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Double-Edged Work: The (In)Visible Labor of Women of Color Mid-Level Higher Education Professionals

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Double-Edged Work:

The (In)Visible Labor of Women of Color Mid-Level Higher Education Professionals

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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in Education

by

Ana Lilia Romero

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Double-Edged Work:

The (In)Visible Labor of Women of Color Mid-Level Higher Education Professionals

by

Ana Lilia Romero

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Mark Kevin Eagan, Jr., Chair

Women of color who pursue careers in higher education administration face a double bind of navigating institutional barriers wrought by sexism and racism while simultaneously taking on the crucial work of mentoring, advocating, and caring for students of color. This multi-method study drew on organizational support theory (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991) to understand the contributions of women of color on higher education campuses and the perceived support and value of their contributions. First, descriptive analyses were used to examine data from 998 respondents to the 2020 HERI Staff Climate Survey to understand gender and racial differences in items related to organizational support and diversity work. Additionally, structural equation modeling using a subset of 142 mid-level women of color staff was used to examine the relationship between diversity work, organizational support, campus racial and gender climate, and supervisor support on staff

turnover rates. Finally, qualitative analyses drew from semi-structured interviews conducted in 2018 with 10 Latina mid-level student affairs professionals. The intersection of race and gender were centered in an effort to understand how organizational structures affect the working conditions, and ultimately retain or push out women of color higher education professionals.

Findings indicated that women of color tend to shoulder more diversity work related to mentoring, advocacy, and addressing campus climate issues as well as emotional labor. Additionally, women of color who reported feeling valued by the institution and perceived high levels of supervisor support were less likely to indicate an intention to leave their job or institution. Increases in diversity work and the hostility of the climate were associated with higher turnover rates. Interviews with Latina student affairs professionals underscored how racism and sexism often contributed to undermining and devaluing their contributions. Overall, the findings demonstrated that the distribution of diversity work and developing a sense of organizational support is both raced and gendered. Higher education institutions must continue to address the distribution of workload and invisible labor, and its commitment to supporting women of color mid-level professionals in an effort to retain them. Future research can further examine the differences in workload and organizational support across subpopulations and their impact on turnover rates.

The dissertation of Ana Lilia Romero is approved.

Michelle Espino

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Sylvia Hurtado

Mark Kevin Eagan, Jr., Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

Dedication

For my parents, David and Maria,

Whose sacrifices, encouragement, and support made this dream possible

Para mis padres, David y Maria,

Cuyos sacrificios, ánimo, y apoyo hicieron este sueño posible

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VITA

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Select Publications and Presentations

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

As a student affairs professional working in residence life, I always had a long list of items to check off at the end of the academic year, with many tasks to be completed and celebrations to be had before we could close the building and transition to summer activities. One year, in addition to my long list of responsibilities, I signed up to serve on the university planning committee to support the Latino Convocation, an annual event to recognize the Latinx graduates across the entire university. Although this service was not required of me, I was personally invested in this event as a first-generation Latina college graduate myself. I knew from my own experiences how much it meant to the students and their families to celebrate their accomplishments. The committee was tasked with planning the program, identifying speakers, facilitating awards nominations and selection, handling invitations, decorating, submitting facilities requests, coordinating catering, and running the event the day of the convocation. A relatively small budget was allocated to carrying out these responsibilities, and so our committee also discussed how to save on costs. One cost-saving decision included having each committee member prepare the sashes we gave to each of the graduates. As a result, committee members took home a stack of sashes to iron. It did not escape me that nearly all of the committee members were Latina women and only women took the sashes. As I ironed my stack of sashes at home that evening, I could not help but wonder what other invisible labor was being performed and what other implicit expectations were being shouldered by my Latina colleagues.

This experience is one of many instances that led me to wonder about the work that marginalized communities, especially women of color, took on to support the mission and goals of the university. At what point were these contributions expected of my job and when was it considered "extra?" I could not help but wonder how much of the work went unnoticed. And I

also wondered what other work women of color were implicitly or explicitly asked to do in service to the institution. These questions are what drive my interest in the experiences of women of color staff and administrators and this particular study. This dissertation is an attempt to acknowledge the contributions of women of color administrators in higher education.

Definitions and Assumptions

Varying definitions of terminology may exist across disciplines; therefore, this section outlines how some key concepts are used and operationalized.

Care Labor/Care Work. It is the work associated with providing essential support so that the person being cared for can contribute to the production of goods and services or simply function as a person such as taking care of an ill person (Duffy, 2010). Care can be extended to the self, others, the environment, or vulnerable populations (McCracken & Tronto, 2013) and can be done due to altruistic reasons (Cardozo, 2017).

Diversity Work. It is the work done to institutionalize diversity into the flow and thinking of the organization (Ahmed, 2012). Diversity work consists of carrying out policies and practices that manage differences in people within the organization (Ahmed, 2012; Anderson, 2021).

Emotional Labor. It is the work associated with showing or suppressing feelings that "produces the proper state of mind in others" (Hoschild, 2012, p. 7). Emotional labor can be a required form of labor in many service professions that seek to make customers or clients feel heard and taken care of.

Labor. While there are other forms of labor than those mentioned above such as affective (Hardt, 1999) and domestic (Vogel, 2000), I use the term labor in this study as an umbrella term for the work done to fulfill tasks or responsibilities that may or may not be waged. Labor is

inclusive of the work such as tasks and responsibilities that are required to meet the goals of the position, department, and institution, and it is also used to acknowledge the efforts and energy exerted by employees that cannot neatly be captured in a job description or set of responsibilities. For example, these efforts may include requests to provide mentoring, advocating for the needs of a specific population, and helping students and colleagues process through a difficult situation on campus. These efforts might require performing emotional labor with the intent of making students, colleagues, and other constituents feel they are cared for by the institution.

In this study I expand on these approaches to labor by using it as a means of capturing the demands on women of color, and the work, contributions, and effort participants exert that are not always recognized. Although a person may do work that is above and beyond their description voluntarily, the invisibility or lack of acknowledgement of their labor can have a cost and consequence to the person. My aim is to move beyond their perceived satisfaction or feelings that the work is a burden in an effort to shed light on women of color administrators' contributions, the accompanying effort, and the consequences of when it goes unacknowledged.

Race. It is a socially constructed concept used to categorize human differences and create hierarchies of power. Omi and Winant (2015) define race as a "concept that signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies" (p. 110). The categorization of people whether it be through characteristics such as phenotype shape conflicts and disparities that arise among people. This categorization according to race has changed according to social and political movements and, therefore, is seen as fluid (Omi & Winant, 2015).

Ethnicity. It is a socially constructed category that emphasizes differences in culture rather than differences of the human body (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). People of a common

territory may share characteristics such as language; however, they may be categorized into different racial groups. I used ethnicity as a means of including Latinos who are often considered in the United States as an ethnic group who have varying racialized experiences.

Gender. It is a social concept used to describe the variations in performance of masculinity and femininity. Although gender was once used as synonymous with biological differences in sex, the concept has been challenged to acknowledge that gender is fluid and cannot be simply described in terms of biology (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017). I used gender rather than sex as a way of including the experiences of transgender women in this study.

Woman of Color. I consider historically marginalized racial/ethnic groups in my conceptualization of woman of color and include Asian American, Black, Hispanic/Latino/a/x, Multiracial/Multiethnic, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Native American/Alaska Native cisgender and transgender women in the operationalization of women of color in the quantitative portion of this study. Within the qualitative section of this study, Latina/x interview participants are considered to be women of color with varying racialized experiences.

Mid-Level Professional/Administrator. Mid-level professionals typically oversee and manage departments (e.g. residential life/housing, financial aid, academic advising) and/or functional areas (e.g. academic affairs, student life, external affairs) and are typically situated at the institution between students and senior-level administrators (e.g. president, vice president) (Allee, 2015; Kiyama et al., 2012; Rosser, 2000). This study will examine the experiences of mid-level administrators who most commonly have job titles like dean, director, manager, or associate or assistant director/vice president/dean.

Perceived Organizational Support. This concept describes an employee's belief that an organization cares about their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986). An employee develops

this belief based on the actions of the people at the organization (Eisenberger et al., 1986). For example, a supervisor may show appreciation for an employee's extra effort and positively influence an employee's perception. Inversely, an organization may pay an employee less than what they deserve and adversely affect the belief that the organization values their contributions. This study uses this concept to examine actions or behaviors that shape mid-level women of color professionals' understanding of the value of their contributions.

Statement of the Problem

In recent years, higher education institutions have faced greater scrutiny regarding their workplace climates. Colleges and universities have recently been criticized for working conditions that push staff members out of the institution in search of more favorable environments. Roughly four out of five student affairs professionals who responded to a survey in 2021 conducted by NASPA reported that they believed staff members left the field because they felt underappreciated or undervalued by the institution (Ellis, 2021). In another July 2022 survey by the College and University Professional Association for Human Resources (CUPA-HR) of primarily human resources and student affairs staff, over one-third (34.9%) of respondents expressed intentions of leaving their jobs within the next year (Bichsel et al., 2022). Just over three-quarters (75.9%) of all respondents to the CUPA-HR survey intended to leave for better pay and salaries (Bichsel et al., 2022). A recent polling of college leaders also showed that institutions are experiencing difficulties with filling staff positions (Zahneis, 2022), therefore, necessitating a closer examination of the working conditions in higher education.

Although these surveys demonstrate some of the hiring and retention challenges in higher education, they neglect to show how subgroups experience the higher education work environment and its impact on their retention. Namely, women of color remain underrepresented

in higher education institutions and have their own set of racialized and gendered experiences that influence their professional experiences and career trajectories. Women of color represent approximately 20.1 percent of student and academic affairs administrators in higher education (NCES Digest of Education Statistics, 2018). Nearly two-thirds (67.8%) of student and academic affairs administrators[1] identify as female and 29.7 percent of female administrators identify as a woman of color (NCES Digest of Education Statistics, 2018). Among student and academic affairs administrators (both male and female), Black female administrators made up 9 percent of employees while Hispanic[2] females constituted 6.3 percent in 2018 (NCES Digest of Education Statistics, 2018). Female student affairs and academic administrators also identified as Asian (2.9%), Multiracial (1.1%), American Indian and Alaska Native (0.5%), and Pacific Islander (0.2%) (NCES Digest of Education Statistics, 2018). The representation of women of color diminishes as they move into senior administrator roles with only five percent of university presidents identifying as women of color (Espinosa et al., 2019; Johnson, 2017). When considering the representation of females and males in leadership positions, the proportion of females drops when they move into management positions. Although they make up a third of student and academic affairs administrators, female representation reduces to approximately 56.3 percent of employees in management[3] positions (NCES Digest of Education Statistics, 2018). The proportion of women also drops in senior leadership roles and, as of 2016, account for 30 percent of presidents in higher education (Johnson, 2017). These statistics demonstrate a

[1] IPEDS defines student and academic affairs administrators as "professionals who work in the areas of student activities, student admissions, student affairs, student career services, student enrollment, student financial aid, student registration and records, campus recreation services, and similar functions. Typically, the person who directs or heads the office would not be included in this category."
[2] Hispanic is used when datasets use this identity label. Hispanic, Latina, Latinx are used interchangeably in this study.
[3] IPEDs defines management positions as "staff whose job it is to plan, direct, or coordinate policies, programs, and may include some supervision of other workers" and also includes deans.

disparity in the gender and racial make-up of higher education administrators and leaders and requires a careful examination of experiences that have led to the persistent underrepresentation of women of color in higher education leadership.

My experience in the opening vignette illustrates what research has shown about the experiences of women of color in higher education: women of color often take on or are delegated responsibilities that perpetuate a racialized and gendered distribution of work. Although these contributions are valuable in carrying out the college or university's mission and goals, in this case, supporting diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts to create a welcoming and affirming environment for racially marginalized students, these contributions are not always supported adequately or recognized by the institution. This distribution of responsibilities has led to growing concerns about the negative professional and personal effects on women of color staff and administrators.

Because of their gender and race identities, women of color tend to be expected to make significant contributions to diversity efforts on campus, yet their efforts often go unrecognized. Women and people of color are often expected to fulfill a diversity need on committees (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986), mentor underrepresented students (Motha & Varghese, 2018; Porter et al., 2018; Pyke, 2011; Sandler & Hall, 1986), and provide more care labor (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Porter et al., 2018; Pyke, 2011) at the institution. Motha and Varghese (2018) found that women faculty, especially women of color, report they "carry heavy service loads" (p.511) in comparison to men and their white colleagues. These heavier loads often entail advising, mentoring, or emotionally supporting more students than their colleagues (Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese, 2018). However, the contributions to the

department and institution are often unrecognized despite the need for their service and detracts from labor that is rewarded such as research and teaching (Pyke, 2011).

An inequitable distribution of responsibilities and service places an added burden to women of color in higher education and leads to differential experiences from their peers. Although several studies have examined the causes and consequences of the service burden endured by women of color faculty (Baez, 2000; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Pyke, 2011) research has not given similar consideration to these issues among women of color student affairs administrators. Emerging studies on staff show that women and people of color experience similar expectations such as advocating for communities they represent (Anderson, 2021), fulfill diversity needs on a committee (Pertuz, 2017), and educate colleagues on the needs of underrepresented populations (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Pertuz, 2017).

Gendered and raced expectations of women of color create environments that can lead to burnout, stall career advancement, and push out employees who are critical to a diverse student population (Baez, 2000; Pyke, 2011). Among administrators, women of color face marginalization (Arredondo 2011; Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007; Jackson, 2011; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Mosley, 1980; Patitu & Hinton, 2003), isolation (Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Mosley, 1980), wage disparities (Enke, 2014; Rosser, 2000), and can lack the resources and support to succeed in their jobs (Jean-Marie et al., 2009). These experiences reflect a chilly campus climate and can have adverse effects for women of color. Although these studies have significantly contributed to understanding climate issues for women of color, they are largely focused on the experiences of women of color faculty or senior administrators and offer little insight to the experiences of women of color in mid-level positions.

The work environment has also been shown to affect mid-level professionals' intentions to leave an institution. Elements such as job satisfaction (Donaldson & Rosser, 2007; Rosser, 2004), feeling valued (Allee, 2015; Johnsrud et al., 2000), and difficult relationships with supervisors (Grant, 2006) contribute to mid-level professionals' intentions to leave a job or institution. Mid-level professionals have been shown to exhibit high attrition rates, especially when considering those with less than 10 years of experience in student affairs. Marshall et al. (2016) found in their study of student affairs professionals' attrition that 50 to 60 percent are likely to leave the field within the first five years of employment. Their study showed that 60 percent of their participants left within the first 10 years of starting as new professionals and 57 percent of their participants left when they were middle managers (Marshall et al., 2016). Given this rate of departure, it is important to further examine the experiences of mid-level administrators.

While the core responsibility of student affairs roles is to provide service and support to students (Rhatigan, 2009), there is a need to examine the workload distribution among administrators. In particular, it is important to know if women of color are sought out more than their white and male peers to provide guidance, mentorship, and support to marginalized student populations. This study sought to examine these questions and shed light on the (in)visible labor of women of color mid-level professionals, their perceived value of their contributions, and its relationship to their intentions to leave an institution.

Purpose and Scope of the Study

The study examined how race and gender contextualize the ways in which labor and perceptions of climate among women of color mid-level administrators contribute to their job satisfaction and intentions to remain in their current positions. The study focused on mid-level

professionals working at four-year institutions, focusing on women of color who hold titles such as assistant/associate director, director, and assistant dean. Using a multiple methods approach, I aimed to understand how the intersection of race and gender shape the labor that women take on in their roles, their perceptions of the distribution of the labor among their peers, and whether their labor is valued by the institution. Specifically, this study addresses the following research questions:

1. What is the nature (e.g., type, distribution) of the labor taken on by women of color higher education professionals?
2. To what extent do women of color higher education professionals feel valued for their labor?
3. To what extent does the perceived value of labor predict intent to leave for women of color?
4. In what ways do Latina mid-level student affairs professionals feel valued for their labor?
    a. How does the intersection of their race and gender identities shape the extent to which they perceive others as valuing their labor?

I chose to focus on mid-level administrators since women of color at this level are understudied (Pertuz, 2017); women of color often take on disproportionate amounts of care and emotional labor, but less has been researched on this distribution when it comes to staff and administrators (Duffy, 2010; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Porter et al., 2018); and student affairs practitioners, in particular, are likely to leave the field while they are in a mid-level position (Marshall et al., 2016). I also contextualized their experiences within public and private four-year institutions since their experiences may be different than their colleagues at two-year institutions. I was also interested in examining whether their intentions to leave their institution or their current position

could be understood as a function of the amount of time they spend working in various capacities, the value they see in their work, and whether they perceive others as valuing their efforts. Quantitative methods were used to understand the relationship between race, gender, the value of their labor, and their intent to leave. Qualitative methods were used to examine the experiences of a subpopulation of mid-level Latina student affairs professionals to offer a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of women of color in mid-level administrative roles.

Methodological Overview

To address these questions, this exploratory study utilized multiple methods to understand the experiences of mid-level women of color (generally) and mid-level Latina student affairs professionals (specifically). Survey data from the 2020 Staff Climate Survey (SCS) administered by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) was used to understand differences in the amount and type of labor women of color take on in comparison to their peers. Additionally, I examined differences in organizational support between women of color and their colleagues. Lastly, quantitative methods such as descriptive statistics, factor analysis, missing case analysis, and structural equation modeling (SEM) were used to understand the relationship between labor, organizational support, and women of color's intent to leave a position and institution. It is also important to note that insight from the qualitative findings informed the development of survey items used to measure labor, organizational support, as well as other latent variables. Qualitative methods allowed for a specific examination of the experiences of Latina mid-level student affairs professionals. This study drew from interviews collected between January and February 2018 on the experiences of Latina student affairs professionals to understand Latinas' contributions and how they come to define what it means to have their work

valued. The use of multiple methods shed light on the experiences of women of color mid-level higher education professionals.

Theoretical Framework

This study drew from two theoretical frameworks: perceived organizational support (Eisenberger et al., 1986) and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Perceived organizational support examines "employee's beliefs about the degree to which their organization values their contributions and cares about them" (Kim et al., 2017, p. 128). The theory argues that employees develop these beliefs based on the individual actions of players within the institution (Kim et al., 2017). The behavior of institutional agents such as supervisor support, rewards such as recognition, pay, and promotions, and the conditions of a work environment contribute to an employee's overall perception of feeling valued for their contributions to an organization (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). While perceived organizational support can lend insight to the institutional support of employees within higher education, it does not fully explain the experiences of women of color. A supervisor tasked with providing feedback to their supervisees can provide feedback that reflects a racial and gender bias. Therefore, an examination of organizational behavior must also be examined through an intersectional lens.

Crenshaw's (1989, 1991) theory on intersectionality was used to demonstrate that disparities are perpetuated by structures that are both raced and gendered. Intersectionality acknowledges that the intersection of marginalized identities leads to different lived experiences and that limiting research to one identity category ignores intragroup differences (Crenshaw, 1989). Crenshaw (1989) notes laws and resources are not equitably applied to Black women as a result of their marginalized racial and gender identity. Specifically, Crenshaw (1989) notes in one example that attempts to charge a company for discrimination against Black women resulted

in the belief that Black women could not simultaneously experience racism and sexism in the hiring process and had to select one category in their legal charges. Crenshaw (1989) goes on to discuss that the reduction of charges to race or gender discrimination did not remove barriers in the hiring of Black women. This experience, she argues, can only be understood if racism *and* sexism are taken into consideration (Crenshaw, 1989). Through the illustration of Black women's experiences, Crenshaw (1989) makes the case that intersectionality must be used to further capture the nuances of the lived experiences that result from multiple marginalized identities.

Crenshaw (1991) also goes on to identify three types of intersectionality: structural, political, and representational. Structural intersectionality is used to identify potential differences in access to resources, rewards, and distribution of labor between women of color and their peers. Political intersectionality reflects the experience of people with multiple marginalized identities who must negotiate the competing agendas and interests of each of their identity groups. Representational intersectionality can be used to understand how women of color higher education administrators are represented and how that shapes the value of their contributions. For the purposes of this study, I focused on structural and political intersectionality in my analysis. An intersectional lens sheds light on the relationship of race/ethnicity and gender on the professional experiences of women of color, the labor they undertake, the perception and key predictors of institutional support, and the meaning participants ascribe to their experiences.

Significance of the Study

Students continue to demand that institutions increase the diversity of their staff to meet their diverse needs (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). Their demands suggest an assumed connection between a healthy campus climate and the diversity found among campus administrators.

However, simply focusing on achieving greater representation neglects the challenges women of color face at higher education institutions, which often serve to undermine their willingness or ability to persist in their roles. Institutional climates impact the ability to retain underrepresented staff members and, consequently, the ability to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population. In other words, efforts aimed at achieving greater diversity among campus administrators that do not simultaneously seek to improve the working conditions of administrators from traditionally marginalized groups are unlikely to have long-term success. Therefore, a critical examination of women of color administrators' labor and the extent to which campuses recognize and value that labor is important for institutions that seek to diversify administrative positions on campus and subsequently improve the broader campus climate and support structures encountered by students.

Additionally, such an examination is critical for identifying and remediating barriers and inequities faced by this population. This study aimed to identify strategies institutions can implement to better support women of color in higher education that may ultimately lead to increases in retention of women of color in critical mid-level administrative positions. Findings from this study contribute to a greater understanding of institutional climate for women of color administrators, insight to their contributions, and identification of inequities in the distribution and recognition of their labor.

This chapter provided an overview of the need to examine the experiences of women of color mid-level administrators and highlighted initial gaps in the literature as well the methodological approach of this study. The following chapter provides a more in-depth discussion on the literature about labor in higher education, mid-level professionals' experiences,

the campus climate as it relates to women of color, and the theoretical concepts guiding this study. The third chapter further details the quantitative and qualitative procedures and analysis.

The fourth and fifth chapters provide an in-depth analysis of the findings from this study. With regards to the labor of women of color, findings demonstrated differences in the distribution of diversity work and indicated that women of color in mid-level positions tend to shoulder these responsibilities more often than white women, white men, and, in some instances, more than men of color. Among Latina mid-level student affairs professionals, diversity work included mentoring students, advocating for student needs, addressing campus climate issues, and affirming their own sense of belonging at the institution. Insights from Latinas' experiences showed that in addition to diversity work, they shoulder providing emotional support and care for students above and beyond the requirements of their role all while managing their own emotions. Insight from this study also pointed to raced and gendered structures and practices that perpetuate these differences in labor.

Examination of organizational support showed no differences when comparing women of color to their peers, but findings did indicate that feeling valued mitigated women of color's intentions to leave in most instances. Other factors such as diversity work, campus racial and gender climate, and supervisor support also influenced turnover rates among women of color. Increases in diversity work and an increasingly hostile climate adversely impacted women's intentions to leave their job and institution while affirming supervisor support reduced the likelihood of women of color leaving. Latina student affairs professionals' experience also affirmed that acknowledgement of their contributions, recognition of their expertise, and supervisors who demonstrated an ethic of care for them positively influenced their perceptions of being valued. Additionally, interviews showed that racism and sexism often contributed to

undermining and devaluing the contributions of Latina student affairs professionals indicating that developing a sense of organizational support is both raced and gendered.

The final chapter engages in further discussion of the findings and their significance to higher education and the overall support of women of color professionals in higher education. The discussion also provides implications for practitioners, survey design, and opportunities for future research. Overall, results from this study point to a need for institutions to address disparities in the distribution of diversity work, practices regarding rewards and recognition, and a need to address the racial and gender climate of an institution in an effort to improve working conditions for women of color mid-level professionals.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The collective labor of a college's or university's faculty, administrators, staff, and students not only supports the day-to-day operations of campuses but also enables institutions to fulfill their mission related to research, teaching, and service. The need for higher education professionals has grown as the role of faculty shifts primarily to a focus on knowledge production and teaching (Frye & Fulton, 2020). Faculty are increasingly charged with research, curriculum development and teaching, and providing service to the institution and community. This shift has left a need for non-faculty professionals to provide supplemental academic, personal, and professional support for students (Frye & Fulton, 2020). Consequently, colleges and universities have experienced a rise in hiring of higher education professionals to manage and oversee areas such as student support services, student development, programming, external affairs, and assessment. This continued shift in responsibilities signals that staff and administrators are a critical constituency; however, they also remain an understudied population.

As administrative roles, responsibilities, and services have shifted away from faculty toward higher education professionals with specialized skills and expertise, institutions have emphasized a structural perspective by relying on job descriptions, organizational charts, and institutionalized policies and processes to form functional administrative units that help to define distributions of labor. Although these structured divisions of labor outline responsibilities for staff and administrators, a closer examination reveals invisible forms of labor and disparities of its distribution along racial and gender identities (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Bellas, 1999; Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011; Pyke, 2011). For example, women and people of color are often asked to carry out the diversity work of an institution (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Baez, 2000; Duncan, 2014; Pertuz, 2017). Women are often asked to serve on committees

to diversify the composition of these groups (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011), and these requests are exacerbated when considering race and gender (Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011; Pertuz, 2017). Women of color are often asked to represent both racial and gender underrepresented groups and to become advocates for these groups (Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011).

Differences in the distribution of labor based on race and gender result in inequitable recognition and rewards for women of color. For example, women of color are often delegated diversity work which typically aligns with a university's mission and vision to serve a diverse population (Ahmed, 2012; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Pertuz, 2017; Porter et al., 2018). However, this type of work is at times devalued and considered to be less important than an employee's additional responsibilities (Savala, 2014). Persistent disparities in salaries are also a common example of inequities in the reward system for women, especially women of color (Enke, 2014; Hall & Sandler, 1984; Johnson, 2017), and show men typically out-earning women.

These discrepancies in the distribution of labor and disparities in rewards and recognition contribute to a chilly work environment and can impact the retention of women of color in higher education positions (Sandler & Hall, 1986). These inequities coupled with the lack of research on staff and administrators despite their rapid growth in colleges and universities create a need to examine the experience of women of color higher education professionals and more specifically, women of color in mid-level positions.

This chapter provides a background on the entry into higher education administration for women of color; a discussion on labor in higher education with particular focus on care labor, diversity work, and emotional labor; the experiences of mid-level administrators; and the relationship between campus climate and women of color. The chapter concludes with an

overview of the theoretical frameworks used to inform this study: perceived organizational support and intersectionality.

Background

Women of color have largely gone underrepresented in administrative and staff roles in higher education (Espinosa et al., 2019; Johnson, 2017; Savala, 2014). Any gains in representation have typically resulted from overall increases in the diversity of the general population and changes at the institutional level and in federal policy (Wilson, 1989). Yet, despite these efforts, demographic shifts among higher education professionals have not kept pace with the changes in the student population. Women of color have seen incremental gains in their representation in staff and administrator roles; however, as noted earlier, they continue to make up a small proportion of student and academic affairs administrators, managers, and senior-level leadership. This section provides a brief overview of the interventions that have contributed to an increase in women of color in the share of higher education administrative and staff roles as well as some of the challenges that continue to impact the retention of and campus climate for women of color.

Increased access to higher education positions for both women and people of color was largely influenced by changes in student enrollment. An increase in women's college enrollment in the early 1800s (Thelin, 2011) led to opportunities for women to serve in leadership positions; however, they were typically limited to oversight of women students. For example, the rise of domestic sciences programs (more commonly known as home economics) in the 1800s at colleges at universities led to an increase in women overseeing domestic science programs and primarily serving other women (Gillon, 2022; Miller, 2004). Additionally, increased enrollment of women in higher education led to women serving as dean of women with the first position

being created at the University of Chicago in 1892 (Rhatigan, 2009). Dean positions began to emerge at colleges and universities as result of a philosophical shift in higher education to focus on both the intellectual and social aspects of students' experiences (Gerda, 2006). The social aspects of student life were largely delegated to deans of men and deans of women (Gerda, 2006). This shift in responsibility meant that deans of women were charged with overseeing students on campus and responding to conduct with specific attention to the women enrolled at the institution. These positions later gave way to an increase in student services positions and in recent decades a greater desire for staff and administrators to mirror the student population demographics.

Changes in the racial and ethnic composition at colleges and universities also led to increased job opportunities primarily for people of color. A rise in Black student enrollment in higher education resulted, in part, from the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (Wilson, 1989). Some additional increases in student of color enrollment happened after World War II as a result of the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) (Thelin, 2011; Wilson, 1989) and continued to rise during the 1960s and 70s. Prior to World War II, racially and ethnically marginalized students were minimally present in higher education (Rhatigan, 2009). Demographic shifts in student enrollment served as a catalyst for demanding more diverse faculty and administrators that reflected the student body and could better support their needs. This movement towards meeting the needs of students has been especially prevalent in the last 20 years with an approximately 22.3 percent increase in student services between 2003 and 2013 (Desrochers & Hurlburt, 2016; Mastrodicasa, 2016). Calls for increasing the representation of racially and ethnically marginalized populations among faculty and administrators continue to

persist and are reflected in student demands from protests in recent years (Chessman & Wayt, 2016).

Federal policies have also played an important role in the representation of women of color in higher education leadership. Interests to remove barriers for marginalized populations led to the signing of Executive Orders 10925 in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy and 11246 in 1967 by President Lyndon B. Johnson which required affirmative action in the hiring and promotion of people of color and women (Wilson, 1989). While legislation addressed some barriers in hiring, employment opportunities were typically limited to positions responsible for leading specialized or diversity-related initiatives such as "directors of TRIO programs…, directors of remedial and compensatory programs, affirmative action officers, head of ethnic studies programs, etc.," which did not always carry the same weight and prestige that could lead to careers in senior leadership (Wilson, 1989, p. 90). Additionally, the 1967 Civil Rights Act, along with student demands to increase the diversity of faculty and staff, gave momentum to recruit Black faculty and administrators at colleges and universities (Mosley, 1980). However, these efforts have fallen short of ensuring equitable representation of Black faculty and administrators in higher education (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019).

Many Black faculty and administrators may not receive institutional and individual support (Wingfield, 2019); therefore, many campuses or departments may have incredibly small numbers of Black faculty or Black administrators (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019). Executive and legislative efforts have certainly contributed to greater numbers of women and people of color holding higher education leadership roles; however, these gains have not been equitably distributed across racial and ethnic identities. Women in general have benefited from

interventions to increase their representation in higher education leadership, yet these opportunities have not resulted in equitable representation of women of color.

With diversity growing with each new cohort of students enrolling in higher education, students have responded with demands that individuals filling faculty and staff positions at their institutions better reflect the diverse demographics of students (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). Many of these demands grew out of solidarity with the Concerned Student 1950 protests at the University of Missouri in 2015 (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). Students at the University of Missouri were demanding institutional action and response to their concerns over the campus racial climate and specifically the persistent racism faced by Black students (Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Seltzer, 2018). They presented a list of demands including the removal of the University of Missouri System President, Tim Wolfe, a 10 percent increase in Black faculty and staff campus wide, and a strategic plan to improve the retention of marginalized populations (Concerned Student 1950 List of Demands, 2015). Students at institutions across the country also joined in protest making similar demands that institutions address racial climate at their respective colleges and universities. As institutions respond to these student demands, it is necessary to further examine the experiences of women of color who are situated at the intersection of two marginalized identities.

Fundamental changes in higher education environments have contributed to increased hiring of higher education professionals (Frye & Fulton, 2020). In addition to changes in student demographics, institutional isomorphism has led institutions to keep pace with one another (Frye & Fulton, 2020). The desire to compete with other institutions means that colleges and universities must demonstrate their commitment to supporting a diverse population. Hiring administrators and staff who are more reflective of the student population and their needs is one

attempt at demonstrating this commitment. However, as the rest of this discussion will show, this commitment does not necessarily translate to supportive campus climates for marginalized populations or to equitable distributions of the labor required to support students.

Labor in Higher Education

Higher education institutions have historically used race and gender as a determinant of the labor of women and people of color within colleges and universities. Early higher education history shows that the rise of colleges and universities was largely due to the use of enslaved labor (Wilder, 2013). University leaders and faculty often had enslaved Black and Indigenous people work as servants, and they "often performed the most labor-intensive tasks" such as cooking, cleaning, gathering wood, building maintenance, and construction (Wilder, 2013, p. 134). In addition to raced labor, changes in gender demographics at institutions in the 1800s also led to gendered work. Increases in women's college enrollment was often followed by an increase in women's leadership positions but limited to the oversight and care of other women (Miller, 2004; Rhatigan, 2009). Women began to oversee academic programs such as domestic sciences (Miller, 2004) and women's experiences outside the classroom (Rhatigan, 2009). Oversight of more "traditional" disciplines and the welfare of men continued to be overseen by men. These racialized and gendered divisions of labor within higher education institutions have had intersecting and historical effects on women of color. Black women have had to grapple with lasting effects of the Mammy image which is rooted in the history of enslavement of Black women (Howard-Baptiste, 2014). Howard-Baptiste (2014) found that images of Black women "taking care of and tending to the daily needs of a White family" meant that Black women faculty were expected to continue this type of work and were undermined if they did not fit this

stereotype. As such, it is important to examine how race and gender continue to shape the labor of women of color in higher education.

Care Labor in Higher Education

Care labor[4] (or care work) reflects both paid and unpaid work that is characteristic of many service professions such as doctors, teachers, social workers, and similarly related jobs (Duffy, 2010). The concept captures less tangible forms of labor that can often go unacknowledged and typically fall outside traditional reward or incentive systems. Duffy (2010) offers two approaches to understanding care work: 1) the use of care as synonymous with reproductive labor and 2) a focus on the "content of the labor process" (p. 127). When viewed as reproductive labor, care work focuses on activities like domestic work (e.g., being fed, being taken care of when sick) that ultimately contribute to raising the next generation of the labor force (Duffy, 2010). The aim is to ensure that a future labor force is available to continue the work. Duffy (2010) posits that other scholars use the second approach ("the content of the labor process") to examine how care labor is embedded in relationships between people. Rather than looking at the contributions of care work to production, scholars examine the labor that is being performed in the context of the relationship (Duffy, 2010). For example, this labor can include "reading to a child" or "taking care of a sick family member" (Duffy, 2010, p. 127). In these instances, care work involves providing essential support to people so that they can function, and it involves building or having a relationship and connection to one another (Duffy, 2010). Similar acts of care can be found in service jobs including many of the service positions in higher education.

[4] For the purposes of this study, care labor and care work are used interchangeably.

Scholars have expanded on the defining characteristics of care work and motivation. McCracken and Tronto (2013) define care work as demonstrating care for self, others, the environment, and the vulnerable and note that care work scholarship has increasingly become interdisciplinary. In a study on the academic labor of faculty, Cardozo (2017) builds on the definition of care labor and suggests care labor includes work that is done due to intrinsic motivations. Care labor is used to understand how teaching is both paid and unpaid work that is done for "love and money" (Cardozo, 2017, p. 418). For example, the satisfaction of supporting students and the care for them may lead faculty to continue to do the work despite low wages (Cardozo, 2017). While there are competing definitions of care labor, they all assume care labor includes work done to support the well-being of others.

Race, Gender, and Care Labor

Women and people of color in higher education typically take on disproportionate amounts of care labor in comparison to men and white colleagues. Their care labor includes providing emotional support and advising students (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Porter et al., 2018). Women tend to have heavier advising loads than men (Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986). Motha and Varghese (2018) used narratives of their own experience as women faculty of color and found they have larger loads of graduate students and mentoring in comparison to their colleagues with non-minoritized identities. Heavier loads can result from students seeking them out due to their race and/or gender identity (Motha & Varghese, 2018). Anderson (2021) found in interviews with higher education staff and mid-level administrators who all but one identified as a person of color or LGBTQ+ and did diversity work on campus that they often had to provide care in the form of "emotional, social, and academic support" (p. 6). They cultivated spaces and developed

programming that affirmed the experiences of marginalized student populations (Anderson, 2021). Taking on additional students, mentees, and emotional support is often motivated by a sense of responsibility to support students who look like them or have shared experiences (Anderson, 2021; Motha and Varghese, 2018). The higher levels of advising and emotional support for students also result from institutional expectations to serve as support systems and advocates for marginalized populations (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese, 2018). This diversity work is further explored in the following sections.

Diversity Work in Higher Education

Women and people of color often find themselves carrying the load of diversity work at an institution. Ahmed (2012) describes diversity work as the act of both embedding diversity into the institution and carrying out diversity-related policies and practices. Diversity work is concerned with ensuring that diversity is built into the organizational flow and thinking (Ahmed, 2012). Anderson (2021) elaborates on this definition and views diversity work as "practices and discourses institutions utilize to represent and manage various forms of human difference" (p. 2). Women and people of color in higher education often take on or are expected to take on diversity work and fulfill institutional needs such as serving as mentors (Motha & Varghese, 2018; Porter et al., 2018; Pyke, 2011; Sandler & Hall, 1986) for the populations they represent. Porter et al. (2018) found in their study of doctoral STEM students of color and women that these students often assisted with recruitment efforts and peer mentoring. They would talk to prospective students about the diversity of the department and institution as well as their experiences (Porter et al., 2018). These same students often provided mentoring to other students of color and women and guidance on navigating their classes (Porter et al., 2018). These support systems are viewed as critical in creating a supportive environment for women and students of color.

Marginalized populations are delegated more of the teaching and service in comparison to their colleagues (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Motha & Varghese, 2018). Women and people of color are asked or expected to participate in committees and serve as representatives for populations with similar identities (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986). Hirshfield and Joseph (2011) found that women faculty often described being asked to serve on committees and to be the "woman representative." They were also often asked to advocate for or mentor women students especially when other faculty did not want to take on the responsibility (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011). Baez (2000) notes some faculty do service work for altruistic reasons or personal benefit; however, it has repercussions on the productivity and advancement of faculty of color as they attempt to balance student needs, research, and teaching. The taxation on marginalized racial and gender groups neglects to account for the differences experienced by women of color.

For women of color, the burden of diversity work is compounded as a result of their underrepresentation in higher education. Women of color faculty are often over-extended in service and mentoring roles (Duncan, 2014; Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011; Pyke, 2011; Sandler & Hall, 1986). They are sought out to support underrepresented students and perhaps serve as a voice for multiple marginalized identities (Duncan, 2014; Hirschfield & Joseph, 2011). Duncan (2014) shares that as a mixed-race Asian American woman in her department, she served on multiple committees within her first two years as a faculty member, was asked to represent the department at various events, and to mentor students of color. Duncan (2014) found that she and her colleague (the only other woman of color in her department) had extra service work and worked longer hours in order to meet the demands of their job. Hirshfield and Joseph (2011) similarly found that women of color faculty were asked to be the diversity representative in

committees. Women of color were often viewed as "maternal and nurturing" (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011, p. 220) and expected to mentor students. While some embraced this diversity work and felt a sense of responsibility, others viewed it as a challenge when work was delegated to them (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2011). These demands and expectations are typically a form of invisible labor (Duncan, 2014) that cannot neatly be captured by a functional list of job expectations and responsibilities. Instead, they reflect the care labor that women and, in this case, women of color undertake to support the needs of students as they navigate their academic journey. The higher levels of diversity work result from a request to serve as the voice of an underrepresented population at the institution (Ahmed, 2012; Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014), and from underrepresented students who are interested in seeking out mentorship and support from a mentor or advisor who shares their identity (Anderson, 2021; Duncan, 2014).

