Black Women in Sport Leadership:
An Exploration of the Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP)

by

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"When a person really desires something, all the universe conspires to help that person to realize their dream." Paulo Coelho- The Alchemist

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Abstract

Black women are underrepresented in sport leadership positions (Lapchick, 2017).

However, research (Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; McDowell &Carter-

Francique, 2017) has revealed that Black women offer stories that express qualitatively different

leadership opportunities and experiences in intercollegiate athletics than those reported by White

women or Black men, based on the manner in which race often intersects with gender, age,

social class, and other identities. While research has examined the manner in which

intersectional forces influence Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, research

has failed to address the role of sport organizational cultures, i.e. values and assumptions that are

widely displayed by organizational members that create a system of shared meaning held by its

members and spark the feeling of this is "what it's like to work here" (Hawk, 1995, p. 32;

Robbins, 1996; Scott, 1997; Wallace & Weese, 1995).

The purpose of this study was to situate intersectionality in the context of organizational

culture. More specifically, this study sought to utilize the preliminary Sport Intersectional Model

of Power (SIMP) (Simpkins & Armstrong, 2017) to explore Black women's sport leadership.

The elements of the SIMP that served as the focus of this study were: (a) policies and practices,

(b) diversity resistance, and (c) legitimate power. The SIMP was explored through the

theoretical lens of Black feminist thought.

The methods consisted of document analyses (review of resumes), organizational audits

(review images, narratives, or activities that explicitly conveyed a position regarding diversity

and/or inclusion), and structured interviews. Using a purposive snowball sampling procedure 10

women from across Divisions I, II, and III who held mid to high-level ranking positions within their athletic departments were selected to participate in this study. The sample consisted of five women from Division I (FBS. FCS, non-football) level, one woman from Division II level, and 4 women from Division III level.

The results of the document analyses revealed that the majority of women did not major in sport management or a related discipline, several had obtained Master's degrees, and half of them were pursuing a terminal degree. The document analyses also revealed that the women had personal and professional networks. Their professional networks in sport were entities that focused on diversity and inclusion, notably regarding race and/or gender. The organizational audits revealed that all 10 of the institutions and five of the athletic departments espoused positive sentiments about diversity and inclusion.

The interviews revealed that the women's experiences were not congruent with the positive sentiments about diversity and inclusion espoused by their institutions. The interviews also revealed that the women were not personally impacted by their departments' recruitment and hiring practices, yet they saw the need for improvements to be made in order to ensure diverse candidate pools and were often engaged in making those changes. The women were not impacted by a racially gendered workday, but found it necessary to maintain work-life balance. Additionally, the women experienced feeling unwelcomed and unwanted within various intercollegiate athletic departments. Lastly, the women's authority as leaders was often challenged because they did not 'fit' the perceived idea/image of a leader. The importance of networking, having role-models, and the need for identity negotiation also impacted the women's leadership opportunities and experiences. The preliminary SIMP was revised to capture the unique insights obtained from the interviews, and practical implications were noted.

Chapter I

Introduction: Black Women and Leadership

Arguably, leadership–"the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals" (Robbins, 2003, p. 314), is not a new concept to Black women. A leader is a "person who influences individuals and groups in an organization, helping them to establish goals, and guiding them toward achievement of those goals" (Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1999, p. 301). Across centuries, Black women have been at the forefront of various movements and organizations, yet their leadership has rarely been acknowledged or appreciated (Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Hooks, 2015; Parker, 2005; Parker & Ogilvie, 1996). Historically, during the era of slavery, Black women's leadership began as a form of "creative resistance and community building" (Parker, p. xiv). As the suffrage and abolitionist movements progressed, Black women were vanguards; yet, Sojourner Truth is typically one of the only Black women acknowledged as a pioneer of the Suffrage Movement (Guy-Sheftall). Therefore, many researchers have considered Black women as the invisible leaders of the Civil Rights movement of 1954-1968 (Parker; Hine & Thompson, 1998; Payne, 1995) as they were the skilled organizers early on and were instrumental in building and sustaining the movement. Yet, Black women's historical active and instrumental roles in social movements have not often translated to a marked presence of Black women in organizational leadership positions.

Although Black women have a rich history of grassroots leadership within their communities, those leadership opportunities and experiences were not without challenge. For instance, during slavery, in addition to subhuman treatment and denial of basic human rights,

Black women were often considered to be expendable facets of the labor force (Armstrong &
O'Bryant, 2007; Parker, 2005). This treatment often made it easier to devalue Black women and
in turn Black women were not expected to possess leadership qualities. Consequently, over the
years Black women have been: (a) denied access to certain organizational spaces, (b) given
limited access to leadership positions and/or restricted from leadership roles (Armstrong &
O'Bryant; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Parker), and/or (c) funneled into subordinate roles of 'leadership.'
This denying, restricting, and/or funneling of Black women occurred in large part because it was
more comfortable for the masses (i.e. White people) to see Black women in more subservient
roles resembling the roles Black women held during the plantation era (Armstrong & O'Bryant;
Dumas, 1980). While more blatant attempts to deny, restrict, and/or funnel Black women into
specific roles is less common, Black women are still not as commonly found in leadership
positions (Parker).

  With the 'ending' of slavery and the introduction of Jim Crow Laws, which was a formal
system of racial segregation mostly used in the American south from 1865 until 1968 (Jim Crow
laws, 2018), the funneling that many Black women experienced continued. The legacy of the
Jim Crow laws impacted various facets of Black women's everyday life by mandating the
segregation of schools, parks, neighborhoods, bathrooms, public transportation, and even seating
at sporting events (Jim Crow laws). Thus, the combination of Jim Crow laws in the American
south and other less overt acts of racism lead to the stifling of Black women's access and
opportunities to many organizations.

  The racial and gender composition of organizations and the constituents they served also
had a profound influence on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. For
example, in organizations that were mixed by gender and/or served the needs of men and

women, men were the prototypical leaders. Organizations that were mixed by raced and/or served Whites and People of Color, generally had a White leader. Organizations that were comprised of mixed races of women, were generally led by White women; whereas, organizations comprised of Black women and designed to serve the needs of Black women generally featured Black women leaders. Black women were, therefore, often required to contest legal, social, and cultural constraints that dictated when they could lead, whom they could lead, and the ways in which they could lead. These challenges often impeded their ascension to leadership positions within organizations that served varied constituents (Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007).

There were a few exceptions to the racial and gender dynamics that restricted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. One exception (as discussed previously) was Black women's involvement in the Civil Rights movement. Another exception was the church. (Armstrong & Bryant, 2007; Parker, 2005). For example, although at times churches were entrenched with patriarchy (Parker), Black women could typically be found amongst the church leadership ranks (Armstrong & O'Bryant). Since church offered a venue to form social and civic clubs, Black women often attained leadership roles in churches that centered and focused on social and civic issues that impacted the Black community (Armstrong & O'Bryant; Parker). Familial structures were an additional site where Black women were able to fulfill certain leadership roles, although these roles were often taken out of a necessity for survival (Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Hall, 1990; Parker, 2005). For example, in communities where single-family households were more prevalent, women took on leadership roles such as such as planning, budgeting, and organizing to maintain their family's survival (Armstrong & O'Bryant; Hall; Parker).

Although Black women's restricted leadership opportunities and experiences have largely been a consequence of their ascribed race and gender, some contemporary progress has been made as there have been prominent Black women in high profile organizational leadership positions. Contemporary Black women leaders of note include: Ursula Burns (Chairwoman and chief operating officer of VEON), Rosalind Brewer (Chief operating officer of Starbucks), and Lisa Jeffries (Executive vice president and chief human resources officer at Reynolds American) to name a few. Additionally, contemporary grassroots community organizing is also filled with Black women leaders. For example, the popular Black Lives Matter campaign, "whose mission is to build local power and to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes" ("Black Lives Matter: About," 2019) has spawned a national and international movement, and was initiated by three Black women: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tomenti.

Notwithstanding a modicum of improvement in Black women's status as leaders, patterns of segregation and discrimination across various social institutions have severely limited and/or impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences (Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007). Sporting institutions are no exception. Experiences of Black women in sport leadership have often mimicked the segregation and discrimination that Black women have often experienced in other social institutions (Armstrong & O'Bryant). Leadership opportunities across all levels of organized sport (professional, intercollegiate athletics, international, and community) are buttressed by institutionalized racism and sexism. Even with various forms of civil rights legislation pushing for integration, "a combination of ideological, historical, and structural factors linked to race and gender, are at the core of the historical lack of visibility and representation of Women of Color in sport leadership" (Armstrong & O'Bryant, p. 273).

This study aims to explore how the organizational cultures in intercollegiate athletic departments that are created by prevailing racial and gender ideologies, impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Organizational cultures are values and assumptions that are widely displayed by organizational members that create a system of shared meaning held by its members (Robbins, 1996; Scott, 1997; Wallace & Weese, 1995) and spark the feeling of this is "what it's like to work here" (Hawk, 1995, p. 32). The organizational culture is "primarily at the 'core' of an organization and not easily uncovered through external observation" (Schein, 1985, 1996; Scott, p. 404). Researchers make a distinction between organizational culture and organizational climate. Organizational climate "generally reflects measurable employee perception about the work environment" (Scott, p. 404). However, I believe that employees' perceptions about their work environment help to shape values, assumptions, and shared meaning of an organization and should be considered a part of the 'core' of an organization. Therefore, I argue that organizational climate is an integral part of organizational culture. In order to address this issue and better understand the underrepresentation of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership, a foundational understanding of the qualitatively unique experiences that Black women may have as leaders must be established. This chapter will discuss the landscape of intercollegiate athletics, the potential impact of NCAA Division I, II, and III sport organizational cultures on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, and ideological implications of NCAA intercollegiate athletic leadership. I will identify the problem and discuss the purpose and significance of this study.

Landscape of NCAA Intercollegiate Athletics

The entity that governs intercollegiate athletics in the United States is the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA). The NCAA was founded in 1910 in response to safety

issues in intercollegiate football (Woods, 2011). NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments are divided into three divisions: Division I, Division II, and Division III. Division I institutions typically have the largest student bodies, manage the largest athletic budgets, and offer the highest number of scholarships (NCAA.org). There are 351 Division I colleges and universities and 179,200 student-athletes (NCAA.org). Division I is divided into three categories based on football sponsorship: (a) Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) is comprised of schools that participate in non-NCAA administered football championship games, (b) Football Championship Subdivision (FCS) is comprised of schools that participate in NCAA-administered football championships, and (c) the non-football category consists of colleges and universities that do not sponsor football at all (NCAA.org). The FBS subdivision is the division typically referenced when discussing 'college football.' As mentioned, the subdivision designations apply strictly to football, as all other sports in Division I are simply considered Division I (NCAA.org).

Division II and III institutions are very different from Division I. A clear distinction of Division II is that unlike Division I, these institutions do not often have comparable financial resources to devote towards intercollegiate athletics programs (NCAA.org). Division II consists of 308 colleges and universities, serving 121,900 student-athletes. They offer partial-scholarships to their student-athletes, with a mixture of athletic scholarships, academic aid, need-based grants, and/or employment earnings (NCAA). Division II is the only NCAA division to host National Championship Festivals, which are Olympic style events where several championships are held at one site during the same time (NCAA). With 190,900 student-athletes and 443 schools, Division III is the division with the largest number of participants and colleges and universities (NCAA). They do not offer their student-athletes athletic scholarships.

Division III institutions aim to minimize the conflict between athletics and academics with shorter practice times, playing seasons, and regional competitions (NCAA.org).

These three NCAA divisions were formed in 1973 to develop, create, and approve legislation specific to their respective division (NCAA.org). Each division has unique legislation, support, championships, and programming. Given the different variations in the goals, structures, and philosophies of each division, they reflect a different organizational culture that may exert differential influences on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Sport Organizational Cultures

Organizational culture may be thought of as the collective processes that involve negotiations of how to interpret actions and ideas by assigning meaning to them (Schroeder, 2010). More simply put, organizational culture is the pattern of basic assumptions and shared meanings held by its members that guide organizational behavior and distinguish that organization from other organizations (Robbins, 2003; Schroeder). Collective processes, actions, ideas, and meanings are negotiated within the organization with a consensus leading to the formation of ideologies (Schroeder; Trice & Beyer, 1993). Once specific values, norms, and ideologies become institutionalized within an organization, they may then develop into habits that are difficult to change.

Institutionalized ideologies create organizational cultures that: (a) influence organizational aspirations and expectations, (b) teach employees how to act while participating within the organization, and (c) often model how to appropriately fulfill organizational roles (Martin, 2002; Martin & Siehl, 1983; Schroeder, 2010; Trice & Beyer, 1993). Accepted cultural norms and values also influence the culture of an organization via their influence on the

organization's departments. Such impact may be on: (a) the philosophy of the organization's departments, (b) the hierarchical structure of the organization's departments' leadership, (c) what type of person is appropriate for what roles in the departments, and (d) who (what personal characteristic) is allowed to participate in the departments' decision-making processes. These are just some of the ways in which accepted norms may impact organizational culture and the departments within.

Norms and values of NCAA Divisions I, II, and III also impact their organizations' culture. For example, as previously mentioned, NCAA Division I intercollegiate athletic departments tend to have the largest student bodies, manage the largest budgets, and offer the most generous numbers of athletic scholarships. These institutions are typically the main producers and participants in televised intercollegiate athletic competition (NCAA.org). Competition and winning are therefore often significant aspects of the cultures of Division I intercollegiate athletic departments (NCAA.org; Walker & Misawa, 2018). The culture of competition and winning that pervades Division I intercollegiate athletics may lend itself to relying on leaders who display traits of competition and winning. Such traits are often considered 'masculine' leadership traits; therefore, they often create an organizational culture that adversely impact women's access to leadership roles in Division I intercollegiate athletics, including those of Black women.

As previously mentioned, NCAA Division II intercollegiate athletic departments are generally smaller than Division I. Rather than offering full athletic scholarships (to improve competition to enhance the likelihood of winning), these institutions feature a partial-scholarship model for their student athletes, as they either have limited financial resources to devote to intercollegiate athletics or they simply choose not to (NCAA.org). These characteristics of

smaller departments with a diminished focus on winning may impact Division II's intercollegiate athletic departments' organizational culture, and also impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. For instance, smaller intercollegiate athletic departments have a smaller number of leadership positions available, thereby limiting the total number of opportunities available for leadership for everyone – including Black women. However, having an organizational culture based on a broader philosophy and wider values beyond a primary focus on competition and winning may be advantageous to Black women's leadership pursuits in that it may be more inclusive and may also: (a) allow for a broader selection of individuals to serve as leaders, and (b) offer a broader inventory of ways in which individuals may participate in athletic leadership.

Lastly, NCAA Division III intercollegiate athletic departments' primary value and focus is on the education of their student-athletes. As such, their organizational culture is one that is designed to minimize the conflicts that may arise between academics and athletics. They feature organizational structures that are more integrated and often less specialized into certain areas of responsibilities. Their organizational practices reflect a diminished focus on the commerce of the sport enterprise (NCAA.org).   Another distinguishing feature of Division III intercollegiate athletics is that they are more likely to not have football programs. Because football is a sport that is primarily limited to males (playing, coaching, and leadership), it often represents a hegemonic masculine culture that is not inviting too many women. Therefore, women are not often found in top leadership roles at universities where football is the prominent sport. However, while the lack of a football program among an intercollegiate athletic department's offering may potentially grant women more access to the organization's leadership roles, White

women are more likely to be the beneficiaries of such opportunities than are Black women (Coakley, 2009).

As discussed previously, the emphasis that each athletic Division places on intercollegiate athletics via its philosophy, values, and accepted norms create unique and distinct organizational cultures. The cultures of NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments may also be shaped by racial and gender ideologies (Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007) that are embedded in the organizations' ways of being and ways of doing. In NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments, certain ideologies rooted in perceptions of race and gender may become associated with leadership in a manner that creates accepted norms that are institutionalized within intercollegiate athletic departments that adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Therefore, it is important to examine the impact of different divisions of intercollegiate athletic departments' organizational cultures regarding the role they may play in determining how they are structured to function, who has access to their resources and opportunities, and the nature and quality of the leadership experiences they offer.

Intercollegiate Athletics: A 'Home' Cultured in Two Houses

The organizational culture of NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments are unique because they are housed within the preexisting institutional cultures of higher education and the enterprise of sport (see Figure 1). While NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments may develop their specific organizational cultures, they often adopt some elements of the organizational cultures of their home institutions as well, be it their college/university or the institution of sport in general. Since intercollegiate athletic departments are situated in the converging institutional cultures of higher education and the sport enterprise, subcultures are created in intercollegiate athletic departments that may aid in constraining, restricting, or

hindering leadership opportunities and experiences. Therefore, the lack of Black women in intercollegiate athletics leadership may undoubtedly be impacted by and a reflection of the dominant cultural norms, values, and ideals of both the academy and the sport enterprise.
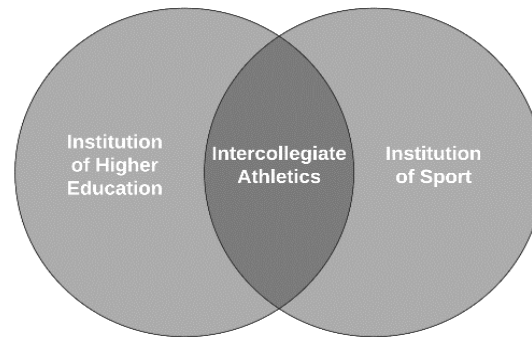
Figure 1. Institutional Cultures Impacting Intercollegiate Athletics.

Institution of Higher Education

In American culture, intercollegiate athletics are deeply immersed, connected to, and situated within the system of higher education. The organizational culture of a college or university may have a significant impact on the cultural environment of its intercollegiate athletic department, creating intercollegiate athletic subcultures. Subcultures are cultural subsets that develop within a preexisting culture (Schroeder, 2010) that share some of the overarching norms and values of the existing culture while developing its own. Within higher education, organizational subcultures may be created by departments, offices, students, faculty, and staff (Schroeder). These organizational subcultures may either fortify, amend, or alter the 'home' culture (Schroeder).

While the organizational culture of higher education influences the organizational culture of intercollegiate athletics (based on their rules, regulations, norms, and expectations), intercollegiate athletic departments also influence the organizational culture of their universities

– notably based on the exposure and visibility that intercollegiate athletic department garners that is associated with (and often assumed to be a reflection of) the university as a whole (Coakley, 2017; Pederson & Thiabault, 2019). Through intercollegiate athletics, colleges and universities are able to offer their student-athletes and students leisure, healthy competition, and recreational consumption experiences. Via athletic scholarships and other forms of support and encouragement, intercollegiate athletics also allow access to and affordability for a college/university education that some students would otherwise not receive. Therefore, athletics is a viable component of the culture of higher education, and intercollegiate athletics and academics are posited to comprise an interconnected system of shared organizational cultural values.

Understanding the culture of higher education offers some insight for understanding Black women's experience in the subculture of intercollegiate athletics. The significantly low numbers of Black women often found in intercollegiate athletic departments may also be a reflection of the low numbers of Black women present in the larger institutional culture of higher education faculty and leadership. According to Walkington (2017), in 2013 Black women comprised only 6% of full time professors, 3% of associate professors, and 4% of assistant professors in degree granting postsecondary institutions. These numbers from the academy offer a unique backdrop from which to contextualize the likely impact of the larger institutional culture of higher education on Black women's experiences in the academy's athletic subculture.

Contrary to some public discourses that Black women are the recipients of higher levels of education than their Black male counterparts (*Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 1997) Black male faculty are represented at a higher rate and with higher rankings than Black women (Griffin, Bennett, & Harris, 2013). It is true that among the lower ranked lecturer/instructor

positions, Black women often outnumber Black men; however, when examining tenured professors, Black men are seen at higher rates (Griffin et al.).   These findings suggest that not only may race play a factor in accessing high level opportunities in higher education, but so may gender. These findings also indicate that the intersections of race and gender may create unique experiences for Black women in the culture and subcultures of higher education (Griffin et al.).

It may be argued that higher education relies on components of an internal labor market where many jobs are filled using current employees, as opposed to new employees entering the respective field (Exum, Menges, Watkins, & Berglund, 1984; Griffin et al. 2013). Internalized labor markets are thought to bring more job security opportunities yet they may be decided using processes that are not completely objective (Griffin at al.). The idea of an academic internal market may create specific structural challenges for Black women, which includes: (a) the filling of positions using individuals already in an institution, and (b) reliance on traditional ideals of merit which are often not culturally inclusive (Exum et al.). Black women have historically had limited access to the spaces in higher education; therefore, relying on individuals already within the institution relies on an already minimal and often exclusive applicant pool, and may heavily promote an 'old-boys network' process for hiring and recruitment (Exum et al.). Additionally, merit is often determined by focusing heavily on article publications in high impact journals, funding from prominent sources, and number of books published. Black women, who may publish in culturally targeted or non-mainstream outlets that are not typically recognized by their White and/or male peers may be at a disadvantage when these elements serve as the barometer for success.

The academic market may borrow components from both internal and external labor markets where they rely on outside labor to fill some entry-level positions, while utilizing

currently employed individuals to promote to higher positions (Exum et al., 1984). Similarly, intercollegiate athletic departments may function as quasi-internal labor markets, in that they also often rely heavily on internal networks to help fill positions. Utilizing a quasi-internal market for hiring, recruitment, and training may mean more efficient recruiting and training processes; however, these processes may be at the price of excluding Black women (Exum et al.). Thus, the culture of higher education and the culture of intercollegiate athletic departments may present racialized and gendered barriers that impact Black women's access and opportunities to leadership positions throughout intercollegiate athletics.

Institution of Sport Enterprise

Intercollegiate athletics is also situated within the broader institution of sport. American sponsored sport participation was initially defined as an opportunity for leisure activities strictly reserved for White men (King, Leonard, & Kusz, 2007). In America, most sports were organized around various forms of exclusion based on race, gender, age, and disability. Men from relatively wealthy White families had the most consistent access to sport participation (Coakley, 2009; King et al.). An emphasis on formal sport organizing developed in the 1800s. The formation of clubs began to aid in the sponsorship and control of sport participation. Clubs were expensive and exclusive, typically consisting of only wealthy individuals. Only students at exclusive colleges and universities were able to participate in the early offerings of sports (Coakley). From 1880 to 1920 there was an expansion of the middle class. This expansion increased resources for sport participation, particularly for young White men and boys (Coakley). Increased participation also led to the establishment of more formal organization of sports in colleges and universities.

Intercollegiate athletics has since become a lucrative enterprise, and depending on the venue, has generated millions of dollars. Off sponsorships alone, the NCAA reported $275 million in revenue for collegiate athletic departments in 2004 and 2005 (Sander, 2009). Additionally, in 2014, CBS paid the NCAA $800 million to televise the men's basketball tournament (March Madness), compared to only $12 million dollars paid in 1984 (Sanderson & Siegfried, 2013). For the 2017 fiscal year, NCAA revenue earned surpassed $1 billion (Bauman & Davis, 2018). The most lucrative entity within the NCAA structure is its Division I Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS). In 2010, only seven of the 126 athletic programs in the Division I FBS category generated revenue (Knight Commission, 2010). However, in 2013, revenue increases were significant enough to allow 20 of the FBS schools to earn an operating surplus (Sanderson & Siegfried, 2013). The four-game college FBS championship and comprehensive playoff games have garnered $610 million per year from ESPN (Sanderson & Siegfried; Walker & Misawa, 2018). The amount of money generated from the NCAA sponsorships (FBS or otherwise) led to intercollegiate athletics being heavily commercialized (Smith, 2012; Walker & Misawa). The landscape of the sport enterprise continues to accommodate this heavily commercialized influence. Its subculture of intercollegiate athletics (particularly in NCAA Division I programs, and to a lesser extent Division II programs) often reflects, supports, values, and accepts the norms of this commerce and who should be its leaders. More often than not, Black women are not perceived to be viable leaders of such an attractive commercial entity.

Leadership of Intercollegiate Athletics: Ideological Implications

As alluded to previously, in intercollegiate athletics, certain characteristics are seemingly expected, required, and/or accepted in leadership roles. The prominence of White men in leadership across U.S. sport institutions (Parker; Shaw & Frisby, 2006; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003)

suggests that gender and race may be characteristics that are relegating those who are not White and male to the fringes of sport organizational cultures. Therefore, gendered and racialized ideologies embedded in sport and associated with leadership may create a culture in sport that may adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Gender Ideology and Leadership

Gender ideology refers to ideas and beliefs about masculinity and femininity and gendered relationships in the organization of social worlds. Gender ideology is often used as a guide to determine what it means to be a man or a woman (Coakley, 2009). A male-centered framework is particularly relevant to the leadership model reflected in intercollegiate athletic departments. Sport continues to be thought of as a male domain, where 'masculine' men are celebrated as leaders and rewarded for their ability to display traits related to assertiveness, physical strength, and charisma–typically traits associated with men (Bartol, Martin, & Kromkowski, 2003; Hoyt, 2005; Shaw & Frisby; Parker;). Therefore, the ideology that frames sport organizational leadership is one that is characterized as predominately androcentric (male centered). Individuals who do not possess these 'desired' traits associated with maleness may be disregarded as leaders.

Certain framings of femininity have traditionally portrayed women as docile, communal, and supportive, which may leave women overlooked (Collins, 1990, 2000). This ideology may be contributed to the gross underrepresentation of women in senior leadership positions (Davis & Maldonando, 2015). Framing women as docile, communal, and supportive may help to reinforce the idea that women are inferior in sport be is as participants or leaders (Coakley). Such a perception of women has permeated the preference for men in sport leadership. This framing of femininity may also be constricting as it has been built around characteristics often associated

with White women, and may leave Black women who may not have these characteristics –

and/or who are also defined by elements of their race (i.e. racial ideology) out of the

conversation.

Racial Ideology and Leadership

Racial ideology refers to the ideas and beliefs people use to give meaning to skin color

and evaluate people. Racial ideologies are used to place individuals in racial categories that are

tied to assumptions about character traits and abilities (Coakley, 2009). Racial ideology often

privileges Whiteness and devalues others. Race has long served as a basis for inequity, disparate

treatment, and associated perceptions of inferiority. For example, a prevalent belief was that

Blacks generally lacked the 'necessities' (i.e. skills, readiness, abilities, etc.) to be leaders

(Hoose, 1989). Assumptions such as these, rooted in racial ideology may serve as the foundation

for social practices and policies (Coakley) that lead to the marginalization of Blacks and other

individuals of Color. Based on the prevalence of this racial ideology, Whiteness became the

norm and the standard by which leadership was determined, defined, and celebrated.

The privileges afforded to Whiteness through racial ideologies often signifies that

Whiteness is equated to normalcy (Bonnett, 1998; Frankenberg, 1993; Long & Hylton, 2002;

Wong, 1994). This normalcy is complex, often contradictory, and privileged (King, 2005; Long

& Hylton). Better explained:

> Whiteness is simultaneously a practice, a social space, a subjectivity, a spectacle, an
>
> erasure, an epistemology, a strategy, an historical formation, a technology, and a tactic.
>
> Of course it is not monolithic, but in all of it manifestations, it is unified through
>
> privilege and the power to name, to represent, and to create opportunity and deny access.
>
> (King, p. 399; King & Springwood, 2001, p. 160).

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Additionally, this normalcy allows "Whiteness to be viewed as *the* 'inside', *the* 'included', *the* 'powerful', *the* 'we', *the* 'us'" (Long & Hylton, pg. 89). Certain unspoken aspects of Whiteness helped to create White privilege that reinforced a difference that celebrated Whiteness, and helped to create the standard of leadership.

Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership: Androcentricity and Whiteness Illustrated

Due to the racialized and gendered ideologies and normalcy of Whiteness, White men are typically cast as the prototypical leaders for intercollegiate athletics. Sport organizational cultures have historically and seem to continuously celebrate a Whiteness and androcentric framing of leadership. As Lapchick (2017) reported, White men and White women held an overwhelming percentage of decision-making collegiate athletic leadership positions in NCAA Divisions I, II, and III during the 2016-2017 season at 86.1%, 87.4%, and 93.4%, respectively. Starting with the NCAA conference level, nine of the ten FBS conference commissioners were White men, with one being a White woman (Lapchick). Examining all Division I conferences, excluding Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) conferences, 28 of the 30 commissioners were White; eight of them were White women, and one was a Black woman (Lapchick).

