anchored this research. Chapter three contains the description and rationale for the study's methodology, while chapter four provides a concise summary of the research findings. Chapters five and six are articles designed for publication in journals of race, women and gender studies and educational leadership. These articles discuss the outcomes of the individual interviews, their implications for further research and policy. The articles also include findings from the literature review, data collection, results, analyses, and interpretation. The last chapter is an interpretation of the data collected and a discussion of how this new information impacts academia.

Chapter 2

Review of the Literature

> Black women have been participants in higher education for more than a century, but they are almost totally absent from the research literature; rarely is the impact of racism and sexism on Black women in academe examined (Moses, 1989, p. 1).

This chapter provides a review of literature surrounding the polemic, gender disparity in higher education and its implications for Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter begins with an overview of gender inequality in higher education and then provides a historical overview of the participation of women in higher education. To comprehensively examine the current conditions for Black women in academia, it was imperative that I also explored the historical participation of Black women in education, to ascertain how the past continues to inform and influence their experiences in today's academic environment. In addition, literature detailing the challenges, obstacles, and representation of Black women administrators in higher education in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa, is also examined. Finally, this abridged review includes literature on new managerialism and carelessness in higher education, the interpretive framework of Black Feminist Thought, and how these concepts can be used to understand the experiences and status of Black women administrators in higher education (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2001; Lynch, 2010).

Gender Inequality in Higher Education

Gender disparity in higher education is described in the literature in various ways (Collins, 2001; Collins, Chrisler & Quina, 1998; Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Glazer-Raymo, Townsend, & Ropers-Huliman, 2000; Vaccaro, 2010). Most often, and in the context of this study, gender inequality refers to "differential access and unequal participation in higher education" (David, 2009 p.). Subrahmanian (2005) analyzes the concepts of access

and participation in a discussion of the differences between gender equality and gender parity. Accordingly, gender parity refers to equal access and representation with respect to the number of men and women in the given population (Subrahmanian, 2005). While some groups of women have achieved parity with, or even surpassed, men in certain areas of higher education, such as graduation rates and employment, the experiences of women, specifically Black women, throughout the educational system, are still permeated with inequities (Belk, 2006; Collins, Chrisler & Quina, 1998; Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Glazer-Raymo, Townsend, & Ropers-Huliman, 2000; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Holmes, 2003; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Morley & David, 2009; NCES, 2011; Patton & Harper, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Mama, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Quinlan, 1999;Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; University of Denver, 2013; Vaccaro, 2010; Zamani, 2003).

Consequently, the concept of gender equality is more complicated than the achievement of parity. Gender equality for women in higher education must also consider experiences with educational processes, policies, procedures, and outcomes (Risman, 2004). Risman (2004) discusses this complexity by arguing that gender is a social structure that perpetuates inequalities in individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions. Individual inequalities can manifest in women's socialization and their subsequent identity work (Risman, 2004). Moreover, interpersonal inequalities stem from unequal status expectations, cultural biases, gender stereotypes, and the *othering* of women (Collins, 2000; Risman, 2004). All of these elements are germane to Black women in higher education and this study. Furthermore, institutional inequalities are inscribed in organizational practices, regulations, and resource distribution (Risman, p.

437). The *othering* of women within higher education, which is the perpetual marginalization of women, has a longstanding history that is illuminated in the following historical perspective.

Women in Higher Education: A Historical Perspective

"There has never existed a glorious past when women professionals were ever treated equally with men" (Schwartz, 1997, p.506). Although the entry of women into institutions of higher education was a momentous change to the historically discriminative university campus, once women made it into the university, they were marginalized and even segregated on campus (Graham, 1978). The history of public education in the United States is replete with discrimination against women, which has had a lasting impact on higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Graham, 1978; Schwartz, 1998). Women have been underrepresented and discriminated against based on their gender, since their ingression into higher education. In his well-regarded work, Graham (1978) explains that women were only permitted entrance to college for two primary reasons, to increase enrollment as a result of the shortage of male students during the Civil War and "to provide ministers with intelligent, cultivated, and thoroughly schooled wives" (p. 764). This inequity was perpetuated by the implementation of a ladies course on some campuses, which was a program of study for women only, and sex-segregation in social and extracurricular activities (Gordon, 1997; Graham, 1978).

Over time, women's participation in higher education grew significantly. However, women were still treated unfairly and relegated to domestic duties and care roles that men were not expected to perform (Bashaw, 1999; Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Schwartz, 1997). Schwartz (1997) gives the first example of how women were forced

into care roles by discussing the deans of women position, which can be found in early academia organizational charts. As the enrollment of women increased during the late nineteenth century, college presidents began to appoint female faculty members as mentors, counselors, and advisors to the new minority population on campus, female students (Bashaw, 1999; Schwartz, 1997). Moreover, women faced significant gender discrimination obtaining jobs in academia. Historically, women were not hired by most universities. When they were able to get positions, they were paid less than men and appointed as unofficial advisors and counselors to other women, outside of their faculty and administrative positions (Schwartz, 1997). These discriminative practices are still in effect and can still be felt on many campuses (Belk, 2006; Bingham & Nix, 2010; Collins, Chrisler, & Quina, 1998; Glazer-Raymo, 2008; Glazer-Raymo, Townsend, & Ropers- Huliman, 2000; Gordon, 1997; Schwartz, 1997; Grummell et al., 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Quinlan, 1999; Vaccaro, 2010). Moreover, women are still the minority, especially, in the management and leadership of school systems (Franse, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1999).

Black women in higher education. There is not a great deal of literature on the history of Black women in higher education (Chamberlain, 1990; Falola & Amponsah, 2012 Howard-Vitale, 1989; Littlefield, 1997; Perkins, 1993). While there is some information on African American women, it contains huge gaps in periods of time. There is even less written about sub-Saharan African women in academia. The historical literature that is available regarding African women is mostly from the post-colonial era. However, the current body of literature does give some foundational history on the entry of African American and sub-Saharan African Black women into higher education.

Black women in the United States. Before the Civil War, women and African Americans were largely excluded from institutions of higher education. It was not until after the Civil War, that slaves and ex-slaves were allowed the opportunity to learn to read and write (Littlefield, 1997; Perkins, 1993). With this new freedom, many African American people aspired to go to college. Women were first admitted to college in 1833. Soon after, Black women were also admitted to and obtained degrees from Oberlin College (Littlefield, 1997; Oberlin College, n.d.; Perkins, 1993). African American women were instrumental in the effort to advance their race. As early as the 1800's, they served as participants, founders, and administrators of institutions of learning (Littlefield, 1997; Perkins, 1993). According to a study by W. E. B. Dubois, by 1900, 225 Black women had obtained baccalaureate degrees (Littlefield 1997). While these statistics show that progress was slow, it does illustrate that the number of Black women obtaining degrees at institutions of higher education continued to increase.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ushered in change for African American women. By the 1920's, several institutions had been founded primarily for Black women in higher education. Noble (1988) noted "African American women earned more college degrees than African American men in the twentieth century with the exception of the decade between 1920 and 1930" (p. 330). In the 1940's and 1950's, African American women continued to obtain advanced degrees, setting notable precedents in higher education (Littlefield, 1997). It is also important to note that several significant events in the 1950's and 1960's helped with the increase of Black women in higher education. Research notes several monumental events, such as the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision of 1954, the *Civil Rights Movement* of 1960, the *Equal Pay*

Act of 1963, as well as *Title VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act.* These acts were integral to the continued and increased participation of Black women in academia, because they set standards for equal education, increased the hiring of minority faculty, prohibited discrimination on the basis of color, race, religion, national origin or sex, respectively (Green, 1988; Noble, 1988).

Taking the aforementioned history into account, it is important to note that the U.S. is not monolithic. There are peculiarities that are experienced by region and state. While Black women in the U.S. may share similar experiences of marginalities, their individual experiences as a result of their regional and state context, will render their experiences markedly different. Collins (1991) raises the notion of a shared Black women's language and highlights a common tradition that reaches back to the idea of an "African consciousness". However, Collins (1991) cautions against the development of a uniquely Black female voice, or category of experience, for fear of sliding into an essentialist perspective which may, ultimately, be counterproductive. Therefore, the experiences of Black women in the US with the aforementioned issues gender discrimination, tokenism, isolation, and underrepresentation in higher education will differ according to their location in the US. Accordingly, Collins (1991) maintains that Black women have certain perspectives that arise out of a shared experience, but they will also have a different relation and approach to knowledge production, as result of their backgrounds, that gives rise to a uniquely "black feminist standpoint" (p. 21-22). A standpoint theory argues that the place from which one stands influences the perspective or view that one has of the world (Collins, 1991; Hartsock, 1999).

Black women in Sub-Saharan Africa. The history of African women in regard to higher education is comparatively unknown. However, the available literature does reveal consistent themes in relation to the gendered experiences of African American women (Falola & Amponsah, 2012; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Mabokela, 2003; Zulu, 2003). The topic of gender inequality within academia in developing countries is not a new disparity. However, the revelation that most of these developing countries are in sub-Saharan Africa indicates that research about this group of women is critical (Johannes, 2010). In regard to both students and employees, Sub-Saharan Africa is a region that leads in gender gap discrepancies in education (Johannes, 2010). Gender inequality for women administrators in academia can be traced back to colonialism (Falola & Amponsah, 2012; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014). While there is relatively no information about African women in pre-colonial times, the literature from the post-colonial era shows how colonialism influenced the culture of education in sub-Saharan Africa, resulting in the gendered divisions of labor and attitudes about women's roles, that is still present today (Falola & Amponsah, 2012; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002).

In pre-colonial Africa, most women received informal education that focused on domestic and gender responsibilities. Pre-European colonial school systems consisted of groups of older people teaching aspects and rituals that would help women into adulthood and marriage (Falola & Amponsah, 2012). According to Falola and Amponsah (2012), both the colonial and postcolonial governments in Africa neglected women's education; therefore, their participation in higher education was unlikely. Moreover, when education was given it was substandard or geared towards women's traditional roles (Falola &

Amponsah, 2012). Post-colonial education in Africa brought about more access to education for African women as they were finally able to attend primary, secondary and tertiary schools. However, the colonial and cultural legacies regarding gender continue to exacerbate women's unequal participation in higher education as both employee and student (Johnson, 2014; Mama, 2003, Morley, 2010). The argument of gender and education in Africa has varying perspectives. According to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (2013) access to both careers and participation in higher education has significantly grown in recent years due to pipeline programs such as the Millennial Development Goal and Education for All, which are international gender parity and equality protocols. However, other scholars argue that participation in academia is still limited due to the traditions of African society (Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002).

In 2012, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) report identified Sub-Saharan Africa as one of two regions in which the higher education system persists to be unfair for women with significant disparities and disadvantages. In fact, "many educated African women do not challenge the status quo and quietly accept discrimination in the work place…partly as a result traditional African belief systems" (Rathgeber, 2003, p.83). What can be concretely deduced from the literature is that more work remains ahead. Studies show that on the average, the participation of women in education is still limited by socio-historical antecedents such as African traditions, beliefs, and myths (Falola & Amponsah, 2012; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002). The African traditional society still maintains that woman's education is irrelevant. In their local context, it is expected that the African

woman stay home and tend to domestic duties, farm work, and having many children (Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Mama, 2003; Rathgeber, 2003).

To conclude, it is important to note that Africa is also not monolithic; there are many nations within the continent and each individual nation will all have their own peculiarities. Johnson (2014) discusses how African culture plays a substantial role in in gender discrimination, socialization, personal and professional relationships, as well as the social status of women in the different countries. As a result of the predispositions and cultural traditions regarding gender, there is unequal participation of women in higher education as both employee and student in Africa (Johnson, 2014; Mama; 2003; Morley; 2010).

Women Administrators in Higher Education: Challenges, Obstacles, and Representation

In general, women have different needs and concerns than their male counterparts in academia. Morley (2010) asserts that women educational leaders operate in a paradigm of patriarchy. Men have traditionally held leadership positions in higher education. Prior to the 1970's, women rarely held formal positions of influence in the administration of higher education, except at women's colleges (Schwartz, 1997). Higher education's current culture of leadership still positions men as the dominant gender and as a subset who should be given the most senior level positions (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Lynch, 2010; Morley, 2010). These practices perpetuate a highly gendered organizational culture in academia, where women are forced to conform, leaving them silenced and marginalized (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Lynch, 2010; Morley, 2010).

Daily women deal with the manifestations of the long standing inequality of systems within higher education such as salary inequity, disparity in hiring and promotion, isolation, and slow career progression (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Lynch, 2010; Quinlan, 1999). Subsequently, women who work in academia face issues such as inequity in salary and position, discrimination, high stress levels, and significant barriers that include isolation, and gender motivated victimization (Bingham & Nix, 2010; Quinlan, 1999). Women perceive that the quality of their work is more scrutinized and value less than men's work. Women also note there are more constraints placed on women because of home responsibilities in academia (Bingham & Nix, 2010). Added to this is the perception that familial responsibilities limit career advancement and fragments career growth (Bingham & Nix, 2010). Furthermore, because, positions of power are disproportionately held by men in higher education, the academic success and tenure of women in academia is inhibited (Lynch, 2010). The multiple identities of women create complex realities for them and often make their experience in the field of higher education challenging and vastly different than those of men.

Black Women in the United States

Black women in higher education are marginalized in ways not experienced by other women in academia due to intersectionality. Moreover, Black women at universities and colleges across the United States face a multitude of issues that extend beyond gender. While Black women in academic institutions have different beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences they are intrinsically connected in their struggle to be respected, accepted, and to have a voice at their institution (Collins, 2001; Tillman, 2008). Although, Black women do not share a homogenous existence, they do share "a

common struggle that is not shared by White women, which is to rise above the ideological hegemony that silences their voices and prevents full participation in all facets of society and education in the United States" (Holmes, 2003, p.). Black women are faced with general challenges of gender inequity, balancing career and family, performing the domestic/care work, and salary disparities, they also deal with isolation/tokenism, and racism (Belk, 2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Greene, 2000; Moses, 1989; Rusher, 2006). Many of these women are struggling with the stresses of being an administrator, in addition to often being perhaps the only Black woman in their department, office, or senior management. Thus, there is this perpetual feeling of isolation and loneliness (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Mosley, 1980; Rusher, 1996). Studies show that Black women administrators experience a complex array of barriers to career advancement such as limited support for professional networking, unsupportive professional environments, an gender discrimination (Banner, 2003, Blackhurst, 2000; Coleman, 2002).

According to Hughes and Howard-Hamilton (2003), the isolation faced by Black women administrators, faculty, and students can lead to stress, feelings of invisibility and insecurity, and the perception that they are voiceless at their institutions. Collins (2000) refers to this as *outsider within* status. In addition, Black woman administrators face barriers due to their race and gender (Beoku-Betts, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Coexisting issues of racial and gender discrimination, and a lack of support systems and networks are often reported in connection with the Black woman's experience in academia (Patton & Harper, 2003; Zamani, 2003). Moreover,

McKenzie (2002) asserts that Black women are more likely to suffer from physical and/or mental exhaustion than women of other races and/or the other gender as a result of isolation, tokenism, or being the only Black woman in her department.

In her seminal work on Black women in academe, Moses (1989) argued that, "the status of Black women in higher education is a reflection of their status on the national level, the bottom" (p.). In the last 25 years, much has not changed for Black women. Black women administrators still have not reached parity with their White female counterparts, or Black or White males (Belk, 2006; Holmes, 2003; University of Denver, 2013). African American women continue to occupy a disproportionately low number of administrative level positions in higher education, compared to their white female counterparts. This underrepresentation at administrative levels in higher education continues to serve as a constant challenge for African American women administrator (Belk, 2006). Moreover, Black American women administrators are still hired for what Sandler (1991) called "dead end" positions (Holmes, 2003; Belk, 2006). These positions are usually found in areas such as multicultural affairs, minority affairs, and equal opportunity offices (Sandler, 1991). Konrad and Pfeffer (1991), found women and minorities were significantly more likely to be hired for jobs, organizations, and positions held by members of their own groups in the past. Once placed in these positions, African American women are expected to serve as teachers, researchers, administrators, and community servants (Sandler, 1991; Belk, 2006). However, their culture and values are not considered relevant in academe.

As a result of the isolated environment in higher education, Black women administrators often take on duties outside of their professional roles such as mentoring

other Black women or the Black students on campus (Chamberlain, 1991). Collins (2001) describes the position of the “other mother’ which is a care-giving role that Black women are forced to perform, in which they serve as surrogate mothers to students. As a result of these added responsibilities as mentors, surrogate mothers and primary care-givers, African American women must often juggle their other professional responsibilities (Collins, 2001). Subsequently, they have less time to commit to other career obligations. Sandler (1991) noted that because of their small numbers, Black women are even more likely than White women to be overburdened.

Black women are isolated and their academic opportunities are limited by barriers that have nothing to do with their preparation, qualifications, or competency (Belk, 2006; Chamberlain, 1991; Moses, 1989). In addition, Black women in higher education suffer from a lack of role models, mentors, and very little psychological support. For Black women in academia, there is no one to share experiences with or with whom to identify. Moses (1989) described the Black female administrator as an alien in a promised land, obscure, unwelcome and unwanted. For Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan African, this observation still rings true. Thus, while all women face gender discrimination, the unique experiences of Black women warrant further review of their experiences and current status within current culture of higher education based on the intersection of race and gender.

Black Women in Sub-Saharan Africa

Additional research on sub-Saharan African women has echoed the revelation that like Black women in the U.S., sub-Saharan African Black women often work in environments that may cause them to experience challenges, such as racism, sexism,

isolation, and tokenism (Beoku-Betts, 1998; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2001; Mabokela, 2003). As educational leaders in Africa, women face challenges of ethnicity, religion, class, national origin and ethnicity (Johnson, 2014). Moreover, the academic environment for sub-Saharan African Black women is often hostile due to gender-based violence and sexual harassment (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi, & Osirum, 2004; Dunne, Humphreys & Leach, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Morley, 2010). Chisholm (2001) describes how women in South Africa are relegated to the sidelines, professionally, because of the "masculinist" enterprise of leadership. Sub-Saharan African Black women face challenges in taking leadership positions, including the barriers related to culture and cultural expectations; the choice and/or balancing of work and family, and the stress that accompanies positions of leadership as experienced differently by men and women (Kiamba, 2008). Johannes (2010) asserts there is no other society in the world that strongly emphasizes that women stay in their reserved employment positions such as African society.

Mikell (1997) explains the dilemma for contemporary African Black women, figuratively, by explaining how these women think of themselves as walking a political/gender tightrope. They are concerned with the economic and political problems affecting their communities, but at they also deal with how to affirm their own identities and transform societal notions of gender and familial roles. Sub-Saharan Black women also carry a dual burden, which affects their freedom to operate and articulate issues. They must pursue their academic careers, while also meeting traditional and ethnic group obligations (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 5). As previously mentioned, Mabokela (2003) describes how women administrators at a university in South Africa refer to

themselves as the “donkeys of the university”; these women report having managerial roles that are replete with challenging responsibilities and no accompanying respect on campus. Furthermore, the literature suggests the highly gendered attitude toward women’s roles contributes negative predispositions and significantly impacts the culture of the university in Africa. Subsequently, this restricts how women serve the institution and perpetuates gender inequity (Bunyi, 200; Johannes, 2010; Mabokela, 2003; Mama, 2003; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000).

The Impact of New Managerialism

Various scholars report that neoliberal policies, economic conditions, and government intervention have changed the way in which work is performed at institutions of higher education (Deem, 2007; Grummell, et al., 2009; Keily, 2007; Lynch, 2009). Over the last two decades universities have been transformed; the commercialization of academia is normalized and its operational values now overshadow the traditional academic atmosphere (Lynch 2010). Deem (1998) discusses how the culture of new managerialism pervades higher education, and allows for practices that are commonplace in the private sector, to be used in public institutions of higher education. Deem (1998) frames new managerialism as a quasi-market that creates both external and internal pressure on staff to do more work with fewer resources. This approach to management creates a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge.

Moreover, universities have transformed from communities of scholars to workplaces (Deem, 2007; Lynch 2012, Lynch et al., 2012). According to Lynch, Grummell, and Devine (2012), new managerialism is the current approach to governance

in academia. A direct product of marketization, new managerialism refers to practices that are commonplace in the private sector, that are now being used in public institutions of higher education. Lynch, Grummell, and Devine (2012) argue that new managerialism is a "political project born out of radical change in the spirit of capitalism" (Lynch et al., 2012, p. 3). In this approach to management, there is a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge. In this system, workers, faculty and administrators, are driven by efficiency, external accountability and monitoring, and emphasis is placed on financial returns (Lynch, et al., 2012). As a result, universities and their administration are now operating under a more business focused approach to management in academia. Universities were once perceived as communities of scholars researching and teaching together in collegial ways, and individuals running universities were regarded as academic leaders rather than as managers or chief executives (Deem, 1998; 2003). However, under new managerialism, old academic traditions and collegiality, that academics' are accustomed to, no longer exist. Instead, new managerialism promotes a system that prioritizes financial outturns over traditional values such as intellectual excellence and integrity. Administrators who run universities are now expected to ensure that "value" and "quality" is provided (Deem, 1998; Lynch, 2010). Their role as academic leaders is now dominated by a greater concern with management of sites, finance, rather than the needs of staff and students, or teaching and research (Deem, 1998). Subsequently, institutions of higher education have new management policies that further disregard already marginalized people, specifically women of color. Lynch (2010) adds that managers (academic leaders) have also become

consumed with unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from their employees.

Moreover, new managerialism defines human relationships on a transactional basis in order to promote the desired outcomes of high performance and productivity within the organization (Lynch, et al., 2012). New managerialism perpetuates the old standards of patriarchy, by implementing an unofficial doxa of *homosociability*, which ensures that men of like mind hold the majority of the more strategic leadership roles in education (Lynch, et al., 2012). Lynch et al. (2012), posits that the hidden pressures of the performance driven environment, of new managerialism creates a system that is absence of care for employees, specifically women. New managerialism creates unrealistic expectations for employees, particularly women who are already at a disadvantage because of their gender and the patriarchal standards that new managerialism perpetuates.

In all, new managerialism focuses on the product of education rather than the actual process involved (Lynch, 2009). In this culture, success is judged by measurable performances such as rankings of colleges and people, while efficiency is prioritized over equality of access, participation, and outcome. Furthermore, in this management style, market accountability replaces democratic responsibility. The discourse surrounding new managerialism implies greater opportunities for gender equality in management. However, prototypical employees are defined in practice as people with 24/7 time for their organization or institution (Lynch, 2009). New managerialism assumes a Rational Economic Actor (REA) model of citizenry and ignores the reality of women who are often universal caregivers at work and at home (Lynch, 2009).

Furthermore, Lynch et al. (2012) asserts that new managerialism is not gender neutral construct, and affects women more than men because of the implicit homosociability found within its practice. The performance-driven nature of new managerialism makes it more difficult for women to combine care and family with the demands of leadership, work, and teaching. Subsequently, the work-place challenges of women are further exacerbated; ultimately new managerialism serves to further oppresses and marginalize women within academia by creating a culture of carelessness. Moreover, the practices and policies of new managerialism do not take into account the multiple identities of women faculty (Deem, 1998, 2007; Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch et al., 2012).

The Lens of Carelessness

Current research has begun to explore the implications of gender equity and race in academia. Specifically, the culture of carelessnes*s* in higher education has become of importance to researchers (Lynch, 2010). In this view of education, emotional thought and feeling is separate from academic work and performance (Lynch, 2010). However, this model doesn't take into account the experiences of women, specifically Black women, who because of their gender and race, are often expected to be the primary care givers in academia (Lynch, 2010). As a result, both internationally and domestically, Black women continue to struggle as a result of their multiple identities and the intersectionality of race and gender in their work place.

New management is characterized by its unrealistic expectation in regard to levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from their employees. As a result, the ideals of new managerialism create a system of carelessness for employees.

Lynch (2010) reveals that what is noteworthy about new managerialism is not the perpetuation of patriarchy; that is longstanding in higher education. Instead, it is the subsequent change in the cultural life of the university and other higher education institutions that must be fully considered (Lynch, 2010). In this new culture of higher education, the prototypical employee is “careless” without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work. Lynch et al., (2102) assert that carelessness has significant implications for gender because of the traditional patriarchal nature of academia. Subsequently, men can be carefree, while women remain the default care givers. Moreover, Lynch et al. (2012) claim that new managerialism is not gender neutral and affects women more than men because of the implicit homosociability found in this organizational culture. Thus, the performance-driven nature of our current management makes it more difficult for women to combine care and family with the demands of leadership.

Subsequently, the work-place challenges of women are further exacerbated and ultimately this new culture further oppresses and marginalizes women of all races and ethnicities. By perpetuating gender disparity, the culture of carelessness has substituted the glass ceiling for the care ceiling (Lynch, 2010). In all, the literature tells us that women are still relegated to serving in the “traditional” care roles in academia. Moreover, the culture of carelessness does not take into account the intersectional experiences of Black women, who carry multiple identities because of their race and gender, according to the basic tenets of BFT (Collins, 2001).