Much of the research on care labor in higher education has focused on the experiences of faculty; however, emerging research on staff and administrators (for example, Anderson, 2021, Anthym & Tuitt, 2019) suggests staff and administrators experience care labor and diversity work in similar ways to faculty. Women and people of color are asked to become advocates at the institution for marginalized populations (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019). In addition to programming, Anderson (2021) found that staff and mid-level professionals consistently described spending time training colleagues on diversity-related topics. The goal of these diversity workers was to get other staff and faculty on campus to show care for students and/or inflict less harm on them (Anderson, 2021). In Anthym and Tuitt's (2019) analysis of Tuitt's personal and professional documents, they found that as one of a few Black men in a faculty and mid-level administrator role, Tuitt was often asked to speak at Black History Month

events and represent the needs of Black communities. Tuitt also felt he had to open up his office as a "crisis center" in ways that his other colleagues did not have to (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019, p. 1082). What makes this different, however, is that for some of these administrators the diversity work is embedded into their job descriptions. What we know less about is the load of diversity work taken on or imposed on marginalized populations across functional areas.

Emotional Labor in Higher Education

Race, Gender, and Emotional Labor

Some scholars have also examined the emotional labor done as part of diversity work. Hoschild (2012) defined emotional labor as labor that "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others - in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe space" (p. 7). In other words, emotional labor requires managing one's inner feelings and performing work that will achieve the desired feeling in the other person. For example, a customer service representative may suppress feelings of frustration and exhibit a pleasant attitude so that the customer feels heard and cared for. In higher education, emotional labor is a byproduct of the diversity work needed to support marginalized communities (Anderson, 2021; Porter et al., 2018). Porter et al. (2018) discussed that women and students of color provided space to one another for emotional processing and debriefing. These students often suppressed their feelings when faced with discrimination and created discussion groups where they could listen to one another, offer guidance, and simply allow for them to discuss the impact of discrimination on their student experience (Porter et al., 2018). The discussion groups are an example in which marginalized groups do emotional labor in order to retain one another in their doctoral programs. Diversity workers in Anderson's (2021) study also performed emotional labor when they facilitated

training sessions for their colleagues. They often found themselves sharing personal stories that highlighted the experiences as a marginalized individual in order to explain a point (Anderson, 2021). Many of these participants found themselves reliving the feelings of those difficult moments and having to mask it during the training session (Anderson, 2021). These forms of emotional labor can take a toll on marginalized populations.

Emotional Labor and Burnout

A growing concern within service professions is that emotional labor will lead to burnout. In a time of a health pandemic and racial reckoning, this concern is heightened as higher education institutions attempt to provide resources and support to students affected by them (McClure, 2020). Burnout consists of feelings of exhaustion and continuing to work past that tiredness (McClure, 2020). Such feelings can have adverse effects on employees including the possibility of leaving a position. Within diversity work, staff members might find the work to be "difficult and emotionally taxing" (Anderson, 2021, p. 9). Anderson (2021) used the concept of "burning through" as a lens to understand the role of institutions in using the labor of marginalized populations to carry out diversity work to the point of exhaustion. Some staff admitted to crying, feeling stressed, a lack of desire to be at work, and a need for boundaries because of the toll of their work (Anderson, 2021). Additional studies will need to examine how the emotional labor of diversity work affects women of color.

Inequities in Rewards and Recognition of Labor

Women and Career Advancement

Women are underrepresented at various senior roles and ranks in higher education. The representation of women in faculty positions decreases as they move up the academic ranks and only hold 32 percent of full professor positions at degree granting institutions. Women faculty

are also less likely to move into leadership positions when compared to men (Johnson, 2017). When accounting for both race and gender, men of color more often are full professors than women of color (Johnson, 2017). Similar challenges in representation for women occur among senior-level leadership positions; women only account for 30 percent of presidents across all institution types (Johnson, 2017), and women of color make up five percent of presidents (Howard & Gagliardi, 2017). This can be attributed to a lack of representation of women of color at higher faculty ranks (Johnson, 2017).

When women do enter administrative leadership roles, they may be relegated to positions that are gendered. In administrative roles, the dean of women position, as was discussed earlier, was established to have women look after students of the same gender. The position reflected a conscious choice to divide labor according to gender by assigning dean of women responsibilities and oversight based on gender identity. Hughes (1989) stated the presence of women meant men focused on work as professors and administrators and women were assigned responsibility over student affairs and their development.

Compensation

Women are consistently paid less than men for their work in higher education. Among faculty, men continue to out earn women who share the same rank with men earning nearly $14,000 more than women at public institutions and just over $18,000 at private institutions (Johnson, 2017). When controlling for academic rank and sex, salary differences ranged from an approximately $2,600 at the instructor level to just over $18,000 at the full professor level with men earning more than women (Johnson, 2017). Similar trends were found when controlling for rank and institutional type. Men were paid higher salaries than women at all institution-types except at private two-year institutions (Johnson, 2017).

Among higher education administrators, differences in salaries according to race and gender have shown mixed results. Some studies have cited persistent wage gaps between women and men especially among women of color (Enke, 2014; Hall & Sandler, 1984; Rosser, 2000; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b; Wilson, 1989) while others have shown potential signs of parity. Factors such as degree attainment (Reason et al., 2002) and institutional characteristics such as institutional type (Engstrom et al., 2006) had a significant relationship with salaries for senior student affairs officers. Reason et al. (2002) found that men of color in senior student affairs positions with a degree other than a Ph.D./Ed.D or M.A./M.S. had the highest mean salary while women of color with an M.A./M.S. degree had the lowest salary. While these results show potential parity in salary at senior-level positions, there must be caution in reading these results. People of color represented approximately 20 percent of the sample population in Reason et al.'s (2002) study, and the results did not account for institutional differences. By contrast, Reason (2003) found in a study on African American senior student affairs officers that women earned far less than men. Reason (2003) attributed differences to institutional type and noted that women are more likely to work at smaller institutions with lower pay. Wage differences point to a consistent form in which organizations perpetuate inequities for women in higher education and necessitate a closer examination of the relationship of race and gender on compensation among administrators especially at lower ranks.

Mid-Level Administrators

Mid-level administrators play a critical role in ensuring student success in higher education and are important to supporting an institutions' research, teaching, and service efforts (Rosser, 2000). Mid-level administrators typically make up the largest group of employees at institutions (Allee, 2015; Rosser, 2000) and primarily work in four types of units: student

services, academic support, business and administrative services, and external affairs (Rosser, 2000). They are positioned at a critical junction in the organizational chart to have direct contact with students, faculty, the public as well as upper administration (Allee, 2015; Kiyama et al., 2012; Rosser, 2000). Employees in mid-level positions oversee and manage departments and/or functional areas aimed to support college students, staff, faculty, and external constituents such as alumni. Their role typically consists of finding a balance between carrying out institutional policies and procedures and meeting the needs of students, staff, and faculty (Rosser, 2000). Striking this balance is what makes mid-level administrators a significant role at the institution.

Hiring for mid-level positions has steadily increased over the years. During the 1970s and 1980s, twice as many administrators were hired than faculty, which accounted for one of the largest increases in higher education positions (Johnsrud et al., 2000). The growth in the number of staff, managerial positions, and non-faculty professional positions has continued to increase, as the growth in administrative higher education positions significantly outpaced the growth in the number of full-time faculty positions between 1990 and 2012 (Desrochers & Kirshtein, 2014 as cited in Frye & Fulton, 2020; Mastrodicasa, 2016). Although some critics may view increases in administrator positions as unnecessary bloat or costs that directly contribute to rising tuition (Campos, 2015; Durden, 2020; Simon, 2017), these increases in staffing are also reflective of the need for a larger array of services for an increasingly diverse student population (Mastrodicasa, 2016; Rodriguez, 2020).

Administrative costs have increased to keep pace with increased regulations and service demands. Specifically, mandates in areas such as Title IX, student conduct, and financial aid necessitate additional staff to meet new regulations and reporting (Mastrodicasa, 2016). Rodriguez (2020) argues that a lack of community services in areas such as mental health also

result in higher education institutions filling the gap and providing these services to students. Consequently, the highest increases in administrative spending have been in student services (Mastrodicasa, 2016). Student services spending increased approximately 22 percent from between 2003 and 2013 (Desrochers & Hurlburt, 2016; Mastrodicasa, 2016). Student affairs professionals are typically hired in these student service positions and work in functional areas such as orientation/new student transitions, residential life, identity-based centers (e.g., women's center, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer [LGBTQ] center, multicultural center), TRIO programs, health and wellness, student activities, student conduct, and career services, among others. Their purpose is to assist students' as they transition into and through college. The increased spending on staff such as student affairs professionals is meant to provide services that are critical to students' persistence and retention in higher education.

Barriers to Persistence and Retention

Mid-level administrators face myriad challenges in higher education and barriers to their career advancement. They do not always feel supported by top administrators (Vaccaro, 2011a) and can feel frustrated due to a lack of resources (Allee, 2015; Vaccaro, 2011a), time (Vaccaro, 2011a), and ability to change the system (Vaccaro, 2011a). Although minimal research has been conducted on mid-level professionals, several studies have examined the work environment for mid-level professionals especially with respect to factors related to the likelihood they intend to remain in their current job and/or at their current institution.

Intent to Leave and Work Environment

Intent to leave is frequently used to measure turnover in studies on mid-level professionals and predict the likelihood that an employee will leave the institution (Donaldson & Rosser, 2007; Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rosser, 2004). Donaldson and Rosser (2007) found that

mid-level managers with fewer years of working on campus are more likely to experience turnover which suggests that institutions may lose staff while they are early in their tenure. Reasons for departure from an institution or job also include working conditions such as long hours (Marshall et al., 2016), low pay (Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016), role ambiguity (Marshall et al., 2016), and incompatibility with a supervisor (Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016). Among student affairs professionals, Marshall et al. (2016) state that unfavorable conditions such as working extensive hours without proper guidance, adequate compensation, and support such as mentoring or professional development are significant predictors of employees leaving an institution. Rosser and Javinar (2003) also found that the length of time at an institution impacted mid-level student affairs professionals' morale and intent to leave. As time working at an institution increased, student affairs professionals were less likely to leave because having additional years invested in the profession seemed to translate into a stronger commitment to their positions and their careers (Rosser & Javinar, 2003). Higher salaries also contributed to a decrease in likelihood that mid-level student affairs professionals would leave an institution (Rosser & Javinar, 2003). Rosser and Javinar (2003) find that although their participants showed fewer signs of leaving the institution, student affairs departments continue to experience high turnover and, thus, it is important to further examine the work environment and its relationship to leaving an institution.

The work environment has a significant impact on higher education administrators and their intentions to leave an institution (Allee, 2015; Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016). Negative working conditions contribute to lower rates of morale (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Marshall et al., 2016) and can impact employees' commitment to the institution. Professional growth is important to the retention of mid-level administrators; however, barriers such as a lack of

professional development (Johnsrud & Rosser, 1999; Marshall et al., 2016; Rosser, 2000) and mentorship (Marshall et al., 2016) can result in mid-level professionals leaving higher education. In particular, not receiving professional support may result in student affairs professionals feeling a lack of connection to the profession and leaving the field or institution (Marshall et al., 2016). Additionally, student affairs professionals can face unrealistic workloads that require spending long hours to complete their work (Allee, 2015; Marshall et al., 2016). Student affairs professionals may be asked to provide services such as crisis response or programming outside business hours potentially making their working days longer than employees in other units. While these studies explain factors that contribute to mid-level professionals' intent to leave a position, additional findings suggest varying impact for employees with marginalized identities.

Mid-level professionals from marginalized populations can be particularly susceptible to unfavorable environments and report a greater likelihood of leaving an institution or position. Unfavorable environments for staff of color (Burke & Carter, 2015; Harris, 2017), stress (Allee, 2015), job demands (Allee, 2015; Marshall et al., 2016), and difficult relationships with supervisors (Grant, 2006) represent just some of the working conditions associated with the intention to leave among higher education employees. Donaldson and Rosser (2007) identified that racially underrepresented groups and mid-level managers who experienced discrimination are more likely to indicate an intention to leave the institution. Their findings reveal that campus climates are critical in determining mid-level professionals' decisions to stay at an institution or job. Grant (2006) found African American student affairs administrators were most likely to report intentions to leave than their peers. Among multiracial campus professionals, Harris (2017) found that many reported facing microaggressions related to their multiracial identities which contribute to an unwelcoming environment. Results show that racially marginalized

populations are more likely to report leaving an institution, but the same attention has not been given to staff members with intersecting marginalized identities, necessitating a closer examination of populations with multiple marginalized identities.

The relationship between the work environment and intent to leave is further exacerbated for women of color. Experiences of sexism (Enke, 2014; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccarro, 2011a, 2011b), a sense of invisibility (Vacarro, 2011b), and exclusion from conversations (Sandler & Hall, 1986) have all been found to create challenging environments for women. Women of color additionally face issues of racism (Burke & Carter, 2015; Pertuz, 2017; Rosette et al., 2019; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Savala, 2014), feelings of isolation (Rosette et al., 2019), and a sense of pressure to prove themselves (Rosette et al., 2019). Feeling isolated often results from being the only one or one of few women of color professionals at an institution (Savala, 2014) and having to navigate the institution on their own. Women of color professionals also experience expectations of their job performance and competence that are shaped by race and gender. Women, and especially women of color, may not be seen as competent leaders (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Sandler & Hall, 1986) which can manifest in additional pressure to demonstrate their skills and abilities. Encountering these challenges has shown to be detrimental to the advancement of women of color in higher education leadership positions. Women of color are less likely to move into senior leadership positions and are often paid less than men and white women. Race and gender, thus, shape the experiences of women of color and influence whether they remain in their position or at an institution.

Job Satisfaction

Extensive work on job satisfaction among mid-level professionals has revealed that it is significantly related to intent to leave. Sex has been used as a control variable for predicting job

satisfaction; however contradictory results have emerged. One study found that men were more satisfied with their jobs than women (Grant, 2006); however, Donaldson and Rosser (2007) found an opposite effect and noted that women were more satisfied than men. These discrepancies may be due to differences in sample characteristics. The sample in Donaldson and Rosser's (2007) consisted of mostly women (64.3%) and primarily identified as Caucasian (91%). In contrast, Grant's (2006) study also consisted of mostly women (65%) but included more people of color (27.5%). While it is unclear what percentage of the sample consisted of men and women of color in Grant's (2006) study, it is possible that a greater proportion of respondents faced inequities due to their race and/or gender identity and led to differing results in satisfaction. When considering race, African American and Hispanic student affairs administrators were least satisfied with their positions (Grant, 2006). Additional demographic characteristics such as age were found to be positively correlated to job satisfaction (Grant, 2006). Grant (2006) found that as age increases so does job satisfaction, and employees under 35 indicated the highest rates of intent to leave. Increases in educational attainment also meant increases in job satisfaction (Grant, 2006). Women with doctoral degrees were more satisfied with their jobs (Grant, 2006). These findings suggest that older and more established employees are likely to have overcome obstacles and therefore may exhibit a stronger commitment to their roles and the institution.

Feeling Valued for Labor

Recognition of employee contributions to an institution is critical for the retention and support of higher education employees. Johnsrud et al. (2000) found that recognition of contributions is important to mid-level administrators. Rosser (2000) describes that recognition of mid-level administrators' competence includes "guidance, trust, communication, participation,

confidence, and performance feedback" (p. 9). Showing trust in an employee signals confidence in their ability to carry out their duties. Providing feedback shows that an employee's work is noticed and important enough to invest time and effort to help the employee improve and grow. These forms of acknowledgement not only validate the contributions by mid-level administrators but also assist in retaining them at the institution. Feeling valued for their contributions can contribute to positive effects such as increased effectiveness (Rosser, 2000), an increase in morale (Johnsrud & Rosser, 1999; Rosser, 2000), improved job satisfaction (Rosser, 2004), and a decrease in the likelihood that employees will leave their position (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rosser, 2000, 2004). These forms of recognition are meant to create positive working environments and increase employees' commitment to stay at the institution. These studies reveal important items for recognizing the contributions of mid-level administrators across the institution but fall short of examining how mid-level administrators with intersecting marginalized identities experience these forms of recognition. Often demographic characteristics are examined quantitatively and controlled for as single items; that is, they are inserted into models as a single variable such as race, gender, and age. However, an intersectional approach is necessary for further understanding how these forms of recognition impact mid-level professionals with multiple marginalized identities.

Lack of Recognition

The lack of recognition of employees' contributions affects the working climate as well as an institutions' ability to retain administrators. The lack of recognition is typically attributed to poor supervision and lack of faculty acceptance as full members of the academic community (Allee, 2015; Johnsrud et al., 2000). Supervisors may lack the skills to understand, guide, or support mid-level administrators, and faculty may not understand or value the contributions of

administrators. Without proper training, supervisors may be underprepared for providing feedback to their employees and offer minimal guidance on how to carry out job responsibilities. Faculty, on the other hand, may not fully understand the scope of responsibilities and contributions of mid-level professionals and struggle to see the connection between administrator's work with their own. Studies on mid-level administrators have shown that they often report not feeling appreciated as a result of their "skill, background, or expertise" being ignored (Rosser, 2000, p. 8) and that their work often goes unnoticed (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser, 1999; Rosser, 2000). Limited recognition for their contributions and competence have been found to contribute to the departure of administrators (Johnsrud, 1996; Marshall et al., 2016). In the absence of recognition, Johnsrud and Rosser (1999) find that morale decreases and leads mid-level administrators to feel less committed to the institution (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rosser, 2000).

Although previous research has demonstrated the significance of recognition for mid-level administrators' contributions to higher education, there is a need to examine the racialized and gendered ways in which institutions value the labor of women of color working in these positions. Most studies focus on outcomes such as morale (for example, Donaldson & Rosser, 2007; Johnsrud et al., 2000), increased commitment to the institution or profession (for example, Donaldson & Rosser, 2007), and job satisfaction (for example, Grant, 2006); however, they seldom examine the intersectional role of race and gender on the extent to which employees feel valued for their work. Given that women and people of color can feel their labor is devalued, it is important to understand women of color's experiences and how the intersection of both their racial/ethnic and gender identities shape the labor they take on as well as the extent to which the institution values their labor. The experiences of women of color with the climate of college

campuses and the working environments located within these institutions significantly shape whether women of color working in campus administrative positions perceive their contributions as being valued by their supervisors and colleagues. The next section shares findings from research on campus climate for women of color.

Campus Climate for Women of Color in Higher Education

Institutional climates play a significant role in either advancing or hindering the success of women of color higher education administrators. Affirming environments can help reduce stress for women of color and contribute to the retention of this marginalized population. However, several studies have documented that women of color often face challenging environments. They may be faced with barriers such as unclear expectations or a lack of mentors (Arredondo, 2011; Henry & Glenn, 2009; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Pertuz, 2017). The following sections highlight some of the challenges women of color face and sources of support.

Chilling Effects in the Campus Climate

Race and Gender Discrimination Continue to Plague Careers

Experiences with racism and sexism continue to affect the experiences of women of color administrators and contribute to a hostile climate (Arredondo, 2011; Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007; Jackson, 2011; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Patitu & Hinton, 2003). Women of color may not be promoted in the same manner as their peers. For example, Patitu and Hinton (2003) found that a Black woman in their study was denied the title of director when she took on a new position even though the participant's male predecessors all had a director title. There was no other explanation for a difference in titles aside from the participant's gender. Titles impact salaries as well as access to certain meetings meant for directors so inequitable

promotions contribute to race and gender disparities. Racially minoritized staff also report experiencing microaggressive behavior (Harris, 2017). In a study of multiracial campus professionals, participants described experiencing racial microaggressions that denied their multiracial identity (Harris, 2017). Similarly, Viernes Turner's (2007) study on university presidents found women of color experienced racialized and gendered slights that questioned their skills and ability to lead. For example, an American Indian woman was critiqued for her "soft voice" (p. 21), which led her to wonder if a man would receive similar criticism. These forms of discrimination can have a chilling effect for women of color and result in feelings of isolation (Patitu & Hinton, 2003).

Devaluation of the Work

Another contributing factor to a chilly climate for women is the devaluation of their labor and contributions to higher education institutions (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b). Women's labor often goes unrecognized, and they consistently experience a devaluation of their work and achievements (Allee, 2015; Enke, 2014; Hall & Sandler, 1984; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b). For example, women faculty are more likely than men to be asked to provide service (e.g. serve on committees) and be mentors (Pyke, 2011). Yet, their service labor is viewed as voluntary and less important than their research and teaching rather than an essential function of the university (Pyke, 2011). This approach lends itself to viewing women's labor as less important than the contributions of men (Arredondo, 2011; Hall & Sandler, 1984). Additionally, women of color are often paid less than their peers (Enke, 2014; Hall & Sandler, 1984; Johnson, 2017; Rosette et al., 2018; Rosser, 2000; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b; Wilson, 1989). These disparities are exacerbated when considering both race and gender. Wage and salary disparities have been well documented for

women of color faculty and administrators; women of color tend to earn less than white men and women (Howard & Gagliardi, 2017; Johnson, 2017; Wilson, 1989). These are some indicators of the ways in which higher education diminishes the value of women of color labor.

Lack of Belief in Competence

Women of color are also faced with doubt regarding their abilities and accomplishments (Howard & Gagliardi, 2017; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Sandler & Hall, 1986) which can add additional stressors in their work environment. In interviews of women of color presidents, participants often pointed to incidents in which others questioned their competence, leadership, and knowledge based on the assumption that women of color are not as skilled as their colleagues (Howard & Gagliardi, 2017). Similarly, Pertuz (2017) describes that several Latina mid-level professionals shared they felt they needed to "prove themselves." They had to demonstrate that they could be trusted and had the knowledge and skills to be successful in their positions (Pertuz, 2017). The continuous necessity to show their competence is reflective of an institutional climate that is not supportive of women of color.

Efforts to Create Welcoming Environments

Recommendations to create welcoming environments often emphasize the need for a supportive network and access to resources. Women of color often point to their networks of colleagues, family, friends, and community members as a source of guidance and support (Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Pertuz, 2017). These networks provide space to process their experiences and can lead to forming mentoring relationships. Creating a welcoming environment requires institutions to allocate time and resources for women of color to form these networks. This is particularly important if they are one of few or only women of color in the department and/or institution. Additionally, having access to professional development

opportunities has proven to assist women in gaining the skills to advance professionally (Marrero-Lopez, 2015). Participation in leadership development programs, for example, proved beneficial to several participants in Marrero-Lopez's (2015) study of the Latino leadership pipeline. Many participated in local and national leadership development programs and found it helpful in both building their skills and developing connections with other people in their field or disciplines. These investments along with fostering mentoring relationships and creating equity in the rewards for women of color administrators can contribute to creating an affirming environment.

Experience of Latina Higher Education Professionals

Many of these studies help us understand the challenges women of color face in higher education; however, they typically concentrate on the experiences of faculty (for example, Patitu & Hinton, 2003) and senior-level administrators (for example, Viernes Turner, 2007). Few studies focus on the experiences of women of color mid-level professionals and even fewer center the experiences of Latinas in these roles. Current studies on Latinas in higher education leadership positions have shown that Latinas commonly attribute their ability to advance professionally to their mentoring relationships (Pierce, 2017; Savala, 2014). One participant credited her faculty mentors with helping her prepare for and navigate her current dean position (Pierce, 2017). Another participant appreciated the mentoring she received which led her to mentor others as a form of giving back to the community (Pierce, 2017). Other studies point to the barriers Latinas face and contribute to a hostile working environment. Latinas point to issues such as a lack of Latina representation (Savala, 2014), discrimination (Pertuz, 2017; Pierce, 2017), and poor supervision (Marrero-Lopez, 2015) as challenges that hinder their professional success. Pertuz (2017) examines the experiences of Latina mid-level professionals and finds that

they often feel tokenized in their positions and experience microaggressions. Latinas often recognized they were hired to fulfill the diversity goals of the institution (Pertuz, 2017). Specifically, many were only called on to serve the diverse representation on committees, to help colleagues know how to work with students of color, and to essentially be the "diversity expert" (Pertuz, 2017, p. 160). Although these contributions are valuable to the institution, this also places the onus and potentially heavy burden on Latinas. Several of these studies focus on senior-level Latinas, yet the emerging research shows a need to further explore the experiences of Latinas at the mid-level position. Further examination can illuminate the contributions of this population to the institution and to what extent they are valued.

Contribution to Research

Research in higher education has given some attention to the effects of race and gender on labor and provided valuable insight to understanding the raced and gendered expectations women of color face. Studies have shown that women carry a disproportionate amount of service, are less likely to be found in senior administrative roles, and likely to earn lower wages than their male colleagues. These findings demonstrate that women are held to different expectations and standards that can adversely affect their career advancement, rewards, and workload. While these contributions are significant, they primarily focus on the experiences of women faculty and to a lesser extent on women of color faculty. Recognizing that women of color faculty endure disparities in the type and intensity of labor assigned to and expected of them, this study will examine how these disparities manifest among women of color in mid-level administrative roles and consider the implications such disparities in work roles and expectations have for their intent to stay at an institution.

Studies focused on administrators are primarily of a qualitative nature and tend to focus on senior-level administrators and their career pathways (Allee, 2015; Enke, 2014; Gorena, 1996; Hannum et al., 2015; Hill, 2017; Oikelome, 2017; Savala III, 2014; Viernes Turner, 2007) and show that obstacles along their career include racism, sexism, skepticism in their ability to lead, and a lack of support from the institution. Mid-level administrators are largely absent from the research, despite mid-level administrators making-up the majority of higher education administrators (Allee, 2015; Donaldson & Rosser, 2007; Grant, 2006; Rosser, 2000; Vaccaro, 2011a). Quantitative studies on mid-level administrators have focused on outcomes such as intent to leave an institution with little regard to the relationship between intersecting marginalized identities, care labor, and diversity work on intentions of leaving an institution or position.

Many administrators are likely to carry out their careers at a mid-level position (Marshall et al., 2016), as a number of mid-level professionals may not see senior-level positions as a viable option or may be pushed out of the field before they have an opportunity to ascend to these positions. This lack of perceived or realized career mobility necessitates an examination of the experiences of mid-level professional earlier in their career trajectory. Rosser (2000) notes previous research on mid-level administrators primarily focused on the demographic data (numbers and make-up) of the population. Studies have since examined their working conditions such as job satisfaction (Donaldson & Rosser, 2007, 2007; Johnsrud, 2002; Rosser, 2004), morale (Johnsrud et al., 2000), intent to leave (Allee, 2015; Donaldson & Rosser, 2007; Grant, 2006; Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rosser, 2004), and work climate (Allee, 2015; Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016). Additionally, research has shown that mid-level professionals are likely to feel undervalued for their contributions to the institution (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Johnsrud & Rosser,

1999; Rosser, 2000). When race and gender are considered, women of color are also likely to feel undervalued which can be exacerbated by a chilly campus climate (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Sandler & Hall, 1986). Although there has been growth in the work on mid-level professionals, few have taken an intersectional approach to understanding how race and gender influence work climate, job expectations, and outcomes such as intent to leave an institution.

Prior research on higher education administrators and staff tends to focus on collective experiences of women with minimal focus on the differences women of color experience due to their marginalized racial identities. Emerging studies on women of color have also primarily examined the pathways of senior administrators with few studies centering women of color mid-level professionals (Pertuz, 2017). Given that women of color can face challenging campus climates and be mostly concentrated in mid-level positions, this study aims to bridge the gap between the research on labor, higher education mid-level administrators, and women of color.

Theoretical Framework

Given this background, I draw from perceived organizational support theory as well as intersectionality, specifically structural and political intersectionality, to better understand the labor women of color mid-level professionals take on in higher education and the value of their contributions by colleges and universities.

Perceived Organizational Support

To examine how mid-level professionals make meaning of the value of their contributions, this study draws on organizational psychology research. Eisenberger et al. (1986) first examined the processes and behavior of institutional agents that contribute to an employee's perception that their contributions are valued by an organization. The perception of feeling

valued for their contributions is known as perceived organizational support. The theory was developed in response to growing research on employee's commitment to an organization and an interest in further examining elements that influence organizational commitment (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Eisenberger et al. (1986) proposed that in order to understand an employee's commitment to the organization, the reciprocal relationship – the employee's belief that the organization is committed to them – must also be examined. The theory assumes that members of the organization such as supervisors will take action that makes employees feel that their contributions matter to the organization. Action can include positive behaviors such as caring about an employee's opinion, appreciating extra effort, and understanding if an employee is absent from work due to illness (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Negative behaviors might include paying an employee less than they deserve, ignoring complaints, and caring more about profits than the individual (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Based on these behaviors, employees assign a "global belief" about the organization and determine if the organization values their contributions and cares about them (Kim et al., 2017; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002).

Eisenberger et al. (1986) identified various behaviors and organizational structures that influence an employee's perceptions of the value of their work. The authors developed and tested a factor of perceived organizational support based on responses to 36 survey items. The factor consists of items measuring recognition of employees' contributions such as praise, approval, and appreciation, rewards for employee work such as increases in salary and rank in an organization, care for an employee's well-being including an organization's support during illness, mistakes, and elimination of jobs, and responsiveness to requests for better working conditions (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Positive responses from the organization and its institutional agents result in an employee's belief that the organization values their contributions

(Eisenberger et al., 1986; Kim et al., 2017). Organizational support also assumes that an employee will be rewarded for greater efforts that meet the organization's goals (Eisenberger, et al., 1986). The authors used all 36 items in constructing a factor and found that all items significantly contributed to measuring perceived organizational support. Their factor loadings ranged from the lowest at 0.43 to the highest at 0.84. Additional analysis of organizational support theory defines that perceived organizational support should result in (1) "a felt obligation to care about the organization's welfare and to help the organization reach its objectives", (2) "fulfill socioemotional needs, leading workers to incorporate organizational membership and role status into their identity", and (3) "strengthen employee's beliefs that the organization recognizes and rewards increased performance" (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002, p. 699). In other words, strengthening employees' perceived organizational support should result in employees expressing a stronger commitment to the organization, identifying more with their role in the organization, and believing that the organization will value and care about their contributions.

Studies have further identified organizational elements that influence and reflect organizational support and its effects on various outcomes. Three types of behavior from an organization and its agents (fairness, supervisor support, and rewards and job conditions) contribute to changes in perceived organizational support (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) – more favorable treatment results in stronger perceived organizational support. Additionally, in their examination of the relationship between perceived organizational support and absenteeism, Eisenberger et al. (1986) found that employees with stronger beliefs that the organization values their contributions are less likely to be absent from their job. High levels of perceived organizational support also lead to increases in organizational commitment, job satisfaction, contributions to the organization that go above and beyond the job responsibilities, and a

reduction in stressors that can result in fatigue and burnout (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Perceived organizational support will also provide assurance to employees that the organization will provide the necessary support and conditions that help an employee carry out their job and manage stressors.

While this framework has been used in psychology to understand employees' experiences (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Eisenberger et al., 2001; Kim et al., 2017), this framework can be useful in examining organizational support in higher education, especially in examining the support of administrators in higher education and to do so with an intersectional lens. Demographics such as race are used as control measures in quantitative studies, but the intersection of race and gender with respect to perceived organizational support has not been fully examined. This is necessary in order to understand the structural differences in which women of color are supported (or not) by an institution. As discussed earlier, perceived organizational support accounts for the extent to which employees are praised, recognized, and rewarded for their contributions. However, women of color can at times feel invisible (Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vacarro, 2011b) and receive less feedback for their contributions (Sandler & Hall, 1986). This suggests that women of color may be ignored and conclude that the institution does not value their contributions. In order to best examine and understand the experience of women of color administrators, it is necessary to understand how organizational behavior is raced and gendered and must not be treated as race and gender neutral (Duncan, 2014). To fill this need, this study also draws from Crenshaw's (1989) theory on intersectionality to demonstrate that disparities are perpetuated by structures that are raced and gendered.

Intersectionality

I draw from intersectionality to capture the unique experiences of women of color that result from standing at the intersection of two marginalized identities (race and gender). Beyond simply understanding differences in experience, an intersectional analysis allowed for making meaning of the ways in which higher education institutions use race *and* gender to shape the workload and environments for women of color. Black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) first coined intersectionality to explain that the experiences of Black women are unique, because they are simultaneously shaped by Black women's position at the crossroads of two marginalized identities (race and gender). Crenshaw (1989) drew from Black feminist scholars, such as the Combahee River Collective, who previously argued that the experiences of Black women were not fully supported in the feminist movement and required a call to action to acknowledge the intragroup differences among women (Harris & Patton, 2018; Pilcher & Whelehan, 2017).

Crenshaw (1989) used intersectionality to explain the inequities Black women faced in the application of the law. In particular, she noted that Black women were not allowed to file cases that claimed they were discriminated against for both their racial and gender identities (Crenshaw, 1989). Specifically, Crenshaw (1989) points to an example in which attempts to charge a company for discrimination against Black women resulted in the belief that Black women could not simultaneously experience racism and sexism in the process and had to select one category in their charges. Crenshaw (1989) argues that reducing charges to race or gender discrimination did not acknowledge that the adjustment of hiring processes to remove barriers for women did not result in the hiring of Black women. This experience can only be understood if racism and sexism are taken into consideration (Crenshaw, 1989).

Crenshaw (1991) builds upon her previous work and examines the experiences of women of color at the intersection of other marginalized identities and proposes three components of intersectionality. She sheds light on the intragroup differences of women of color impacted by domestic violence when accessing resources and legal protection. Immigrant women are denied resources in some locations if they do not speak English and some fear deportation if they come forward and report abusive partners. These women's experiences are influenced by their race, gender and citizenship status. Several examples in this article highlight the ways in which women of color can be positioned at the intersection of multiple marginalized identities and face obstacles that are unique to them. Consequently, Crenshaw (1991) suggests exploring the experiences of marginalized communities not only through the lens of race and gender but through other identities such as class, sexual orientation, and immigration status. Crenshaw (1991) also proposes three types of intersectionality: structural, political, and representational. For the purposes of this study, I describe structural and political intersectionality as these will be the leading forms of intersectionality used in analysis.

Structural Intersectionality

Structural intersectionality acknowledges that women of color structurally lead different lived experiences than white women (Crenshaw, 1991). Policies and practices that fail to acknowledge intragroup differences among women leads to the rise of structural intersectionality. For victims of violence this can result in the lack of access to resources. For example, shelters that required victims to meet an expected English proficiency level sometimes turned away women who primarily spoke Spanish (Crenshaw, 1991). In other instances, women were required to provide verification of domestic violence or hardship before being allowed to utilize available resources (Crenshaw, 1991). This practice often left immigrant women of color

vulnerable to continued abuse for fear of deportation. The structure of the system often did not acknowledge the impact of marginalized identities such as race, gender, class, and immigration status. Within higher education systems, intersectionality can be used to explain how the convergence of racial and gender inequities shape the experiences of women of color (Museus & Griffin, 2011). Differences in access to resources, support, evaluations, rewards, and distribution of labor in higher education can be better understood through an intersectional examination of race and gender. As such, structural intersectionality can demonstrate similarities and differences in the distribution of labor between women of color and their peers.

Political Intersectionality

Political intersectionality assumes that people with multiple marginalized identities are caught negotiating conflicting political agendas. Movements meant to address the needs of one marginalized identity group can often ignore other marginalized identities within the group (Crenshaw, 1991). Women of color may find that they negotiate between movements that focus on either their racial or gender identity, but rarely are both identities simultaneously addressed. The evolution of feminist movements led to third wave feminism in response to the lack of acknowledgement of the needs of women of color. Current political movements such as the Women's March on January 21, 2017 were critiqued for its initial, and arguably, continued lack of inclusivity of women with multiple marginalized identities (Ruiz-Grossman, 2016). Crenshaw (1991) conceptualized this form of intersectionality as a means of understanding the very complexity of people who find themselves having to choose between identities in the struggle towards liberation. Within higher education, women of color may find that women's organizations and associations do not fully meet their needs and either call for inclusion of other

marginalized identities or result in women seeking and creating groups that specifically address the needs of women of color.

Organizational research tends to generalize experiences to all women when in reality they better reflect the experiences of white women and negate the unique experiences of women of color (Rosette et al., 2018). An intersectional lens acknowledges that women of color, are situated in a position where both their racial and gender identity converge to shape their experiences. It acknowledges that women of color administrators live a reality that is different than their white colleagues and men of color. Emerging research has focused on the experiences of women of color and the ways in which their identity shapes their professional experiences (Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Pertuz, 2017; Sims, 2018). In doing so, research has found notable differences in the experiences of women of color in higher education. Many of these studies, however, have primarily focused on women of color's career trajectories with little attention to their labor. Additionally, much of the research on women of color rely on personal narratives rather than empirical study. Therefore, this study aimed to add to the research on mid-level administrators by examining the intersectional experiences of women of color and their labor.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the literature guiding this study. A discussion on the labor in higher education with particular attention to care labor, diversity work, and emotional labor shows disproportionate distributions of these forms of labor based on race and gender. I also provided an overview of some of the inequities in rewards and recognition when considering race and gender. Additionally, I discussed the role of mid-level professionals in higher education, barriers to their persistence and retention, as well as the significance of feeling their contributions matter to the institution. I concluded the literature review with an overview of

elements that contribute to a hostile climate for women of color as well as studies that show steps that can be taken to creating an affirming environment. The section concluded with an overview of the experiences of Latina higher education professionals. Lastly, I primarily used two theories to guide this study and analysis: perceived organizational support and intersectionality. The following chapter outlines the design used to carry out this study.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Introduction

Drawing from the 2020 Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) Staff Climate Survey and interviews collected in 2018, this study used a multiple-methods approach to examine the extent to which the intersection of race and gender influenced the labor and the perception of organizational support among women of color working as mid-level professionals in four-year colleges and universities. This study was also interested in understanding how organizational dynamics create an environment that either acknowledges or dismisses the contributions of women of color. Ultimately, the study examined the extent to which these environmental forces affected women's decision to remain in a specific job and/or institution. To achieve these objectives, the study analyzed survey data using descriptive statistics, factor analysis, and structural equation modeling. Additionally, a qualitative analysis of data collected via semi-structured interviews provided additional insights as to how mid-level Latina student affairs professionals experienced organizational support. Perceived organizational support theory and intersectionality provided lenses through which to understand the patterns related to institutional support that emerged from the analyses. The theories also centered the intersectional role of race and gender on the experiences of women of color higher education professionals. The use of these frameworks allowed for an intersectional analysis of the role of higher education institutions in perpetuating inequities for women of color and the value of their contributions.

Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the nature (e.g., type, distribution) of the labor taken on by women of color higher education professionals?
2. To what extent do women of color higher education professionals feel valued for their labor?
3. To what extent does the perceived value of labor predict intent to leave for women of color?
4. In what ways do Latina mid-level student affairs professionals feel valued for their labor?
    a. How does the intersection of their race and gender identities shape the extent to which they perceive others as valuing their labor?

Research questions one through three were designed to be answered quantitatively and question four was answered qualitatively.