At the college/university institutional level, intercollegiate athletic department leadership consists of various individuals on the leadership team. The highest ranking being the athletic director. The athletic director is charged with important budgetary, logistical, and personnel decisions. Another important leadership position is that of the associate and/or the assistant athletic director who manages business relationships, coordinates athletic facilities, assists with budget decisions, and performs various management functions. Additionally, there is the sports information director (SID), who is integral in directing media attention to certain student-

athletes, coaches, and teams (Lapchick, 2017). Another part of the leadership team is the senior woman administrator (SWA), who is the highest-ranking woman in an athletic department and is supposed to participate in the management and administrative decisions of the athletic department (Tiell & Dixon, 2008). Additionally, with NCAA intercollegiate athletics being a vital part of higher education, the NCAA requires that college and university presidents designate a faculty member to serve as the faculty athletics representative (FAR) to oversee the academic integrity of the athletic department and serve as an advocate for student-athletes' well-being (Miranda & Paskus, 2013).

These leadership roles are not an exhaustive list of positions found within an athletic department. There are also more specialized positions such as the marketing director, director of development, compliance director, etc. However, the six roles (Athletic Director, Associate/Assistant Athletic Director, Senior Woman Administrator, Sport Information Director, and Faculty Athletics Representative) represent important aspects of the leadership in NCAA intercollegiate athletic departments and are the ones that will serve as the focus of my study. To further examine the racial and gender compositions of individuals occupying these positions, I reviewed data from the Race and Gender Report Card (Lapchick, 2017). This report offered a closer examination of who holds leadership positions across Divisions I, II, and III intercollegiate athletics (see Table 1 on the following page). The numbers illustrate the way Whiteness and androcentricity permeate sport leadership.

The focus of this project in on Black women. However, discussion about Black women's underrepresentation can create space to further examine the near absence of other Women of Color in intercollegiate athletic administration, as Black women are not the only Women of Color underrepresented (Lapchick, 21017). Latinx, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native/Indigenous,

mixed-race and other Women or Color are severely underrepresented. As stakeholders and

student populations of intercollegiate athletic departments become more diversified, it is

imperative that the leadership also reflect that. With male revenue producing sports (i.e. football

and basketball) and women's sports such as basketball and track having substantial Black

student-athlete populations, athletic department leadership should be more culturally inclusive

and representative of all women (Lapchick).

Table 1

Intercollegiate Athletic Leadership (Lapchick, 2017)

Position	Total	Division I	Division II	Division III
Athletic Director	Division I: 330 Division II: 294 Division III: 456	Black women: 4 White women: 29 Black men: 27 White men: 255	Black women: 2 White women: 42 Black men: 16 White men: 215	Black women: 5 White women: 132 Black men: 15 White men: 294
Associate Athletic Director	Division I: 1943 Division II: 369 Division II: 378	Black women: 62 White women: 476 Black men: 123 White men: 1,198	Black women: 11 White women: 132 Black men:10 White men: 193	Black women: 8 White women: 179 Black men:11 White men: 187
Assistant Athletic Director	Division I: 1527 Division II: 497 Division III: 583	Black women: 46 White women: 388 Black men: 89 White men: 912	Black women: 11 White women: 151 Black men: 14 White men: 282	Black women: 13 White women: 208 Black men: 17 White men: 331
Senior Woman Administrator (Women only)	Division I: 320 Division II: 290 Division III: 434	Black women: 44 White women: 262	Black women: 23 White women: 246	Black women: 19 White women: 401
Sports Information Director (SID)	N/A	Black women: 1.1% White women:12.4% Black men: 0.9% White men: 81.8%	Black women: 1.0% White women: 8.9% Black men: 0.3% White men: 83.9%	Black women: 0.2% White women: 12.1% Black men: 1.3% White men: 84.3%
Faculty Athletics Representative	Division I: 332 Division II: 297 Division III: 500	Black women: 8 White women: 100 Black men: 18 White men: 190	Black women: 1 White women: 84 Black men: 8 White men:198	Black women: 3 White women: 172 Black men: 11 White men: 296

Sport Organizations as "Inequality Regimes"

As Table 1 illustrates, intercollegiate athletic departments often reflect a culture of Androcentricity and Whiteness—apparently empowering White men while marginalizing others, notably Black women. As such, intercollegiate athletics may be classified as what Acker (2006) described as an "inequality regime" (p. 6). Acker defines inequality regimes as interlinked processes that produce patterns of complex inequities that reinforce power structures. She contended that disparities in organizations are often related to the political, historical, and cultural inequities of the surrounding society. Specific to American culture, there are certain racialized, gendered, and classist beliefs in society that may be further upheld within American organizations. These systemic beliefs may lead to policies, practices, procedures, and organizational cultures that may further maintain racialized, gendered, and classist disparities seen throughout American society, fortifying power dynamics. Inequality regimes have the 'power' to perpetuate discrimination and disparities, whether consciously or subconsciously. These regimes stipulate behaviors and actions that oftentimes dictate the treatment of particular groups. Inequality regimes may be based on a number of elements. The two attributes that are germane to explore in the context of this study on Black women are race and gender.

Race as an Inequality Regime

Perceptions and beliefs about a person's race has the ability to deny, constrict, or filter the access they have to leadership roles (power) in society at large and within organizations. Acker (2006) defined race as those differences based on socially constructed views of physical characteristics, specifically skin color, and culture which are used to justify racialized and racist beliefs. In organizations, racialized beliefs often reinforce those disparities seen in American society. For example, persistent beliefs about race concerning Black people as less competent,

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lazy, and unprofessional have been lingering in society and may be displayed in organizational

cultures (Collins, 2000). Even though achievements have been actualized by People of Color,

they are still lagging behind White Americans based on associated racial ideology (Smith, 2002).

Historically, Black people were excluded from spaces and leadership positions that in turn were

held by rich White men who at times perpetuated racist beliefs (Acker). Organizationally, this

may be displayed in the lack of authority that Black people generally have in comparison to

White people (McGuire & Reskin, 1993; Smith; Smith, 1999).

     According to Smith (2002), with all measures of authority taken into account, People of

Color are less likely to have authority at work. This is particularly true for authoritarian

positions, i.e. those with hiring/firing privileges and authority over pay. Whites in general and

White men in particular, are more likely than People of Color to hold such positions (Smith;

Smith, 2001; Smith & Elliot, 2002). Research shows this racialized difference may be attributed

to several factors – such as racial discrimination, access discrimination, and treatment

discrimination (Bobo & Smith, 1994; Smith). This difference, rooted in racialized ideology, has

led to increased numbers of Black unemployment, and an often impassioned opposition by White

people to affirmative action policies and a reduction in affirmative action practices because of

Whites perceptions that it leads to reverse discrimination (Bobo & Smith; Kelley & Dobbin,

1998; Smith). This inaccessibility to leadership roles may be attributed to the rewarding of

Whites over Blacks (Smith).   As an act of inequality, race is one identity that may negatively

impact a person's access to leadership roles. Organizations' racial ideology may therefore

contribute to them being and operating as an inequality regime.

Gender as an Inequality Regime

Perceptions and beliefs about gender may also impact an individual's access to leadership. Acker (2006) defined gender as differences that have been socially constructed about men and women and the coinciding beliefs that reify gender inequality. These inequities may be visible in the hierarchical structures in organizations. Managers are typically men, while lower level positions are stereotypically filled by women (Acker). Such gendered beliefs lead to gendered practices within organizational cultures – hiring women for secretarial roles, relying on women to document and take notes during meetings, and putting women in charge of the cleanliness of the office - are often fueled by societal beliefs of s women's place. Ideas about behavioral characteristics that women should or should not possess may dictate organizational operations, and therefore may create and sustain constraining organizational cultures for women.

Gender-rooted beliefs may manifest themselves in three distinct frames or themes (Shaw & Frisby, 2006) in organizations (see Figure 2). Shaw and Frisby present these frames as a way to explain how gendered beliefs may be present within an organization. The first frame, referred to as "fixing the woman" (Shaw & Frisby, p. 487), views women as lacking necessary qualities to lead, so it is perceived that women need to be 'fixed' before they can be leaders. In order for this to happen, women need to be taught to acquire more 'masculine' characteristics (Meyerson & Kolb, 2000; Shaw & Frisby). This frame stereotypes women as being caring versus assertive, good at organizing, and family-oriented versus career-oriented (Shaw & Frisby ; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003;). Shaw and Frisby contend that this perspective encourages organizations to focus on fixing women, viewing them as weak and having deficits (Ely & Meyerson, 2000).

The second frame does not view women as needing fixing, but focuses on celebrating the perceived different traits that women possess. Shaw and Frisby (2006) refer to this frame as

"valuing the feminine" (p. 488). While this frame seems to have positive ideals, it does not critically examine the binaries created between men and women or acknowledge the generalizations about gender used to describe feminine and masculine traits (Shaw & Frisby). This thinking simply reinforces the idea that women are only appropriate for certain roles within an organization; reifying the perceived inherent differences between men and women (Ely & Meyerson, 2000; Shaw & Frisby). This frame promotes an ideal that all men and women should and do act in certain prescribed ways, which may reinforce gender stereotypes.

The third frame focuses on structural constraints that exist and the backlash that may be generated due to certain policies often used to create equal opportunities (Bell & Nkomo, 2003; Shaw & Frisby, 2006, p., 488). These structural constraints may include, but are not limited to, being isolated from informal networks or being unable to participate in informal after work activities due to familial obligations (Kerfoot & Whitehead, 1998; Shaw & Frisby). While equity is the intended goal of these policies, they may not be favored by men and women alike because their implementation may be perceived as 'special treatment' (Shaw & Frisby). This perception of 'special treatment' may lead to backlash against the groups that they were originally intending to help (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Shaw & Frisby). For example, women often face backlash because many athletic departments discontinue/drop men's sports to achieve Title IX's mandate of gender equity, often requiring an increase in the offering women's sports (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014). Consequently, women's sports became the culprit for the decline in men's sports in the attempts by sport organizations to create equal opportunities. A critical issue with this ideology is that the policies directed at specific structural issues, do little to challenge the systems of power in place that create and maintain the structural constraints (Meyerson & Kolb, 2000; Shaw & Frisby, 2006).

	Fix the Woman
	Value the Feminine
	Create Equal Opportunities
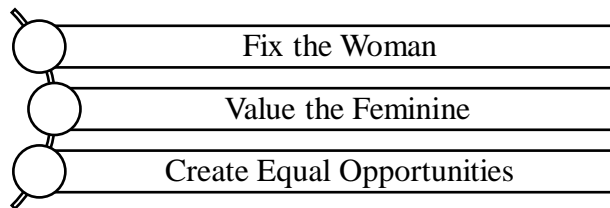
Figure 2. Gendered Frames Found in Organizations

These frames presented by Shaw and Frisby (2006) in some ways offer an explanation about how gendered beliefs may be present within an organization. Their presentation of gender stems from gendered beliefs about White women and often makes them applicable to all women. For instance, some discussions about women being docile, nurturing, and lacking assertiveness as prevalent ideologies and perceptions about gender do not consider that not all women are perceived this way. Such depictions of gender are often typically reserved for White women (Collins; Crenshaw, 1991; Parker, 2005). Many gendered beliefs about Black women are that they are loud, aggressive, and independent (Collins, 2000). If organizations are using the frames offered by Shaw and Frisby as a reference for gender, then it is arguable that gendered and racialized beliefs about Black women may not be adequately addressed.

When racialized and gendered beliefs become inequality regimes, they generate, sustain, and perpetuate certain preconceived notions that can impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Thus, there is a need to acknowledge Black women's positionality within organizational cultures, how Black women perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others as 'racially-gendered,' and the ways in which Black women's positionality may be influenced by access, power, and privilege within organizations that are reflective of the inequality regimes that Acker (2006) described and this study sought to explore.

Statement of the Problem

As discussed previously, the organizational culture of intercollegiate athletic departments often centers the needs, wants, and desires of White men, while often marginalizing those of others. There is limited research on Black women in sport leadership, as Black women are typically left out of research in multiple ways (Bruening, 2005; Zachery, 2017). Be it either by omission or an assumption that they have experiences similar to those of White women and/or Black men (Bruening; Zachery), there is a void in the literature on Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences. This race or gender dichotomy ignores the distinct social location and experiences created by the intersections of Black women's race and gender. Therefore, little is known about the impact of the gendered *and* racialized biases embedded within the organizational cultures of intercollegiate athletic departments and their impact on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

I argue that an acknowledgment of intersectional forces (notably race and gender) along with a critique of organizational cultures is necessary to address the lack of representation of Black women among the organizational leaders in intercollegiate athletics, contest the 'normalization' of androcentricity and Whiteness in intercollegiate athletic leadership, and therefore grant Black women a more prominent "institutional citizenship" (Strum, 2006, p. 4) in intercollegiate athletic departments. The concept of institutional citizenship "knits together the aspiration of individuals' full participation within their institutional environments and institutions' engagement with a larger array of democratic and social values" (Strum, p. 4). All institutional citizens should be allowed to realize their full potential and actively participate within their organization (Strum). The simultaneous impact of Blackness and womanhood are integral to the unique set of experiences that Black women may have within intercollegiate

athletic departments. Without exploring these nuances, Black women may continue to be excluded from senior leadership roles in intercollegiate athletic departments and be denied their institutional citizenship.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is three-fold. It will examine the micro, meso, and macro-elements of organizational cultures of NCAA Division I, II, and III intercollegiate athletic departments and the influence they have on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. It will explore how the positionality of Black women (at the intersections of race and gender) influences their leadership aspirations, access, opportunities, and experiences. Lastly, it will seek to unearth necessary insight from Black women to create sport organizational spaces where Black women may thrive as leaders.

Research Questions

There are three specific research questions this study seeks to address that are in alignment with the problem statement and purpose of this study as previously addressed. The research questions are as follows: (a) How do sport organizational cultures impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences? (b) How does Black women's positionality, at the intersections of race and gender, impact their sport leadership opportunities and experiences, and (c) To what extent does the preliminary Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) (Simpkins & Armstrong, 2017) capture the impact of sport organizational cultures on Black women's leadership challenges, opportunities, and experiences in intercollegiate athletics?

Significance of the Study

Given the underrepresentation of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership, additional measures must be taken to create policies and programs that will increase their

presence as leaders. Research suggests that Black women have qualitatively different leadership experiences than do White women (Abney & Richey, 1991; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Bruening, 2005; Collins, 1990, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; McDowell & Cunningham, 2009; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; McDowell, Hart, & Gill, 2015; Settles, 2006). Understanding the distinct experiences of Black women is a necessary foundational step in creating spaces where Black women may thrive. It is imperative to explore if and how organizational cultures contribute to the limited and/or abnormal experiences of Black women within intercollegiate athletics.

This study aims to fill important gaps in research on sport leadership by obtaining information and insight directly from Black women to help inform and/or create policies and practices that will recognize and address Black women's positionality and improve Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences in sport. Unlike previous research on Black women in sport which has generally focused on individual/micro-level factors, the significance of this study is that it will situate individual and group level factors (grouping based on race and gender) within the context of the broader organizational culture that may impact Black women's access, opportunities, and experiences as sport leaders.

Delimitations

This study has the following delimitations:

a. This study is delimited to intercollegiate athletics in NCAA Divisions I, II, and III in the United States.

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b. This study is delimited to the experiences of Black women in intercollegiate athletic administration, and does not address all of the myriad of employment opportunities in intercollegiate athletics (such as coaching and others).

c. This study is delimited to colleges and universities in the United States.

Assumptions

The study had the following assumptions:

a. That the data gathered from the participants are true, accurate, and reflective of their leadership experiences

b. Elements of organizational culture can impact the opportunities and experiences of individuals employed therein.

c. Elements of organizational culture can be ascertained via the methods employed in this study.

Operational Definitions

a. Intercollegiate athletics: sports played at the collegiate level with eligibility maintained by sustaining enrollment in an approved and regulated college or university (NCAA.org).

b. Senior Woman Administrator: Designation given to the highest ranking woman in an athletic department that is not the athletic director (NCAA.org).

c. Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS): Formally known as Division I-A is the top level of collegiate athletics in the United States and is the most competitive division in the NCAA. There are currently 10 conferences and 130 schools that participate in the FBS (NCAA).

d. Androcentric: Male centered.

e. Legitimate Power: Authority conferred with a social position in an organization as opposed to the personality of a person (Pfeffer, 1992; Smith, 2002)

f. Faculty athletic representative (FAR): "Oversees academic integrity of an athletic program and serves as an advocate for student-athlete well-being" (Miranda & Paskus, 2013).

g. Race: Socially constructed, systematic, and enforced differences based on physical characteristics which laid the foundation for historical oppression of certain groups of people (Acker, 2006).

h. Gender: Socially constructed, systematic, and enforced differences between men and women (Acker, 2006).

i. Organizational Inequality: The systematic disparities experienced between those in power and control over resources, decisions, and opportunities (Acker, 2006).

j. Intersectionality: A way to understand, analyze, and interpret the world via human experience, interrogating organizations of power through the many dimensions (identities) that influence each other (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2016).

k. Positionality: Distinct location (standpoint) based on the intersections of an individual's race, gender, class, ability, sexuality, etc.

l. Institutional Citizenship: A belief that equality is grounded in democratic values of participation and voice by insisting on creating conditions that enables people of all races and genders to realize their full capabilities (Strum, 2006).

m. Leadership: "The ability to influence a group toward the achievement of goals" (Robbins, 2003, p. 314).

n. Leader: "Person who influences individuals and groups in an organization, helping them to establish goals, and guiding them toward achievement of those goals" (Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1999, p. 301).

o. Organizational Culture: Values and assumptions that are widely displayed by organizational members that create a system of shared meaning held by its members (Robbins, 1996; Scott, 1997; Wallace & Weese, 1995) and spark the feeling of this is "what it's like to work here" (Hawk, 1995, p. 32).

p. Gender Ideology: refers to ideas and beliefs about masculinity and femininity and gendered relationships in the organization of social worlds and is often used as a guide to determine what it means to be a man or a woman (Coakley, 2009).

q. Racial Ideology: refers to the ideas and beliefs people use to give meaning to skin color and evaluate people and is used to place individuals in racial categories that are tied to assumptions about character traits and abilities (Coakley, 2009).

r. Whiteness: "is simultaneously a practice, a social space, a subjectivity, a spectacle, an erasure, an epistemology, a strategy, an historical formation, a technology, and a tactic. Of course it is not monolithic, but in all of it manifestations, it is unified through privilege and the power to name, to represent, and to create opportunity and deny access" (King, p. 399; King & Springwood, 2001, p. 160).

Chapter II

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The conversations in sport leadership literature typically have a narrow focus. Literature that discusses race often focuses on Black men; and gender in sport leadership literature usually focus on White women. Therefore, Black women's experiences must be gleaned tangentially from research focused on race or gender in sport leadership. This has left a gap in sport leadership scholarship that failed to center Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. This is not to say that Black women are completely missing from the conversation, as some researchers have begun telling Black women's stories. In fact, several of the voices discussing Black women in sport leadership are Black women scholars. These researchers have begun to highlight the intersectional impact that race and gender have on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Groundwork laid by scholars such as Abney and Richey (1991), Armstrong (2007), McDowell (2008), and others have highlighted that Black women have qualitatively different experiences than White women and Black men. The scholars have also discussed practical and theoretical considerations for Black women in sport leadership. However, one significant gap remaining is a discussion on how sport organizational culture may impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Several of the micro-level suggestions offered by previous scholars may be bolstered by an understanding of how certain policies and practices, resistance to diverse environments, and normalized ideals about leadership created by sport organizational cultures impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

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As mentioned previously, Black women continue to demonstrate their abilities to lead (Armstrong, 2007; Collins, 2000; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982; Parker; 2005); yet, they are not often found in upper-level leadership roles. Utilizing Black feminist thought, conceptualized by Patricia Hill Collins in her groundbreaking book, *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (1990, 2000), allowed me to use the SIMP to critique power dynamics found in sport organizational cultures that may hinder Black women's leadership opportunities while centering their experiences. Therefore, this chapter will: (a) offer a review of the literature on Black women and sport leadership, (b) explain the conceptual foundations and the theoretical framework that will guide this study, and (c) discuss the conceptual elements of the preliminary SIMP, positing to capture the unique factors and elements in the organizational culture of the "inequality regime" (Acker, 2006) of sport impacting Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Black Women and Sport Leadership

Several researchers (Abney & Richie, 1991; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Bruening, 2005; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; McDowell & Cunningham, 2009; McDowell, Hart & Gill, 2015) have embarked on describing and documenting the experiences and obstacles that Black women encounter in sport organizations. Overall, these researchers set a foundational framework for understanding the elements with which Black women administrators must contend. For instance, Abney and Richey (1991) helped us to understand the different experiences that women overall grapple with, and how those barriers look differently for Black women. Collectively, women must deal with societal views, sex role stereotypes, negative attitudes about the competence of women, and the prevalence of a 'male managerial model'—the idea that men are more suitable for managerial roles (Abney & Richey).

Specific to Black women in sport leadership, Abney and Richey (1991) explained that Black women encounter a specific type of racial discrimination they conceptualized as, "womanism" (p. 19) - the idea that women are hindering the success of other women. Abney and Richey's conceptualization is different from the term womanism coined by Alice Walker in her text *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens* (1983) in which Walker referred to womanism as a Black feminist or feminist of color. Abney and Richey's discussion of barriers also includes factors such as class oppression, inadequate and biased counseling at collegiate levels, and a lack of Black women role models. They argued that additional barriers created by the lack of adequate counseling and the lack of role models means that fewer Black women prepare for careers in sport thus, creating a smaller applicant pool from their demographic.

As Abney and Richey (1991) further explained, the specific set of issues experienced by Black women require a unique set of responses to them. The suggestions Abney and Richey offered included the need for Black women working in collegiate athletic leadership to: (a) create support groups to exchange ideas and share experiences, (b) initiate formal and informal mentoring programs, (c) be confident and competent, and (d) develop and maintain a positive sense of self. These suggestions are important and necessary as they allow for Black women to define for themselves who they are (Collins, 1990). Being confident and competent are essential traits to have when striving to be a sport leader; but what happens when that confidence and competence are not enough? Abney and Richey's descriptive study was missing a discussion of external factors, such as preexisting organizational cultures within athletic departments that may push against the confidence and competence that Black women may exude.

Similarly, Armstrong and O'Bryant (2007) explored the systems of racism and sexism that Black women wrestle with and navigate through. They discussed how racism and sexism

are embedded in the structure of the sport leadership hierarchy and are manifested in daily policies and practices (Armstrong & O'Bryant). As addressed previously, race and gender may be two prevalent ideologies that create discursive fields—the specific logic used by individuals to provide organized and coherent understanding of their work—in the world of sport. Armstrong and O'Bryant expanded this idea by addressing how discussions about gendered stereotypes are related to White women, and conversely how discussions about race focus on Black men's experiences.

The suggestions offered by Armstrong and O'Bryant, align closely with suggestions brought forth by Abney and Richey (1991). As for practical recommendations, Armstrong and O'Bryant suggested that Black women: (a) be confident, competent, and determined, (b) develop and maintain positive sense of self, and (c) be willing to meet challenges in sport. However, what is beyond the scope of both studies (Armstrong and O'Bryant; Abney and Richey) is a critical examination of how organizational forces may impact the effectiveness of the individual skills and micro and meso-level strategies Black women are expected to employ relative to their sport leadership opportunities and experiences.

Unique to their study, Armstrong and O'Bryant offered strategies for researchers along with practical suggestions for change. Their strategies and recommendations for future research included the need for researchers to examine: (a) the nuances of race and gender and how they interact or act independently to influence Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, (b) the overall quality of Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, and (c) the reasons for Black women's underrepresentation at all levels of sport. These suggestions begin to address the absence of Black women in the sport leadership literature.

Addressing the theoretical absence of Black women, Bruening (2005) provided a comprehensive review of literature on race and gender in sport leadership research and constructed an argument for using Critical Race Theory (CRT) in scholarship to engage Whiteness as it intersects with womanhood. She explained that the overlooking of Black women in sport literature is likened to the "outsiders within" (Collins, 2000) concept in which Black women enjoy partial but never complete membership in either gender or racial groups. Black women share gender similarities with other women as well as race similarities with Black men, while maintaining a unique set of experiences relative to their race and gender (Collins). The uniqueness of Black women's experiences has resulted in them being systematically left out of sport leadership theory and related research, rendering their experiences to be defined by the experiences of others (White men and women and/or Black men) (Bruening; Collins; Smith, 1992). Bruening indicated that sport research has typically served to support three stereotyped based myths—the matriarchy myth, the athletic superiority myth, and the intellectual inferiority myth - that have created an incomplete and often contradictory picture of Black women in sport. Although Bruening offered an insightful critique about sport literature and its exclusion of Black women in sport leadership, lacking still in her analysis was information regarding the impact organizational culture may have on Black women's experiences and how sport organizations perpetuate stereotypical ideologies rooted in race and gender that negatively impact Black women.

McDowell and Cunningham (2009) explored the effects of identity negotiation – the process in which people establish, maintain, and/or change their identity based on their interactions for a concern of not being able to share all parts of themselves in certain spaces (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; McDowell & Cunningham)—that influence Black

women administrators. They also examined how the racial compositions of group settings influence the identity negotiation of Black women. The process of identity negotiation is subconscious and arises when personal and professional identities collide. Identity negotiation is not only about what people do or say, but also about where, when, and with whom they do it (McDowell & Cunningham).

McDowell and Cunningham's (2009) unique contribution to the conversation, sought to advance the understanding of identity negotiation by utilizing two psychological theories which were not previously applied to sport management research: self-verification and behavioral confirmation. Self-verification is the effort an individual makes to bring others to see them as they perceive their identity to be; whereas, behavioral confirmation refers to the process where people's social expectations lead them to behave in ways that cause others to confirm their expectations (McDowell & Cunningham). They found that using these theories allowed for an understanding of the "psychological processes that dictate differential identity negotiation outcomes" (p. 216). In terms of understanding how demographics of group settings influence identity negotiation, they determined that the degree to which Black women negotiate their identity varies depending on prevailing attitudes, values, and beliefs about diversity (McDowell & Cunningham). The conversation presented by McDowell and Cunningham is compelling and important for understanding how Black women negotiate their identities in the workplace; however, their discussion did not address how organizational factors may impact the identity negotiation that may occur for Black women.

Lastly, a study presented by McDowell and Carter-Francique (2017) illuminated the effects of Black women's identity and manifestations of identity negotiation within intercollegiate athletics. They sought to understand how issues of oppression, discrimination, and

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social inequities are experienced by Black women. The participants in their study were Black

women athletic directors in Division I, II, and III intercollegiate athletic departments at

Historically Black Colleges/Universities (HBCUs) and Predominately White Institutions (PWIs).

Their study unearthed five themes experienced by the women in the study (see Figure 3): (a)

occupational stereotyping and gender role conflict; (b) racial and gender stereotypes/stereotype

threat; (c) career constraints and obstacles; (d) criticism and scrutiny of qualifications and

judgements; and (e) identity conflict and negotiation.

Occupatioanl Stereotyping & Gender Role Conflict	• Judgements made about the women based on occupational stereotyping.
Racial & Gender Stereotypes/Stereotype Threat	• The presencse and effects of racial and gender stereotypes in the workplace.
Career Constraints & Obstacles	• Social identity related career obtainment constraints and obstacles.
Criticism & Scrutiny of Qualifications and Judgements	• Comments made about the women's qualifications and decisions were disproportionately criticized and scrutinized compared to previous athletic directors.
Identity Conflict & Negotiation	• How the women resolve conflicts between their identity and stereotype-based expectations and judegements.

Figure 3. Themes from Black Women Athletic Directors (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017)

Occupational stereotyping "involves widespread beliefs about the appropriateness of

particular jobs for men and women based on gender stereotypes" (McDowell & Carter-

Francique, 2017, p. 398). Several of the women in McDowell and Carter-Francique's study

expressed that people thought they were administrative assistants as opposed to the athletic

director. Racial and gender stereotypes of the 'angry Black female' (Collins, 2000) was also

evidenced by several of the women in McDowell and Carter-Francique's study. The women in their study also expressed career restraints and obstacles, such as sexism and 'the good ole boys' network', an idea that men stick together and help each other out (McDowell & Carter-Francique). Another significant finding was that the "women believed they were treated differently than their male counterparts and predecessors and they faced unwarranted criticisms of their abilities and decisions" (McDowell & Carter-Francique, p. 401). Criticisms included instances of them being accused of not knowing what they were talking about largely because of their gender.

Practically, McDowell and Carter-Francique (2017) hoped to increase cultural sensitivity to help others recognize the different experiences and challenges that Black women encounter due to their intersecting identities. Although McDowell and Carter-Francique embarked on essential research that highlighted the experiences of Black women athletic directors, they too were focused on how Black women were perceiving their experiences and not what organizational factors could be causing/contributing to their sport leadership experiences.