The Lens of Intersectionality

Black Feminist Thought posits that other feminist theories are too simplistic and, therefore, unable to capture the complexity of the lived experiences of multiply-oppressed groups such as Black women (McCall, 2005). BFT asserts that while Black women in higher education come from diverse backgrounds and serve in various capacities at colleges and universities, they have one thing in common, the *double-bind* (Collins, 1994; Collins, 2001*)*. Double-bind is a term used to characterize the position of African American women and other women of color, because they fall into two oppressed categories (Allen, 1995; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Fleming 1996; Mosley, 1998). Moreover, the identity of Black women is thought of as a "both/and" construct, both Black and a woman (Collins, 2000). Subsequently, race and gender are important and related constructs within the self-concept of African American women, and should be considered in studying this group of women (Collins, 2000). BFT theory asserts that all Black women share common experiences due to the intersection of race, gender, and social class. This concept is called intersectionality (Collins, 1999). Subsequently, the intersectionality of race, gender, and their local context presents a unique challenge for Black women administrators in higher education. These intersectional experiences set their perspectives apart from other groups because it places their experiences at the crossroads of multiple oppressions (Collins, 2001).

Furthermore, BFT describes the existence of Black women in higher education as an outsider-within concept (Collins, 1999). This concept asserts that Black women are able to gain access to the knowledge of the dominant group/community which they inhabit (or visit), but are unable to either authoritatively claim that knowledge or possess

the full power given to members of that group (Collins, 1999). Subsequently, Black women are the ideal outsiders-within, they are both dually marginalized (as women and as Blacks), yet able to move among a variety of communities. Black women are seen as a group of women who, in many ways, exist at the margins of higher education. Finally, they have made it to the ivory tower, but their voices are still silenced, they are still marginalized (Collins, 2000). BFT theory is most appropriate in examining the challenges and experiences of both African American and sub-Saharan African Black women administrators. It's framework on intersectionality, has implications for the literature I selected to review, the participants, methodological approaches, and the understandings I have formed thus far in this research.

Conclusion

In all, the literature reveals there are a limited number of studies available that focus on African American women administrators. There are even less studies that focus on the experiences of sub-Saharan African Black women. Despite this paucity, research does illustrate commonalties, domestically and internationally, among Black women in academia as a result of persisting challenges of inequality in higher education. The literature reveals that both groups of women experience challenges that stem from gender inequality and racism, such as career and family issues, tokenism, and hiring, promotion, and salary inequity (Belk, 2006; Bunyi, 2003; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Mosley, 1980; Rusher, 1996; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mama, 2003; Mikell, 2007; Morley, 2010; Moses, 1980; Mosley, 1989; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Johnson, 2014; Tamale

& Oloka-Onyango, 2000; University of Denver, 2013; Zamani, 2003). The review provided an understanding of the carelessness and how this byproduct of new managerialism, further perpetuates gender disparity, by substituting the glass ceiling for the care ceiling (Lynch, 2010). The literature posits that the culture of carelessness doesn't take into account the intersectional experiences of Black women, who carry multiple identities because of their race and gender, according to the basic tenets of BFT (Collins, 2000). Moreover, the concept of intersectionality, anchored in the ideals of Black Feminist Thought, is most useful in examining the challenges and experiences of Black women administrators working in a culture of carelessness. Collins' (1999; 2000) offers a theoretical approach that is the most comprehensive work available in regard to Black women in academia. It is one of very few theoretical approaches that identifies and clarifies a standpoint of and for Black women (Collins, 2000).

Chapter 3

Methodology

> Partiality, and not universality, is the condition of being heard; individuals and groups forwarding knowledge claims without owning their position are deemed less credible than those who do…the existence of a self-defined Black woman's standpoint using Black feminist epistemology calls into question the content of what currently passes as truth and simultaneously challenges the process of arriving at the truth (Collins, 2009, p. 290).

As reviewed in Chapter 2, there is a significant need for more research about Black women. The purpose of this qualitative study was to compare and explore the unique experiences of Black women, in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa, to increase the pipeline for careers in higher education, by focusing scholarly attention on factors that could prevent Black women administrators from advancing into senior-level positions within higher education. Moreover, this study was performed to give voice to Black women whose unique experiences and status are further marginalized under the ideals of carelessness and new managerialism. The theoretical concepts of carelessness in higher education and Black Feminist Thought were used as lenses through which the lived experiences and current climate in higher education for Black women were analyzed. The intent of this study was to contribute to research on Black women in higher education, internationally, through a reflective comparison of their lived experiences. In this chapter, the methodology used to conduct this study is discussed to better understand how phenomenological inquiry was used to illuminate the lived experiences and career paths of mid-career U.S. and sub-Saharan African Black women professionals in higher education, using the lens of intersectionality to frame their experiences as it relates to the intersection of gender, their local context (i.e. racism, colonialism, ethnic group) and new managerialism in academia.

Research Questions

In hermeneutical inquiry, the researcher focuses on illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within the participant's experience that may be taken for granted in their everyday lives, with the goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (Van Manen, 1990). Subsequently, this study will focus on four primary research questions:

1. How do African American and South African midlevel Black women administrators describe the influence of the careless phenomenon on their professional and life experiences?
2. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and their local context in their career path?
3. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and socio-historical antecedents in their personal lives?
4. How do Black women's experiences as higher education administrators converge and compare across contexts?

Assumptions of and Rationale for Qualitative Inquiry

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) contend that qualitative research is a "situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of interpretive , material practices that make the world visible…these practices transform the world…[through] a series of representations, including field-notes, interviews, conversations, …recordings, and memos to self" (as cited in Creswell, 2007). Thus, the key assumption of qualitative inquiry is to develop an understanding of the objects of interest. It is through the researcher's insight that qualitative research achieves its ultimate goal—understanding.

Qualitative inquiry collects data in its natural setting, not a laboratory in order to elicit rich thick description that is focused on the experiences and perceptions of the informants (Creswell, 2007). Hence, qualitative inquiry begins with the researcher's assessment of his/her assumptions and worldview in order to ensure that interpretation is holistic and confirmable (Creswell, 2007). In qualitative inquiry, the researcher is the means through which the study is conducted and the data is interpreted and the research process is emergent. To this end, the qualitative researcher collects his/her own data by observing behavior and interviewing participants (Creswell, 2007). In addition, because the research process is emergent, the initial research plan cannot be definitely set. Qualitative researchers understand that all phases of the process may change or shift once they enter the field (Creswell, 2007).

This research was undertaken to explore the lived experiences of U.S. and South African women who work in midcareer positions within higher education, as it relates to the intersection of gender, their local context (i.e. race, colonialism, and ethnic group), and new managerialism. Englander (2002) posts that the chief criterion in determining what research method will be used should be the initial research question. For this study, I decided that qualitative interviews would be the best way to understand the experiences of Black women higher education administrators because this type of research captures how people make meaning of their experiences and I was interested in understanding the intersectional experiences of these women in their local context. Qualitative research is most appropriate when a problem or issue needs to be explored, or when a complex detailed understanding is needed (Creswell, 2007). As Englander (2012) explains the interview has become the main data collection technique associated with qualitative

human scientific research. In addition, I chose qualitative research because "quantitative measures and the statistical analyses simply [did] not fit the problem" (Creswell, 2007, p. 40). Quantitative questions would not have been able to fully describe the lived experiences of sub-Saharan African Black women. For example, a survey would mean that as the researcher, I knew exactly what questions to ask because I understood their experience, and I do not. In reality, the lack of prior research on this particular group prohibited me from creating an effective survey.

Qualitative design allowed me the freedom to explore multiple topics and take cues from the participants while asking probing questions to make meaning of the participant descriptions. Moreover, because quantitative inquiry can overlook the uniqueness of individuals participating in a study, qualitative techniques were used because they allowed for vivid and more contextualized descriptions as necessary for this study (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative techniques were best suited for the participants in this study because they allowed for the illustration and interpretations of one's own life (van Manen, 1990). Furthermore, in qualitative inquiry, the researcher is able to focus on the words, descriptions, histories, and explanations of the participants from their own voices (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

As Creswell (2007) explains qualitative research is most appropriate for the researcher who wants to empower individuals and share silenced voices, which was one of the primary goals of this study. Moreover, researchers "…cannot understand human actions without understanding the meaning participants attribute to those actions--their thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values, and assumptive worlds; the researcher, therefore, needs to understand the deeper perspectives captured through face-to-face interaction"

(Marshall & Rossman, 1999, p. 57). Therefore, qualitative inquiry was best suited for the goals of this study, because it allowed for an in depth comparison and understanding of the participants' personal experiences and perspectives. In addition, qualitative research provided a channel to give voice to Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa working in higher education, who are marginalized and silenced. Accordingly, qualitative research allowed for an intimate understanding of personal and individual perspectives through direct conversations and observations of the participants in their natural settings (Creswell, 2007, 2009; Teddlie & Tashakorri, 2009). By using qualitative inquiry, my participants were able to use their own voices and experiences to provide a better understanding about the unique experiences of Black women in higher education.

Comparative Approach to Inquiry

The foundational approach of this study was inherently comparative. Goedegebuure and van Vught (1996) assert that, "making comparisons among entities and units is one of the crucial aspects of scientific analysis" (p. 371). Accordingly, Teichler (2013) adds that studies of international comparison are a key activity of reasoning. By undertaking a study of Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa, it became increasingly clear that special efforts were needed to look beyond my vicinity to effectively consider and understand the cultural and social phenomena experienced by the participants in both the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa (Collins, 2001; NRC, 2003; Teichler, 2013). Subsequently, I referred to the abundance of literature on comparative and international education research to ground my study.

Historically, the goals of comparative education and its studies have been to furnish "reliable information about educational systems, ideals, problems…and at the same time to provide a theoretical and practical aid to such systems by the development

of frameworks, sets of techniques, bases of interpretation…and conclusions about education as a local, national, and international matter" (Carey, 1966, p. 418). Comparative education also provides researchers the opportunity to analyze education as it relates to social, economic and, religious and political determinants (Carey, 1966).

Moreover, the literature on international comparison revealed that the western model of higher education developed in the Unites States, both skews and dominates our educational assumptions and perspectives (Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Hirt, 2012; Trow, 2006). As a result, cultural assumptions about the nature of work and human relationships are often made (Altbach, 2004; Johnson, 2014). However, Teichler (2013) contends that comparative research, such as this study, are much needed and essential to deconstructing national perspectives, identifying benchmarks and convergent trends, testing theories, initiating discussion on potential reforms, and for analyzing the growing internationality of higher education. As Teichler (2013) explains, "Comparison research is a basic logical approach of observation and interpretation… [That] establishes a borderline between a familiar cultural and social space and other non-familiar cultural and social spaces…" (p.394).

In their 2003 report, the National Research Council (NRC) distinguished the three types of international comparative education research according to their initial and primary purpose. Type I are cross national comparison studies that include large scale surveys that compare educational outcomes at various levels in two or more countries, while Type II are policy informing studies that inform one or more particular U.S. education policies by studying specific topics relevant to those policies and their implementation in other countries. Type III studies, aim to understand education broadly

and are not designed to make direct comparisons between the U.S. and other countries in terms of specific policies or educational policies (NRC, 2003). Instead, they aim to further understanding of educational processes in different cultural and national contexts (NRC, 2003).

Accordingly, this research is a Type III qualitative international comparative education study designed to "bring to light new concepts, to stimulate interest in educational issues, to generally deepen understandings of education as a practice and as a social phenomenon and, most generally, to establish, the foundation on which all the comparative education research is based" (NRC, 2003, p. 21).

Comparative inquiry, discourse analysis, and phenomenology. Paulston (2000) argues for comparative researchers to engage with new developments in theory and methodology in the social sciences by focusing on "the linguistic, the spatial, and the pictorial turns" (p. 63). Ninnes (2004) contributes to this work by discussing how the concepts of discourse and critical discourse analysis are both essential and complimentary to the issues and problems that comparative researchers consider to be central to their field. Using Foucalt (1972), Ninnes (2004) describes discourse as "the entire set of statements about a topic… [includes] oral or written words, graphics or symbols, that is, text." (p. 44). Moreover, "the set of statements, that is discourse, about a particular topic can include diverse or competing theories" (Ninnes, 2004, p. 44). Discourse also contributes to the construction of academic disciplines. Deconstructing Foucault (1972) work, Ninnes (2004) describes the rise of and relations between discourses as *archaeologies*. Foucault (1980) also describes a discursive approach called *genealogy*, which is the analysis of the relations of power that imbue and inscribe

discourses and discursive formation (Bain, 1995; as cited in Ninnes, 2004). As a discursive approach, genealogy reveals the taken for granted, examines the way human life and history are essential through discourses, and “reveals history as a process involving struggles, conflict, contingencies, and reversals” (Bain, 1995, p. 13).

Accordingly, discourse analysis is defined as a major tool of genealogy that is a part of a wider set of techniques of linguistic analysis, namely discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is focuses on the precise analysis of discourses. It can take on a more critical approach, hence the name, that focuses on social, historical, and political contexts; critical discourse analysis can focus on the role of written and spoken texts in the constitution of knowledge, power, social relations, and identity (Luke, 1999; Ninnes, 2004). Critical discourse and it analysis, provides a powerful set of conceptual tools and methodological tools for gaining new insights into areas such as context of education, educational policy, issues of difference; the movement of educational ideas across and within national boundaries, and some of the political concerns of comparative educators such as social justice and emancipation

Using Foucault (1980), Ninnes (2004), and Paulston’s (2000) assertions on the importance of discourse and discourse analysis techniques in comparative education research, I chose a phenomenological strategy of inquiry for this research. As revealed in the aforementioned research, discourse and discourse analysis are best suited to explore issues that are commonly of concern to many comparative researchers (1980; Ninnes, 2004; Paulston, 2000). Comparative education connects to the phenomenology because both have the ability to uncover knowledge that has been hidden or suppressed by dominant discourses. Phenomenology is a strategy of qualitative inquiry that also focuses

on human experiences and the analysis and interpretation of these texts. Comparative education research combined with phenomenological inquiry can illuminate the perspectives of the oppressed and help produce a "union of erudite knowledges and local memories which allows us to establish a historical knowledge of struggles and to make use of this knowledge tactically today" (Foucault, 1980, p. 83).

Phenomenological Strategies of Inquiry

Phenomenological research overlaps with other essentially qualitative approaches including ethnography, hermeneutics, and symbolic interactionism (Lester, 1999). The initial selection of phenomenological research first begins with acknowledging that there is a need to understand a phenomenon "from the point of view of the lived experience in order to be able to discover the meaning of it" (Englander, 2012, p. 16). Qualitative researchers identify a phenomenon as "an object of human experience" (van Manen, 1990, p. 163). Thus, the phenomenological approach "illuminates the specific by identifying phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation" (Lester, 1999, p.1). Lester (1999) explains that this translates into gathering deep information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions, and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants.

In this study, the human experience is the phenomena of intersectionality. Specifically, I studied the women's experience with the intersectionality of race and gender and how they described these experiences as higher education administrators in different societal and cultural contexts, in efforts to develop a composite description of the essence of their experiences (Creswell, 2007; van Manen, 1990). Whereas other

strategies report the life of single individuals, phenomenology describes the meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2007). Epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasize the importance of personal perspective and interpretation (Creswell, 2009; Finlay, 2009; Lester, 1999; van Manen, 1990).

Moreover, phenomenology focuses on describing the commonalities participants have as they experience a phenomenon and allows personal viewpoints to be fully explored from the perspective of the participants involved in the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Laverty, 2003). Furthermore, the essential purpose of phenomenology is "to reduce the individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence" (Creswell, 2007, p. 58). Laverty (2003) supports Creswell (2007) by describing phenomenology as specific investigation that develops an understanding of the lived experiences of the participants involved in that phenomenon.

There are many variations of phenomenological strategies of inquiry; each has different philosophical arguments for the use of phenomenology (Creswell, 2007; Finlay, 2009). However, all phenomenologists agree that the basic premise in their research is to understand the lived experiences of people involved in the phenomenon. As a phenomenological researcher, I share in the goal to obtain "fresh, complex, rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it is concretely lived" (Finlay, 2009, p. 6). Moreover, phenomenologists agree on the importance of the researcher to be flexible in their thinking and willingness to see the world in fresh, new and possibly unexpected ways through the eyes of the participants (Finlay, 2009).

Phenomenological researchers also acknowledge that all researchers enter into research with preconceived ideas and experiences about the phenomenon; this subjective view divides phenomenological researchers into schools of *descriptive* phenomenology and *interpretive* phenomenology (Finlay, 2009). Finlay (2009) explains that while "all phenomenology is descriptive in the sense of aiming to describe rather than explain, a number of scholars and researchers distinguish between descriptive phenomenology and interpretive or hermeneutic phenomenology" (p.10).

In descriptive (i.e. Husserl-inspired) phenomenology, researchers aim to reveal essential, but general meaning structures of a phenomenon (Finlay, 2009). In contrast, interpretive phenomenology is rooted in the concept that phenomenological description as a method lies in the interpretation; this means researchers must embed themselves in the language, social relationships, and historicity of all understanding (Finlay, 2009; Heidegger, 1962; Gadamer, 1975; Ricoeur, 1970; van Manen, 1990). It is widely believed that the division between descriptive and interpretive variants of phenomenology is reflected explicitly in the research (Finlay, 2009). However, like some scholars, I view description and interpretation as a continuum, where specific work may be more or less interpretive (Finlay, 2009; Van Manen, 1990).

While there are several approaches to phenomenology, this research used Van Manen (1990) hermeneutic phenomenology, because this approach best "interprets the texts of life" (Van Manen, 1990). Moreover, in her examination of phenomenological research, Finlay (2009) found that the general consensus among phenomenologists is that "we need phenomenological research methods that are responsive to both the phenomenon and the subjective connection between the researcher and the researched"

(p. 7). Hermeneutic phenomenology best responds to the connection between the researcher and the researched in this study. Particularly valuable to this research, hermeneutical phenomenology sees research as oriented towards lived experiences and views subjectivity as important to interpretation and research (Creswell, 2007; Van Manen, 1990). Furthermore, hermeneutic phenomenology is aligned with the goals of this study and my philosophical assumptions because it supports the concept that experiential knowledge is not biased, but rather a valuable component to research that can be a major source of insight, validity check, and hypotheses (Maxwell, 2013).

Hermeneutic phenomenology. The foundation of hermeneutic phenomenology is explicated in the meaning of the word hermeneutic. Hermeneutic is derived from the name Hermes, a Greek god who was responsible for making clear, or interpreting, messages between gods (Lopez & Willis, 2004; Finlay, 2009). Various scholars have identified hermeneutics as a process and method for bringing out and making manifest what is normally hidden in human experience and human relations (Gadamer, 1976; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Finlay, 2009; Koch, 1995; Spielgelberg, 1976; van Manen, 1990). Moreover, hermeneutics has a long tradition as an academic practice in the discipline of theology through the interpretation of biblical texts (Gadamer, 1976). In the study of human experience, hermeneutics goes beyond simple description of core concepts and essences to look for meanings embedded in common life practices of people (Lopez & Willis, 2004).

In the hermeneutical approach, Van Manen (1990) affirms that phenomenological research is the study of lived experiences. Moreover, Van Manen (1990) explains that hermeneutic phenomenology is a way of researching the very essence of phenomena. In

this approach to inquiry, “the study of essences” is fundamental to understanding the nature of the phenomenon (Merleau-Ponty, 1962, p. 7). Van Manen (1990) elaborates that the term essence refers to the essential meanings of a phenomenon; it is that “which makes a thing what it is” (Van Manen, 1990, p.10). Furthermore, hermeneutic phenomenology is a response to how one orients to lived experiences and questions the way in which they experience the world (Van Manen, 1990). Subsequently, Van Manen (1990) proposes a hermeneutical approach to phenomenology that better focuses on the subjective experiences of individuals and groups. In this school of phenomenology, the researcher is able to unveil the world as experienced by the participant, through their life stories (Van Manen, 1990). Moreover, this school believes that phenomenological research is also a lived experience for researchers, as the purpose is to engage in phenomenological reflection in order to try to grasp the essential meaning of the phenomenon (van Manen, 1990). Therefore, the phenomenological method is dependent upon the researcher’s ability to be “sensitive to the subtle undertones of language…” in order to understand and explicate the meaning of the phenomena as it is described by the very subject living it (van Manen, 1990, p. 111).

Hermeneutic phenomenology was best aligned with my philosophical assumptions and qualitative inquiry, because it allowed this constructivist to make meaning of the participant experiences, according to their own words and descriptions. Moreover, hermeneutic researchers understand bracketing to be a multidimensional and continuous process in phenomenology that takes on different meanings and should be used to distinguish "what belongs to the researcher and what belongs to the researched” (Finlay, 2009, p. 12). In addition, hermeneutic sensibilities require researchers to bring a

“ critical self-awareness of their own subjectivity, vested interests, predilections and assumptions… to be conscious of how these might impact on the research and findings” (Finlay, 2008, p. 17). Gadamer (1975) describes this process as being open to the *other* while recognizing biases and also asserts that in the human sciences, knowledge always involves some form of self-knowledge. Maxwell (2013) builds on this concept in his assertion “*any* view is a view from some perspective…” (p. 46).

Taking the aforementioned information into consideration, the hermeneutic approach to phenomenology was best suited for this study because the phenomenological approach to qualitative research seeks to thoroughly explore the lived experiences of the participants through the texts of life (Creswell, 2007; van Manen, 1990). By using a phenomenological approach to gather data about Black women in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa, I allowed the women’s perspectives of their respective realities to be expressed and fully conveyed.

Researcher Paradigm

The selection of an appropriate research design is often dependent upon the type of data one desires to collect or the change one desires to lead. Creswell (2007) adds that our philosophical assumptions and worldviews also influence methodology selection. All researchers see the world through a particular lens. Our viewpoint on life is often formed as a result of our family background, cultural history, political views, and level of education /or socioeconomic status. Suffice it to say, there are a number of perspectives that contribute to our worldview. Guba (1990) explains that worldviews are “beliefs that guide action” (p. 17). Subsequently, researchers should identify and consider their philosophical assumptions (also known as worldviews) to select the methodology that is

best suited to the researcher and the study (Creswell, 2007; Guba, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Maxwell, 2013).

As a qualitative researcher and phenomenologist, it was important that I consider the many different paradigms under the umbrella of qualitative research as well as the philosophical assumptions associated with hermeneutic phenomenology. To better identify and explore my philosophical assumptions and experiential knowledge, I used a very useful qualitative technique, the *researcher identity memo* to examine my beliefs, assumptions, and expectations (Maxwell, 2013). By developing this tool, I was able to comprehensively consider the social constructivist and advocacy/participatory worldviews that I brought into this study. The personal assumptions detailed below assisted in the conceptualization of this qualitative study.

Social constructivist worldview. Often associated with qualitative inquiry and interpretivism, social constructivism is a worldview in which individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work, to develop subjective meanings of their experiences (Creswell, 2007). These meanings can be diverse and compound, prompting the researcher to look for the complexity of viewpoints, rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas (Creswell, 2007; Mertens, 1998). Therefore, social constructivists believe that people create the meaning of the phenomenon being explored, both individually and collectively (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Constructivists often address the processes of interaction among individuals. Similar to phenomenologists, constructivists also focus on the specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants (Creswell, 2009). In the constructivist paradigm, researchers recognize that their own

backgrounds shape their interpretation, thus they position themselves in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their personal, cultural, and historical experiences (Creswell, 2009; Crotty, 1998: Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

The constructivist paradigm is consistent with my stance as a hermeneutic phenomenologist, educator, and feminist. As an educator and feminist, I do believe that identity is dynamic. My past research in cultural, gender, and ethnic identity supports the idea that our identity is always being affirmed by our interactions with others. Moreover, research suggests that gender, ethnic, class and racial identities are fluid, multidimensional, personalized social constructions that reflect the individual's current context and socio-historical cohort (Beaubien, 2009; Frable, 1997; Lauring, 2008; Meyer, 2009). Thus, the concept of dynamic identity is intertwined not only with the phenomenological basis of this study, but also with my conceptual framework and qualitative inquiry, which both reflect my assumptions as a social constructivist. Accordingly, constructivists also believe that all entities are dynamic, continuously shaping one another; thereby making it impossible to delineate between cause and effect (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). This is especially true for issues of gender and race. Both of these constructs are so deeply ingrained in society, that it is often difficult to understand them and regard them as social creations.

In this study, I share the primary intersectional characteristics of my participants. I am an African American woman administrator in higher education; thus, we share the same race, gender, and career. Moreover, I have had many experiences relevant to this polemic that will provide interpretive insight and "virtuous subjectivity for the story that I am able to tell" in data analysis (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p. 104). By all definitions and

descriptions I am also “an outsider within” in the field of higher education because of being Black and a woman (Collins, 2001). As a social constructivist, I am aware that I face difficult realities because of my gender and race, and that this is comparable international problem among Black women. I am also aware that my intersectional experiences may differ greatly from the participants according to their historical and social context.