Hypotheses

I used several statistical tests to understand patterns in the survey data and test the hypotheses below:

H1. I expected women of color would report higher rates of care labor related to diversity, equity, and inclusion work in comparison to men of color, white women, and white men. Women in higher education have experienced disproportionate responsibilities to support and advise students (Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986) and can be exacerbated for women of color (Anderson, 2021; Duncan, 2014; Pyke, 2011). I anticipated women of color working as mid-level professionals in higher education would report a similar outcome found in prior research.

H2. Women of color mid-level professionals are less likely to feel valued for their labor (perceived organizational support) in comparison to men of color, white women, and white men.

Women of color professionals have repeatedly reported instances of racism and sexism (Arredondo, 2011; Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007; Jackson, 2011; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Patitu & Hinton, 2003) that contribute to a chilly campus climate. They face obstacles along their professional trajectory that lead to feelings of isolation and a lack of support (Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Patitu & Hinton, 2003). Additionally, women often face a devaluation of their work and achievements (Allee, 2015; Enke, 2014; Hall & Sandler, 1984; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b). Therefore, I anticipated that women of color would report that their contributions were less likely to be valued by the institution than men of color, white women, and white men.

H3. I expected that women of color who experienced low levels of perceived organizational support were more likely to leave a job or the institution. Organizational support theory acknowledges that employees are more likely to commit to an organization if the players at the institution show appreciation and acknowledge their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Kim et al., 2017); therefore, I expected that lower levels of this perceived organizational support would result in a higher likelihood that women of color would leave the position or the institution.

Research Design

This dissertation employed multiple methods to examine the experiences of women of color higher education professionals. Qualitative data was collected first in 2018 and findings from this analysis informed the development of survey items for the quantitative analysis which were added to the 2020 administration of the HERI Staff Climate Survey. Quantitative methods were used to understand differences in the labor (specifically, the nature and amount of diversity labor) and support of women of color in comparison to their peers as well as the relationship of

their labor and support to their intent to leave a position and institution. Analysis of qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews provided insight into the experiences of a subset of women of color, specifically, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals. I borrowed from a transformative paradigm to prioritize the conceptual and theoretical framework. In transformative research, theory is used to address inequities, "creates sensitivity to collecting data from marginalized or underrepresented groups" (Creswell, 2009, p. 212), and concludes with a call to action (Creswell, 2009). Given this study's focus on intersectional experiences of women of color, the use of a transformative paradigm and multiple methods shed light on inequities experienced by women of color higher education professionals.

Quantitative Procedures

The quantitative phase of this study aimed to understand the collective experiences of women of color higher education professionals.

Data Source and Sample

The 2020 Staff Climate Survey was administered at 14 (nine private and five public) four-year institutions and one community college. Administration of the survey concluded in May 2020 with a sample of 4,402 respondents. Among the 4,402 respondents who indicated their race and gender on the survey, 1,004 worked at four-year institutions and held a mid-level position. The 1,004 respondents consisted of 591 (57.8%) women, 379 (37%) men, and 5 (0.5%) non-binary/gender non-conforming individuals. When considering race and gender, the sample was made up of 437 (43.5%) white women, 277 (27.6%) white men, 102 (10.2%) men of color[5], 154 (15.3%) women of color, 3 (0.3%) white non-binary/gender non-conforming, and 2 (0.2%)

[5] Men and women of color include participants who identify as Black, Hispanic/Latinx, Asian, Multiracial/Multiethnic, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and Native American/Alaska Native.

Latino non-binary/gender non-confirming mid-level administrators. When asked about the type of unit where they were employed, women mid-level professionals worked in academic affairs (26%), business/administrative services (19.3%), external affairs (14.7%), student life/services (31.4%), and leadership and diversity (2.2%) units.

Sample for Research Questions One and Two

To derive the sample for research questions one and two, I first reviewed any responses to the open-ended question regarding gender. Participants who wrote "man" or "male" were recoded as "man" and, similarly, responses such as "woman" or "female" were recoded as "woman." Participants who listed gender non-conforming, non-binary, or indicated their gender was not listed were categorized together as gender non-conforming/non-binary. I then filtered the group to only include participants working in a mid-level position at four-year colleges and universities which yielded 1,078 participants. I excluded any remaining cases in which gender or race was missing or unknown. This initially yielded a sample of 1,017 participants which included 398 men (39.1%), 613 women (60.3%), and 6 participants (0.6%) who were either gender non-conforming, non-binary, or said their gender was not listed.

I then examined the sample breakdown according to the intersection of race and gender. Women of color, men of color, white women, and white men made up 98.1 percent of the sample population. The sample also consisted of white nonbinary (0.4%), nonbinary people of color (0.2%), women whose racial group was marked as other (0.9%), and men whose racial group was marked as other (0.4%). Given the small representation of some of the subgroups, I removed them from further analyses but provided overall descriptive information of the gender non-conforming/non-binary group in Chapter 4. After reducing the sample to only include women of color, men of color, white women, and white men, the final sample consisted of 998 participants.

White women made up the largest portion of the sample with 441 respondents (44.2%) followed by 286 white men (28.7%), 163 women of color (16.3%), and 108 men of color (10.8%).

Sample for Research Question Three

To answer the third research question, the sample was reduced to women of color in mid-level positions at four-year universities which yielded an initial sample size of 163 respondents. Among the 163 participants, 145 participants completed the survey. I analyzed missing cases using Little's MCAR test which indicated cases were missing at random ($\chi^2 = 813.117$, df = 778, p = 0.186). Cases with missing demographic variables (i.e., sexual orientation, department of employment) and missing responses to the two outcome variables (i.e., intent to leave job and intent to leave institution) were removed from the sample. To minimize further reduction of the sample size, measures for educational level, years employed in their job, and years employed at the institution were dummy coded, and I created a variable for missing cases for each measure. The final sample for this analysis consisted of 142 women of color mid-level higher education professionals. Latinas made up just over a third (36.6%) of the sample followed by Multiracial (23.9%), Black (21.1%), Asian (17.6%), and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.7%). None of the women of color in this final sample identified as Native American or Alaska Native.

Variables

Dependent Variable

The main outcomes of interest in the predictive models were intent to leave the institution and intent to leave their job. The Staff Climate Survey specifically included two questions: "within the next year, how likely are you to leave your current position?" and "within the next year, how likely are you to leave this institution?" Both survey items were measured on a four-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = "very unlikely" to 4 = "very likely". Among women of color

who responded to the items, approximately one in five (22.4%) indicated they intended to leave their job within the next 12 months while 19 percent indicated they were "likely" or "very likely" to leave the institution. Among women of color who responded to both questions regarding intent to leave, 17 percent indicated they were "likely" or "very likely" to leave both their current position and the institution. For this study, I was interested in examining the relationship of the predictors associated with intent to leave for women of color mid-level professionals.

Independent Variables

Independent variables were selected based on prior research and theoretical frameworks. Variables included measurements of demographic characteristics, diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) labor, perceived organizational support, campus racial and gender climate, and supervisor support. (Refer to Appendix A for the list of variables.)

Demographic Characteristics. The first set of variables considered participants' background characteristics. This study used variables such as gender, race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, highest level of education completed, years of employment at the institution, years of employment in their position, and employment status (i.e., full-time, part-time) to gain a descriptive understanding of the composition of the sample and how intentions to leave their current position and intentions to leave the institution vary across categories of sexual orientation, levels of education, and years of experience in their career, at the institution, and in their current position. To answer the first two research questions, women of color were compared to white women, white men, and men of color. Responses to survey items regarding labor distribution and organizational support were compared across all groups. After reducing the sample to women of color in mid-level positions to address the third research question, demographic characteristics were used as control measures in structural equation models.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Labor. In this study, I was interested in examining the nature of the labor taken on by women of color mid-level professionals. Specifically, I was interested in shedding light on the type of labor they take on and noting any distributional differences between women of color, white men and women, and men of color. The survey primarily included questions that asked participants about their work related to diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) work; therefore, I focused on the distribution of DEI labor among mid-level professionals. This study drew on variables such as being sought out as a resource by students or staff due to their racial/ethnic or gender identity. Women and people of color are found to take on disproportionate amounts of emotional support, advising, diversity work (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese, 2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986) as well as mentorship (Duncan, 2014; Pyke, 2011; Sandler & Hall, 1986) and is exacerbated for women of color because they hold both marginalized identities. Items such as being a resource to students and staff and assisting with issues of discrimination can shed light on the distribution of these responsibilities among higher education professionals.

Perceived Organizational Support. Items measuring respondents' perception that their contributions are valued were used to measure perceived organizational support and was critical for this study. Recognition of mid-level professionals' contributions and a feeling they are valued can lead to positive outcomes such as an increase in morale (Rosser, 2000) and mitigate the likelihood of a person intending to leave a job (Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rosser, 2000, 2004). Given the sample size for research question three, I used a simplified version of perceived organizational support and used only five items to determine to what extent women of color mid-level administrators and their peers felt their labor was acknowledged and valued at the institution. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) note that perceived organizational support, at

minimum, must include measures that ask participants if they feel valued and cared for by the organization. Items were tested individually to make comparisons across groups and then used to create a latent measure. Survey items that measure this concept included the extent to which participants agree with statements such as "I feel my contributions are valued by my department." Participants also rated to what extent they felt their supervisor, senior administrators, and students value their contributions with responses ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. To better understand the relationships with their supervisors and colleagues, I drew from questions asking respondents to rate if supervisors and colleagues care about their well-being. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) noted that institutional players such as supervisors contribute to an employee's perception of organizational support.

Campus Racial and Gender Climate. Experiences with discrimination such as racism and sexism can lead to unfavorable working conditions that place additional stress on marginalized populations (Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Arredondo, 2011; Henry & Glenn, 2009). I was interested in participants' perception of the climate and drew from items that asked if they have experienced discrimination based on racial/ethnic identity or gender. Experiences of racism and sexism contribute to chilly campus climates for women of color and lead to adverse outcomes such as isolation (Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Patitu & Hinton, 2003) and lower levels of job satisfaction (Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Patitu & Hinton, 2003). A supportive climate can potentially mitigate an employees' intentions of leaving their positions and/or institutions. An ability to voice opinions and concerns can signal a welcoming environment for employees.

Supervisor Support. Having supervisor support also plays an important role in the trajectory of higher education staff members. Incompatibility with a supervisor (Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016) along with a lack of mentoring or support of professional development

(Marshall et al., 2016) can often be reasons for departure from a job. Supervisor support has also been found to influence perceived organizational support (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Given the meaningful role supervisors can play on employee's sense of value and career intentions, this study examined the role of supervisor support using measures such as my *supervisor provides me with feedback that assists me in performing my job responsibilities*. Items were used to understand the extent to which supervisor support shapes women of color's perception of the value of their labor and intentions to leave.

Analyses

Analyses included identifying and imputing cases with missing data, descriptive statistics, factor analysis, and multivariate predictive models. Additional details about each approach are outlined in the sections that follow.

Descriptive Analyses

Descriptive analyses were used to understand the demographic characteristics of the sample and the variability in the experiences of participants. Two-way crosstabulations were used to answer the first research question, which compared to the distribution of labor among women of color to white women, white men, and men of color. This distribution highlighted whether women of color take on significantly different types and amounts of labor compared to their peers. Participants who selected "decline to state" or did not respond to items measuring DEI labor were treated as missing in the analyses. A similar approach was taken to answer the second research question. Two-way crosstabulations were used to examine in what ways institutional agents show the extent to which the contributions of women of color are valued. Additionally, descriptive analyses were used to show the distribution of responses to the

dependent variable (intent to leave). I also used chi-square tests to identify if the relationship between variables was significant.

Factor Analysis

Factor analysis was used to identify potential latent variables that measure perceived organizational support, DEI labor, campus racial and gender climate, and supervisor support. All factors were constructed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), and item selection was guided by the theory and literature. The hypothesized measurement models accounted for error measurements of the observed variables. Factors were tested and needed to meet a minimum Cronbach's alpha level of 0.6.

Eisenberger et al.'s (1986) measurement of perceived organizational support uses various items such as praise of employee contributions, rewards for their work, care for the employee, and responsiveness to the need for improved working conditions. Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) further explain that fairness, supervisor support, favorable job conditions, and organizational rewards help measure perceived organizational support. As part of this study, I was interested in testing to what extent these items explain the experiences of women of color higher education professionals. I used items such as *I feel my contributions are valued by my supervisor* and *colleagues care about my well-being* to construct a latent variable measuring perceived organizational support. Figure 3.1 shows the hypothesized measurement model for perceived organizational support.

Factor analysis was also used to construct a latent variable for DEI labor. Several of the measures available in the Staff Climate Survey asked about the work done to support students and staff on issues related to race, gender, and discrimination and were used to determine if a latent variable representing this work could be entered into the structural model. Participants who

declined to state the frequency in which they engaged in these activities or did not provide an answer were both treated as missing in the analysis. Figure 3.2 shows the hypothesized model for DEI labor.

Figure 3.1

Hypothesized Factor Showing the Latent Variable, Perceived Organizational Support, and the Observed Variables

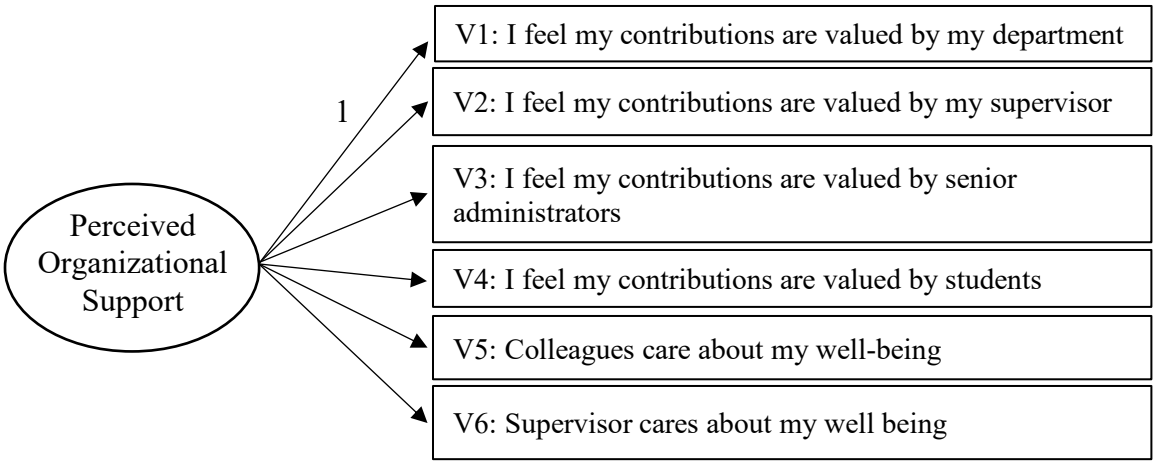
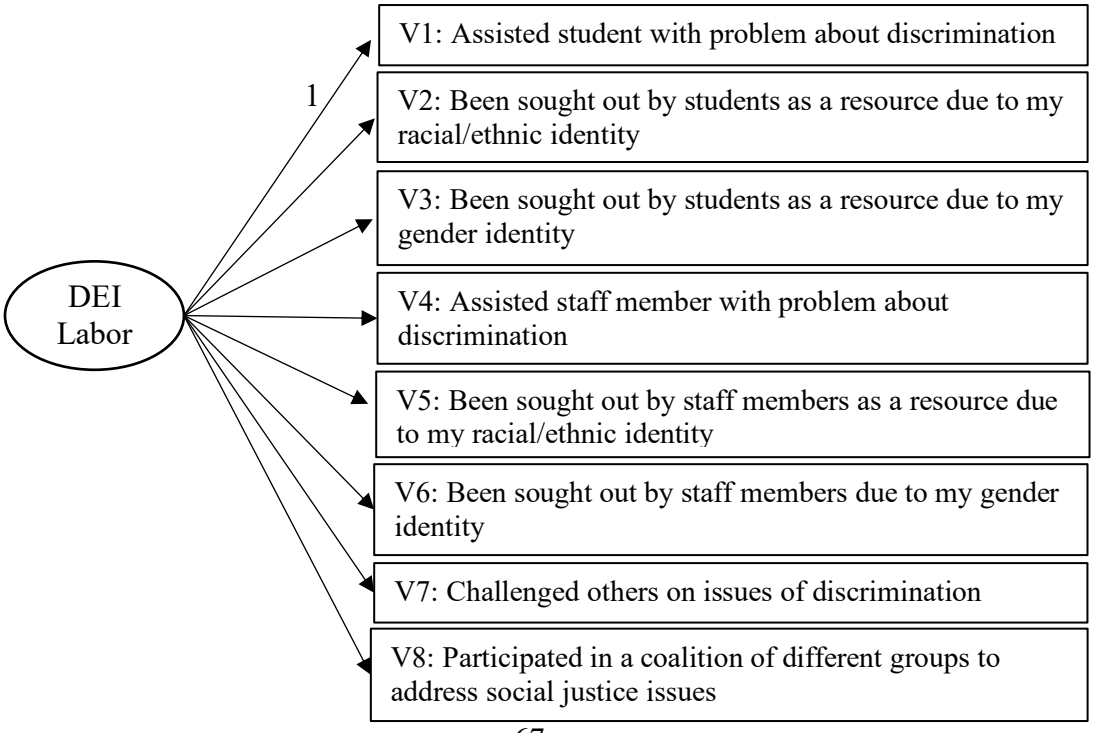


Figure 3.2

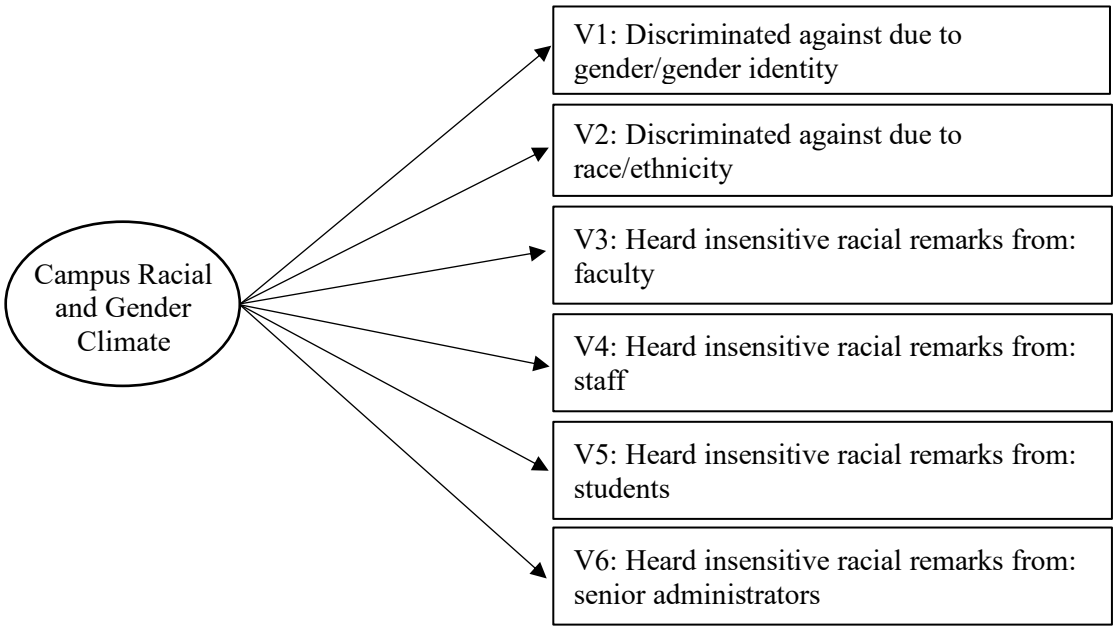
Hypothesized Factor Showing the Latent Variable, DEI Labor, and the Observed Variables



A factor representing the campus racial and gender climate was constructed using measurements that measure experiences with discrimination and hearing disparaging remarks related to race or gender. Participants who indicated "cannot rate" or did not respond to an item were both treated as missing in the analysis. The latent variable was used to examine the relationship between campus climate, other latent variables, and the outcome variables. (See Figure 3.3 for a hypothesized campus racial and gender climate model.)

Figure 3.3

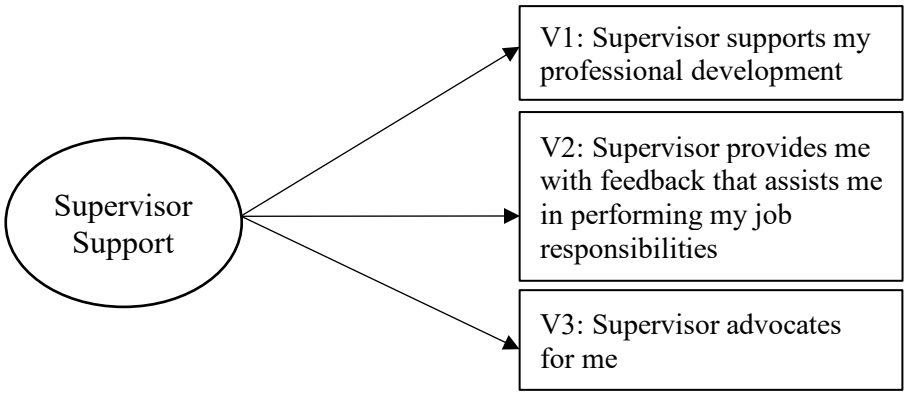
Hypothesized Factor Showing the Latent Variable, Campus Racial and Gender Climate, and the Observed Variables



Lastly, I used factor analysis to develop a latent variable for supervisor support. Supervisors' actions can impact an employee's decision to leave an institution (Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016) and contribute to a sense of feeling valued (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). This measure included items such as *my supervisor supports my professional development* and *my supervisor advocates for me*. Figure 3.4 depicts a hypothesized model for supervisor support.

Figure 3.4

Hypothesized Factor Showing the Latent Variable, Supervisor Support, and the Observed Variables



Multivariate Analyses

Research question three was answered using structural equation modeling (SEM) on M*plus* software to develop and test a set of hypothesized models, but first I conducted missing data analysis.

Missing Data. Missing case analysis was used to determine the best approach for addressing cases with missing data on key variables for the study. I first identified the prevalence of missing data and determined whether missing cases had any distinct patterns. As noted earlier, the initial starting sample for research question three included 163 participants. I used Little's MCAR test and results indicated that cases were missing at random which allowed me to remove cases that had missing information on some key demographics (i.e., sexual orientation, department of employment) and the outcome variables and led to the final sample of 142 women of color. I also examined the data for any violations of normality. Specifically, I examined the skewness and kurtosis of all observed variables and most did not violate assumptions of normality. Some of the dichotomous demographic variables such as LGBQ+ identity

unavoidably had skewed response rates. As such, I used direct Maximum Likelihood (direct ML) estimation (Allison, 2003) to replace missing data with a value and address nonnormality.

Structural Equation Modeling. After completing missing data analysis, I used structural equation modeling (SEM) to test the hypothesized models. Specifically, the models estimated the extent to which the perceived organizational support latent variable correlated with women of color's intent to leave a position (see Figure 3.5) and the correlation with intent to leave the institution (see Figure 3.6). The dependent variable for the first model consisted of a continuous variable measuring *intent to leave a position* and the second model used the continuous variable *intent to leave the institution*. More complex models were also tested with the aim to understand the extent to which organizational support predicted turnover rates when considering demographic variables and working conditions. Two of the models examined the relationship between demographics and DEI labor and their relationship to organizational support and the outcome variable (see Figures 3.7 and 3.8). As part of this analyses, I also examined the relationship between the campus racial and gender climate, supervisor support, and perceived organizational support with the outcome variables (see Figures 3.9 and 3.10). The primary variable of interest in each model was perceived organizational support. Factor analysis confirmed that the various measures mentioned earlier in this chapter could be entered into the model as latent variables. Measurement models were confirmed in SEM software and scales were created in SPSS prior to introducing the factor into the model.

Once the models were constructed, I used modification indices (i.e., the Lagrange Multiplier (LM) and Wald (W) tests) to identify suggested parameter changes and improve the fit of the model. These fit tests were used to identify parameters that can be changed or removed from the model (Byrne, 2008). I used Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA),

Confirmatory Fit Index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and the standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR) to determine model fit and assessed if the fit indices met the recommended thresholds of less than 0.05 (RMSEA) (Byrne, 2012), 0.9 (CFI) (Hu & Bentler, 1998), 0.9 (TLI) (Byrne, 2012), and less than 0.05 (SRMR) (Byrne, 2012; Hu & Bentler, 1998; Schreiber et al., 2006). This analysis was used to determine significant predictors of intent to leave for women of color higher education professionals.

Several indirect paths between variables and intent to leave a position or institution were examined to understand their relationship to the outcome variable of interest. Demographic characteristics, for instance, included variables which may influence their perceptions of the value of their contributions and be less likely to leave a job or institution when they receive enough support. Additionally, taking on diversity, equity, and inclusion work may shape women of color's perception of organizational support and in turn affect their turnover rates. Similarly, mid-level professionals who have worked at the institution longer may have cultivated supportive relationships and may influence the extent to which they believe the institution values their contributions. These indirect paths were revised based on the modification indices.

Figure 3.5

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationship Between Organizational Support and Intent to Leave Position

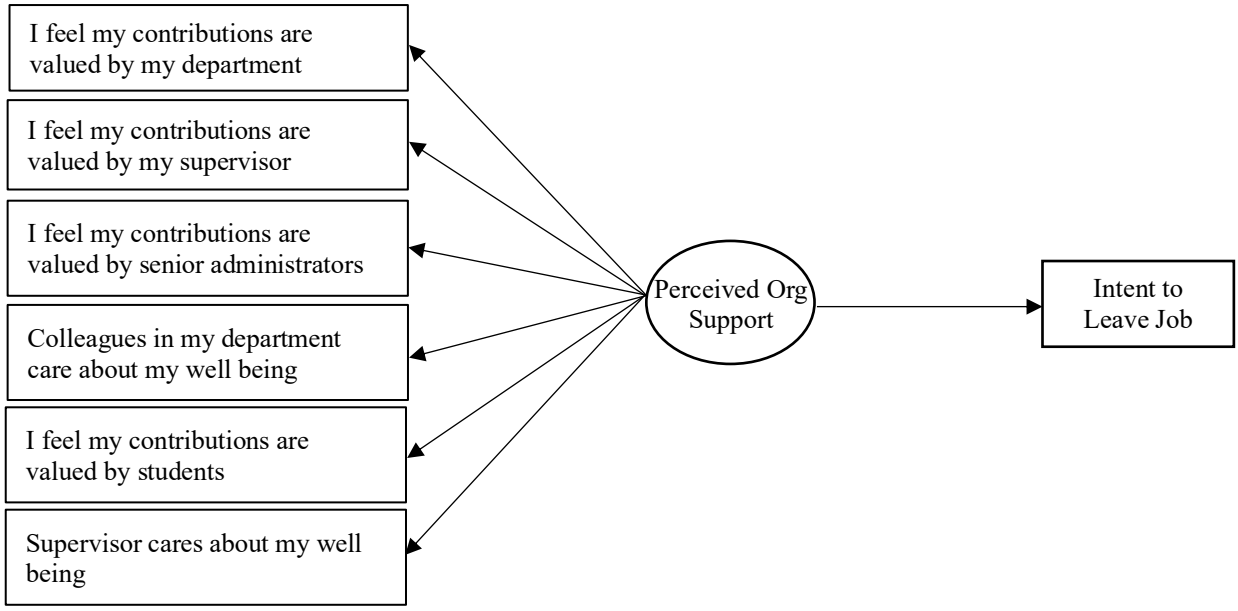


Figure 3.6

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationship Between Organizational Support and Intent to Leave Institution

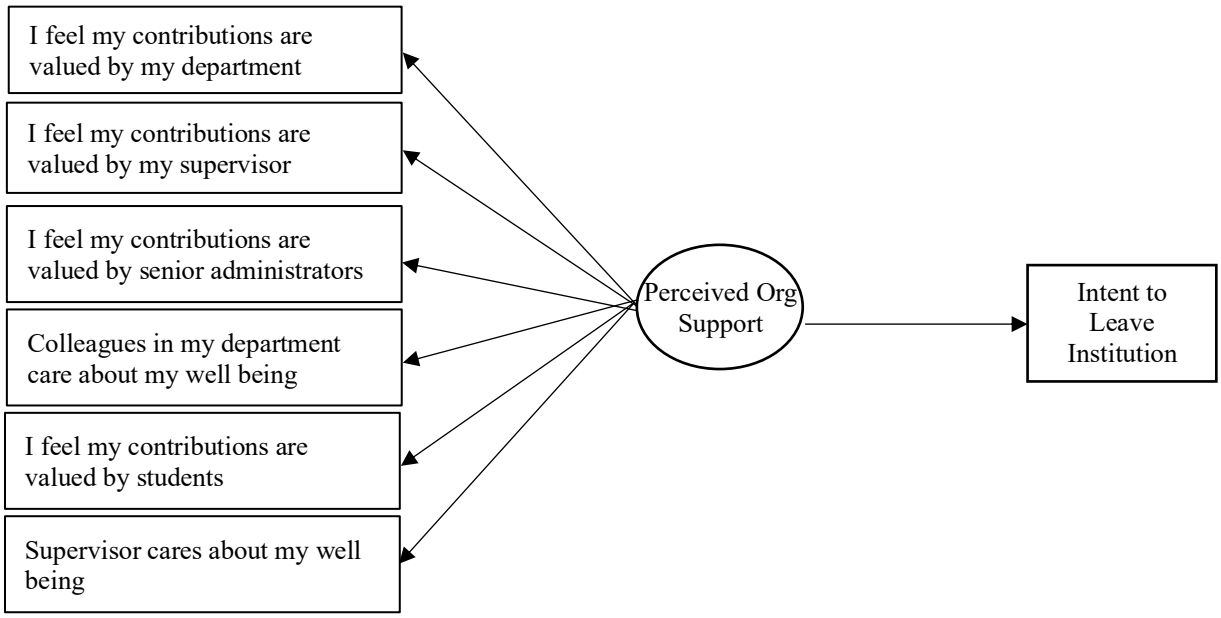


Figure 3.7

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationships Among Demographic Variables, DEI Labor, Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Position

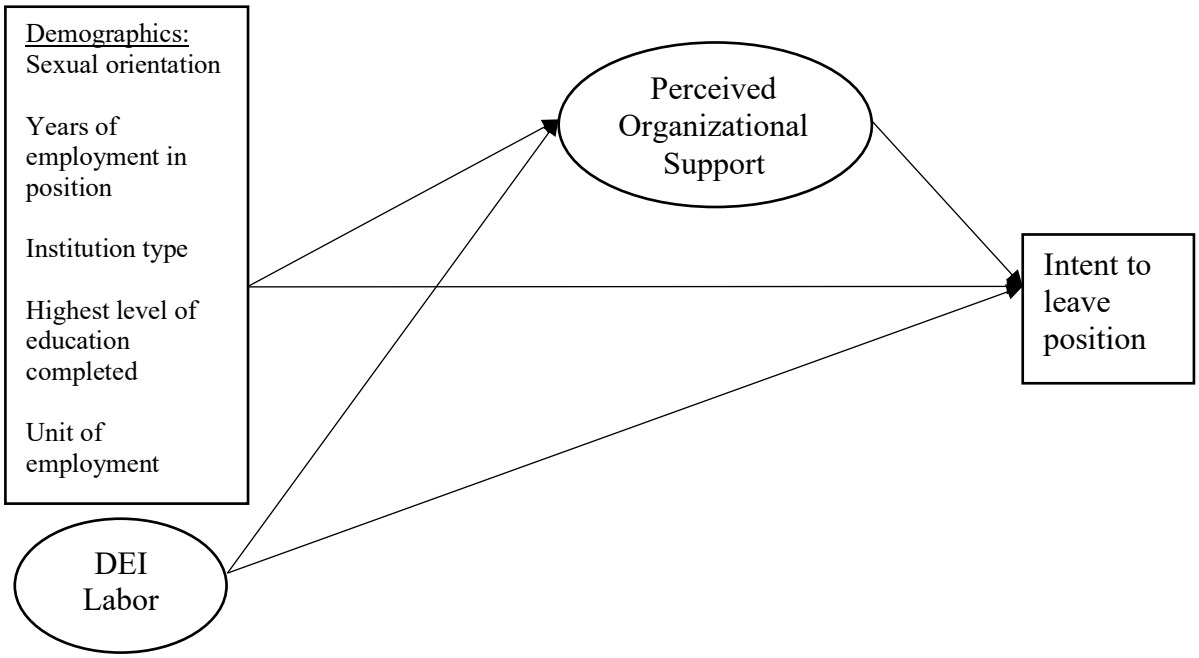


Figure 3.8

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationships Among Demographic Variables, DEI Labor, Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

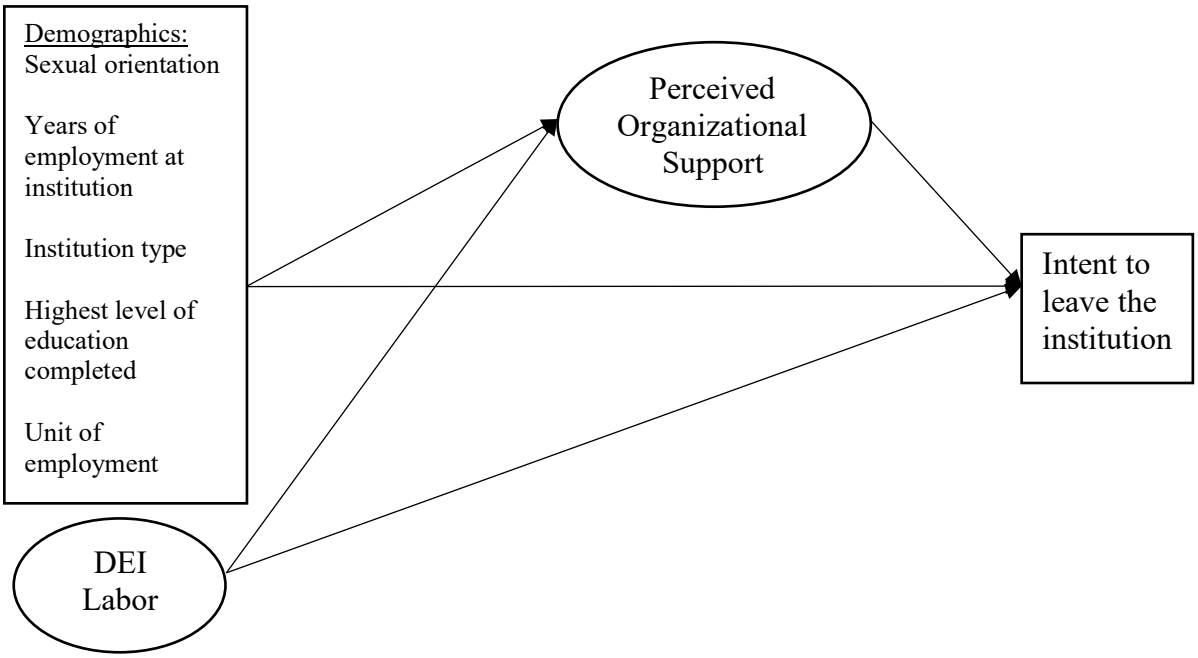


Figure 3.9

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationships Among Campus Climate, Supervisor Support, Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Position

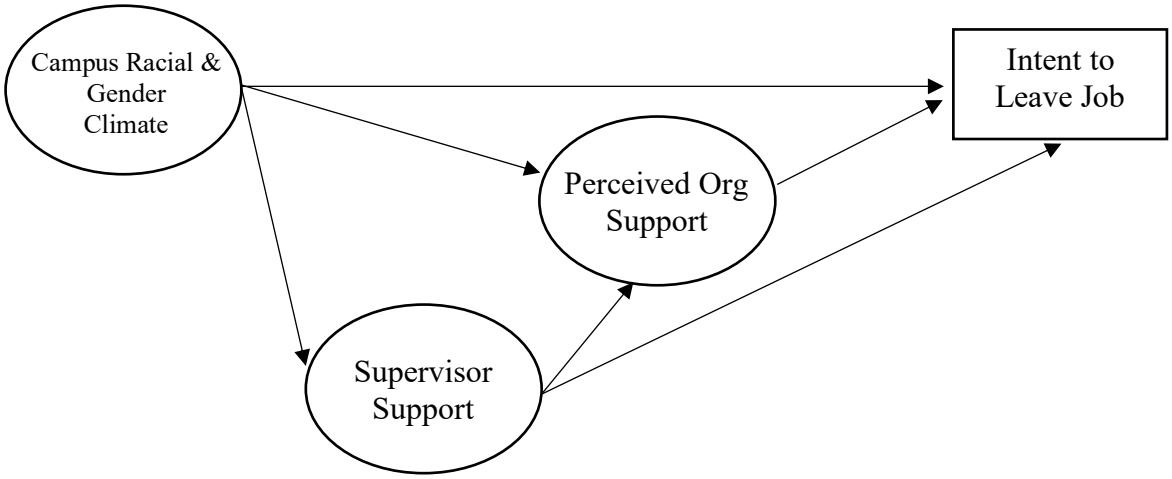
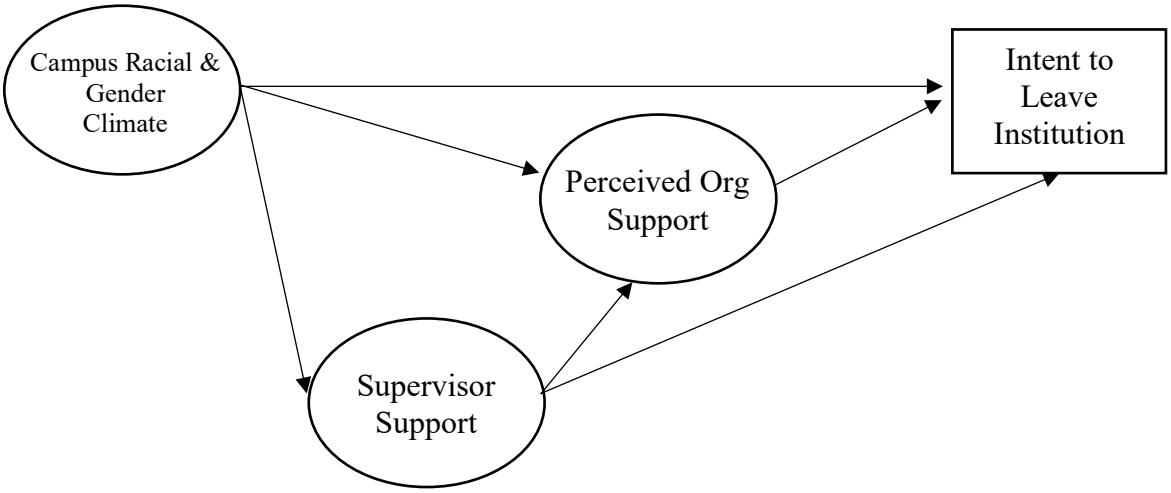


Figure 3.10

Hypothesized Model Showing Causal Relationships Among Campus Climate, Supervisor Support, Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution



Qualitative Procedures

This study utilized qualitative methods informed by narrative inquiry to understand the experiences of Latina student affairs professionals and the meaning they ascribed to them (Kim,

2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Narrative inquiry centers participants' voices by asking them to provide an overview of their biography and the meaning they ascribe to their experiences (Kim, 2016). Kim (2016) outlines two phases to the interview process – a narration phase and a conversation phase – with each phase requiring distinct roles of the interviewer. In the narration phase, Kim (2016) suggests that the role of the interviewer is to have some prepared questions to elicit information about the participant's background, but the interviewer is primarily listening and allowing the participant to let their story unfold. The interviewer is also there to observe "the way the interviewee talks, the use of body language, emotional expressions, feelings, pauses, and more" (Kim, 2016, p. 168) with the intent to understand the life experiences of the participant. The conversation phase requires the interviewer to take a more active role in the construction of knowledge (Kim, 2016). The interviewer has more questions that are prepared and that actively ask the participant to expand or provide examples of some of their experiences and to discuss the meaning they have assigned to these experiences (Kim, 2016). Narrative inquiry is meant to elicit the experiences of the selected population and is, thus, an appropriate approach to understanding the experiences of a marginalized population.