It is imperative that Black women feel empowered, and define for themselves who they are, and how they wish to be perceived as sport leaders. However, I argue that missing from the discussion, is the impact that sport organizational culture may have on their leadership opportunities and experiences. Intrapersonal interventions examined in previous research have not critiqued the sport organizational cultures that may maintain dominant narratives in intercollegiate athletic departments. There is a need to address systematic level and group level constraints that impact the self-definition and self-empowerment strategies proposed as interventions for Black women. I am not arguing that self-empowerment and self-definition are not necessary, quite the contrary. I believe that those are important ways in which Black women

may progress in intercollegiate athletic leadership. However, I am proposing that for those individual level factors to truly be impactful, research needs to address and acknowledge how organizations/organizational cultures may impact the effectiveness of these strategies and contribute to the limited opportunities and abnormal experiences of Black women in sport leadership. For Black women to have full organizational citizenship (Strum, 2006) with the ability to contribute and have a voice within sport, organizational factors must be addressed.

Inequality Regimes as a Conceptual Framework

To begin to understand how sport organizational cultures may impact Black women requires a critique of the concept that creates and sustains inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) as discussed previously in Chapter 1 of this document. Intercollegiate athletics may be classified as what Acker described as an inequality regime that consists of interlinked processes that produce patterns of complex inequities that reinforce power structures. These regimes may perpetuate certain racialized and gendered beliefs about women and People of Color.

Inequality regimes (as defined by Acker, 2006) may generate different experiences, based on a person's positionality—their distinct social location. This positionality is also related to Collins' (2000) term, standpoint—a person's "group location in hierarchal power relations which produces common challenges for individuals in those groups. Moreover, shared experiences can "foster similar angles of vision leading to group knowledge or standpoint deemed essential for informed political action" (Collins, p. 321). Therefore, one's positionality and standpoint in an organization may impact an individual's trajectory and experiences. In Figure 4, I have expanded on Acker's concept of inequality regimes and have shown how a person's positionality, based on intersections of race, gender, class, ability, sexuality, etc., may play a critical role in the type of access that an individual has to power and privilege (Collins,

2000; Harding, 2007). Based on one's positionality in an 'inequality regime' their access to certain opportunities may be either denied, constricted, or filtered. Following is a discussion of each of these concepts and their likely impact on Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences.
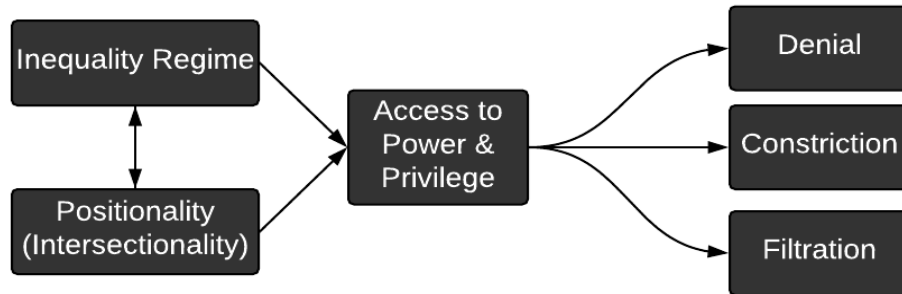
Figure 4. Access to Power and Privilege in "Inequality Regimes"

Black Women's Positionality at the Intersections of Race and Gender

My conceptualization of positionality is derived from Collins's (2000) standpoint theory, which argues that group locations nestled within hierarchal power relations produce collective knowledge and similar challenges for the individuals in those groups. Collins (1998) discussed group standpoints as "situated in unjust power relations, reflecting those power relations, and helping to shape them" (p. 201). In the context of sport, positionality speaks to the distinct location of an individual in the organizational power structure based on their social identities and the extent to which their identities are included or excluded (valued or diminished) in the organization's culture. Based on the nature and structure of the inequality regime in sport, Black women's positionality may either assist or hinder their ability to progress. For example, in sport, being White and male has offered such individuals a position that grants them access to leadership positions. In contrast, being Black and female may constrict the access an individual

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has. Therefore, certain intersections may create various life experiences. The congruence or intersectionality of race and gender may therefore create a specific positionality that adversely impact the experiences of Black women.

Race as an aspect of positionality often relegates Blacks to a position that is subordinate to that of Whites. Such a subordinate position may mean that Black people entering an inequality regime may have their opportunities and experiences constricted, filtered, or denied. Gender as an aspect positionality often relegates individuals that present as women in lower status positions. Typically, because women are thought to be more useful in subordinate roles, and because of this, their opportunities and experiences are often constricted, filtered, or denied. For Black women, this phenomenon typically happens simultaneously because of their race and gender.

Intersectionality as an element of positionality has been long discussed by Black women (Beale, 1969; Combahee River Collective, 1977; Cooper, 1892; Collins, 1990, 2000, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991) but it was Crenshaw's central article that is credited with coining the term, *intersectionality* (Collins; Crenshaw). Examining intersectionality (the many dimensions and identities that influence an individuals' opportunities and experiences) in the contexts of organizational power is a better way to understand, analyze, and interpret the world via human experience (Collins) including experiences in sport leadership. In other words, the simultaneous oppression a person feels based on multiple identities such as their race, gender, and class is best understood using the multiple (or intersecting) lenses in/by which they experience the world. This means that the oppression felt by groups is not because of an additive quality based on their societal positionality, but a concurrent effect of all those identities. The intersections of

identities often determine an individual's position in life, and plays a significant role in the access they have to constitutions of power and privilege.

Power and Privilege

Power typically privileges some groups and marginalizes others. It has historically been used to maintain societal positions, and organizations may reinforce those hierarchies. Historically, wealthy White men have been granted authority, while women, People of Color, and the poor were generally kept in the margins. Blumer (1958) offered insightful commentary about prejudicial actions corresponding to the maintenance of group positionality. He argued that prejudice is essentially a matter of tension between racial groups. His argument is relevant for comprehending how group positionality may impact the resistance toward inclusion of new groups into organizations. As Blumer insisted, marginalization may be created by the dynamics imposed by those who have power and those who do not. Blumer also contended that most of this also derives from collective processing that forms from individuals in the same group. Blumer argued that the idea of losing group positioning to those labeled as 'others' may cause dominant group members to react viscerally. Such reactions may come in the form of covert or overt forms of marginalization that result in limited access to power and privilege.

Power is conferred based on: (a) access to and control over resources, (b) connections to those with influence, and (c) formal authority due to hierarchical positionality (Pfeffer, 1992). While power may be a necessary component of organizational function, it may also be impacted by the imbalances present in society that create disparities in societal institutions and organizations. There is a history of marginalized communities being denied access to power in society, and there is often a continuation of power imbalances in organizations. Sexism, racism, class exploitation, etc. are constructs that gain their meaning from power relations and need to be

interrogated (Collins & Bilge, 2016). In this way, "power operates by disciplining people in ways that puts people's lives on paths that make some options seem viable and others out of reach" (Collins and Bilge, p. 9). Therefore, power also determines or influences the nature and extent of privilege that certain individuals experience. Power is the capacity that individual *A* must influence the behavior of individual *B*, so that *individual B* acts in accordance with *individual A*'s whishes (Robbins, 2003). Structurally, power may be derived from where a person is positioned within an organization. Organizational positionality may influence access to resources, opportunities, and decision-making authority (Pfeffer, 1992), and therefore access to power and privilege.

As Pfeffer explained, power is a necessary operation for organizations to function and operate smoothly. In theory, power and privilege are ways in which people manage and maintain functions within an organization and determines access. Collins and Bilge (2016) explained that the organization of power may also be examined through four interconnected domains: (a) interpersonal, (b) disciplinary, (c) cultural, and (d) structural. As Collins and Bilge explained, the *interpersonal* domain focuses on the lives of individuals, how they relate to each other, and who is advantaged and disadvantaged. This domain realizes that people make up societies and organizations, and their thoughts, beliefs, and norms dictate what is and is not accepted. Power needs to be examined in the context of multiple identities (race, class, gender, religion, sexuality, ability, etc.) that comprise an individual (Collins & Bilge). No matter what commonalities people share, they are influenced and shaped by their individual positionality. The *disciplinary* domain of power indicates that people often encounter different treatment and may receive varying applications and implementation of rules based on who they are (Collins & Bilge). The *cultural* domain of power focuses on how ideals matter in providing explanations

for social inequality and fairness (Collins & Bilge). The cultural domain of power provides the narrative that there are winners and losers, and that those winners and losers are determined justly and fairly. Lastly, *structural* domains of power examines the complexity of intersecting power relations and how race, gender, class, ability, etc. may shape institutions (Collins & Bilge).

Power and privilege may play significant roles in Black women's experiences and access to leadership opportunities in intercollegiate athletics. A lack of power and privilege may act as barriers to roles in intercollegiate athletic departments. Shaw and Frisby (2006) argued that it is important to examine power and what impact that has on the experience of women in sport. Organizationally, power may be viewed as a process of domination and resistance (Parker, 2005). The perception of whether the power is earned or not is often related to how individuals are perceived by others (Smith, 2002). Structurally, gender may stratify men and women, with men often being overrepresented in higher paid and higher status positions (Burton, 2015). Such gendered stratification may be demonstrated via practices (i.e. clerical work, kitchen duties, etc.) that show men as powerful while women are viewed as compliant.

Access

Broadly defined, access is the ability to enter a space and the ability to take advantage of certain opportunities, roles, experiences, resources, etc. The intersections of race and gender may mean that Black women's access to spaces of power and privilege is often either filtered, constricted, or denied. As filtration, Black women are typically funneled into roles that are thought more suitable for a woman, ones that focus on 'housekeeping' as opposed to ones with authority (Shaw & Frisby, 2006). For Black women, this is likely related to the comfort of seeing Black women as caretakers and 'mammies' as opposed to authority figures (Collins,

2000). As constriction, this may be Black women's encounters with the 'the concrete ceiling' or not being able advance up to a certain point. As denial, this may be the outright refusal to hire Black women or argue their 'fit' within a space. All three of these actions filtration, constriction, and denial may add additional layers of resistance that Black women may navigate when trying to gain access to leadership positions in intercollegiate athletic departments. Each of these instances are problematic because they do not generally promote leadership opportunities inclusive of Black women.

Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP)

Given Acker's (2006) construction of the 'inequality regime' that sport organizational cultures reflect, it becomes imperative to address certain structural elements that may impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences in these types of settings. Simpkins and Armstrong's (2017) preliminary Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP), presented in Figure 5 was created to critique the macro and meso-level constraints that may contribute to micro-level factors Black women encounter in intercollegiate athletic departments. The SIMP posits that Black women's limited leadership opportunities and experiences may be attributed to certain policies and practices, potential resistance to diversity, and assumptions about leadership. This model seeks to offer an innovative framework by situating Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences in the context of organizational culture. This approach is different from much of the literature that has explored women's limited access to leadership opportunities from a deficit model - arguing that women have an internal deficit and need to gain necessary leadership skills to be effective leaders because they do not inherently have them.

Given the work of previous scholars (Abney & Richey, 1991; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Collins, 1990, 2000; Guy-Sheftall, 1995; Parker, 2005) I believe

that many Black women may be qualified to be leaders but they often encounter structural barriers that limit their leadership opportunities and experiences. In addition to the SIMP being based on a critique of practical elements that create and sustain organizational cultures that are likely to impact Black women's leadership experiences in sport, the SIMP is informed by a theoretical lens that centers the experiences of Black women. A special feature of the SIMP is its focus on addressing and illuminating the ways in which race and gender intersections are often institutionalized to create sport organizational cultures that may adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

The structural elements of sport organizational cultures that often reflect an intersection of race and gender that the SIMP seeks to highlight include: (a) policies and practices (regarding recruitment and hiring, as well as the racially gendered structure of the workday), (b) an organization's resistance to diversity (via the associated concepts of social closure/occupational segregation, and homosocial reproduction), and (c) attributes of individuals afforded legitimate power (notably, androcentricity and Whiteness). The overarching purpose of the SIMP is to better understand ways of creating sport organizational cultures within intercollegiate athletic departments in which more Black women may thrive as leaders.
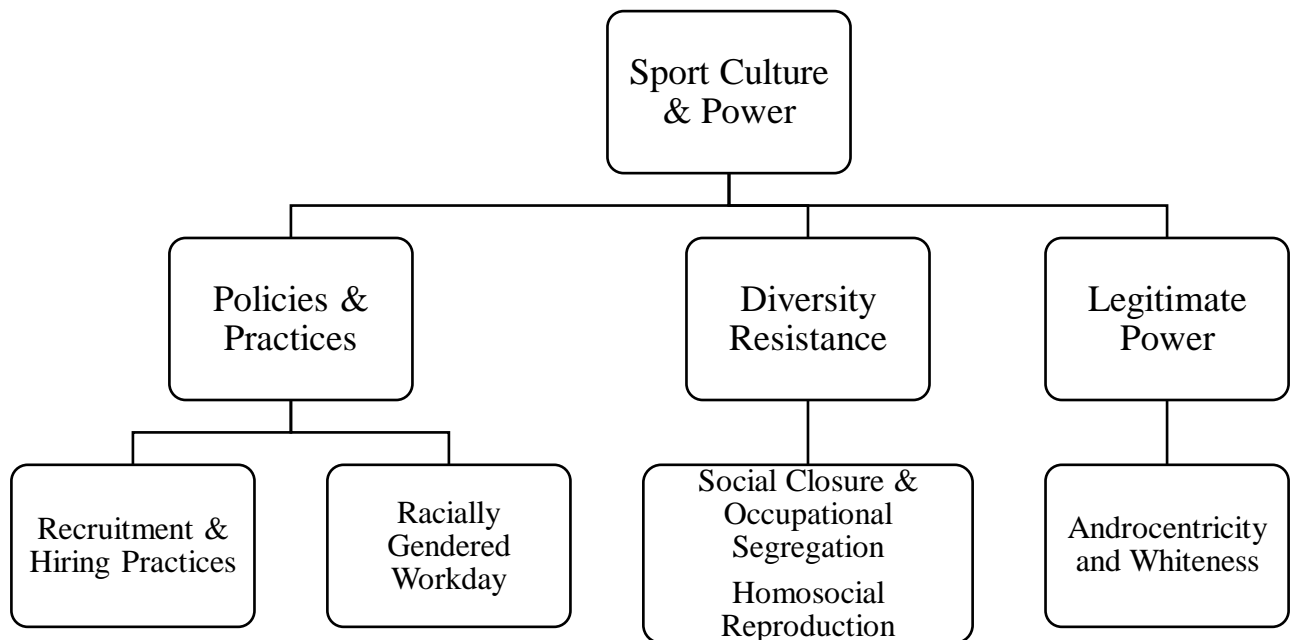
Figure 5. Sport Intersectional Model of Power

Policies and Practices

Recruitment and Hiring Practices

Recruitment and hiring practices are the processes used to find the appropriate worker most suitable for positions (Acker, 2006). This includes formal policies, search committees, informal practices, and hiring through social networks (Acker; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Relying on informal practices, may allow for "appropriate gendered and racialized bodies [to] influence perceptions and hiring" (Acker, p. 449) because Whites have been preferred overall, with females often preferred for some jobs and males for other jobs. While White men are often thought to be the most qualified for leadership positions, they are not deemed ideal for all roles, such that positions where an individual is expected to be compliant, take orders, and work for lower wages are often filled by women (Acker).

Oftentimes knowledge about new positions and promotions requires access to informal meetings and outings that happen independently of the structured workday. Formal and informal networks or 'who knows you' may at times have a much greater impact on individual's ability to advance than individual's performance during the work day. Acker (2006) explained that using social networks to hire is one way that racial and gender inequalities may be maintained in organizations. Oftentimes, formal and informal networks contain information about potential job opportunities, higher status peer networks, mentor and sponsorship, and peer-to-peer support (Cook & Glass, 2013; Ibarra, 1995; Kanter, 1977). Frequently, marginalized groups are granted limited exposure to these networks which severely impedes their ability to advance (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Blake-Beard; 2001; Cook & Glass; McGuire, 2002).

Both formal and informal social networks may be an integral component to hiring and recruitment practices in intercollegiate athletics (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). Many athletic departments are rife with anecdotes about people advancing their careers because someone they knew wanted them there. Intercollegiate athletic departments, similarly, to higher education, may operate as a quasi-internal labor market (Exum et al., 1984) promoting people from within the system, while hiring new people to fill entry-level positions. Often the limited resources in the social networks of Black women may limit their access to this labor market.

Establishing formal hiring practices is one way that organizations have tried to maintain equity in hiring. However, formalizing hiring practices cannot guarantee that dominant narratives may not have an influence. Selection criteria based on 'competence' still involves a level of judgement and the race and gender of an applicant may affect the resulting decision (Acker, 2006). Additionally, policies are often used to show preference to one race over another or one gender over another (Harrison, Dobbs, & Roote, 2008), even though there are few jobs, if

any at all, in which race and/or gender are legitimate occupational qualifications (Harrison et al.).

Using such hiring practices to exclude individuals may perpetuate a homogenous culture which

may hinder the ability for change to occur. Hiring practices may fortify stereotypes of other

groups by eliminating their voice in discussions or rendering their qualifications invisible. In

some instances, stereotypes are utilized to be more inclusive of other groups (Cunningham,

2009), in other instances employees who do not have certain physical features or do not 'fit' with

an organization's preferred physical appearance tend to remain hidden (Harrison et al.). Evoking

stereotypes to push for diversity may promote a culture that is exclusive as opposed to the

inclusive desired outcome.

Appropriateness of gendered and racialized bodies may influence recruitment and hiring

perceptions of who is/ is not suitable to work in intercollegiate athletics (Acker, 2006). People

may consciously or unconsciously use race and gender as measurements for productivity and use

them to make hiring and promotional decisions (Smith, 2002). This bears significant weight

when addressing whom may be considered ideal for a career in sports and how this ideal may

adversely impact those that do not fit the model. With White men being thought of as ideal for

leadership positions, Black women are typically considered and hired for more subordinate roles,

if they are considered at all (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005).

The concept of implicit leadership bias is often embedded in recruitment and hiring

practices. Implicit leadership bias occurs when the creation of cognitive schemas are used over

time to represent who a leader should be, what they should look like, and appropriate behaviors

they should exhibit (Avery, McKay, Volpone, & Malka, 2015.; Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984;

Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982; Phillips & Lord, 1981). For Black women, implicit leadership

biases may be based on the intersection of their race and gender. Such biases create and sustain

the explanation or belief that Black women are less fit for leadership roles than their white counterparts (Avery et al.; Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Gundemir, Homan, de Dreu, & van Vugt, 2014; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008; Tomkiewicz, Brenner, & Adeyemi-Bello, 1998). Therefore, it is imperative to examine the ways in which race and gender intersections are often institutionalized in inequality regimes to create sport organizational cultures that support hiring and recruitment practices that adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Racially Gendered Workday

Several organizational cultures may be inherently gendered, as they were historically created for and by (White) men (Kolb & Merrill-Sands, 1999; Meyerson & Kolb, 2000). Work days have been modeled around the unencumbered (White) man, and men and women are typically expected to perform according to this model (Acker, 2006; Parker, 2005). Considering this, organizational systems, structures, work-related practices, and norms reflect masculine experiences, values, and life situations, often shaping what is deemed as 'normal' within organizations (Merrill-Sands; Meyerson & Kolb). Informal work-day practices include scheduling meetings, the power to set agendas, job descriptions and evaluations, benefit provisions, and family-leave policies (Acker; Meyerson & Kolb). While these actions may seem gender neutral, they are not (Shaw & Frisby, 2006).

Since women are often expected to perform more familial tasks (i.e. maintaining the household, caring for children and other family members, etc.), meeting times matter, and are often exclusionary. If women are unable to attend meetings due to scheduling conflicts, it makes it difficult for them to influence the agenda or have a voice (Shaw & Frisby, 2006), leaving women further unable to influence decisions within intercollegiate athletic departments.

Furthermore, social interactions outside of work, like going out for drinks and/or socializing, may hinder who is privy to information and networking opportunities not available to everyone during regular work hours (Shaw & Frisby; Woodward, 1996). The fundamental expectations and responsibilities typically associated with women creates a 'gendering' of the work day and elements of organizational culture maintains gender inequalities (Acker). Working eight hours a day away from home, arriving on time, total attention to work, and long hours if requested, are expectations of an ideal worker and developed around White men (Acker), with little attention given to the likely impact of these practices on the experiences of women.

For Black women, race offers another intersecting dimension that influences their workday experience. Often, Black women are not only the main source of income for their households (Reed & Evans, 2008) but also the main caretakers of the home. Having to provide both the monetary and emotional needs for the household is a stark contrast to the preexisting model of the ideal worker who is not 'distracted' by family or other outside obligations. Black women are often making decisions about career versus family, at times deciding to care for family over accepting positions in sport organizations (Abney & Richey, 1991; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). While the gender of the workday in sport may adversely impact all women, the racial gendering of the workday has an exacerbated impact on Black women based on the 'traditional' ideas and expected behaviors of a productive leader.

This racially gendered conceptualization of the workday has become an engrained and imprinted preference that is often reflected in an organization's formal and informal functioning such that it is often taken for granted (Parker, 2005), particularly by men, and often accepted and expected by women. This aspect of macro culture reinforces the power and privilege that men and White women have in sport leadership positions. The racial gendering of the workday

normalizes the experiences for some and continues to make abnormal the experience of others, notably Black women. Thus, race and gender intersections are often institutionalized to reinforce the 'inequality regime' and sport organizational culture that structures the workday in a manner that may adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Diversity Resistance

Another element of sport organizational culture that often reflects the intersection of race and gender is an organization's encouragement, embrace, and support of diversity. Many organizations exhibit a resistance to diversity (be it in expressed or implied ways). Resistance in organizations is not a novel concept. Specifically, diversity resistance, is a form of organizational resistance that pushes against changes in overall diversity (Thomas & Plaut, 2008). More explicitly, *diversity resistance* includes "a range of practices and behaviors within and by organizations that interfere, intentionally or unintentionally, with the use of diversity as an opportunity for learning and effectiveness" (Thomas & Plaut, pg. 5). Resistance is often tied to organizational change and may be rooted in a fear of uncertainty, the relinquishment of the familiar, and/or frustrations about perceived lack of control (Blumer, 1958; Thomas & Plaut). Diversity resistance may also be related to a change in or perceived loss of power, status, and influence (French & Bell, 1999; Thomas & Plaut). Changes to the diversity within organizational cultures are unique, specifically because they may require organizations and workers to confront the taboo topics of race, gender, class, and sexuality (Thomas & Plaut). The discomfort in addressing diversity in organizations has often left this issue unaddressed (Thomas & Plaut).

The ensuing anxiety that individuals may feel towards diversifying their workforce is kept hidden for fear of being thought of as a bigot (Tatum, 1999; Thomas & Plaut, 2008). The

American cultural value of meritocracy or 'pulling yourself up by your bootstraps' makes it difficult to openly discuss issues of power and privilege (Thomas & Plaut) and their effect on who is worthy of access to certain spaces. Diversity resistance may occur at an interpersonal level but may also show up organizationally, in the shape of systematic exclusion, subordination, and/or the mistreatment of minority groups via policies and practices. It is typically covert and often unintentional. The organizational culture of an organization may influence how resistant it is to racial and gender diversity. When organizations are resistant to changes in diversifying, women and People of Color are largely affected. In intercollegiate athletic departments, race and gender diversity resistance may show up as the filtering of Black women into subordinate roles. For example, Black women may be filtered into advising or secretarial roles, in which they are not viewed as threatening or out of place. It is easier to accept Black women into intercollegiate athletic departments if they are performing roles that White men and White women may already be comfortable with them occupying. Therefore, the extent to which an organizational culture resists or embraces the intersection of race AND gender diversity will likely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Two broad areas of practices that are reflective of diversity resistance that this study will examine include: (a) social closure and occupational segregation and (b) homosocial reproduction.

Social Closure and Occupational Segregation

Stemming from the concept of diversity resistance is the idea of *social closure*. Social closure is the conscious exclusion of subordinate groups on the part of the dominate group (Blumer, 1958; Smith, 2002). This is may be rooted in the idea that dominant group members are invested in maintaining their positions of authority and hegemony by excluding anyone that differs from them along gender and racial lines (Blumer; Smith). On a macro-level, this may

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manifest via "political and social elites preserve[ing] power and privileges by limiting opportunities for mobility to themselves or similar others" (Smith, p. 521). This exclusion may take the form of segregating women and People of Color into jobs, work settings, and/or industries that do not confer authority. When they are in those positions, they are not often given the same level of respect (Smith).

Similar to the idea of social closure is occupational segregation. Occupational segregation refers to the tendency of managers to group women and People of Color in positions with limited opportunity for advancement or lower paying roles (Baron & Biebly, 1986; Collins, 1997; Cook & Glass, 2013; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993;). This may happen when women and People of Color are pushed into areas that offer limited skill development and promotion potential, which may be attributed to a belief that they are viewed as being better suited for lower-level leadership positions (Class & Cook). According to research on women and People of Color, they are also oftentimes at risk of gaining promotions but then receiving fewer challenging assignments and being more vulnerable to downsizing (Cook & Glass; Maume, 2012). Typically, occupational segregation early on in People of Color or women's careers may severely hinder their future mobility (Cook & Glass).

Social closure and its kindred concept of occupational segregation are often fostered by a lack of personal information and infrequent opportunities to forge relationships between dominant and marginalized group members (Smith, 2002). They prompt the guise that an understanding and solidarity are forged in settings where homogeneity exists (Smith). Working within homogeneity further segregates groups from each other in organizations and reinforces pervasive ideals about leadership. Social closure and occupational segregation underscore the idea that those in dominant positions limit opportunities for mobility to themselves or those

deemed to be similar (Smith, 2002). With limited opportunities for advancement, women and

People of Color are often given roles with managerial authority in lower paying sectors (Cook &

Glass; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009). According to Cook & Glass, in more

professional settings, women and People of Color are often pushed toward limiting roles that

hinder their ability to further develop skills necessary for promotion. This is likely attributed to

the fact that women and People of Color are believed better-suited for lower-level positions

when compared to their white counterparts in conjunction with being segregated to staff support

roles (Collins, 1997; Cook & Glass; Feagin & Sikes, 1992). This segregation pushes women and

People of Color further towards the margins, making it more difficult for them to advance in

their field. For Black women, the intersection of their race and gender may further reinforce the

inequality regime and create sport organizational cultures where they experience a heightened

level of social closure and occupational segregation based on their race (as a Person of Color)

and their gender (as a woman).

Homosocial Reproduction

Unlike social closure and occupational segregation, homosocial reproduction is believed

to be less conscious and overt. Homosocial reproduction is a concept that may occur when

dominant group members develop social enclaves composed of individuals that share common

demographics and social characteristics (Smith, 2002). This is nestled in an uncertainty about

the abilities of individuals, and this uncertainty impacts decision-making - often encouraging

dominant groups to rely on unstructured, non-routine, and subjective criteria (Smith). A general

lack of information about an individual and infrequent opportunities to build trust and

mentorship relationships is the basis for the concept of homosocial reproduction (Smith). With

this understanding, the premise is that solidarity, commitment, and trust are better facilitated and sustained in settings where homogeneity exists Elliot & Smith, 2001; Smith).

Homosocial reproduction results in a social distancing that excludes women and People of Color from informal social networks in the workplace (Hebl, Madera, & King, 2008). Workplace networks are often essential for an individual's mobility and promotion in the workplace, and these informal networks provide social support and information that is relevant to and for work performance (Brass, 1984; Hebl et al.). A lack of these workplace networks may lead to isolation and a lack of identification with and sense of belonging to the workplace. Women and People of Color are likely to have fewer and less reliable workplace networks (Hebl et al.; Kanter, 1977; Ibarra, 1993, 1995; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). Therefore, homosocial reproduction may leave women and People of Color at a disadvantage because their networks are often comprised of other women and People of Color from different departments or institutions (Hebl et al.). This may leave much to be desired from mentoring because although women and People of Color may receive social and informational support, they often lack the necessary advocacy and endorsement that is needed to progress within their organization (Hebl et al.).

The concepts of social closure, occupational segregation, and homosocial reproduction are consequences of diversity resistance. In intercollegiate athletic departments, these practices often place Black women in filtered roles with little to no access to individuals or opportunities that will expand their skillsets. These practices may leave Black women on the outskirts of crucial workplace networks that mentor and provide pertinent organizational information needed for them to progress. Therefore, it is important to highlight the way race and gender intersects in inequality regimes to create sport organizational cultures that practice various tactics for resisting the race and gender diversity that Black women represent.