As a constructivist, the goal of my research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied (Creswell, 2009). Accordingly, data is primarily collected by qualitative techniques, through discussion or interactions with other persons. Interview questions are intentionally broad and general, so participants can construct the meaning of a situation. As Creswell (2009) explains, in the constructivist paradigm interview questions are to be open-ended, so the researcher can listen carefully to what people say or do in their life settings. Moreover, “these subjective meanings are most often negotiated socially and historically; they are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others, hence the descriptive name, social constructivism” (Creswell, 2007; Maxwell, 2013). In this study, the description of the intersectionality of race and gender, the phenomenon that was studied, was largely impacted by societal expectations that were dependent upon the women’s local context, which were aforementioned socio-historical antecedents such as colonialism, racism, and ethnicity which influenced their personal lives and career paths.

Subsequently, I approached this research knowing that my experiences and race were not generalizable to every Black woman, especially not those of an entirely different culture and society. As result of my personal assumptions and viewpoints, I was aware

that I could not assume that skin color equates to homogeny; this study was not developed to identify a standard experience of racism, the aforementioned scholarly research already indicates such. Instead, this study was designed to explore, specifically, how the participants describe the intersectionality of gender and race in their professional and personal lives in light of their local context and the current environment in academia.

Although the constructivist paradigm aligns with some of my personal assumptions, I also agree with scholars who assert that the constructivist stance "does not go far enough in advocating for an action agenda to help marginalized people" (Heron and Reason, 1997; Kemmis & Wilkinson, 1998; Neuman, 2000). As such, my paradigm as a researcher is combination of different aspects and beliefs from social constructivism and the advocacy/participatory worldview, because the convergence of both of these perspectives best conveys my philosophical beliefs; both are compatible and able to contribute to my study in a meaningful way.

Advocacy and participatory worldview. As a comparative education researcher and change agent, I am inspired by the advocacy and participatory worldview. This perspective emphasizes the importance of holism and sees society as a community of interconnected subjects, rather than a collection of objects. This assertion connects to and complements the hermeneutic approach to phenomenology that this study follows. The advocacy/ participatory worldview "holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda" (Creswell, 2009, p.9). Therefore, there is a specific reform agenda for a study using this framework. Moreover in this perspective, social issues pertinent at the time are addressed "such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, domination, suppression, and alienation" (Creswell, 2009, p. 9).

In addition, this type of research offers a voice to participants and gives them the ability change their own lives. The advocacy/participatory worldview indicates the researcher will proceed as collaboratively as possible, as to not further marginalize the participants. Creswell (2009) explains that collaboration may include the participants helping in designing questions, collecting data, analyzing information, or merely reaping the rewards of the research. Essentially, the overarching goal of research conducted under this viewpoint, is to provide a voice for the participants, raise their consciousness, and advance an agenda. Creswell (2009) asserts, "this philosophical worldview focuses on the needs of groups and individuals in our society that may be marginalized or disenfranchised. Therefore, theoretical perspectives may be integrated with the philosophical assumptions that construct a picture of the issues being examined, the people to be studied, and the changes that are needed" (P. 9). Accordingly, in this study, I used Collins' (2001) theoretical concept of Black Feminist Thought as both a feminist perspective and "racialized" discourse to better understand the experience of the participants and the issues being examined (Creswell, 2009).

This study is a Type III comparative study and not designed to have immediate policy relevance (NRC, 2003). However, as an educator, leader, and feminist, I understand that research provokes change. Kezar and Lester (2011) explain that higher education, faculty, staff, and students perpetually act as *grassroots leaders* within in their organizations. Grassroots leaders are individuals who are not in positions of authority, yet pursue change within their organizations in ways that are disruptive to the status quo of their institutions, often from the bottom-up (Kezar & Lester, 2011). As a researcher and grassroots leader, I believe that bringing attention to the international experiences of

Black women in higher education will garner a deeper understanding of education as a practice and social phenomenon. Ultimately, this advocacy research could be of significant relevance to administrators, faculty, staff, and policy makers, globally (NRC, 2003; Kezar & Lester, 2011).

In conclusion, Maxwell (2013) explains, "the explicit incorporation of identity and experience in research has gained wide theoretical and philosophical support because it recognizes that there is never one true objective account in research, as "*any* view is a view from some perspective, and is therefore shaped by the location (social and theoretical) and lens of the observer" (p.46). Taking this into consideration, I was able to successfully use Maxwell (2013) researcher identity memo as a technique to fully explore my expectations, beliefs, and assumptions as an educator, leader, administrator, and feminist.

Participants and Sampling

Purposeful sampling was used to select participants, this method ensured the selection of individuals who "purposefully inform the research problem" and provided the rich information needed for the central phenomenon of the study (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). The goal of hermeneutic phenomenological research is to develop a rich or dense description of the phenomenon being investigated in a particular context (van Manen, 1990). Subsequently, a purposeful selection method was chosen in order to select information-rich cases for detailed study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002). Thus, participants who could illuminate the phenomenon of intersectionality were chosen. This method of sampling was also consistent with interpretive paradigm research (Llewellyn, Sullivan, & Minichiello, 1999). Polkinghorne (1989) recommends that researchers

interview between 5 and 25 participants to obtain a comprehensive account of the phenomenon. Moreover, as previously mentioned Englander (2012) explains that phenomenologists are not interested in how many and can achieve generality with a relatively small number of participants. However, phenomenologists should interview no less than three participants for the purposes of comparison and taking note of the variation of the phenomenon among participants (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009). The women will be purposefully selected based on their positions within the university and their willingness to participate in this study. Thus, participants will be selected through criterion sampling and snowball sampling.

Phenomenological Sampling

Englander (2012) confirms that the interview is the primary tool for data collection in qualitative research and discusses the pertinent issues relate to sample size in phenomenology, by highlighting Kvale (1983; 1994) and Kvale and Brinkman's (2004) work. Although Kvale (1983; 1994; 2004) is well-known and highly cited by qualitative researchers, Englander (2012) asserts that there are important differences between Kvale's work and a phenomenological perspective. Thus, Englander (2012) discusses how to select participants, how many participants to interview (sample size). Although Kvale (1994) asserts that qualitative researchers should "interview so many subjects that you find out what you need to know" (p.165); Englander (2012) counters that the very question of "how many interview subjects do I need?' is in fact irrelevant, because the research is qualitative not quantitative. Englander (2012) points out the common misconception in regard to sample size and describes it as a myth that a large sample size is essential for being able to generalize the results of a study to the population

at large. However, generalization is not the purpose of this study, therefore sampling strategies will focus on identifying individuals who are characteristic of and have had experiences with the factors at the heart of this phenomenological and comparative inquiry.

In all, Englander (2012) explains researchers must understand the misconceptions about sample size in qualitative research. The generalizability of quantitative and qualitative research is a dichotomy that cannot be built upon the principles of qualitative research, which is what usually happens (Englander, 2012). Qualitative research is not breadth research. In this study, I am not trying to answer "How many women have experienced the phenomenon"? Instead, my goal was to "seek knowledge of the content of the experience…in depth, to seek the meaning of the phenomenon" (Englander, 2012, p. 21). The phenomenological method in human sciences recommends that a researcher uses no less than three participants, not because that number corresponds with a statistical analysis, but because the use of only one or two participants would not provide enough flexibility in terms of interpretation and description of the phenomenon (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009). Moreover, Englander (2012) asserts phenomenologists use depth strategies, not breadth strategies, and that for the purpose of comparison, phenomenologists need at least three participants to "take note on how many times the phenomenon makes it presence in the description" (p. 21). Thus, a phenomenologist could use five or even twenty participants. However, Englander (2012) notes that increasing the sample size will result in a greater appreciation of the variation of the phenomenon, but not better generality of the results.

Sampling Techniques

According to Creswell (2007) criterion sampling is the selection of participants based on their ability to meet an already decided and important criterion. Subsequently, gatekeepers identified participants as being best suited for this study because of race, gender, and position in their career. I then added to the sample by using “cases of interest from people who know people with information rich cases” which is the snowball technique (Creswell, 2007, p.127; Patton, 2002). In a phenomenological study, the participants must have all experienced the phenomenon, and be able to articulate their lived experience (Creswell, 2007). As such, the participants were identified (or self-identified) as being information rich cases and Black women in positions of leadership in their institution.

As a technique, snowball sampling, “figuratively, entails rolling a small snowball and, as it picks up speed, it picks up more snow, subsequently growing in size” (Johnson, 2014; Patton, 2002). Typically, a researcher starts with a small sample and then seeks more participants through interactions with that initial group (Patton, 2002). Additionally, I used criterion sampling, to complement the snowball technique. As I navigated the snowball technique, participants were selected based on their ability to meet an already decided upon and important criterion, described above (Creswell 2007; Patton, 2002).

Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods in this study included semi-structured interviews, field notes, and a researcher journal. These strategies were chosen because they were congruent with the philosophical framework of the research paradigm and methodology, and allowed me to explore the participant’s experiences. Like most qualitative studies, I

served as the primary instrument when collecting and analyzing data as “data collection involves fieldwork” (Maxwell, 2013; Miller, 2009, p. 18).

Interviews

I held face-to-face, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews with participants on campus. The participants were given the option to choose somewhere on campus to meet in order to build rapport and make them comfortable. However, I ensured we selected specific rooms/areas that would provide privacy and keep outside noise from interfering with the audio recording. When the participants arrived for their interviews, I had them complete a demographic questionnaire (see Appendix B). This enabled me to gain information on the participants, such as position information, and the number of years at the institution, without having them discuss such information during the interview. Overall, each interview required 15 minutes for the participant to complete the questionnaire and the rest of the time was devoted to telling their story by answering the interview questions.

Rossman and Rallis (2003) describe interviews as “a conversation with purpose” (p. 183). Subsequently to build rapport and allow for detailed description, data was collected through open-ended interviews and observations that were recorded as field notes. In depth interviews provided the opportunity to speak directly to the persons of interest. Moreover, interviewing was the best approach for data collection because interviewing as qualitative research provides an understanding of the lived experiences of participants and how they make meaning of their experiences which is the cornerstone of hermeneutical phenomenology (Seidman, 2007; Van Manen, 1990). Taking this into consideration, the responsive approach to open-ended interviews were used to elicit “rich,

thick description” in my responses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The responsive approach to interviewing is an in-depth approach to qualitative interviewing that sees the participant as a conversational partner (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Using the responsive interview approach, I formulated three types of questions - prior to and during the interview process: main questions (found in the interview protocol), as well as probes and follow up questions. The probing questions were used to elicit more detail from my participants, while the follow up questions allowed me to explore ideas that emerged in the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). In regard to the length of time of each interview, nothing formal was set. In phenomenological inquiry, the interview should end when it comes to a natural point of closing – essentially when participant’s story comes to an end, only then can I end the interview. Additionally, Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest that the interview ends when experiences have been described: in-depth, in detail, vividly (in a nuanced manner), and richly.

The use of qualitative interviewing, as my primary technique, provided in-depth exploration of the lives of my participants, along with valuable insight that would not have been obtained in other methods (Seidman, 2007). Moreover, the interviews and subsequent field notes provided access to the context of the participant’s behaviors, thereby providing a way for me to understand the meaning of those behaviors and experiences (Seidman, 2007).

Giorgi (2009) explains that effective phenomenological interviews direct the participant instead of leading the participant. To effectively collect information about the live experience of a phenomenon form another person, generally there are two methods used by phenomenologists: face-to-face interviews and written or recorded accounts of

the experience (Englander, 2012; Giorgi 2009). Ajjawi and Higgs (2007) explain that interviews serve a very specific and integral role in hermeneutic phenomenology. It is used as a means for exploring and gathering stories of lived experiences, as a vehicle to develop a conversational relationship with the participant and most importantly as a way to allow participants to share their stories in their own words (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007. A semi-structured format was chosen for this research, because it provided the advantages of both structured and unstructured interviews. Semi-structured interviews provided greater breadth in data compared to structured interviews. Moreover, the use of semi-structured interviews allowed participants freedom to respond to questions and probes, and "to narrate their experiences without being tied down to specific answers" (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007, p. 619; Minichiello, et al., 1999; Morse & Field, 1995). While there is no prescriptive quality to a good interview, scholars agree that there is one specific criterion to adhere to, which is: "what one seeks from a research interview in phenomenological research is as complete a description as possible of the experience that a participant has live through" (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009, p. 122).

Moreover, the use of a semi-structured protocol provided the opportunity to reveal the experiences of the participants in a manner that provided factual information as well as an in-depth exploration of the participant's experience (Rubin & Rubin, 2009). Participants were all asked the same questions, but the structure of the protocol allowed me to ask probing questions to elicit detailed description and better understand how the participants made meaning of their experiences. In addition, semi-structured interviews gave me the ability to compare across interviews because some of the questions were standard (Minichiello et al., 1999). The additional probes were used to clarify and follow-

up with participant responses that I had not accounted for initially. With the consent of the participants, each interview was recorded on a tape recorder and replayed for transcription. The transcriptions were then sent via email to the participants for final review of their conversations and in effort to member check.

Field Notes

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Shenton (2004) recommend that researchers use overlapping methods in order to enable measures of trustworthiness in their research. As a result, I kept descriptive and analytical field notes to help improve interpretations and assertions. Glesne (2006) asserts that the use of field notes is another method of triangulation within research. Accordingly, Miles & Huberman (1984) contend that memo (or field notes) be used as a form of triangulation that can later be correlated to the data. Field notes are a product of qualitative interviews that entail descriptive and analytic written accounts of what the researcher sees, hears, experiences and thinks, while collecting and reflecting on data (Glesne, 2006). These notes also document any emerging questions from the data. Accordingly, field notes should be written as soon as possible after the interviews, or important details may be forgotten and not appear in the field notes. In all, field notes are used to broaden the researcher's range of vision and produce data that will be used for cross checking and data triangulation. As recommended, my field notes were used as a means of recording insights about what happened in the field (Glesne, 2006; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Miles & Huberman, 1984). There are various styles of field notes, but all field notes generally consist of two parts: description, in which the observer attempts to capture a word-picture of the setting, actions and conversations; and reflection in which the observer records thoughts, ideas,

questions and concerns based on the observations and interviews (Glesne, 2006; Glesne & Peshkin, 1994; Miles & Huberman, 1984). There is not one best format for field notes and scholars indicate there are three styles of taking field notes, the use a of the wide left margin in which the body of the file contains content and the researcher's comments are written in parentheses under related paragraphs; Or, the use of electronic files where the content and researcher reflections are saved separately; and lastly the two column approach, where the column on the right contains the content portion of field notes, with reflective comments relating to particular parts of the content part, written in the left column (Glesne, 2006). For my notes, I used the two column approach to write my descriptive and analytical memos (Glesne, 2006).

Creswell (2009) adds that qualitative data typically consists of interviews and field notes, which are then used to generate theory through coding and categorizing. For this study, field notes were used as a critical examination of the ideas that emerged in relation to the research and protocol questions. Three types of field notes were recorded during the research process, as described by Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, and Alexander (1995), transcript notes, personal notes, and analytical notes were all used to enhance the interview data and aid in data analysis and interpretation. The transcript notes were raw data from the interviews; the personal notes detailed chronological accounts of the participants in their local context, including other people present and reflective notes on the research experience and methodological issues. The analytical notes were a critical examination of the ideas that emerged in relation to the research and protocol questions. These notes also contained reflections and insights related to emerging data form the research. Essentially, any observable evidence of the participants'

reasoning and tactics used to communicate how they made meaning of their experiences, were recorded. The information contained in the field notes enabled "reconstruction of conversations in context rather than just relying on a contextual verbal recording" (Ajjawi & Higgins, p. 619; Minichiello et al., 1995).

In addition, my field notes analyzed data from the interviews, as well as my observations from my interactions with my participants. These notes also contained reflections and insights related to emerging data form the research. Essentially, any observable evidence of the participants' reasoning and tactics used to communicate how they made meaning of their experiences, were recorded.

Researcher Journal

I also used a researcher journal as a method of data collection. The researcher journal serves as a method of data collection, a tool of reflexivity, and a measure of trustworthiness. Janesick (1999) recommends that qualitative researchers incorporate journal writing into the research process to provide a data set of the researcher's reflections on the research. It is recommended that qualitative researchers refine the understanding of their as the researcher, consistently and throughout their research through a process of reflection and writing (Janesick, 1999). My researcher journal consisted of personal notes and a detailed chronological account of the participants in their local context, including other people present during the time of the interview. My journal also included reflective notes on the research experience, my field-notes, and methodological issues. The primary function of my research journal was to reflect on both my process and progress and to build a research trail to assist in maintaining rigor. By using a research journal, I was able to record my thoughts about the data and the

research process, as well as my own thoughts and assumptions in regard to the overall study. The journal was also a record of my emerging questions about the data and my tentative answers to those questions. It also documented the connections I made between the data and the literature on my topic. Janesick (1999) maintains that "journal writing allows one to reflect, to dig deeper if you will, into the heart of the words, beliefs, and behaviors ... it allows one to reflect on the tapes and interview transcripts from our research endeavors" (p. 513). Moreover, the researcher journal can was also used as a method to triangulate data and pursue interpretations in a dialogical manner, "it is a type of member check of one's own thinking done on paper" (Janesick, 1999, p. 513).

Instrumentation

Research for this study was conducted through an 11-question interview protocol developed and administered by me (see Appendix A). The questions sought to understand how the participants felt about intersection of race and gender in their lived experiences and work life, what experiences stood out to them, and how they reacted to academic, social, and family challenges under the lens of carelessness. I used a semi-structured approach, which allowed me to ask questions that were formulated with the intention to complement my overarching research questions and to "cause the participants to reflect on experiences that they can easily discuss" (Creswell, 2009, p. 223). Table 1 reflects a matrix of the alignment of the research questions to the interview protocol questions. The full interview protocol can be viewed in Appendix A.

Table 1

Dissertation Protocol Matrix

Research Question	Topic	Protocol Question Number
RQ 1: How do U.S. and South African mid-career Black women describe the influence of the careless phenomenon on their professional and life experiences?	Lived Experiences: Obtaining employment in administration; informal roles assigned professionally; Rationale for decisions made; reflection on personal and professional responsibilities;	3, 4, 5, & 10
RQ 2: How do Black women domestically and internationally, describe the intersection of gender and their local context in their career path?	Lived Experiences: Professional aspirations and gender; reflection on changes in actions professionally; explanation of administrative positions sought	3, 6, 8, 9, & 11 a,
RQ 3: How do Black women, domestically and internationally, describe the intersection of gender and socio-historical antecedents in their personal lives?	Lived Experiences: Responsibilities personal and professional; informal roles assigned professionally	4, 7, 8, 10, & 11b

Data Analysis Methods

To keep with the methodology selected for this research, data analysis methods were developed from phenomenological and hermeneutic principles, as well as scholarly recommendations on systematic methods to interpret data. Therefore, the analytical methods used were specific to this research, but I also drew on interpretive analysis paradigms. The convergence of phenomenological, hermeneutical, and interpretive strategies resulted in a six-step process of analysis, see figure 3.2 and Appendix D. Throughout data analysis, there was ongoing interpretation in order to maintain faithfulness to the participants' constructs. This strategy is suggested by Lincoln and Guba (2005) as a method to maintain authenticity within research.

Phenomenological Strategies

The goal of phenomenological data analysis is to "transform lived experiences into a textual expression of essence – in such a way that the effect of the text is at once a reflexive re-living and a reflective appropriation of something meaningful" (van Manen, 1997, p. 36). As such text may be viewed as both the data and product of phenomenological research (Smith, 1997). Phenomenological data analysis proceeds through the methodology of reduction, the analysis of specific statements and themes, and a search for all possible meanings (Creswell, 2007). Moreover, phenomenological inquiry is not only a descriptive process, but it is also an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation of the lived experiences of the participant (van Manen, 1990). Van Manen (1990) asserts that research is oriented toward lived experiences; therefore, phenomenological inquiry and analysis should be centered on "interpreting the text of life" (p. 4).

Phenomenological analysis should be rich and evocative, invoking in readers the "*phenomenological nod* in recognition of a phenomenon so richly described, that the reader feels that they too may have experienced it" (van Manen, 1997, p. 27). Thematic aspects of experience can be uncovered from participant descriptions by using one of three methods: the holistic approach, the selective or highlighting approach or the detailed or line-by- line approach (Van Manen, 1990). Because I used semiotic analysis, a form of discourse analysis often applied in the analysis of text, to analyze my qualitative data, the most complementary approach to isolating themes in my research was the selective approach. Moreover, a systematic method for coding and subsequent thematic data analysis was used, as informed by Creswell (2009) and Saldana (2009).

Creswell (2009) described a systematic process for coding data from a phenomenological inquiry in which specific statements are analyzed and categorized into clusters of meaning that represent the phenomenon of interest. Accordingly, Saldana (2009) notes narrative coding as "appropriate for exploring intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences and actions to understand the human condition through story, which is justified in and of itself as a legitimate way of knowing…" (p. 109). Moreover, narrative coding was best for this studies analysis because narrative analysis includes diverse methods which align with coding and interpretation of participant perspectives (Saldana, 2009). Van Manen (1990) adds that phenomenological analysis is primarily a writing exercise, and through the process of writing and rewriting, the researcher can distill meaning. Moreover, the analyzing researcher should use writing to compose a story that captures the important elements of the lived experience.

Subsequently, to complement the narrative coding and provide for better analytical writing, I also used Saldana (2009) process of "themeing the data". Saldana (2009) explains that while themes are generally an outcome of coding, many qualitative researchers recommend "labeling and thus analyzing portions of the data with an extended thematic statement rather than a shorter code" (p.139). Saldana asserts that themeing the data is appropriate for all qualitative studies, because it allows categories to emerge from the data, which is integral to qualitative research. However, "themeing the data is not an expedient method of qualitative analysis…it is just as intensive as coding and requires comparable reflection on participant meanings and outcomes" (Saldana, 2009; p. 140).

Interpretive Strategies

Semiotic discourse data analysis is a linguistic based analysis in which the researcher relies on finding meaning in the context alone by identifying specific meaning in connection with concrete examples in the text (Berger, 2004; van Manen, 1990). As method for data analysis, semiotics can be applied to anything which can be seen as signifying something - in other words, to everything which has meaning within a culture. Therefore, semiotic analysis was well suited for my selective approach to identifying themes, which consisted of highlighting statements or phrases that seemed essential to the experiences being shared in the study (van Manen, 1990).

Hermeneutic Strategies

The hermeneutic circle and dialogue of question were the two key strategies incorporated in this research. Van Manen (1990) used the hermeneutic circle as metaphor for understanding the interpretive process. Van Manen explains the hermeneutic circle as

a movement between data and evoking understanding of the phenomenon. Each part gives meaning to the other perpetually, so the understanding is cyclical and iterative. Figure 1 illustrates the hermeneutical circle adopted in this research.

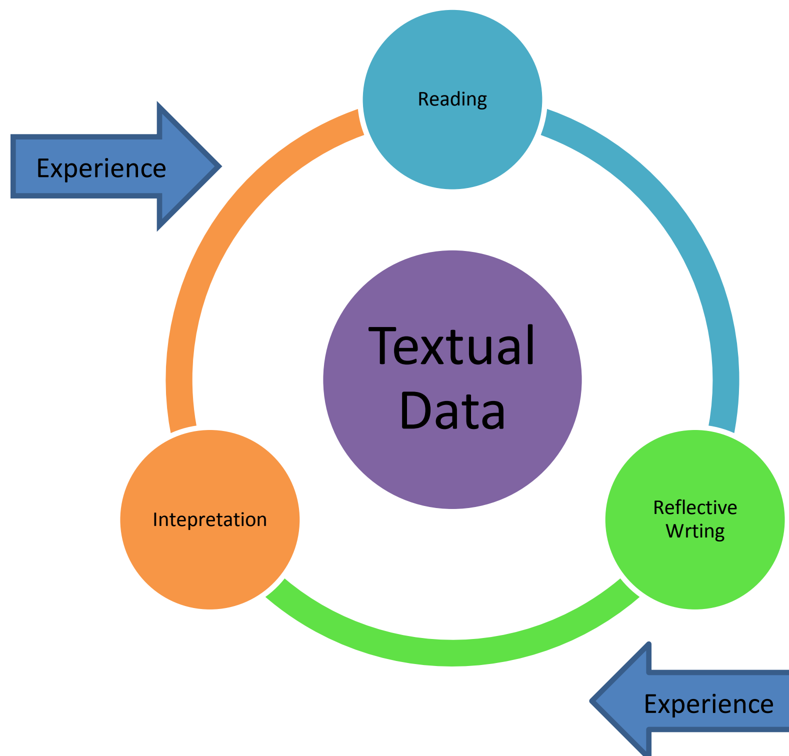

Figure 1. Hermeneutical circle for this study

Using Van Manen's (1990) selective reading approach, the text was read several times and statements that appeared to be revealing about the women's experience was underlined and/or highlighted. Themes were then identified by highlighting material in the interview text that spoke to each woman's experience. The identification of themes is

a key concept in analyzing cultures. Moreover, themes are the fundamental concepts researchers are trying to describe in their study (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Using the narrative codes and Saldana (2009) process for themeing the data, I discovered themes through a process of searching for words, phrases, and similar characteristics in the participants, and their stories. I also looked for repetition of experiences and compared parts of the texts, while reflexively inquiring about the differences, similarities, and experiences of the participants in my reflexive journal and anecdotal notes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Next, I selected each of the highlighted phrases or sentences and tried to capture as fully as possible what meaning the highlighted material was conveying. Following the initial readings and preliminary identification of themes in each of the interviews, I met with critical friends to discuss the themes and any areas that required more investigation. Those meetings helped to ensure validity and to refine themes. Next, I critically compared each interview, looked for commonalities and differences, and condensed in order to identify the overall themes that best described the experiences of the women in my study. I then engaged in data triangulation, by comparing the consistency of information derived by different means within the study. For example, I compared observational data in my field notes with the interview data, looking at what the participants said in the interview versus what I observed and/or noted in my field notes about their demeanor.