For this study, both the narration and conversation phase happened in the same interview session. Participants were interviewed once and were first asked to provide an account of experiences that influenced their career trajectory. Similar to narrative inquiry, participants were asked to discuss meaningful personal, professional, and educational experiences that led them to their current role. They were also asked to discuss what led them to choose a career in students affairs.

Participants

This study drew from a related study on entry and mid-level Latina student affairs professionals and specifically focused on the experiences of mid-level professionals. Ten Latina mid-level student affairs professionals from four-year public and private institutions participated in this study. Purposeful sampling was utilized to select participants. Purposeful sampling allows for a researcher to select participants that "will best help the researcher understand the problem and the research question" (Creswell, 2009, p. 178). In other words, establishing participant criteria helps narrow the sample to a specific population that can best contribute to answering the research questions. In this study, participants identified as a mid-level administrator in higher education, a Latina woman, were employed at a public or private four-year institution, and worked in a student services unit (e.g., residence life, orientation, campus activities, etc.). As discussed earlier, mid-level professionals are understudied in higher education research and experience working conditions differently from employees who are in more senior-level positions. Additionally, requiring that participants identify as Latina women shed light on the raced and gendered experiences of this population.

Participants were recruited in January and February 2018 via email from my personal networks and via snowball sampling. Snowball sampling expanded recruitment efforts by asking participants who met the study criteria to identify any potential participants in their networks (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Participants self-identified as Latina and further self-identified as Black/Afro-Latinx, Ecuadorian/Italian, Latina/x, Mexican, Mexican/Native American, Zapotec, and Xicana. All participants self-identified as a woman and a first-generation college student. Additionally, seven participants identified as heterosexual and three as either bisexual or fluid.

They represented multiple functional areas such as residential life, conduct, multicultural affairs, academic advising, and student support services. Eight participants were employed at

public institutions. Their years of full-time professional experience in higher education ranged from two and a half to thirteen years. One participant was no longer working full-time at the time of the interview; however, given her years of experience and recent departure from her mid-level position, I decided to include the participant in this study. (Refer to Table 3.1 for a summary of participant demographics.) To provide anonymity, each participant selected their own pseudonym which some of the participants used as an opportunity to honor important women (e.g., mothers, grandmothers, nieces) in their lives. Additional identifying information such as institution name or department were also anonymized.

Table 3.1

Summary of Participants and Background Characteristics

Pseudonym	Professional Level	Race/Ethnicity	First Generation	Years Full-Time in Higher Ed	Years in Current Job
Jackie	Mid	Latina	Yes	11	1.5
Jena	Mid	Latina/ Mexican-American	Yes	4	0.5
Karla	Mid	Latinx	Yes	11	1.5
Marisol	Mid	Latina/Xicana	Yes	2.5	0.5
Minerva	Mid	Latina	Yes	8	2
Patricia	Mid	Latina/Zapotec; Mexican	Yes	3.25	3.25
Rochelle	Mid	Mexican/Native American	Yes	13	4
Sabrina	Mid	Black/ Afro-Latinx	Yes	4	0.5
Sophia	Mid	Ecuadorian/Italian	Yes	5.5	2
Yvonne	Mid	Latina	Yes	5	7 months

Data Collection

Background Questionnaire

Participants completed a demographic questionnaire (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, years of full-time work in higher education, years in current position) prior to the

interview (see Appendix B for questionnaire). The questionnaire was used to screen for potential participants. The information was also utilized to provide a better understanding of participants' backgrounds and context for their experiences.

Interviews

In-depth, semi-structured interviews lasting 60 to 90 minutes were used to gain an understanding of participants' backgrounds and experiences as higher education professionals. Semi-structured interviews typically have a set of questions that cover the topical areas of interest, guide the interview, and allow an interviewer to ask follow-up questions based on participants' responses (Kim, 2016). The flexibility in the interview questions is what distinguishes semi-structured interviews from structured and unstructured interviews (Kim, 2016). Olson (2011) notes that semi-structured interviews tend to happen later in the research process and follow-up questions are tailored to responses participants shared earlier in the process. However, since participants only participated in one interview, follow-up questions were asked during the first interview. Through a semi-structured interview, I expected the interview to give space for a richer description of a participant's experience. Participants were asked at the beginning of the interview to talk about their experiences that led to taking on their current role. These introductory questions were designed to elicit important personal, educational, and professional experiences that shaped their path. Follow up questions were posed if additional clarification was needed. Appendix C provides the full interview protocol. Participants were interviewed in person, over the phone, or via video conference such as Zoom or Skype.

Since participants experienced time constraints due to their work obligations, interviews followed a condensed version of Seidman's (2013) three-interview structure, and all three parts

were completed in one meeting. Seidman (2013) suggests interviews consist of questions that cover a participant's life history, details about their experience, and a reflection on how they make meaning of these experiences. Each of these sections typically happen over the course of three interviews with each interview focused on one of the sections (e.g., life history) (Seidman, 2013). In a condensed version, all three parts of the interview structure are completed during one interview. Like narrative inquiry, questions about a participant's life history were meant to mimic the narration phase of narrative inquiry, and the questions about their work experience were more conversational since participants were frequently asked follow-up questions and to provide examples. Questions focused on the educational and occupational experiences that led them to their current position, examples of the labor they perform that are (un)recognized by colleagues and supervisors, concrete lived experiences that led them to feel valued (or not) for their contributions, examples of the support they receive, and on the meaning participants attributed to these experiences. All interviews were recorded and transcribed by me or a third-party vendor (i.e., Rev.com).

Data Analysis

Data analysis was done in several rounds, consisted of both inductive and deductive approaches, and were completed using online software (Dedoose). Saldaña (2016) recommends at least two cycles of coding with the first round used to generate the codes and the second round used for more refinement of the codes.

An inductive approach to coding and analysis guided the first cycle of data analysis. I first began by listening to each of the interviews and familiarizing myself with each participant's narrative. I wrote analytic memos after reading each transcript to capture my initial takeaways from the interview, how each narrative helped answer the research questions, and listed any

important follow-up questions to ask the participant. During the first round of analysis, I used open coding (Saldaña, 2016; Seidman, 2013) to develop an initial set of codes. Open coding allows for themes and connection to develop directly from the data and is helpful during the initial stages of coding (Saldaña, 2016). In vivo coding (Seidman, 2013) was also used during the open coding process and used to develop codes derived from participant quotes. Codes during this round of analysis captured participants' experiences in their own words. Lastly, attribute coding (Saldaña, 2016) was used to capture demographic characteristics as well as information that was important to contextualizing participants' experiences.

After completion of inductive coding, I analyzed the data using a deductive approach that drew from the theoretical frameworks described in chapter 2. Analyses included coding for references participants made about the influence of their identity as a woman of color on the labor they took on, how they perceived it influenced the ways in which their labor was valued, and how they made meaning of these experiences. Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality was used to identify examples in which participants pointed to institutional structures, negotiated between identities, and their perceptions about how representation affects their experiences. Drawing on Eisenberg, Huntington, Hutchison, and Sowa's (1986) perceived organizational support theory, I looked for occurrences in which participants spoke about instances of recognition, rewards, care and support, and responsiveness from institutional agents to better understand how participants determined if their contributions to the institution were valued. Open, in vivo, and attribute coding were used during this cycle of coding.

A second round of coding was used to refine codes. The goal of this round was to categorize the first set of codes and begin to identify categories and themes (Saldaña, 2016). I used focused coding which Saldaña (2016) notes is appropriate for developing major themes and

categories and to draw connections between sets of codes. Once coding was completed, I then completed another round of analysis to look for any divergent cases. Seidman (2013) argues that data analysis must include making note of any passages that contradict or are inconsistent with previous data found otherwise a researcher runs the risk of only using data that supports the biases and opinions of the research. Examining for divergent cases can contribute to the trustworthiness of the analysis.

Trustworthiness

Establishing trustworthiness in the interpretation of qualitative data is integral to representing participant narratives accurately and ensuring that findings can be trusted (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In this study, I used member checking to reduce researcher bias and improve the reliability of my findings. Member checking involves asking participants for feedback on initial findings; this helps improve the trustworthiness in the interpretation of the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I provided participants with a copy of their transcripts and a summary of my understanding of the experiences they shared in the interview. Participants were able to review the transcript and clarify any comments they made during the interview. They also were asked to comment on my summary and inform me of any areas where I may have misinterpreted their experience. Member checking allowed participants to co-construct knowledge and ensure that their experiences and quotes were accurately reflected in the analysis.

Positionality

My experiences as a Latina student affairs professional largely guided my interest in researching the experiences of women of color administrators in higher education. It was as a professional that I came to better understand the influence of my identity in the field. I was often one of a few women of color in the room, and sometimes the only woman of color. This meant I

frequently found myself supporting and advocating for the needs of students and staff with similar marginalized identities while navigating my own marginalization in the profession. I at times found it challenging to balance my interest in supporting students and staff of color with my daily responsibilities. At times it became apparent that this was work some of my colleagues never or seldom had to face. It became clearer to me that this was the case when I found myself stepping in to assist staff members who were not getting the mentorship from their own supervisors. And in some of those conversations staff members of color would share that they did not feel valued by their institutions.

My identities also gave me insight to the experiences of other women of color who experienced their own forms of marginalization, need for support, and, oftentimes, a lack of recognition for the additional labor (either voluntary or imposed) that they took on. Conversations at workshops, conferences, or in informal spaces revealed that women of color often took on additional responsibilities either to give back to their communities or because there was no one else who took on the load. This additional work was at times rewarded, and they were lauded for their ability to serve the institution and its members. In contrast, there were also times when colleagues felt that these very women worked too hard, had no work-life balance, and were, therefore, not fit to advance into leadership roles. In my observations, this lack of recognition and support usually resulted in women of color leaving an institution, being passed up for promotions/leadership experiences, and experiencing burnout. This led to my interest in examining the relationship between the expectations placed on women of color and their labor.

Limitations

This study consists of a few quantitative and qualitative limitations. First, given the sample size for research question three, I was unable to disaggregate survey data based on racial

and ethnic groups. Women of color were instead aggregated in an effort to introduce other variables into the more complex models. The inability to disaggregate data limited analysis on the differences among women of color.

Second, the measurement of labor was limited in its scope due to the use of secondary survey data. Most measurements were limited to the work participants do as it relates to issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion in the form of being a resource and advocate and did not adequately capture other forms of labor such as emotional and physical labor. This provided a limited quantitative understanding of the relationship between labor and demographic, latent, and outcome variables.

Third, while the outcome variables (intent to leave a position and intent to leave an institution) were helpful in understanding the relationship of organizational support on these employee outcomes, I was unable to decipher if a respondent intended to leave due to positive experiences such as a promotion or due to outside push/pull factors that were unrelated to their experience at the institution.

Fourth, it is important to acknowledge that participants' responses may be highly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Some participants who considered leaving their job and/or institution may have changed their perspective in light of increased employment uncertainty. Although most surveys were completed prior to the pandemic, there may be some respondents who completed the survey early in the pandemic between March 2020 and May 2020 and responded differently than those who completed the survey prior to March 2020.

Fifth, findings were limited to the experiences of cisgender women. Only one participant in the quantitative sample identified as transgender and six indicated they identified as either gender non-conforming, non-binary, or said their gender identity was not listed on the survey.

Although descriptive information was provided about the gender non-conforming, non-binary, and not listed group in the findings, I opted to remove them from multivariate analysis since interpretation of those findings would be challenging. Additionally, the Latina student affairs professionals in the qualitative data did not identify as transgender women.

Lastly, interview participants included Latina student affairs professionals in various functional areas such as multicultural affairs, student support, and residential life which did not allow for a nuanced understanding of the relationship between the functional area and participants' racialized/gendered experiences.

Discussion of Findings

Given that this study used multiple methods, each with a unique sample, the findings generated from each method are first presented in separate chapters. To incorporate findings into a larger conversation about labor inequities for women of color, similarities and differences in each set of findings are discussed collectively in the final chapter of the dissertation. The quantitative findings provided insight to the experiences of women of color mid-level professionals, and the qualitative findings allowed for a more focused analysis on the experiences of Latina student affairs professionals. Although both the quantitative and qualitative methods explore the type of labor participants take on; the quantitative findings demonstrated differences in the distribution of this labor while the interviews shed light regarding motivation and circumstances that lead to these distributions. These two methodological approaches also highlighted institutional practices that lead women of color and Latinas to feel valued for their contributions. In the discussion, I leveraged the use of multiple methods to provide nuanced guidance about implications for research and practice.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE LABOR AND SUPPORT OF WOMEN OF COLOR

Introduction

This chapter presents results from descriptive and inferential analysis to answer the first three questions of the study. The quantitative analysis examined the relationship between organizational support and women of color's intentions to leave either their job or the institution. The analyses also examined the extent to which organizational support predicted turnover intentions when controlling for other elements of the work environment and professional experiences. I begin by providing descriptive information regarding the distribution of the work taken on by women of color, white women, men of color, and white men and test for any statistical differences. I then follow this with descriptive analyses of differences in perceived organizational support among women of color and their peers. Lastly, I used structural equation modeling to explore the relationship between organizational support and the outcome variables of interest. I further complicated this model by examining the relationship of other elements such as demographic variables, DEI labor, campus climate, and supervisor support on organizational support and intentions to leave their position or institution.

Examining the Varying Nature and Amount of Effort Related to DEI Labor among Staff

The first research question examined differences in the distribution of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) labor by intersections of gender and racial/ethnic identities. To answer this question, I analyzed the frequency distribution for each measure of DEI labor for women of color and compared them with white women, men of color, and white men. I first provide an overview of responses across the full sample, and then provide analysis that compares the four main groups. Some groups such as nonbinary people of color had fewer than five participants which made interpretation of their findings challenging. I included nonbinary and gender

nonconforming participants in the overall summary statistics but opted to not include them in ANOVAs. Instead, I aggregated this population and provide some summary statistics of this group later in this section.

Frequency Distribution Across the Full Sample

Overall, nearly three quarters of all participants reported helping a student (72.2%) and approximately two-thirds (66.4%) reported helping a staff member with an issue of discrimination. Regarding assistance provided to students dealing with issues of discrimination, more than half (56.4%) said they helped "seldom" or "sometimes" while 15.8 percent reported helping "often" or "very often." A similar breakdown was observed with respect to assisting fellow staff members with issues related to discrimination, as more than half (55.9%) reported they helped "seldom" or "sometimes" while 10.5 percent indicated they helped "often" or "very often." Table 4.1 provides a summary of the distribution of DEI labor.

Participants were more frequently sought out by students rather than fellow staff members as a resource due to their racial/ethnic and/or gender identity. Approximately two out of five participants (41.6%) reported being sought out by students due to their racial/ethnic identity with 29.9 percent saying it happened "seldom" or "sometimes" and 11.7 percent indicated it was "often" or "very often." In comparison, 25.3 percent of respondents indicated that staff sought them out as a resource either "seldom" or "sometimes" while 9.3 percent sought them out. Participants were also more frequently sought by students (42.2%) than staff (35.5%) to serve as a resource due to their gender identity either "seldom" or more.

Beyond serving as a resource due to their social identities, respondents also reported regularly addressing issues of discrimination or social justice. Nearly two-thirds of respondents (64.7%) reported having confronted issues of discrimination at least "seldom" while 63.3 percent

of all mid-level professionals reported they participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues.

Interestingly, six of the items allowed participants to decline to state if they supported students or staff with issues of discrimination or been a resource for a student or staff member due to their racial/ethnic or gender identity. Across five of the six items, nearly a quarter of respondents declined to state if they had any experience with these actions. Only 16.8 percent of respondents declined to state if they have assisted a staff member with an issue of discrimination. This result perhaps stemmed from participants' discomfort disclosing this information or concerns that the institution was not receptive to issues related to discrimination as well as race and gender dynamics.

Gender Nonconforming and Nonbinary Participants

Due to small sample sizes, I combined participants who identified as non-binary, gender non-conforming, and participants who indicated their gender identity was not listed in the survey for a total of six participants. Among the five participants who indicated how often they assist with issues of discrimination, four (80%) said they helped a student and all five participants indicated they have helped a staff member. Only one out of four respondents indicated being sought out as a resource due to their racial/ethnic identity. When asked how often they were sought out as a resource due to their gender identity, two out of four participants said students sought them out, and one out of three reported staff sought them out as a resource. Four out of five participants indicated they have challenged others on issues related to discrimination and participated in a coalition addressing social justice issues. These findings provide some insight into the labor taken on by gender nonconforming and nonbinary participants; however, further

investigation beyond the scope of this study is necessary to better understand the experiences of this population.

Table 4.1

Frequency Distribution of DEI Labor

		Sought out as a resource by students due to:			Sought out as a resource by staff due to:			
	Assisted a student with problem of discrimination (n = 700)	racial/ethnic identity (n = 655)	gender identity (n = 653)	Assisted a staff member with problem of discrimination (n = 761)	racial/ethnic identity (n = 680)	gender identity (n = 679)	Challenged others on issues of discrimination (n = 916)	Participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues (n = 920)
Often/ Very Often	15.8%	11.7%	9.5%	10.5%	9.3%	5.6%	19.1%	9.1%
Seldom/ Sometimes	56.4%	29.9%	32.7%	55.9%	25.3%	29.9%	45.6%	54.2%
Never	27.7%	58.3%	57.7%	33.6%	65.4%	64.5%	35.4%	36.6%

Note: Differences in sample size are due to differences in the number of respondents who marked "decline to state" or were "missing" across each measure.

Understanding DEI Labor through an Intersectional Lens

Since research has shown that the distribution of labor is not typically equitable across racial and gender groups, I used analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine whether the groups created by intersections of gender and racial/ethnic identity significantly differed from one another. In cases where the F-statistic suggested significant between-group differences, I also used the Tukey posthoc test to identify which groups were significantly different from one another. These results are presented in Table 4.2

Comparisons between women of color, men of color, white women, and white men on items used to measure DEI labor showed several notable differences between the labor of women of color and their peers. On average, women of color reported significantly higher scores than white women and white men when asked how often they assisted students with issues of discrimination (see Table 4.2). Similarly, women of color reported helping staff with issues of discrimination significantly more often than their white counterparts. In each of the items highlighted in Table 4.2, women of color reported having the experience significantly more often than white men and, with the exception of challenging others on issues of discrimination, significantly more often than white women.

To further highlight some of the key differences across racial and gender identities on key measures of DEI work, Table 4.3 shows proportion of respondents within each group who reported having experienced each activity either “often” or “very often.” Women of color reported significantly higher frequencies of being sought out as a resource by students and staff members due to their racial identity. By comparison, no more than 2.4% of white women and one percent of white men experienced being a resource often or very often. When considering gender, women of color reported higher frequencies of being sought out as a resource by students

and staff due to their gender identity when compared to white women, white men, and men of color. Women of color experienced a racialized workload more often than white women, and even though women of color shared a similar racialized workload as men of color, women of color's workload was compounded due to their gender identity. These findings point to the differential experience in workload that women of color shoulder as a result of their racial/ethnic *and* gender identities.

Table 4.2. *Mean Score and Group Differences for DEI Measures*

	F-statistic	p-value	Women of Color (A)		White Women (B)		Men of Color (C)		White Men (D)	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Assisted a student with a problem about discrimination	5.225	0.001	1.70^{BD} (n = 120)	1.30	1.37^{A} (n = 284)	1.11	1.54 (n = 78)	1.21	1.20^{A} (n = 201)	1.07
Assisted another staff member with a problem about discrimination	7.153	<.001	1.52^{BD} (n = 131)	1.29	1.12^{A} (n = 317)	1.02	1.23^{BD} (n = 86)	1.19	0.98^{A} (n = 211)	0.95
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my racial/ethnic identity	104.28	<.001	1.87^{BD} (n = 124)	1.45	0.37^{AC} (n = 249)	0.69	1.88 (n = 80)	1.43	0.38^{AC} (n = 188)	0.73
Been sought out by another staff member due to my racial/ethnic identity	121.427	<.001	1.82^{BCD} (n = 130)	1.44	0.23^{AC} (n = 264)	0.54	1.37^{ABD} (n = 84)	1.34	0.23^{AC} (n = 189)	0.52
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my gender identity	20.863	<.001	1.35^{BCD} (n = 118)	1.36	0.88^{AD} (n = 264)	1.09	0.77^{AD} (n = 74)	1.07	0.37^{ABC} (n = 264)	0.78
Been sought out by another staff member due to my gender identity	22.444	<.001	1.10^{BCD} (n = 123)	1.34	0.71^{AD} (n = 277)	0.94	0.49^{A} (n = 79)	0.90	0.23^{AB} (n = 189)	0.52
Challenged others on issues of discrimination	4.022	0.007	1.32^{D} (n = 151)	1.21	1.10 (n = 398)	1.02	1.07 (n = 101)	1.08	0.95^{A} (n = 253)	0.94
Participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues	5.301	0.001	1.61^{BD} (n = 151)	1.40	1.30^{A} (n = 396)	1.21	1.61^{D} (n = 98)	1.37	1.19^{AC} (n = 253)	1.15

Note: Superscripts indicate significant differences between groups at p < .05. A = Significantly different from Women of Color, B = Significantly different from white women, C = Significantly different from Men of Color, D = Significantly different from white men

Table 4.3

Self-Rating on Diversity, Equity, Inclusion (DEI) Labor Measures by Race and Gender

	Percent Among Group Rating "Often" or "Very Often"			
	Women of Color	White Women	Men of Color	White Men
Assisted a student with a problem about discrimination ($\chi2 = 26.173$, $p < .010$)	25.8	14.1	20.5	10.5
Assisted another staff member with a problem about discrimination ($\chi2 = 40.141$, $p < .001$)	22.1	7.6	16.3	4.2
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my racial/ethnic identity ($\chi2 = 219.649$, $p < .001$)	33.9	2.4	32.5	1.0
Been sought out by another staff member due to my racial/ethnic identity ($\chi2 = 254.048$, $p < .001$)	32.3	0.4	22.6	0.0
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my gender identity ($\chi2 = 91.389$, $p < .01$)	16.9	10.6	6.8	3.8
Been sought out by another staff member due to my gender identity ($\chi2 = 87.524$, $p < .001$)	17.0	4.7	3.8	0.5
Challenged others on issues of discrimination ($\chi2 = 87.524$, $p < .001$)	15.2	8.0	9.9	5.5
Participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues ($\chi2 = 37.290$, $p < .001$)	28.4	15.9	29.6	15.1

Examining the Varying Nature of Perceived Organizational Support among Staff

To answer the second research question, I analyzed the frequency distribution and tested for any significant differences in means across the four groups for each measure of perceived

organizational support. Although the results showed no significant mean differences between groups, there were notable differences in distribution between women of color, white women, men of color, and white men.

Frequency Distribution Across the Full Sample

Respondents, overall, felt their contributions were valued by the organization and that colleagues cared about their well-being (see Table 4.4). Among participants who indicated "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree," 86.0 percent of participants "agreed" or "strongly agreed" their contributions were valued by the department and 86.0 percent reported their supervisor valued their contributions. Similarly, 86.2 percent of respondents also felt their contributions were valued by students. The notable difference among these items were the relatively lower rates at which mid-level professionals felt their contributions were valued by senior administrators. Although more than half of respondents (70.6%) felt senior administrators valued their contributions, just over one-quarter (29.5%) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed." This finding perhaps points to a greater disconnect between senior administrators' awareness of the contributions of mid-level professionals in comparison to other staff and students. Supportive colleagues also contributed to higher rates of organizational support with 90.7 percent of respondents indicating their colleagues cared about their well-being.

Gender Nonconforming and Nonbinary Participants

Similar to the first research question, I aggregated the six participants that identified as gender nonconforming, nonbinary, or whose gender identity was not listed in the survey. Five participants felt their contributions were valued by the department with one of the five participants reporting they "strongly agreed" with the statement. Supervisors appeared to also play a strong role in communicating value for participants contributions with four participants

indicating they "strongly agreed" that their supervisor valued their work. One participant "agreed" with the same statement. Four respondents "agreed" or "strongly agreed" their contributions were valued by students, and five simply agreed that senior administrators valued their work. One participant disagreed that their colleagues cared about their well-being while four participants either "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement. The results from this analysis showed that these participants generally feel valued for their contributions; however, additional research is necessary to fully understand the experiences of gender nonconforming and nonbinary mid-level employees.

Table 4.4

Percent Distribution for Perceived Organizational Support Measures

	I feel my contributions are valued by:				
	my department (n = 945)	my supervisor (n = 943)	senior administrators (n = 938)	students (n = 926)	Colleagues care about my well-being (n = 934)
Strongly Agree	34.3	42.2	19.1	23.9	38.7
Agree	51.7	43.8	51.5	62.3	52.0
Disagree	9.8	9.5	21.9	11.1	7.5
Strongly Disagree	4.1	4.5	7.6	2.7	1.8

Understanding Perceived Organizational Support through an Intersectional Lens

To fully answer research question two, I also tested for differences in organizational support between women of color, men of color, white women, and white men mid-level professionals. Table 4.5 shows mean scores for each item across all four groups, and Table 4.6 summarizes the frequency at which women of color and their peers "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with each measure in perceived organizational support. Only one item showed a significant difference between women of color and their peers. Specifically, Table 4.5 shows that women of color reported a lower mean score (3.04) than white men (3.26) when asked if they

felt valued by the department. Although there were no significant differences across any of the remaining measures between the four groups, women of color tended to score lower than white men across all measures. Women of color also scored lower than men of color except when asked if they felt valued by students, and they scored slightly higher than white women on three of the five items. Table 4.6 shows that, across all four groups, participants agreed at lower rates that their contributions were valued by senior administrators when compared to the other measures. The lack of significant differences across most measures perhaps reflects that generally feeling valued is the very reason why women of color and their peers have progressed to mid-level administrative positions within higher education.

Table 4.5

Mean Score and Group Differences for Perceived Organizational Support

	Women of Color (A) (n = 156)		White Women (B) (n = 404)		Men of Color (C) (n = 103)		White Men (D) (n = 264)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
I feel my contributions are valued by my department	3.04[D]	0.77	3.14	0.74	3.19	0.81	3.26[A]	0.76
I feel my contributions are valued by my direct supervisor	3.22	0.81	3.19	0.81	3.27	0.84	3.30	.75
I feel my contributions are valued by senior administrators	2.83	0.82	2.75	0.83	2.91	0.82	2.89	0.83
I feel my contributions are valued by students	3.09	0.67	3.04	0.66	3.08	0.76	3.11	0.66
Colleagues in my department care about my well-being	3.18	0.68	3.30	0.69	3.31	0.66	3.30	0.65

Note: Superscripts indicate significant differences between groups at p < .05. A = Significantly different from Women of Color, B = Significantly different from white women, C = Significantly different from Men of Color, D = Significantly different from white

Table 4.6

Self-Rating on Perceived Organizational Support Measures by Race and Gender

	Percent Among Group Rating "Agree" or "Strongly Agree"			
	Women of Color (n = 156)	White Women (n = 404)	Men of Color (n = 103)	White Men (n = 264)
I feel my contributions are valued by my department (χ2 = 15.047, p = .090)	82.7	86.4	87.4	87.9
I feel my contributions are valued by my direct supervisor (χ2 = 4.713, p = .859)	85.2	84.9	86.4	88.2
I feel my contributions are valued by senior administrators (χ2 = 7.929, p = .541)	71.1	67.0	75.7	67.0
I feel my contributions are valued by students (χ2 = 9.023, p = .435)	86.9	86.4	83.2	86.1
Colleagues care about my well-being (χ2 = 10.507, p = .311)	87.2	92.0	91.2	91.4

A Stronger Sense of Organizational Support Mitigates Turnover Intentions for Women of Color Mid-Level Professionals

The third research question asked to what extent perceived organizational support predicted women of color mid-level professionals' intent to leave their job or their institution. Analyses for this question used confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling to examine the relationship between organizational support and the outcome variables. Additionally, I tested structural models that introduced other measures (i.e., demographics, DEI labor, campus racial and gender climate, and supervisor support) and examined their relationship with organizational support and intent to leave. These analyses attempted to further center how these experiences and perceptions specifically impact the career intentions of women of color.

Sample

The final sample for this analysis consisted of 142 women of color mid-level higher education professionals. Table 4.7 provides a summary of the sample characteristics. All participants were full-time employees who worked at four-year universities with 54.2 percent working at public institutions. Participants identified as Latino (36.6%), Multiracial (23.9%), Black (21.1%), Asian (17.6%), and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (0.7%). One participant identified as transgender, and 7.7 percent identified as LGBQ+. Just over one-third (35.2%) of women of color were employed in student life departments. When examining their educational attainment levels, over half (52.8%) had earned a master's degree.

Respondents also had a range of years of experience working in their jobs and institutions. Approximately one-third (33.1%) of participants were employed in their current job five or fewer years, and the same rate reported having worked at their institution for five or fewer years.

With regards to the likelihood of leaving a job or institution, 22.5 percent of the sample indicated they were "likely" or "very likely" to leave their job within the next year while only 19 percent said they were "likely" or "very likely" to leave the institution within a similar time frame. It is important to note that slightly over half of the participants (54.48%) completed the survey after March 1, 2020, which is when many colleges and universities began shifting from in-person to remote operations in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Table 4.7. *Summary of Sample Characteristics (n = 142)*

	Percent
Race/Ethnicity	
Asian	17.6
Black	21.1
Latino	36.6
Multiracial	23.9
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	0.7
Sexual Orientation	
LGBQ+	7.7
Institution Type	
Public	54.2
Private	45.8
Department of Employment	
Academic Affairs	22.5
Business and Administrative Services	23.9
External Affairs, Leadership & Diversity, Other	18.3
Student Life	35.3
Educational Attainment Level	
Less than Bachelor's	6.3
Bachelor's	23.9
Master's	52.8
Doctorate (e.g., MD, PhD, EdD, JD)	15.5
Missing	1.4
Years Employed in Current Job	
0-5	33.1
6-10	21.1
11-15	14.8
15 or more	21.8
Missing	9.2
Years Employed at Current Institution	
0-5	33.1
6-10	19.0
10 or more	15.5
Missing	1.4

Measurement Models

Confirmatory factor analysis was used to construct four latent variables (Perceived Organizational Support; Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) Labor; Campus Racial and Gender Climate; and Supervisor Support), which were used in the various structural equation models discussed throughout this chapter. I used various fit indices available in M*plus* version 7.4 to test the measurement model parameters, including the chi-square statistic, root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), confirmatory fit index (CFI), Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and the standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR). An RMSEA value less than 0.05 is considered a good fit, while values between 0.05 and 0.08 are acceptable, 0.08 to 0.10 are mediocre, and any values above 0.10 indicate a poor fit (Byrne, 2012). Hu and Bentler (1999) also note that values below 0.06 indicate a good fit. Although a 0.90 threshold for CFI previously indicated a well-fitting model, Hu and Bentler (1999) later suggested that values closer to 0.95 were preferred. A similar threshold is required for TLI (Byrne, 2012; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Values below 0.08 are acceptable when assessing the SRMR statistic, but values below 0.05 are ideal and indicate a well-fitting model (Byrne, 2012; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Schreiber et al., 2006). The combination of these fit statistics was used to determine the goodness of fit for measurement and structural models.

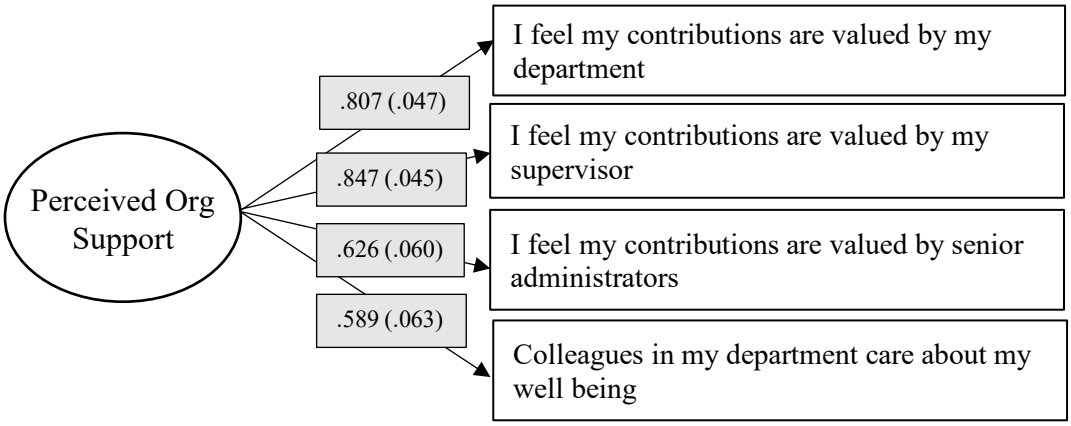
Perceived Organizational Support

Fit indices for the perceived organizational support measurement model mostly indicated a well-fitting model. The RMSEA (0.091) [CI: .000, .211] indicated a mediocre fitting model; however, the CFI (0.988), TLI (0.963), and SRMR (0.027) all indicated a well-fitting model as well as the chi-square statistic (4.319, df=2, p>0.05). Given that most of the fit indices resulted in a good fitting model, the four-item perceived organizational support measurement model was

used in the structural models (see Figure 4.1). It is also important to note that the measure, *I feel my contributions are valued by students*, was initially hypothesized to be a part of this model; however, exploratory factor analysis showed that this item did not meet a 0.4 factor loading threshold and was removed from the final model. The factor loadings showed that feeling that contributions are valued by a direct supervisor (0.847) represented the most salient item in this latent measure, followed by feeling contributions are valued by the department (0.807).

Figure 4.1

Perceived Organizational Support Measurement Model



Note: Standardized parameter estimates and standard errors are shown in this figure.

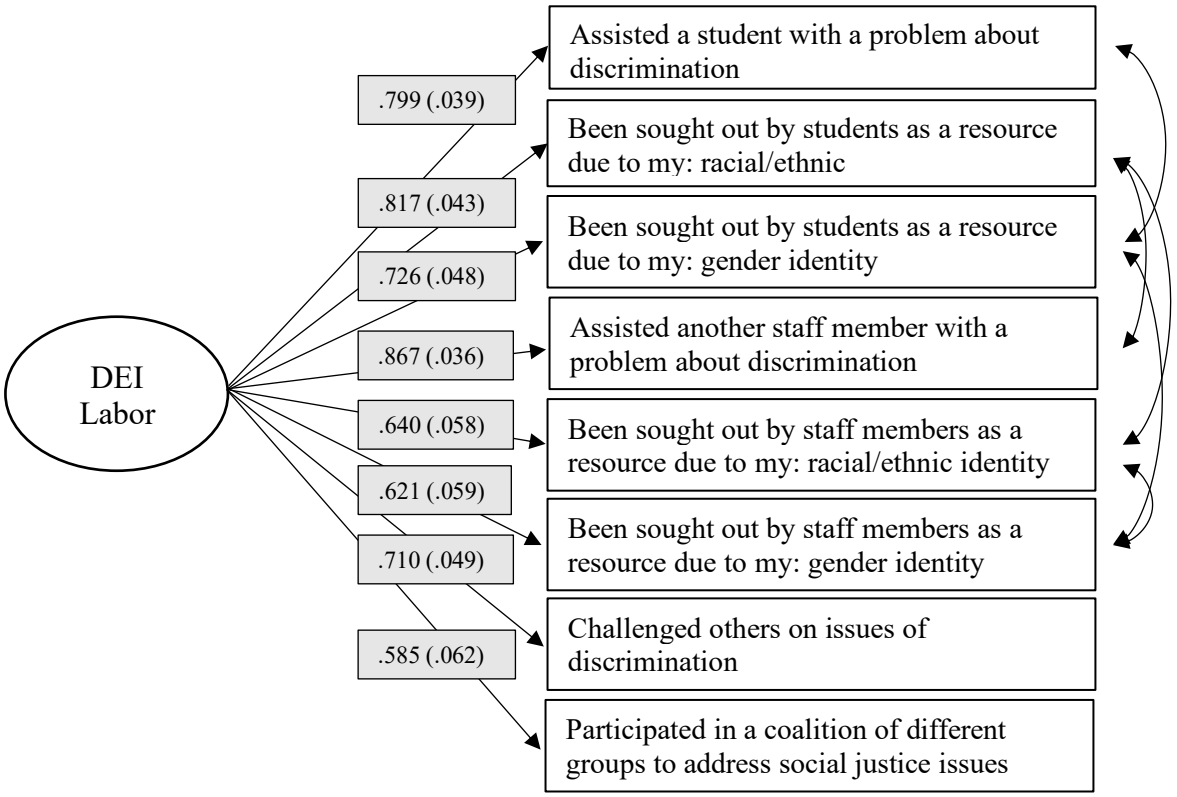
Diversity, Equity, Inclusion (DEI) Labor

Confirmatory factor analysis and the resulting fit indices also showed a well-fitting model for the diversity, equity, inclusion (DEI) labor measurement model once adjustments were made to the parameters (see Figure 4.2). Modification indices (i.e., LaGrange Multiplier and Wald Tests) showed the fit for the DEI labor measurement model would improve if error terms of observed variables covaried with one another such as *been sought out by a staff member due to my racial/ethnic identity* with *been sought out by a student due to my racial/ethnic identity*. Final results after making these modifications showed a good fit (RMSEA (0.040) [CI: .000, .094]; CFI (0.994); TLI (0.989); SRMR (0.031); $\chi^2 = 18.418$, df = 15, p = 0.2413). Within this factor,

assisting a staff member with an issue of discrimination had the strongest loading, indicating this measure held the greatest salience for the DEI Labor factor. The next three highest factor loadings all pertained to being a resource to students due to their racial/ethnic and gender identity and supporting them with discrimination issues.

Figure 4.2

DEI Labor Measurement Model



Note: Standardized parameter estimates, standard errors, and covarying error terms are shown in this figure.