Legitimate Power: Androcentricity and Whiteness

Another element of organizational cultures that reflects the intersection of race and gender is the concept of legitimate power. Legitimate power is "based on a person holding a formal position that others comply to because of the belief in the legitimacy of the power holder" (Nahavandi & Malekzadeh, 1999, p. 593). In organizations, legitimate power is tied to the authority associated with social positions and roles (Smith, 2002); it helps to reinforce the beliefs that White men are the ideal leaders. Since men are often in positions in organizations with higher status, they typically have more access to legitimate power. Job authority is therefore often housed in certain positions, making those positions coveted within an organization (Smith). Having only a handful of these positions available within an organization, means individuals may not easily give up their position willingly for a possible fear that it may relegate them to a lower positionality (Blumer, 1958).

Job authority is measured in a variety of ways such as: ownership, span of responsibility, span of control, decision-making authority, and hierarchical authority position. *Ownership*, may be thought of as the ultimate form of control because it pertains to having control over the means of production or labor of others (Smith, 2002; Wright, Costello, Hachen & Sprague, 1982). In an organization, this may mean that a select few have say over what the majority does. This practice may mean that important decisions about meeting times and agenda setting are decided without input from varying opinions.

Span of responsibility, is the ability one's position affords them to influence the pay and promotions of others (Smith, 2002). These positions may allow those individuals to have power over others in positions subordinate to them, forcing those with less organizational power to depend on others for the ability to move forward or ahead in the organization. Positions with

legitimate power are often ones in which this decision-making ability is granted. In conjunction with span of responsibility, *span of control* speaks to the number of people under an individual's direct supervision (Mueller, Parcel, & Tanaka, 1989; Smith). Lastly, *decision-making authority* is the power associated with being able to influence organizational policy decisions (Rosenfeld, Van Buren, Kalleberg, 1998; Smith). Having influence over organizational policy is paramount because those trusted to make conclusions are expected to do so for everyone in an organization.

Along with decision-making authority is an individual's *hierarchical authority position*, or their formal location within an organization's structural hierarchy (Acker, 2006; Smith, 2002;). Those higher up in the structure are granted more power and allowed to influence several aspects in an organization. In intercollegiate athletic departments, the athletic director and other upper-level managers are entrusted with making decisions for the entire organization. These decisions may impact policies and may dictate who has access to the organization, who is included within it, and organizational practices. However, ideologies connected to the beliefs that Black women are less capable of leading contributes to their disempowerment. Stereotypes that Black women are incompetent or unable to manage, hinders their perceived ability of 'fit' into roles. In intercollegiate athletic departments, it is often men who are seen in these roles. This may be because the culture of the sport enterprise posits that White men are the ideal sport leaders (Minnich, 1990; Nkomo, 1992;), relegating Black women to roles with less influence and power.

Organizational leadership in the United States was developed and oftentimes continues to center around and empower White men. Due to these beliefs, White men are typically deemed the prototypical leaders in sport. These characteristics are rooted in a framing of Whiteness and maleness and are consistent with the socially constructed images of leaders and leadership

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(Avery et.al, 2015; Parker, 2005). Thus, the ideal employee has typically been promoted as one who is not only White, but totally dedicated to their work, and often has no other outside responsibilities (children or familial demands) to distract them from their work (Acker, 2006). Consequently, legitimate power in intercollegiate athletics is androcentric and White. Therefore, it is important to continue to identify and contest the ways in which race and gender intersects in sport organizations to reinforce the 'inequality regime' that creates a culture rooted in Androcentricity and Whiteness that adversely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Theoretical Foundations for the SIMP: Black Feminist Thought

The SIMP is explored through the lens of Black feminist thought. Patricia Hill Collins' important book *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (1990, 2000) introduced the theory of Black feminist thought to empower Black women. Collins sought to highlight the collective knowledge that Black women possess. As a standpoint epistemology, which refers to representations of the world from a particular social positioning with a claim to specific knowledge authority (Collins; Harding, 2007), Black feminist thought aims to critique the power dynamics at play that constrict the access, leadership opportunities, and experiences of Black women while centering their experiences (Collins; Patterson, Kinloch, Burkhard, Randall, & Howard, 2016). Black feminist thought is also an oppositional knowledge stance to dominant epistemological perspectives that have been used in research (see Figure 6). Black feminist thought as an oppositional knowledge stance recognizes the knowledge that Black women possess. It counters dominant narratives and can be unearthed using intersectional approaches and critical methodologies.
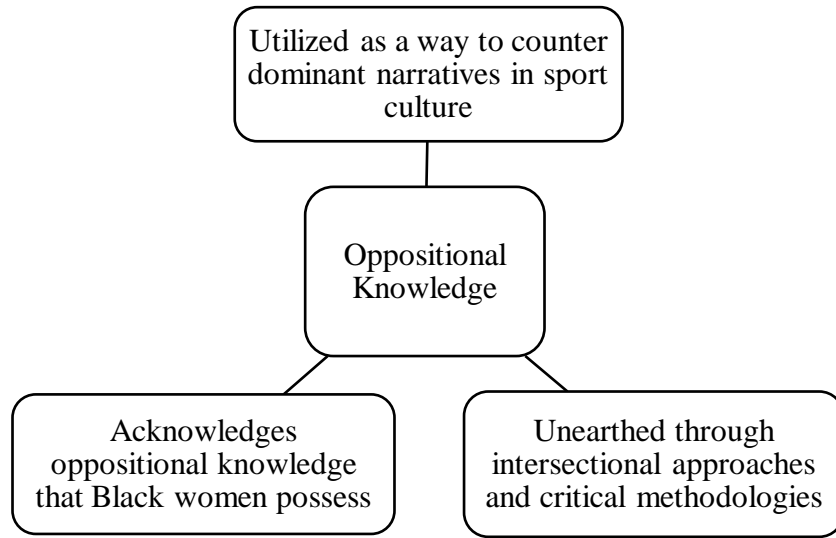
Figure 6. Black Feminist Thought as Oppositional Knowledge

As Collins (2000) explained, Black feminist thought rests upon a set of core themes: (a) consciousness as sphere of freedom – sites that Black women created which offered safe spaces that allow Black women to construct new meanings to resist certain controlling images of Black womanhood; (b) culture of resistance – Black women's ability to draw on their own cultural resources to resist oppression; (c) self-empowerment – the ability for Black women to take control of their lives and believe in themselves; (d) self-definition – the ability for Black women to define who they are for themselves; (e) motherhood – encompassing biological motherhood and "othermothering" (p. 192) which refers to caregiving practices that Black women express regarding care for their non-biological children (i.e. community mothering); and (f) ethics of caring – seeking to bridge the disconnect between intellect and emotion and acknowledges that knowledge is not free of individual values .

Black feminist thought embraces not only the tenets presented by Collins (1999; 2000) but also encourages "humanizing, engaging, and inclusive practices" (Patterson et al., 2016, p. 59). Black feminist thought is critical in valuing the lives, knowledge, and identities of Black

women (Collins; Patterson et al.). Two major components included in the Black feminist thought framework are intersectionality and the matrix of domination (Collins), both of which are foundational to this study.

Intersectionality

As previously discussed, intersectionality, refers to forms of intersecting oppressions (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2000) such as race, gender, and social class (i.e., being a Black working-class woman). An intersectional framework is premised on the understanding that oppression cannot be reduced to one fundamental type because various identities work together to produce the injustices that individuals experience (Crenshaw; Collins; Collins & Bilge, 2016). Black women have historically been theorizing about their experiences utilizing an approach that highlighted the intersecting qualities of their experiences (Collins; Crenshaw; hooks, 2015).

As Crenshaw noted "intersectionality is not just about identities but about the institutions that use identities to exclude and privilege. The better we understand how identities and power work together from one context to another, the less likely our movements for change are to fracture" (Washington Post, personal communications, September 24, 2015). The more we understand the racialized and gendered factors and elements of power that may be embedded in the sport organizational cultures of intercollegiate athletic departments that Black women may face, the better chance we have at rectifying their underrepresentation, and creating sport organizational spaces in which Black women may thrive.

Although factors such as social class, ability, and sexual orientation may intersect with race and gender to influence Black women's opportunities and experiences, the focus of this study is primarily on the intersection of race and gender. I argue that such a heavy focus on race and gender is necessary for the specific research on which I am embarking. Collins and Bilge

(2016) highlighted specific ways that aid in maintaining the integrity of intersectionality by acknowledging it as an analytical tool. Utilizing intersectionality as an analytical tool will allow for it to serve as: (a) an oppositional knowledge source – knowledge that is doing serious, diligent, and thoughtful intellectual work that focuses on dismantling and opposing unjust intellectual, political, and power structures, (b) a way to generate a distinct discursive field for Black women in sport leadership, and (c) a language to further discuss how organizational culture may impact the success of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership.

According to Collins and Bilge (2016) intersectionality as an analytical tool is best used to understand and analyze human experience. It is comprised of six core dynamics: (a) s*ocial inequality*, (b) s*ocial context*, (c) c*omplexity*, (d) s*ocial justice*, (e) r*elationality*, and (f) p*ower*. These six core dynamics are not always salient, but they do provide some guidance when thinking about intersectionality.

Social Inequality. Intersectionality was conceptualized because of concerns about social inequality evident within society that people experienced and saw around them (Crenshaw, 1991). As Crenshaw (p. 1244) explained:

> …the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences…are not subsumed within the traditional boundaries of race or gender discrimination as those boundaries are currently understood, and that the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately.

Addressing social inequality is a core component of utilizing intersectionality as an analytical tool. Because intersectionality embraces additional layers of complexity, it allows us to recognize that social inequality is rarely caused by a singular factor (Collins and Bilge). Intersectionality promotes seeing issues of social inequality through various lenses (Collins, 1986, 2000; Collins & Bilge; Crenshaw, 1991; Nash, 2011) and reinforces the idea that identities are impacted simultaneously among various categories. Regarding sport leadership, underrepresentation is a persistent issue. Several of the upper-level-management positions in sport are still held by White men (Acosta & Carpenter, 2014; Lapchick, 2017). To better understand why such disparities exist, intersectionality as analytical tool will allow me to examine differences while accounting for the impact that race and gender may have on the social inequalities Black women often experience. The various lenses of intersectionality will help to illuminate the unique standpoint of Black women (Collins; Crenshaw; Parker, 2005) that contributes to their social inequality in intercollegiate athletic leadership.

Social Context. An additional core component of intersectionality is social context. To understand or 'contextualize' this phenomenon requires an understanding of the social contexts, notably the specific "historical, intellectual, and political contexts [that] shape what we think and do" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 28). In appreciating different contexts, we are better able to understand the actual differences within intersectionality itself. Contextualization is necessary for a critical and more comprehensive understanding of different experiences from various standpoints. Understanding social context becomes pertinent when examining the status and conditions of Black women in sport leadership. Their experiences are undoubtedly impacted by historical, intellectual, and political elements of their race and gender (Abney & Richey, 1991; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; Bruening, 2005; McDowell & Carter-

Francique, 2017; Settles, 2006). While Black women may feel the weight of their race and gender during their daily lives, the context of sport highlights these identities in nuanced ways. Therefore, based on the Androcentric and Eurocentric (Whiteness) nature of sport previously discussed, Black womanhood needs to be further examined in the social and organizational context of the culture of sport.

Complexity. The core components of social context and social inequality may intertwine and create an additional element of complexity. Intersectionality as an analytical tool, is also a way of better understanding the complexities in the world (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Intersectionality is complex and messy; it does not neatly fit and ascribe to a tidy way of understanding the world. Given the social, historical, and political complexities of sport, Black women may be 'forced' to interrogate how their gender and race impact them more while in sport environments than other social settings (Abney & Richey, 1991; Armstrong, 2007; Armstrong & O'Bryant, 2007; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017; Settles, 2006). Intersectionality offers a tool to unravel these complexities.

Social Justice. Another component of intersectionality is the idea of social justice. Social justice acknowledges that competition is not inherently bad yet, power and privilege are not distributed equally and fairness is elusive (Collins & Bilge, 2016). While working towards social justice may not be a requirement for intersectionality, people who are, "engaged in using intersectionality as an analytical tool and people who see social justice as central rather than as peripheral to their lives are often one and the same" (Collins & Bilge, p. 38). This dynamic encompasses those who are critical of the status quo rather than accepting of it (Collins & Bilge). Social justice is rooted in an awareness that fairness is not automatic in unequal societies. Instead, fairness is often elusive and "enforced differentially through discriminatory practices"

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(Collins & Bilge, p. 29) for different individuals. Given the social inequality that permeates sport organizational cultures that is seemingly impacting Black women's access and outcomes regarding sport leadership, intersectionality may help to reveal the source(s) of their social injustice.

Relationality. The fifth core component of intersectionality as an analytical tool is relationality or an idea of collective connectedness (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Central to the understanding of intersectionality is an outright rejection of binaries - either/or thinking and an embracing of both/and thinking (Parker, 2005). An emphasis on both/and thinking pushes the interrogation of race, gender, class, and religion towards a true examination of their intersectional qualities (Parker). Given the androcentric and Eurocentric nature of sport leadership, it stands to reason that race and gender represent a relational collective for Black women, necessitating intersectional analyses.

Power. An element of intersectionality that is related to the concepts previously discussed, notably social inequality and social justice, is the concept of power. Collins and Bilge (2016) contend that power relations should be examined across interpersonal, disciplinary, cultural, and structural domains. Power is not necessarily something that may be possessed, so much so, as it is exercised (Hickson, 2016). In intercollegiate athletic departments, the domains of power may work independently and interdependently to impact the leadership opportunities and experiences of Black women often leaving them virtually invisible. Embracing these various domains of power should help to unveil dynamics in sport organizational culture that impacts Black women's access to positions with legitimate power as sport leaders.

The concepts of intersectionality are not mutually exclusive, as they often interact. For instance, the core components of social context and social inequality may intertwine and create

additional elements of complexity as an element of intersectionality. A broader examination of power via the four domains provides further critical examination of the sources of social inequities and strategies needed to promote social justice for individuals experiencing intersectionality. The concept of complexity questions how intersecting power relations shape and institutionalize organizations. Complexity also highlights how power may be utilized to further promote the values and beliefs that there are differences between individuals. Relationality allows for an understanding that power is not static but is a dynamic phenomenon. In summary, these various domains of intersectionality offer the necessary social contexts that allow for a broader understanding of power, social inequality, and social justice through the lens of mutual construction, realizing that everyday experiences are shaped by several factors in mutually influencing or relational ways (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Matrices of Domination

A second core element of Collins (2000) Black feminist thought is the matrix of domination. As Collins discussed, the matrix of domination refers to the notion that intersecting oppressions are organized in an interlocking nature, as opposed to an additive one. Regardless of the intersections, salient, structural, hegemonic, and interpersonal domains of power reappear across various forms of oppression and domination. The notion of the matrix was bred out of a need to address the additive models of oppression represented by *either/or* dichotomous ways of thinking. (Collins, 1990, 2000; hooks, 2015; Parker, 2005). The additive way of thinking posits an individual in layers, i.e., to be *either* Black *or* White; Male *or* Female (Collins; Parker), often leaving little to no room for anyone who experiences those identities simultaneously. While Black women understand that at times it may be essential to minimize one form of oppression, this leaves them oppressed in additional dehumanizing ways (Collins, 1986). This understanding

is important because it shifts the frame of thinking from one aimed at understanding race or gender to determining what the links are between race and gender, without prioritizing one form of oppression over the other (Collins, 1986).

Such a prioritization of *either/or* categorization requires that the categories be ranked (Collins, 1986), which often results in one side of the dichotomy being privileged, while the other side is disparaged (Collins; hooks). Therefore, privilege becomes defined by the relation of one group over others (Collins, 1990, 2000; hooks, 2015). In a need to be more inclusive, previously denigrated groups must be placed at the center of analysis, bringing the possibility for *both/and* conceptual framings (Collins, 1990, 2000; Parker). As Collins (1986) explained, "embracing a both/and conceptual stance moves us from additive, separate systems approaches to oppression and toward…the more fundamental issue of the social relations of domination" (p. 556). Specific to Black women, race, gender, and class make up the axes of domination most pertinent to Black women and their experiences within the matrix of domination (Collins, 1986). Failure to see Black women's experiences in intercollegiate athletic leadership from the perspective of a matrix of domination will create a distorted or constrained view of the factors impacting their leadership opportunities and experiences.

Black women live in worlds where their Blackness and womanhood impact how they move through spaces, are perceived by others, and how they interact with power structures. It is not plausible then, to believe that their experiences in intercollegiate athletic departments will be devoid of these interactions. Black women working in intercollegiate athletic administration undoubtedly experience several axes of domination, and in order to more fully understand their experiences they must be centered using *both race and gender* frameworks. The Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) allows for the examination of race and gender, and

includes organizational elements that have the potential to critique the inequality regimes that many sport organizational cultures reflect that may impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Black feminist thought, with an emphasis on intersectionality and the matrices if domination, offer a lens by which to examine the impact of the SIMP through the collective knowledge that Black women possess (as Black feminist thought emphasizes). Acknowledging the intersecting nature of Black women's identities and how they interact with oppressive power structures within organizations is critical to our ability to produce environments where Black women may thrive.

Summary or Review of Literature

This chapter: (a) provided a summary of research on Black women in sport leadership, (b) discussed the concepts of sport as an 'inequality regime' (Acker, 2006), and (c) offered Black feminist thought as the theoretical foundation by which to explore the impact of sport organizational cultures on Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences. There is very limited research on Black women in sport leadership, barring the research reviewed in this chapter. Although previous research has yielded some unique insight about Black women's sport leadership experiences, a void exists in our understanding about the extent to which the sport organizational culture may impact Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences.

However, the available related research on sport leadership has generally provided us with an understanding that sport often follows an androcentric and Whiteness framed model, typically 'preferring' White men as the leaders of sport organizations. The androcentric framing often means that men are desired over women and the Whiteness framing often means that Whiteness is preferred to Blackness. These two framings often leave Black women with

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minimal access to intercollegiate athletic leadership roles. The nature of Black women's networks, impact of recruitment and hiring practices, and potential pervasiveness of diversity resistance may severely impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences within intercollegiate athletics. These are issues previous research has failed to adequately address.

The position of Black women allows them to bring oppositional knowledge (Collins, 2016) to the organizational cultures of intercollegiate athletic departments. Collins argues that Black feminist thought cannot just be a prevailing academic prose but must also be used in practical terms. Oppositional knowledge critiques, like Black feminist thought, are necessary and may help to address the injustices and power inequities that exist within intercollegiate athletic departments. This is not to say that Black women are the sole property owners of Black feminist thought, but they should always be centered in its practice (Collins). The centering of the unique experiences of Black women is important to counter dominant narratives in society (Collins; Parker, 2005; Patterson et al.; Shaw & Frisby, 2006), particularly those that privilege androcentricity and Whiteness.

The theoretical foundations of Black feminist thought, specifically intersectionality and the matrix of domination, as situated within and applied to sport organizational culture, is necessary to advance our understanding to address Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences in the "inequality regime" (Acker, 2006) of sport. However, Black feminist thought has not been widely applied in research on this issue. As this chapter has sought to illustrate, Black feminist thought is a most appropriate foundation for the proposed model (the SIMP) seeking to explore and address the impact of sport organizational culture on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences in the unequal regime of sport.

Chapter III

Methods

To recap, the questions I sought to answer in this research project were: (a) How do sport organizational cultures impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences?, (b) How does Black women's positionality and intersectionality impact their sport leadership opportunities?, and (c) To what extent does the preliminary, Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) (Simpkins & Armstrong, 2017) capture the impact of sport organizational cultures on Black women's leadership challenges, opportunities, and experiences in intercollegiate athletics? This chapter will discuss the methods I employed in answering these questions. More specifically, this chapter will discuss: (a) qualitative research, (b) research participants (sampling procedures, sample selection, sampling criteria), (c) data collection procedures (interview process and protocol, reflexive journaling/memo-writing, document analysis, and organizational audit), (d) role of the researcher, (e) credibility and dependability, and (f) data coding/analysis.

Qualitative Research

A researchers' theoretical and methodological choices are foundational components that form the design of a research project. This combination of theory and methods then determines the methodology of a given project (Charmez, 2014; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011;). As Hesse-Biber and Leavy explained, a methodology is a bridge that connects our philosophical standpoint about research and our methods of conducting research (See Figure 7). Methodology serves as a strategic, yet malleable, guide throughout the research project (Birks, & Mills, 2015; Charmez; Hesse-Biber & Leavy; Hesse-Biber, 2007). Our methodological perspectives are theoretical

lenses that shape what we study, who we study, and how we study it (Hesse-Biber & Leavy).

Hesse-Biber and Leavy further explained that "methodologies are derived from assumptions

about the nature of existence (ontology) and are also linked to viewpoints on the nature of

knowledge-building (epistemology), which guides how knowledge is produced and how

decisions are made about what can be known and who can be a knower" (p. 38).

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┌─────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────┐
│  Ontology and   │      │                 │      │                 │
│  Epistemology   │  ▶   │   Methodology   │  ▶   │                 │
│  (Philosophical │      │  (Theoretical   │      │  Methods Design │
│   Perspective)  │      │   Perspective)  │      │                 │
└─────────────────┘      └─────────────────┘      └─────────────────┘
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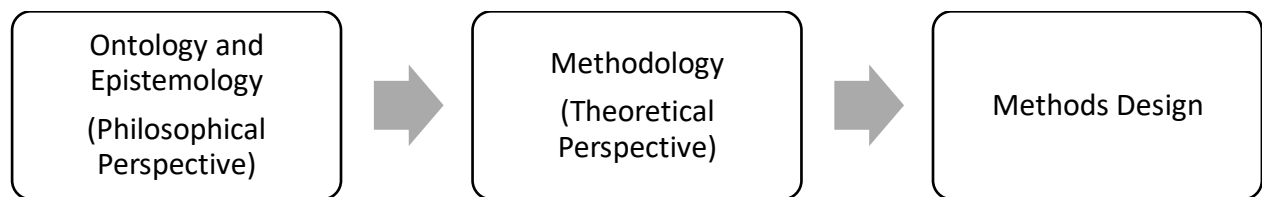
Figure 7. Methodology (Adapted from Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 7)

The research problem we choose is typically tied to how we engage with the social world

and this includes the methods we choose to address and answer the perceived problem (Hesse-

Biber& Leavy). Ladson-Billings (2000) posits that epistemologies are more than just simply a

way of knowing but are ultimately "*systems* of knowing" (p. 257), which should not be

considered in a trivial nature. Since epistemological beliefs dictate who is valued as a

knowledge producer, they often reinforce dominant norms in society. Since American culture

often values the knowledge and experiences of White men and at times White women over

knowledge and experiences of others (Ladson-Billings), this often means that the experiences of

White men and White women take precedent. If these systems are informed by Whiteness, then

only those experiences are recognized and acknowledged as valid. Marginalized peoples'

experiences, if told at all, are told in opposition to those of the preferred experiences of White

people (Dunbar, 2008; Ladson-Billings). This leaves room to explore how individuals who are

often made invisible in research encounter the world. Therefore, it is important that

methodologies support the overall intent of the research objectives, notably research seeking to address underrepresented populations such as (in the case for this study) Black women in sport leadership.

Qualitative research approaches are best suited for promoting deep understanding of a social setting or activity from the perspective of the research participants and "includes an understanding of context, circumstance, and environment" (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 38). Using qualitative research, researchers: (a) study people and social phenomena and attempt to make sense of or interpret certain phenomena and the meaning people bring to them, and (b) aim to examine a social situation or an interaction by allowing the researcher to enter the world of the participants. Qualitative research is well-suited for this research exploring the impact of race and gender on Black women.

The subjective lenses that both the researcher and the participants bring form the context of the findings in qualitative research (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Qualitative researchers typically believe that there should not be a hierarchy between the researcher and the participant and that those who provide the researcher the data, are equally capable of possessing knowledge. The researcher and participant should work together to co-create the knowledge generated between the two parties, while building a reciprocal rapport with one another (Charmaz, 2014; Dillard, 2000; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Kallio, Pietila, Johnson, & Kangasniemi 2016; Patterson et al., 2016; Turner, 2010). In qualitative approaches, researchers agree on the importance of the "subjective meaning that individuals bring to the research process and acknowledge the importance of the social construction of reality" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 35). This social construction often relies on the social meaning that people attribute to their experiences, circumstances, situations, and with the meaning we embed into texts and objects

(Hesse-Biber & Leavy). Therefore, for qualitative researchers, the focus of research are not only numbers but verbal communication, interview transcripts, participant observations, field notes, journals, documents, internet sites, email correspondences, literature, oral stories, texts, non-verbal behaviors, drawings, artifacts, photos, and other forms of art (Charmaz, 2014; Dillard, 2000; Hesse-Biber & Leavy; Saldana, 2016). The holistic approach to qualitative research comes from the attention paid by the researcher to all aspects of the research process including the conceptualization of the project, interconnections between each phase of the process, and effect the researcher has on the process (Hesse-Biber & Leavy).

I employed a phenomenologically critical qualitative study. My study is phenomenological because I explored Black women's lived experiences through the lens of a small number of participants (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Phenomenology is closely related to understanding the "human consciousness as the way to understand social reality, particularly, how one 'thinks' about experience" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 19). A phenomenological lens allowed me capture how the women created an understanding of their social worlds (professional life, career trajectory, networks, etc.) (Hesse-Biber & Leavy). Similarly, a "connection between experience and consciousness that shapes everyday lives of individual African-American women" (Collins, 1990, p. 27) is a central component to Black feminist thought.

Utilizing a critical lens, I sought to "step outside of the dominant ideology (insofar as possible) to create a space for counter-dominant knowledge production and destabilize oppressive material…" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 21). Furthermore, a critical lens allowed me to access and highlight the "subjugated knowledge" – "the secret knowledges generated by oppressed groups" (Collins, 2000, p. 321) of Black women in intercollegiate athletics.

Additionally, my methods are suited for exploration in the critical strand because the study sought to critique/interrogate the power dynamics in sport and create spaces in intercollegiate athletic departments where Black women can thrive. I acknowledged that we live in contexts that are enveloped amidst power structures Bloomberg & Volpe; Collins, 1990; (Hesse-Leavy & Biber). My decision to utilize such an approach was strongly rooted in distinguishing factors of Black feminist thought: (a) the significance of emancipatory change – as a social justice project changing social structures is central, (b) contributions of Black women as intellectuals – often Black women's knowledge is subverted and unappreciated, highlighting this knowledge is crucial (Collins, 2000), and (c) diverse responses to common challenges – despite experiencing some common challenges as a group (Collins), diverse responses to these challenges characterize Black women's standpoint (Collins). My chosen methods (which I will discuss later on in this chapter) allowed me to discern if/how organizational cultures in intercollegiate athletic departments impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

My original curiosity in the dearth of Black women sports leaders was sparked in 2015 during the completion of my two-year Master's degree program in sport administration at Wayne State University. Being one of roughly 10 Black students enrolled in the program and one of four Black women in the program I wondered what contributed to those low numbers. I also inquired why many of the women in the program aspired to assistant level positions. Was there something about sport organizations that steered women away from aspiring to upper-level-management positions? My own career aspirations fueled my desire to delve deeper into the potential barriers that may impact not only Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences, but for myself in particular – being a Black woman with sport leadership aspirations. A qualitative approach allowed the participants and myself to engage in an

intentional and reciprocal conversation on the ways in which the components of intercollegiate

athletic departments played a part in their leadership opportunities and experiences. Therefore,

the characteristics of qualitative methods allowed this research to be a meaningful experience for

me both personally and professionally.

Research Participants

Based on the purpose of this study, it was imperative that the data I collected were

produced by Black women. Black women are often confined to spaces that do not discuss their

unique leadership opportunities and experiences via organizational contexts. Zachary (2013)

eloquently explained:

> While we are sometimes recognized vis-à-vis our contributions to intersectionality as a
>
> theory and concept, our scholarship and political work are blurred and, if incorporated, it
>
> is done in a manner that hints at a particular form of racial inclusiveness within a rather
>
> confined critical space. As a result of what we study and how we study Black women and
>
> even who is allowed to study Black women, the complexities of Black women's politics
>
> remain underexplored. Excluded is the specialized knowledges produced by diverse
>
> Black women. (p. 104).