Data Interpretation Process

Using the aforementioned coding and analyses processes as a guide, the interpretation process for this study was an iterative, inductive process of decontextualization and recontextualization (van Manen, 1990). Ajjawi & Higgs (2007)

explain that the act of interpretation “represents a gradual convergence of insight on the part of the researcher and the text” (p. 623). Accordingly, Ajjawi & Higgs (2007) outlined a six stage process of interpretation that can be informed by the researchers approach to the hermeneutical circle of interpretation. I adapted this process, because it best aligned with my approach to data analysis in this study as it was designed for hermeneutical phenomenology and interpretive paradigms. Please see figure 2 for a detailed description of my analytical and interpretive process.

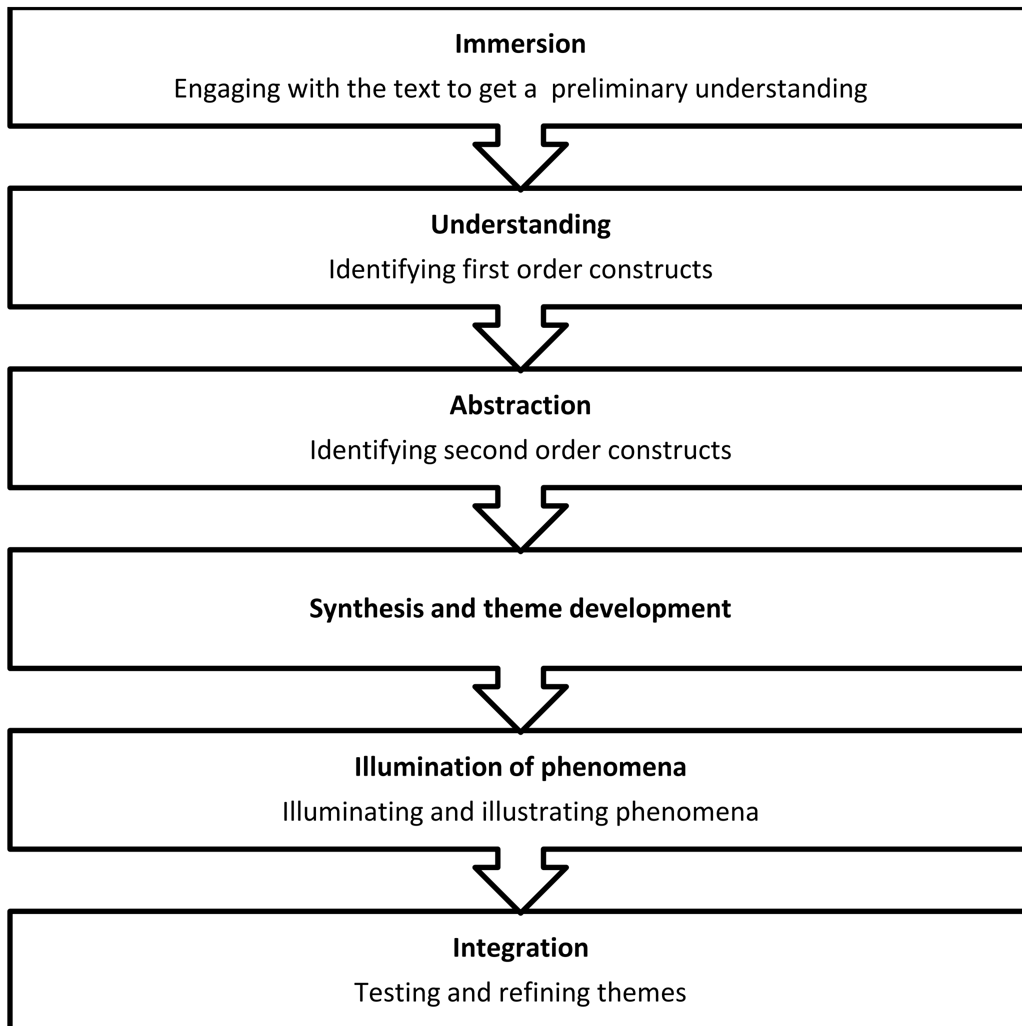

Figure 2. Stages of Data Analysis (adapted from Ajjawii & Higgs, 2007).

By proceeding through the aforementioned steps, I was able to adhere to the phenomenological and hermeneutic principles that were used as a guideline when conducting systematic and useful interpretations of research data. Each step in this process allowed for ongoing interpretation of the research text and the phenomenon. In addition, this process allowed for cross comparison and contrast of my researcher assumptions, with the actual research text. In this manner, I was able to address any prejudices developed from literature or personal bias. Furthermore, this process allowed

for cross-checking of my interpretation with the original transcripts in order to be faithful to the participants' constructs, which ensured authenticity and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Establishing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research

In qualitative studies, validity means that the researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures (Creswell, 2014, Maxwell, 2013). Creswell (2014) explains that qualitative validation of findings occurs throughout the steps in the data analysis process. Therefore, by reading the data, coding the data, themeing the data and interpreting the data, I will be validating the accuracy of the information. In qualitative studies, researchers are primarily concerned with trustworthiness in their research. Establishing trustworthiness asks whether the researcher has established confidence in the truth of the findings for the participants and the context in which the study was undertaken (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Moreover, trustworthiness establishes how confident the researcher is with the truth of the findings based on the research design, informants, and context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is recommended that researchers identify and discuss one or more strategies available to check the accuracy of their findings (Creswell, 2014). Hence, I will discuss the importance of establishing trustworthiness through credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The following outlines the specific strategies I will use to ensure trustworthiness.

Credibility

Credibility deals with the question, "How congruent are the findings with reality"? Moreover, credibility is concerned with the *truth value* of research to ensure that

the findings make sense to those studying and those reading my final report (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Lincoln and Guba (1985) add that ensuring credibility is one of most important factors in establishing trustworthiness.

It is recommended that researchers undergo “prolonged engagement” with the participants and the culture in its context, in order for the researcher to gain an adequate understanding of an organization and to establish a relationship of trust between the parties involved (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper & Allen, 1993; Shenton, 2004). In August of 2013, I spent three weeks in sub-Saharan Africa, in which I served a research assistant on a different research project. During this time, I was able to immerse myself in the culture of a sub-Saharan African university, as well as have prolonged engagement with sub-Saharan African women; those who were professionals within the university as well as women who were not. In all, this experience oriented me to the university process in sub-Saharan as well as the cultural expectations and norms of sub-Saharan African women.

Triangulation may involve the use of different qualitative methods, such as, observation, focus groups, field notes, and individual interviews, which form the major data collection strategies for much qualitative research (Guba, 1981; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Shenton, 2004). This research will use interviews, field notes, and a researcher journal as data sources for triangulation. In addition, there are two research sites and two different cultures of Black women, who all will have experienced the phenomenon differently. This effort both enhanced triangulation as well as the variation of description of the phenomenon, as previously noted. According to Guba (1981) the use of different

methods in concert compensates for their individual limitations and exploits their respective benefits.

According to Patton (2002), the credibility of the researcher is especially important in qualitative research because the researcher is the major instrument of data collection and analysis. Furthermore, Shenton (2004) notes that the reader's trust in the researcher is just as important as the adequacy of the procedures themselves. However, the nature of the biographical information that should be supplied in the research report is a matter of debate. Researchers recommend including any personal and professional information relevant to the phenomenon under study (Shenton, 2004). Taking this into consideration, throughout this proposal, I have shared all personal and professional information that is relevant to the phenomenon I am researching. I also disclosed my role as researcher in my discussion of research ethics.

Lincoln & Guba (1985) consider this to be the single most important provision that can be made to bolster a study's credibility. Member checks ensure that the researcher does not misinterpret the meaning of what participants say and do; it also an important method for identifying researcher bias and misunderstandings of what the researcher observed (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996; Maxwell, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1996). Member checks to promote the accuracy of the data may take place "on the spot" during, and at the end, of data collection (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013). As such, participants may be asked to read transcripts of dialogues in which they have participated in order to check how their own comments have been interpreted (Gall et al., 1996). Another element of member checking used in this study will involve verification of the emerging theories and inferences that were formed during the interviews (Miles &

Huberman, 1994). Thus, where appropriate, participants will be asked if they can offer reasons for particular patterns observed by the researcher. The importance of developing such a formative understanding is recognized by Van Manen (1983), who writes that:

> Analysis and verification. . . is something one brings forth with them from the field, not something which can be attended to later, after the data are collected. When making sense of field data, one cannot simply accumulate information without regard to what each bit of information represents in terms of its possible contextual meanings (p. 37).

In hermeneutic phenomenology the use of rich thick description is both essential and expected. Moreover, its usage is also an important provision for promoting credibility because it helps to convey the actual experiences that have been explored and the contexts that surround them (Creswell, 2014; Shenton, 2004). Without this detailed and descriptive insight, it is difficult for the reader of the final account to determine the extent to which the overall findings are true (Maxwell, 2013; Shenton, 2004). Maxwell (2013) asserts that in order to obtain rich data, the researcher must intentionally use intensive interviews along with verbatim transcription of those interviews, and detailed and descriptive field notes. Subsequently, the aforementioned instrumentation and interview techniques provide a solid foundation for rich, thick description.

Transferability

Transferability is establishing the context of the study and the detailed description of the phenomenon to allow comparisons to be made (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).Three strategies will be employed to meet the goals of transferability, the aforementioned use of rich, thick description in the findings and triangulation of my data sources as well as

purposeful sampling (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The continued use of rich thick description in the final account of this study will allow readers to create their own depiction of the participants' experiences. Thus, the reader will be able to make his/her own contextual connection to the lived experiences and stories of my participants. As a result, readers will be able to compare the experiences to other setting, which will allow them to determine for themselves if and how the data and findings provided are transferable to other circumstances, research problems and questions (Erlandson, et al., 1993; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Shenton, 2004). In addition, purposeful sampling ensured the selection of individuals who "purposefully inform the research problem" and provide the rich information needed for the central phenomenon of the study (Creswell, 2007, p. 125). Altogether, these three strategies ensured the rigor of this study via transferability.

Dependability

Marshall and Rossman (1999) examine the changing nature of the phenomena investigated by qualitative researchers, noting how this dynamic renders the requirements of dependability, problematic in qualitative studies. However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that the close ties between credibility and dependability in well planned field work, is a well-planned strategy to ensure dependability. Therefore, dependability may be achieved through the use of overlapping methods, such as the observations as a research journal, field notes, and individual interviews, which were all used in this study. Furthermore, Shenton (2004) recommends that another method to address the dependability issue is to make sure that every process within the study is reported in detail, thereby enabling a future researcher to repeat the work, not necessarily to gain the

same results, but so establish the research design as a prototype model. As recommended by Shenton (2004), a detailed account of the research process as a whole is included in this proposal to allow the reader to assess the extent to which proper research practices were followed. To help readers of this study develop a thorough understanding of the methods used and their effectiveness, both the research proposal and the final account will include sections devoted to:

- The research design and its implementation that describes what was planned and executed on a strategic level;
- The operational detail of data collection which addresses the intricacies of what was done in the field;
- Appraisal of the project that discusses reflective methods used to evaluate the effectiveness of the process of inquiry undertaken.

Confirmability

Confirmability measures ensure that data can be confirmed by someone other than the researcher (Toma, 2011). Patton (2002) associates objectivity in research with the use of instruments that are not dependent on human skill and perception. However, Patton (2002) recognized the difficulty of ensuring real objectivity, because researchers design tests and questionnaires, which makes bias inevitable to some extent. Subsequently, the concept of confirmability is the qualitative researcher's comparable concern to objectivity and must be used to reduce researcher bias (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Shenton, 2004). Thus intentional steps must be taken to help ensure, as much as possible, that the research findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the participants and not those of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). In order to ensure confirmability, I made sure to emphasize

triangulation again. In this context, triangulation of my data was used to reduce the effect of researcher bias.

Another key criterion for ensuring confirmability is the extent to which the researcher admits his or her own predispositions within their study (Miles and Huberman, 1994). To this end, my philosophical beliefs and assumptions as well as the underpinning decisions made and methods adopted, were acknowledged within this research proposal and will also be included in the final account of this study. I also used the researcher journal as a means to record the procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study, recording my presuppositions and as an overall research "trail" to examine the processes and products of my study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The use of comparative, qualitative, and phenomenological approach as the method of inquiry as well as the inclusion of the anticipated delimitations, were all strategies of confirmability (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Shenton, 2004).

Ethical Considerations

Creswell (2007) notes "A qualitative researcher faces many ethical issues that surface during data collection in the field and in analysis and dissemination of qualitative reports" (p.141). Moreover, as scholars have explained, there are certain assumptions that a researcher makes based on their worldview and experiences. Accordingly, these assumptions frame how researchers perceive and analyze their data and results (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Maxey, 2003; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Thus, it was important that I complete several steps prior to and during my fieldwork, to ensure that this research was completed ethically. These steps included completing instructional review board training

(IRB), obtaining informed consent, developing a method for ensuring participant confidentiality, and obtaining local approvals to gain entrance into my research sites both in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition, because I was interviewing women from different nations, it was also important to employ culturally sensitive research methods to develop cultural intuition that reflects an awareness of the both the differences and similarities in culture, gender expectations, and religious beliefs between U.S. and South African Black women (Tillman, 2008). It was also imperative that I ensure the privacy of my participants, by explaining the purpose of the study and remaining transparent in how their information will be shared (Creswell, 2007). Thus, after my participants agreed to participate in the study, the women received informed consent forms. The informed consent form provided a description of the study, what will be done with the study, and how confidentiality will be maintained. As the researcher, it was my responsibility to protect the women by maintaining anonymity, so to ensure their identity was protected the participants were given pseudonyms and informed that I would not divulge the name of their institutions.

Ahern (1999) notes "it is not possible for qualitative researchers to be totally objective, because total objectivity is not humanly possible. Each person's values are the result of a number of factors that include personality, socioeconomic status, and culture" (p.407). However, it is expected that researchers will make sincere efforts to put aside their personal values in order to accurately describe respondents' life experiences by participating in reflexive bracketing (Ahern, 1999). However, as mentioned previously, in phenomenology, researchers bracket but do not completely abandon their priori

knowledge and assumptions, as this insight is most useful in the interpretive process of hermeneutics (Gearing, 2004; Maxwell, 2013; Sokolowski, 2000; van Manen, 1990).

Subsequently, throughout the process of data collection, I used reflexive journaling to answers questions such as: In what ways will my personal and professional experiences impact my research? What are the issues associated with my being a part of the same culture and community as my participants? I also wrote researcher memos throughout the analysis to help examine how my thoughts and ideas evolve as they engage more deeply with the data. These memos established an audit trail, in which I documented my thoughts and reactions as a way of keeping track of emerging impressions of what the data meant, how they related to each other, and how engaging with the data shaped my initial understanding, assumptions and belief (Cutcliffe, 2000; Maxwell, 2013).

Role of the Researcher

The emic/etic dichotomy was informative for my role as the researcher in this study. An emic perspective, or insider standpoint, represents the viewpoint of the members of a culture or group being studied or observed; while an etic viewpoint reflects more the perspectives or values of the researcher, resulting in an outsider stance (Pike, 1990). Accordingly, what the participants were willing or comfortable enough to share with me, as well as the overall integrity of this study, were dependent upon my standpoint as a researcher. The study uses a Black Feminist epistemology to better understand the challenges of Black women administrators at institutions of higher education. Therefore, the race, gender, cultural background, social status, and the experiences of *all* individuals involved in the research play a significant role.

In this study, I share some of the characteristics of my participants. I am an African American woman administrator in higher education; thus, we share the same race, gender, and career aspirations. I also share similar cultural background and perhaps social status, as some of my participants in the U.S. Moreover, Foster (1994) notes:

> Increasingly, those undertaking fieldwork and conducting life-history research are insiders, members of the subordinate groups they have chosen to study. Social science reveals a growing trend toward native anthropology and other insider research, studies by ethnic minorities of our own communities (p. 130).

In this study, I was aware that as an African American woman I was privy to both an emic and etic perspective in my study. My emic understanding allowed me to formulate salient research questions, establish a rapport, and communicate the expressions and sentiments of the Black American group (LaSala, 2003). LaSala (2003) explains that "oppressed minority respondents may want to participate in research done by an inside investigator because they perceive that the researcher shares their desire to rectify societal misperceptions of their group" (p. 18). However, Wheeler (2003) reminded me that "even when researchers are members of the target group, based on demographics or other characteristics, the process of conducting the research places them in somewhat of an 'other' category" (p. 67). Furthermore, being an insider did not grant me unreserved access, as trust must has to be gained, even by researchers, investigating populations to which they belong (Meezan & Martin, 2003, p. 11). Accordingly, in my work with the South African women, I was regarded as an outsider to their culture. The etic perspective became critical and was integrated in order to identify components of their African culture that were parallel to Black American women (LaSala, 2003). The

etic perspective allowed me to describe the phenomenon from a vantage external to the culture, based on the understanding that members of a culture are often too involved in what they are doing to interpret their cultures impartially (Bowman, 2007; LaSala, 2003).

Institutional Review Board

The mission of the Rowan University Institutional Review Board (IRB) is to assure the safe and ethical treatment of human participants in research (Rowan University, n.d.). This board enforces federal and university regulations that require that all research involving human participants conducted by Rowan faculty, staff, and students be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to its start. According to the American Educational Research Association, the IRB review process is designed to protect the right and welfare of human subjects by assuring unbiased subject selection, guaranteeing sufficient informed consent, minimizing risks, and maintaining confidentiality/privacy of all participants (AERA, 2014). Once I receive approval from my committee to begin research, I applied for IRB approval from Rowan University and completed training to protect human subjects.

Informed Consent

Once the participants were identified, I emailed a letter requesting their participation in the study. If they agreed to participate, I sent an Informed Consent form (Appendix B) and a Demographic and Employment Data form (Appendix C) to the participants. The demographic profile was used to obtain background information about the participant as well as their institution. The Demographic and Employment Data form also asked the participant to give a description of their employment responsibilities. The Informed Consent form (Appendix A) was used to provide the participant information

about their privacy and to gain final approval and to confirm acceptance of participation in the study.

Conclusion

The goal of this study was to compare and report the unique experiences of Black women working in higher education in the U.S. and sub-Saharan Africa. As a Type III qualitative international comparative study, this study was designed to “bring to light new concepts, to stimulate interest in educational issues, to generally deepen understandings of education as a practice and as a social phenomenon and, most generally, to establish, the foundation on which all the comparative education research is based. Moreover, the aim of this study was to also highlight Black women’s unique experiences to add to the gap in the literature and increase the pipeline for Black women working in higher education. The aforementioned data collection techniques were chosen to because they were best suited to the goals of hermeneutical phenomenology, which focuses on interpreting the texts of life (van Manen, 1990). The collection methods were combined with an in-depth data analysis, which combined phenomenological, hermeneutical and interpretive techniques in order to capture the most meaningful elements of the participant’s experiences. As a social constructivist and advocacy/participant researcher, the use of qualitative and phenomenological methods best suited the goals of this research. Subsequently, the methodology chosen was strategic and resulted in meaningful data collection that provided a clear pattern of meaning.

Chapter 4

Research Findings

> Women pay too heavy a price for success in career, a pitch for African feminism, a journey that may never end but is worth taking nonetheless.... what has happened to us?.... the girl as a species in serious crisis.... In the quest for education and career progress, the female graduates who seemed to have postponed important things like marriage and child bearing.... today I listen to the women of my generation mourning omissions for motherhood, the biological clock is ticking. Between education, career and motherhood, which is superior? Which of these can be sacrificed or postponed over the other? Which of these is of uttermost importance in life? This is the question that every woman should ask herself (Ngesa, 2007, p.1).

This chapter provides a preview of the findings resulting from data analysis. This abbreviated chapter will serve as a transition to Chapters 5 and 6, which are written as manuscripts to be submitted for publication. These findings reveal how the historical and continued neglect of Black women in academia continues to influence their lives and professional experiences. Moreover, the findings elucidate the conflict between the professional identity of Black women with their traditional and ethnic group identities in their local context. By comparing of the experiences of Black women working in in higher education in the US and South Africa, this study identified commonalities and differences described by the participants. These findings provide cross-cultural insight to the implications of carelessness and gender inequity as experienced by African American and South African Black women working in higher education.

Discussion of Major Findings

Interview transcripts and field notes served as the primary data set for this phenomenological study. The findings of this study were based on semi-structured interviews using the aforementioned open-ended interview protocol (Appendix A) to understand how the participants felt about intersection of race and gender and socio-

historical antecedents such as ethnic group, racism, and apartheid in their lives and career experiences, through the lenses of intersectionality and carelessness in higher education. The use of the semi-structured approach complemented the overarching research questions and enabled the participants to deeply reflect on experiences they could easily discuss (Creswell, 2009, p. 223). Thus, the semi-structured interviews provided the opportunity to ask probing and follow-up questions to obtain additional information from the participants about the essential meaning of their experiences (Seidman, 2006; Van Manen, 2011). Twelve participants were interviewed; five women working at public institutions in the U.S. and six women working at a four-year comprehensive public research university in South Africa. Each interview ranged from 1-2 hours, was tape recorded and later transcribed.

After transcription, I engaged in a hermeneutic process using the selective reading approach and semiotic discourse analysis to interpret the experiences of women in this study (cite). This process of total immersion involved perpetual movement between the data and sense-making reflective writing. Essentially, I read each of the transcripts several times, engaged in reflective writing, and then read the raw data again to divide data into meaningful sections by highlighting statements and phrases that were repetitive and seemed essential to the experiences being shared by the women in the study (Van Manen, 1990). These statements and phrases were then revisited in a process of phenomenological reduction which included "themeing the data" by labeling specific commonalities and differences with longer thematic statements that spoke to recurrent aspects described by the women (Saldana, 2009). Once the themes were identified, I used field notes and a researcher journal to make sense of the experiences shared by the

women in the study. Meaning was constructed through an iterative process of reading the raw data, using reflective writing to make meaning of the words used to signify the women's experiences, and integrating these interpretations by using examples from the transcripts.

Through analysis, several consistent themes emerged from the participant's descriptions of their lives and careers. The women in this comparative study were all socialized in different contexts with different social and cultural backgrounds in both the United States and South Africa. Their backgrounds included varied experiences with racism as it relates to xenophobia and apartheid in South Africa and racism in the United States as it relates to institutional and internal racism. In addition, each woman shared similar lived experiences that occurred as a result of being a woman. This intersection ultimately impacted their lives and leadership on campus and in their local context.

Collectively, the women described key figures and experiences within their contexts that impacted the life and career of a Black woman administrator at a university. All of the women discussed important constructs such as mentorship, family support, and religion as being integral to who they are as administrators in academia. Often these constructs were motivators and coping mechanisms that provided a system of support and guidance to the women. However, in many of their descriptions, these constructs were also symbols of the various roles the women negotiated personally and professionally as well. As previously mentioned, several women also described how the impact of their culture and the expectations of Black women in their context (in relation to antecedents such as ethnicity, racism, apartheid, and xenophobia) served as a normative glue, which kept them bound to projected social norms and expectations of Black women, even when

they fought to contest these gendered roles and beliefs. Both groups of participants described how their style of leadership, activism, or even perceived submissiveness, was often a result of being stereotyped, labeled, and marginalized due to being Black and a woman on their respective campuses.

Moreover, the women described the concept of carelessness almost casually in certain contexts. In South Africa, the women were very aware of the liberalized policies in motion at their institution, while the African American women seemed to be unaware of this new institutional culture significance, for the women in the U.S. there seemed to be an uncontested acceptance to the current institutional culture. The implicit "masculinist" nature of academia was not covert practice for the women in South Africa (Chisholm, 2001). For ZA participants, the care-less environments of their workplace was clearly expressed in various practices. The women discussed what they perceived to be care-less cultures in senior management, by expressing frustration with the fact that most of their senior management were men, who perpetuated gendered work and attitudes. In South Africa and the U.S., the women described the burden of care they felt as a result of being both Black and a woman. They discussed how they were often chosen to do care-work that oftentimes had nothing to do with their job description. Both groups of participants discussed how their male leadership selected them to become the default mentors and other mothers to colleagues and students. Moreover, the women in South Africa describe the frustration with having to cope with male supervisors (sometimes older women) who they felt could operate in a "care-free zone" (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). The women discussed various unspoken expectations of women in their departments in regard to their work and personal lives. The women

shared that they were often expected to work without time constraints, often working around the clock. They discussed how this demand on their time seemed ever-increasing, the higher they went professionally. Many of the women in both the US and South Africa, spoke about the challenges of balancing their home life with their work life while working with department heads who didn't consider these home responsibilities. The women also described the sacrifices and trade-offs they made as parents and wives; some women candidly spoke about the decisions to not be a mother or wife in order to climb their professional ladder. Moreover, the participant's also spoke about the pressure they felt to be accessible to their supervisor at all times in order to compete with their male counterparts. The women in collectively expressed frustration with the homogeny among top leadership, be it mostly White men in South Africa or majorly male or White female in the U.S. In all, the women openly discussed the implications of new managerial values and carelessness on their work and campus departments.