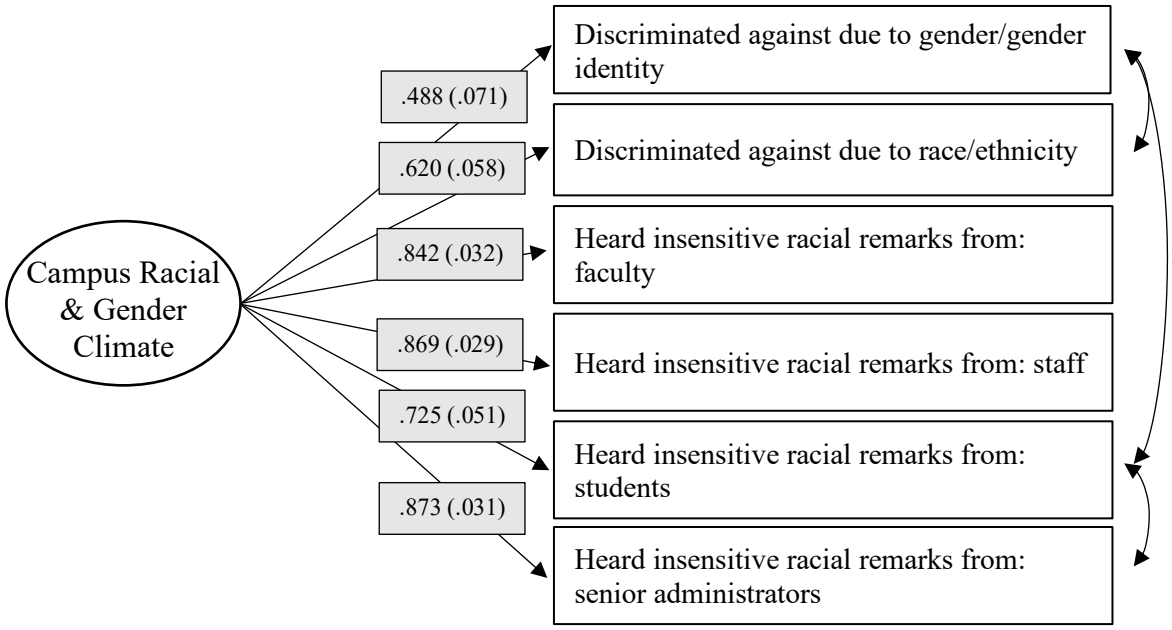
Campus Racial and Gender Climate

Results from testing the campus racial and gender climate measurement model initially indicated a poor fitting model; however, the model fit improved after allowing for covarying error terms of observed variables such as experiencing discrimination based on their racial/ethnic and gender identities which led to a good fitting model. The RMSEA (0.055) [CI: .000, .131] was just above the 0.05 threshold and indicated an acceptable fit. Additionally, the CFI (0.994),

TLI (0.985), SRMR (0.032), and chi-square (8.536, df = 6, p = 0.2014) indicated a well-fitting model. Based on this information, I determined it was a good fitting model that could be used in the structural models (see Figure 4.3). Unsurprisingly, the leading factor loadings for this measurement model were items asking participants if they have heard insensitive racial remarks; remarks from senior administrators had the highest correlation with the factor.

Figure 4.3

Campus Racial and Gender Climate Measurement Model



Note: Standardized parameter estimates, standard errors, and covarying error terms are shown in this figure.

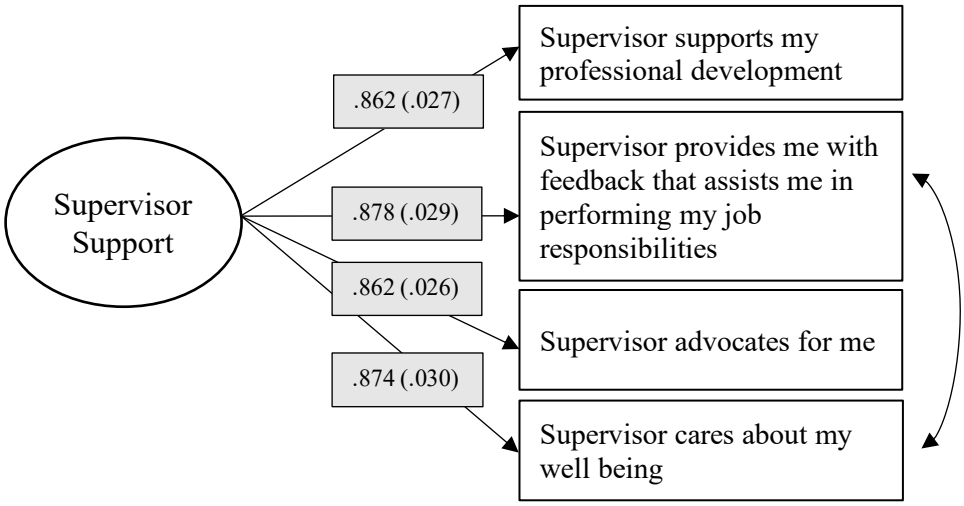
Supervisor Support

Lastly, I conducted confirmatory analysis to estimate the latent properties of supervisor support (see Figure 4.4). The LaGrange Multiplier (LM) and Wald (W) tests suggested allowing error terms for *my supervisor cares about my well-being* to covary with *my supervisor provides me with feedback that assists me in performing my job responsibilities* which mildly improved the model fit. Although the RMSEA (0.100) [CI: .000, .270] showed a mediocre fit, all other

indices showed a well-fitting model ($\chi^2 = 2.401$, df = 1, p = 0.1213; CFI = 0.996; TLI = 0.979; SRMR = 0.011]. All factor loadings for the supervisor support measurement model were high and ranged from 0.862 to 0.878. The measure asking participants if they believed their supervisor provided feedback had the highest loading (0.878) with the factor.

Figure 4.4

Supervisor Support Measurement Model



Note: Standardized parameter estimates, standard errors, and covarying error terms are shown in this figure.

Table 4.8 shows the factor loadings and Cronbach's alpha for each of the measurement models. Factor loadings were derived from confirmatory factor analysis in M*plus* and Cronbach's alpha was calculated using reliability analysis in SPSS. The Cronbach's alpha values for each of the factors were above 0.8 and ranged from 0.802 to 0.918 indicating strong reliability.

Table 4.8

Measurement Model Factor Loadings and Cronbach's Alpha (n = 142)

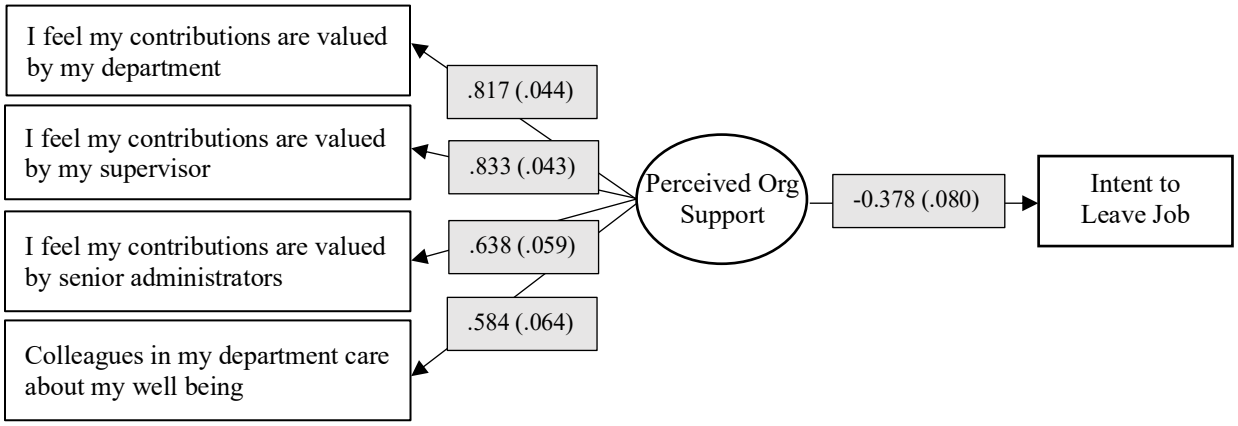
Factor/Item	Factor Loadings	Cronbach's α
Perceived Organizational Support		
I feel my contributions are valued by my supervisor	.847	.802
I feel my contributions are valued by my department	.807	
I feel my contributions are valued by senior administrators	.626	
Colleagues in my department care about my well being	.589	
DEI Labor		
Assisted another staff member with a problem about discrimination	.867	.918
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my: racial/ethnic identity	.817	
Assisted a student with a problem about discrimination	.799	
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my: gender identity	.726	
Challenged others on issues of discrimination	.710	
Been sought out by staff members as a resource due to my: racial/ethnic identity	.640	
Been sought out by staff members as a resource due to my: gender identity	.621	
Participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues	.585	
Campus Racial and Gender Climate		
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: senior administrators	.873	.894
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: staff	.869	
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: faculty	.842	
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: students	.725	
Discriminated against due to race/ethnicity	.620	
Discriminated against due to gender/gender identity	.488	
Supervisor Support		
Supervisor provides me with feedback that assists me in performing my job responsibilities	.878	.909
Supervisor cares about my well-being	.874	
Supervisor supports my professional development	.862	
Supervisor advocates for me	.862	

Stronger Perceived Organizational Support Significantly Diminishes Intentions to Leave Job and Institution

After confirming the measurement models, I tested the relationship between perceived organizational support and women of color's intent to leave their job or their institution, beginning with the hypothesized model depicted in Figure 3.1 Despite the RMSEA (0.071) [CI: .000, .150] indicating a mediocre fit, all remaining fit indices suggested a well-fitting model with chi-square statistic estimated at 8.525 (df = 5, p = 0.1296), CFI (0.983), TLI (0.966), and SRMR (0.035). The negative relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to leave their job (β = -0.378) indicated that women of color mid-level professionals who feel valued by the organization were more likely to report an interest in staying in their position. Figure 4.5 shows a graphical depiction of the relationship with coefficients and standard errors.

Figure 4.5

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support and Intent to Leave Job

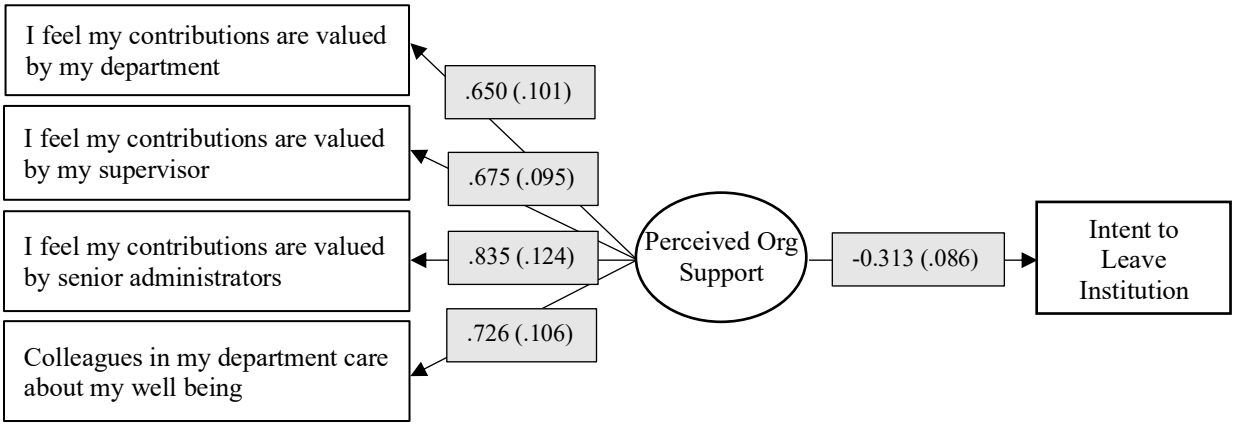


Women of color who perceived stronger organizational support had lower likelihoods of intending to leave their institution (see Figure 4.6). Similar to the previous model, the results showed a negative relationship (β = -0.313) between perceived organizational support and intent to leave the institution suggesting that participants' intentions to leave the institution decreased as their sense of organizational support increased. Although initial fit indices showed a poor

fitting model, the model fit was improved by covarying the error terms for *colleagues in my department care about my well-being* with *I feel my contributions are valued by senior administrators*. Additionally, modification indices suggested covarying error terms for measures that asked participants if they felt their contributions were valued by their supervisor and their department. The resulting RMSEA suggested a slightly poor fit (0.100) [CI: .000, .196], while the remaining fit statistics indicated a good or well-fitting model ($\chi^2 = 7.231$, df = 3, p = 0.146; CFI (0.979); TLI (0.932); SRMR (0.037)).

Figure 4.6

Structural Model for Perceived Org Support and Intent to Leave Institution



Hostile Climates Significantly Dampen Sense of Organizational Support and Increase Intent to Leave

To understand how other factors might influence organizational support and women of color's intent to leave, I analyzed the relationships between campus racial and gender climate, supervisor support, organizational support, and intent to leave the job or institution in a series of structural models.

Relationship Between Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Job

I first examined the mediating effects of organizational support on campus racial and gender climate and intent to leave their position (refer to Figure 4.7). The fit indices showed an acceptable RMSEA (0.061) [CI: .023, .092] and SRMR (0.066), and the CFI (0.973) and TLI (0.958) showed a well-fitting model. The chi-square statistic was 54.678 ($df = 36$, $p < .05$), suggesting a poor fit; however, given that most fit indices indicated an acceptable or well-fitting model, I proceeded to use the model. Women of color who experienced a more hostile campus climate tended to perceive weaker organizational support ($\beta = -0.444$, $p < .001$). The direct effect of campus racial and gender climate on the outcome variable ($\beta = 0.388$, $p < .001$) showed that greater hostility was associated with stronger intentions among women of color to leave their job. Likewise, job departure intentions were indirectly exacerbated by hostile racial campus climates due to how these contexts undermine perceptions of organizational support ($\beta = 0.092$, $p < .05$, see Table 4.9). Weaker perceptions of organizational support related to greater likelihoods of intending to leave their position.

Figure 4.7

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Climate, and Intent to Leave Job

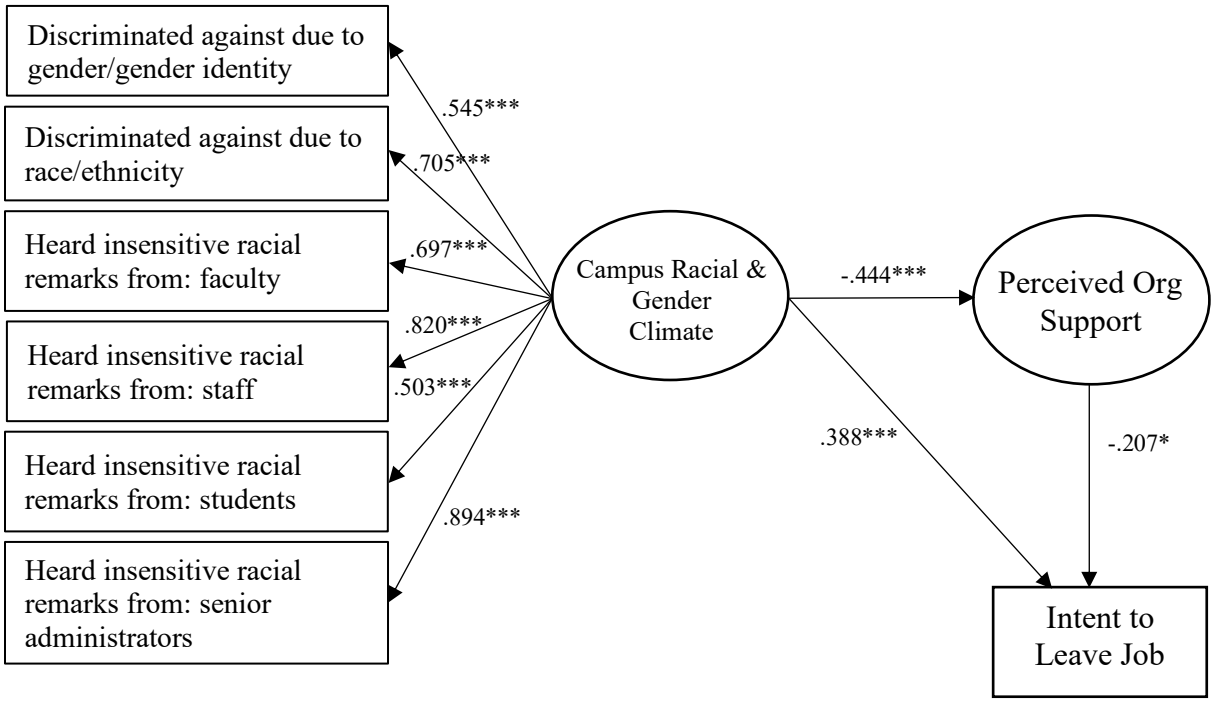


Table 4.9

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Job Model (n = 142)

	Perceived Organizational Support $R^2 = .20$			Intent to Leave Job $R^2 = .27$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Campus Racial & Gender Climate						
Direct Effects	-.509***	.130	-.444***	.655***	.181	.388***
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	.155*	.078	.092*
Total Effects	-.509***	.130	-.444***	.810***	.178	.480***
Perceived Organizational Support						
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-.305*	.139	-.207*
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-.305*	.139	-.207*

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Relationship Between Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

Next, I examined the effects of campus racial and gender climate on women of color's intent to leave the institution as well as the mediating relationship of perceived organizational support (see Figure 4.8). The chi-square statistic (57.146) [df = 33, $p < .01$] showed a poor fit and RMSEA (0.072) [CI: .039, .103] indicated the fit of this model was mediocre. However, the SRMR (0.055) indicated the fit was acceptable, and the CFI (0.964) and TLI (0.941) showed more favorable results for a well-fitting model. Given that most of the fit indices indicated either an acceptable or well-fitting model, I continued with my analysis of the model. Similar to the previous model, stronger perceptions of and experiences with a negative campus racial and gender climate were associated with lower levels of perceived organizational support ($\beta = -0.551$, $p < .001$). Negative experiences with racial and gender discrimination were positively related ($\beta = 0.343$, $p < .01$) with intent to leave the institution; however, the indirect effect of campus racial and gender climate ($\beta = 0.056$) on intent to leave the institution was nonsignificant (see Table 4.10).

Findings from both of these models also showed that organizational support explained some of the variance in the outcome variables. Campus racial and gender climate explained 20 to 30 percent of the variance in perceived organizational support while both latent variables explained 17 and 27 percent of the variance in institutional and job departure intentions, respectively.

Figure 4.8

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Climate, and Intent to Leave Institution

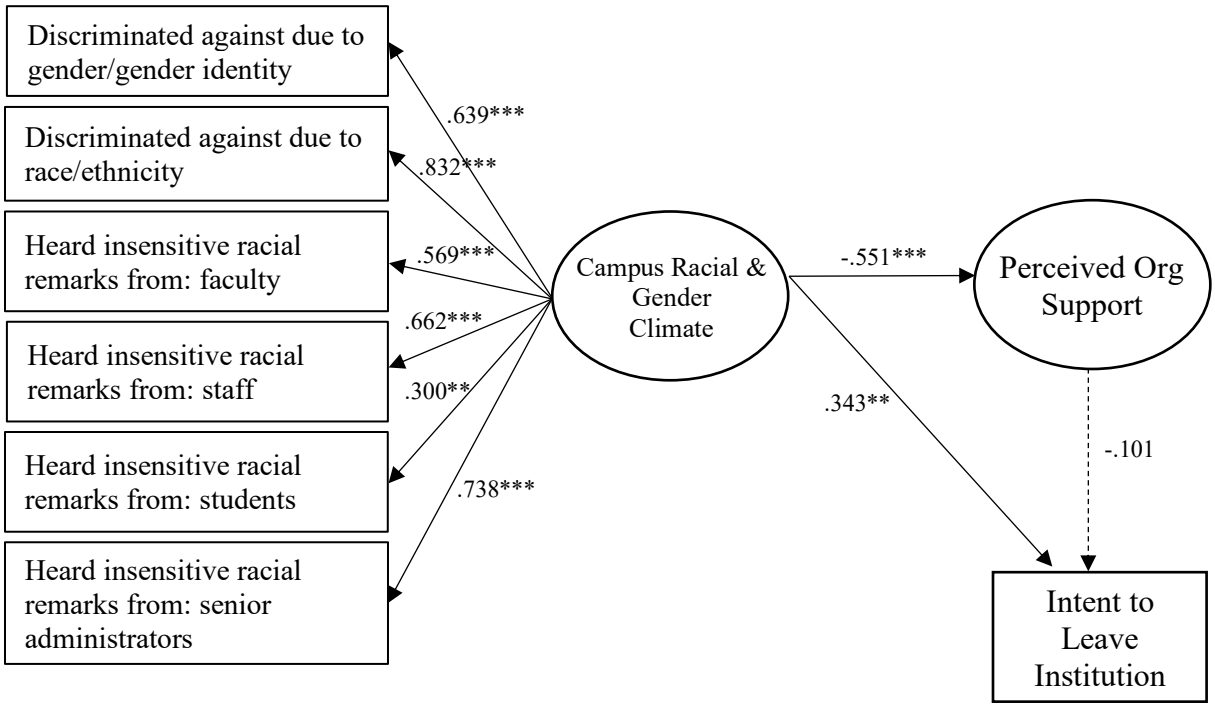


Table 4.10

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution Model (n = 142)

	Perceived Organizational Support $R^2 = .30$			Intent to Leave Institution $R^2 = .17$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Campus Racial & Gender Climate						
Direct Effects	-.538***	.119	-.551***	.489**	.212	.343**
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	.079	.089	.056
Total Effects	-.538***	.119	-.551***	.568***	.178	.399***
Perceived Organizational Support						
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-.147	.168	-.101
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-.147	.168	-.101

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Strong Supervisor Support Mediates the Effects of Organizational Support and Decreases Turnover Rates

As noted earlier, I also tested the relationship of supervisor support with organizational support and the outcome variables. In both models, supervisor support was a strong mediator between organizational support and intent to leave suggesting that the proximal role of the supervisor has an important role in mitigating overall feelings of organizational support. The analyses and results of both of these models are provided in the following section.

Relationship Between Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Job

To understand the role of supervisor support with respect to the outcome variable and organizational support, I analyzed the mediating effects of supervisor support on perceived organizational support and women of color's intent to leave the position (Figure 4.9). The fit indices showed an acceptable RMSEA (0.075) [CI: .033, .113], and was supported by the CFI (0.978), TLI (0.963), and SRMR (0.043) which all indicated a well-fitting model. The chi-square statistic showed a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 37.157$, df = 21, $p < .05$). Based on the overall fit indices, I determined the model was an acceptable fit of the data and proceeded with further examination.

Women of color who felt their contributions were valued by others at the institution also tended to feel supported by their supervisor in the form of professional development, feedback, advocacy, and general care for their well-being. With the introduction of supervisor support to the model, perceived organizational support no longer directly affected intentions to leave one's job; instead, perceived organizational support operated through supervisor support – women of color who felt valued for their contributions by others on campus tended to feel more support from their supervisors, which then decreased their intentions to leave their job ($\beta = -0.339$, $p <$

.05, see Table 4.11). Additionally, supervisor support had a direct effect on intentions to leave one's job, as women of color who felt more supported by their supervisors in terms of professional development and feedback were less likely to plan to switch jobs ($\beta = -0.404$, $p < .05$). Perceived organizational support explained 70 percent of the variance in supervisor support, and the two latent measures explained about 13 percent of the variation in intentions to leave one's job.

Figure 4.9

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Job

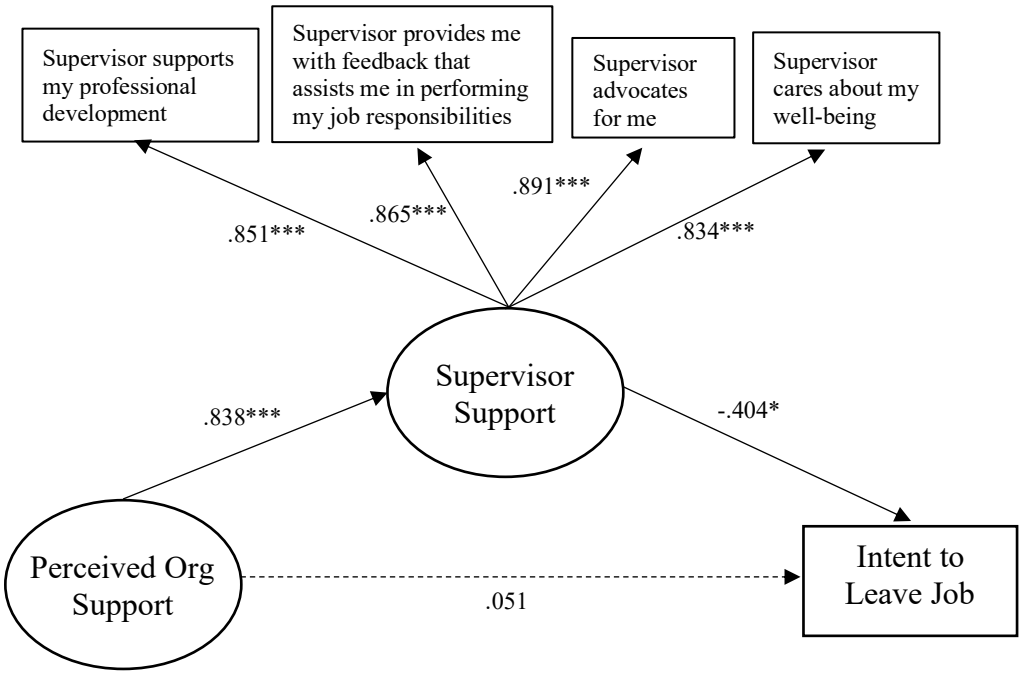


Table 4.11

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Job Model (n = 142)

	Supervisor Support			Intent to Leave Job		
	$R^2 = .70$			$R^2 = .13$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Perceived Organizational Support						
Direct Effects	1.174***	.146	.838***	.090	.301	.051
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-.597*	.264	-.339*
Total Effects	1.174***	.146	.838***	-.507***	.153	-.288***
Supervisor Support						
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-.508*	.219	-.404*
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-.508*	.219	-.404*

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Relationship Between Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

Similar results were found when examining the relationship of organizational and supervisor support on women of color's intent to leave the institution (refer to Figure 4.10). While the chi-square statistic ($\chi^2 = 44.981$, df = 21, $p < .01$) and the RMSEA (0.090, [CI: .053, .126], p = .038) suggested a mediocre fit, other measures such as the CFI (0.968), TLI (0.946), and SRMR (0.050) suggested this was a well-fitting model. Just as in the previous model, supervisor support mediated the effects of organizational support, and women of color who felt valued by the institution and supported by their supervisor were less likely to leave the institution (see Table 4.12).

The findings from these two models also showed that organizational and supervisor support explained some proportion of variance in the outcome variables. Perceived organizational support explained 70 percent of the variance in supervisor support and both

variables combined explained 9 percent of the variance of intent to leave the institution. This result is another indicator of the significance of the supervisor relationship in determining turnover rates.

Figure 4.10

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

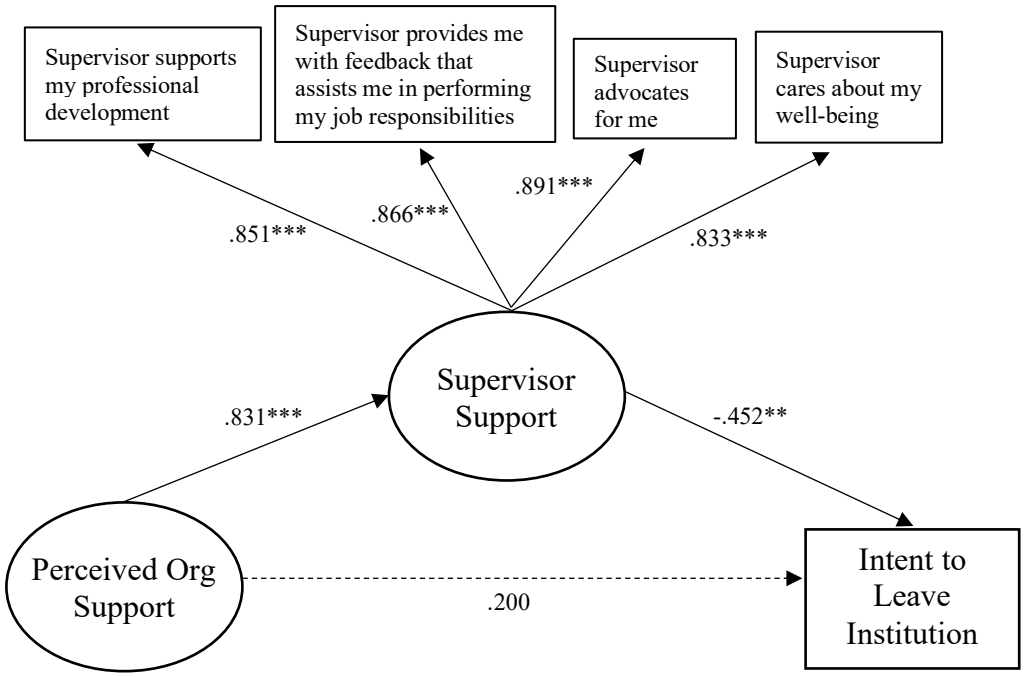


Table 4.12

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution Model (n = 142)

	Supervisor Support			Intent to Leave Institution		
	$R^2 = .69$			$R^2 = .09$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Perceived Organizational Support						
Direct Effects	1.174***	.147	.831***	.352	.289	.200
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-.659**	.255	-.375**
Total Effects	1.174***	.147	.831***	-.307*	.152	-.175*
Supervisor Support						
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-.562**	.210	-.452**
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-.562**	.210	-.452**

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

DEI Labor, Supervisor Support, and Campus Climate are Strong Predictors and Mediators of Organizational Support

To further complicate the models presented in the previous section and understand the extent to which perceived organizational support predicts turnover rates, I tested various models that introduced multiple covariates. The first two models examined the relationship of various demographic characteristics and DEI labor with organizational support and intentions to leave while the remaining two models tested the relationship between campus climate and supervisor support with organizational support and the outcome variables. The following sections present the findings of these analyses.

Relationship Between Demographics, Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, and Intent to Leave Job

To understand the extent to which perceived organizational support predicts intentions among women of color mid-level professional staff in higher education to leave their job, I tested

a hypothesized model that examined the relationship between demographic variables, DEI labor, organizational support, and respondents' intentions to leave their job (see Figure 4.11). The initial hypothesized model did not have parameters connecting demographic variables with DEI labor; however, modification indices (LM and Wald tests) demonstrated that DEI labor needed to be used as a mediating variable with parameters that connected the observed variables to this latent variable. I also allowed the error terms of observed variables within the DEI labor latent variable to covary in order to find the best fitting model. The fit indices indicated a good fit (RMSEA = 0.049 [CI: .032, .064]; CFI = 0.925, TLI = 0.907, SRMR = 0.054). Although the chi-square statistic (267.791, df = 200) was significant ($p < .05$), the remaining fit statistics showed a good fit, and, therefore, I proceeded with this model.

Predictors of Perceived Organizational Support. Various demographic measurements significantly and directly predicted organizational support. Years of employment in their job pointed to significant differences in women of color's perception of organizational support. Mid-level women of color professionals employed between six and 10 years felt less valued for their contributions and that colleagues cared for their well-being ($\beta = -0.242$, $p < .01$) in comparison to employees with fewer than five years of employment in their positions. Employees who reported having been employed in their jobs between 11 and 15 also felt less valued ($\beta = -0.190$, $p < .05$). However, respondents who indicated more than 15 years of employment in their role or who did not report their years of employment did not have significantly different perceptions of organizational support relative to their colleagues with the shortest tenures in their positions. Collectively, these results suggest women of color lose a sense that their contributions are important to the institution once they have become fairly established in the job.

Similar to service years, respondents' functional areas contributed to significantly different perceptions of organizational support. Women of color employed in business and administrative services offices felt more valued for their work ($\beta = 0.198$, $p < .05$) than women of color in student life departments. These differences based on their department of employment point to potentially varying work environments and challenges women of color in student life departments face with regards to receiving recognition for their contributions.

Engaging in diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) related work also had an inverse relationship with feeling valued by the institution. More frequently engaging in DEI labor significantly reduced respondents' perceptions of organizational support ($\beta = -0.417$, $p < .001$). This finding suggests that the more DEI labor women of color took on, the less likely they were to feel supported by the organization. Such a finding potentially suggests participants who take on diversity work are not receiving the support or recognition from their immediate environment (i.e., supervisor, department) or from other stakeholders at the institution such as senior administrators and colleagues, which seems to lead them to believe their contributions are not adequately valued. The results may also be indicative of an institution's lack of value or embrace of this diversity work and, as such, women of color do not feel valued when they do engage in this work.

Predictors of DEI Labor. Several demographic and professional characteristics were related to differences in respondents' level of reported DEI labor. Unsurprisingly, participants with more than 15 years of employment in their current role were significantly more likely to take on DEI labor ($\beta = 0.244$, $p < .01$) in comparison to respondents with five years or less of employment in their current jobs. Respondents who had earned a master's degrees also reported greater engagement with DEI work ($\beta = 0.380$, $p < .05$) in comparison to participants with less

than a bachelor's degree. Similarly, respondents with a doctorate (ex. PhD, JD, etc.) reported roughly a one-half standard deviation difference in their level of DEI work compared to their colleagues without a bachelor's degree ($\beta = 0.491$, $p < .001$). Given that mid-level roles in higher education typically require graduate degrees, it is unsurprising to find that employees with a master's or doctorate reported significantly more engagement in this type of work. Additionally, women of color who have been in their roles for an extended period of time are perhaps more likely to have had more time and opportunity to be sought out as a resource and play an important role in addressing issues on their campus.

Lastly, the unit of employment also made a difference in the distribution of respondents' DEI workloads. Participants employed in academic affairs ($\beta = -0.236$, $p < .01$) or business and administrative services ($\beta = -0.217$, $p < .01$) took on less responsibility for DEI work in comparison to women of color in student life departments. This finding perhaps suggests that higher education departments are working in silos and deferring work related to issues of race, gender, discrimination, and social justice to student affairs departments especially if it pertains to supporting students. Further analysis is necessary to understand the dynamics leading to this kind of work distribution among departments.

Predictors of Intent to Leave Job. When considering the outcome variable (intent to leave job), several predictor variables had a direct or indirect relationship to the outcome of interest. The strength and significance of the negative relationship between perceived organizational support and intent to leave the job ($\beta = -0.259$, $p < .01$) remained comparable in this more specified model compared to the baseline structural model in which organizational support was the only predictor variable of the outcome. This relationship indicated that lower levels of organizational support were associated with higher likelihood of women of color's

intent to leave their job within the following year. DEI labor had a positive relationship ($\beta = 0.319$, $p < .001$) with intent to leave job, indicating that participants who more frequently serve as a resource due to their racial/ethnic and/or gender identity, support students and staff with issues of discrimination, and engage in social justice coalitions, also tended to report a greater likelihood of intending to leave their job. Such a finding suggests that women of color are experiencing burnout and are feeling taxed from engaging in identity-based work and leading women of color to consider leaving their job. Lastly, participants working at a private institution were more likely than women of color at a public institution to indicate an intent to leave their position. Additional analysis is necessary to better understand the role of the type of institution in women of color's departure from their job.

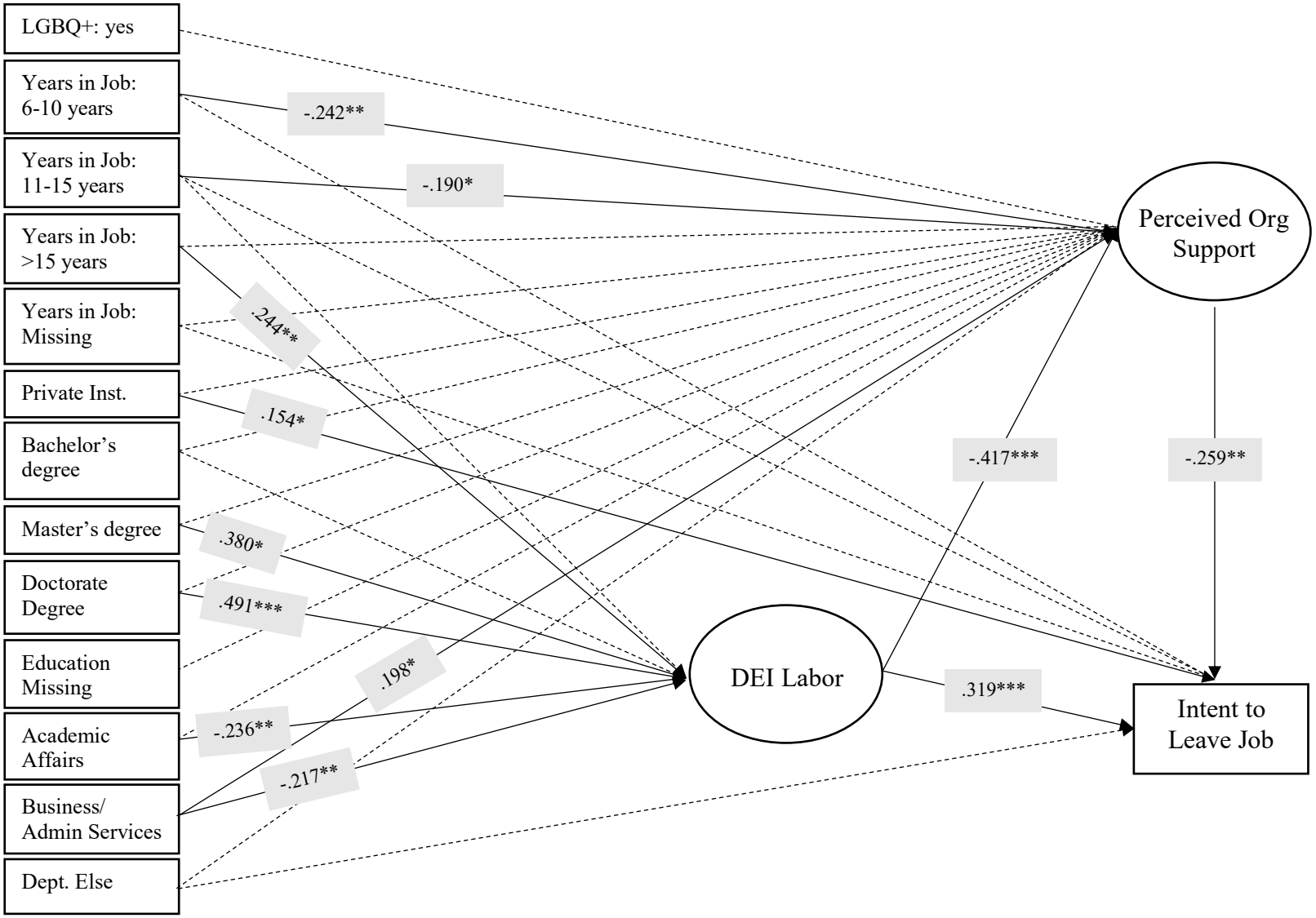
Perceived Organizational Support and DEI Labor as Mediating Variables. Perceived organizational support and DEI labor also had mediating effects between some of the measured variables and women of color's intent to leave the job. For example, part of the relationship between working for more than 15 years in their current job and intentions to leave their position was mediated by DEI labor ($\beta = 0.125$, $p < .01$). Women of color who have spent more time in their current positions also tend to have taken on greater DEI-related responsibilities, which increases their intentions to leave their current positions.