Similarly, in intercollegiate athletics Black women's leadership within this space lacks critical

examination. The experiences of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership may

produce diverse knowledge that may be utilized to further create policies and practices, and

organizational spaces where Black women may thrive. Considering that Black women's

experiences in intercollegiate athletic leadership lacks critical examination, it is imperative that

they are given a space to examine their own lived experiences.

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Sampling Frame Selection

In this study, I focused on Black women and selected 10 Black women who were employed at Division I, II, or III intercollegiate athletic departments in a leadership capacity. Originally, I intended to have at least three women representing each division. For Division I, I planned to have four women, two that represent Division I (FBS) and two that represent Division I (FCS). I ended up with five women in Division I, one woman from Division II, and four women from Division III. The breakdown in Division I consisted of two women that represented FBS, one woman that represented FCS and two women that represented Division I (non-football). The sampling frame of potential interviewees was developed based on: (a) my personal professional networks – correspondence from NCAA emails, (b) the use of a gatekeeper, and (c) additional searches on professional networking sites.

Personal Professional Network. Being a Black woman who has some experience with collegiate athletic leadership via my graduate program in sports administration, national organization affiliation, and conference attendance I have been able to create rapport with a few Black women working in intercollegiate athletic departments. I utilized that network of Black women to generate a list of names to be included in the sample frame from which to select participants for this study. I also utilized online publications from the NCAA to find additional Black women working within intercollegiate athletics. The publications provided by the NCAA are public email correspondences that are sent out to anyone who has participated in an NCAA sponsored event. My prior participation in the NCAA's Emerging Leaders Seminar granted me access to this information.

Gatekeeper. In addition to my personal network based on my professional experience, I also relied on a professional gatekeeper, who is a Black female currently employed in

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intercollegiate athletic leadership to identify additional Black women who work in intercollegiate athletic leadership to be included in my sample selection frame. I believed that her participation in my study would signal to others that they too should participate (Seidman, 2013). She currently works at a Division II university in the Midwest and her recommendation may be vital to my ability to reach other Black women currently working in intercollegiate athletics across all three divisions. While it is unclear if her participation encouraged other Black women to participate, her participation in the study was crucial. As she was the only participant that represented Division II.

Professional Networking Sites. In addition to the gatekeeper and my personal professional network, I also utilized professional networking sites to locate additional women. During the process of contacting potential participants, I ended up with several nonresponses. After reaching out to my gatekeeper for additional names, I attempted to find additional women to reach out to. I accomplished this by searching the connections of women I was connected to on professional networking sites for women who fit my sampling frame. Upon locating a woman, I searched the respective athletic department staff directory to ensure that she still worked at the department, and then reached out by email.

Sampling Procedures: Snowball Sampling

Since the selection of Black women working in intercollegiate athletic departments is relatively small, I had to rely on intentional sampling methods to access them. Snowball sampling is the process of sampling from a known network (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). The snowball sampling procedure allowed me as the researcher to identify participants who may be difficult to locate or access. While the women targeted for this study were not necessarily

difficult to identify, they did prove to be difficult to access. In total, I reached out to 22 women.
I received one official decline to participate, one email that bounced back and 11 non-responses.

To secure the women targeted for this study, I specifically relied on a purposive snowball sampling procedure. Utilizing this sampling procedure, I reached out to my network to identify Black women for my study that fit my requirements with respect to the specific purpose of my study (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). A list of women was identified in my sample frame (using the purposive sampling procedures), I emailed them individually and: (a) explained the nature of the research, (b) asked their willingness to participate in the research project, and (c) determined their availability and mode of participating. After I reached out via my initial email, I sent at least two follow-up emails if I did not hear back from the women. After the third email, if there was no response, I moved on to other women on the list to contact. After reaching out to several women on my pre-created list and encountering several non-responses I reached out to my gatekeeper to see if she was able to recommend any additional women. Additionally, I began searching for additional women on professional networking sites. I looked at the contacts of women who I interviewed already or had committed to an interview. This process helped me to secure additional participants for the study.

Participants' Profile. Utilizing the purposive snowball sampling procedure I was able to secure 10 women to participate in my study who were employed at 10 different universities. The women chosen for the study: (a) identified as Black or African-American, (b) identified as a woman, (c) worked in intercollegiate athletics at the Division I, II or III level, and (d) and employed at predominately White institutions. Due to the sample size of this study and the uneven representation across divisions this study cannot be generalized to Black women athletic administrators across the United States. Each participant was assigned a pseudonym during the

transcription process to protect their and their institutions identity. See Table 2 for a summary of the women who participated in this study. Table 2 conveys the women's pseudonyms, the women's position in their respective athletic departments, the NCAA division in which the women were employed, and the overall duration of time working in which the women worked in some capacity within intercollegiate athletics (including graduate assistant, internships, and various administrative roles). The majority of the women were senior level athletic administrators, and the years in which the women were employed in athletics ranged from six to 35.5. Following is a profile of each of the participants.

The first participant to be interviewed was Rebecca Edwards. Rebecca worked in a Division III athletic department. She held a high ranking position in her athletic department as the associate director of athletics/SWA. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for six months. Prior to her current role she had 13.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black women in her department on the leadership team.

The second participant interviewed was Gabrielle Carson. Gabrielle also worked in a Division III athletic department. She held a high ranking position as the associate director of athletics/SWA/compliance coordinator. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for a year and a half. Prior to her current role she had 15years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black in her department on the leadership team.

The third participant to be interviewed was Harriet Simmons. Harriet worked for a Division I (non-football) athletic department. She held a mid-level ranking position as the associate athletic director of academic support. At the time of her interview she had been in her role for 13 years. Prior to her current role she had 22.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. In the area of academic support she was the only Black woman.

The fourth participant to be interviewed was Sienna King. Sienna worked for a Division I (FBS) athletic department. She held a high ranking position as the senior associate athletic director. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for six months. Prior to her current role she had 25 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black women on the leadership team.

The fifth participant to be interviewed was Susanna Jones. Susanna worked for a Division I (FCS) athletic department. She held a ranking position as the senior associate athletics director/chief of staff. At the time of the interview she had been in her position for six months. Prior to her current role she had 4 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was one of two Black women on the leadership team.

The sixth participant interviewed was Heather Thompson. Heather worked for a Division III athletic department. She held the highest ranking position in as the director of athletics. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for nine months. Prior to her current role she had 18.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black woman on the leadership team.

The seventh participant interviewed was Willow Lloyd. Willow worked for a Division I (non-football) athletic department. She held a mid-level position as the director of operations, track and field. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for six months. Prior to her current role she had 5.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. In the area of track and field leadership she was the only Black woman.

The eighth participant interviewed was Brianna Kennedy. Brianna worked for a Division I (FBS) athletic department. She held a mid-level position as the assistant director of external

affairs. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for almost 5.5 years. Prior to her current role she had 7.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. In the area of external affairs she was the only Black woman.

The ninth participant interviewed was Melody Anderson. Melody worked for a Division III athletic department. She held a high ranking position as the senior associate athletic director/SWA. At the time of her interview she had been in her position for two years. Prior to her current role she had 12 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black woman on the leadership the team.

The tenth participant interviewed was Hanna Clarke. Hannah worked for a Division II athletic department. She held a high ranking position as the associate athletic director academic support/SWA. At the time of her interview she was in her position for 10.5 years. Prior to her current role she had 3.5 years of experience working in an athletic related field. She was the only Black woman on the leadership team.

Table 2

Summary of Participants

Name	Position	Division	Overall duration of athletic experience
Rebecca Edwards	Associate Athletic Director/SWA	Division III	14 years
Gabrielle Carson	Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator	Division III	16.5 years
Harriet Simmons	Associate Director of Academic Support	Division I (non-football)	35.5 years
Sienna King	Senior Associate Athletic Director	Division I (FBS)	25.5 years
Susanna Jones	Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff	Division I (FCS)	4.5 years
Heather Thompson	Director of Athletics	Division III	19 years
Willow Lloyd	Director of Operations, Track and Field	Division I (non-football)	6 years
Brianna Kennedy	Assistant Director of External Affairs	Division I (FBS)	13 years
Melody Anderson	Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA	Division III	14 years
Hannah Clarke	Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA	Division II	14 years

Data Collection

Rich and in-depth data are essential components to qualitative methodology. To allow for a critical examination of Black women's intercollegiate athletic leadership opportunities and experiences data were collected in various ways. The primary data collection method was via interviews; however, data were also collected via secondary methods of journaling/memo writing, document analyses, and organizational audits. Following is a discussion of the data collection methods and procedures.

Organizational Audit

To answer my first research question regarding whether sport organizational cultures impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, I conducted an organizational audit. The purpose of the organizational audit was for me to identify any evidence (be it expressed or implied) regarding the organizational position about diversity and inclusion (at the university and/or athletic department level). The information collected from the organizational audits were examined before each interview. Conducting the organizational audits before each interview provided me with insight into how each university presented their position to diversity and inclusion before learning about the Black women's personal experiences. Through each audit I examined: (a) university and/or athletic department diversity statements, (b) university and/or athletic department mission statements that specifically relayed a commitment to valuing diversity and inclusion, or (c) any other evidence of their value of diversity and inclusion (i.e. resource centers or other endeavors). These items were identified by searching university and athletic department websites. I chose to focus on information and resources that were easily accessible. Once the interviews were completed, I employed an additional coder for inter-coder reliability.

The inter-coder I chose was a graduate student (Christina Rogers) within my department who was also a Black woman with interests in the topic of Black women in sport leadership. Christina and I met several times prior to me conducting interviews and discussed the overall project along with her role. She was provided with the same coding textbook that I referenced during my coding process to reference as well. After conducting each interview, I asked Christina to search each university's and athletic department's website for mission statements (that referenced diversity) and diversity statements. I explained to Christina that she should focus on explicit data (statements and resources that were readily discoverable). After her search, Christina and I discussed the statements and additional resources that she found and compared them to the ones I found, and agreed that we were both able to access the same data.

In Vivo (phrases and language found in the data; Saldana, 2016) and descriptive (summaries of words or phrases; Saldana) coding were used to code the statements. For example, words such as *value, promote, dedicate, and strive* were highlighted. These action verbs, symbolized a positive position towards diversity and inclusion. Upon reviewing the data we were in 100% agreement of the data collected.

Such an audit allowed me to examine whether there was congruency between what was espoused in the organizational culture and what was actually experienced by the women employed therein. The audits provided a glimpse into the position the universities and athletic departments had towards diversity and inclusion. Understanding the missions of the athletic departments along with the Black women's perceptions of their respective departments allowed me to better understand the value of diversity and the extent to which diversity resistance may have been evident in the culture or experienced by the women.

Document Analyses

Document analysis provides researchers with rich data and includes written texts as well as recorded visual images (Charmaz, 2014). Charmaz explains, "Documents comprise one type of text whose form, content, purpose, accessibility, visibility, utility, legitimacy, and consequences can raise intriguing questions" (p. 45). I analyzed all 10 women's resumes were conducted to examine the participants': (a) educational profiles, (b) duration of athletic employment, and (c) professional activities and affiliations.

Since these documents were produced by the participants themselves, they were considered "social products" (Hammersly & Atkinson, 2007, p. 231) that were given critical examination as they reflected interests and perspective of the participants (Saldana, 2016). Therefore, these documents offered an additional valuable resource for understanding if and how organizational cultures impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. These documents served as an additional way to understand the Black women's career trajectories that may or may not have been discussed during the interviews. The document analyses allowed me to develop a more complex understanding of the Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences along with their educational profiles (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). These documents provided more objective data about the experiences and opportunities granted to the Black women in my sample (Charmaz).

Interviews

While the organizational audits and document analyses offered context, in-depth interviewing served as my primary form of data collection. In-depth interviewing focuses on gathering accurate responses from a desired demographic using a line of questioning to obtain detailed descriptions, clarifications, chronologies, experiences, and places (Charmaz; Hesse-

Biber & Leavy, 2011). In-depth interviewing allowed me as the researcher to investigate how

Black women experience intercollegiate organizational culture through the experiences of the

Black women who help to make up these departments (Seidman, 2013). The interviews also

allowed me to ask specific questions about the SIMP and if the elements featured explained the

Black women's experiences. In- person interviews were most desirable as they would have

allowed for a richer interaction with the participants. However, given the geographical location

of the interviewees and the timeliness by which I collected data, I was prohibited from physically

visiting each institution to conduct in-person interviews, nine out of the 10 the interviews were

conducted and recorded via mediated technology (via computer-aided video conferencing) with

one interview conducted in-person. I interviewed each woman one time, with all the interviews

conducted by me, and they lasted each 60-90 minutes. With the permission of each participant

the video and audio of each interview were recorded. I originally intended to follow a more

semi-structured interview protocol. However, based on the extensive amount of time it took to

complete the first interview, I changed the structure of the interview guide. I reduced the number

of questions in my interview guide by either omitting or combining questions to reduce the

length of the interviews. The changes made to my interview guide (by omitting and combining

of questions) allowed me to obtain more consistent information from the participants relative to

the SIMP and fit the interviews within the newly proposed 60-90 minute timeframe. See the

Appendix for the final version of interview guide in this study. Two elements that guided the

interview process were: (a) the structured nature of the interview protocol, and (b) the interview

guide as instrumentation.

Interview Protocol. The format of my in-depth interviews was structured. Structured

interviews allowed me to work from a predetermined set of questions. While there were times

where I strayed from the interview guide to ask specific follow-up questions, the structured

nature of the guide allowed me to return to the topic at hand (Charmaz, 2014; Hesse-Biber &

Leavy, 2011; Kallio et al., 2016; Turner, 2010). The predetermined set of interview questions

were contained in an interview guide (to be discussed in the next section). The interview guide

directed me through the main elements of the interview which I used to investigate the proposed

elements of the Sport Intersectional Model of Power. This structured format of the interviews

allowed for specific responses related to the elements in the SIMP and enhanced my ability to

obtain rich and thick data pertaining to the Black women's experiences within their athletic

departments.

Interview Guide. As mentioned previously, the instrumentation that guided the

structured nature of the interview process was the interview guide. See the questions contained

in the interview guide in the Appendix. The interview guide focused my questions and prompts

during the interview to elicit specifics about the experiences, histories, and the lived and

perceived opportunities of Black women (Margolis & Fisher, 2002). The interview guide

contained items based on the various elements of the SIMP. The interview guide underwent

some adjustments after the first interview was conducted. These changes consisted of

eliminating and combining questions to reduce the length of the interviews to ensure that the

duration of each interview fell within 60-90 minutes and to ensure that I collected consistent

information relevant to elements of the SIMP.

Each interview began with an informal conversation with the participants. I briefly went

over my background and interest in the topic and explained how the interview would be

conducted. This helped to set a conversational tone with each participant. The first set of

questions were a set of background questions about the participants' educational profiles and

leadership experiences. This set of questions gave insight into their early and current experiences with leadership and what types of incidents impacted their career trajectories. Once the foundation of a relationship was established between myself and each participant, I moved into questions inspired by the SIMP.

The first set of questions generally focused on sport culture and power. These questions focused on the participants' perception of the current culture of intercollegiate athletics generally and in their athletic department specifically. Following the first set of questions, I asked an assortment of questions that sought to: (a) gain insight on certain organizational policies and practices, specifically recruitment and hiring practices, evidence of policies and practices that created a racially gendered workday structures, and the women's access to various networks within their athletic departments and intercollegiate athletics overall, (b) examine the concepts of diversity resistance (social closure, occupational segregation, and homosocial reproduction), (c) investigate the concepts of legitimate power and Euro/androcentric framing of collegiate athletic department leadership, and (d) explore the impact of the intersections of race and gender on the Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Lastly, the participants were asked to discuss/address: (a) any concepts or issues that I did not ask during the interview related to sport organizational cultures, (b) any concepts or issues that I did not ask during the interview related to their sport leadership opportunities and experiences, (c) any additional reflections about Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership, and (d) suggestions they would offer other Black women who are aspiring to have careers in intercollegiate athletic leadership. The questions found in the interview guide allowed me to determine if the SIMP needed to be modified (revised, reduced, or expanded) relative to Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences within intercollegiate athletics.

Role of Researcher: Providing Context and Highlighting Voice

As a Black woman who obtained a Master's degree in Sport Management, and who is currently completing a Doctorate degree in Sport Management, I was not operating from an entirely outsider perspective. I am an outsider relative to actively working in intercollegiate athletics, although I have had minimum practical experience. The perspective I have about working in intercollegiate athletics stems from internships during my Master's program and my current academic experience. In that regard, I was an outsider who sought to gain insight on Black women's experiences and opportunities and generated data from the Black women to whom I spoke with.

As a Black woman, I anticipated that building rapport with the women would happen smoothly and that rapport happened. The conversations and transitions happened smoothly on a consistent basis. While I understood that all Black women do not experience their Black womanhood the same (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991); I was able relate to being a Black woman who moves through the world. There were certain aspects I inquired about that I encountered during my brief experiences working in the field of intercollegiate athletics which provided me with 'insider' insights in certain contexts. Therefore, I was able to relate with the women on various aspects they touched on during the interview.

My positionality was also central to my subjectivity as a researcher. Peshkin (1988), explained subjectivity as a combination of persuasion stemming from one's personal circumstances and values that interact with the object of research. Understanding and acknowledging my subjectivity was imperative during the research process and is one that I actively engaged with and denoted during my memo-writing. During this process, my thoughts and values influenced my interactions with the participants. While I was careful not to lead or

impose my commentary during the interview process, my values and beliefs led me to the specific topic and phenomena I chose to study. My identities (race, gender, class, sexuality, nationality, religion, etc.) brought advantages or disadvantages when interacting with the participants during the interview process (Milner, 2007). I addressed these advantages and disadvantages due to my personal identities and believed they added further context to the research process.

One phenomena that stood out during my study was the length of the interviews. As I mentioned, my interview guide underwent a substantial adjustment after I interviewed Rebecca. This first interview went well beyond the original suggested time of 50-60 minutes. This was in part due to the amount of questions I originally planned to pose but also in part due to the length of answers given by Rebecca. I am not highlighting this as a negative, quite the contrary, it appeared that all of the participants provided lengthy responses to the questions I posed. The women appeared to be excited that they were being asked their opinions about Black women in intercollegiate athletic administration and were given a space to have a voice. Each interview ended pleasantly and with a discussion about how they looked forward to hearing about and seeing the finished product of my research. As Collins (2000) discussed in Black feminist thought, "safe spaces where Black women can speak freely are a necessary condition for Black women's resistance" (p. 111). These safe spaces are locations where safe discourses can occur. I believe that as a Black woman, asking other Black women about their experiences as Black women, created spaces in where the participants in my study felt safe. Such a feeling of safety, allowed the women to be more open and anecdotal during our discussions.

Additionally, in line with Black feminist thought Black women's relationships with one another are important. Black women often affirm each other (Collins, 2000; Myers, 1980).

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There were several moments with several of the women where I affirmed their thoughts and experiences, either because they were ones I experienced myself or had witnessed other Black women encounter. Collins further explained that this "shared recognition often operates among [Black] women who do not know one another but who see the need to value Black womanhood" (p. 113). This shared recognition came from my understanding of how Black women are often expected and asked to move through spaces, especially in the context of intercollegiate athletic departments. My ability to listen to the Black women's voices in my study was imperative, as an important aspect of Black feminist thought is the role that highlighting voice has in Black women's lives (Collins).

Credibility and Dependability

In qualitative methodologies, frequent measures of good and convincing research are credibility and dependability (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Seidman, 2013). Typically for research to be considered credible, it must clearly reflect the world that is being described and the researcher should provide evidence that their descriptions and analysis are reflective of the social world being studied (Bloomberg & Volpe; Hesse-Biber & Leavy). Bloomberg and Volpe explain, "Credibility parallels the criterion of validity" (p. 162).

When addressing issues of credibility, my role as the researcher was to match my portrayal of the participants with the participants' perceptions of themselves while employing theoretical analysis that provides an expanded viewpoint (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). I can aid in ensuring credibility by: (a) clarifying upfront any bias that I may have as the researcher, (b) checking on the accuracy of my interpretations by analyzing the interview transcripts and the document analysis, and (c) completing member-checks – sharing the collected data with the

participants for their feedback and interpretation (Seidman; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Bloomberg & Volpe). Together, these may aid in contributing to the credibility of the data.

If the research is dependable, it refers to the ability to track the process and procedures used to collect and interpret the data (Bloomberg & Volpe). In order to address issues of dependability, I needed to ensure that I thoroughly tracked the processes and procedures I utilized to collect and analyze my data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). This was achieved by me offering thorough explanations about the data collection processes, making it known to the participants that the data were available for their review, asking colleagues to offer ideas about codes, and by checking for consistency to help reduce potential bias (Bloomberg & Volpe).

Data Analysis

Qualitative research is an iterative and discovery-oriented process (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). It allowed for flexibility in the process as I sought to make sense of the data. Therefore, the data coding and analysis process did not occur in a linear fashion. My analytical procedures included reviewing my notes and memos and coding the interview transcriptions.

Reflexive Journal/Notes/Memos

During and after each interview, I wrote down my ideas and thoughts about what I observed, heard, and potential concepts arose. This note-taking process, often referred to as memo-writing (Andrew, Pederson, & McEvoy, 2011; Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Saldana, 2016): (a) granted me the chance to record what occurred during the interviews, (b) allowed me to process my initial thoughts about the participants' comments, and (c) granted me the chance to capture new descriptors as they emerged, which were helpful during the data analysis phase (Bloomberg & Volpe; Hesse-Biber & Leavy). Additionally, memo-

writing allowed me to become more reflexive about my positionality and subjectivity during the interviews and how this impacted what and who I studied, as well as what I experienced.

Initially, memoing allowed me to realize that my interview guide was too long and needed to be edited. Reflecting on the length of the interview and what questions I did not get to ask, I realized that I would need to revise the structure of my interview guide. During the interviewing process, I kept note of patterns that I noticed forming after my first three interviews. The women in this study discussed individuals who they viewed as leaders and after the third interview, I noticed that several of the women noted a similar figure in their lives as the person they first viewed as a leader. As the interviews progressed, I continued to make note of which women had a similar experience and who other women mentioned as their first leader. Additionally, as I reviewed the women's resumes, I made notes about the educational credentials the women had. This allowed me to further consider the role that graduate studies impacted the women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Interview Transcriptions

The interviews were transcribed using a professional company and Christina (the graduate student). I analyzed the transcripts – hard copies of the interviews. Additionally, given the suggestion of Bloomberg and Volpe my process began with assigning "identification codes to each transcript" (p. 189) therefore, making it easier to locate each participant's interview. The interview conversations were transcribed verbatim. Additionally, ensuring that the participants' thoughts and words were accurately represented was important, given the guiding principles of Black feminist thought. I submitted audio files to a professional transcription service for assistance with the actual transcription process, and I also utilized the services of a graduate

student (a Black female pursuing a Master's degree in Sport Management) to assist with additional transcribing (and eventual coding – which will be discussed in the following section).

Since I utilized a transcription service, I listened to and watched the interviews at least once, prior to receiving the hard copies, to further immerse myself in the data. I then watched the video recordings with the hard copies in hand and made notes of long pauses that occurred, as well as any laughter, interruptions, and outside noises I heard or saw (Seidman, 2013). Memo writing continued during this time and allowed for more opportunities to write about my thoughts, connections to my research questions, and possible emergent concepts. This stage allowed me to ensure that the conversations were transcribed properly and gave me the opportunity to remove any identifying information (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). It also granted me the opportunity to continue jotting down additional thoughts about the participants' responses and early ideas about coding. After I felt I had an accurate representation of the Black women's words, I performed a member-check with them (as described previously), to ensure that I accurately captured their thoughts and perceptions during the interviews and removed all identifying information. The Christina also reviewed the transcriptions to ensure all of the identifying information was removed. Upon sending the transcriptions to participants and Christina reviewed them, additional information was removed from the transcriptions according to their comments. After the transcription process was complete, I began the process of coding the interview data. I continued the memo-writing process as these memos were beneficial during the various cycles within the coding process.

A Priori Themes: Coding the SIMP

A priori themes – themes created before the coding process has begun (Saldana, 2016), were utilized during this study. In the case of the Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP)

the elements were treated as overarching themes when coding the data. The themes generated were based on the preliminary elements presented in the SIMP: (a) sport culture and power, (b) policies and practices – with the subthemes of recruitment and hiring and practices and racially gendered workday, (c) diversity resistance – with subthemes "social closure"; occupational segregation; and homosocial reproduction, and (d) legitimate power – with subthemes androcentricity and Whiteness. The coding process utilized found support or rejection of the presented themes.

Coding the Data (Interviews and Organizational Audits)

In qualitative research, a code is "most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language based or visual data" (Saldana, 2016, p. 4). According the Bloomberg and Volpe (2016) this system of classification consists of noting words or phrases that allowed me to organize the information found within my data. I prioritized the participants' voices while analyzing the interviews as their perceptions were what was important and "my interpretations of their narratives via coding is my contribution to the meaning-making process" (Saldana, p. 17). The coding process begins with the memos I write after each interview has been conducted (and as I re-listen to them), as I examine the participants' resumes/CVs, and as I conduct my organizational audits.

In Vivo Coding. I manually coded the data from the interviews. This first cycle coding involved In Vivo (literal coding of the data verbatim). This process allowed me create codes from the words or short phrases found in the actual language found within the interview transcripts (Saldana, 2016). Saldana further explains that In Vivo coding relies on the "use of terms and concepts drawn from the words of the participants themselves" (p. 106). Additionally,

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using the actual words from the participants allowed me to prioritize the voice of the participants, which was an important concept given Black feminist thought. During this phase, I highlighted and underlined words and/or phrases that: (a) featured the participant's voices and (b) were repeated heavily or were heavily emphasized. I achieved this by working "line-by-line" (Saldana, p. 229) to generate codes from the participants' actual words. I kept participant inspired codes which were the participants' direct words or phrases, and then generated broader codes based on themes emerging in the data. During the In Vivo coding process I wrote participant inspired codes in the margins in black ink, while my researcher generated codes were written in black ink.

Transitional Coding Method. As a new researcher, I found the amount of codes generated from the In Vivo coding process overwhelming. I then employed a transitional coding method, coding the codes, as a way to move from the smaller codes generated from the line-by-line coding process to larger units of data (Saldana, 2016). During this phase of coding I moved from splitting the data to "lumping" the data into larger units of data (Saldana). For example, I coded the participants' comments or remarks that pertained to microaggressions or racism under the theme of diversity resistance. Likewise, I coded the participants' references to friends and family as personal networks; whereas, their references to associations and entities were coded as professional networks. In each case, I tried to determine the broader theme that the specific comments of the participants' represented.

Concept Coding. During In Vivo coding, I simultaneously engaged in concept coding. Concept coding was the "assigning of meso or macro levels to the data" (Saldana, 2016, p. 119). Saldana continues, "A concept is a word or short phrase that symbolically represents a suggested meaning broader than a single item or action" (p. 119). I identified broader themes from the data

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that were associated with the elements contained in the SIMP or related to any element of Black women's opportunities and experiences in sport leadership. For example, I coded under the broad themes of the SIMP policies and practices, diversity resistance, and legitimate power.

Pattern Coding. From the concept coding of "lumping" the data together I began the second cycle of coding, pattern coding. Pattern coding "is a way of grouping summaries into a smaller number of categories, themes, or concepts" (Saldana, 2016, p. 236). Pattern coding allowed me to pull together the data from In Vivo and concept coding into more meaningful units of analysis. The codes generated from this phase were inferential codes that further helped to explain the women's perceptions and discover emergent relevant elements for the SIMP. I further coded the data from each of the concept codes into smaller patterns that corresponded to sub-dimensions/subthemes. For example, I engaged in pattern coding of data from the broader themes policies and practices into the subthemes of recruitment and hiring and racially gendered workday. Data from diversity resistance was pattern coded into the subthemes of social closure and homosocial reproduction. Data from legitimate power was pattern coded into the subthemes of androcentricity and Whiteness.

Summary of Methods

Collins explained that researchers utilizing Black feminist thought (which is the theoretical foundation for my research) should commit to making visible multiple truths, incorporating interests and values of participants, and creating opportunities for self-definition/self-determination, while maintaining the importance of Black women's lived experiences. These concepts were important as I conducted my interviews. A shift in epistemological frameworks that appreciates the lived experiences of Black women has the power to uplift Black women in sport leadership. Research needs to create space for

epistemological frameworks that distinguish cultural standpoints located at the intersections of race and gender (Dillard, 2000). Using critical research methodologies to counter the current power structures in sport leadership is integral to creating frameworks and theories that illuminate the leadership capacity and qualities of Black women in sport.