Furthermore, the women discussed the multiple identities personified in their professional work and communities that often overlap and contradict. In particular, the South African participants described the paradoxical lives as educational leaders in the university community and subdued wives and community members who must uphold ethnic group customs and traditions. Although the women contested some of these lingering beliefs about the feminized roles of women, they often grappled with how to balance these conflicting identities. The following synthesis discusses two major findings and concludes with an overview of all the findings from the study. In scholarly article format, the final two chapters of this dissertation will explore the major findings of this comparative study in greater detail.

Finding 1: The Ever-changing Wardrobe of the Black Woman Leader: Putting on the Dress of the University

Black women negotiate various roles and transitions as educational leaders on campus. Many of the women in this study described how they must assimilate to the cultural norms within their university, which are often projected expectations for women within their context, by their campus and community. Several participants explained how they effortlessly transitioned through the various roles prescribed to them as Black women in their community and as leaders on campus. These roles were often care roles they were expected to perform as a result of both their gender and race. Be it a mentor, care-taker, mother figure, or token, mutually, the women described how they assimilated to a certain identity that was expected by their campus and local community-- fluidly. The women described these transitions as if it were as easy as dressing themselves. Essentially, the women learned how to put on the dress of the university and their community. This first finding is a comparison of Black women's experiences as university administrators in the U.S. and in South Africa.

Acculturation and gender. In the U.S. and South Africa, the participants expressed how societal expectations of Black women influenced not only their personal lives, but also their work at the University. In speaking with many of the women, came the sense that they were confident in who they were as educational leaders and as Black women. However, they were well aware of how others perceived them on campus and in their community. Several women discussed the expectation of Black women to be strong, multidimensional "other mothers" in various aspects of life (Collins, 2000). The women perpetually discussed this idea of the "strong Black woman" who takes pride in being

herself; woman who does not need help, justice, or a voice. Through conversation, came the sense that the women developed the ability to negotiate various roles in their professional and home life as a result of dealing with these pre-conceived notions of who Black women are and what their place should be at work.

Moreover, in each interview the women described what was really a process of acculturation (La Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Several women described how they developed and absorbed an understanding of their respective organizational culture, specifically the gendered nature of their university and the various practices that resulted in the marginalization of Black women. While most of the women defined this negotiation of roles as a part of their professional persona, this attribute diverged from cultural myths and expectations of Black's women. Yet the women developed an innate ability to transition through the various roles prescribed to them. Ultimately, this ability proved critical to coping with many of the obstacles their race and gender created for them as educational leaders, such as tokenism, isolation, and serving as the "other mother" to students and colleagues. Some would argue that the multiple identities described and personified by the participants was indeed symbolic of conformity to the expectation of Black women. Conversely, others could view this flexibility as a clever coping mechanism for the women. Whether viewed as a coping mechanism or contradiction, this discrepancy between the professional role and personal roles of Black women revealed noteworthy obstacles for the both groups of women in this study.

Tokenism and silence. Several women also spoke about being silenced and labeled on campus. Many women voiced concern with being treated as tokens that have a seat at the table but not a voice in the decision-making. The women described these

experiences as metaphorically “getting all dressed up with nowhere to go.” Essentially, the women saw themselves as assets to their department and university. They had the credential and experience, yet their expertise, their voice, was unwanted and unsolicited. Often they were asked to sit on committees or even apply for positions because a “Black woman” was needed. Many participants described this as undermining them as leaders on campus, because they were often given titles but they lacked the authority to use the title when appropriate. In particular, many of the women in the U.S. described self-imposed censorship and silencing to avoid being labeled as assertive and angry. They were weary of the “angry black woman’ stereotype. Several participants described how they are threatened daily by the possibility of being perceived as aggressive, so they do not assert themselves in meetings and other situations in the workplace. Conversely

In all, the women spoke about the importance of being multidimensional and even described how they embraced the aforementioned complexities of being a Black woman educational leader. However, their acquired personas reveal just how significantly the patriarchal nature of the academy influences professional behavior and the responses of particular groups within the University. Moreover, the very notion of putting on the dress of the university helps to understand the unique experiences and positionality of Black women in academia. While they are categorized as *insiders* within the university, they are often made to feel as *outsiders* within the university community. As a result they are silenced, stereotyped and marginalized to care roles. The women in this study poignantly and perhaps unknowingly embodied what Collins (1998) describes as *outsider/within status*, a concept which asserts that the existence of social hierarchies create division in organization based gender and race.

Finding 2: Combatting Carelessness: Institutional Culture, Ethnic Group Expectations and the Black Woman in South African Higher Education Administration

Upon data analysis, a paradoxical picture was painted from the participant's description of their lives. The women described contrasting worlds in which they are campus leaders, some fighting for a seat at the table; while also being subdued wives and mothers who are expected to uphold ethnic group and cultural traditions. Markedly, the women all valued their ethnic tradition and had tremendous respect for African culture. However, their experiences also revealed an internal struggle to not conform to their society's expectations of Black women. In addition, we developed a sense that ethnic culture exacerbated the already gendered work experiences of the participants, who were already navigating liberalized institutional culture.

Furthermore, the women consistently expressed how overwhelming it was to be in constant transition form leader submissive. They described the constant pressure put on them by careless managers who didn't seem to understand them or the multiple identities they negotiated daily. Interestingly, these transitions and resulting identities created discord among Black women, prohibiting unity on campus, the development of supportive networks among the women and ultimately resulted in conflicting identities and behaviors that created additional obstacles for these women daily.

Conflicting identities. The issue of social and cultural expectation of Black women pervaded many of the discussions had with the women in this study. Particularly in South Africa, the women described the significant role ethnic customs and expectations played in their daily lives personally and professionally. In Thohoyandou,

South Africa the women of Venda are regionally known for their submissiveness. The meekness of Venda women is a custom that is much celebrated and expected of Venda women. Yet there is now social push back from the new generation of Venda women. Upon data analysis it became clear that there was a deep internal struggle where the SA women's traditional roles were held sacred but their evolution into modern (sometimes described as western) educational leaders created a perpetual identity crisis. Several women expressed the conflict in identity they undergo as a result of being Venda women working with Venda men on campus striving to be treated as equals. Among the South African participants the conflict of identity was much more salient, because of ethnic customs and practices. The women all expressed the dichotomous situation that stemmed from ingrained beliefs about the traditional role of women in their ethnic group.

The South African woman and the careless manager. Although many of the participants were leaders at their University, many women felt stifled by culture of carelessness. When asked about the concept of the carelessness, the women noted various experiences working with careless managers who demanded unconstrained time, high performance and those who seemed to have no regard for the already unique experiences of Black women on campus. In SA many of the women expressed the lack of women in senior administration. Interestingly, the South African women, who came from very docile traditional ethnic backgrounds, were strongly opposed to self-imposed silencing. The women described various instances in which they were assigned gendered tasks or disrespected for no other reason than their gender. Although the women used their status as educational leader to contest gendered work at home and work to varying degrees, several of the participants described how they were labeled as trouble makers and gender

activists by men as a result of merely asserting themselves in meetings. While the women contested certain demands, they also adhered and reproduced these gendered attitudes at work, In all, the participants have to balance institutional culture and ethnic culture that socially confines women by perpetuating homosociability and gendered beliefs about the roles of women; yet they still feel compel to honor these customs and traditions.

The "Pull her Down" Syndrome. The women expressed concern with the relationships between women on campus. The participants all described issues of ethnic conflict, which plays a significant role in creating division among Black women on campus. This was often discussed along with the women's frustration with the majority of their supervisors being male. Subsequently, the women described persisting difficulties with being advanced at their university under this homogenous leadership. As a result, there was a sense that the demands of new managerial practices and policies caused unwanted competition among women on campus, which aggravated existing ethnic conflict among women. Several of the women described how Black women on campus competed with each other. However, the women all expressed abhorrence for the "Pull Her Down" syndrome in which Black women appear to be incessantly competing against one another in the workplace for limited leadership roles. Thus they are unsupportive of each other on campus and fractured instead of unified in order to created change (Mabokela, 2003). This competition among colleagues can be attributed to new managerial policies and the ideals of carelessness.

Conclusion

In all, the findings of this comparative study were vast, several consistent aspects of the participants lives emerged upon analysis. The participants described key

experiences in their lives that help to first understand their position as Black women working in academia in order to develop cross-cultural insight into the implications of carelessness and gender inequity as experienced by African American and South African Black women. The findings included the women's descriptions about expectations associated with being a Black woman in their local context, stereotypes and myths associated with being a Black woman in their local context. Other consistencies included the women's descriptions about the importance of having multiple personal and professional networks as well as frustration with not having enough of the latter. In addition, the participant's discussed characteristics they developed as a response to imposed social norms and negatives myths concerning Black women.

Moreover, the women mutually described how these projected expectations resulted in conflicting identities and paradoxical circumstances at work and at home. The women also described experiences with salary inequities, isolation, and being relegated to care-giving roles on campus. Several of the South African participants described the continued significance of ethnic discrimination and how comparison with Western efforts is used to inhibit measures of gender equity in South Africa. While many, these findings indicate the continued use of race and gender to marginalize women in academia.

A Look Ahead

The remaining two chapters of this dissertation will be in article format. Each manuscript will discuss the aforementioned two major findings in greater detail. The two journal article will be written to meet specifications for submission to medium impact scholarly journals that focus on gender and international comparative education. In addition, international education conference presentations will be developed from the two

manuscripts. My dissertation chair, Dr. Ane Turner Johnson, will be listed as co-author on both manuscripts. A complete reference list that includes citations from chapters one through four and the manuscripts conclude this dissertation.

Chapter 5

The Ever-changing Wardrobe of the Black Woman Leader: Putting on the Dress of the University

Abstract

The purpose of this phenomenological study was to explore and compare the lived, career experiences of Black women higher education administrators in the U.S. and South Africa. Specifically, this comparative study was preformed to illuminate these women's experiences while giving voice to Black women, whose experiences and status are often further marginalized under new managerial practices. This research used the theoretical lenses of intersectionality and *carelessness*, a new managerial practice within higher education, to uncover the challenges, opportunities, and contexts experienced by these women within gendered, racialized organizational structures and practices. A major finding of the research is that Black women shared many commonalities in their lived and professional experiences, despite context. Constructs such as cultural, organizational, and community expectations informed their career paths and lived experience, while also playing an integral role in the participant's developing malleable extensions of their identity. The participants effortlessly transitioned through the various roles prescribed to them as Black women in their community and as leaders on campus, to help them cope and persevere in highly gendered cultures and institutions.

Keyword**s:** Higher Education, South Africa, women, carelessness, phenomenology

A historical consideration of women in academia reveals a narrative blemished by patriarchy and systemic discrimination against women (Cohen & Kisker, 2010). In general, all women deal with inequality in the workplace, which often manifests as discriminatory practices such as salary inequity, lack of promotion and/or opportunities within the organization and marginalization of their roles (Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Ridgeway 2001). Collectively, these challenges are often referred to as the effects of the glass ceiling (Purcell, MacArthur & Samblanet, 2010). Moreover, there is a growing body of literature that suggests disparity in equal opportunities and outcomes for women in higher education, transnationally (Blackmore & Sachs, 2000; Bunyi, 2006; Healy, Bradley, & Forson, 2011; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Lynch, 2010, Lynch, Grummell & Devine, 2012; Mabokela, 2003; Manya, 2006; Morley, 2010; Onsongo, 2005). Women working at academic institutions are more likely to be relegated to the domestic/care work of their institution, meaning they are often concentrated in care-giving roles such as counseling, mentoring, advising, and teaching (Lynch, 2010). Moreover, Black women are disproportionately placed in "dead-end" positions in academia (Holmes, 2003; Belk, 2006). These positions are usually found in areas such as multicultural affairs, minority affairs, and equal opportunity offices where the women are expected to act as *other mothers* to students, mentors, community servants, and various other care giving roles outside of their job description (Belk, 2006; Collins, 2001). Scholars agree that women and minorities are significantly more likely to be hired for positions held by members of their own group in the past (Belk, 2006). However, their culture and values are not considered relevant in academe.

This historical practice is exacerbated by the current culture of higher education in which new managerial practice such as, *homosociability,* is reproduced and promoted , idealizing the prototypical employee as “careless” or someone without ties or responsibilities that could limit his/her capacity to work (Deem, 1998, Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012). The present culture of carelessness also facilitates an academic environment in which emotional thought and feeling is expected to be separate from academic work and performance (Lynch, 2006; Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012). As a result, unrealistic performance measures have been instituted in academia. Employees are expected to be accessible and able to work 24/7. Moreover, as employees move up the professional ladder, there is greater expectation to be care-less. Essentially, there is no limit to professional work and commitments, which has significant implications for women’s’ personal responsibilities.

This culture of work most affects women by excluding the multidimensional roles and needs of women, who are often the primary care-givers professionally and personally. Women now must endure the restraints of both the glass ceiling and what has now been termed the “care ceiling” by higher education researchers (Lynch, 2008). The current culture of carelessness along with the longstanding issues of inequity for women, reveal the inherently gendered nature of higher education institutions, its policies, practices, and structure and has implications for the growth of women in leadership within academe.

Further, very few studies explore the experiences and leadership of women at institutions of higher education. Even fewer explore the experiences and leadership of Black women in academia (Zulu, 2003). It is difficult to even identify the total number

of Black women in the United States who work in higher education administration because the related theoretical and empirical body of work is sporadic (Belk, 2006; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Holmes, 2003, 2008; Moses, 1997; Wolfman, 1997). Much like African American women, South African women in higher education, are largely absent in research about gender and academic work in higher education (Bhana & Pillay, 2012). While all women deal with the aforementioned discriminatory practices in academia, Black women face very unique inequities as a result of the intersection of race and gender. These inequalities include a multitude of issues that expand beyond their gender to include issues of tokenism, isolation, racism, and marginalization.

The purpose this study was to comparatively explore the lived, career experiences of African American and South African women who work in midcareer administrator positions within higher education. We sought to explore the implications of the intersection of gender and the local context of the women (i.e., race, colonialism, and ethnicity), in light of new managerial practices and policies, using hermeneutic phenomenology. Upon analysis, several consistent aspects of the participant's lives emerged. Each woman described how they developed malleable extensions of her personality to transition through the various roles prescribed to them as Black women leaders on campus, in their home, or in their local community. Collectively, the women described how they seamlessly transitioned through various roles such as mother, wife, and head of department, mentor or community leader. In listening to their stories, the women spoke about transitioning between the various roles in their lives as if it were as simple as getting dressed. The women often described the negotiation of their roles using word such as capes, hats and dresses to describe the transition between varying

occupational roles and personal responsibilities. We likened their descriptions to an ever-changing wardrobe the women entered in order to put on the dress of the university, community, or family. Each dress signified the extension of oneself needed to perform the participant's various roles and responsibilities as it related to their gender and role in higher education.

The Careless Manager: Gender and New Managerialism in Academia

Institutions of higher education have always been deeply gendered in both their practices and outcomes (Acker, 2008; Bailyn, 2003; Deem, 2003; Saunderson, 2002). However, over the last two decades, the culture of higher education has changed (Lynch, 2010). Neoliberal policies, economic conditions, and government interventions have transformed the culture of work at institutions of higher education (Deem, 1998; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). In fact, many feminist scholars have documented the influence of neoliberal policies on women in higher education (Blackmore, 1999, 2002; Blackmore & Sachs, 2000; Deem, 2003; Deem & Orgza; 2000; Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2009; Morley, 1999; Stanley, 1997). These scholars report that neoliberal policies, economic conditions, and government intervention have changed the way in which work is performed at institutions of higher education to allow practices that are commonplace in the private sector, to be used in public institutions of higher education, creating a quasi-market led by a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge (Deem, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Lynch 2006, Lynch et al., 2012). Under new managerialism, faculty and administrators are driven by efficiency, external accountability and monitoring, and special emphasis is placed on financial returns (Lynch, 2006; Lynch, et al., 2012). In all, new managerial ideals promote an academic

environment that places extreme value on long work hours, strong competitiveness, intense organizational dedication and the ongoing measurement of performance of both students and staff by creating an expectation of unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from employees, both male and female (Deem, 2003; Lynch, 2010).

What is particularly different about new managerialism in higher education is the importance it ascribes to the culture of carelessness in academia. The concept of the "care-free" academic is not a new phenomenon in higher education because the hierarchal and patriarchal practices of universities have long promoted and praised the care-free worker who has no ties or responsibilities that will hinder his or her productive capacities (Lynch, 2010). However, these care-free workers are still disproportionately men. Moreover, the hidden pressures of the performance driven environment of new managerialism create a system that is absence of care for employees (Lynch, et al., 2012). Under new managerialism, the care-less manager perpetuates unrealistic expectations for employees, particularly women, who are already at a disadvantage because of their gender and the patriarchal traditions of academia that new managerialism perpetuates (Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012). Subsequently, gender disparity is reproduced as a result of these new managerial practices which perpetuate the old standards of patriarchy with its implicit doxa of homosociability, which ensures that men of like mind hold the majority of the more strategic leadership roles in education and establishing a care ceiling for women (Lynch, et al., 2012).

The care ceiling symbolizes how women are now relegated into marginalized professional roles like counselors or advisors, where they are relegated to being the

nurturers of their organizations. Moreover, women are the extemporized individuals responsible for providing a “soft touch”, due to social expectations regarding gender (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). Thus, women still cope with gender-based discrimination in academia today. However, it is manifested differently through the care ceiling. As a result of the care ceiling, women deal with isolation, a lack of mentorship, lack of promotion and salary inequity, among other challenges (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012).

Intersectionality in Higher Education: Not Just a Domestic Issue

Black women in higher education are marginalized in ways not experienced by other women in academia due to *intersectionality* (Collins, 1998, 2000). Integral to this study, the theory of intersectionality, posits that “systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization, which shape Black women’s experiences” (Collins, 2000, p. 299). Consequently, Black women at universities and colleges across the United States face a multitude of issues that extend beyond gender. Despite great advances in access, African American women still find themselves working in academic environments they perceive as chilly (Vaccaro, 2010). This perception of a chilly climate refers to the lack of acceptance which typically results in a lack of respect and/or challenges to the authority and competence of Black women (Belk, 2006; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Moses, 1989; Mosley, 1980; Sandler, 1991; Vaccaro, 2010). While Black women in academic institutions have different beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences they are intrinsically connected because of their struggle to be respected, accepted, and to have a voice at their institution (Collins, 2000; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998;

Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Therefore, while Black women do not share a homogenous existence, it is fair to say they share a common struggle that is not shared by women who are not minorities, which is to rise above the "ideological hegemony that silences their voices and prevents full participation in all facets of society and education in the United States" (Collins, 2001, p. 93; Holmes, 2003).

Black Women in the United States

Like most women in the workplace, Black women are faced with general challenges of gender inequity, balancing career and family, performing the domestic/care work of their institutions, and salary disparities. However, they also deal with isolation, tokenism, and racism in the academy (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Greene, 2000; Moses, 1989). Black women struggle with the stresses of being an administrator, in addition to often being perhaps the only Black woman in their department, office, or senior management (Collins, 2001). This creates a perpetual feeling of isolation and loneliness. The isolation faced by Black women in the academy leads to stress, feelings of invisibility and insecurity, and the perception that they are voiceless at their institutions also known as *outsider within* status (Collins, 2001;Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Mosley, 1980; Rusher, 1996).

Further, as a result of their isolated environment and sometimes at the behest of their organizations, Black women often take on duties outside of their professional roles such as mentoring other Black women or the Black students on campus. Often Black

women must assume the position of the “other mother’’, which is a care-giving role that Black women are forced to perform (Collins, 1998). In this role they serve as surrogate mothers to students. As a result of these added responsibilities as mentors and other mothers, Black women often juggle their other professional responsibilities, which lead to having less time to commit to other career obligations (Belk, 2006; Collins, 1998; Sandler 1991). While dated, the limited scholarly research on Black women in academia reveals that the gendered work of new managerialism and carelessness is not a new phenomenon for Black women. For many Black women in academia, there is no one to share experiences with or with whom to identify. A seminal study on Black women in academia poignantly described the Black woman administrator as an alien in a promised land; obscure, unwelcome, and unwanted (Moses, 1989). The paucity of current literature indicates this observation remains true. The status of Black women in academia has not changed in the last 25 years. Thus, while all women face gender discrimination, the unique experiences of Black women warrants further review of their experiences and current status within the current culture of higher education based on the intersection of race and gender.

Black Women in South Africa

Relatively little has been written about the lived and career experiences of women administrators in African countries. The available research echoes the revelation that like African American Black women, sub-Saharan African Black women often work in environments that may cause them to experience challenges, such as racism, sexism, isolation, and tokenism (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Dunne et al., 2006; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Kiamba,

2008; Mabokela, 2001, 2003). Much like African American women, Black women working in South Africa, cope with the stresses of being a double minority (Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Mabokela, 2003). However, Black women in South Africa must also deal with traditional African cultural expectations, which relegate their existence to being good mothers and good wives (Kamau, 2004; Onsongo, 2005, Mabokela, 2003; Manya, 2000). Subsequently, the gender gap in education is more pronounced in poorer countries like sub-Saharan Africa (Johannes, 2010; Mabokela, 2003; Singla, 2006).

As educational leaders in Africa, women face challenges of ethnicity, religion, class, national origin and ethnicity (Johnson, 2014). Moreover, the academic environment for South African Black women is often hostile due to gender-based violence and sexual harassment (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne et al., 2006; Johnson, 2014; Morley, 2010). Women in South Africa are relegated to the sidelines, professionally, because of the "masculinist enterprise" of leadership (Chisholm, 2001). South African Black women face challenges in taking leadership positions, including barriers related to culture and cultural expectations; the choice and/or balancing of work and family, and the stress that accompanies positions of leadership as experienced differently by men and women (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Bets, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008). Perhaps, there is no other society in the world that strongly emphasizes that women stay in their reserved employment positions such as African society (Johannes, 2010).

Scholars maintain that African Black women carry a dual burden that affects their freedom to operate and articulate issues; they must pursue their academic careers, while meeting traditional and ethnic obligations as well (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000). The challenges and irrationalities for Black women in the academy are so severe that women administrators at a university in South Africa refer to themselves as the "donkeys of the university", a symbol for their roles as managers with challenging responsibilities and a lack of accompanying respect (Mabokela, 2003). The highly gendered attitude toward women's roles in South Africa significantly impacts the culture of the university in Africa. Subsequently, this restricts how women serve the institution and perpetuates gender inequity (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000).

Black Women in the Academy

There are commonalties, transnationally, among Black women in academia, as a result of persisting challenges of inequality in higher education. Both groups of women experience challenges that stem from gender inequality (i.e. salary inequity and hiring and promotion), racism (i.e. isolation, stereotyping, and tokenism) and other antecedents such as career and family issues, socio-cultural values, and beliefs and practices (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi & Osirium, 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne, Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Humphreys & Leach, 2006; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johannes, 2010; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Nichols &

Tanksley, 2004; Mabokela, 2003; Mosley, 1980; Rathgeber, 2003; Rusher, 1996; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001).

Black women educational leaders operate in a "paradigm of patriarchy" in which they are forced to conform to expectations of Black women in their local context, leaving them silenced and marginalized (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Morley, 2010; Mabokela, 2003). Daily women deal with the manifestations of the long standing inequality of systems within higher education where positions of power are disproportionately held by White men in higher education (Lynch, 2010). The multiple identities and the intersection of these identities create complex realities for Black women and often make their experience in the field of higher education challenging and vastly different than those of Black men and White men and women.

Manifestations of gender inequality continue to persist for women administrators in higher education. "A discussion of higher education leadership and gender is important because academia is a central site of cultural practice, identity formation, and symbolic control" (Odhiambo, 2011, p. 669). The following sections expand upon how the women in this study described themselves as having multiple identities at work and in their home. Using the concept of an ever-changing wardrobe, we explain how the women selected the extension of themselves needed to transition through various personal and professional roles daily; essentially, the women compartmentalized aspects of themselves in order to adapt to the expectations of their personal or professional environment.

Research Methods and Questions

The purpose this study was to comparatively explore the lived, career experiences of African American and South African women who work in mid-level administrator

positions within higher education. We sought to explore the implications of the intersection of gender and the local context of the women (i.e., race, colonialism, and ethnicity), in light of new managerial practices and policies, using hermeneutic phenomenology. This phenomenological approach allows researchers to expand on their findings by both describing and interpreting the meaning of participants' lived experiences through guided existential refection (Englander, 2012; van Manen, 1990). The study was guided by the following questions:

1. How do African American and South African mid-level Black women administrators describe the influence of the careless phenomenon on their professional and life experiences?
2. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and their local context in their career path?
3. How do Black women describe the intersection of gender and socio-historical antecedents in their personal lives?
4. How do Black women's experiences as higher education administrators converge and compare across contexts?