Working in academic affairs had a negative relationship with DEI labor and a negative indirect relationship ($\beta = -0.122$, $p < 0.01$) with intent to leave the job. Women of color working in academic affairs did not significantly differ in their perceived level of organizational support. Taken together, these findings suggest that part of the reason women of color working in academic affairs are less likely to intend to leave their current position is due to the fact that those working in academic affairs tend to assume DEI-related work significantly less often.

Similar to women of color in academic affairs, participants working in business and administrative services tended to have less frequent responsibilities related to DEI labor, which translated into a lower likelihood of leaving their current position ($\beta = -0.144$, $p < .01$). As discussed earlier, the silo effect of higher education perhaps means staff in academic affairs and business and administrative services are less likely to report an intention to leave their job, because they can shift the onus of DEI-related work, in particular, to other departments and not experience the same level of burnout as colleagues engaged in this work.

Table 4.13 shows the direct, indirect, and total effects of demographic variables, perceived organizational support, and DEI labor on intent to leave the job. The table also shows that 32 percent of the variance in organizational support and 30 percent in DEI labor were explained by the predictor variables. The observed predictor variables and the two latent variables combined explained 25 percent of the variance in intent to leave the job.

Figure 4.11. *Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, Control Variables, and Intent to Leave Job*



Note: Solid lines represent significant parameters and are labeled with standardized coefficients. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant parameters. For simplicity, covaried error terms are not shown in this figure.

Table 4.13

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Demographics, Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, and Intent to Leave Job Model (n =142)

	Perceived Organizational Support			DEI Labor			Intent to Leave Job		
	$R^2 = .32$			$R^2 = .30$			$R^2 = .25$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
LGBQ+									
Direct Effects	.042	.193	.018	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.016	.072	-.005
Total Effects	.042	.193	.018	-	-	-	-.016	.072	-.005
Years in Job (6-10yrs)									
Direct Effects	-.364**	.144	-.242**	-	-	-	.063	.177	.029
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.136	.074	.063
Total Effects	-.364**	.144	-.242**	-	-	-	.200	.176	.092
Years in Job (11-15yrs)									
Direct Effects	-.329*	.161	-.190*	-.439	.227	-.153	.130	.201	.052
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.040	.115	-.016
Total Effects	-.329*	.161	-.190*	-.439	.227	-.153	.089	.212	.036
Years in Job (>15yrs)									
Direct Effects	-.119	.151	-.079	.609**	.207	.244**	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.271**	.100	.125**
Total Effects	-.119	.151	-.079	.609**	.207	.244**	.271**	.100	.125**
Years in Job (Missing)									
Direct Effects	-.093	.189	-.044	-	-	-	-.012	.236	-.004
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.035	.072	.011
Total Effects	-.093	.189	-.044	-	-	-	.023	.243	.007
Private University									
Direct Effects	.170	.104	.138	-	-	-	.276*	.137	.154*
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.064	.045	-.036
Total Effects	.170	.104	.138	-	-	-	.212	.139	.119
Bachelor's									
Direct Effects	.389	.230	.270	-.037	.328	-.016	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.159	.153	-.076
Total Effects	.389	.230	.270	-.037	.328	-.016	-.159	.153	-.076

Master's									
Direct Effects	.321	.229	.260	.776*	.318	.380*	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.169	.157	.095
Total Effects	.321	.229	.260	.776*	.318	.380*	.169	.157	.095
Doctorate									
Direct Effects	.397	.269	.234	1.381***	.373	.491***	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.365	.196	.149
Total Effects	.397	.269	.234	1.381***	.373	.491***	.365	.196	.149
Education Missing									
Direct Effects	.887	.480	.170	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.331	.215	-.044
Total Effects	.887	.480	.170	-	-	-	-.331	.215	-.044
Academic Affairs									
Direct Effects	.122	.144	.082	-.581**	.211	-.236**	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.262**	.100	-.122**
Total Effects	.122	.144	.082	-.581**	.211	-.236**	-.262**	.100	-.122**
Business/ Administrative Services									
Direct Effects	.286*	.141	.198*	-.519**	.207	-.217**	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.300**	.101	-.144**
Total Effects	.286*	.141	.198*	-.519**	.207	-.217**	-.300**	.101	-.144**
Department (Else)									
Direct Effects	.020	.146	.013	-	-	-	-.258	.174	-.113
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.007	.054	-.003
Total Effects	.020	.146	.013	-	-	-	-.266	.181	-.116
Perceived Organizational Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.374**	.142	-.259**
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.374**	.142	-.259**
DEI Labor									
Direct Effects	-.251***	.068	-.417***	-	-	-	.278***	.084	.319***
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.094*	.042	.108*
Total Effects	-.251***	.068	-.417***	-	-	-	.372***	.079	.426***

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Relationship Between Demographics, Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, and Intent to Leave Institution

I tested a similar hypothesized model examining the relationship between perceived organizational support, DEI labor, demographic variables, and intent to leave the institution and found many similarities in the results (see Figure 4.12). Modification indices suggested covarying error terms in the DEI labor latent variable to improve model fit. Findings from this model showed similar results to those found in the previous model and most fit indices indicated a good fit. The chi-square statistic showed a poor fit ($\chi^2 = 256.553$, df = 190, p = .0009), and the RMSEA was estimated at 0.050 [CI: .033, .065] indicating an acceptable fit. Additional indices also showed an acceptable fit (CFI = 0.925, TLI = 0.907, SRMR = 0.054).

Predictors of Perceived Organizational Support. Educational attainment levels showed some significant direct relationships with perceived organizational support. Women of color mid-level professionals with a bachelor's degree as their highest degree earned ($\beta = 0.329$, $p < .05$) felt their contributions were more valued in comparison to their colleagues without a bachelor's degree. Women of color working in business and administrative services were also more likely to experience higher levels of organizational support ($\beta = 0.201$, $p < .05$) in comparison to student life employees. No other exogenous variables had a significant direct relationship with perceived organizational support.

Predictors of DEI Labor. Results showed that respondents with a doctorate degree took on significantly more DEI labor compared to those without a bachelor's degree ($\beta = 0.404$, $p < .01$). Having a bachelor's or master's degree did not have a significant relationship with DEI labor. Findings also showed differences among women of color based on the department of employment. Similar to the previous model, participants who worked in academic affairs (β = -

0.221, $p < .05$) and business and administrative services ($\beta = -0.180$, $p < .05$) were less likely than student life colleagues to take on DEI labor.

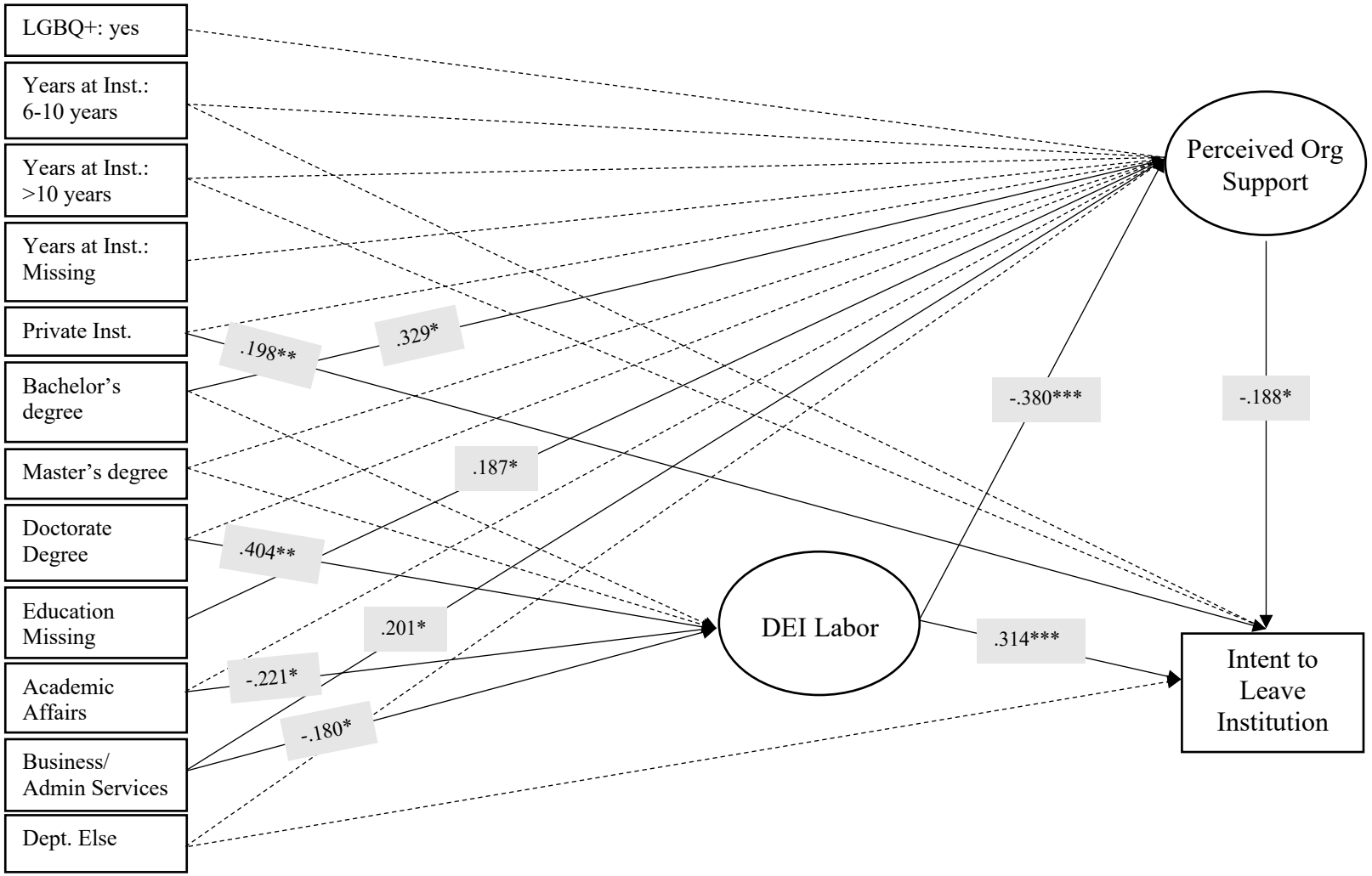
Predictors of Intent to Leave Institution. Only one exogenous variable had a direct relationship with intent to leave the institution. Working at a private university was positively related with the outcome variable ($\beta = 0.198$, $p < .01$), meaning women of color at a private university showed stronger intentions of leaving the institution in comparison to participants employed at public universities. DEI labor also had a direct effect ($\beta = 0.314$, $p <.001$) on the outcome variable which indicated that women of color who reported higher frequencies of being sought out for their racial and gender identities or assisting with equity issues were associated with a greater intent to leave the institution. The indirect path between DEI labor and intent to leave the institution was not significant. Perceived organizational support also maintained a negative relationship with intent to leave the institution ($\beta = -0.188$, $p < .05$), indicating an increased likelihood of leaving the institution when organizational support is low.

Perceived Organizational Support and DEI Labor as Mediating Variables. Perceived organizational support and DEI labor had a mediating effect on the relationship between the unit of employment and intent to leave the institution. The functional area in which women of color were employed were the only exogeneous variables that had significant indirect and total effects on their intent to leave the institution. Similar to the previous model, working in academic affairs and business and administrative services had a negative relationship with DEI labor. Additionally, working in academic affairs ($\beta = -0.094$, $p < .05$) and business administrative services ($\beta = -0.107$, $p < .05$) had a negative indirect relationship with the outcome variable. Just as earlier findings indicated, taken together, the results showed that women of color in academic

affairs and business and administrative services were less likely to take on DEI-related work and to indicate an intent to leave their institution.

Table 4.14 shows the direct, indirect, and total effects of demographic variables, perceived organizational support, and DEI labor on intent to leave the institution. Findings from this analysis also showed that the predictor variables explained 25 percent of the variance in organizational support and 21 percent of DEI labor. Nearly a quarter (23%) of the variance in intent to leave the institution was explained by all predictor variables in the model.

Figure 4.12. *Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, Control Variables, and Intent to Leave Institution*



Note: Solid lines represent significant parameters and are labeled with standardized coefficients. Dashed lines represent nonsignificant parameters. For simplicity, covaried error terms are not shown in this figure.

Table 4.14

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Demographics, Perceived Organizational Support, DEI Labor, and Intent to Leave Institution Model (n = 142)

	Perceived Organizational Support			DEI Labor			Intent to Leave Institution		
	$R^2 = .25$			$R^2 = .21$			$R^2 = .23$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
LGBQ+									
Direct Effects	.054	.192	.024	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.015	.053	-.005
Total Effects	.054	.192	.024	-	-	-	-.015	.053	-.005
Years at Institution (6-10yrs)									
Direct Effects	-.034	.135	-.022	-	-	-	.255	.177	.114
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.009	.037	.004
Total Effects	-.034	.135	-.022	-	-	-	.265	.180	.118
Years at Institution (>10yrs)									
Direct Effects	.062	.144	.037	-	-	-	-.095	.188	-.039
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.017	.040	-.007
Total Effects	.062	.144	.037	-	-	-	-.112	.192	-.046
Years at Institution (Missing)									
Direct Effects	-.143	.425	-.028	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.039	.118	.005
Total Effects	-.143	.425	-.028	-	-	-	.039	.118	.005
Private University									
Direct Effects	.166	.103	.137	-	-	-	.351**	.138	.198**
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.046	.036	-.026
Total Effects	.166	.103	.137	-	-	-	.305*	.139	.173*
Bachelor's									
Direct Effects	.462*	.226	.329*	-.160	.351	-.066	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.179	.141	-.087
Total Effects	.462*	.226	.329*	-.160	.351	-.066	-.179	.141	-.087
Master's									
Direct Effects	.348	.220	.289	.596	.335	.286	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.099	.137	.056
Total Effects	.348	.220	.289	.596	.335	.286	.099	.137	.056

Doctorate									
Direct Effects	.420	.256	.253	1.157**	.390	.404**	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.262	.171	.108
Total Effects	.420	.256	.253	1.157**	.390	.404**	.262	.171	.108
Education Missing									
Direct Effects	.952*	.472	.187*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.262	.182	-.035
Total Effects	.952*	.472	.187*	-	-	-	-.262	.182	-.035
Academic Affairs									
Direct Effects	.073	.145	.050	-.555*	.224	-.221*	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.201*	.088	-.094*
Total Effects	.073	.145	.050	-.555*	.224	-.221*	-.201*	.088	-.094*
Business/ Administrative Services									
Direct Effects	.282*	.143	.201*	-.438*	.219	-.180*	-	-	-
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.221*	.090	-.107*
Total Effects	.282*	.143	.201*	-.438*	.219	-.180*	-.221*	.090	-.107*
Department (Else)									
Direct Effects	.034	.146	.022	-	-	-	-.275	.174	-.121
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.009	.040	-.004
Total Effects	.034	.146	.022	-	-	-	-.285	.178	-.125
Perceived Organizational Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.275*	.138	-.188*
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.275*	.138	-.188*
DEI Labor									
Direct Effects	-.220***	.062	-.380***	-	-	-	.266***	.079	.314***
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.060	.034	.071
Total Effects	.220***	.062	-.380***	-	-	-	.326***	.073	.385***

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Relationship Between Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Job

I also tested the relationship between campus racial and gender climate with organizational support, supervisor support, and intent to leave the job (see Figure 4.13). The RMSEA (0.060) [CI: .036, .081] and the SRMR (0.073) showed an acceptable fit while the CFI (0.968) and TLI (0.957) indicated it was a well-fitting model. The chi-square statistic (χ^2 = 115.985, df = 77, $p < .01$) suggested a poor fit. Since all fit indices except for the chi-square statistic met the minimum recommended thresholds, I opted to use this model and further examined the relationships between variables.

Encountering a more hostile campus racial and gender climate significantly undermined perceptions of organizational support ($\beta = -0.362$, $p < .001$) indicating that women of color who reported experiencing discrimination based on race/ethnicity and/or gender and heard disparaging racial remarks believed their contributions were less valued by others within the institution. The racial and gender climate did not have a significant relationship with supervisor support, but it did significantly contribute to respondents' intentions to leave their job ($\beta = 0.415$, $p < .001$). Although the indirect effect of campus racial climate was nonsignificant ($\beta = 0.056$, $p = .134$), the total effect of campus racial climate on intent to leave the job showed a positive significant relationship with the outcome variable ($\beta = 0.471$, $p < .000$). The campus racial and gender climate was also the strongest predictor of women of color's intentions to leave their job followed by supervisor support indicating that the institutional climate plays an important role in influencing women of color's career trajectories. Unsurprisingly, these findings suggest that women of color are more likely to consider leaving their job when they frequently experience racial/ethnic and/or gender discrimination.

Figure 4.13

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Campus Climate, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Job

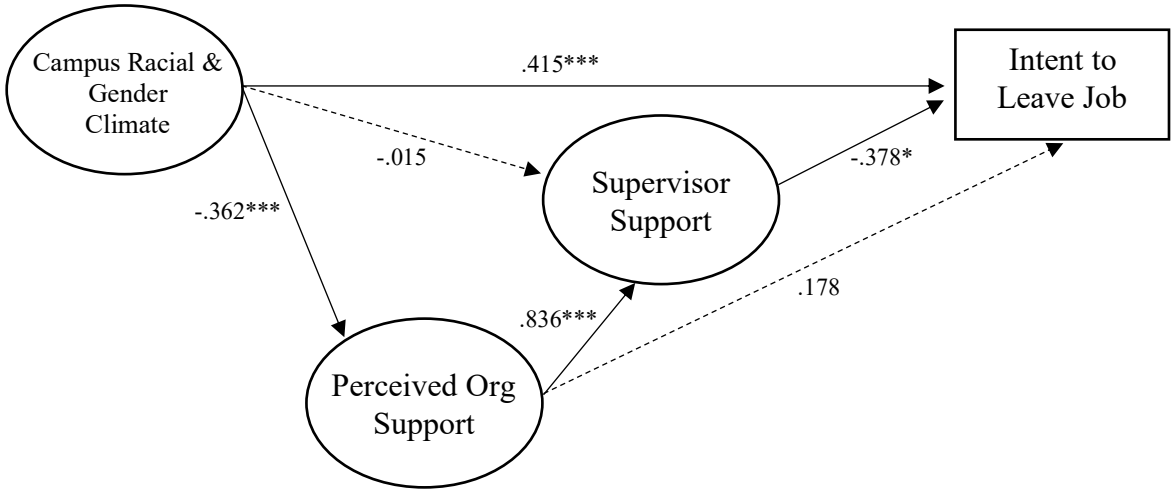


Table 4.15

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Job Model (n = 142)

	Perceived Organizational Support			Supervisor Support			Intent to Leave Job		
	$R^2 = .13$			$R^2 = .71$			$R^2 = .28$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Campus Racial & Gender Climate									
Direct Effects	-.355***	.107	-.362***	-.021	.095	-.015	.715***	.177	.415***
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.096	.067	.056
Total Effects	-.355***	.107	-.362***	-.021	.095	-.015	.812***	.180	.471***
Perceived Organizational Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	1.166***	.149	.836***	.312	.282	.178
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.555*	.244	-.316*
Total Effects	-	-	-	1.166***	.149	.836***	-.243	.150	-.138
Supervisor Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.476*	.202	-.378*
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.476*	.202	-.378*

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Relationship Between Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Supervisor Support, Perceived Organizational Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

The effect of campus racial and gender climate, supervisor support, and organizational support on intent to leave the institution was also tested (see Figure 4.14). Fit indices for this model showed an adequate fit based on the RMSEA (0.070) [CI: .048, .090] and SRMR (0.075) as well as a well-fitting model according to the CFI (0.957) and TLI (0.942). The chi-square test (129.641, df = 77, $p < .001$) showed a poor fitting model. Given that all but the chi-square test reached at least minimum thresholds or better, I proceeded to analyze the model.

The direct and indirect effects of campus racial and gender climate on intent to leave the institution were similar to those in the previous model (see Table 4.16). Findings showed that a negative campus racial and gender climate led women of color to report an intent to leave the institution ($\beta = 0.413$, $p < .001$) and lower levels of organizational support ($\beta = -0.350$, $p < .001$). The campus racial and gender climate was also the highest predictor of intent to leave the institution. Just as in the previous model, organizational support was mediated by supervisor support and had a negative indirect relationship ($\beta = -0.316$, $p = .011$) with intent to leave the institution.

Similar to the simplified model showing the relationship between organizational support, supervisor support, and the outcome variables, the latent variables explained a significant proportion of the variance of the outcome variables. Just over a quarter (28%) of the variance in intent to leave the job (see Table 4.15) and 24 percent of intent to leave the institution (see Table 4.16) was explained by the latent variables. Campus racial and gender climate explained 12 to 13 percent of the variance in perceived organizational support, and the climate combined with organizational support explained 68 to 71 percent of the variance in supervisor support.

Figure 4.14

Structural Model for Perceived Organizational Support, Campus Climate, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Institution

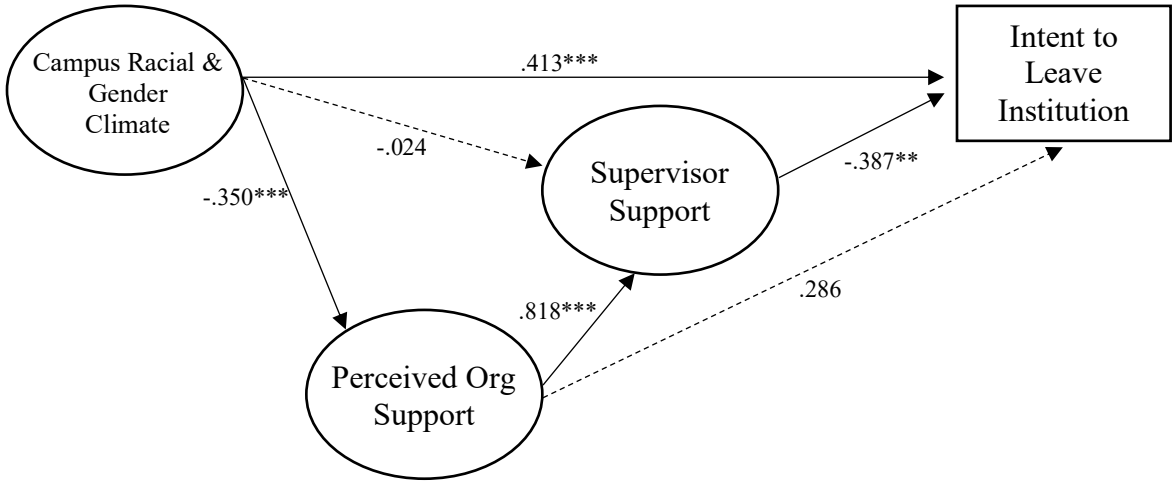


Table 4.16

Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Campus Racial and Gender Climate, Perceived Organizational Support, Supervisor Support, and Intent to Leave Institution Model (n = 142)

	Perceived Organizational Support			Supervisor Support			Intent to Leave Institution		
	$R^2 = .12$			$R^2 = .68$			$R^2 = .24$		
	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
Campus Racial & Gender Climate									
Direct Effects	-.348***	.107	-.350***	-.035	.097	-.024	.718***	.183	.413***
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	.035	.064	.020
Total Effects	-.348***	.107	-.350***	-.035	.097	-.024	.752***	.180	.433***
Perceived Organizational Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	1.182***	.149	.818***	.501	.264	.286
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.553*	.225	-.316*
Total Effects	-	-	-	1.182***	.149	.818***	-.053	.150	-.030
Supervisor Support									
Direct Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.468**	.182	-.387**
Indirect Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Effects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.468**	.182	-.387**

Note: p<.05, p<.01**, p<.001****

Chapter Summary

This chapter examined differences in the distribution of labor, perceived organizational support, and their relationship to the outcome variables of interest. The analyses showed disparities in the distribution of DEI labor and how it informs women of color's intent to leave their job or institution. Higher rates of women of color reported helping students or staff with issues of discrimination, being sought out as a resource due to their racial/ethnic or gender identity, and actively addressing social justice issues. These findings demonstrated the added work that women of color performed in comparison to white women, men of color, and white men.

Crosstabulations and ANOVA testing did not point to many significant differences in organizational support when comparing women of color to their peers. However, there were notable findings that suggest supervisors play a critical role in contributing to feeling valued and that senior administrators were less likely than other groups to demonstrate a value for women of color's contributions. Overall, women of color, white women, men of color, and white men reported high rates of feeling valued for their contributions by their department, supervisor, senior administrators, and students, and they felt cared for by their colleagues.

Findings from factor analysis and structural equation modeling showed important relationships between organizational support and other measurements with the outcome variables. Increases in organizational support are associated with a decreased likelihood of women of color's intent to leave their job or the institution. Interestingly, perceived organizational support became nonsignificant to predicting intent to leave the job or institution when supervisor support was introduced into the model. Supervisor support had mediating effects and participants who felt highly supported by their direct supervisor were less likely to

leave their job or institution. The results underscored the critical role of supervisors in communicating that women of color's contributions are valued and potentially in retaining women of color higher education professionals. Prior research (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002) indicates that supervisor support is an antecedent to organizational support, but this study suggests the variable carries more significance as a proximal influence of turnover rates. However, it is also important to note that the analyses required removing an item from the organizational support latent variable and adding it to the supervisor support variable. Therefore, changes in survey design and additional analysis are necessary to further examine if the mediating effects of supervisor support remain consistent.

Structural modeling also indicated that DEI labor has a significant effect on organizational support and intent to leave. As women of color experienced increases in DEI labor, they were also likely to report decreases in organizational support as well as a greater likelihood of an intent to leave the job and/or institution. The findings also revealed that student life employees took on this DEI labor more than women of color working in academic affairs or business and administrative services. Seasoned professionals more frequently reported taking on DEI labor within higher education in comparison to early career staff.

Lastly, campus racial and gender climate issues also shaped women of color's perception of organizational support and their career intentions. Negative interactions based on race and/or gender were associated with lower rates of organizational support and increases in intent to leave the job or institution. Addressing the campus racial and gender climate will be important in any efforts to retain women of color in higher education.

The following chapter describes a narrower analysis of the experiences of women of color that focused specifically on the experiences of Latina mid-level student affairs

professionals. Through the use of qualitative methods, I sought to understand what labor Latina higher education professionals undertook and how their experiences shape their perceptions of the value the institution places on their contributions. Chapter 5 presents the findings from the qualitative study.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE LABOR OF LATINA STUDENT AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

Introduction

This study utilized a multimethod approach to understand how the intersection of race and gender influences the work undertaken by women of color mid-level higher education professionals, the support they receive from their institutions, and how their work environment influences their career trajectories. Chapter four quantitatively examined the relationship between women of color's work, organizational support, and their intentions to leave their job or institution. This chapter uses qualitative methods to more narrowly focus on the experiences of Latina mid-level student affairs professionals. In particular, this section explores Latina mid-level student affairs professionals' contributions to their respective institutions, how they experience being valued for their contributions, and how the intersection of their racial, ethnic, and gender identities shape their experiences. I first begin with a description of the participants and a summary of their job responsibilities. I then examine the workload participants describe as being above and beyond their job expectations and how their identity as a Latina influences these added responsibilities. The second half of the chapter then explores how participants' experiences and their environment shape their perceptions of the value of their contributions. This analysis is intended to complement the quantitative analysis and provide a more in-depth understanding of how organizational support is communicated to women of color.

Participants

Ten self-identified Latina mid-level student affairs professionals working at four-year universities across various functional areas including student conduct, multicultural affairs, residential life, academic advising, and student support services participated in a 60 to 90-minute semi-structured interview between January and February 2018. Two participants worked at

private universities while the remaining eight worked at public institutions. All participants self-identified as Latina and represented a range of racial and ethnic identities (Black/Afro-Latinx, Ecuadorian/Italian, Latina/x, Mexican/Native American, Mexican American, Xicana, and Zapotec/Mexican). Seven of the participants identified as heterosexual, and the remaining three identified as either bisexual or fluid. All participants identified as first-generation college students. Their years of full-time work experience in higher education ranged from two and a half years to 13 years. Participants also reported their length of time working in their current job which ranged from six months with the longest tenured person having worked in their current job for four years.

Scope of Job Responsibilities

The focus of this study is to demonstrate what work Latina student affairs professionals perceived to be above and beyond their job expectations. However, I first begin by generally summarizing the scope of participants' job responsibilities.

When asked to describe the scope of their job and their day-to-day work, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals often pointed to a set of core responsibilities: administrative work, oversight of program direction and implementation, staff supervision, and participating in meetings with various stakeholders. Administrative work typically included tasks such as managing payroll and hiring of staff, managing budgets, and corresponding primarily with students and staff. They frequently attended meetings with various campus constituents and partners (i.e., students, staff, and faculty) and participated in various university committees. Some participants also had frequent contact with students and met with them to provide support such as academic advising. Six of the participants also supervised student or full-time staff members. The development and implementation of programs and services such as tutoring,

academic probation interventions, community building events, and professional development for students was also a critical component of the job responsibilities of all participants. For three participants, their core responsibilities also included responding to crises, mental health issues, and concerns related to student behavior. These various job responsibilities were aligned with what participants expected to do on a weekly basis.

"Double Duty": The Added Labor of Latina Student Affairs Professionals

Insights from participant interviews revealed that Latina mid-level student affairs professionals undertook added responsibilities that were often shaped by their identities and experiences. They described experiences that often (mis)aligned with their job expectations and attributed this additional work to departmental and supervisor needs. Next, participants often took on additional mentoring and equity work that was typically a function of their identities. Due to their personal experiences with underrepresentation of Latinas along their academic and professional journey, they frequently spoke about the desire to support students and staff who also belonged to marginalized populations. Third, Latina student affairs professionals took on a caretaker role by taking on additional emotion work. These efforts ranged from learning more about students' interests to triaging their families' needs. Fourth, Latinas' labor also included managing their emotions and performing in an *approachable* and *collegial* way. They consciously made efforts to not make a misstep that could jeopardize their personal and professional roles. Lastly, some participants' added labor included addressing their own sense of belonging at the institution. In the absence of other Latinas or women of color in their work environments, they took steps to reaffirm that they belonged in their departments and institutions.

Although many of these added experiences may resonate with all or many student affairs professionals, it is important to acknowledge that Latina mid-level student affairs professionals are experiencing all of these forms of labor simultaneously and the totality and weight of these experiences is the focus of this study. The added expectations and work often resulted *because of* their race, gender, and class identities and not simply because of their roles as student affairs professionals. Overall, the findings in this section highlight the role of race and gender in shaping Latina mid-level student affairs professionals' work.

(Mis)Alignment Between Job Expectations and Departmental Needs

Work beyond the scope of their positions was at times a result of departmental and supervisor needs. During staffing shortages, some Latina student affairs professionals spoke of taking on additional administrative responsibilities. Two participants took on additional work as a temporary measure while positions were filled. However, three participants spoke of taking on additional work because their supervisor delegated work to them due to a supervisor's lack of skills, disinterest, or inability to take on the responsibilities. In one example, Rochelle, spoke of taking on added work because of her supervisor's lack of skills or interest in completing certain tasks. Rochelle shared

> I also knew that he [supervisor] was not good at certain tasks. A colleague of mine basically took over doing all the budget reconciling for our supervisor because he knew that our supervisor couldn't do it. I felt like I took on a lot of positions on committees and stuff on his behalf because he felt like he didn't have the time to do it or he just didn't want to do it or didn't know how to do it. Part of that is also the longer you're in a position, you can't help but become the historical memory and the second in command. When a supervisor doesn't want to do something or doesn't know how to do something, it falls on whoever's been there the longest.

Rochelle's years of experience made her a skilled and knowledgeable employee, but such experience can lead to student affairs professionals taking on additional and, perhaps, uncompensated work. Some participants recognized that, at times, the added workload was

temporary, and they welcomed an opportunity to gain additional experience; however, some participants noted that the additional work was not always compensated. For example, Marisol took on supervision and program oversight responsibilities while a vacant position in her office was filled. The experience led her to become more familiar with departmental and campus policies and gained program management experience; however, this added work was uncompensated. Although these experiences serve as professional development and a temporary solution to a departmental need, Rochelle's experience highlights that the delegation of tasks also led to passing on responsibilities without formally adjusting a job description and compensation.

For at least two participants, this inadequate or nonexistent compensation for their additional work was exacerbated by their own struggles with messages they received from their family. Two participants shared that family members taught them to do their work without complaining because they were in a more privileged economic status. In other words, because they grew up in lower-income families, they were encouraged to tough out situations and not complain. For these Latinas, their class identity also informed how much they were willing to advocate for adequate compensation. When considering that some Latinas may hesitate to address disparities in their workload and/or compensation, these added administrative responsibilities can compound into unsustainable workloads.

Mentoring and Equity Work as Additional Racialized and Gendered Work

In addition to the day-to-day administrative and programmatic tasks, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals also took on diversity, equity, and inclusion work that extended above and beyond their job expectations. These additional responsibilities often took the form of mentorship of students and advocacy work. Although participants expected to mentor and advocate for students because of their role as student affairs professionals, participants spoke of

expending additional time and energy into this work specifically because of their Latina identity. For all participants, supporting marginalized populations was of particular importance, due to their own experiences. The absence of other Latinas along their educational and career trajectories and their personal understanding of the challenges of Latinx students and staff as well as first-generation college students often served as a motivation to support students, staff, and faculty with similar identities. The workload was also often shaped by expectations that indicated they were responsible for this work *because of* their identities. The additional mentoring and advocacy work was, at times, fulfilling but also taxing.

Mentoring, Counseling, and Advising as Additional Labor. Latina student affairs professionals frequently took on extra student mentoring, counseling, and advising responsibilities. Several participants felt it was a necessary part of the job to support marginalized populations, in particular, because they potentially related better to the experiences of these student populations. In one example, Sabrina, a Black/Afro-Latinx woman, shared why she takes the initiative to support underrepresented students.

> They [students] know that no matter what I'm doing in my day I'm going to stop and talk to them. Just like their mom, their sister, their auntie, their cousin. And they think that's great, but it's also exhausting because I recognize that my white female counterparts, maybe because they don't relate or…maybe it's a different value of understanding what community means to them, they have all the time in the world to do stuff. I do not, because I'm literally stepping into things that I'm like "Screw it. If nobody else is going to do it, I'm going to do it," because they [students] feel a connection with me, and I know that it's from the way I look to the way I talk to them to even their perception that I can relate.

Sabrina went on to clarify that she was one of a few Black staff members on campus and was aware that students sought her out because they could identify with one or more of her identities. She was acutely aware that her colleagues, white women in this example, did not appear to have the same demands on their time, and by attending to students' needs, her colleagues were absolved of the responsibility to offer support to students. Sabrina's experience also exemplified

a gendered sense of responsibility; she talked and listened to students, which she attributed to roles typically taken on by mothers, sisters, and aunts in students' lives. Sabrina felt compelled to take on this gendered role and offer counseling because she is one of just a few staff of color at the institution. Providing support to students who look like her becomes both necessary and taxing work that is inequitably distributed based on race and gender.

In Sabrina's case, her commitment to students reflected a cautionary message she received early in her student affairs career. A dean at her institution told her the following:

> As a woman of color, you're going to have to pull double duty…Think about it. You're typically the only Black/Brown person in an area. Your experiences are going to be relatable to the Black kids, to the Brown kids that grew up like you, to the international students because you're first generation American…, to the Black boys because they have no representation on campus, and then to the other. So to your trans community, your LGBTQ community, the white kids who don't fit in with nobody because they grew up in North City, all those people are going to come too.

As Sabrina reflected on her career in student affairs, she had a better understanding of the significance of this warning and how it had proven to be true. Sabrina's mentor wanted to prepare her not only for what is expected of student affairs professionals but also for the demands faced by many women of color in higher education administration. She could expect to be sought out by a diverse group of students as a result of her identities and the role she held at the institution. Sabrina learned that this expectation was not the same for her white colleagues. The intersection of Sabrina's racial/ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, and generational status identities meant she had to be prepared to serve as a resource to multiple populations and anticipate high visibility, because she is typically the only one who brings this multitude of identities to a campus. Sabrina recounted several instances in which she was sought out by students and staff for her support and advice especially in her current institution where she was only one of five Black administrators.

Sophia shared similar perspectives and experiences, describing students as being more forthcoming with their personal stories because they shared her background. She recounted an interaction she had with a student mentee:

> …two of the students I mentored in the past are also Latina. One of them barely met me and she came into my office. [It] was our first meeting as mentor/mentee, and I felt she just splurged so much about her life that I felt it almost like she never had somebody else to share those experiences with people who would understand. I feel sometimes too, having that identity and the students seeing that, it makes them feel like they have somebody they can relate to, that would understand some of the things they're dealing with. I think that's definitely had an impact on the relationships that I've been able to build with students, not saying that I don't have some great relationships with students who are also white but it's a little bit of a different dynamic.

She found that the Latina student was forthcoming with her experiences and had not had the opportunity to build a similar connection to someone else at the institution. In addition to her regular job responsibilities, Sophia volunteered to mentor students because she knew the value and importance of mentorship. Although she noted that she built great relationships with white students, in particular, she recognized that the shared racial/ethnic and gender identities perhaps led to added comfort for the student. While Sophia was motivated to mentor students with similar identities, this became an added responsibility that her colleagues potentially did not experience. This interaction demonstrates the need for diversity among staff members and to recognize the role they play in mentoring students from various marginalized communities.

Advocating for Practices to Support Marginalized Populations. In some cases, this mentoring and equity work went beyond serving as a sounding board and confidante, and, instead, included advocating for students of color, first-generation college students, as well as other marginalized populations. Karla shared that despite working at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), she was often the only person of color in meetings and an advocate for the needs of both students and families. Similar to other participants, her Latinx identity provided a

basis for connecting with students because of their shared language and racial/ethnic identity. This connection gave her insight into students' lives and informed her commitment to support them. In one particular instance, Karla vocalized during a meeting with other senior staff how they could improve parent engagement and outreach. Karla shared

> …something that I brought up my first year was, they implemented a parent newsletter that came from our division. So I'm like, "Is something going to come out in Spanish?" And I think they [senior leadership] [are] starting to figure out, like, "We do need to focus on that piece. Yes, our parents are Spanish speaking. They need to be able to read what we're sending them, because they're not going to have their students at home to read it."

When others were not considering the needs of Spanish-speaking families, Karla took it upon herself to highlight the disconnect between the institution's work and the family members they were trying to reach. Her efforts are one example of how Latina student affairs professionals pushed for practices that better supported marginalized populations at the institution. Although Karla took on the responsibility to bring up additional considerations for creating a newsletter, the lack of people of color created an environment where the responsibility fell on Karla to advocate for Latinx students and their families.