The experiences of Black women in sport leadership are often tangentially gleaned from research methods targeted to address the experiences of Black men and White women. However, research that seeks to emancipate Black women may only do so if it stems from their voices (being centered in all aspects of the research) telling their stories. Traditional methods of research that view 'the researched' as just a means to an end will not work in this vein. The methodological procedures to be employed in this study are in alignment with Collins' (2000) and Dillard's (2000) suggestions. This study was designed to serve in an emancipatory function for Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership in that it: (a) was grounded in an epistemological framework that centers the voice and lived experiences of Black women (from their cultural standpoint and social location) as knowledge, (b) utilized critical methodology to contest the prevailing power structures in which Black women must contend, and (c) obtained varied sources of information to reveal, contextualize, and make visible Black women's multiple truths as leaders in sport.

Chapter IV

Findings

The primary purpose of this chapter is to report the findings in accordance with evidence in the data that supported the Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) or was not adequately captured in the SIMP but relevant to Black women's opportunities and experiences in sport leadership. Therefore, themes for the SIMP were established a priori – based on elements contained within. A priori themes are those that are generated before coding has occurred (Brooks, McCluskey, Turley, King, 2015; Saldana, 2016). Additional themes were generated via open coding based on the words from the participants. These were based on the women's discussions and references to experiences and encounters they had due to being Black women. This chapter will discuss the results relative to the analysis of data obtained in the: (a) document analyses, (b) organizational audits, and (c) transcripts of conversations with the Black women who participated in this study about their sport leadership opportunities and experiences.

Access to Opportunities: Educated and Connected

Document analyses were conducted to examine the participants' educational profiles, the duration of athletic employment (which was reported in Table 2 in the women's profiles) and their professional development activities and affiliations. As mentioned previously, prior to each interview I analyzed the participants' resumes to examine their undergraduate majors, highest level of education obtained or pursuing, and the length of time working in intercollegiate athletics. The analyses highlighted intriguing aspects about the women's backgrounds. The

results of their duration of athletic employment was reported in Table 2 in Chapter 3. The analyses revealed that the length of employment ranged from six to 35.5 years. Following is a discussion of the women's educational profile and their professional development and affiliations.

Educational Profiles. All of the women entered college intending to pursue majors that were different than or unrelated to sport management/athletic administration. Only one of the five women in Division I majored in a discipline related to sport. This woman switched her major halfway through her collegiate career to health and sport studies. Sienna (Division I - FBS (Senior Associate Athletic Director) explained during her interview:

> I would say that at first when I went to college, and I couldn't participate in my sport anymore – I was a softball player –I wanted to work with the men's basketball team. To which I was told several times, 'are you sure you want to men's basketball and not women's?' And I was like, 'yes'. Which they allowed me to do. And I did that for my four years of undergrad and in graduate school. That pretty much led me down the career path that I have. I did not know when I went to college that you could major in sports management. I didn't actually realize that until I think my junior year and that's when I switched and became a sports management major.

Sport management was not represented as a career option for Sienna as she entered college. If not for her early experience working with the men's basketball team (which she had to advocate for) she may not have known about that as option at all. As Sienna explained, finding out about sport management as a major, switched her trajectory and ultimately put her on her current path. Other majors from the women in Division I included: (a) journalism, (b) sociology, (c)

communications, and (d) criminal justice. Additionally, the highest level of education achieved by four out of the five women in Division I was a Master's degree in sport management or sport studies. There was one participant who had two Master's degrees, one in adult and higher education and one in criminal justice. One participant was working on completing her juris doctor.

Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA), was one of the more credentialed women. She too entered college intending to major in something else beside a sport related discipline and later switched her major. Hannah described:

I think it pretty much started for me when I got to undergrad at [former university]. I was an engineering major with a business minor. Didn't necessarily have any issues with my classes, but I did not like them. But I had got to [former university] a little bit early and because I was African American, they call it the [former university program] to make sure that you get acclimated to campus before school actually starts, and I got paired with the athletics director. Working with him, just talking about different aspects of athletics, I got intrigued and I was excited. He said, "You're a good student. You can make money here by tutoring." I ended up doing that. That kinda sparked the interest in me to go into athletics. And then, obviously, some of my close friends are now, they were on the football team, and specifically the basketball team. So I'm tutoring them, 'cause now we have similar classes and some of the business courses, and we both were like, "This is not... I just don't wanna major in this anymore." So I changed my major to... It was called Sports Studies at the time.

Hannah's discussion about her experiences closely aligned with Sienna's experiences. Were in not for an early experience with athletics during her undergraduate career, Hannah would not have known that majoring in sport management was an option. Those experiences and ultimately switching her major, led Hannah to her current career path. Aside from her Bachelors of Science in health and sport studies, Hannah has a Master's in sports studies, a specialists in educational leadership, and was working towards completing a PhD in educational leadership.

The educational background for the Division III participants reflected Bachelor's degrees such as: (a) integrated marketing and philosophy, (b) biology, (c) urban affairs, and (d) communication studies. In terms of graduate school endeavors, two of the four women had Master's degrees in sports leadership or management. Additionally, three out of the four women either pursued or were in the process of pursuing terminal degrees. One participant pursued a juris doctor and two of the women are currently working to complete requirements for PhDs.

Regardless of the division in which the women were employed, their educational backgrounds highlighted the fact that sport management (i.e. a career in sport leadership) was not presented as a viable option to the women when entering college, as exhibited by Sienna and Hannah's comments. Lack of representation in the field makes it difficult for women to see themselves in such roles. Therefore, they may not initially pursue such careers. This was true for all of the women, even though six of the women were former college athletes. When discussing how to increase the representation of Black women in intercollegiate athletics, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) described, "I think that many Black women are interested in and feel a calling or responsibility to make space for other Black women. And the more Black women you have, the more Black women you can get." Similarly, Heather, (Division III Director of Athletics) commented:

The problem is those who sit in positions of authority do not encourage young Black

women that this is an accessible field. And since they don't see many faces like them, and

the ones who do get in the positions, get battle fatigue, it's hard to sell a product like

athletics when you rarely see someone who looks like you.

As Susanna and Heather discussed, Black women often make space for other Black women, and

in order for young Black women to view sport management as a viable career option there needs

to be more Black women in field. Additionally, the analyses of the women's resumes pointed to

the potential role education may play in making intercollegiate athletics more accessible to Black

women. As Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) stated:

I still believe that terminal degrees allow access to spaces where people who

identify as Black and/or female don't traditionally have access to or gives them

great...they're perceived to have greater credibility when they're in those spaces if

they possess terminal degrees and/or positional power.

Susanna's belief may help to explain why 5 out of the 10 women were pursuing or pursued

terminal degrees.

The document analyses provided insight into the women's educational experiences

(academic majors, degrees, etc.). The analyses prompted additional questions from me about

how the women arrived at their current positions and how they were exposed to sport

management as a potential career option. For example, the women shared the impetus for their

degree changes or their transition to sport despite not having a sport related degree.

Professional Development Activities and Affiliations. The document analyses also

included a review of the professional development activities and affiliations listed in the

women's resumes. Professional development activities and affiliations were analyzed to help me to better understand the networks in which the women were involved. The overarching question I wanted to answer with this analysis was: were the women's professional networks/connections more social or professional in nature? At the Division I (FBS, FCS, non-football) level, some of the women's professional development activities and affiliations included: (a) Women Leaders in College Sports (formerly National Association of Collegiate Women Athletic Administrators), (b) Minority Opportunities Athletic Association (MOAA), (c) NCAA Leadership Institute, and (d) diversity and inclusion committees. One participant at the Division I (FBS, FCS, non-football) level was a member of a Black sorority. Much of the professional development activities and affiliations listed by the women at the Division I (FBS, FCS, non-football) level were professional in nature.

The professional development activities and affiliations for Hannah were: (a) Women Leaders in College Sports, (b) National Association of Collegiate Director of Athletics (NACDA), (c) sorority, (d) church affiliation, (e), NCAA Minority Leadership Institute, and (f) National Academic Advising Association. Hannah was active in several organizations, both social and professional in nature.

The women at the Division III level mainly listed professional activities and affiliations versus personal ones. The professional development activities and affiliations of the participants at the Division III level were: (a) MOAA, (b) NCAA Leadership Institute, (c) Women Leaders in College Sports, (d) NACDA, and (e) NCAA Pathways. There was one participant at the Division III level that did not list any professional development activities or affiliations on her resume.

This component of the document analysis was insightful. Overall, the women were heavily engaged with athletics related professional development activities and affiliations. There were some commonalities across all three divisions, as multiple participants at each division participated in: (a) Women Leaders in College Sports (formerly NACWAA), (b) NCAA Leadership Institute, and (c) MOAA. Women Leaders in College Sports provides professional development and mentorship to women. The NCAA Leadership Institute provides tailored programming for ethnic minorities through professional development programs. MOAA promotes the creation of sport cultures that value teaching and learning for self and others. These organizations speak to either race or gender and were important sites for these women.

The finding suggested that these associations/affiliations may be ones in which more Black women with aspirations in sport leadership should be encouraged to join/participate. Additionally, at least one woman at each division participated in a sorority. This additional finding supported the importance of Black women to have social connections, a sisterhood, and the support of other Black women, being in spaces in which they are able to speak freely and express themselves (Collins, 2000). The document analyses offered a context of the women's educational profile and salient professional development engagement and personal/social networks. In sum, the women's education and connectedness validated them as leaders and offered them entre and access to sport leadership opportunities.

Organizational Cultures: Presentations of Positivity

The purpose of the organizational audits was to examine, at the macro level, expressed evidence of the universities' and/or athletic departments' position toward diversity and inclusion. This process consisted of reviewing the respective universities' and athletic departments' websites for mission statements, diversity statements, and/or any other evidence. I searched for

statements, centers, goals, etc. referencing a positive position towards diversity and inclusion, and if I and my graduate student assistant were able to easily access the statements or additional resources from the websites we examined those materials. In the case of some universities there may have been additional evidence present but I chose to focus on information that was explicitly available. Information was considered explicit if it were readily available on the website. The general findings from the organizational audits were that all of the ten universities and five of the athletic departments espoused a positive position toward diversity and inclusion and there were no distinct differences across the three divisions.

The fact that all ten universities and five of the athletic departments provided a diversity statement depicted a positive position towards diversity and inclusion. Much of the language in the statements showed an active engagement with diversity. Many of the statements used words such as *commit*, *strive*, *accept*, and *promote* diversity and inclusion. One of the unique findings at the Division I level, was evidenced in one of the universities that promoted additional resources in the form a diversity center. Additionally, one university pointed to specific goals of increasing diversity. Even though the universities and athletic departments used 'buzz' words within their statements, Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) recounted how the athletic department's initiative at her university used language to appear inclusive even though actions are not necessarily being taken. She explained:

> How I defined it pretty much, 'cause I'm responsible for creating all this literature and stuff that we put out. But we made it very palatable. It's the [name of initiative], that's our diversity and inclusion initiative. It's very unassuming. It's the [athletics diversity initiative] safe zone. So it's kinda ambiguous, gotta ask a question to really know what it is. Are you safe? Yes, 'cause we put the word "safe" there.

As Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) expressed the wording used, aimed to signify a certain level of 'commitment' which may not actually be present within the athletic department. Additionally, many of the statements included phrases that heralded the benefits of diversity. Such phrases emphasized how diversity made the campus community better, using language such as, "a diverse student body and curriculum gives [university] students unique and important opportunities for intellectual, emotional and ethical growth," "diversity isn't a slogan at [university]; it's a reality that's woven into our mission and guides everything we do," and "diversity and inclusion are essential to a thriving community." One of the 10 universities also pointed to specific goals of diversity stating that they aimed to, "create a physical campus environment that recognizes and celebrates diversity" and "increase underrepresented ALANA student enrollment (African, Latino(a), Asian, Native American)." Such positive positions gave the impression across all three divisions that diversity and inclusion were integral components of the universities and athletic departments. However, the positive positions presented by the universities and/or athletic departments were often in contrast to the participants' experiences.

There were two universities in which this positive position about diversity and inclusion seemed to yield a visible impact. In both cases, the universities' leadership recently changed and Women of Color were in key senior leadership positions. As Rebecca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) mentioned a Black woman from this new leadership was integral in her being hired. In the case of Susanna, Division I – FCS (Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) the university included Women of Color within the university president's cabinet. As she explained:

…going back to leadership it's probably the most diverse leadership I've seen in a leadership team for a university where our president's chief of staff is a Filipino woman, our VP for communications is a Black woman, our Provost is a Black woman, our Dean of Students is a Hispanic woman. And that's half of the cabinet, athletic director's a woman.

As stated at the outset, intercollegiate athletics is situated in the overall culture of higher education. The organizational audits via positive presentations in slogans, buzz words, narratives, images, etc., revealed that the universities and athletic departments espoused positive sentiments about diversity and inclusion. Based on this assessment, my general assumption was the organizational culture in the women's respective work settings was diverse, inclusive, and supportive of opportunities and experiences for Black women. These findings offered a foundation to explore the extent to which the positive culture espoused was actually experienced by the Black women in this study.

Organizational Culture: Implicit Impact and Intentional Activism

My earlier discussion about sport leadership being predominately White and male as visualized by Table 1, led me to see if the sport organizational cultures of Divisions I, II, III impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. As Table 1 conveyed, in leadership positions, Black women are found in low numbers across all three divisions. While the organizational audits provided insight that the universities and athletic departments had positive positions towards diversity & inclusion the women's experiences were not congruent with these positions. First, the composition of Women of Color in the athletic departments in which the women in this study were employed, did not reflect the nature of the diversity espoused by the organizations. For example, nine out of the 10 women were the only Black

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women in their departments. The other woman was one of two Black women in her department.

Secondly, the women recognized that sport organizational cultures could impact individuals

negatively and Black women specifically. As Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director

External Affairs) expressed, current sport organizational cultures negatively impacted their

employees, "I just think that sport organizations, those type of cultures can have and I would say

a detrimental impact on its employees because of our lack of investment in them." Brianna

continued:

> …if that work/life balance piece isn't something that is preached in that department or in
>
> that office or whatever, that's very detrimental, because then you start to sacrifice your
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> health, you start to sacrifice family time. And then that starts to play into a mental game
>
> with you and then that affects you mentally, and it's just a domino effect of how working
>
> in athletics can really affect you in a lot of different ways, because of just their lack of
>
> investment in the people that are working in it.

The culture of athletic departments can be such that employees are often asked to give their all to

the job with seemingly minimal regard for the impact these demands can have on individuals.

The impact of these demanding cultures can be more impactful for Black women as Heather

(Division III Director of Athletics) explained:

> I do think the way that these sport organizational cultures are setup, has a line of privilege
>
> and entitlement that rings all through it, and I think that is some of the reasons it becomes
>
> harder and harder for Women of Color to break through because we're not privileged,
>
> and we're not entitled.

Entitlement and privilege can create environments that are not welcoming towards Black women and may aid in Black women's lack of representation within intercollegiate athletic leadership. Consequently, the Black women in this study felt compelled to address the lack of Black women in various ways. One of the main ways the Black women in this study worked to increase the presence of Black women was through mentorship. As Willow (Division I- Non football Director of Operations, Track and Field) expressed, "I think mentorship is a great thing. It's excellent source for people to grow." All of the women expressed similar sentiments about the importance of mentorship. Three of the women touched on an additional obligation for Black women to mentor, especially other young Black women. As Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) stated, "I think, yes, for Black women, you gotta lift people up, help them out." Hannah highlighted the importance that mentorship for Black women because it is necessary for Black women to lift other Black women up as they make strides and experience successes in the field.

Melody (Division III Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA) further pushed this point when she discussed:

> I think that that unspoken obligation [to mentor] is much stronger for Black women. And I think any Black woman who will not pick up the phone call, or return an email, or be there when needed, there's a special place in hell for her. Because she knows from first-hand experience just how difficult it is to be in that skin.

Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) also talked about her commitment to mentoring young Black women and felt compelled to mentor because she felt obligated to share with others:

I have a slew of young black women that stay in touch with me after they graduate. I

have several who have been my student athletes, who now are grown. But definitely I

have to, I have to give back. For myself, being one of 28, my job isn't done right if by the

time I retire, I'm still one of 28. I need to add to that.

Mentorship was simply one of the ways that the women in this study worked to increase the

representation of Black women in intercollegiate athletics. Three other women discussed the

ways that they worked to increase Black women's representation by: (a) actively acknowledging

Black women's underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics, (b) providing access to similar

resources, and (c) confronting the issue in the classroom. Gabrielle (Division III Associate

Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) discussed her responsibility was to

acknowledge the problem on various levels and encourage younger Black women to go into the

field. Gabrielle explained:

I think that I have a responsibility to acknowledge it and to work to get people into the

industry. On the second tier, I think acknowledging it to Black community, I did a lot as

a coach when I recruited. When I had Black females that were on my team telling them

that we need more people like you to work in college athletics. And for them to

understand how critical it was for them, they would look at me and say "Man how did

you get here, or what made you get here?" I was like "I had somebody that told me that I

should get into it. I was going... to med school, I was going to be a doctor. So for them to

say that I should be working in college athletics opened my eyes to a whole other realm

that I never thought was possible. Because I didn't see anybody like me working. So I

have an obligation to push people that I see it in them to, into these roles.

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Gabrielle understood the pivotal impact that others had on her career trajectory and believed that encouraging other young Black women into intercollegiate athletics could continue to increase Black women's presence. Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) offered similar commentary about how she worked to address Black women's underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics. Due to working with a high level administrator early in her career she felt better equipped to handle various experiences she encountered. Susanna believed that if more Black women were provided with similar access and experiences, more Black women would be better prepared to handle obstacles they confronted. Susanna explained:

> The responsibility that I feel is a spiritual responsibility to develop Black women in a space that allows them to have access to the things that I had access to in spite of me being a Black woman. Right? And so I think being exposed to the struggles of my boss when she was an SWA when I was a graduate assistant, I was the only graduate assistant in that department who actually got to experience and hear firsthand about some of the struggles of being an administrator, being a woman administrator. The way our profession is set up, no one that looks like me I would think was having that same type of experience at the time, as a graduate assistant, right? That's a pretty high level access point. And so I think because I had that experience, I was better prepared and equipped to handle the experiences that I had personally once I became a professional. I think there are a number of Black women who maybe are just thrown into the profession and they have these experiences, and they don't know how to process it, or they think that they're the only ones having the experience or they think that's what the experience is like everywhere in the profession, and that's not the case.

Gabrielle and Susanna, both worked to actively acknowledge Black women's underrepresentation and provide younger Black women with access to spaces and people within intercollegiate athletics that they were to have access to early on in their careers. Additionally, Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) worked to address Black women's underrepresentation via a different means, the classroom. Hanna described:

> …it goes back to the classroom. You can't start to try to change something that's already in place. You gotta go before that place. So, the same way you will look at K through 12 education. If you have a huge issue in a high school where people are coming lacking something. Then you don't address it at high school, you address it in middle school. So my perspective is, I can't address solely what the issue is in college athletics at college athletics. I have to address it with sports management and administration programs where students are coming into those majors because they wanna work in that field. So then let me learn you now. Before you get there. And then when you get there, know I'll be in this classroom reaching out to all of you, like, "What are you doing?" Remember when we talked about privilege in sociology of sport? Not just White privilege. But privilege that you have an education. Privileges that come with you being a man or a woman in certain cases. All of that. Acknowledging it. That starts before.

Hannah believed that in order to address Black women's underrepresentation in intercollegiate athletics required a more unique approach. She believed that it may not be possible to make the necessary changes directly working in athletics but by increasing the interest of young Black women in sport management programs. Which is an important area to address, especially given the results of the document analyses which reported that two out of the 10 women majored in a sport management/sport studies field.

As the women in this study highlighted, the cultures of intercollegiate athletic departments create environments that are not necessarily places where Black women can thrive. The women discussed the various ways in which they worked to push against the environments created by sport organizational cultures. Mentorship was a main avenue that the women in this study worked to increase the representation of Black women in intercollegiate athletics.

Surprisingly to me, there were no distinct differences in experiences with sport organizational culture amongst the women across the three divisions. The women had varied experiences no matter division they represented. It was especially difficult to make conclusions around Division II since Hannah was the sole representative of the division. It is possible that more distinctions may have been present if there were additional women represented amongst the sample. Although the impact of the organizational culture on the women's leadership opportunities and experiences seemed more implicit than explicit, the women were intentional in their efforts and activities to support other Black women.

Leadership: At the Intersection of Race, Gender, and Age

The women in this study highlighted various ways that their race and gender impacted other people's perceptions about their roles, perceived power, and ability to do their jobs. More often gender was the more salient identity, but nuances of being a Black woman in sport were emphasized when specifically asked about those intersections. This fact may be attributed to the context of sport and how male dominated the field tends to be. For example, when I asked the women to discuss if there were times they were reminded that they were Black women, I received explicit remarks from the women about their experiences. Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) stated, "I don't know that I would ever consider a situation as a reminder that I'm a Black woman, 'cause society allows me to have this

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[experience] in which I'm not allowed to forget." Similarly, Rebecca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) recounted:

> Everyday. Just about every space I walk in…I would say I'm the only one there. More specifically, when I was at [previous university] they had in our conference a group of senior woman administrators…like there's nobody. And those are the moments it's just a huge *sigh*. Like nobody's making an effort at this point.

As Susanna and Rebecca explained, they are constantly reminded of being Black women. The absence of other Black women in their departments and intercollegiate athletics overall serve as a consistent reminder that they were the only Black women in several spaces. The unique experiences of Black women were also expressed by some of the women when asked if they believed their experiences and/or leadership opportunities were different than those of Black men, White women, and White men. Willow (Division I- non football Director of Operations, Track and Field) explained, "I know in the business, it's hard for Black women like myself, and we often have to work harder than most people to prove our credentials to prove we are fit for the job." Working harder than others was a common theme that came up during the interviews. Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) who discussed a popular adage that Black women have to 'work twice as hard to get half as far' suggested that this should be multiplied by four. Hannah continued:

> It's a fact. You have to know your stuff. And not just in your niche. You need to be well versed in all of it. Don't come off saying, "Oh I know that. I know that." Be quiet about it. But be knowledgeable internally about all of these things. So if this person only needs to know one thing in order to get their job, that means you need to know four. It's just a fact. That's the way it goes.

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Having to work twice, or four times as hard, could be attributed to the fact that Black women are not often expected to be in leadership positions. As Gabrielle (Division II Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) highlighted:

> When you're a Black female, people just don't see you. They haven't seen you in that point of authority. I think a lot of times you have to show your education upfront and early so people understand you haven't just got into this positions, you've worked hard to get here.

Gabrielle and Hannah both touched on the importance of being well versed and presenting your knowledge/education upfront. Being knowledgeable about various topics, having athletic experience, and being 'educated' were ways to mediate reactions to Black women being in leadership roles. Not being expected to be in leadership positions affected how the women performed their jobs and interacted with coworkers. As Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) recounted:

> Every day, it affects it in the way that I speak to people in the way that I explain things to people, in the way that I dress, in the way that I have to dismiss people from conversations. It affects it in every possible aspect that I could think of.

Having to be aware of how others perceived them as leaders meant that more mundane daily tasks (getting dressed, sending emails, etc.) bore more weight for them as Black women. Those tasks required more thoughtful approaches.

The women also discussed how being a Black woman could be a hindrance, assistance, neither, or both to working in athletics. Brianna (Division I- FBS Director of External Affairs explained, "I think it's both. I think it's definitely an assistance for you to get in the door, but

then for you to move up, it's a hindrance." Overall, the women felt that being a Black woman should never be considered a hindrance in its self but as Brianna's comment displayed, being a Black woman could propose additional barriers towards career advancement. Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) also discussed how being a Black woman provided initial opportunities but if complications presented themselves then additional support was lacking:

> Being a Black woman has helped me utilize a lot of the initial programs that the NCAA has for Women of Color. They're willing to give money and push for Women of Color, but I don't think that that has truly opened up the networks to make real change because the deal is, once we get into these positions, the support system to keep us here or to help us stay in it if something went wrong at an institution is not there, I just find a lot of people in those type of programs to be cheerleaders. So basically while everything is going good they're cheering you on, when something goes bad they disappear.

As Heather and Brianna touched on, being a Black woman did not have negative connotations for them and may even have provided them access to some spaces but may not provide further access to promotions or further advancement.

Influences of the intersections of being a Black woman were also present in more personal ways for the women in this study. Black Feminist Thought points to specific experiences that Black women may collectively experience. For example "social motherhood" (Collins, 2000, p. 195) – caretaking of children in the form of informal adoption or community mothering of children was present. Two participants, Susanna and Heather, reported caring for their nephews at various points in their lives. Caring for children was not a question asked by me but was brought up by the participants on their own. In Heather's (Division III Director of Athletics) case she discussed critical incidents in her life and how she, "raised my two kids and

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my nephew." Similarly, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) shared, "I actually had custody of my nephew, who was in high school at the time he moved to [western state] with me to play basketball…" In these scenarios, the care Heather and Susanna provided to their nephews were necessary and unquestioned situations. Heather and Susanna providing social motherhood to their nephews was significant because they appeared to take on the responsibility without worry (at least no that discussed with me in the interviews) to the potential impact this may have on their career aspirations. The care of their nephews seemed to be the dominant issue.

I See 'Me': Leadership Role Models

Role models were another important aspect in which the intersections of race and gender were present for the women in this study. Eight of the 10 women recounted that their first memory of someone being a leader was a women. For five of those women that 'leadership model' was their mother. Given the negative connotations often associated with Black mothers (Collins, 2000), it is an important finding that for five of the women their mothers or mother figures provided them with positive examples of leadership. For example as Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) recounted:

> My first memory of a leader. It's so, I'm not even gonna say it's a cliche. I always go to my mother. Because, not just because she's my mother, but my mom is the type of mom that explained things to us. It was never like, "This is what I said, so this is why we're doing it."

Early on, Hannah's mother displayed the importance of communication and how that relates to making decisions. Similarly, Melody (Division III Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA)

spoke about how her grandmother (who raised her) displayed leadership characteristics just by being the person that she was. As Melody explained:

> My first memory…probably my grandmother. She has raised too many children for me to count. Her own, her grandchildren and her first two great grandchildren. She raised me, she's taught me what it means to be able to juggle multiple things. She's pretty steadfast. She stands by her word. She is a person of action. Those things really defined for me what a leader is supposed to be and also what it means to be a strong woman and the necessity of that. So I would say probably my first memory of leadership would be my grandmother for sure. And she is the person who, good, bad or indifferent, forced us all to get into sport.

Melody and Hannah's grandmother and mother provided them positive and healthy examples of what a Black woman in a leadership role looks like. This was not necessarily because of their title but because of how they carried themselves and traits they displayed.

For the other three women, prominent women in their lives who worked in sports played pivotal roles in shaping their first memories of who was a leader and what characteristics they displayed. These women served as role models for the women working or competing in sports. For example, Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director External Affairs) discussed her first memory of someone being a leader:

> …Thinking back to the internship I had with the [sport entity]. I worked with [Director of entity]. She wasn't my supervisor, she oversees the [sport entity], so I actually worked with someone more on the day-to-day, but she's very confident. She has a great personality, very approachable, but very assertive at the same time. She's been with the

[sport entity] for forever and is still there. And she wouldn't even realize that 'cause I don't even think I realized how much of an impact that internship had on me until afterwards. And I told her that. But she really holds her own and that was the admirable... And she's a white female, but she's a female nonetheless. We already know that we're up against walls as females, in general. So just seeing her have the charisma, have the personality, but still have that balance of "I'm assertive and I'm in control and you know that."

Seeing the director of the [sport entity] left a lasting impression on Brianna and helped to shape her understanding of women of leadership positions. Brianna's internship provided her with a model of leadership that centered a woman in sports. Additionally, Rebecca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) recounted how seeing prominent women athletes helped to shape her understanding of women in leadership:

I'm actually going to give you an example that actually kind of shaped my career a little bit more. I was probably 12 or 13, and the [Professional Women's Sport Association] would have a tournament, a classic, in [Midwestern city], which is where I'm from. And I saw, women competing at the top of their game. And at the time it was really just my first experience seeing women competing at a professional level in their sport. And Dara Lewis [White women professional golfer] at the time, she's…an incredible athlete. I'm 12 years old, and I'm looking up there like 'oh my God, she's so great, this is awesome'. She treated me and the other workers, pretty much, just like she treated her manager that was there with her the whole time. …Having that experience and seeing that women who are really professionals at the top of their game they may not look at it or think of it as leadership. But from my perspective, she recognized very clearly that there were young

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kids like me looking at her and seeing her as an example. She wouldn't know that she

kind of shaped me to pursue a career in athletics, but she did. I would say, that was

probably the first experience that I had, and the first real understanding of what it means

to be an example.