Participants

The participants in this study were eleven mid-level administrators, with titles ranging from Head of Department/ Director, Associate or Assistant Director and Dean. Phenomenological research is depth research not breadth research, which focuses on whether the participants have had the experience we are seeking to understand, instead of *how many* have had the experience (Englander, 2012). All of participants worked at four-year public comprehensive institutions in the United States and South Africa. Each

woman was employed in the Northeast region of the United States, while the South African women hailed from various Tsonga and Xhosa speaking provinces in South Africa. Table 2 includes the women's aliases, title, country of origin, and level of education.

Table 2

Participant Characteristics

Alias	Country	Marital Status	Education	Title
Hadassah	USA	Single	MA	Assistant Director
Esther	USA	Single	MA	Assistant Director
Ruth	USA	Single	MA	Director
Mary	USA	Married	PHD	Director
Deborah	USA	Married	PHD	Dean
Athaliah	South Africa	Divorced	PHD	Director/HOD
Azubah	South Africa	Widowed	MA	Director
Eunice	South Africa	Married	PHD	Director
Naomi	South Africa	Widowed	MA	Assistant Director
Lutendo	South Africa	Married	MS	Director
Naamah	South Africa	Single	MA	Assistant Director

These women were purposefully selected based on their race, gender, mid-level role within their university, and their willingness to participate in the study. This study did not take into account the wide variances in response that may have been received

from other groups of women in different regions in Africa or different states within the U.S. The participants were specifically and intentionally mid-level Black female administrators because they are underrepresented at senior level higher education administrator positions and are highly concentrated in mid-level and lower-level positions within academia (Banner, 2003; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Scott, 2003; Taylor, 2000).

The interviews took place in October 2014 at North Jersey Regional University and in February 2015 at South African Regional University. We used non-probabilistic, purposeful sampling, consistent with a qualitative methodology, to locate participants for this study. We began by identifying Black women administrators on campus. We then employed snowball sampling; a technique by which a researcher starts with a small sample and then seeks more participants through interactions and references with the initial group of participants (Patton, 2002). Each interview ranged from 1-2 hours, was tape recorded, and later transcribed.

Data Collection

Interviews. Interviews serve a very specific and integral role in hermeneutic phenomenology (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007). The instruments of data collection in this study were semi-structured interviews, field notes, and a researcher journal. These strategies were chosen because they were congruent with the philosophical framework of the research paradigm and methodology, and allowed us to explore the participant's lived experiences. Each interview progressed as a conversation with purpose using a hermeneutic lens, which allowed us to build rapport with the women while obtaining a detailed description of their lives through their personal reflection (Rossman and Rallis,

2003; Van Manen, 1990). We used the responsive approach to ask the participants to reflect on their lives and career paths, to explain their various commitments and work and at home, and to describe their experiences as a Black woman. We also used probes and follow up questions to elicit more detail from the participants and to explore ideas that emerged in the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The interviews and subsequent field notes provided access to the context of the participant's behaviors, thereby providing a way for us to better understand and interpret the meaning of the participant behaviors and experiences (Seidman, 2007).

Each was in conversation format focused on directing instead of leading the participant. We explored and gathered stories of lived experiences of the participants by requesting more information on specific events and descriptions of situations (Englander, 2012; Giorgi 2009). While there is no prescriptive quality to a good interview, scholars agree that there is one specific criterion to adhere to, which is: "what one seeks from a research interview in phenomenological research is as complete a description as possible of the experience that a participant has lived through" (Englander, 2012; Giorgi, 2009, p. 122).

Field notes. Researchers recommend that researchers use overlapping methods in order to enable measures of trustworthiness in their research. As a result, we kept descriptive and analytical field notes to help improve interpretations and assertions from the interviews. The use of field notes is another method of triangulation within research (Glesne, 2006). Throughout our field work, we wrote notes that documented descriptive and analytic comments about what we saw, heard, experienced, and thought during the interviews. For this study, field notes were used as a critical examination of the ideas that

emerged in relation to the research and protocol questions. These notes also contained reflections and insights related to emerging data from the research. Essentially, any observable evidence of the participants' reasoning and tactics used to communicate how they made meaning of their experiences, were recorded in the field notes.

Researcher journal. We also used a researcher journal as a method of data collection. The researcher journal was used as a tool of reflexivity and a measure of trustworthiness. Janesick (1999) recommends that qualitative researchers incorporate journal writing into the research process to provide a data set of the researcher's reflections on the research. Our researcher journal consisted of personal notes and a detailed chronological account of the participants in their local context, including other people present during the time of the interview. The journal was also a record of our emerging questions about the data and tentative answers to those questions. It also documented the connections we made between the data and the literature on the topic. "Journal writing allows one to reflect, to dig deeper if you will, into the heart of the words, beliefs, and behaviors ... it allows one to reflect on the tapes and interview transcripts from our research endeavors...it is a type of member check of one's own thinking done on paper" (Janesick, 1999, p. 513).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using phenomenological and hermeneutic principles, as well as scholarly recommendations on systematic methods to interpret phenomenological data (Ajjawii & Higgs, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 2005; Saldana, 2009; Van Manen, 1990). Therefore, the analytical methods used were specific to this research design, but we also drew on interpretive analysis paradigms in order to

maintain accuracy with the participant's personal narrative. The convergence of phenomenological, hermeneutical, and interpretive strategies resulted in a six-step process of analysis, which began with multiple readings of transcripts to immerse ourselves in the life world of the participants, which then led to the generation of themes using the selective reading approach and semiotic discourse analysis, which is a linguistic based analysis in which the researcher relies on finding meaning in the context alone by identifying specific meaning in connection with concrete examples in the text (Berger, 2004; van Manen, 1990). Throughout data analysis, there was ongoing interpretation in order to maintain faithfulness to the participant's personal narrative (Lincoln & Guba, 2005).

Findings

Several consistent themes emerged from the participant's descriptions of their lives and careers. The women in this comparative study were all socialized in different contexts with different social and cultural backgrounds in both the United States and South Africa. However, each woman described key figures and experiences within her context that impacted her life and career as a Black woman administrator at her respective university. All of the women discussed important constructs such as mentorship, family support, and religion as being integral to who they are as administrators in academia and as Black women. Often these constructs were motivators and coping mechanisms that provided a system of support and guidance to the women. However, in many of their descriptions, it became clear that these constructs were also symbols of the various roles the women negotiated personally and professionally. In listening to their stories, we began to understand that the women transitioned through

each of these constructs seamlessly by compartmentalizing aspects of themselves in order to adapt to what was needed of them in a given situation, whether that was in the home, at work, or in their community.

The Quick Change: Dynamic Identities

Collectively, the women described how they adapted to the cultural norms within their university by negotiating various roles, often socially prescribed expectations for women within their context. Several participants explained how they effortlessly transitioned through the various roles prescribed to them as Black women in their community and as leaders on campus. These roles were often care roles they were expected to perform as a result of both their gender and race. Be it a mentor, care-taker, mother figure, or token member, the women described how they effortlessly assimilated to the identity that was expected by their campus and local community. Deborah an academic dean in the U.S. explained:

> So it's like in every meeting and situation I am putting on a new hat—a different hat and by the end of the day I'm exhausted... And then at the end of the day I go home to be a wife and mother. So I need to put on yet another hat…you know they [her family] haven't seen you and so they want the best of you, not the exhausted you.

Speaking about her experiences as a South African university administrator, Athaliah frustratingly expressed:

> The reality of our context is that we are expected to be superwoman with a few capes. You are supposed to be in that committee and that committee—oh we need a woman there to do this or do that, so you switch your cape and you do it.

The women spoke of transitioning between the various roles within their professional and personal life effortlessly, as if it were as simple as getting dressed. In many of the interviews the women used words such as hats, capes, or masks to describe their leadership and role negotiations. The different hats and dresses represented the women fulfilling expectations to be *other mothers* at work, the token Black women on a committee, or the switch from being a department head to a doting wife and/or mother. The descriptions provided by the women likened their experiences at work and home to an ever-changing wardrobe of which the women actively selected which dress or hat they needed to wear in order to perform their various roles and responsibilities. Moreover, the development of a dynamic identity in the workplace emerged as a tool of empowerment and foundation to the women's sense of agency. Essentially, these varying extensions of the women's identity allowed them to negotiate and accept their socially prescribed roles both personally and professionally. These fluctuating identities illustrate the often intersecting identities of Black women and their ability to voluntarily assimilate to the gendered norms on campus and in society.

What (Not) to Wear: Selective Acculturation

In both the U.S. and South Africa, the participants consistently discussed cultural and social expectations of Black women. Some of the expectations were derived from African culture and traditions, while many of them came from stereotypes and myths about Black women. In speaking with many of the women, it was clear that they were confident in who they were as educational leaders and as Black women. However, they were well aware of how others perceived them on campus and in their community. Several women discussed the expectation of Black women on campus to be strong,

multidimensional other mothers in various aspects of life (Collins, 2000). Collectively, the women seemed exasperated with the expectation of care that is placed on women in the workplace. Esther, an administrator in the US, described how she is often called on to be mother figures to students, while her male colleagues are not:

> So they always ask me to be the one. I guess it's because they think women have this maternal instinct and female students to them [men] have a whole other set of challenges they can't deal with. So compared to my male counterparts, I am called on more. So any time any student is having a social or family problem and they're looking for that nurturing type of support, that's when they call on me. I'm expected.

Naamah, A South African administrator working in university residential services adds her frustration with her department's unequal division of gendered work between men and women:

> It's not a 50-50 job that we're doing…our work [as women] comes with a heavier load and this is not looked into… because we get told you're a woman, you understand the challenges that women face. The amount of work that we have is- it's a lot [compared to men].

In listening to the women's experiences we see how patriarchal views created gendered work assignments for women in the workplace. Their words are indicative of the gendered environments which relegate women to the care work of their organizations (Lynch, 2010). The women all discussed this myth of the "strong Black woman" who takes pride in being herself, one who does not need help, justice, or a voice. In each interview it as clear the women had a strong sense of self and cultural identity. But each

woman described how their sense of self became muted in light of society's expectations of Black women. As a result, the women underwent multiple transitions to adapt to how other's expected them to be at work at home. Although these transitions, helped the women negotiate their various roles and responsibilities, these behaviors were also indicative of gender performance. Often the women unwittingly described behaviors the reinforced gendered norms and gender work. It became clear that socially constructed expectations of women influenced the participant's behaviors as well. Speaking of gender expectations of African women Naomi, a South African financial aid officer, noted:

> You know culturally, when you are —if you're an African woman, there are those things that you are not supposed to do; you're not supposed to say. You're not supposed to be.

Sometimes the women unknowingly reproduced attitudes and expectation about gendered work. For example, after expressing her disdain for gendered work, Naamah expressed:

> We realize [the work load] is 60-40…but in your heart, you're happy, like okay we're trying to take care of the girls, and girls have more emotional issues, some students have more familial issues and some, they just fall pregnant…so it's never going to be equal.

Further, Esther, A Student affairs administrator in the U.S., spoke passionately about her various experiences with helping roles within the university as related to gender expectations:

> A lot of the positons similar to yours and mine are filled with women, but I think that goes back to our nurturing side. You know, not to bash men, but it's more of a woman's nature to take these roles… I want to be that that person they call back

> and say, you know what Ms. Esther, really motivated me…So I still kept my roles as a counselor, but I added all these administrative roles that sometimes take you away from that role.

Speaking of the role of South African women and ethnic customs, Naamah, explains how she transitions from what she perceives to be western culture to her ethnic cultural in certain meetings, because there are certain expectations of African women:

> I am really outspoken you know so if we are in meetings and according to my function. I need to fully represent myself…but then it looks like this woman is challenging this man. I have a bit of Western culture because I kind of stayed more in the white people's environment when I was young, so I got exposed more to that side. So I've got my [Ethnic group] culture and my western culture, so within my culture when you're addressing people, especially as a woman, you have to be submissive. You are not head on with them. You're a woman, so in the end you must submit. So you're forced to change, you know look down, if you're looking him the eye you're showing disrespect.

A closer look at these transitions reveals that the women sublimated parts of themselves to adapt to their work environment. Describing the challenges she faces Deborah, as a college dean, explained:

> As women we have to be able to navigate these multiple identities particularly in a context where people have preconceived notions of what women should be doing…I have to explain why I'm in this space and some of the decisions I make because I am a woman…men don't get asked these questions--sometimes I get tired of having to justify my presence.

Collectively, the women described behaviors that were essentially a process of selective acculturation. La Fromboise, et. al (1993) define acculturation as changes that groups and individuals undergo when they come into contact with a new culture. It important to note that the shift from one cultural orientation to another can be selective and the individuals involved can decide what elements of their culture they wish to surrender and what cultural elements they want to incorporate from the new culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003). What's both significant and integral about this aspect of acculturation is that while individuals give up their old culture to adapt to the new, they are never fully accepted by the new culture which perpetuates dominance of the new culture over the old. Moreover, even after cultural competence is developed, the acculturated group or individual is still viewed as a minority group member with second class status (La Fromboise et al., 1993).

This definition brings to mind various statements made by the women in this study, there stories describe how they were essentially forced to adapt to their environment, only to continue to be at the margin. For example, explaining her daily struggle to be heard at her university, Naamah said, "So I fight for me to be in the situation [to have her voice heard at her university] and I realize I struggle a lot… I get marginalized and I get victimized actually a lot." Esther described how she struggles between the double burden of being African American and woman.

> If you asked me which one has greater impact on my life, I can't say. Sometimes I say being Black truly affects me more than being a woman, because where I work they see me as Black before they see me as a woman. When they describe me the first thing they say is Black or African American, not a woman, but when they pay me they see me as a woman.

Several of the participant's described experiences indicative of acculturation (La Fromboise et al., 1993). From the participant's descriptions, came an understanding of how the women first developed an understanding of their respective organizational culture, specifically, the socially prescribed expectation of women at their university that result in the gendered work and marginalization of women at the University. For example, Eunice, a…., explains how she felt obligated to perform gendered work:

> I would say I am sensitized into playing a given role, because I am a woman, because that's how I was raised and that's what's expected of women. So I am the secretary if the man needs it or I am the mother if a student needs it, even when I must lead my staff.

The women then negotiated which elements of their identity they were willing to compartmentalize through a process of transitioning throughout their day. Metaphorically, the women undergo a process of selecting which dress, hat, or mask they will wear hourly. While most of the women defined this negotiation of roles as merely a part of their professional persona, it became clear that this process of transitioning was really a specialized effort that confirmed the unique experiences of Black women in a culture of carelessness. Ultimately, this ability proved critical to coping with many of the obstacles that carelessness and their race and gender created for them as educational leaders.

The Invisible Dress: Tokenism, Silence, and Carelessness

Several women also spoke about being silenced and labeled on campus. Many women voiced concern with being treated as tokens that have a seat at the table but not a voice in the decision-making. Figuratively, the women are getting all dressed up with

nowhere to go. Often they were asked to sit on committees or even apply for positions because a "Black woman" was needed. Many participants described this as undermining them as leaders on campus, because they were often given titles but they lacked the authority to use the title when appropriate. These experiences speak to Black women's continued marginalization on college campuses.

Although, the women the women's stories spoke to the importance of being multidimensional, their acquired personas reveal just how significantly the patriarchal nature of the academy influences professional behavior and the responses of particular groups within the University. While the women were categorized as *insiders* within the university, they were often made to feel as *outsiders* within the university community. As a result they are silenced, stereotyped and marginalized to care roles. The women in this study poignantly and perhaps unknowingly embodied what Collins (1998) describes as outsider/within status, a concept which asserts that the existence of social hierarchies create division in organization based gender and race. Naamah captures this when she spoke about how South African women are stereotyped and undermined as leaders on campus:

> I get marginalized and I get victimized actually a lot. If I put forth a policy or enforce a policy and if something goes wrong, then it's my fault for no other reason than because I am a woman

Speaking of her experiences with being silenced on campus, Athaliah added:

> I work with men in very senior positions and the kind of feedback and comments that I find, the kind of emails that I sometimes get when I am just trying to get people in order it's so insulting. It's 'don't be emotional about it' or 'You're

> making a big deal out of nothing.' Or I am just being ignored like I don't exist. One of the biggest headaches that I have from men is that they hardly acknowledge my input.

The inability to assert themselves in the workplace out of fear of being labeled as trouble makers or evoking the notion of the "angry black woman" often resulted in self-imposed censorship and isolation of Black women in academia creating a suppressive environment in which the women' s voice was not heard. Thornton (2014) warns of the increasingly toxic and unhealthy workplaces that are created by neoliberal policy and practice. While Morley (2015) discusses how the neoliberal academy "reinforces particular masculinities, producing virility culture which values people in relation to how much money they make - the homo economicus" (p.5). For the women in this study, these consequences of new managerial practices are profoundly influencing their institutional culture.

Hadassah, a financial aid administrator, described how she consciously fights to not be labeled as the "angry black woman'' to the extent that she chooses to wear a mask of silence professionally:

> I want to be respected in the regard that what I have to say is important and it is of value... But I am not valued. And, when I have tried to assert myself I'm called combative. So am I going to be risk being labeled as combative? No I'd rather just not speak.

While many of the women didn't address carelessness directly, in describing the expectations of their work environment as related to the complexities of being women, many women discussed various tenets of carelessness. Lutendo, a South African

administrator, discussed her struggles with balancing her home life and the expectations of her office:

> It's very challenging, and it's very difficult, men can work up to late in the office and not worry about children's homework, what's for dinner. I don't know about the US but here, I have to see that I manage the house, my department and chase things like money [fundraising for her department]. But with him [her supervisor] when he knocks off, that's it. Me, when I knock off here, I'm reporting for duty at home…I remember there was a time when my daughter would say, 'Don't apply for this director position mama, you better choose whether you want to be the mama or director'.

Athaliah described her typical day, explaining how her work expectations resulted in her being given housing closer to the university:

> It's supposed to be an 8am to 5pm, but everybody knows that doesn't happen because they usually call us to formal meetings all day. So I always end up leaving the office after 8:00pm— sometimes after 10 pm. So for that reason I had to make accommodations closer to the vicinity because it wasn't working for me to drive that late to the village. And you know no one asked why you have to work that late— they just made the accommodations.

Naomi expressed her frustration with the demands on her personal time, by adding:

> There is some kind of attitude…there are these managers who are like — when they want you to do something, they want it now. Irrespective of what you have been doing before they ask you —they want it now. And sometimes they even call you outside of working hours, expecting that by Monday at 8:00 am you

> would have brought what they want. And as a woman you could be home, I could be with my children; I could be ministering at my church. They don't observe your quality time.

The experiences of the women in this study shed light on the implications of carelessness. Their stories reveal current culture in academia and how it further marginalizes Black women. In all, the women in the study described their womanhood and race as intersecting identities with roles that are often overlapping. This intersectionality of their womanhood, and race, along with the demands of their career and personal life, resulted in the development of dynamic personalities to negotiate the various roles expected of Black women in their local context, which were created by the culture of carelessness in their work environment and their awareness of these additional expectations required of Black women. We were left with a sense that the women were proud of they were as Black women and their ability to transition through the various roles prescribed to them. Using their wardrobe they were able to meet university and personal demands. However, the perpetual need to perform these roles reminded them of their peculiar position within academia and society.

Interpreting the Ever-Changing Wardrobe

Collectively, the women described how the impact of carelessness along with cultural expectations of Black women in their context (in relation to antecedents such as ethnicity, racism, apartheid, and xenophobia) served as normative glue, which kept them bound to projected social norms and expectations of Black women. Both groups of participants described how their style of leadership, activism, or even perceived submissiveness, was often a result of being stereotyped, labeled, and marginalized due to

being Black and a woman on their respective campuses. The participants' behavioral responses to these experiences confirm the implications of intersectionality in the lived experiences of Black women transnationally, while providing some cultural insight to the unique experiences of Black women, such as the development of a dynamic identity, which changes as the negotiate the different roles and identities prescribed to them at home and at work.

Moreover, the concept of carelessness was intricately woven into the women's descriptions of their work environments. Although, most of the women were not familiar with the formal term, their descriptions of their professional experiences revealed the implicit practices of carelessness and patriarchal nature of academia. In the participants' experiences, the care-less environments of their workplace were clearly expressed in various practices, such as Naomi's experience with homosociability when her male supervisor appointed a man to take over her duties and leaving out "woman's work" in the new job description or Athaliah being given closer accommodation to the university, so that she could continue to work 24/7. These stories highlight care-less cultures in senior management by illustrating the demands on their time and expectations that reach far beyond regular work hours.

In both South Africa and the U.S., the women described the burden of care they felt as a result of being both Black and a woman. They discussed how they were often chosen to do care-work that oftentimes had nothing to do with their job description. Both groups of participants discussed how their male leadership selected them to become the default mentors and other mothers to colleagues and students. Moreover, the women collectively described the frustration with having to deal with primarily male supervisors

who they felt could operate in a “care-free zone” (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). The women discussed various unspoken expectations of women in their departments in regard to their work and personal lives, by describing how they were often expected to work around the clock, which put unnecessary pressure on them and strained their personal relationships and duties. In all, the women openly discussed the implications of new managerial values and carelessness on their work and campus departments. These issues were common threads in all of the interviews and the resulting transitions were indeed an outcome of the culture of carelessness.

Gender Performance, Authenticity, and the Black Woman Leader

The women in the study described their personal and professional lives as intersection of gendered roles and responsibilities that they learned to navigate by performing multiple transitions daily, sometimes hourly. The words they used to describe their multifaceted lives conveyed a sense that they were performing their gendered roles as a result of their awareness of the unique cultural expectations of Black women. As phenomenological researchers, we metaphorically described these transitions as wardrobe from which the women selected the persona they needed to enact in order to perform and cope with these gendered roles. The women’s description’s about their negotiating of various roles brings to mind Butler’s (1988) assertion that gender is a series of acts that are informed by what is already historically constituted as gender. This perspective is demonstrated in the very act of transitioning and acculturating to the expectations of Black women in the women’s local context. A great example of this was Naamah’ s transitioning from what she perceives to be Western culture to her ethnic culture in certain meetings. She seamlessly transitions from strong, assertive Black women, to a

submissive woman, because that is what is expected within her culture. In both acts she is performing gender as result of social expectations. Butler (1988) acknowledges that gender, like the women's transitioning, is indeed a dynamic act. So while the women are voluntarily transitioning through various roles to cope, the very act of transitioning is a reproduction of gender norms and expectations created by the act of transitioning.

A closer review of the women's actions and behaviors returns us to Butler's (1988) theory on gender performance. Butler used the idea of theatrical acting to describe the performative act of gender, explaining that while actors know they are acting, those of us who are performing gender often do not know that we are performing gender. Moreover, performative acts which construct gender often appear superficially as a personal choice, but always work within the existing framework of cultural sanctions and expectations of our shared social structure (Butler, 1988). The women's process of acculturation and transitioning demonstrate that women are always under duress to give the gendered *and* cultural performance that is expected of them (Butler, 1988). The metaphorical wardrobe used to describe how the women's persona changed to adapt to the expectations of women in their local context is indicative of the Butler (1988) characterization of gender being performed in a series of acts by women. The assertion that gender is an identity repeatedly constructed through time and performed involuntarily and voluntarily helps to frame the very essence of what these women did unconsciously every day. The very act of transitioning through the ever-changing wardrobe and surrendering cultural beliefs and stereotypes reproduced and legitimized gender beliefs and expectations. For these women, transitioning through the ever-changing wardrobe happened as a direct result of the pressure to perform at home and at

work. From a theoretical perspective, carelessness imposes pressure and demands on all employees. Whether it is the pressure to perform or the extreme demands on time commitment, this culture in higher education disproportionately affects women. Thus, it became clear that the adoption of dynamic identities and the performance of these identities at work and home legitimized the implications of the culture of carelessness in the lives of the participants. In essence, the women's behavioral response, the need to transition, was a direct result of the pressure to be a woman in their local context.

Conclusion

While there is increased participation of this marginalized group within academia, there has not been an increased sensitivity to or amelioration in understanding of the intersection of race and gender within the university system. The 11 women higher education administrators focused on in this study described experiences that revealed the women's capacity to navigate highly gendered environments that were complicated by new managerial practices that ultimately further marginalized Black women transnationally. The women' stories elucidate their intersectional experiences shaped by their race and gender as well as the unique mechanisms by which they cope with the demands of their institution. Moreover, this research has shown that there is a still more work to be done to ensure that Black women are retained, supported and able to advance within academia.

Chapter 6

Combatting Carelessness: Institutional Culture, Ethnic Group Expectations, and the Black Woman in South African Higher Education Administration

Abstract

Despite increasing interest in higher education matters in sub-Saharan Africa, African women are still largely invisible in research about gender dynamics and academic work on the continent. Focusing on the experiences of South African women higher education administrators, this article captures the women's experiences negotiating institutional and societal culture that promotes inequitable gender relations and perpetuates women's marginalized positions within higher education. Through a lens of carelessness, this paper specifically explores how the women find themselves balancing institutional and ethnic culture, which often results in conflicting identities, paradoxical assertiveness in leadership, and combating the "pull her down syndrome." These findings highlight neoliberal practices that limit women's sense of agency within higher education and reveal how higher education practices are regulated by a care-less and restrictive understanding of gender.