Latina women balanced serving as a resource for equity and inclusion work against expectations that they assume full responsibility for such efforts. Sophia recalled a conversation with colleagues outside of her department who called her to facilitate a training session:

> People will often ask, "we want to do this training with this group. *You* do it." We just had the student center wanting to do something with us. Part of the conversation I had to have was "You can also do the training. The students report to your office so you could also do that." "We just feel uncomfortable." I'm like, "You're never going to get through that discomfort if you don't try." [The] conversation winded up being "maybe we co-facilitate the first time and then after that you'll feel more comfortable doing it on your own the next time." That happens all the time.

By agreeing to co-facilitate, Sophia attempted to find an equilibrium between being helpful and also ensuring that equity and inclusion work became a shared effort with other colleagues. Such

a partnership may also aid in addressing another concern she shared regarding how other colleagues "look at [her] like [she] should change the entire climate of the campus" and that diversity and inclusion work "often falls on my shoulders." Sophia noted that people of color are often tapped to facilitate training on topics related to race, and women are asked to speak on issues related to gender. As a Latina tasked with diversity work, Sophia was valued not only for her professional expertise but for the lens she could offer as a woman and person of color; however, this then led to colleagues placing the onus on her for diversity training. By taking the lead on training, Sophia attempted to make her colleagues feel comfortable and, therefore, her actions functioned as a form of emotional labor. Instead of focusing on her day-to-day work and counting on colleagues to share in the responsibility of diversity work, she instead diverted energy towards mitigating her colleagues' feelings of discomfort, which resulted in the added workload.

Latinas who engaged in diversity, equity, and inclusion work also found they were hired to do this work because it was implicitly expected that they fill in the gap either at the departmental or institutional level. Jackie notes:

> …because of the experience I had at [former institution], I saw a lot of campus climate issues when I was there. That kind of followed me here. And, again, because I'm a person of color, it was kind of an add-on to my current position. where the expectation, over time, changed, because I facilitated a few sessions on certain [diversity] concepts, that I would do this as part of my job.

Jackie explained that responsibility for addressing campus climate issues was an added expectation. Her previous work with addressing campus climate issues and facilitating trainings on diversity topics is valued at her current institution; however, rather than building it into the job description when she was initially hired, it became an add-on to her responsibilities. Jackie notes that this responsibility was not only added on because of her experience but also because she is a person of color. Like Sabrina and Sophia's experiences, Jackie's workload increased not

only in response to an institutional need, but because campus climate issues were viewed as work that needed to be done by a person of color. Assigning responsibility to Jackie for such work not only validated her knowledge and experience but also shifted responsibilities that absolved other colleagues from addressing campus climate issues.

Similarly, Sabrina shared an experience when one of the athletics coaches asked her to meet prospective students.

> "Why do you want me to meet these kids?"…He [coach] said "we felt like it would be in our best interest if the parents knew we had someone like you on campus."…And I realized [they were thinking] "we know she'll take care of them. We have to show that we have someone that takes care." I don't know if that's good or bad. But I realized you have now made me a part of your recruitment process.

She further noted that the team mostly consisted of Black and Brown boys and that she was a "mirror of their care that they got at home." In this instance, her Black/Afro-Latinx identity was used to make Sabrina visible to the students and their family members since she reflected their identities. Additionally, Sabrina's interaction demonstrated a gendered expectation that she will "care" for these students. Her identity was valuable for recruiting prospective students and demonstrating that there are staff members who can support them during college. However, by shining a spotlight on Sabrina during the recruitment process, the athletics department passively signaled an ethic of care without actively engaging in the work of supporting students' transition into the campus community. Sabrina's experience was indicative of the ways in which Latina, especially Afro-Latinas, may be positioned to take on the care and support of marginalized communities.

Communicating and Demonstrating Care: Holistic Student Support

Latina student affairs professionals emphasized the importance of signaling support and their availability to students. A few participants described instances in which they spent

additional time past traditional work hours on efforts that extended well beyond their prescribed job responsibilities to ensure students felt the institution cared about their overall well-being and success. Participants were highly visible and available to students because they wanted students to know they cared about them holistically and felt it was important to their work. Showing support and care for students involved developing connections with students and offering encouragement. Some of the participants spoke of building "authentic relationships" in which they demonstrated to students that they were not only available to help them navigate processes but also wanted to get to know students as individuals. For example, Patricia shared how her approach to working with students was different than the previous staff member in her position.

> It's not just about me being here, but my understanding is that before I arrived there was like an eight-month gap without a coordinator. Even the previous coordinator was very business, very to the point, very "we just need to get this kind of thing done." Again, I try to be more holistic, more empowering, try to be just different. Trying to be I guess a resource, not just as someone that's going to tell you to fill out this form, but hopefully to be able to strike a conversation. I just happen to also be intellectually interested in all of the projects that the students are doing, so I think that adds an extra kind of layer of approachability and just an extra, an opportunity to be able to connect with students, which in turn creates a really reciprocal and positive relationship that I have with the kind of population that I serve and that I impact and vice versa. They are really appreciative of the work that I do.

Showing interest in the student and their work allowed Patricia to appear approachable and to build "positive relationships" with the students. Patricia noted that students appreciated her approach. Participants described relationship building as an integral aspect to working effectively, but Patricia's experience showed that her colleagues did not always share this perspective.

Some participants spoke of building authentic relationships with students and staff members. Rochelle shared examples of her efforts to support students:

> …there were definitely times with my student staff where I stayed longer than I should have because they really needed to talk to me. I went out of my way to counsel them or I met with them at other things. I went to their things, like their dance recitals and their graduations and their performances and stuff, stuff that was totally not a part of my job. If I was ever going to do more up and beyond, it was always around my student staff, because like I said, I felt such a mentorship relationship with them. I felt a very familial relationship with them.

She believed it was important to be visible and physically present at student events. Being present at important events and academic milestones were attempts to show students she cared about their accomplishments. Supporting students entailed offering emotional support such as an opportunity to talk to or counsel students as they navigated personal challenges. Rochelle also shared that, as women, they are perhaps expected to fill these roles. While this type of effort to establish and maintain visibility among students is typical among dedicated student affairs professionals of all backgrounds, it is important to note the ways that the women in this study attributed these habits to their identity as Latina women. Their additional work was often motivated by their own racial and gender identities and experiences, and it was typically in conjunction with other racialized and gendered expectations to address student, departmental, and institutional needs.

Other participants shared stories describing the intentional ways in which they established more familial connections with students. Concern over a student's overall well-being also meant helping to address students', and even their families', basic needs. Minerva notes,

> I think the counseling piece is definitely above and beyond. It's almost as though [I'm] a social worker and "I see your [student's] family is being evicted, let's find out what services are in the local community that can support them." Their success isn't just them academically; it's their families too. Ensuring that they have the baseline things, like your family has a shelter, and they have food, and you're not worrying about that, you're not spending your financial aid money trying to support them because they're going through some sort of financial hardship. It's a triple effect. Helping them navigate the spaces and getting better connected and learning to advocate for themselves and reiterating their stories…because they'll need to and I'm not always going to be here. I think in

> those ways those are some things that are my strengths that I think aren't necessarily written into my job description, but I think are part of doing a good job.

Minerva talked about feeling like a social worker, because she often helped connect students to resources that addressed many needs that impacted them as well as their families. Although student affairs positions may require that staff members provide guidance and resources, Minerva found that this level of support is both necessary and at times beyond the scope of her job. Supporting a student in this case means also addressing a student's family needs, which requires added effort to identify the appropriate resources. Student affairs practitioners may find themselves triaging a multitude of needs that can subsequently help students succeed both personally and academically. To fully address these needs, they often find that they need to develop new areas of expertise to help students navigate complicated bureaucratic systems.

Managing Emotions in Navigating the Politics of Their Positions

The labor of Latina student affairs professionals also included making concerted efforts to manage their emotions. Staff members often aimed to raise issues at their institutions but some of them also noted they needed to strike a balance so as not to appear unapproachable or problematic. Since being labeled "problematic" as women of color can have personal and professional repercussions, their work included self-policing their behavior and speech.

Working to Appear "Approachable" and Collegial. Devoting energy to managing their emotions and their demeanor was common among Latina student affairs professionals. The women often modulated their tone, demeanor, and language with the intention of appearing easy to work with and "approachable." Patricia explains that in her role she attended meetings with senior administrators, in this case, graduate program deans and found herself negotiating whether

or not to speak up during the meetings. She explained why she was at times "scared" to bring up important topics in her meetings.

> …now I'm in meetings with the graduate deans. These are the people that are making decisions, that are making allocations. I think one of the fears, too, is being seen as problematic to work with. I don't want to build that reputation for myself. I want to stir the pot, but I also want to be workable and approachable. Although some people will argue that those two, it's kind of hard. As a matter of fact,…we had an HSI [Hispanic Serving Institution] quarterly forum, and I think the associate dean of student affairs precisely said that "As Latino professionals, and student affair professionals, we need to be disruptive, especially in a space such as academia which we know is fraught with a lot of privilege and still a lot of privilege for certain groups. Again, if we want to do this work, especially of diversity of social justice and closing the gap in so many aspects, I mean we're at some point going to butt heads or stir the pot a little too much." That's what's hard to balance.

Challenging the institution to better serve marginalized student populations is vital to addressing equity issues at an institution; however, it can also lead to Latinas being labeled as "problematic." When Patricia advocated for student financial support, she felt compelled not only to make the case for improving funding especially for first-generation college students but also to question when and how much to speak up without potentially leading colleagues to believe that she was problematic. Although Patricia attributed this experience to "imposter syndrome" and at times a lack of confidence in her abilities, it also reflects that women of color avoid being labeled "unapproachable" and "problematic" because of the adverse effects it can have on their careers. Being deemed as someone who is difficult to work with can limit their career advancement, the support they receive from supervisors and colleagues, and their ability to carry out the very work they were hired to do as student affairs practitioners. Monitoring their behaviors becomes an act of preserving their working relationships with colleagues.

Negotiating this perception was also part of navigating the politics of an institution. Latina student affairs professionals managed their language and emotions if it helped them be

better advocates. Karla, in particular, shared that she was sometimes “unapologetic for a reason” and spoke up when necessary. She noted, however, that she was usually “tactful” in her delivery. When asked what leads her to be tactful, Karla explained:

> It's politics and diplomacy in what you do. I think especially when you're managing…the spaces students live in, and students are supposed to be healthy and safe in. So you're diplomatic in that. And I think as an outsider ... At this institution right now, it's an outsider looking in. I have different observations, and I'm still the new person, so I can kind of still see things. Next year, probably not as much. But I can still bring [up questions], like, "Why do we do this?" I can still question things right now, and implement, like, "Well, I'm going to do it this way, because this is just going to work for me right now."

She went on to say that when questioning decisions or approaches she usually posed questions focused on the mission or goals of their work such as “What is our mission of our institution?... How does what you’re trying to do meet this?” She went on to say:

> Then, that challenges people and they're like, "Oh." And they're like, "I didn't think you were going to say that." And I'm like, "Well, someone has to say it." Yeah, so I'm usually that person that says things that I think other people are thinking. And right now I can still get away with it here…Because I'm still new enough.

Drawing on her inexperience as a newcomer who does not have the full context of a decision or policy helped Karla mitigate any concerns that she was problematic. Instead, her newcomer status served as an entry point for her to challenge other staff members and administrators while addressing her concerns. However, even though Karla had developed strategies for communicating her concerns, she still needed to know her supervisor would support and advocate for her and trust that she acted and spoke with intention and thoughtfulness. Despite being “tactful” and “diplomatic” when delivering her concerns, she needed reassurance that her supervisor would not conclude that she was problematic. These efforts were informed by prior experiences in which she was characterized by a former colleague as “scary.” Karla was unsure why a former colleague described her as “scary,” but it highlighted for her that she could not

simply assert herself at work; she had to also police her tone and language or risk creating a more challenging working relationship.

Affirmation of Personal Identities

It is worth noting that some participants spent time and energy taking intentional steps to affirm their own identities in their workplace and create a welcoming community for themselves. Three participants, in particular, shared how they took initiative to enhance their sense of belonging at their institution. Minerva created a first-generation group for staff members at her institution, and Patricia attended Hispanic Serving Institution forums. Both of their efforts were a means of connecting with individuals and creating a community with staff who shared their identities. In another example, Marisol expressed,

> How do I sustain my identity in spaces and continue to grow in my own identity as a Latina? For example, I went to Mexico over the winter break, and so, something like keeping my language and keeping up with my roots is something that I have to continuously go back to. I have to be really intentional about that, because, I'm in constantly predominantly white spaces. So sometimes there's a little spark when I meet a student, I feel like maybe, I don't want to generalize, but I'm getting this feeling like we come from the same place. And, when things like that happen I don't have to try to find my roots. They're just there. They just exist. But when I'm consistently in these spaces I feel like I have to be forceful. I bought myself this pretty poncho, and I wear it all the time. I had it in my office for I don't know how many months, and if I got cold I put it on like a shawl. And, I would walk around, and it's so loud and it's so vibrant, and I'm like, "Yes!" This is where I'm from, this is my culture, and so I'm just very intentional about reminding myself where I'm at, but also being visible and having others see me. But, then internally just culturally I started playing *rancheras* in my car on my way to work, I started listening to Latino USA podcast, because I don't get to hear people code switch. I don't get to hear Spanglish anymore. I don't get to hear people talk about being exposed around other Latinos and having conversations. So, I have to be very intentional about incorporating it in my everyday life, because I don't get to, geographically in this space.

Marisol found it important to engage in efforts to sustain her own Latina identity at work. She was in predominantly white spaces both at work and in the community, and, therefore, conversations and connections with other Latinx students allowed her to feel connected to her

community. The environment and lack of representation meant that Latina staff members had to affirm their own sense of belonging by creating professional communities or engaging with activities that reaffirmed their cultural identities. In these instances, Latina student affairs professionals not only engaged in work centered on mentoring, advising, counseling, and advocating for the needs of students, but they were also compelled to make concerted efforts to affirm that they belonged at the institution and bring visibility to their identities within the larger context of the institution.

(De)Valuing of Labor

After examining the nature and scope of labor among Latina student affairs professionals, I explored the role of their Latina identity in shaping their perception of the value of their work and contributions to their institutions. Insights from their interviews demonstrated that mid-level Latina student affairs professionals simultaneously navigate a tension between being valued and devalued for their work and this tension is shaped by their Latina identity. Participants experienced this tension in three ways: (in)visibility at work, an (un)supportive work environment, and perceptions of (in)competence. First, affirmation and recognition often shined a light on Latina staff members' contributions and made it known that their efforts were visible and valued. In the absence of these acknowledgements, Latinas felt invisible and, at times, questioned whether an institution was committed to their professional and personal growth. Second, the conditions of their work environment also communicated whether or not the institution valued Latina student affairs professionals' contributions. Latinas felt valued when supervisors demonstrated an ethic of care for their overall well-being, but this support was undercut by instances in which they were made to feel inferior. Lastly, acknowledgement of participants' skills and expertise contributed to Latinas' feeling valued. Several participants were

aware of the additional scrutiny women of color face which led many of them to monitor their own performance and to repeatedly prove they had the skillset to do their work. The findings in this section further explore how Latinas come to understand if their contributions are valued by the institution and the challenges they face in receiving rewards and recognition for their efforts.

(In)Visibility at Work: Affirmation and Recognition Communicates a Sense of Value

Acknowledgment of their contributions at work was an important signal to participants that their contributions were viewed as valuable. It signified that their colleagues, especially supervisors, were both aware of the work they were performing, and, by acknowledging it, Latinas felt affirmed in knowing that their efforts mattered. In one example, Patricia was attempting to identify financial resources for an undocumented graduate student who was about to join their academic program and invited her supervisor to a meeting to discuss potential solutions. Patricia described her interaction

> …I invited our grad director to this meeting, and she said, "Please go on my behalf. I'm sorry. I can't go because I have a lot of meetings." I said, "No worries. I'd be happy to go. You already do so much for our students, and this is just my little grain of sand" Well, I said it in Spanish, "*mi granito de arena*" [my grain of sand]. She said, "Please. You're not bringing the *arena* [sand], you're bringing the whole *playa*. You're bringing the whole beach." It's just those really positive interactions I have with the graduate [director]…

Patricia goes on to say she considered this supervisor to be a great mentor and someone who did a lot of work to support Latinx students. This interaction with her supervisor was meaningful for a few different reasons. First of all, it communicated to Patricia that she was more than capable of representing her in an important meeting. Patricia had enough experience and was enough of an expert to serve as a stand-in for her supervisor at this meeting. Second, it showed Patricia that her contributions weren't simply a small matter, they were actually viewed as a significant part of the work that was done in her department. By stating that she was bringing the whole *playa*

(beach) it communicated to Patricia that her contributions were not insignificant; they were one aspect of a larger effort to support the student. And third, it demonstrated a trust in Patricia's work. Various participants felt this level of trust was an indication that they were valued for their contributions and expertise. By communicating her appreciation of Patricia's efforts, the supervisor, in essence, demonstrated that she *saw* her contributions and affirmed they were a meaningful contribution to the department.

Latina student affairs professionals felt acknowledged when they received consistent praise and feedback primarily from their supervisors but also from colleagues. Jena described the recognition she received and consistency of it.

> I feel like I get a lot of praise from her [supervisor]…she often tells me "Jena you're so great, Jena you do a really good job, this is all really good," so I get a lot of praise from her, which I really appreciate. Cause it makes me feel like the work that I do isn't being unnoticed, and I know that she talks about me to her supervisor, and to other folks too about the work that I do, and how important I am to the unit and things like that. So, I feel really appreciated by her, and I hear it often. I don't think I hear this much from my employees, I think that's some place I feel very not used, but I don't think they realize how much time it takes for me to support them, and so it feels very kind of unsatisfying sometimes, because I don't get that praise. And I think for myself, I also work really well when I get constant praise, it's a thing I need to do well. I think [my] supervisor knows that, so then she's able to verbally communicate those things to me...And so not that I expect it, but I know that she does a really good job at making sure that I know that I do a really good job. I would say probably at least once a week she tells me, she praises me on something or gives me really good feedback. Yeah, so I feel like she does a good job at kind of acknowledging me. But, like I said, I think with the employees that I supervise, I don't get that as much with them, and I don't know if I should expect it, but it definitely feels like more "well, it's just what I have to do."

This level of feedback and acknowledgement affirmed for Jena that she was on the "right track," and it served as motivation at work. Affirmation from her supervisor indicated her work was seen rendering her visible in the workplace. By discussing Jena's work with other colleagues, her supervisor brought additional awareness and significance to her work beyond her office. It is also

important to note that Jena found this affirmation to be especially meaningful, because it reflected her supervisor's ethic of care and knowledge that this form of praise was a needed motivator. The use of "constant" and "a lot" to describe the frequency of the feedback also indicated the need for colleagues, especially supervisors, to provide this acknowledgement often. Jena described feeling unsatisfied with the absence of praise, which she believed reflected a lack of her employee's awareness of her contributions. Given that all participants identified as first-generation professionals, these interactions underscore the need to be seen for their work and for consistent feedback. These types of microaffirmations are meaningful for Latina participants and are one approach supervisors and colleagues can take to communicate the important role they play within the institution.

Rewards and Recognition. Mid-level Latina student affairs professionals shared that tangible forms of praise and acknowledgement such as raises, awards, and promotions were meaningful ways in which organizations also demonstrated their contributions were valued. Awards signaled to participants that their colleagues were paying attention to their contributions and felt they merited the award. Promotions and raises reflected an organizational commitment to recognizing participants' contributions. Although only one spoke about receiving a raise, half of the participants indicated that appropriate compensation was an important indicator that their contributions were valued. Jena talked about receiving a raise and its significance to her.

> She [supervisor] called me in, and she told me that I got a raise 'cause I did so well, and so she was able to allot money from our budget to me, and so then I got a permanent raise, and she was like "I know I don't say this often, but I am really thankful for you, and I'm really thankful for all that you do"…sometimes she's able to do things like give raises, and this is one of the opportunities that I got.

The increased compensation demonstrated to her that her work was being noticed and that it was a strong commitment because of the long-term allocation of funds towards this raise. Salary

increases become another signal that her supervisor in this case is grateful for Jena's work and another form of care for employees.

One participant spoke of an experience in which rewards and recognition for their work was withheld. Specifically, Karla spoke of an instance in which a promotion was given to her colleague even though she was initially under the impression she would be up for the promotion. Karla shared that her supervisor, an assistant dean, overseeing her functional area created a new position and planned to hire a director for the office. She went on to say,

> I think not being selected by that person, who was my supervisor, definitely just demonstrated that I wasn't valued, because what I would have done, and I think what I would do if I was in a similar position where I had a staff member applying for a position, that I had a decision-making opportunity, I would have told that person, "You shouldn't apply." I think that would have been a much more fair process. Because, why did you make me go through the motions if you had already made your decision? Because what happened leading up to the selection of the role, the other [candidate] had been brought onto other committees. And I'm like, "Okay. I think he's going to get hired, because he's already having him do the job." I'm like, "Thanks for making me go through this process, and, ultimately, be humiliated for not being selected for that position."…I would have rather known that I wasn't going to be selected and been okay with that.

Karla's experience exemplifies concerns with investment in women of color's professional development and career advancement. A false sense of commitment to Latinas' professional careers can lead them to question whether or not they are valued by the institution which can impact the retention of Latinas in higher education careers. Additionally, her supervisor's lack of transparency left Karla feeling that her supervisor did not care about her; instead, she felt "humiliated" by the process and later led to her decision to leave for a new role at a different institution. Without feedback and rewards that show value for Latinas' contributions, institutions risk losing women of color in higher education leadership positions.

"Looking Out" vs "Looking Down": Work Environments Shape Perceptions of the Value of Latinas' Contributions

The work environment offered a critical context that often determined if Latina mid-level student affairs professionals felt supported and valued. Participants felt most supported when supervisors and colleagues "looked out" for them by caring about their personal and professional well-being. By contrast, Latinas frequently felt undervalued when they felt others "looked down" on them and made them feel inferior. Four of the participants shared that feeling respected by supervisors and colleagues led to their perceptions that their efforts were valued.

Feeling Validated When Supervisors Demonstrate an "Ethic of Care". Latina participants felt valued when colleagues, supervisors, and senior administrators showed they cared about their overall professional success and personal well-being. For example, Sophia felt that having upper administration ask about the outcome of their event showed an important level of support.

> I would say our VP [Vice President] and Associate Vice President. They're amazing to work for. I feel like they're always there to support in any way. They make it a point to either come to a program to be there but to also ask you the next day like "how did it go." I definitely feel that support from them.

The presence of upper administration and their intentional effort to ask about the program showed Sophia a level of investment from senior leadership. The presence of institutional leaders signaled to participants that the programs, events, and other efforts to support students were important to them and translated to Latina student affairs professionals feeling valued for their contributions.

Caring about an employee's well-being also signaled to Latina participants that they mattered beyond the work they produced. By taking an interest in building a connection and relationship with staff members, colleagues and supervisors communicated an investment in Latina student affairs professionals and their overall well-being. Rochelle spoke about an

instance in which her supervisor nominated her for a distinguished staff award which she perceived as her supervisor "looking out" for her.

> …getting the award ... That was pretty new and for her to nominate me. That award came with money. I think she made sure to find an award that came with money because I [was] planning my wedding at the time and the cash was really helpful. I think what I appreciated was that she not only nominated me, but she found out what's going on in my life and what would be really helpful to me. She, I think, recognized that I was someone ... I think also she was just a good listener and realized the kind of person I was and realized that I am a person who does better with a little praise now and again.

The award symbolized the caring and supportive nature of Rochelle's supervisor that extended beyond professional support. In this instance, receiving an award that came with financial compensation meant Rochelle's supervisor saw both the value of her contributions and as an opportunity to support her personal goals.

A caring environment also meant having the flexibility and autonomy to care for themselves. For example, Minerva shared:

> I'm glad that my office space is family oriented and is about taking care of their self and tends to be more flexible, and that's what enables me to thrive. I'm so happy and whole as long as I can take care of those basic needs, I'll be more than happy to work extra hard in what I'm doing.

Being given flexibility and autonomy meant to Minerva she could take care of her basic needs. A work environment that promotes and allows staff members to address their own needs fosters a supportive and caring environment and can lead to a positive outlook on their working conditions.

Gendered Racism in Workplaces Devalues Labor. In contrast to these supportive experiences, participants were most likely to point to instances in which they were "looked down" on as a primary reason for not feeling valued at work. These instances usually were perceived as "demeaning" and disrespectful and were often laced with gendered racism. Marisol,

for example, shared that at a former university her supervisor “gave [her] a lot of autonomy,” but would then undercut these moments of support with actions that “felt demeaning.” She often perceived her supervisor’s actions as intentional, and they signaled to Marisol that she was not as important as other staff members in the office. Marisol goes on to state:

> There were things that she [supervisor] would do, that I think were really frustrating. For example, my office was in the front of the entire space. And, the office would have a retreat, and because I was hourly I didn't go to the retreats. And, even though one of my colleagues…would advocate for me to maybe facilitate something, so that I could continue to get different experiences, I wouldn't go to the retreats. I wondered if it was because I was hourly, and they didn't want to invest in anything like that. And, she [supervisor] would get all of her stuff, markers, notepads, all this stuff, and she would just throw it on my desk for me to put away [in] the storage room. And, it was just so frustrating, because moments later while she's cleaning out her office…a student came in, and she was like, "Oh I'm just cleaning out my office, do you want to walk with me while I throw away these boxes." And in my mind, I was like, "Well why don't you walk and put away the markers? Since you're cleaning out your office as a result of this retreat?" And, it's really frustrating, because I was like, “I'm not your maid.” And things like that would happen, the work was remedial that it really felt demeaning, and it felt like, it was almost like, "I'm putting you in your place."

By not inviting Marisol to participate in office retreats and contributing to her professional experiences, Marisol felt she was not treated as an equal and valuable staff member in her center. This perception was further exacerbated when her supervisor’s actions suggested to Marisol that she was viewed as inferior to all other staff members in the office. The lack of investment in her professional development and poor overall treatment by her supervisor left Marisol questioning why her supervisor seemingly intentionally made her feel inferior. Marisol further described additional interactions with her supervisor and noted:

> The way she [supervisor] would speak or the lack of eye contact…when I'm trying to do something transactional, like there's someone on the phone…I'm there peeking by her door trying to get her attention…The fact that she would just ignore me, like I'm just the help or something like that. It was really frustrating.

Being ignored consistently further exacerbated Marisol's feelings that she was viewed as subordinate and unworthy of being acknowledged and treated with respect. These instances are the types of microaggressions that create unwelcoming environments for Latinas and perpetuate feelings of inferiority and lack of belonging. Given that all of the participants were first generation professionals, these microaggressions communicate that Latina women cannot escape preconceptions of their roles in higher education and are reminded that they do not belong.

Similarly, Jena described a time in which she observed differential treatment of Latina staff members during a staff gathering. Jena went on to say

> My supervisor is white. I supervise two or three other people who identify as Latinos. And then the other half of the staff is white. Just the other day actually, we had a meeting and we brought food, and when we were done, all of the white people left and it was just me and the two other Latina women who were left there to clean everything. It just became very apparent…I was made…We were all made very aware that we were Latinas, and we're here cleaning up after everyone else.

This interaction left Jena feeling inferior to her white colleagues since it was apparent that the Latina staff members were left to take care of the cleaning. Jena's experience points to the gendered racism Latina professionals continue to face and how it shapes their work expectations. Latinas may be expected to take care of the domestic work regardless of their professional level and are unable to escape stereotypes of the roles they occupy in the work environment. In both Marisol's and Jena's experiences, they are still viewed as "the help" despite being in professional roles in their department.

Differences in skin color were also noted by one participant as an intersecting identity that led her to feel inferior at work. Minerva noticed there were differences in how she was treated based on the way she looked:

> I think that subtly, there is this expectation to also look pretty. I would come into work, but I wouldn't make the extra effort to do my hair or to do my makeup. I'm

> like, "oh, whatever, it's cool. It's fine. You're meeting with students anyway." And I noticed that people who are more fair-skinned, who are skinnier or that dress up every day are treated differently. They're treated nicer. They're more listened to, they're more welcomed. I think there's times when I see my supervisor interacting with these other individuals and then I'm coming in and I don't know if it's my personality that I'm feeling strong. I come in with a set of questions, and it feels abrasive.

Minerva notes that women who are fairer than her appear to be heard, welcomed, and treated better overall while Minerva is dismissed and finds it challenging to be heard and supported. Her observations point to the perpetuation of raced and gendered expectations that women must present a certain level of femininity in order to be respected and that as a darker-skinned woman she is not worthy of the same respect as her "fair-skinned" colleagues. It also demonstrated that Latinas not only have to monitor their tone and language, but they must also police their bodies and outward presentation. Falling short of what it means to be "professional" results in a lack of respect and their dismissal and adversely affects their ability to do their work. Such interactions create challenging environments that leave Latina staff members feeling inferior and unable to garner the support they need and want.

In another similar instance, being undervalued resulted from being undermined by her supervisor. Jackie, in particular, shared that her new supervisor helped her set up a committee meeting, but then dismissed Jackie and undermined the work that had been done.

> …the new [supervisor] who came in was a white woman, who offered to help me kind of put together a campus climate committee…But when I was in that space, she talked over me, she exuded her privilege in front of others, and all the hard work leading up to that session went down the drain, and I feel like she derailed it, and she wanted to look good and shine at my expense. I have never felt so undervalued as that moment.

This scenario exemplified how Latina women are tasked with diversity work and asked to shoulder the responsibility of addressing campus equity and inclusion issues, but then are not acknowledged or rewarded for taking on this difficult work. They take on additional labor and

work longer hours because they understand the critical nature of the work but then may often experience fewer intangible rewards (such as affirmation of their work) or even tangible rewards (such as raises). Instead, in some cases, such as the one Jackie describes, white supervisors leverage their white privilege to undercut and take credit for the work done by the very women of color who were tasked to take on this additional labor. Such racist actions result in Latina student affairs professionals navigating and finding ways to persist despite the microaggressions they face at work.

Perception of (In)Competence: Acknowledgement of Expertise Shapes Perception that Latinas' Contributions are Valued

Latina student affairs administrators are viewed as experts and also experience being questioned for their competence. Seven of the participants shared that they were hired, called into meetings, and asked to weigh in on decisions due to their expertise and knowledge; however, they are often questioned for their competence and in some instances asked to prove repeatedly that they have the skillsets.

Instances in which student affairs professionals were viewed as someone with expertise, turned into opportunities that left participants feeling their contributions were valued. For Yvonne, this meant being appointed to a university committee aimed at addressing the concerns of Black students on the campus.

> At my previous institution, under my role, they didn't have an office or person designated to do diversity and inclusion work, so that was a third of my job and I was supposed to do this for the campus, which is crazy. But I also did leadership education and briefly for some time oversaw Greek life because they had a vacancy. And I think that within six months of ideas and the services that I brought and connections to students that I made, it was noticed enough for me to be nominated, to be on this task force that the president of the college created in response to one of my student leaders who emailed him.

She went on to say she "felt valued for being picked to be on that task force." Yvonne believed her previous work led to increased opportunities to lend her voice. Due to her experiences and skill set, Yvonne was invited to be a part of a task force to address campus climate concerns for students of color. Being nominated and invited to conversations with various student affairs professionals and into a space where she was able to provide recommendations was a signal to Yvonne that she was viewed as competent and knowledgeable. Acknowledging the expertise Latina student affairs professionals bring and including them in campuswide conversations signal to participants that their contributions matter to the institution. Although Yvonne did not believe she was assigned this task due to her Latina identity, this experience demonstrates the double-edged nature of Latina student affairs professionals' work. On the one hand, Latinas are viewed as experts who can lead efforts to address campus climate issues, but, on the other hand, these actions continue to shift the responsibility of diversity and equity work and compounds the amount of labor women of color undertake.

Similarly, recognition from supervisors that affirmed and reassured Latinas that they had the skillsets to succeed also communicated to participants that they were viewed as an expert. Sabrina recalled receiving an email once that included the associate dean and her supervisor and in which she was asked for assistance with a student admissions application.

> …my boss forwarded it [email] to me and attached "thank you for asking our opinion, but I want to get Sabrina involved in this conversation, because I feel that [is] not only her expertise but the area that she works with. She will know what questions to ask to help assess if the student is prepared to adjust into this community." And I remember reading that and being like "Okay. Well great."

Sabrina was pleasantly surprised when she read her supervisor's response, and it affirmed for Sabrina that she was valued for her expertise and viewed as someone with strong skills in her

area. She goes on to say that after weighing in on the decision her supervisor responded with additional email communication that affirmed her skillset.

> my boss responded to me in a separate email "that's why I hired you." And for me…I feel like I fight so hard and no one listens sometimes...and it's not that I don't feel valued or I don't feel that people take me seriously but feeling competent is sometimes hard. When you are in a room full of folks who have all of the experience or have been somewhere forever and it's like we'll get to you when…when it's your turn.

External validation from her boss became important in affirming that she was seen as capable and an expert in the field. After several experiences in which Sabrina was consulted last or not all and left her questioning her competence, this particular exchange confirmed for Sabrina that she was indeed knowledgeable and a valuable resource to the department and institution. This interaction also meant what she had to offer was finally being seen and acknowledged by a supervisor and senior administrators. This was in sharp contrast to her experience when she first applied to her current job in which a white male staff member on campus questioned her experiences.

> So this man in my interview, I remember told me that I haven't even been an assistant director what makes me think I can be a director and I can do this job? And what makes me think I should be at a place like here, because "do I [Sabrina] know that it's a privilege to be doing the work that I'm going to be doing?"

In response, Sabrina felt the need to not show anger but rather to provide an explanation of why she could do the job and support her claim with several examples of why she was prepared to do the work. Sabrina perceived that as a woman of color she has to always be ready to demonstrate her competence. Specifically, she shared "It's like you have to come in, but you have to have receipts. A white man or sometimes even a white woman isn't questioned about that stuff [expertise]." She felt she was held to a different standard than her white colleagues and had to be ready to support why she could do the work. Only after she proved time and time again that she

was capable and expended a lot of energy to be heard, Sabrina felt that her colleagues finally saw her. Sabrina faced several instances in which her colleagues rendered her invisible and not worth consulting; therefore, the previously mentioned email exchange meant that all her efforts and her insight were finally being recognized as important. Her experience is indicative of the gendered racism women of color experience in the hiring process and the differential scrutiny women of color face in comparison to white colleagues. Not only must women of color repeatedly prove their competence, but they may not always be recognized for their efforts.

In addition to Sabrina, four other participants discussed moments in which they were perceived as incompetent and in each of their examples their race and/or gender identity shaped their perception. For example, Jackie echoed a similar sentiment and noted that women of color are not given much leeway for making mistakes in comparison to other colleagues. Specifically, she shared an interaction with her supervisor:

> There was an incident when I had a rough draft with my ideas on it, kind of categorized. Anyhow, I was clear that this was a rough draft. I turned it into him. He came in and talked to me about my writing skills. Never in my professional trajectory, never in my college environment has anyone had a conversation with me about my writing skills…From then on, because there was a miscommunication…there was the assumption that I didn't know how to write.

Jackie followed this example with another instance that reaffirmed her perception.

> There was a white colleague who I worked with. We both drafted some policies, and we submitted it to him [supervisor]…My white colleague didn't do a great job of drafting the policies. He assumed that was mine, but mine was actually praised by the vice chancellor. He assumed that the one that was not written well was mine, when that was not mine. It was my colleague's - who was a white male.

Jackie became aware that senior administrators gave her white male colleague the benefit of the doubt and continuously questioned her competence. These types of experiences elevated her awareness of her racial identity, which led her to believe she had little room for error. Although

Jackie had confidence in her writing skills and received praise, but not credit, for her work by a senior administrator, her supervisor continued to assume she lacked the skills and capability to produce well-written documents. These two experiences led Jackie to believe she had to always perform at a higher level than her colleagues and that any perceived flaws in her work could slow down or derail her career trajectory. Jackie's experience echoed the sentiment that Latina student affairs professionals are aware of the additional scrutiny of their work and performance that their white peers, in particular, do not always have to face.

Latina women are also scrutinized for their academic credentials. For two participants, the lack of an advanced degree informed how others assessed the value of their experiences and expertise. Rochelle often felt her supervisor saw her as inferior because she did not have a master's degree. She went on to say:

> I think I saw some white males who didn't have an advanced degree and were able to move up. I think if you're a woman of color for sure you need an advanced degree. I think my supervisor looked down upon me because I didn't have a master's even though I was like, "But I have a BA [Bachelor of Arts] from West University and you have a BA and a master's from...I don't know where." Not to say, "oh, my school's better than yours," but I have this BA from a great school, and I have 10 years of experience. Why doesn't that matter? No, the only thing that matters is having that piece of paper.

The lack of an advanced degree not only resulted in Rochelle feeling disrespected, but she also viewed this as an impediment to her career advancement. As a woman of color, she found it necessary to obtain the additional credentials in order to professionally advance and noted a difference in expectations for her and white male colleagues. Jena, similarly, felt her colleagues, namely her white colleagues with master's degrees, did not value her expertise. She notes that her white colleagues often offered their opinions in meetings, but they did not stop to consider that she also had suggestions to offer. Despite having the academic credentials and professional

experience, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals feel they are overlooked and held to higher standards in comparison to their white colleagues.

In some instances, student interactions impacted Latinas' perceptions of the value of their work. For one participant, being undermined and questioned for her work by students led to feeling undervalued and seen as less competent. Marisol, an academic advisor, shared,

> It feels like there's a lot of male privilege in my office sometimes. And, that I think gets really frustrating for me, because I will say something and I learn to really, really be clear, and really be firm about what my expectations are. And, I repeatedly got the message, that what I said, and what I did to assist the student was not enough.

Marisol explained that some students, usually white males, would go to other staff in the department in hopes of receiving a different response and typically received the same response she provided. The students' response to her advice made Marisol aware that as a woman of color her work was sometimes undermined and not seen as equally valuable.

Latina participants felt they frequently had to prove they were skilled and capable of carrying out their responsibilities and tasks. For some participants this meant having to share examples that justified their capabilities and for others it meant holding themselves to a high standard of performance. Participants were aware that their supervisors did not always give them the same leeway as their colleagues to make mistakes because of their racial/ethnic and gender identities. When supervisors recognized them for their skills and expertise, the feedback often came only after concerted efforts by mid-level Latina student affairs professional to repeatedly demonstrate their competence. These experiences point toward the scrutiny Latina student affairs professionals face and the awareness and energy they must expend to combat any undue criticism of their work.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the labor of Latina mid-level student affairs professionals and experiences that lead them to feel valued for their contributions. Throughout the chapter I found that Latina staff members enter the student affairs field motivated to do the work because they understand the value and necessity of their efforts to the success of students in higher education. Latinas' lived experiences at the intersections of their racial, ethnic, gender, and, in some cases, class identities also contribute to their motivation to widely support students with particular attention to students from marginalized communities.

Yet, as Latinas begin to navigate their professional pathways, they confront a multitude of challenges. Namely, they experience disparities in the workloads that result from intrinsic motivations or external expectations. On one hand, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals take on additional work to mentor students and advocate for their needs due to a sense of responsibility to help students navigate higher education. On the other hand, Latina staff members may be implicitly or explicitly tasked with necessary, yet challenging, diversity and inclusion work because of their racial/ethnic and gender identities. While mentorship, advocacy, and diversity work are necessary to student success, this labor is not always shared equitably across staff members and often times is unrecognized and not adequately supported. Additionally, Latina staff members may be carrying out this important work while also navigating challenging institutional climates. They may be confronted by microaggressions that are both raced and gendered and that communicate to Latinas that they are inferior. Participants pointed to various examples in which they were not heard and rendered invisible, undermined, and to experiences in which their expertise was questioned. Challenges with the campus climate

meant Latinas had to wrestle with their own emotions and be aware of *how* they communicated with students and colleagues in order to be deemed approachable and collegial.

Despite these challenges, Latinas who persisted in the field were typically committed to the work and pointed to working conditions that served as motivators and a reminder that their contributions were valued. Latinas frequently described experiences in which they received affirmation from students, colleagues, and primarily supervisors that their work was seen and important. Receiving affirmation was an important source of motivation and was augmented by rewards such as raises, supervisors who showed an ethic of care for their well-being, and acknowledgement of their expertise.

Findings from this exploratory study highlighted disparities in the workload of women of color mid-level professionals, generally, and more specifically those experienced by Latina student affairs professionals. Additionally, the findings point to actions that inform women of color's perceptions of the value of their work and its significance in their career pathways. The following chapter synthesizes the themes that span both the quantitative and qualitative findings and their implications for research and practice.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

College and university workplace climates have recently been scrutinized for working conditions that drive staff members out of their job and institution in search of more favorable environments. Recent surveys of student affairs personnel have shown that staff are leaving the field because they feel underappreciated or undervalued by their institution (Ellis, 2021) and for better pay and salaries (Bichsel et al., 2022). Additionally, the desire for better work environments has led to recent challenges in filling staff positions (Zahneis, 2022) necessitating a closer examination of college and university workplace climates.

Although these surveys shed important light on hiring challenges and barriers faced by staff members in higher education, it is also important to note that institutions are simultaneously being called upon to improve the diversity of staff and administrators (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). Demands for more representation within campus leadership positions are intended to better meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population. In an effort to address gaps in representation, recent reports have confirmed the persistent underrepresentation of women, and especially women of color, at various senior level positions (Espinosa et al., 2019; Johnson, 2017), requiring a more nuanced approach to understanding how the intersection of race and gender influences the career trajectories of women of color.

As such, this study sought to further explore the experiences of women of color mid-level professionals. In particular, this study sought to examine disparities in the labor of women of color, the extent to which women of color feel valued for their contributions, and the influence these elements have on their career intentions. This chapter offers a summary and synthesis of the findings across chapters 4 and 5.

Overview of the Study

This study used a multimethod approach to understand the labor of women of color in higher education and the role of organizational support along their career trajectories. Drawing from interviews conducted in January and February 2018 with 10 Latina mid-level student affairs professionals and survey data from the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) 2020 Staff Climate Survey (SCS), this study aimed to further understand the workload and career intentions of women of color mid-level higher education professionals. In particular, the study examined differences in the distribution of labor and perceptions of organizational support, explored the relationship between organizational support and turnover rates, and analyzed the intersectional role of race and gender in shaping these experiences.

To address these aims, I drew from Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison, and Sowa's (1986) theory on perceived organizational support. I operationalized organizational support with a condensed and simplified measure in structural equation models to examine the extent to which women of color felt valued for their contributions, cared for by their colleagues, and the implications of organizational support on their intentions to leave their job or institution. Additionally, the theory guided the analysis of the qualitative data and identified how women of color experience organizational support. I also used Crenshaw's (1989; 1991) theory of intersectionality to further complicate the analyses and examined how the intersection of race and gender inform the labor of women of color as well as the ways in which they feel valued for their labor.

Summary of Findings

Overall, the findings from this study point to differential workloads, particularly with respect to diversity work, based on staff members' gender and racial identities; relatively small

differences in perceptions of organizational support across workers' identities; and mitigated turnover intentions among women of color who felt more valued for their contributions in the workplace. This section provides a brief summary of the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Differences in Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Workload

Results from this study showed differences in mid-level professionals' contributions toward diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) work in higher education based on the intersection of respondents' race and gender identities. Items measuring DEI labor included being a resource to students and staff as a result of their racial and gender identity, assisting them with issues of discrimination, actively challenging others on discrimination issues, and participating in groups intended to address social justice issues. Across all items used to measure DEI work, women of color reported significantly higher rates of experience with these items in comparison to white men. Women of color also reported significantly higher rates across all items except for challenging others on issues of discrimination in comparison to white women. When comparing women of color's experiences with that of men of color, women of color were more often sought out as a resource by staff members due to their racial and gender identities and by students when it came to their gender identity. Women and men of color reported similar scores across all other items. These differences indicated that women of color disproportionately shoulder diversity work and pointed to several ways in which women of color were more frequently tasked with supporting students and staff as a result of their race and gender identities.

Among women of color, notable differences in the distribution of DEI labor also emerged. Women of color who worked in academic affairs and business and administrative services were less likely to take on DEI labor in comparison to student life staff. Unsurprisingly, participants with higher education attainment levels (i.e. master's and doctorate degrees) and

more than 15 years of work experience in their current job were more likely to have responsibility for DEI labor at their institution.

This study also examined the experiences of Latina mid-level student affairs professionals and found that Latina women often spoke of diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts as work that was above and beyond their job expectations. Participants shared that they took on mentoring, advocacy and equity work, and emotion work in addition to their core job responsibilities. Differences in workload often resulted from intrinsic motivation and extrinsic expectations. Latina student affairs professionals often felt a sense of responsibility to uplift, mentor, and advise students and staff; however, some of the work was also placed on them due to their race and gender identities. Implicit and explicit expectations included training staff members, addressing campus climate issues, and providing students with academic and personal support. For some participants, the onus of diversity and equity work was often placed on them *because* they were women of color. These findings suggest that race and gender shape the job responsibilities and voluntary work of Latina staff members.

Feeling Valued Mitigates Turnover Rates among Women of Color

Descriptive analyses revealed relatively few differences across intersections of gender and race with respect to how staff respondents perceived organizational support; however, multivariate analyses among the women of color sample indicated that organizational support significantly influenced the intentions to leave among mid-level professionals. Women of color who felt highly valued by the institution were less likely to leave their job or institution even when controlling for demographic characteristics (e.g., sexual orientation, years of employment, educational level), diversity work, and campus climate. Organizational support, however, only had a significant indirect effect in predicting the outcome variables when supervisor support was

entered into models. Support from a direct supervisor mediated the effects of organizational support, and women of color who perceived stronger organizational support expressed lower likelihoods of intending to leave their jobs or their institutions.

This study also found that a hostile racial and gender climate had an adverse effect on organizational support and intentions to leave the job or institution. Women of color who reported more frequent negative racial and gender remarks and discrimination tended to perceive less organizational support and an increased likelihood of leaving the job or institution.

The experiences of Latina mid-level student affairs professionals demonstrated how the intersection of race and gender shape their perceptions of the value of their contributions. Latina staff members tended to feel valued when praised and rewarded for their work, when supervisors demonstrated an ethic of care for their overall well-being, and when their supervisors and colleagues acknowledged their skills and expertise. When participants spoke of instances in which they did not feel valued for their contributions, their stories often included being passed up for promotions, treated as inferior, or viewed as lacking the credentials and skills. These experiences were typically laced with racism and sexism and made Latina student affairs professionals feel they were not appreciated by the institution.

Interpretation and Meaning of Significant Findings

Structures and systemic practices have perpetuated raced and gendered differences in the workload of women of color and contributed to mixed signals on the value of their contributions to higher education. Findings from this study demonstrated that women of color often carry responsibilities related to diversity, equity, and inclusion above and beyond what white women, white men, and men of color experience. Additionally, women of color often find themselves navigating environments that sometimes applaud but more often overlook the work they do to

support students and staff members. This section further explores the meaning of these findings in the context of the prior literature that guided this investigation.

Inequities in the Distribution of DEI Labor

Utilizing the literature on care labor (Cardozo, 2017; Duffy, 2010; McCracken & Tronto, 2013), diversity work (Ahmed, 2012), and intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991) as an analytical framework to understand the workload and distribution among mid-level professionals, this study showed that women of color disproportionately assume responsibility for diversity, equity, and inclusion work in higher education. Specifically, this study showed that women of color are more frequently sought out as a resource as it relates to issues of discrimination, social justice, and climate issues. Additionally, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals discussed taking on additional diversity work that included mentoring students, training students and staff, and being a representative for marginalized communities. Insights from interviews showed that this additional work is often driven by both an intrinsic motivation to support students of color along with other marginalized communities as well as extrinsic raced and gendered expectations such as being asked to facilitate trainings *because* participants were women of color. These findings point to historical institutional conditions and practices that actively assign and passively shift work to women of color based on their race and gender identities.

Women of color mid-level professionals often took on additional mentoring, advising, and counseling roles in addition to their day-to-day responsibilities. Baez (2000) notes that faculty of color take on some of these responsibilities for altruistic reasons; however, when considering gender, women and, namely, women of color find that advising and mentoring loads are added work due to their racial and gender identities (Duncan, 2014; Motha & Varghese,

2018; Sandler & Hall, 1986). Notably, this study found that the absence of other women of color in higher education leadership roles often motivated Latina participants, in particular, to mentor and advise students. Although an intrinsic motivation to support Latinx students and staff as well as members of other marginalized communities led many Latina student affairs professionals to take on this additional work, findings also suggest that women of color experience being sought out as a resource due to their race and gender identities more frequently than their white peers and, at times, more than men of color. Such an imbalance requires additional examination of the role of the composition of an institution, its effects on women of color's workload, and the rewards structure for any added responsibilities. Although some participants acknowledged that these experiences were valuable to their professional growth and satisfaction, they also noted that their efforts were not always recognized and compensated. Differential experiences in workload also require assessing compensation, rewards, and recognition for any additional workload taken on by women of color.

This study also demonstrated that women of color are often expected to take the lead on DEI initiatives and to address campus climate issues. Previous research has shown that women and people of color are often tasked with advocating for marginalized communities, training colleagues on diversity-related topics, and providing emotional support to students in ways that their white colleagues may not be called to do (Anderson, 2021; Anthym & Tuitt, 2019; Duncan, 2014; Hirschfield & Joseph, 2011; Porter, 2018). Some scholars have labeled this additional burden of responsibilities on faculty of color and women of color faculty as cultural or identity taxation (Hirschfield & Joseph, 2011). Findings from this study build upon previous research and demonstrate that women of color staff experience similar additional burdens in comparison to their white peers and men of color. In the case of Latina student affairs professionals,

participants spoke of taking on student mentoring responsibilities because they did not believe their white colleagues would take on this role. In other instances, Latina staff members were tasked with training, student support, and advocacy, because they were viewed as the experts due to their identities and experiences. Although it is important for marginalized communities to be in these leadership positions, it was common for participants to share that the onus of diversity work was frequently shifted to them because of their racial and gender identities. By shifting this responsibility, it often absolved their white colleagues from sharing in the workload. This allocation of work demonstrates the "double-edged" nature of women of color's labor. On the one hand, their perspectives and experiences are valuable to diversity efforts, and, on the other, the responsibilities are often viewed primarily as their responsibility.

Women of color who increasingly took on DEI labor also experienced adverse effects as it related to feeling valued for their contributions and their career trajectory. Increased DEI labor tended to undermine feeling valued by the institution, suggesting that women of color do not feel sufficiently recognized and supported for these contributions. Such findings also suggest that institutions may not prioritize this work nor offer adequate compensation or acknowledgement to women of color who take on this labor. According to Anderson (2021), institutions often "burn through" staff of color who take on diversity work due to the toll of the work on staff members. Anderson (2021) found that diversity workers were at times the only ones at their institutions advocating for change or training other employees at the institution which led to staff experiencing burnout. Findings from this study seemed to point to a similar phenomenon and indicated that increases in DEI labor were associated with increases in turnover for women of color. In the absence of institutional support such as funding, resources, and necessary staffing

levels, women of color who increasingly take on diversity work are likely to consider leaving their job and/or institution.

Perceived Organizational Support Inversely Predicts Turnover Intentions

Organizational support theory provides a lens through which we can understand connections between employees' job satisfaction and sense of contentment in the workplace based upon their perceptions of how much their organization values their contributions (Eisenberger et al., 1986). Findings affirm previous studies that indicate organizational support contributes to employees' increased commitment to an organization (Eisenberger et al., 1986; Kim et al., 2017; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Within the quantitative results, perceived organizational support had an inverse relationship with women of color's intentions to leave their job and institution. Increases in feeling valued by key players such as supervisors, colleagues, and senior administrators at the institution reduced turnover rates for women of color mid-level higher education professionals. Therefore, an institution that values the contributions of women of color can improve their retention of these critical institutional agents in higher education leadership positions.

Although I anticipated to find differences between women of color and their peers when it came to items measuring organizational support, only one item was significantly different. Women of color reported lower rates in feeling valued by the department in comparison to white men which indicates that there may be differential treatment and appreciation for women of color's work at a more local level. The absence of a significant difference in most items measuring organizational support is potentially due to their professional standing. Respondents may have developed a level of resilience along their career trajectory which allowed them to move along in their career path and into mid-level professional roles. Women of color who have

advanced into a mid-level role may have learned to navigate some of the challenges and barriers such as hostile climates (Arredondo, 2011; Clayborne & Hamrick, 2007; Jackson, 2011; Marrero-Lopez, 2015), poor supervision (Grant, 2006; Marrero-Lopez, 2015), or stress (Allee, 2015) that would otherwise push staff members out of jobs and institutions earlier in their careers. Additionally, mid-level professionals may have also received mentoring and support along their trajectory and informed their belief that their contributions are valued. Future analysis can examine if there are differences in organizational support based on staff rank (e.g., entry level, mid-level, senior level) and longitudinal studies can examine if perceived support changes along staff members' career trajectories.

Enhancing Organizational Support through Recognition

At an interpersonal and microlevel, insight from Latina mid-level student affairs professionals' experiences demonstrated how their interactions with colleagues, supervisors, and senior administrators either contribute to or dampen their belief that their contributions are valued. Namely, Latina student affairs professionals most often felt valued when they were *seen* and *recognized* for their work underscoring that women of color often do work that is invisible and overlooked (Duncan, 2014). Additionally, acknowledgement of the expertise that Latina participants brought to their roles signaled to them that they were valued by the institution. Although monetary rewards and promotions were also important to Latina student affairs professionals, these acts of recognition reaffirmed the value and significance of their contributions to the department and institution.

Latina mid-level student affairs professionals also indicated differences in *how* they experience organizational support. For Latina women, interactions that undermined and questioned their abilities and expertise were often a result of both racism and sexism. When

participants spoke of instances in which they did not feel valued, they typically pointed to experiences in which they were questioned for their skillset because of their Latina identity. They recognized that their white peers seldom experienced the same level of scrutiny; for some Latinas, it meant they had little room for error, or they had to continuously demonstrate they had the expertise. Women of color are often faced with doubt in their competence (Johnson, 2017; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Viernes Turner, 2007), and this study demonstrated that this doubt adversely affects women of color's, namely Latina student affairs professionals', perception that the institution values them.

Strong Supervisor Support Mitigates Organizational Support and Decreases Turnover

Supervisor support has a significant association with organizational support (Allee, 2015; Johnsrud et al., 2000; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Poor supervision can lead to a lack of recognition of employees' contributions (Allee, 2015; Johnsrud et al., 2000), and incompatibility with a supervisor can often be a reason for departure from a job (Grant, 2006; Marshall et al., 2016). This study defined supervisor support as behaviors in which a supervisor provides meaningful feedback, supports professional development, advocates for an employee, and cares for the well-being of the staff member. Findings from this study affirmed that supervisors play a pivotal role in both turnover rates and contributing to a sense of organizational support. Women of color reported feeling valued by their direct supervisor at higher rates in comparison to students, senior administrators, and by the department. Additionally, Latina mid-level student affairs professionals frequently pointed to supervisors who demonstrated an ethic of care as significant to shaping their beliefs that their contributions were valued. Supervisors who holistically demonstrated care and concern for Latina staff members (i.e., whether by checking in or caring about their goals beyond work) contributed to Latinas' sense that their work was

meaningful and important. Additionally, supervisor support had a stronger and direct influence on turnover rats relative to organizational support.

Although a lack of a sense of organizational support may mitigate or dampen women of color's perception of supervisor support, a lack of organizational support did not necessarily affect women of color's intentions to leave provided they had strong supervisor support. Therefore, it is incumbent upon supervisors to advocate for and recognize the contributions of their staff, in this case, women of color mid-level professionals, especially in institutional or departmental environments that are less welcoming to women of color. The relationship between women of color mid-level professionals and their supervisors is, therefore, an important relationship to cultivate if institutions are committed to providing a positive working environment for women of color.

Work Environment Impacts Feelings of Organizational Support and Turnover

Studies on organizational support theory have taken an organization level approach and examined practices and policies that shape working conditions and employee's perceptions of the value of their contributions (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). However, these studies have typically focused on job conditions such as pay, job security, stressors, training, and organizational size (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). While these studies provide valuable insight for improving working conditions, they often take a race and gender-neutral approach and do not examine stressors such as racism and sexism in the workplace and its effects on organizational support.

Examining the role of racism and sexism as it relates to organizational support revealed that an increasingly hostile racial and gender climate dampened woman of colors' perception that the institution values them and their contributions; however, it had no impact on the sense of

supervisor support perceived by women of color mid-level professionals. While actions that devalue women's labor in higher education can contribute to a chilly climate (Hall & Sandler, 1984; Marrero-Lopez, 2015; Sandler & Hall, 1986; Vaccaro, 2011b), this study showed that the institutional context had a direct effect on women of colors' perceived organizational support. In other words, in an environment where women of color frequently hear disparaging racist and sexist remarks, women of color tend to believe that they are not valued by the institution. Latina student affairs professionals echoed a similar sentiment and shared several instances in which they encountered gendered racism which led them to feel inferior and to believe they were not valued. This finding underscores that while a negative campus climate could not be completely counteracted by supervisor support, supervisors play a strong role in overcoming the broader campus climate in an effort to retain women of color. Additional analysis of other forms of campus climate can further illuminate how institutions create environments that either support or marginalize women of color mid-level professionals.

Implications

Implications for Practice

Collective Action

Given some of the challenges that women of color face, there are both macro- and micro-level actions that can take place within higher education institutions. Collective action among higher education staff, but more specifically for women of color staff and administrators, can give greater voice and power to pushback against unfavorable working conditions and expectations. Expanding unionization within higher education institutions can help women of color set and bargain for working conditions and rewards that better align with their contributions to higher education. These organizations can also be spaces that provide women of

color with strategies for recognizing, naming, and navigating challenging environments. When staff are the only or one of few women of color in their office, unionization can offer some of the protections needed to confront supervisors or colleagues who are contributing to challenging working conditions. Often staff members might withhold their concerns for fear of being reprimanded, fired, or labeled as problematic; therefore, collective action and organizing can offer a means for women of color to address any institutional or departmental concerns.

Supervisor Training and Development

Supervisors must be aware of the influence they have over creating an environment that is both welcoming and affirming of women of color. They must also recognize how their actions perpetuate gendered racism and develop the skills to identify their biases and change their actions. To that end, supervisor training and development must include awareness of gendered racism in supervision and how it manifests in the rewards and promotion structures and processes. As noted earlier, supervisors had a strong influence on the turnover rates of women of color mid-level professionals, and those who advocated and cared for their staff members informed whether women of color felt valued by the institution. Training that focuses on how to provide feedback and that addresses bias and discrimination in the feedback process can help improve supervision practices. Additionally, regular assessment of the climate among staff in higher education institutions can help identify inequities across and within functional areas and inform how supervisors can further support women of color staff.

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Work

Student affairs practitioners can take several key steps to address the distribution of DEI labor. First, job descriptions should indicate how DEI work fits into the position and signal that it is an important component of every staff members' position. Additionally, when circumstances

necessitate expanding the scope of responsibilities for a staff member, institutions need to update job descriptions and ensure staff members' compensation appropriately reflects their revised scope of work. In particular, institutions can, at minimum, use annual performance reviews to allow employees to articulate and document how their job responsibilities and service to the institution have changed. Supervisors and departments should also use these annual reviews to note expansions in staff members' scope of responsibilities, which can then be used to updated job descriptions and increase staff members' compensation to reflect the added responsibilities.

Second, higher education staff members of all backgrounds, but particularly white staff and men of color, must acknowledge their own racial and gender biases and develop the necessary skillsets to address diversity-related topics and issues. Although instances emerge throughout the academic year in which marginalized communities necessarily lead diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts, these communities need not shoulder the bulk of the responsibility for this work. Instead, practitioners have an obligation to develop their own capacities to educate, support, lead, and collaborate with students and colleagues from marginalized communities.

Supervisor training and graduate programs can also provide training and development that helps current and future student affairs practitioners identify historical and contemporary structures and practices that perpetuate disparities in the distribution of labor. Such training can at minimum increase higher education staff members' awareness and understanding of the (in)visible labor taken on by marginalized communities.

Lastly, institutions would do well by fostering a sense of belonging for staff members. For some Latina participants, the lack of other Latinx staff members meant they had to find ways to build community and to affirm their own sense of belonging at the institution. Participants who did connect with other professionals typically did so through committees or other

professional spaces. Cultivating a sense of belonging requires that institutions establish and financially support institutional and regional affinity groups that allow women of color to connect with professionals with shared identities. Institutions can also implement formal mentoring programs in order to connect new and seasoned professionals within and outside of their institutions. Additionally, fostering a sense of belonging requires regularly assessing the climate of the institution to identify any differences and disparities in how women of color experience the work environment. Insight from assessments can help institutions develop more inclusive and welcoming environments. Climate assessments can also serve as an important tool for institutions to use in determining and allocating the financial support and resources that diversity workers need to carry out their effort. In the absence of these resources, institutions risk perpetuating work environments that fail to fully align with their mission to support diverse populations.

Recognition and Rewards Practices

It is important for institutions to develop practices that better acknowledge the DEI work of women of color and their overall contributions to the institution. Women of color often noted that acknowledgement, compensation, and promotions were signals of organizational support; however, they also shared that these actions were not always equitably taken by the institution. Institutions would do well with identifying any disparities in these practices by examining the racial and gender make up of recipients of salary increases and promotions within their institution. Specifically, annually reviewing salary equity and conducting performance reviews to determine salary increases provides institutions and supervisors with opportunities to more readily and systematically identify any disparities not only by race and gender but also across intersectional racial and gender identities. As noted earlier, regular assessments can be used not

only to understand the climate but also to understand how staff regularly spend their time as it relates to their job description. Such insight can lead to changes in formal processes such as performance evaluations and allow for staff members to document contributions such as mentoring and committee involvement that would have otherwise been overlooked in the evaluation process. In addition to macro-level changes such as salary adjustments when job responsibilities grow, administrators can also recognize women of color's contributions through microlevel actions such as verbal affirmations and feedback and acknowledging their contributions and expertise in meetings or among other colleagues.

In addition to incremental changes, the emotional labor of women of color should be compensated appropriately. Women of color were often expected to take on additional responsibilities such as mentoring and advocacy work, but what institutions often neglect is the emotional work that women of color do when confronted with overt racism and sexism, microaggressions, or when providing comfort to students and staff. As such, women of color staff members should report all the emotional labor they performed and be paid by institutions for this added work. Women of color might consider negotiating additional compensation for their diversity work when beginning a new role, and institutions should be prepared to meet this request.

Implications for Research

Latent Construct Development and Survey Design

Prior literature on organizational support suggests that items such as *my supervisor cares about my well-being* should be included in measurement models of organizational support (Eisenberger et al., 1986). However, evaluation of the modification indices in this study's analyses led to the decision to shift the item from the organizational support latent variable to the

supervisor support measure. This suggests that while global items such as the one used by Eisenberger et al. (1986), *the organization really cares about my well-being*, can be used in a measurement model of perceived organizational support, similar variables may need to be considered as a separate construct. In other words, Eisenberger et al. (1986) would argue that supervisors caring about employee well-being is part of organizational support; however, analyses from this study suggest that organizational support plays a more distal influence on employees' experiences while supervisor support and their care for their employees has a more proximal influence on women of color staff experiences. Although previous literature has generally considered supervisor support as separate and influential set of items that influence organizational support (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002); this study suggests that items within the original 36-item construct of organizational support that play a proximal role in employees' experiences, in this case supervisors caring about employee well-being, need to also be considered as separate and part of supervisor support. Future analyses of organizational support would bode well with treating measures of supervisor support as separate from organizational support.

Given the role of supervisors in influencing turnover rates among women of color higher education professionals and its separate role from organizational support, latent constructs of supervisor support should be included in studies examining campus working conditions. This study showed that the four items used to measure supervisor support held together as a construct. Further development of this measure can explore if additional items and/or dimensions can be added to a supervisor support construct. Items can include measures that assess the extent to which supervisors recognize and reward employee contributions, supervisors view their staff as experts, and the extent to which supervisors undermine employees' work.

Surveys examining staff members' workloads should also consider including measurements related to diversity, equity, and inclusion work. This study showed that the eight items used to measure DEI labor held together as a latent variable and serve as a starting point for understanding the distribution of diversity work at higher education institutions. Future studies should examine if additional dimensions and forms of diversity, equity, and inclusion work can be measured. For example, items can include measuring how often participants engage in mentoring students and staff with shared and differing identities. Measures can also examine how often participants engage in training others on diversity-related issues and how much time is spent participating in diversity-related groups.

Future surveys might also consider adding items and developing measures that test concepts that emerged in the qualitative portion of this study. Latina student affairs professionals described several experiences that indicated that the perception of their expertise and competence shaped their view on the value of their work to the institution. The few items available on the Staff Climate Survey such as *I feel I have to work harder than my colleagues to be perceived as competent*, *other staff members seek me out for my expertise/skills*, and *my professional skills are effectively put to use in this position* did not hold together as a measurement model; therefore, researchers should consider developing items that aim to measure perceived competence and test its relationship to women of color and their career intentions. Items can examine staff members' inclusion in meetings and committees (e.g., *I am included in meetings due to my expertise*) and scrutiny of their competence (e.g., *My competence is questioned by colleagues*). Inclusion of such items can contribute to developing a measurement model for perceived competence.

Lastly, survey designers should consider how to truly make survey questions intersectional. Bowleg (2008) cautions that a limitation of quantitative data is the tendency

towards approaching the experiences of people at intersecting identities as additive rather than intersectional. Instead of asking respondents to consider their answers based on their intersecting identities, survey questions tend to simply ask participants to respond to the items and separately collect demographic data. This approach leaves the researcher to decide which set of demographic variables will be considered and assumes that the identities they have equal weight in explaining a participants' response. For example, instead of asking participants to indicate if they have been sought out as a resource due to their racial/ethnic identity and separately asking they have been sought out as a resource due to their gender identity, surveys can ask how often they are sought out as a resource due to their Latina identity. By reframing the item to consider both their race and gender identity, quantitative analyses are more likely to get closer to true intersectional analyses and away from an additive approach. Measures should also include questions about participants experiences with structures, policies, and practices, such as hiring practices and rewards structures, from an intersectional standpoint and if they perceive to experience these actions differently than other comparison groups. Although the complexities of living at the intersection of multiple identities can never be fully captured in survey data, an intersectional approach that prompts respondents to consider their race and gender, in this case, in their response moves closer to understanding how marginalized communities experience the university and work environment.

Staff Campus Climate Research

The institutional climate affects women of color's career trajectories and can either support or hinder their commitment to the institution and the field. Additional research should further examine the role of campus climate on the experiences of women of color and how structures, processes, and practices can better support women of color higher education

professionals. While this study focused on a psychological form of campus climate (Hurtado et al., 2012), specifically on issues of racism and sexism, it would bode well for future research to examine how behavioral, organizational, historical (Hurtado et al., 2012), and other aspects of campus climate affect the working conditions for women of color and their career trajectories. It is also important to consider the relationship of campus climate on other identities such as sexual orientation, social class, and citizenship, to name a few, on the experiences of women of color staff members. Latina participants, in particular, named their status as first-generation college students, their socioeconomic class, and their experiences with immigrant parents as important identities that impacted their sense of belonging and how they navigated the campus environment. Such nuanced experiences merit additional exploration.

Examination of Labor

This study focused on general DEI, emotional, and care labor and pointed to disparities in the distribution of diversity work. Additional studies can provide further insight into the causes and consequences of these disparities and the impact on women of color's career trajectory. The study found disparities in DEI work based on their functional area and suggested that student life employees carry the weight of this responsibility. Additional studies can examine whether and how this workload can be shared across units and what barriers prevent staff members in other departments from participating in these opportunities. Findings also suggested that most of this work is taken on by staff who are well into their career; however, it is also worth exploring how staff members at different professional levels contribute to these efforts and identifying the support systems needed to carry out this work across the institution. For professionals who are more than 15 years into their career, additional research can also examine if diversity work increases these staff members' intentions to leave their jobs and institutions or if their years of

employment is a more prominent driver of their career intentions. Additional studies can also take a more comprehensive approach to understanding the mentoring load that women of color staff members take on and note if there are any differences between women of color and their colleagues. Future research on the labor distribution among staff members can help address any disparities and identify how institutions must shift their policies and practices.

Examination of Organizational Support

This study did not find any significant differences in levels of perceived organizational support when comparing women of color to white women, white men, and men of color. However, future studies can examine if there are any differences based on staff rank. For example, are there differences between entry level staff when compared to mid-level and senior staff and administrators? Are there racial and gender differences among entry level staff? A lack of significant differences between women of color and their peers may be due to their professional rank. Mid-level professionals, especially participants with more than 10 years of experience, may have already developed the support systems and/or internal resilience needed to persist and developed a commitment to the profession as well as potentially some loyalty to their institution in comparison to early career staff members. Future research can also examine if factors such as campus climate, DEI labor, and supervisor support have similar effects on other subgroups' perceptions of the value of their work and their career intentions. This study demonstrated that racism and sexism impacted how they come to believe if they are valued by the institution; therefore, studies can examine how other forms of oppression impact marginalized communities' sense of organizational support.

Analysis of More Complex Models

Future research should examine more complex models that test the relationship between all of the latent variables used in this study. Sample size limitations prevented the exploration of these relationships in this study. Future studies with larger sample sizes can offer a more nuanced examination of the relationship between demographic variables, working conditions, the outcome variables, and introduce additional concepts such as perceived competence. Larger samples can also offer the ability to disaggregate the experiences of women of color according to their racial and gender identities and allow for a more nuanced understanding of the similarities and differences experienced by subgroups.

Concluding Thoughts

Overall, this study was rooted in an interest to shed light on women of color's (in)visible labor and to identify opportunities for improving the campus environment for women of color higher education professionals. The underrepresentation of women of color in leadership positions in higher education calls for an examination of their working environments and how institutions can improve structures, processes, and practices that can better support women of color throughout their career trajectory. While much of the research that focuses on women of color tends to examine disparities in the service load of faculty, this study demonstrated that women of color staff members have similar experiences. Women and people of color often shoulder additional responsibilities such as mentoring, advising, committee representation, and advocacy, and for women of color this workload can be exacerbated due to their racial and ethnic identities. This study found that higher education institutions perpetuate a racialized and gendered division of labor among staff members and how they communicate the value of their work. Colleges and universities engage in practices that value the experiences and insight women of color bring to the institution and actions that use race and gender to undermine them.

Institutions that truly value women of color and their contributions to the institution, must improve the resources and support women of color receive, reevaluate how workloads are distributed, and commit to acknowledging their work through formal (e.g., compensation, rewards, evaluations, time allocation) and informal (i.e., praise) processes and practices. Women of color deserve to feel valued by their institutions by being *seen* and *acknowledged* rather than overlooked for their contributions. Improving the working conditions for women of color will not only contribute to retention efforts but also demonstrate a genuine commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Epilogue

Over the course of the four years between participant interviews in 2018 and final member checks in 2022, I periodically followed up with participants to provide updates about the study. Throughout the follow up exchanges, I received updates on the Latina participants' career trajectories. For any participants who did not provide an update, I looked up their professional biographies on their respective institution's websites. Three participants (Jackie, Marisol, and Patricia) moved to different institutions for a promotion and one (Minerva) received a promotion within the same institution. Jena and Sophia were promoted to interim roles within their respective institutions, but by 2022, Sophia was back in her original role. Karla and Yvonne were in the same role four years later, and Rochelle and Sabrina had left student affairs. Sabrina left higher education all together and shared that despite her missing student affairs and former colleagues, her experiences as a staff member in higher education were the very reasons she opted to leave the profession.

As I complete my dissertation work, I find myself reflecting on the ways in which the Latina participants, former and current women of color colleagues, and I continue to "iron

sashes" and how this invisible labor can permeate both our professional and personal lives. During the final years of my doctoral program, I unexpectedly found myself taking on caregiving roles in my personal life. In fact, as I put the finishing touches on this dissertation, I am finding moments between doctor phone calls, (un)expected hospital visits, and family care, to both edit this work and care for a sick parent. These final years have included supporting my parents by learning to navigate new health-related institutions and systems, translating, advocating for proper medical care, being present for appointments and after care, and providing emotional support all while completing one chapter in my professional and academic journey and preparing for the next. This personal experience parallels the complexity in some of this invisible labor – it is some of the most meaningful work we will do – to be there for those who deserve better than the system is set up to provide, to care in a perhaps cold uncaring institution, to be uniquely present in times of need – and yet it is also incredibly taxing and can be so draining. So, I continue to reflect on how to, as an individual, iron my own sash - to be there for myself as much as I am called to be there for others.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Variable Definitions and Coding

Background Characteristics	
Race/Ethnicity	1 = Native American/Alaska Native 2 = Asian 3 = Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander 4 = Black 5 = Latino 6 = White 7 = Other 8 = Multiracial 9 = Unknown
Gender	1 = Man/Transman 2 = Woman/Transwoman 3 = Gender non-conforming, non-binary, not listed
Transgender	0 = No; 1 = Yes
Sexual Orientation	0 = Heterosexual/Straight 1 = LGBQ+
Employment Status	1 = Part-time, temporary/contract employee 2 = Part-time, permanent employee 3 = Full-time, temporary/contract employee 4 = Full-time, permanent employee
Years of Employment (Job)	
0 – 5 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
6 – 10 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
11 – 15 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
More than 15 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Missing	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Years of Employment (Institution)	
0 – 5 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
6 – 10 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
More than 10 years	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Missing	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Institution Type	1 = Public 2 = Private

Highest Level of Education Completed	
Less than a bachelor's degree	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Bachelor's	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Master's	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Doctorate	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Missing	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Departmental Unit	
Academic Affairs	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Business/Administrative Services	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Student Life	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Department Else (*External Affairs, Leadership & Diversity, Other*)	0 = No, 1 = Yes
Diversity, Equity, Inclusion (DEI) Labor	
Assisted student with problem about discrimination	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my racial/ethnic identity	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Been sought out by students as a resource due to my gender identity	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Assisted staff member with problem about discrimination	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Been sought out by staff members as a resource due to my racial/ethnic identity	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Been sought out by staff members as a resource due to my gender identity	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Challenged others on issues of discrimination	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Participated in a coalition of different groups to address social justice issues	Five-point scale: 0 = "Never" to 4 = "Very Often"
Perceived Organizational Support	
I feel my contributions are valued by my department	Four-point scale: 1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 4 = "Strongly Agree"
I feel my contributions are valued by my supervisor	Four-point scale: 1 = "Strongly Disagree" to 4 = "Strongly Agree"

I feel my contributions are valued by senior administrators	Four-point scale: 1 = “Strongly Disagree” to 4 = “Strongly Agree”
I feel my contributions are valued by students	Four-point scale: 1 = “Strongly Disagree” to 4 = “Strongly Agree”
Colleagues care about my well-being	Four-point scale: 1 = “Strongly Disagree” to 4 = “Strongly Agree”
Campus Racial and Gender Climate	
Discriminated or excluded from activities because of gender/gender identity	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Discriminated or excluded from activities because of race/ethnicity	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: faculty	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: staff	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: students	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Heard insensitive racial remarks from: senior administrators	Five-point scale: 0 = “Never” to 4 = “Very Often”
Supervisor Support	
Supervisor cares about my well being	Four-point scale: 1 = “Disagree Strongly” to 4 = “Agree Strongly”
Supervisor supports my professional development	Four-point scale: 1 = “Disagree Strongly” to 4 = “Agree Strongly”
Supervisor provides me with feedback that assists me in performing my job responsibilities	Four-point scale: 1 = “Disagree Strongly” to 4 = “Agree Strongly”
Supervisor advocates for me	Four-point scale: 1 = “Disagree Strongly” to 4 = “Agree Strongly”
Outcome	
Likelihood of leaving current position	Four-point scale: 1 = “Very Unlikely” to 4 = “Very Likely”
Likelihood of leaving current institution	Four-point scale: 1 = “Very Unlikely” to 4 = “Very Likely”

Appendix B: Background Questionnaire

Name: _____

Phone number: _____

Email: _____

Institution: _____

Please list current job title: _____

- Are you a(n): _____entry-level professional _____mid-level professional

Please list your race/ethnicity: _____

Which gender do you most identify with?

- Woman
- Transgender
- Genderqueer
- Gender non-conforming
- Other - Please specify: _____

Which sexual orientation do you identify with?

- Heterosexual/Straight
- Gay
- Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Pansexual
- Questioning
- Other - Please specify: _____
- Prefer not to answer

Are you a first-generation college student?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

What is the highest degree you have completed? _____

How many years have you been employed full-time in higher education? _____

How many years have you been in your current role? _____

Appendix C: Individual Interview Protocol

Background

1. Tell me about and describe your current position at this institution.
2. Why did you decide to pursue a career in student affairs?
3. What experiences (educational and occupational) led you to take this job?
4. How would you describe the climate of your current institution?

Current Experiences and Meaning

5. Describe a typical week at work.
    - How much time do you typically spend on each of these activities?
6. What job tasks or activities that you described fit within your job description?
    - How have your race/ethnicity and gender identities influenced activities/tasks you have taken on?
7. What tasks or activities, if any, fall outside of your job description?
    - How have your race/ethnicity and gender identities influenced activities/tasks you have taken on?
8. What roadblocks have you experienced in your career?
    - How have your race/ethnicity and gender identities influenced your experiences?
9. Tell me about a time you felt valued for your work (if at all).
    - Can you describe a specific experience that highlights you were valued for your work?
    - What specifically did someone say or do that led you to believe your work was valued?
    - How did you know it was valued?
10. Tell me about a time you felt you were not valued for your work (if at all).
    - How did you know it was not valued?
11. What does it mean for you to be valued for your work?
    - How do your race/ethnicity and gender identities influence this meaning?
12. Who do you perceive to value your work?
    - How would you describe their identities?

Closing Questions

13. What are your future career plans?
14. What advice would you give new Latina student affairs professionals? Is there anything you wish you had known about working in the field?

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