Keywords: Woman, Higher Education, South Africa, Gender, Carelessness, New Managerialism

Culture is a familiar, yet highly debated topic in society. We often hear about the polemic surrounding pop culture or ethnic culture, but rarely do we examine the wide-ranging impact of institutional culture (Simone, 2009). Institutional culture refers to an organization's historically transmitted patterns of meaning, which are expressed in symbolic form through the shared responsibilities and standards of behavior unique to members of the organization (Deal & Kennedy, 2000). Within higher education, these collective traditions, myths, rituals, language, along with other forms of expressive symbols, encompass academic life and work (Harman, 2002). Globally, these values and standards permeate the everyday lives of its members, and are perpetuated by institutional indoctrination, actions, and leadership (Simone, 2009). An institution's culture is not only the social glue that holds the organization together; it propagates the values, social ideals, and beliefs that employees come to share (Clark, 1972). Thus, an institution's culture influences how people perceive and behave in their environment. It provokes a common purpose and commitment while providing meaning and social structure that informs behavioral expectations (Smirich, 1983). Subsequently, universities worldwide serve as symbolic structures of social and cultural norms, often promoting a dynamic culture that is influenced by changing economic, political, and social conditions. While ubiquitous and mostly intangible, an institution's culture has a profound impact policies, practices and structures, providing a structure for governance that directly impacts the academic environment and an employee's ability to succeed and prosper (Simone, 2009).

Despite the impact that institutional culture has on academic life, policies, and practices, the relationship between the current academic culture and its implications for

employees, specifically women, has not been sufficiently examined in the current literature (Lynch, 2010). Universities are patriarchal establishments where gendered social and cultural processes are often reproduced resulting in gendered work, climate, and governance (Acker, 1990; Finch, 2003; Johnson, 2014). With this knowledge, when considering the status of women in higher education it is apparent that "the marginalization of women scholars and administrators, with varying degrees of success and disparities, is a global phenomenon" (Mabokela, 2003, p.131). Historically, women in higher education have faced significant obstacles to participating and working within academia. Although federal and global policy implementation has resulted in more equalized opportunities for women in the workforce, women still deal with disparity in treatment based on the intersection of race and gender, which manifests as isolation, tokenism, salary disparities, gendered division of labor, racism and limitations to promotion and advancement(Belk, 2006; Bingham & Nix, 2010; Chisholm, 2001; 1980; Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012; O'Farrell, 1999; Rathgeber, 2003; Rehnke, 1980; University of Denver, 2013).

Race, Gender, and Institutional Culture

Race compounds these factors (Ampofo et al., 2004; Acker, 2006; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Collins, 1998, 2000; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; McKenzie, 2002; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003). Black women in academia face very unique challenges as opposed to other women. They are underrepresented, marginalized, and often missing from academic

research on women in leadership. Although the intersection of race, gender, and institutional culture approach is missing in the study of Black women higher education administrators, a few scholars have explored the significance of race and gender in organizations; noting the stress Black women feel being a double minority. They face the general challenges of gender inequity, balancing career and family, performing the domestic/care work of their institutions, and salary disparities. However, they also deal with isolation, tokenism, and racism in academia (Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Greene, 2000; Moses, 1989). While Black women in academic institutions have different beliefs, backgrounds, and experiences, they are intrinsically connected as a result of their cultural context and collective struggle to be respected, accepted, and to have a voice at their institution (Collins, 2000; Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Camblin, 1998; Gordon, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Hughes & Howard-Hamilton, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Patton & Harper, 2003; Nichols & Tanksley, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Zamani, 2003).

And this is not just an issue in the United States. Internationally, higher education is pervaded by institutions built upon patriarchal standards (Johnson, 2014; Lynch, 2010; Lynch, Grummell & Devine, 2012; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Morley, 2010; Morley & Walsh, 1996; Steady, 2002). As educational leaders in Africa, women face challenges of racism, religion, class, national origin and ethnicity (Bhana & Pillay; Johnson, 2014; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). Moreover, the academic environment for African Black women is often hostile due to gender-based violence and sexual harassment (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998, 2004; Chisholm, 2001; Dunne et al., 2006; Johnson, 2014; Morley, 2010). South African

women, regardless of their racial identity have always “stood in the secondary echelon of society” (Mathur-Helm, 2005, p. 1). This marginalized position is attributed to South Africa’s history of apartheid. From the 1950s to the mid-1990s, there was no other social institution that reflected the government's racial philosophy of apartheid more clearly than the education system. In fact, all schools were required to teach and practice apartheid (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). Much like the Jim Crow laws of the American south, apartheid employed a system of formal and informal racism, creating prohibitive laws that were used to keep Black people in certain areas by banning interracial fraternization and the employment of Black South Africans (Msimang, 2001).

Proving to be an effective tool of bigotry, apartheid was used to promote xenophobia and to inhibit the participation of women, particularly those labeled as Black women (Msimang, 2001). This historical context created a long-standing system that deliberately excluded Black women from various aspects of public life and consigning them to second class citizenship (Mathur-Helm, 2000; Msimang, 2001; National Gender Policy Framework, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). The systemic effects of institutionalized racism are venerable, and many informal structures and obsolete attitudes still remain. As a result, gender and other structures of inequality are still located and perpetuated in the academy, transnationally (Johnson, 2014; Lynch, Grummell & Devine, 2012; Morley, 2010). South African women administrators still cope with lingering attitudes that frame their worth and existence as being incapable and incompetent to lead (Lindow, 2011; Mabokela, 2003). Subsequently, African women are often relegated to the “the informal, invisible, and often feminized work of institutional

maintenance and interpersonal services at universities and are underrepresented in senior administrative ranks" (Johnson 2014, p. 836).

By drawing attention to the academic experiences of Black women, this study highlights the experiences of South African woman administrators who cope with certain cultural beliefs about the roles of men and women that are compounded by the organizational saga of higher education. Recent studies of African women in educational leadership and management point to the need to better examine the experiences of South African women with a focus on the unique socio-historical, political, and cultural context of Africa (Johnson, 2014; Nkomo and Ngambi, 2009; Thaver,2009). In doing so, it is important to conceptualize the experiences of African women in leadership with a renewed focus on the importance of culture, understanding that African women are not homogenous and their status is often culturally and country contingent (Johnson, 2014; Nkomo and Ngambi, 2009). South African women academics must balance cultural expectations and biases that impact institutional policies and practices, interethnic and interracial relationships on campus, and familial relationships within the home. Pandor (2006) posits that cultural beliefs about the roles of women ultimately inhibits the career advancement of women. While Kiamba (2008) notes that institutional culture also serves as a barrier for South African women working in academia. Taking this into consideration, it is clear culture has a profound influence on various aspects of the South African woman's life, with implications that extend from the academic workplace to the home. Culture informs gender stereotyping, socialization, and family and work relationships in Africa, making it a necessary factor to include in all studies (Nkomo & Ngambi, 2009).

Institutional Culture and the Knowledge Economy

So why is institutional culture important in understanding the professional experiences of South African women in higher education? Internationally, there is widespread belief that the knowledge economy, the shift from material production and manual work towards knowledge related products and services, can significantly reduce the disparity between rich and poor nations (Naidoo, 2007). This new orthodoxy rationalizes globalization and promotes a neoliberal academic culture (Altbach, 2004; Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 2005; Morley, 2015), inferring that the very ability to transmit and access knowledge across the globe has the potential to transform materially poor countries into information-rich countries that are able to use knowledge for economic development (Naidoo, 2007). Subsequently, governments around the world, especially those with burgeoning economies such as South Africa, have come to regard a growing higher education system as vital to economic development (Johnson & Hirt, 2012; Naidoo, 2007; Naidoo, 2010; Ocha-Ewel, 2013); creating a widespread acceptance that a nation's human capital and the new innovation generated by that human capital, are the major drivers of economic growth (Brennan et al. 2004).

Much like Western universities, institutions of higher education in South Africa are now directly tied to the economic development of the nation, creating unchecked pressure to produce academically. Such pressure on higher education, coupled with the pervasive neoliberal agenda, has led to a shift in which higher education has become more of an industry, rather than a social institution (Naidoo, 2008). While this transformation emanated from the West, African institutions of higher education are particularly susceptible to liberalized reform policies as they cope with political and

economic challenges and growing aid conditionality (Johnson & Hirt, 2012; Okolie, 2003). In fact, "the development of higher education in low-income countries has been framed in general by a neoliberal paradigm" that has transformed the culture of work in academic institutions to a quasi-market that creates both external and internal pressure on staff to do more work with fewer resources (Deem, 1998; Naidoo 2010, p. 66).

New Managerialism and Carelessness in Higher Education

New managerialism pervades governance structures in higher education, creating a powerful management body that dominates professional skills and knowledge. Subsequently, colleges and universities have transformed from communities of scholars, to workplaces in which corporate language and practices have replaced the traditional academic administration where educational values were once central to decision making (Deem, 1998, 2007; Kezar, 2004; Lynch 2006, Lynch, Grummell & Devine, 2012). Under new managerialism, the old practices of academic tradition and collegiality no longer exist. Instead, financial returns are prioritized over intellectual excellence and integrity (Deem, 1998; Lynch, 2006). Academic leaders who run universities are now expected to ensure that quality and value is provided. Hence, the role of the academic leader is now overshadowed by a greater concern with management of sites and finance rather than staff, students, teaching and research (Deem, 1998). Moreover, as a result of new managerialism, institutions of higher education are implementing new management policies that are negatively affecting already marginalized women. In addition, there is now an expectation of unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from employees (Deem, 2003; Lynch, 2010).

The ideals of new managerialism perpetuate and promote carelessness among employees. Thus, managers create a work environment in which scholarly work is expected to be separate from emotional thought and feeling (Lynch, 2006; Lynch et al., 2012). Consequently, this creates a culture where human relationships are defined on a transactional basis in order to promote the desired outcomes of high performance and productivity within the organization (Lynch, et al., 2012). New managerialism perpetuates the old standards of patriarchy, by implementing an unofficial doxa of *homosociability*, which ensures that men of like mind hold the majority of the more strategic leadership roles in education (Lynch, 2006).

The advent of neoliberalism in higher education and the associated ideals of new managerialism have produced deep institutional change (Johnson & Hirt, 2012). The resulting culture of carelessness has redefined how institutions define and justify their institutional existence (Lynch, et al., 2012; Vaira, 2004; Olssen & Peters, 2005). Subsequently, universities in Africa have adapted to globalized reform policies by instituting quality insurance initiatives, alternative financing models for education, and an ever-increasing push toward market-oriented activities (Johnson & Hirt, 2012). The changing university environment's impact on South Africa are significant as evidenced by the neoliberal academic environment, which values research productivity, university development, expansion across borders, and partnership with Western organizations and institutions (Bhana & Pillay, 2012; Johnson, 2013; Ochwa-Echel, 2013). While the synergy between the neoliberalism and economic development is evidently strong, a review of the literature suggests the need for caution when neoliberalism is applied to university education (Giroux; 2002; Lynch & O-Riodan, 1998; Ochwa-Echel, 2013).

However, there has been very little investigation on the nature of the relationship between liberalization, institutional culture, and social processes such a gender and race relations within sub-Saharan Africa. As a result, the purpose of this work is to explore how managerial and gendered policies and practices, influences institutional culture, attitudes and perspectives as they relate to Black women's experiences in university administration. This study highlights the unique challenges and constraints that result from the intersection between social and cultural expectations at work, in the community, and at home.

Women Administrators in South African Higher Education

In South Africa, being a woman and an academic is not only regulated by historically restrictive understandings of gender at home and at work for women, but also the cultural influence of the institution. In fact, the impact of institutional culture on socialization processes and support for women within the institutions is an area not adequately addressed by current research (Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004). Hence, the need to explore how women in South Africa navigate the demands of being a woman and upholding the demands and pressure of new academic culture. Although South Africa has witnessed dramatic transformation in policies that support equality and employment equity, there are still antiquated perspectives on women's roles at home and at work, which has resulted in women's continued sense of isolation, ambiguity of their standing (*outsider within* status), marginalization, and the exclusionary tactics that continue to exist within South African institutions (Bhana & Pillay, 2007; Collins, 2001;Kamau, 2004; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Mabokela, 2003). These perspectives are exacerbated by the liberalization of institutional culture which results in

gendered work environments that further marginalize women and fuel gendered cultures and gendered hierarchies of power (Finch, 2003).

The intersection of race, gender, and culture adds another layer of intricacy to the experiences of South African woman administrators. African Black women carry a dual burden that affects their freedom to operate and articulate issues of concern. They struggle with pursuing their academic careers, while also meeting traditional responsibilities and ethnic group obligations which often confine women to domestic work as a wife and mother (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000). In South Africa, traditional beliefs about the role of women serve as cultural barriers for women, often reproducing gendered roles and expectations. In some places women are seen as equal to men, but nevertheless their roles are different. Women are expected to look after the home, while mean can find jobs outside of the home. Traditionally and in most rural areas women typically have a high amount of work that may include tending family fields, caring for children and elderly family members, along with household chores. Some women find it difficult to disconnect from ethnic and cultural responsibilities out of fear they will be ostracized (Kiamba, 2008). Yet other women see the key to professional advancement, as the ability to maintain those controversial cultural expectations and limiting the pursuit of equal rights to the workplace and not the home (Makombe & Geroy, 2008). Mabokela and Mawila (2004) report the persisting beliefs and attitudes that depict women as incompetent and inferior to men as being deeply rooted in ethnic culture. Citing a cultural proverb “if you give an institution to a woman, it will collapse” (p.406), the scholars illuminate how these beliefs translate into academic environment in

which men believe they have a divine right to occupy all leadership positions (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004).

Although South Africa has undergone dramatic transformation to adopt many new policies that support gender equality and employment equity, these findings confirm there are still societal norms that restrict women to being just good wives, who cook, clean and care for children (Bhana & Pillay, 2012; Mabokela, 2003; Tamale &Olka-Onyango, 2000). These highly gendered attitudes toward women's roles significantly impacts male and female interactions within the university as well as institutional policy and practice. Subsequently, this restricts how women serve the institution and perpetuates gender inequity (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Mikell, 1997; Morley, 2006; Johnson, 2014; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000).

Under new managerialism, faculty and administrators are driven by efficiency, external accountability and monitoring, and special emphasis is placed on financial returns (Lynch, et al., 2012). Essentially, new managerial ideals promote an academic environment that places extreme value on long work hours, strong competitiveness, intense organizational dedication and the ongoing measurement of performance of both students and staff by creating an expectation of unrealistic levels of commitment, productivity, and emotional engagement from employees, both male and female (Deem, 2003; Lynch, 2010). What is particularly different about the culture of new managerialism in higher education is the importance it ascribes to an institutional culture of *carelessness* in academia. New managerialism allows the care-less manager perpetuates unrealistic expectations for employees, particularly women, who are already

at a disadvantage because of their gender and the patriarchal traditions of academia that new managerialism perpetuates (Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012). In this new institutional culture, the prototypical employee is expected to be "careless" without ties or responsibilities that could limit their capacity to work and women are also "disproportionately encouraged to do the domestic work of the organization, and/or the care work (e.g. running courses, teaching, thesis supervision, doing pastoral care)" (Lynch, 2010, p. 56). Women are expected to do care work, while men are care-less, which leads to highly gendered outcomes. New managerialism is not gender neutral and affects women more than men because of the implicit homosociability found in this organizational culture (Lynch et al., 2012)

Subsequently, gender disparity is reproduced and the work-place challenges of women are further intensified. This new institutional culture further oppresses and marginalizes women by perpetuating the old standards of patriarchy with its implicit doxa of homosociability, which ensures that men of like mind hold the majority of the more strategic leadership roles in education and establishing a care ceiling for women (Lynch, et al., 2012). The care ceiling symbolizes how women are now relegated into marginalized professional roles like counselors or advisors, where they are relegated to being the nurturers of their organizations. Moreover, women are the extemporized individuals responsible for providing a "soft touch", due to social expectations regarding gender (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012). Thus, women still cope with gender-based discrimination in academia today. However, it is manifested differently through the care ceiling. As a result of the care ceiling, women deal with

isolation, a lack of mentorship, lack of promotion, salary inequity, among other challenges (Grummell et al., 2009; Lynch, 2010; Lynch et al., 2012).

As we enter into a more globalized and privatized academic environment where new managerialism and carelessness dictate collegial practice, it is critical that the unique needs of South African Black women are considered. South African Black women deal with intersectional experiences of gender and the socio-historical antecedents of their locality, such as their ethnic affiliation. South African Black women face challenges in taking leadership positions, including barriers related to culture and cultural expectations; the choice and/or balancing of work and family, and the stress that accompanies positions of leadership as it is experienced differently by men and women (Ampofo et al., 2004; Beoku-Betts, 1998; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Kiamba, 2008). Johannes (2010) asserts there is no other society in the world that strongly emphasizes that women stay in their reserved employment positions such as African society. Much like African American women, South African Black women cope with having their expertise and authority undermined, ethnic and institutional racism tokenism, isolation, salary inequity, being a double minority, (Ampofo et al., 2004; Bunyi, 2003; Chisholm, 2001; Johannes, 2010; Johnson, 2014; Johnson & Thomas, 2012; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; McKenzie, 2002; Mikell, 1997; Steady, 2002; Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000). However, South African women must also grapple with the ethnic and cultural expectations that influence their work and the way in which their colleagues interact with them (Mabokela, 2003). The experiences of African women also reflect the constant struggle with trying to achieve identity and a voice in academia (Kiamba, 2008; Johnson, 2014; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Mikell, 1997).

Furthermore, the multiple identities of women create complex realities for them and often make their experience in the field of higher education challenging and vastly different than those of men. Chisholm (2001) describes how women in South Africa are relegated to the sidelines, professionally, because of the "masculinist" enterprise of leadership. Hence, women are more likely to be encouraged to perform the care work of the institution, and are often concentrated in nurture-oriented roles such as counseling, advising, and teaching (Lynch, 2010). The current institutional culture of carelessness creates a workplace in which emotional thought and feeling is separate from academic work and performance (Lynch, 2010). This new institutional culture doesn't take into account the struggles and experiences of South African women, whose gender, race, and ethnic expectations create a peculiar standpoint in which the women struggle to uphold traditional values while advancing personally and professionally.

To fully grasp the impact of carelessness and the extent to which this institutional culture influences the lives of women in the academy, it is imperative to focus mid-career Black woman administrators. Black women administrators are under-represented as senior student affairs officers in most higher education institutions and are more likely to be employed in midlevel and lower-level positions within academia (Banner, 2003; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991; Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson). This trend indicates the need to focus scholarly attention on factors that could prevent South African Black women administrators from advancing into senior-level positions such as the impact of race, gender and cultural factors such as ethnic group membership (Ampofo et al., 2004; Banner, 2003; Beoku-Betts, 2005; Coleman, 2002; Gregory, 1995; Kiamba, 2008; Mabokela, 2003; Mabokela & Mawila, 2004; Moses, 1997; Scott, 2003; Singh,

Robinson, & Williams-Green, 1995, Taylor, 2000). For these reasons, our study was focused on new managerial academic culture, which may exacerbate the already marginalized experiences of South African Black women in higher education administration.

Research Methods

The study began with an overarching purpose to comparatively explore the lived and career experiences of South African women who work in mid-level administrator positions within higher education. We sought to explore the implications of the intersection of gender and the local context of the women (i.e., racism and ethnic group membership), in light of new managerial practices and policies, using hermeneutic phenomenology. This phenomenological approach allows researchers to expand on their findings by both describing and interpreting the meaning of participants' lived experiences through guided existential refection (Englander, 2012; van Manen, 1990). Therefore, this research was guided by the following question: How do South African mid-level Black women administrators describe the influence of the careless phenomenon as it intersects with race, gender, and ethnic affiliations?

Participants

The participants were six mid-level administrators, with titles ranging from Head of Department/ Director, Associate or Assistant Director and Dean. Phenomenological research calls for the use of at least three participants; noting that it depth research not breadth research, focusing on whether the participants have had the experience we are seeking to understand, instead of *how many* have had the experience (Englander, 2012). All of the participants worked at a four-year public comprehensive institution in South

Africa. Each hailed from various Tsonga and Xhosa speaking provinces in South Africa* (did not include districts and all languages, because that is identifiable). Table 3 includes the women's aliases, title, country of origin, and level of education.

Table 3

South African Participant Characteristics

Alias	**Country**	**Marital Status**	**Education**	**Title**
Athaliah	South Africa	Divorced	PHD	Director/HOD
Azubah	South Africa	Widowed	MA	Director/HOD
Eunice	South Africa	Married	PHD	Director/HOD
Naomi	South Africa	Widowed	MA	Assistant Director
Lutendo	South Africa	Married	MS	Director
Naamah	South Africa	Single	MA	Assistant Director

The women were purposefully selected based on their race, gender, mid-level role within their university, and their willingness to participate in the study. This study did not take into account the wide variances in response that may have been received from other groups of women in different regions in Africa. The participants were specifically and intentionally mid-level Black female administrators because they are underrepresented at senior level higher education administrator positions and are highly concentrated in mid-level and lower-level positions within academia (Banner, 2003; Konrad & Pfeffer, 1991;

Moses, 1997; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002; Reason, 2003; Scott, 2003; Taylor, 2000).

Research Site

The interviews took place in February 2015 at South African Regional University (SARU). SARU is a four-year public comprehensive research university, making it comparable to the four year public research sites included in the comparative component of this study. The institution is also located in a rural area of which certain ethnic groups are concentrated. Given the history of gender inequity and racial and ethnic division in South Africa, the institution's current administration reflects this legacy. All of SARU's senior leadership is male. Thus, the professional experiences of the women in this study is intricately related to and informed by their location and institutional culture. The six Black women in this study are remarkable because they occupy some of the senior most positions on their campus; yet they are concentrated in mid-level positions. In addition, the university demonstrates several characteristics indicative of new managerialism. Their mission speaks to developing an educated citizenry who adds to the economic development of South Africa and a significant focus on partnerships and internationalism; which are explicit ideals of neoliberalism. We used non-probabilistic, purposeful sampling, consistent with a qualitative methodology, to locate participants for this study. We began by identifying Black women administrators on campus. We then employed snowball sampling; a technique by which a researcher starts with a small sample and then seeks more participants through interactions and references with the initial group of participants (Patton, 2002). Each interview ranged from 1-2 hours, was tape recorded, and later transcribed.

Data Collection

Interviews serve a very specific and integral role in hermeneutic phenomenology (Ajjawi & Higgs, 2007). The instruments of data collection in this study were semi-structured interviews, field notes, and a researcher journal. These strategies were chosen because they were congruent with the philosophical framework of the research paradigm and methodology, and allowed us to explore the participant's lived experiences. Each interview progressed as a conversation with purpose using a hermeneutic lens, which allowed us to build rapport with the women while obtaining a detailed description of their lives through their personal reflection (Rossman and Rallis, 2003; Van Manen, 1990). We used the responsive approach to ask the participants to reflect on their lives and career paths, to explain their various commitments and work and at home, and to describe their experiences as a Black woman. We also used probes and follow up questions to elicit more detail from the participants and to explore ideas that emerged in the interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The interviews and subsequent field notes provided access to the context of the participant's behaviors, thereby providing a way for us to better understand and interpret the meaning of the participant behaviors and experiences (Seidman, 2007).

Each was in conversation format focused on directing instead of leading the participant. We explored and gathered stories of lived experiences of the participants by requesting more information on specific events and descriptions of situations (Englander, 2012; Giorgi 2009). While there is no prescriptive quality to a good interview, scholars agree that there is one specific criterion to adhere to, which is: "what one seeks from a research interview in phenomenological research is as complete a description as possible of the experience that a participant has lived through" (Giorgi, 2009, p. 122).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using phenomenological and hermeneutic principles, as well as scholarly recommendations on systematic methods to interpret phenomenological data (Ajjawii & Higgs, 2007; Creswell, 2009; Lincoln & Guba, 2005; Saldana, 2009; Van Manen, 1990). Therefore, the analytical methods used were specific to this research design, but we also drew on interpretive analysis paradigms in order to maintain accuracy with the participant's personal narrative. The convergence of phenomenological, hermeneutical, and interpretive strategies resulted in a six-step process of analysis, which began with multiple readings of transcripts to immerse ourselves in the life world of the participants, which then led to the generation of themes using the selective reading approach and semiotic discourse analysis, which is a linguistic based analysis in which the researcher relies on finding meaning in the context alone by identifying specific meaning in connection with concrete examples in the transcripts (Berger, 2004; van Manen, 1990). Throughout data analysis, there was ongoing interpretation in order to maintain faithfulness to the participant's personal narrative (Lincoln & Guba, 2005).

Findings

Several significant findings emerged as a result of our data analysis, creating a paradoxical picture of participant's description of their lives. The women described contrasting worlds in which they are campus leaders, some fighting for a seat at the table; while also being subdued wives and mothers who are deeply entrenched in their ethnic and cultural traditions, which often conflicted with their institutional role. Markedly, the women all coped with an institutional culture that seemed to reproduce gendered roles

and identities through liberalized practices and policies. Their experiences revealed an internal struggle to be “contemporary’ South African women, who are gender activists; yet they still conform to ethnic expectations of women. The women all discussed the “system” that seemed to hold them down and family lives and gender roles which all seem to regulate and define their womanhood at work and at home. Many of the participants expressed the diatribe surrounding being a contemporary African woman versus the traditional expectations of women in their culture.

The participants also described the constant pressure put on them by care-less managers who didn’t seem to understand them and the multiple and identities they negotiated daily as woman leaders. Interestingly, these demands and resulting behaviors and identities, appeared to created discord among the women, prohibiting unity on campus, the development of supportive networks among the women and ultimately resulted in conflicting identities and behaviors that created additional obstacles for these women daily.

Conflicting Identities: The Contemporary South African Woman

Collectively, the women in this study described their lives as being multifaceted, with conflicting identities related to ethnic obligations and the resulting expectations of them as wives, mothers, and educational leaders. Thus, the traditional responsibilities of South African women encompassed many of the discussions we had with our participants. For the women in this study, their home and professional life continues to reflect the gender imbalance in domestic/care work that many women cope with (Connell, 2005; Lynch, 2010). While the women varied in age and came from different ethnic villages (four were from the ethnic village surrounding SARU and two were from

larger provinces in South Africa) they all shared the inescapable burden of domestic responsibility, which was often rooted in cultural traditions and expectations. The women's reflections were often filled with pride and sentiment as they spoke to the value of culture and tradition. However, their words alluded to the pressures of balancing family and cultural expectations. While the participants in this study had children of different ages, with one being a single mother and another not having any children, each woman spoke to ethnic traditions that essentially left all matters of the home and children in their hands. Lutendo succinctly frames the gendered traditions of her culture by stating:

> The house is yours. My husband can just come and read a newspaper and its okay. It is my job to do the cooking, the laundry and everything else that is concerned with the home. You don't make your husband do the dishes or whatever.

Framing it as a larger issue that also creates gendered expectations in her work, Lutendo pointed to how these expectations manifested in her workplace. She expressed her frustration with gendered roles at work and the challenge of balancing her home life with her responsibilities as an academic administrator:

> It's very challenging, and it's very difficult, men can work up to late in the office and not worry about children's homework, what's for dinner. I don't know about the U.S. but here, I have to see that I manage the house, my department and chase things like money [fundraising for her department]. But with him [her supervisor] when he knocks off, that's it. Me, when I knock off here, I'm reporting for duty at home.

Like Lutendo, many of the women in this study are responsible for all matters of the home. Thus, the challenge with balancing ethnic expectations and duties with career was a proverbial conflict they all shared. While being an educational leader is seen as a great accomplishment in their culture, the women expressed how certain ethnic expectations significantly impact their ability to balance work and personal life demands. Athaliah, a Director of Community Engagement, explains her responsibilities to her family and community by describing required daily ethnic greeting rituals:

> When I wake up in the morning, greetings take thirty minutes because in the village context you greet everyone. And by the time I have finished thirty minutes is gone. I must then be in the office or in the meeting.

Although, Athaliah held these cultural traditions sacred and was respectful of the customary greeting, ceremonies, and meetings of her large extended family, she is in constant internal struggle to perform these rituals and meet various work obligations. For the women in the study, traditional customs often conflict with the heavy load the women already carry as educational leaders and women with multiple roles. Much like Lutendo, Athaliah' s work as an academic administrator is filled with various obligations. She is often expected to work long hours, which makes it hard to balance these ritual and traditions with her work demands. However, Athaliah talked about how as "gender activist" she used her identity as an administrator to respectfully decline some of these cultural expectations:

> I have multiple roles. One of things that I've had to do was run away from home because I have a responsibility that my family and community would expect if they see me.

Furthermore, in many of the interviews, the women often identified themselves by their ethnic affiliation and its status at the university. Giving a sense that ethnic identity was both integral to the women's identity and social standing on campus. It also appeared to create a sense of belongingness within the university. However, it became apparent their ethnic identity often fueled gendered work and expectations and contributed to the marginalization of women. Naamah, an administrator with Residence Life, discussed her frustration with the imposition of ethnic culture in the workplace:

> So within my culture when you're addressing people, especially as a woman, you have to be submissive. That submission you know it's hard and indescribable. So you're forced to change-- like you know look down, we don't do eye to eye as well…so you have to look down, if you're looking at him in the eye you're showing disrespect. So you have to face down. If you are not looking directly at me and talking to me it means you're hiding something.

Naamah' s reflection illustrates how these ethnic identities also sustain male domination across campus and in the women's departments. The women of South African Regional University not only deal with restrictive societal views on the roles of women in general in South Africa, they also deal with regional traditions and belief systems that perpetuate what may be seen as oppressive practices relating to gender. These beliefs seemed to transfer into the workplace, creating a patriarchal dynamic with male colleagues that implicitly and explicitly caused difficulty for women across campus.

For example, in the surrounding ethnic village of South African Regional University, the people are known for their deep sense of respect to elder members. It is common knowledge that this ethnic group is regarded as traditionalists. Their cultural

practice is built upon specific ethnic group hierarchies that include commoners, elders, chiefs, and headmen, who are typically men. In the village and even on campus you may witness women and men kneeling and bowing, or even lying on their side in the acknowledgment of an elder. In speaking of the value of cultural tradition, we were often told about how women working on campus may kneel and bow (midway) or even lie on their side, to show reverence to a chief or headmen who may also work on campus. Although, they are not forced to bow, there is a mild undertone of submissiveness that is not readily accepted by some of our younger participants, who see themselves as gender activists. Azubah captures the antiquated expectations of women in the [Ethnic group] culture:

> Well that's the sad part because being a [Ethnic group] woman you are supposed to be submissive. It is only now they [men] are becoming okay with educated women who can participate in whatever they are doing. But naturally, if you aren't educated and if you are just an ordinary woman, you will be just waiting on your husband to say whatever—you will have to ask for permission to do everything. In fact in everything, you must be submissive.

Naomi who is not [Ethnic group], but married to a [Ethnic group] man describes the difficulty adjusting to the expectations of [Ethnic group] woman:

> I was raised in township where you know it's carefree. Then I moved to this area where as a woman you know your place. You are a woman; you have to behave like one, alright?

She went on to say:

> And man has his way of behaving which you as woman have to abide by irrespective of whether you like it or not. So there is a difference in the culture that I got into when I got married. A woman has to be submissive. You have to be submissive, you cannot argue with your man and if you argue with him, even if you have a point, you are disrespectful.

In hearing the women's stories, we were able to see the daily transition they must undergo living in a culture in which they are expected to submit without question. While their traditions are to be respected, they are indicative of the larger societal issue of gender inequity that is salient in many underdeveloped countries. Because elders, chiefs and ethnic kings are disproportionately men, these traditions fuel a culture of patriarchy that marginalizes women.

In fact, Naamah cautions: "My culture and tradition is beautiful, but it is vulnerable to exploitation because it forces subservience to elders who are often men". Naamah' s viewpoint confirms the conflicting identities of South African women and the social expectations they must negotiate. There is a desire to uphold these traditions, yet there is a shared aversion to the broader social inequalities these traditions uphold and at times reproduce. In speaking with our participants, we learned there is now social push back from the new generation of [ethnic group] women, who see their ethnic expectations as an extension of gender inequity. These women are respectful of their ethnic traditions, but they also struggle with how to negotiate these identities outside of the home.

Subsequently, the women spoke about how they challenged gendered roles as contemporary women who felt compelled to be "gender activists". Citing varying degrees of contestation, the participants discussed how they used education and

profession as bargaining power to respectfully fight some of the gendered assignments at work and in their household. Naamah explains how she contests the perception that women shouldn't speak out in meetings:

> If we are in meetings, I see myself as an equal and I will respect you based on your positon and authority [not because you are a man] and I submit to you based on that; but then I'm still a whole person and I need to fully represent myself…this had never been done in my department, so it looks like this woman is challenging a man. But I have a bit of Western culture. So I've got my western culture and my culture…so I'm now actually in a place where I need to look into how do I apply myself now having both perspectives.

It was interesting to hear the women refer to asserting themselves in meetings and the home, as being "gender activists' and/or performing "western" behaviors. These descriptors reveal how ingrained and confining traditional perspectives are for the women in this study.

Furthermore, in listening to our participants it was also clear that the very ability to contest some of the gendered perspectives at work and at home, was reserved for women of a certain social class and positioning, like those in our study. Lutendo reflects on how her husband became more supportive as she began studying for her PhD:

> When I'm studying then my husband is very supportive. He is very supportive and understanding. But my husband doesn't want takeaway. You have to cook, he doesn't care what you're doing as long you cook, but my husband has not been like that, and I suppose our culture supports that [that women must cook daily],

you have to cook for your husband. But when I am studying, my husband does cook, occasionally; although, it is not very helpful.

From her words, we got a sense that this consideration only happened as a result of her being in school and with a little prodding because her husband had certain expectations as a [Ethnic group] man.

Similarly, Naomi discussed the peculiar positon of women who marry in the [ethnic group]. Noting her husbands gendered upbringing, she shared how she was unable to fully submit, causing some strife with her in-laws, who saw her as “a disrespectful person to her husband”. Seeing herself as a contemporary woman, she reflects on how she how she taught her husband to share in the household chores. She excitedly mentions how she intentionally raised her son to not conform to the gender stereotypes of his [ethnic group]:

> I always say it will be very hard for me as a woman to understand how any man would take his own necessities in life for granted enough to make sure that only a woman is able to do it. If you can’t cook for yourself, if you can’t clean for yourself, why leave someone else responsible for those basic needs? My son, he does everything, he cooks for me. When I come back from work, pots are already waiting for me. He bakes, he does everything.

Azubah also reflected on the pressures of being married to a [Ethnic group] man and how she is able to now negotiate him sharing duties at home:

> In this era people are different. I mean women of today, even if you are a [ethnic group] woman it’s different because I could say to my husband today I’m not able to cook. Just to give an example, because of my profession, my husband will sometimes take care of the kids, do whatever. He will even do the washing. But

> because he is a [ethnic group] man, the only thing is he may say "I did the washing for you, now you just go and it put it on the washing line". Because he can do the washing from the inside and nobody will see because they will say "these men now"!

Despite the ability to challenge some of the outdated attitudes about women in their culture, there is still significant resistance to change which many of the participants referred to in their reflections. Although some of the women, felt their husbands were progressive because they shared in the household responsibilities, we got a sense that this happened covertly and inconsistently. It was not something their husbands were proud to do, but only did at the behest of their working wife; wives who used their positioning as academics as bargaining tools for their husbands to eased their workloads at home.

In listening to our participant's stories, it became clear that there was a deep internal struggle in which the women's traditional roles were held sacred, but their evolution into modern (sometimes described as Western) educational leaders created a perpetual identity crisis. The women's' perspectives alluded to the identity conflict they undergo as a result of being [ethnic group] women working with [ethnic group] men. The expectations of their culture often overrode their academic accomplishments, creating constant transition between what was deemed traditionally appropriate for women and what was best practice as women educational leaders. The women in this study face a dichotomous situation that stems from ingrained beliefs about the traditional role of women in their ethnic group, leaving the women in perpetual identity conflict, striving to be treated as equals on campus and at home. The women's experiences revealed an internal struggle to be "contemporary' South African women who are also gender

activists able to balance family and home; yet they still felt compelled to conform to archaic ethnic expectations of women's roles in their culture. Mikell (1997) succinctly captures the dilemma for African Black women in leadership positions through her observation that "contemporary African women think of themselves as walking a political/gender tightrope; they are concerned with the economic and political problems affecting their communities, but at the same time they grapple with how to affirm their own identities while transforming societal notions of gender and familial roles" (p.1).

The Contemporary South African Woman and the Careless Manager

Although many of the participants were leaders at their University, many women felt overwrought by the culture of carelessness at their institution, which was compounded by traditional beliefs about what the roles of women should be. When asked about the concept of the carelessness the women noted various experiences working with careless managers who demanded unconstrained time, high performance and those who seemed to have no regard for the already unique experiences of Black women on campus. Collectively, the women expressed frustration with the lack of women in senior administration. Although, many women in this study achieved mid-management positions, the majority of their supervisors were all male. The women described difficulties with being advanced at their university under this homogenous leadership.

Markedly, as the women continued to reflect upon their cultural expectations, they provided unsurprising evidence of their struggles with an institutional culture of carelessness. The women shared a range of experiences that are symbolic of a culture of carelessness. Naamah points out patriarchal practice in her department as she discussed

how she begin to question gender assignments responsibilities in that her male counterparts were never asked to do:

> We enter the meeting as equals, but they always ask a woman to take minutes. A woman will act as secretary, so I end up saying, for a change-- for once, why can't a man be the one taking minutes. What makes it a woman's job to be secretary?

While Athaliah revealed some of the extreme demands on her time working with the careless manager:

> Its meeting, meetings, meetings. Meetings with students, meetings with colleagues and staff, with deans, with academic staff… It's supposed to be an 8:00am to 5:00pm, but everybody knows that doesn't happen because from 8am to 5pm you're usually in formal meetings, so nothing gets done. I'm usually in the office until 8pm, sometime I'm even here until 10pm… I have to work long hours to get the work done, so at home I became an antisocial.

Azubah added to this:

> That is our environment. During the day I'll be doing my normal tasks as head of my department, but then there will be all of these reports that need to be submitted to management; which means after hours-- after 5pm, I'll be sitting here writing these reports and doing whatever. Even on weekends, you often realize you didn't finish what you were supposed to, so you are just working around the clock. They don't care whether you have a home life, whether you have a health issue, or whether you are able to even get things done because you had meetings all day, you have no time to actually get work done. So you get use to that, when you

> even think of not coming to work, you feel you are committing a very serious sin—a crime.

Naomi also focused on lack of support working under this institutional culture:

> There are these managers who are like — when they want you to do something, they want it now. Irrespective of what you have been doing before they ask you —they want it now. And sometimes they even call you outside of working hours, expecting that by Monday at 8:00 am you would have brought what they want. And as a woman you could be home, I could be with my children; I could be ministering at my church. They don't observe your quality time.

The women's experiences points to the inherently gendered nature of higher education and the explicit demands of culture of carelessness at their university. The women's stories remind us how the ideals of new managerialism facilitate an academic culture where employees are expected to be accessible and able to work 24/7 (Deem, 1998, Lynch, 2010; Lynch, et al., 2012). While the women contested these demands, we also see how they adhered to and at times promoted this institutional culture with their actions. For example, Eunice, student affairs administrator, explains how she felt obligated to perform gendered work:

> I would say I am sensitized into playing a given role, because I am a woman, because that's how I was raised and that's what's expected of women. So I am the secretary if the man needs it or I am the mother if a student needs it, even when I must lead my staff.

Comparatively, Athaliah shared her experience with running away for her village (moving from her village to a township close to the university). Unknowingly, she

escaped some of her cultural obligations by fleeing her village to live in university owned, but in a sense she cemented the inevitability of an unending commitment to work.

Moreover, in each interview, the women expressed unsavory interactions with men as they navigated academia. Athaliah lamented:

> I work with men in very senior positions and the kind of feedback and comments that I find, the kind of emails that I sometimes get when I am just trying to get people in order, it's so insulting. It's 'don't be emotional about it' or 'You're making a big deal out of nothing.' Or I am just being ignored like I don't exist. One of the biggest headaches that I have from men is that they hardly acknowledge my input.

The women also contended with director and HOD titles that granted them none of the associated authority at work. The women spoke about how managers often undermined them in meetings: Naamah expressed:

> I get marginalized and I get victimized actually a lot. If I put forth a policy or enforce a policy and if something goes wrong, then it's my fault for no other reason than because I am a woman.

Several other participants described how they were labeled as trouble makers and gender activists on campus as a result of asserting themselves in meetings. In all, the participants explained how they are socially confined by this derisive framing of assertiveness, as it relates to Black women. While the each woman internalized this differently and in her own context, collectively the women described frustration with the male dominated senior administration who didn't seem to care much about their multidimensional lives. As a result, the women felt they were essentially encouraged to

constrain themselves in the workplace. Naomi, a financial aid officer, effectively captures the predicament for South African women in this study:

> You know culturally, when you are —if you're an African woman, there are those things that you are not supposed to do; you're not supposed to say. You're not supposed to be.

The women's stories are very illustrative of the impact of institutional culture in place on the academic experiences of African women. Although these women overcame cultural beliefs about the roles of women by achieving leadership positions within academia, their academic environment often supported the gender positioning by promoting gendered work and attitudes through a culture of carelessness. Their experiences reveal how new managerialism manifests in the work place creating unhealthy neoliberal practices that affect women inexplicably. The culture of carelessness ultimately exacerbates the structural barriers already faced by women as a result of their ethnic culture and race.

The "Pull Her Down" Syndrome

The women in this study expressed concern with the relationships between women on campus. In discussing the culture of carelessness, the women noted various experiences working with careless managers who demanded unrestricted commitments of their time and high performance. In doing so, many of the women also expressed frustration with the lack of women in senior administration. Although many of our participants achieved mid-management positions, their supervisors were primarily males, who the women felt promoted gendered work and expectations. Moreover, the women could not identify one Black woman who was a senior administrator at SARU. In

listening to their stories, it became apparent they hoped for a greater representation of women in senior administration, because they felt women managers could understand the multiple identities of women better than the males currently in governance.

Moreover, the lack of women in senior administration, put pressure on the mid-managers in this study, to be responsive to the needs of younger women professionals. However, they were already struggling with navigating the careless and patriarchal environment of the institution, so it was challenge to build supportive networks and relationships with other women. Several of the women described how Black women on campus competed with each other:

> Us women we don't support each other. I don't know why, because men would never betray each other, but us women-we'll go run to the men to talk about this woman, so we look better to the men, I don't understand that. It defeats the whole idea.

In each interview, the women mentioned of this divide among Black women, which created intragroup conflict and a lack of support. The women expressed abhorrence for what they called the PHD (Pull Her Down Syndrome). In researching this phenomenon, Mabokela (2003) discusses the pull her down syndrome, noting that while South African women are connected in their struggle against gender discrimination, there are competing agendas for racial equality due to xenophobia. Although ethnicity appears to play role in the discord among Black women on campus, various other characteristics of carelessness contribute to the division among women. Unsupportive relationships among women, demands of their managers and job as well as the lack of support networks and a perceived isolation and arrogance by who women who move up the

ladder, were all reported by women in this study. In addition, their words alluded to how women deferred to and perceived men to be more knowledgeable than women. In some instances the women even perpetuated the belief that White men had more to offer than Black women: Athaliah lamented about the internal conflict among women in a discussion of the concept of "Mukwandi mshonga". She explains how this attitude adds to the already derisive attitude about women's ability to lead:

> There is still that white dominance and white mentality even amongst us [women]. So it's a constant battle even from your own people, there is that thinking that you are not a White woman, you are not good enough. So they will not even support you going up the ladder because somehow we need a White medicine. We have a saying—"Mukwandi mshonga". So [women] think we need a white person around us because somehow we can't lead with our own.

Essentially, the women were self-prejudiced as a result of the racism and gendered expectations they navigated daily on campus. Subsequently, we got a sense that the patriarchal practices of the culture of carelessness fueled unwanted competition among women on campus. Naomi framed the conflict among women on campus by saying:

> We need unity. We need workshops. Secondly, we are women who would go to a man about another woman, [saying] Naomi did this and that. So we are killing that feminism, we are still saying to men you are superior… it's us, the problem is us, we don' see ourselves as ourselves.

Furthermore, the women also described issues of ethnic conflict which they felt played a major role in the division among women on campus. While there were many institutional culture served as a barrier to the unity of Black women on campus, we found

that internal barriers such as racialization, continued to have significant impact on the unity of women at SARU. The women noted how ethnicity continues to serve as a hindrance to unity. Athaliah, an administrator expressed:

> There are these ethnic issues. There [are] also ethnic issues, and it's actually even annoying when there is dishonesty about it. Just recently--actually in our academic division meeting there was an unfortunate comment made by my most trusted colleague about this university being the university of the [Ethnic group] people…And what they say is, "Oh this university, they want to make it the University of only [Ethnic group]…It is not for Tsonga speaking.

Naomi added to this:

> And another part is ethnicity, I'm not [Ethnic group], I'm a Xhosa. So we are stigmatized as people who think they are clever, of course we are. If we were not, where would Mandela's South Africa be? Because Mandela is a Xhosa and of the Thembo clan right? So if we are, why can't they [Ethnic group] women embrace us?

In these participant's reflections we see how institutional culture intersects with ethnicity to compound the academic experiences of South African Black women. The lack of unity and competition among women is a direct effect of carelessness. The women's multiple roles along with the extreme demands of work, appears to trigger competition and division because the women are vying for recognition and respect in the limited roles available for women. While the women cope with gendered expectations, and conflicting identities, as a result of ethnic and societal expectations, they are in essence trained to reproduce these same gendered and racial attitudes. These women's experiences are indicative of coping with a patriarchal institutional culture that is exacerbated by inter-

ethnic conflict, and regressive views on the roles of women. In all, this speaks to broader social context for African women.

Conclusion

This study helps to understand the unique experiences of South African women working in higher education using the lens of carelessness, to explore how the women find themselves balancing institutional and ethnic culture. These findings, reveal how the six women in this negotiate gendered expectations at home and work, which often results in conflicting identities, paradoxical assertiveness in leadership, and combating the “pull her down syndrome”. Their words reveal the inescapable burden of domestic responsibility that South African women administrators traverse daily. This reality is rooted in cultural traditions and expectations, which creates unequal relationships between men and women, and restricts the roles of women at home and in the workplace in South Africa. Moreover, their experiences with careless managers illustrates how new managerial practices compound and further marginalize the experiences of South African Black women in academia, who already deal with cultural beliefs that inhibit their career advancement, status, and leadership. In all, the women’s reflections suggest that gender inequity is reproduced by ethnic culture at home which is exacerbated by the culture of carelessness at work. In essence, there is causality between the women’s home life and what manifest in the workplace as a result of cultural beliefs and institutional culture. Despite, what could be looked at as a hopeless predicament, the women see themselves as contemporary South African women, who use their status in academia to contest and alleviate some of their burden of care.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

Lived Experiences

1. First would you tell me a little bit about yourself?
2. Please describe your career progression through your current position.
3. Describe the expectations of your work environment in relation to men who work in your environment.
   a. What is a typical day like for you?
   b. Is it what you expected?

Lived Experience at Work/Career Path

4. Describe your life outside of work?
5. How does your personal life interact with your work?
   a. How do you negotiate your various commitments?
   b. Tell me about your family life in relation to your work.
6. Describe the roles you have in your work environment.
   a. How do you negotiate those roles?
   b. In what ways do you feel those roles are impacted by your gender?
7. Describe the roles you have outside of your work environment.
   a. How do you negotiate those roles?
   b. In what ways do you feel those roles are impacted by your gender?

Lived Experiences/Intersections of Race, Gender & Context

8. How do you feel gender has impacted your life and career path?
9. How do you feel your local context (i.e. race, ethnic group,) has impacted your life and career path?
10. Describe what being a woman is like for you (in your context).
11. Describe the expectations of Black women in the U.S.? In South Africa?
    a. In the workplace?
    b. In the home?
    c. How do you negotiate those expectations with your own beliefs and values?

Appendix B

Informed Consent

The purpose of this research is to compare and explore the unique experiences of Black women to increase the pipeline for careers in higher education, by focusing scholarly attention on factors that could prevent Black women administrators from advancing into senior-level positions within higher education, both in the U.S. and South Africa. During this project, Dawn Singleton, will be interviewing you to explore how you interpret your lived experiences as a Black woman (in your context) and professional in the field of higher education. As we discussed, this interview will be audiotaped (please initial here) ________ for data analysis purposes only.

Risks: Your data will be kept secure and confidential. You can withdraw from this study at any time. There are minimal risks involved with your participation. No identifiable information – name, identification number, etc. – will be used when describing the results, in order to alleviate risks.

Benefits: The information you provide will contribute and add to the paucity in literature about African American women educators as well as African American women in leadership positions within higher education.

Extent of Confidentiality: All of your responses, writings, or other materials will be kept confidential. The one exclusion being this research data will be reviewed by my professor, Dr. Anne Johnson; however, we will not disclose your name and other identifying information, such as specific roles or exact length of service, in any discussion or written documents about the research.

Freedom to Withdraw: Participation is completely voluntary. Should you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without penalty.

Your signature below gives me permission to use the data collected from your interview for research purposes (You will also receive a copy of this form for your records). Any further questions about this study can be answered by the investigator, Dawn Singleton, at single12@students.rowan.edu, or 856-361-2923.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Associate Provost for Research at: Rowan University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects Office of Research at 201 Mullica Hill Road Glassboro, NJ 08028-1701 Tel: 856-256-5150

Participant Name____ Date_____________

Appendix C

Demographics & Employment Data Form

Please choose an alias to be identified by in the final report of data findings and discussion of results: ________________________________

Age Range (check which range applies):

☐ 20 – 30 ☐ 30 – 40 ☐ 40 – 50 ☐ 50 – 60 ☐ 60 or above

Education Level (check all levels you have completed):

☐ Primary School ☐ Secondary School ☐ Postsecondary School (University)

☐ Graduate School (Masters and/or Doctorate)

Job Title: ________________________________ Years in Position: _______________

Description of Employment Duties:

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Please return to Dawn Singleton upon completion.