As Brianna and Rebecca highlighted seeing women in sports earlier on in life and their careers

helped to shape their desires to pursue their careers in athletics. Seeing and interacting with

women in sport made careers within that field seem like viable options. As Abney and Richey

(1991) underscored, role models are an integral component to Black women's development as

sport leaders. Such an early encounter with Black women and other women role models, seemed

to have a lasting impact on the women in this study. They referenced these encounters as

significant to their career trajectories.

'Splintered': Personal and Professional Identities

Lastly, the women made clear distinctions about what information and what aspects of

their personal lives they felt comfortable sharing with their coworkers. All of the women

negotiated various aspects of their personalities and personal lives. Specifically, five of the

women spoke explicitly about their identity negotiation processes (McDowell & Cunningham,

2009) – where and with whom they felt most comfortable being their true selves. For example,

Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) spoke

about how she felt that her sarcasm was a trait that "not everybody gets" and when possible she

does no share that part of her personality at work. Gabrielle felt most comfortable being her full

self once she left work:

I think when I leave work, I have a great network of people around campus that I'm able to go have dinner with. I just bought a house, so having people over to my house and just sit there and just be your natural self.

Aspects of identity negotiation were also present for Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) as she discussed her desire to maintain distance between herself and her coworkers. Susanna explained that she often experienced discomfort sharing certain aspects with her coworkers because for her, they were not her friends:

Uncomfortable 'cause my coworkers aren't my friends and I'm pretty intentional about what I share with people who aren't my friends, and I'm also pretty intentional about making sure they understand that we're not friends. And not in a way like, "You're not my friend." It's like, "Hey we're colleagues, and we can kick a happy hour down." Probably not getting an invitation to my baby shower, and you have to be okay with that.

As Susanna continued, there was a clear distinction made between those that she considered her friends versus who she did not. The spaces Susanna felt most comfortable sharing all aspects of herself were, "my friends and my family and I think those people who I consider friends now but we initially met professionally." Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) shared comparable sentiments about keeping certain aspects of her personal life separate from those she worked with. As Hannah explained:

I love working, but I also love being a wife, and I want to have children. And things personally happened where it kinda shifted the trajectory of both of those things. It is a very tender spot for me, and people just, in general, it's what they ask. "How's your husband? When are you having kids?" It pisses me off, but I know that they don't know.

So then I have to check that within myself. But that's the one part I really don't feel like sharing. Again, I just I don't wanna talk to them about that.

Hannah believed that distance needed to be maintained between those personal aspects of herself and her coworkers. She felt most able to be her authentic self with "her people" which included her family, church, and sorority:

Again, my family they're built-in best friends. My sister and my cousins. I do cousin nights. I go to church every Sunday, I fellowship with the people that I've known my whole life, even before I was born. I like to be around people that knew my people before I was even here. It gives me a greater sense of self. And my sorority. Again, they knew me as a high school student and then I crossed into that sorority. So now they see me as a woman, and they knew me when I was 13 and 14. So it's good.

As Susanna and Hannah highlighted, the women displayed a strong desire to dictate what aspects of themselves they presented at work and further emphasized the importance of creating spaces where they had the ability to be their full selves.

For Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) this delineation was not always made by choice. She explained, "My Blackness. I'm not allowed to share my Blackness. Because if I come out and I show my Blackness, the first thing that they'll feel like, is that I'm racist." Heather's ability to be her full self was limited because she did not feel that her Blackness was welcomed at work. She continued that there were certain spaces at work which she felt comfortable discussing her knowledge about sports, but home was a space that allowed her to be her full self:

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With a small set of folks of color on my campus that I have gotten to know, and I can share my blackness around the people that I love dearly, so that's a given. There's no mask. I can unmask.

Similarly, Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) discussed how she felt certain aspects of her Blackness were not appropriate for work and how she maintained a distinction about where she shared those aspects of her herself:

> I think when I'm at work, you get the work Brianna. There's sometimes a little bit of the outside of work, hood Brianna that might slip out a little bit. But yeah, I definitely keep it cool. With a few more Black guys in the office, the younger guys, we'll joke. And you can definitely tell this is a Black thing. But for the most part, I bring the work Brianna to work, and then you can get a totally different version of me outside of work.

As Brianna continued, at home and even certain spaces in law school allowed her to show more aspects of herself:

> At home with my husband and then with some of my friends. I have two close friends that I've developed here that are black females, and some friends that I have who have gone on. So when I'm with them, or when I'm just even in the legal sense, at law school, I'm a different person. 'Cause when you're in law school, you can say things that you can't say at work. 'Cause we're all aspiring to be lawyers, so we can't be hurt by words. Everybody has their own opinions, everybody has their own feelings, and we respect that. That's why we have the legal world that we have, 'cause everybody's different, we think differently. So I feel I'm probably more of myself at school than I am at work, 'cause I just feel like you can't be too Black. If you have too much of the Black in you, then you

can't be a leader, because then maybe you should go to an HBCU. That's how I feel. And

I could be wrong, but I don't think I am.

As Heather and Brianna revealed, aspects of their race did not seem accepted at work. For them, it was at home with others who they related to, where those aspects could be displayed without fear of reproach. Several women in this study made distinctions about whom they shared personal aspects of their lives with, and that did not include their coworkers. The women negotiated with whom they shared their Blackness with and other more 'intimate' aspects of their personalities with.

The women's leadership opportunities and experiences were challenged by: (a) their presence in spaces where they were reminded of being Black women, (b) reminders and indications of how their leadership opportunities and experiences differed from Black men, White women, and White men, (c) having to work twice as hard only to get half as far, and (d) encounters that required them to negotiate aspects of their identity. Their experiences were influenced by the intersections of other's perceptions that associated leadership with race, gender, and/or age.

Black Women in Sport Leadership: Exploration of the SIMP

The following sections will reflect the analysis of the transcripts of the conversations with the women regarding their leadership opportunities and experiences. The women's responses were analyzed in the context of the elements included in the SIMP. The findings are presented relative to personal and professional recruitment tactics (as policies and practices prevalent in the departments), (b) diversity resistance and 'being the only one' relative to social closure and homosocial reproduction, and (c) being empowered despite race and gender.

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Personal and Professional Recruitment Tactics

The policies and practices element of the SIMP included: (a) recruitment and hiring practices and (b) racially gendered workday. Recruitment and hiring refers to the various processes used to find the most suitable person for particular positions. This may be done through either formal policies or informal practices. The data supported the element of policies and practices and their potential impact on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. Across all three divisions, the women discussed how their athletic departments utilized traditional hiring methods (job postings) informal hiring methods (networks), or both and how using a combination of traditional and informal methods appeared to be a way to ensure that they consistently had diverse candidate pools. The women pointed to the ways that their current policies and practices could be improved. As Rebecca (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA) explained when asked about whether her department used formal or informal hiring methods:

> Probably both. I wouldn't say equally. But there are some that are formal in that, we go through the whole thing with HR and the posting on the NCAA website and wherever we want to post those. And there are some that are a little bit less formal where we have coach that knows, 'this is the assistant that I want' and we have to go through different HR procedures for that but for the most part, those I would say are the less formal scale where we have an assistant that the coach definitely wants to hire and we just have to figure out how to make that happen.

Melody (Division III Senior associate Athletic Director/SWA) painted a similar picture about her department's hiring practices:

We do both. And we do both extensively…Therefore we use all the professional

platforms when we're posting positions. So when there are coaching positions, they're on

the sport specific job boards, the NCAA, Women Leaders, NACDA, Higher Ed.

Whenever we have positions we also use our networks. We make phone calls. Any good

administrator has their short list as well. So we begin to start reaching out to our short list

to see, "What do you think about this? Let's chat through it. Let me give you a little

insight to help you really consider this a little more." And so we definitely do both.

As Melody highlighted, specific job boards are important sites that can be utilized to attract

diverse candidates. Using both formal and informal recruitment and hiring methods can help to

ensure that more Black women are included in candidate pools. As they both, Rebecca and

Melody, mentioned sites such as the NCAA website and Women Leaders job boards are

important places where they post jobs for their athletic departments because they know that

Black women and other People of Color frequent those sites. Given the significance of these

affiliations and associations to the women in this study, the site also appeared to be important

places where Black women gain knowledge about jobs.

Regardless of the method (formal or informal) used by the department, the women

discussed how they did not believe that their leadership opportunities and experiences were

personally impacted by their departments' preferred method. Two of the women discussed how

they believed their rank within the department mediated how their athletic departments' practices

impacted them while other women acknowledged how these practices could negatively impact

others. When discussing if she felt that her athletic department's recruiting and hiring practices

impacted her, Susanna (Division I - FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/chief of Staff)

explained, "It has not. I think it's because... But uh I think it's because of the position that I'm in."

And while this was a general consensus among the women across all three divisions, other of the women acknowledged how the current practices of their respective departments could impact other people from accessing leadership roles. When addressing the manner in which rank may or may not influence whether the recruiting and hiring practices impacted her leadership opportunities and experiences, Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) explained, "No, I'm too high up on the food chain. I don't feel like its affected me, but I feel like it could affect other people who are in a lower level."

Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) described how an individual's access to networks within an athletic department had an impact on what roles an individual did or did not hear about:

If you're in the right position, if you're in the right place, if you're in the right group of people, in the right niche, then yeah, you hear about things and you get afforded opportunities. But then you have some people who just end up where they're not in the right place, they're not working for that person…

As the women conveyed, their departments' hiring and recruiting practices did not directly impact them. Although the women spoke to how the recruiting and hiring practices could affect others if they were not connected to the necessary networks or able to access information about opportunities. The women's commentary further emphasized how both formal and informal methods had the potential to make certain positions more accessible to certain people.

While the recruiting and hiring practices of the women's respective athletic departments did not affect them directly, six of the women thought their departments' recruitment and hiring practices were inadequate. For example, when asked her opinion about her department's

practices, Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) simply

stated, "Oh, they are piss poor. Straight up and down." Harriet (Division I- non-football

Associate Director of Academic Support) remarked:

> I have not always been a fan of…who we have recruited or…brought on to be in our
>
> department. I think that some of our hires have led people to believe that we are a very
>
> white male dominated uh, department. No one's not led to believe, we are…

Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) believed in a similar vein that

her department's recruitment and hiring practices needed improvement saying:

> I think that they could be improved. Taking into consideration what we're hiring for,
>
> looking at the credentials of the people and making sure that we're getting the best
>
> person…Getting the right people on the bus, in the right seat can excel your productivity.
>
> We don't do that. We get the people that we know who can probably do the job, but are
>
> they doing the job as good as somebody else could have done it? Had we done the right
>
> thing in terms of hiring?

Uniquely, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff)

described her specific efforts to ensure improvements are made to her department's upcoming

recruitment and hiring phase when she stated:

> I haven't been through a hiring cycle yet here for me to know for sure how we do that.
>
> That's one of the things I will be more involved in as the spring semester shapes up 'cause
>
> we are about to go into hiring season. But I think I've been pretty intentional about

voicing my expectations for how we go about recruiting and hiring individuals and I

think everyone's pretty clear about how it's gonna happen, when it does happen.

A similar sentiment of displeasure was evident for other women as well. Heather, Division III

director of athletics vocalized disapproval with the recruiting and hiring practices of her athletic

department, along with the current model at her institution when she stated:

> The institution in general states that they've made some big efforts as I talked to people
>
> within the department and looked at the department, I can see there really hasn't been any
>
> effort made. Bringing them to the table for an interview versus actually pulling the
>
> trigger and hiring are two different forms of what reality looks like.

Following the discussion about their departments' recruiting and hiring practices in general, the

women discussed their thoughts about the efforts of their athletic departments' attempts at

recruiting and hiring a diverse staff, specifically Black women. All 10 participants offered some

insight into whether or not their departments made intentional efforts to recruit and hire a diverse

staff. Harriet, Division I (non-football), associate director of academic support discussed some

of her own efforts in place of the departments:

> I would say specifically within athletics we have had some opportunities to be able to, to,
>
> to be more diverse and we have not. And, and I know in one, in one situation we had one
>
> very good candidate and we went in a different direction. And of course that individual
>
> turned out to be a good friend of one of our, our already insulated administrators. And I
>
> know that this isn't anything new. But that doesn't make right. And we have not a ton of
>
> black male athletes on our teams. We have definitely some on our men's basketball team,
>
> and we have more on our football team than when I first got here. The first time we were

able to have a new position added this person came in as half-compliance, half-academics. The first time we hired an individual who had some really solid compliance experience. And had to learn the academic side and that was a white female. So when she left, I went to my direct report and I was very straightforward with her, 'we're getting ready to hire a black man'.

When asked about specifically hiring Black women, Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) commented on how some people in leadership in her department, especially Black women in leadership at her current athletic department, are aiding in pushing other Black women out. Brianna explained:

If anything we're pushing them out. But I think that I'm speaking specifically to [current university] athletics because of certain people in leadership. Sometimes I feel like there's this mechanism of, "We [Black women] can only be the only one." One person makes it like, "Okay, but I can be the only one. Because if y'all get here too, then it doesn't look as unique. I don't stand out as much." And I don't know if that plays a factor but I don't see how we've had women, Black females literally go on to be SWAs, to be assistant directors of athletics at other schools, but yet they were trying to do and be something great here.

Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) gave a resounding "none" in response to her department's efforts in recruiting and hiring a diverse staff. Rebecca (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA) offered additional commentary about how her department has made minimal effort to recruit and hire a diverse staff, especially Black women, when she commented:

I would say I'm it. Honestly from a department perspective, even some of the assistant coaches that we've hired, I'm like 'you couldn't get any, anybody?' What efforts are we making here? And again, the student affairs VP has made very clear that that's what she wants. And I don't think that we have allowed ourselves to be uncomfortable in recognizing that because [city name], the college and the town, say they are, "so progressive" but still you can be as progressive as you want but at the same time, those actions need to be made. Everybody probably still needs diversity training, how to recruit, how to retain, not just staff but like students that are you know are black, and students of color. We have a lot of work to do. And I think people are very uncomfortable with that. The recognition that we still have work to do as it's related to diversity and inclusion, retaining, and recruiting and retaining diverse staff. So, I think, when I tell you I'm it, I'm it. Like that's it.

Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) discussed her department's efforts to ensure they are bringing in diverse candidates:

The need to have a diversified pool for all of our openings that we have. So we are always looking to make sure that we have a person of color and women in our pool and we try to make sure that there's at least one of each or more, in our phone interview pool. But that's been narrowed down from our initial pool. So that would be in an informal way. And then the same way we're bringing someone to campus I don't think it's something that you can necessarily put in writing but it's something that we can definitely make a focus of ours to have a woman or a person of color that we can bring to campus, out of our top five. Part of our formal practices is to make sure that we're posting on sites that specifically target people of color, and women. We put things on the MOAA site. We

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get things on Women Leaders sites places and other diversity pools. We put things out there so that we can try and create the most diverse pool possible. There are a few other things. I think we always reach out to our alumni base. I think they can be really good, arms of our athletic department that can help us increase our diversity. Those especially living in larger cities because it's just a matter of understanding we live in a rural area, and that we are in a place that is not necessarily the first thought for people to come to but utilizing them and saying what kind of experience they had. So we have utilized our alumni some.

Lastly, Melody (Division III Senior Associate Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA) commented on the efforts her department has made in recruiting and hiring a diverse staff:

I have to say that my supervisor was obviously the most intelligent person in the world to go and find me, so kudos to her. Well done, [supervisor]. We've done a really good job of using the NCAA hiring practices document, and sharing that around our campus for all positions. And having our institutional diversity officer come in and talk about hiring practices before each search. Talk about implicit biases. Take the implicit bias tests so, that we could see…And we all have them. And that's the point of the conversation is that you're not wrong for having them. You're wrong for not noticing them and being accountable to how that plays a part in your decision making, that's it. So, we've also done that and though I would say our last... Our last five openings, we've had people of color in each of them.

The overall comments from the women about their recruiting and hiring practices highlighted some of the unforeseen barriers Black women encounter in intercollegiate athletics.

As Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) eloquently stated, "We know we have some invisible boundaries that we have to overcome…" These invisible boundaries, created by inequality regimes (Acker, 2006), reinforced certain racialized and gendered beliefs about Black women and leadership. These invisible boundaries were seemingly created by and reflected in the policies and practices, specifically the recruiting and hiring practices, of the women's current intercollegiate athletic departments. Processes that relied heavily on networks and did not utilize diverse job posting sites helped to reinforce preexisting power structures, most often impacting Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. As the women discussed, most of their departments were not making the appropriate efforts to hire and recruit diverse staffs, especially Black women. The athletic departments that were, were making intentional efforts, by utilizing traditional and informal methods of hiring. Ensuring that jobs were posted on various job boards and sites that Black women and People of Color are more likely to access, for example Women Leaders, NCAA, and MOAA, increased the possibility that diverse candidates were knowledgeable about open positions. The women in this study made use of websites and job boards affiliated with organizations that they were active members of. As mentioned previously, these sites focused on increasing the presence of women and People of Color in sport. Given that several of the participants relied on both traditional and informal methods during various points in their careers to find and secure jobs, using both methods appeared to be a necessary component to combating organizational constraints that Black women experience in regards to recruiting and hiring. Additionally, the composition of the women's networks also had an impact on their career trajectories, having found out about and being hired for jobs based on people within their networks. Their professional affiliations and activities were vital to their current roles.

The women explained that networks were an integral component to staying connected with opportunities in intercollegiate athletics. The women unanimously acknowledged that professional networks were an essential factor to their access and knowledge of positions throughout their careers. For these women, their networks were an important piece to staying abreast of opportunities within intercollegiate athletics. As Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) exclaimed it's "um, 125%" important to have a professional network working in intercollegiate athletics. Similarly, all of the women agreed that their professional networks were integral to their careers. For example, Harriet (Division I- non football Associate Director of Academic Support) explained, "Oh, I'd say that it is definitely *laughs*. It's hugely important." Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) discussed, "I think it's really, really important. It's just, man, it's so important…" Willow (Division I- non football Director of Operations, Track and Field) offered similar sentiments:

> Oh, it's extremely important. It's critical. [laughter] It's very, very important. I can't stress that enough, they always say, in all businesses, that it's who you know... It's not what you know, it's who you know. And in athletics, it's all about trust. You hire who you trust. And if you don't build those relationships prior to getting the job, you're slim to none. So it's very important.

Additionally, Gabrielle (Division III Associate Athletic Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) also expressed the critical need to have a network, "You could be the smartest person in the room, have the answers for everything, be the greatest coach, but if you don't know anyone no one's gonna see it. So establishing a network is critical to growth."

As all of the women made clear, a professional network in intercollegiate athletics is necessary. Networks can serve multiple purposes, professionally and personally. The women's networks were varied and included professionals from all aspects of athletics and academics. Which is why it seems that the hiring and recruiting practices element listed in the Sport Intersectional Model of Power were not as impactful on their leadership opportunities and experiences. When the discussed their path to their current roles, their networks provided them with access to the positions bypassing many of the traditional methods that others would have to go through. The women's diverse networks mediated the impacts of the hiring and recruiting practices that the women acknowledged having an impact in their departments. Rebecca (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA) highlighted the variation of her network and said:

> I would say I have a professional network where, it's related to compliance. We get together either in a group chat, group email, ask questions specific to interpretations and legislations and everybody is in there to help everybody out and respond and work the issue out. I have a professional network that is all and only Black professionals and People of Color. That group chat is wild! I would say we have personal relationships with each other at this point. But a lot of it is just more support, uplifting. And in the group chat, 'who's all going to [NCAA] convention' and you get like a group of 35 people that are going to be there like 'hey, let's meet up here, we'll have you know, hors d'oeuvres, dinner…' we don't always get to see people that look like us so let's make sure we get together and be each other's cheerleader for that hour that we're at the reception. And I think that's super helpful sometimes…it's just a way to relax and to kind of again, recharge and regroup.

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As Rebecca exemplified, having varied networks that included networks of other People of Color and other professionals in related areas were necessary for success. Not only was her network dedicated to compliance one that she could lean on when needing assistance related to her job but the network of Black people and People of Color professionals provided her with a safe space while at conferences. Having varied networks seemed to be an additional way that the women overcame potential organizational barriers within their athletic departments. It is clear that the women did not just network and build relationships with people focused in similar job-related areas. They diversified their networks and tapped into those various networks when they were trying to fulfill a specific need. As Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) explained her network:

> I like to keep my immediate network pretty small for the people that I could call on, but I have men and women in my network, White and Black and Puerto Rican, and Asian...That are in my direct network. And they hold several different roles. I have a lot of coaching friends obviously 'cause I was in that realm for a long time but over the last four years I've really been able to develop people outside of coaching, not just in administration, but some at conference offices, some people that are Athletic Directors, Associate ADs, in charge of compliance, in charge of facilities, in charge of fundraising, and in a lot of different roles on college campuses, it really allows me to diversify my thoughts. I come from a coaching background so everything I do is from a student athlete perspective, and how we can better that experience, whether it's academically or co-curricularly. So for me to be able to learn from the people that are in fundraising roles, who are in facilities roles, who are in compliance roles, which I'm in now has been beneficial and will continue to be as I continue on my path.

As Gabrielle explained, she maintained a small circle of people that she reached out to regularly but utilized larger networks of people to gain insight on areas that she did not have personal experience with. Similarly, Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) mentioned how she not only maintains a varied professional network but also includes her family and friends in her network as a way to stay 'balanced'. Heather recounted:

> The people who are in my network aren't necessarily just all in intercollegiate athletics. And aren't necessarily all just of color, because I believe that one of the common things in athletics that people love, if you look at folks and athletics in general, we grind. So that's one of the common threads that I look at. So my network varies. I have folks who I know who are racist in my network because the common denominator is they know I grind. Now I do realize that those people are not gonna present me with an opportunity, but if you can get them to talk enough, they'll tell you what is out there. I have presidents in my network, because there's some presidents that I respect to the utmost of what they do. One president is a Latino gentleman, and he couldn't be a better mentor for me. Another president is a white woman. She has been very supportive. I have former coaches that I've connected with, and of course I've been in enough NCAA leadership programs where I have people that I have met throughout the years, that I lean on consistently, and utilize as my network. So again, I'm just not limited to athletics because I've had people in my church that were part of my network. I think about some of my closest friends who have nothing to do with athletics, are part of my network, but it's about making sure that I have a variety where I'm balanced.

The women's networks included diverse individuals (by race, gender, positions, area of expertise, etc.). Their networks were an integral part of their knowledge about the interworking of intercollegiate athletics, but were also sites where they could connect with those that look like them, share similar experiences, or have interests other than athletics. It was not solely about athletics, networks provided supported in other nuanced ways.

In summary, the women either saw improvements or knew that improvements were necessary regarding how effectively their athletic departments' recruited and hired diverse staffs, especially Black women. Only two of the women highlighted the efforts their departments were making in ensuring that they interviewed and ultimately hired more diverse candidates. The current policies and practices at the athletic departments did not affect the women's leadership opportunities and experiences personally, but the efforts of several of the women to improve current practices makes it arguable that they believed current practices had the potential for negative impact on other Black women. The women appeared to experience the mediating effects of their professional networks. Establishing such varied networks helped to combat the fact the women were provided with a lack of role models in the field and inadequate preparation for careers in sport (Abney & Richey, 1991). The women's networks provided them insightful information about open positions and provided the women with advocates during the interviewing/hiring process. While the women's networks were varied, their professional affiliations and activities in which they were involved closely aligned with either their race and/or gender; thus, indicating the importance of these identities. Staying connected to organizations that emphasized their race and/or gender allowed the women to develop and maintain strong a strong sense of self (Abney & Richey) and empowerment through self-definition (Armstrong, 2006; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017).

Workday Dynamics: Prioritizing Work

The element of racially gendered workday pertains to how women are often tasked with performing more responsibilities that uniquely impact them based on their race and gender such as familial tasks - caretaking roles, maintaining the household, caring for children, etc. These roles often make it difficult for Black women to prioritize their career above these additional obligations. The women in this did not reflect this typical image of a woman who struggles to balance their personal and professional obligations due to the structure of the workday. They did not report hardships based on their racially gendered obligations. For many of the woman who experienced some sort of decision conflict, the choice was - more often than not - to prioritize their careers. The immediate familial obligations that were discussed in previous chapters were not experienced by the participants in my study. However, two of the women did experience conflicts with other types of caretaker obligations.

For the two women who did experience conflicts with personal vs. career aspirations their challenges took the form of caretaking roles. As mentioned, the women prioritized their careers. Although four other did make note that their career obligations and aspirations interfered with their home lives. For example, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) expressed how her new role provided her with the income necessary to visit her ailing father, yet the time constraints placed on her made it difficult for her to take the time away from work. Susanna explained:

> I would say in this season of my life, um, somewhat, and I wasn't expecting it to. But my, so my family lives in [home state] and both my parents are retired and my father has cancer, and so because I travel with my teams a bunch, so I oversee football, women's

basketball, men's golf opportunities where I would have to go down, like have a free weekend and go to [home state] to see my family now that I have the means to go when I wanna go, like I don't have time to go. Yeah. [laughter] I think for me, I had made up my mind that this first year, I was, it was gonna be a sacrifice in that regard, and it would take me this year to understand maybe the expectations from my coaches and my student athlete... The student athletes on the teams that I supervise.

Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) who expressed how the demands of working in intercollegiate athletics impacted her home life:

Oh, yes. Most definitely. I was responsible for taking care of my grandparents, up until my grandmother passed, and I had to do the share of responsibility with my grandfather. And I had to sit some of that stuff down, because I wasn't able to have as much flexibility as I needed. And I found more and more, I kept saying, "I'm gonna be... I need to come in late." And then that creates this uncomfortable feeling that you always have to tell people about your movements. And that bothers me, because I'm responsible. I do my job well, and not just from my perspective I do my job well, it's documented that I do my job well, from other people. To constantly have to tell somebody where I'm at, what time, it was just frustrating so...

Harriet (Division I- non football Associate Director of Academic Support) explained that traditionally, women are expected to be the sole caretakers of the home. Women who work are often expected to work a full day and then take care of additional aspects of the home. This was vividly expressed when Harriet described:

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What people don't sometimes understand about women—and we used to talk about this when we were coaches because a lot of us were single—we talked about we don't even have time to pick up our cleaning. We don't have anybody to go pick up our cleaning. Or who's going to clean our house. But when you're, when you are a spouse, and in this case, this is a heterosexual one, my husband…when I work all day, I don't do anything but go home and work some more. You're cooking, you're cleaning, you're taking care of the dog, you're taking care of him, and you're trying to watch the shows that you like on television. You don't even have, half the time you don't even have time to do that.

While all of the women noted that their daily work routines were not impacted by familial obligations, this interruption was expressed in other ways. Overall, the women were able to attend regular workday meetings and fulfill other daily obligations, but Susanna and Hannah's caretaking responsibilities were compromised in other ways and Harriet highlighted the ways in which women are often expected to provide additional labor once they are home from their jobs. Based on these composite findings, my original conceptualization of the impact of the racially gendered workday on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences was not supported by the data.

Diversity Resistance: Being 'The Only One'

Diversity resistance relates to the myriad of ways that organizations exhibited a resistance to diversity. This resistance will be discussed in the context to the universities and athletic departments' that the Black women worked in. Within organizations, diversity resistance is compromised practices and/or behaviors that interfere with the ability of diversity to be seen as an opportunity of effectiveness (Thomas & Plaut, 2008). Again, social closure refers to the

conscious exclusion of subordinate groups on the part of dominant group members (Blumer, 1958; Smith, 2002). While, homosocial reproduction is often more covert and subconscious and occurs when dominant group members develop social enclaves composed of individuals that share common social characteristics (Smith). This theme was evident in this study. The resistance the women experienced was often felt overtly. The women discussed how their athletic departments' diversity profiles compared to the diversity profiles of their universities and what their experiences were being one of the only Black women in their departments'. All of them women recounted at least one experience that did not align with the level of espoused commitment to diversity and inclusion espoused by the universities and athletic departments. When asked to describe their experiences the responses reflected a connection between the diversity profile of the athletic department with the university overall. Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) commented on the limited amount of diversity found in her athletic department. Sienna discussed:

> It is limited…in diversity. There is not a lot…well…the women…there's probably a good number of women. It's just not, it's not very culturally diverse. So, it's not racially diverse. I would say maybe 30-35% women, which isn't bad. Yeah, well, considering. Because I mean, when you have football and hockey, which are sports that traditionally don't have women in them at all……that's a good you know, 40 people, that you can't count.

Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director External Affairs discussed the dichotomy she perceived between her department and the university profile:

There's not a good ratio. Okay, we have these many African-American student athletes. So that means the ratio of our administrators should look like this and it's pretty good. No, no. Like I said, we have two African-American top level administrators, that's it. And like I said, one of them does not view herself as a minority unless it's convenient. So that's what you have there. Our athletic director has his stance on diversity which is great and women in power, women in leadership which is great, but... I think the university overall is a little bit different. A little bit different in terms of now, overall, I think there's still different niches where there might be still some of that really predominantly white type of thing. But I think in general especially with our new president, [President's name], there's a lot of forward-thinking people on [current university's] campus in general. The athletic department, not so much. But we do have a Black softball coach. She's a female, [woman coach's name] and we also have a Black wrestling coach [male coach's name].

Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) discussed how her department was inclusive but not diverse and how that compared to the university overall:

The profile in, meaning the actual human capital? It lacks. You see them in some coaching positions for sports that have a high population of minority students. And I'm using domestic minorities, so African Americans or otherwise. Latinos. Not minority students as in international students. And then I will also say that we do a good job on having documentation and things out in the public that show we have an inclusive environment. Because I would say we're inclusive, but we're just not diverse. People don't feel unwelcomed here, but it's just not diverse. I think this university has a problem with

diversity and inclusion just in general. And I think they recognize that fact. And now with new leadership for the past three to four years, they're really making concerted efforts to shift that perception. But that's just it, they're trying to shift their perception right now. But I think the internal shift is gonna take a little bit longer because... Some of the ideas and people have been here for so long that a lot of the unwillingness to change, is just so pervasive you just don't know what to do.

Hannah's commentary pointed to how increasing diversity can be a slow process, even with change in leadership. Other women offered thought-provoking insights into the diversity profiles of their athletic departments as compared to the universities. For example, Rebecca (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA) explained:

* long pause*I don't even know how to put that into words. *laughs* Gosh. Poor. Poor at best. Poor *shakes head* [University is] progressively better. I mean there are double digits, 20% underrepresented students. So, the numbers from a recruiting perspective are climbing in the student body population. Like I said even in the hiring. You're looking at the presidency, the leadership team, you have to know the direction that she's taken the school in. She is the first Latina women that has been hired as president and her leadership staff reflects it. Her provost is a Black woman who is awesome! Another Latina woman is our VP for Student Affairs, her other two, the chief counsel, finance, all have Latino heritage. If you have any indication…all you need to do is look at her. I would say that's important to her but she also understands that's direction that the student body is going as well…but [the university's senior leadership], they are very clear.

Melody (Division III Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA) offered compelling insights:

I would say that we are above average for Division III athletic departments, in that we have a great deal of women coaching women, we have a great deal of ethnic minorities in having what we like to call both Black and Brown people in the department. And we have a really strong grouping of assistant coaches that are all types of mixes of international individuals as well. I would say the college is getting much better with that. Now, because they're doing some very key roles, it hides some of the lack of diversity more broadly. So we just hired our first dean of students who is a woman of color, we just hired our first president two years ago who was a woman of color. And so, that kind of foreshadows some of the other holes that are there. But we're better than we've been, for sure.

The women offered unique insight into the diversity profiles of their athletic departments and how those profiles related to or compared to the diversity profile of their respective universities. The women commented on who was represented on the leadership team of the athletic department and the university and how those closely aligned. The women who experienced more diversity in the university's senior leadership team felt that that representation could potentially mean more diversity within their athletic departments. In Rebecca's case this was true, seeing that the provost (a Black woman) was integral in her being hired into her position. The women's perceptions gave further insight into their experiences within their respective departments and how those experiences differed to the espoused positions of the universities and athletic departments.

The women also candidly discussed their experiences with more overt displays of resistance. Rebecca (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA) explained her experience at her previous institution with resistance from her coworkers:

> So, I was met with significant resistant from the women's basketball coach there from the athletics director there and I think a lot of it had to do with ill behavior and them not wanting to necessarily work harder. But a lot of it probably had to do with me being a Black woman. And the athletics director was very clear with some of the things that he said, that he just wasn't comfortable with that. Which is weird because he's a straight-on misogynist. My resume isn't something that I would think, 'oh I can probably easily intimidate this woman' wouldn't give any type of indication that 'well she's probably going to give me pushback'. I don't know what about him that thought that would be okay? It was very interesting me working for him…and it was great because I reported to the president. So I had a lot of leverage like with her, she was like 'just do whatever you feel like you need to do'. Um, and he couldn't handle that either. So that, that was a really difficult situation. Just really difficult.

Rebecca reporting to the university's president meant the resistance she encountered was not always a hindrance to her ability to do her job. The pushback, and arguably backlash, that Rebecca received from the athletic director was explicit and due to his inability to recognize a Black woman in a leadership position (Rosette, Koval, Ma, & Livingston, 2015; Rosette & Washington, 2012). Additionally, the athletic director's resistance to diversity could be related to a perceived loss of power or an inability to relinquish the familiar power arrangement (Thomas & Plaut, 2008). The athletic director had limited power over Rebecca's ability to do

her job because she reported to the president of the university, who was also a woman. Additionally, Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) explained:

> Most of the institutions that I've been at, I was in [Southern state], same thing, not welcoming. I was the first person of color, to be hired as an administrator in that department. The person that hired me was extremely welcoming, but the day that I stepped on campus, he was fired and so I knew at that point in time, I was in a heap of trouble. 'Cause I could see how unfriendly the rest of the department was. And so I had to win some souls over, of course and some people I couldn't win over and so I eventually left.

Even though Rebecca and Heather were hired to work within their respective athletic departments, they quickly encountered experiences that prompted them to leave. Such overt acts of resistance eventually made these athletic departments not palatable environments, essentially closing them off to Heather and Rebecca. Some of the participants noted how the environments seemed to shift over time. When asked about if the various environments she worked in were welcoming, Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) remarked:

> Well, I will say all of them did initially. Some of them didn't after being there for an amount of time. I think I had this twice. In both instances if you did not think the way that they, they thought, the way that the rest of the group thought, then you were considered an outcast. Like, then you were put out on the island there by yourself.

Similarly, in reference to her experience with welcoming or unwelcoming environments, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) stated:

I would say out of the three places I've worked in my professional career in athletics, two of the three are a yes, and one is absolutely not. It was an absolutely not because it was a space where people who worked there felt as if it was the best place to work on earth. And if you had a different experience than that, then you weren't a team player.

Susanna further explained the source of the unwelcoming climate:

This could be gender, this could be race, this could be age, going back to me progressing in my career so quickly. So I started [former university] as a GA, left, came back as a director, and people remembered me as [current athletic director's] GA, not even a GA, but like somebody else, like someone owned me as a GA. And from HR standpoint, what I tell you, is what I tell you, like, there's no negotiating when it comes to like these simple facts. And people didn't receive that well. And I was gracious and I knew what the perception would be in that space. So I was actually really intentional about how I delivered information to people. And it was really hard. It was really, really hard for me, and... Then I got promoted to an assistant athletics director and people felt like I didn't earn it or that I only got it because I was a Black woman. That's the exact opposite. That's the antithesis of like what it means to be a Black woman. And so there was that. Actually with that promotion that basically I wrote my job duties as I was doing them, compared to the job that I was hired to do. And said, "Yeah, I think I should be an Assistant AD and I should make this much." AD was like, sure, brought it to a senior team. And they're like, "Well, what about so-and-so?" So when I got promoted, four white men also got promoted.

Susanna's experience once again highlights overt resistance (social closure) and uniquely connects more covert acts of resistance (homosocial reproduction). The act of promoting four White men while simultaneously promoting Susanna, helped to create a social enclave of members from the dominant group within the athletic department. Additionally, for Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) the lack of representation led her to initially doubt herself as she explained:

> A lot of the times in this position, but like I said that was part of the mental game I was playing with myself, not feeling like because I'm in this position and because I'm in this certain role I don't feel like I can say this or do that and I had to get over that myself. But, when you work in a predominantly male environment and the leadership is predominantly white male at that. Literally... you don't see anyone who you feel like would remotely related to you, anything that you say or feel or do. It's very suppressing in these types of environments, and that's why it takes a very, very strong female or even more, a stronger black female to be able to overcome some of that stuff and be okay with being uncomfortable.

Overall, the women encountered various environments created by inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) based on gendered and racialized beliefs, in which their presence was overtly and covertly resisted. Whether this was done by making it difficult to do their job or by contending with 'group think' situations. This diversity resistance often showed up in the shape of systematic exclusion and varying degrees of mistreatment (Thomas & Plaut, 2008). The women were inevitably excluded from various aspects within in their respective athletic departments, as they left and went to other institutions.

Challenged at the Intersections of Race, Gender, and Age

Legitimate power is associated with certain roles within an organization. Those roles are often leadership roles and are often filled by White men. In the instances where Black women are found in these positions, their authority is often challenged. The women's authority was either overtly or their authority was challenged in more subtle ways by people assuming that they are not in their leadership position. Due to prevalent beliefs that White men are the prototypical leaders in sport, Black women in leadership roles often have experiences where their authority is subverted. The theme of legitimate power being challenged was evident in this study. For example, Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) recounted past experiences where people assumed that she was not in leadership role because she did not fit their ideal of who would be in charge. She explained:

> Oh, yeah! Most times when I meet people, they think I'm like, maybe 30. And they're like, 'Who are you?' They think I'm a kid and it's like, 'Yeah, no, let me help you.' And it's usually not even me telling them. Usually it ends up, somebody else tells them that, 'Oh wait, stop'. She's in charge, she'll tell you what to do.' So, that, happens to me, especially when I was, working in event management and I was doing football. Are you kidding? They were like, 'Who are you?' I was like, 'Yeah, I'm the person you need to see.' And people would be like, 'Well, I need to speak to who's in charge.' I'm like, 'This is the person who's in charge.' 'Well, who's your boss?' 'This is it.'

A combination of race, gender, and age factored in to Sienna's experiences of people assuming that she was not the person in charge. Sienna presenting as younger than she is and being a Black woman made it difficult for people to see her in such a leadership role in athletics.

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Similarly, Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director External Affairs) discussed how her physical location within the office, along with her race and gender made it difficult for people to see her as an authoritative figure. Brianna recounted:

> And that's because of where I sit. I think location as much as it shouldn't be about where you sit, it's about what you do and what you bring to the job, but I think perception is reality. And if you walk into the office of the external suite, and the first person you see is a Black girl sitting at the desk then it's the assistant you're telling her who you're here to see and where the office is. And I'm like, "That's not who I am for y'all", but perception is reality. So, I'm gonna greet you with a smiling face and let you know what you need to do.

Black women are often thought to be better suited for 'help-mate' positions and not authoritative leadership positions. A Black woman at a desk when you first walk into an office fits cognitive schemas about who is and who is not found in leadership positions. Brianna's location within her office along with her race and gender, fits the schema about who is found in a secretarial role and not a leadership role. Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) discussed her ability to have authority to make important decisions within her department and remarked:

> No, and it's interesting because I thought I would, and it may be my own insecurity in making the wrong decision or, or I think, what I think it is actually is that I don't think it's been clearly communicated and exhibited that I have the power to do so. And so when she's not here, decisions that could be made through me or that could come to me, wait. So people wait until she gets here to ask her.

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Being challenged was also experienced by Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA). Hannah highlighted her experiences of being frequently challenged:

Oh, all the time. It's challenged by people who are afraid to make decisions in their own area, so they wanna challenge, not while I'm in the room, but challenge in other ways to make it more difficult for me to continue to move through. Oh yeah, but then the thing that they don't realize is when you have separate conversations when I'm not present and it comes back to me, then I'm gonna still go have a conversation with you about your separate conversation, right on. I used to be very risk averse and conflict averse, but now I think it's healthy and I do it in a way where no one feels intimidated. That's not my intention. But I just have to make it plain, because it can't continue, 'cause it just knocks down what I'm trying to do.

Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) spoke about the difficulty she experienced when trying to make decisions within her department and felt challenged:

I'm micromanaged, I have to pass everything through her. I am trying to figure out how to make her feel like it's her idea, to where I can get stuff done. Absolutely. There's been decisions that I would have done totally different and have put that in writing, on the steps and the process that I wanted to go and I was met with abrasive no's and bottom line when I ended up saying, "You're the boss. I'm gonna follow your protocol." I've gotten teeth for it and have been told by her that I need to own up to my area of the responsibility and stop blaming or saying that I had marching orders.

Similarly, Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) remarked on her experiences of people assuming she was not in her current role:

> I think whether it's been in my role now as associate AD or in my coaching role, a lot of times it has to do with a lot of people think I look young for my age or for whatever position I'm holding. So part of that's being a female and so I don't say that they work against me but that's definitely been the first thing you hear of... When I was coaching, I've had parents come in my office and are like, "Oh, you're [Gabrielle]." They're like, "You're a lot younger than I thought you would be. How long have you been doing this?" You know, a lot of questioning about how you got to where you are. Same thing in my role now, saying like, "Huh, interesting. How is it to be your age and oversee all the people in your department?" That type of thing.

Being challenged or facing an assumption that they were not in leadership roles was a common experience for the women that participated in this study. Supporting some beliefs that leadership roles should be filled by White men (Acker, 2006; Parker, 2005; Shaw & Frisby, 2006; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003; Smith, 2002). As Rebecca and Heather explained explicitly, this could be due to them being Black women; however, as Gabrielle and Sienna discussed, their age could also be a reason. It seemed that for the majority of the women being young Black women in athletics presented them with unique challenges when it came to having perceived authority in their roles. Brianna's retelling of other's assuming that she was the secretary as opposed to the Assistant Director of External Affairs sums up the perceptions of Black women as sport leaders. The women's experiences in this study, highlight the still pervasive belief that White men are still perceived as the prototypical leaders in sport.

Summary of Findings

This chapter presented the findings relative to: (a) document analyses, (b) organizational audits, and (c) transcripts of conversations with the participants regarding their sport leadership opportunities and experiences. The document analyses provided insightful information about the educational profiles of the women and the women's professional development activities and affiliations across all three divisions. The analyses highlighted the fact that the women were either not introduced to sport management/sport studies at all or much later during their collegiate careers. Emphasizing, as Abney and Richey (1991) discussed, the fact that Black women are not often aware that a career in sport is a viable option and how that may serve as a barrier for Black women. The educational profiles of the women also highlighted a trend in obtaining terminal degrees—as five of the women had already completed their degree or were in the process of doing so. The women's academic achievements may also serve as an additional way to highlight their credibility as leaders. Additionally, the document analyses pointed to the professional development and affiliations of the Black women in this study. Their affiliations closely aligned with their race and/or gender. Pointing to the importance of those intersections as it relates to self-empowerment, self-definition and, the need to be in spaces that spoke to those aspects of the women's identities (Abney & Richey; Armstrong, 2006; Collins, 2000).

The organizational audits illuminated that the universities and/or the athletic departments had positions in support of diversity and inclusion across all three divisions. This finding, gave the impression that all of the universities and athletic departments felt that diversity and inclusion were integral to their missions. While the universities and athletic departments espoused such positive positions, the women's experiences were not congruent with the evidence presented. In

several cases, the women encountered unwelcoming environments and were the only Black women present within their athletic departments. The results of the organizational audits are an example of how racialized and gendered beliefs of inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) may impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences.

Lastly, several of the a priori themes proposed in the Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) were supported via the data such as diversity resistance, legitimate power, and recruitment and hiring practices. In regards to diversity resistance and legitimate power, the women experienced varying forms of backlash, resistance, and having their authority challenged because of their race, gender, and age. Reinforcing the ideal that White men are the prototypical leaders in sport (Avery, et al.; Shaw & Frisby, 2006). Still, the findings also revealed information that could be included to enhance the SIMP for future investigations. The interviews, for instance, did not support my original conceptualization of the racially gendered workday, as all of the women made decisions that prioritized their jobs. The women in this study were in control of their meeting schedules and able to attend all work related activities. Two of the women had to make decisions about their caretaking responsibilities and ultimately decided to prioritize their careers.

Additionally, there were other themes that arose for the women in this study. For example, several of the women discussed the need for Black women to work twice as hard only to get half as far. Similarly, the women in this study highlighted the importance of their mother's/mother figures as leadership models as well as the importance of other women role models in their lives. The importance of role models highlighted the need for Black women to see themselves represented in a leadership capacity (Abney & Richey, 1991; Collins, 2000;

Parker, 2005). Lastly, Black women's positionality at the intersections of race and gender may mean that the organizational cultures created by inequality regimes require Black women to negotiate their identities while at work, emphasizing a slightly different version of themselves at work versus at home (McDowell & Cunningham, 2012; McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017).

Chapter V

Analysis and Conclusion

This chapter will offer a critical analysis and conclusion based on the findings reported in the previous chapter. It will discuss the findings relative to the literature reviewed and the tenets of Black feminist thought (the theory undergirding the project). In doing so, it will answer the research questions concerning: (a) ways in which sport organizational cultures of Division I, II, and III intercollegiate departments influence the leadership opportunities and experiences of the Black women in this study, (b) Black women's positionality at the intersections of race and gender on their leadership opportunities and experiences, and (c) the extent to which the preliminary Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) presented by Simpkins and Armstrong (2017) captured the impact of sport organizational cultures on Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences, along with suggested revisions for improving the utility of the SIMP as a tool to explore, address, and enhance Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. This chapter will also offer suggestions for improving Black women's opportunities and experiences in sport leadership, note the limitations of this study, identify areas for future research, and highlight the overall significance of this study.

Answering the Research Questions

As mentioned previously, the results of this investigation provided me with information by which to: (a) support, contest, or extend the literature reviewed, (b) critique Black feminist thought, and (c) determine suggestions to transform theory into practice. In doing so, the results

also offered plausible responses and answers to the research questions posed at the outset of this study. Following is a presentation of the research questions and the answers provided based on the results.

Research Question 1: *How do sport organizational cultures impact Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences?*

The results revealed three primary ways in which sport organizational cultures impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences at the micro, meso, and macro levels. The leadership and opportunities of the Black women in this study were influenced by: (a) the nature of the climate of their work setting (micro level), (b) the diversity profile of their athletic department (meso level), and (c) the presence of diversity in their leadership in the university (macro level).

The organizational audits were designed to examine evidence and artifacts that were indicative of the respective intercollegiate athletic departments' cultures. As the organizational audits revealed, all of the colleges, universities, and athletic departments had a positive position towards diversity and inclusion. This was evidenced either by university and/or athletic department diversity statements or mission statements that referenced diversity and inclusion. However, even though the narratives identified via the organizational audits conveyed positive sentiments about diversity and inclusion, the women's experiences did not align what was espoused by their respective universities and athletic departments. To the contrary, all of the women in this study discussed the poor or non-existent diversity in their respective athletic departments.

As discussed in the previous chapter, diversity resistance relates to the myriad of ways that organizations exhibit a resistance to diversity (Thomas & Plaut, 2008), and it encompasses the notions of social closure, homosocial reproduction, and occupational segregation I described in Chapter 2 (Cook & Glass, 2013; Smith, 2002). The diversity resistance that some of the women experienced was blatant in some instances. This was evidenced based on Heather's and Rebecca's experiences with their co-workers in the leadership setting, and the pushback and the backlash they experienced in diversity-related matters. Diversity resistance was also evident based on some of the ways in which the women's co-workers were oblivious to the impact of diversity in their work settings. In other instances, diversity resistance was more subtle, as it was instead embedded in what Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) referred to as 'invisible' boundaries. As Brianna proclaimed: "We know we have some invisible boundaries that we have to overcome…" Moreover, some of the athletic department climates also reflected ideologies that conveyed a very narrow and insufficient view of diversity. For example, as Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) explained how her co-worker commented "now we are diverse" after Heather was hired. Heather's coworker felt that the presence of one Black woman met the requirement for diversity. Obviously the hiring of a single Person of Color should not be the metric for boasting diversity success, but for Heather's co-worker that was seemingly the case. These examples illustrate just a few of the ways in which the climate of the women's athletic departments exhibited diversity resistance and were not reflective of the overall positive and inclusive culture operationalized in their departmental images and narratives.

Interestingly, three of the women in this study heavily emphasized the important role that academics play in connection to athletics within their departments. Specifically, Melody

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(Division III Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA) and Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) noted that all of the coaches in their departments were also classified as faculty, which facilitated a unique environment. In both instances Melody and Susanna's athletic departments had women athletic directors and Melody and Susanna were the next highest ranked person in the department. The focus on education may have created a more inclusive culture that was more welcoming to Black women. Having coaches to be faculty may have reinforced education as a core value and created a positive organizational culture that made the athletic departments less prone to diversity resistance and less reliant on White male leadership (in comparison to the athletic departments that were more focused on the business value of sport and celebrated characteristics associated with and attributed to White males.)

As discussed in Chapter 1, researchers have sought to distinguish organizational culture from organizational climate. For example, organizational culture has been referred to values and assumptions widely displayed by organizational members that create systems of shared meaning and created the culture and climate in organizations (Robbins, 1996; Scott, 1997; Wallace & Weese, 1995). Organizational climate refers to employees' perceptions about their work environments (Scott). Additionally, employees' perceptions about their work environment helps to shape values, assumptions, and shared meaning of an organization. Therefore, organizational climate is an integral part of an organization's culture. In the context of this study, the values and perceptions permeating the work settings created climates that influenced the organizational cultures that either negatively impacted the women's opportunities and experiences (such as diversity resistance and co-workers' constrained perception of diversity) or positively impacted the women's opportunities and experiences (such as focusing on the value of education and recognizing athletic coaches as faculty/educators).

A second way in which organizational cultures impacted the women's opportunities and experiences related to climate and was based on the diversity profile of their athletic departments. For instance, nine out of the 10 women were the only Black women in their athletic departments. Additionally, the women discussed how the overall cultural composition of intercollegiate athletics was not necessarily inclusive of Black women and instead supported the Whiteness and maleness of sport leadership. Harriet (Division I- non football Associate Director of Academic Support), Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director), Melody (Division III Senior Associate Athletic Director/SWA), and Brianna (Division I- FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) described the culture of intercollegiate athletics as: (a) professional/big business, (b) results driven and focused on external image, (c) male-dominated or 'good ole boys club', and (d) competitive. Descriptors such as these are often used to depict the prototypical sport leader and have contributed to sport leadership positions being occupied primarily by White men.

Sienna highlighted this dynamic, "I will say everybody else in a position of power, until I got here, was a White male." These results illustrated how intercollegiate athletic departments had organizational cultures that reflected inequality regimes (Acker, 2006) that systematically excluded Black women, lacked diversity, and thus, reinforced implicit leadership bias (Avery et al., 2015) favoring White men.

The third way in which organizational culture impacted the opportunities and experiences of the women in this study was based on the presence of diversity in the university's leadership. In two unique situations the women highlighted the diversity in the leadership of the university. As Rebecca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) explained, the new president, who was a Woman of Color, had a clear vision about how the university would embrace diversity and

felt that this would translate to the athletic department. The example shared by Rebecca showed how diverse leadership had the potential to push against gendered and racialized beliefs about Black women's leadership. Having a Woman of Color as the president of the university (at the highest level) may have helped to reduce the amount of diversity resistance (Thomas & Plaut, 2008) towards a Black woman in a leadership position in the athletic department (at the lower level). This finding reiterated the importance and positive impact of macro level diversity and diversity in leadership at the top on the diversity experienced within.

The composite findings suggest that elements of power were operative at the micro level in their work settings, at the meso level within their athletic departments, and at the macro level of university leadership influenced the women's leadership opportunities and experiences in various ways. As discussed in Chapter 2, power relates to the historical maintenance of positions in society, denying marginalized communities access. These power imbalances are also recreated within organizations and were evident in this study. Although the women held positions of power within their respective athletic departments, their authority, legitimacy, and thus, legitimate power in those leadership positions were often challenged. Additionally, it seemed as though their access to leadership was also dependent upon the values underlying the practices of their athletic departments (notably competing values of sport as education or sport as big business).

In summary, the impact of the organizational culture may have interacted with perceptions of power to influence the women's opportunities and experience based on: (a) perceptions of diversity, (b) whether education was infused into the value system of intercollegiate athletics, (c) the diversity composition of athletic departments, and (d) the presence of diversity among university leaders.

Research Question 2: *How does Black women's positionality, at the intersections of race and gender, impact their sport leadership opportunities?*

According to Black feminist thought, Black women sit within an "outsider-within" (Collins, 2000) social location. Based on the statistics as discussed in Chapter 2, there are very few Black women who have attained sport leadership positions. Therefore these women could be considered insiders within the leadership ranks. However, Collins explained that Black women may also occupy an outsider social location that influences their realities. For example, Rebecca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) is granted insider status of her being an associate athletic director however her social location as the only Black senior woman administrator in her conference relegated her to an outsider positon. She recounted her exasperation of being the only Black woman in the setting. Also Susanna's (Division I-FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) social location was a constant reminder of her reality and she discussed how it would not let her forget that she was a Black woman in society. Rebecca's and Susanna's experiences illustrated how they had *insider* status due to their leadership roles but *outsider* experiences based on their social location and positionality at the intersection of race and gender.

Another factor that impacted Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences based on their positionality at the intersections of their race and gender can be explained by Acker's (2006) concept of inequality regimes. As discussed previously, inequality regimes refer to the specific interlinked processes that produce and reinforce patterns of inequities and power structures. One way the impact of the inequality regime of sport was demonstrated was in one of the women's salary. For example, Sienna (Division I-FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) discussed being paid significantly less than her White male counterparts. As she explained,

"…in a previous job I was part of the senior staff, but I was the lowest paid person. The next person above was paid $20,000 more than I was. And I worked the most." A second way the inequality regime was demonstrated was in the process of promotions. For example, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) learned that consequent to her promotion, four White men in the athletic department were also promoted. While this measure was done to maintain organizational 'balance' it simultaneously reinforced the inequity Susanna experienced.

In addition to the inequities experienced in salary and promotion, some of the women also experienced occupational stereotyping—the belief that Black women are more appropriate for certain roles (McDowell & Carter-Francique, 2017). Brianna (Division I-FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) addressed the assumption that she was the secretary based on where she sat in the office. Her physical location in the workplace setting seemed to have been an illustration of how her race and gender heavily impacted the way people saw her, assuming she was a secretary. She recalled a university publication that further reinforced this perception of Black people being more suitable for support roles by featuring only Black people when paying homage to administrative assistants. This assumption and treatment of her based on her 'perceived' status in the organization (consequent to her race and gender) further perpetuated the 'image' of who is stereotypically expected to be in a support role versus a leadership role.

Another critical way in which Black women's positionality at the intersection of race and gender influenced their sport leadership opportunities and experiences was the necessity for them to engage in identity negation. Identity negotiation is the process that people undertake to establish, maintain, and/or change their identity based on interactions for a concern that they are not able to share all parts of themselves in certain spaces (McDowell and Cunningham, 2009). It

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seemed as though the women were proud of their Blackness as an element of their identity. While one woman felt that she could not express her Blackness at work, other women expressed no real desire to do so. The women in this study did not discuss an explicit decision to change their identity based on their interactions with their co-workers, but a majority of the women discussed maintaining an intentional separation between their personal and work lives. For example, Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) addressed her unwillingness to discuss her marital status with her co-workers. She felt that there was no need for her to share that type of information while at work. The nature of their negotiation was present in the intentional action regarding where, when, and with whom they shared elements of their Blackness as McDowell and Cunningham suggested.

Given that the inequality regime of sport celebrates Whiteness and maleness, leadership opportunities for Black women are limited. Therefore, the positionality of Black women at the intersection of race and gender may also subject Black women to the concept of "womanism" (Abney & Richey, 1991, p. 19)—the idea that Black women are hindering the success of other Black women. Most of the women discussed positive interactions with other Black women. However, Brianna's (Division I-FBS Assistant Director of External Affairs) discussion of negative and unpleasant experiences with the only Black woman on the executive leadership team of her athletic department illustrated the concept of womanism. As Brianna commented, "we have a Black female administrator that is very high up in the ranks here who is the total opposite of what you would think a woman of color might be." She reiterated the popular adage that Black women should 'lift as we climb' (Hull et al.). Brianna was seemingly discouraged by these encounters with the other Black woman in her department. It is likely that the nature of the inequality regime and Brianna's positon in it at the intersection of race and gender created a

climate within her workplace that made her Black female counterpart resistant to assisting and supporting her, as Abney and Richey's concept of womanism suggests.

As the participants conveyed, the cultures of intercollegiate athletics have a line of entitlement and privilege running through them such that Whiteness and maleness are celebrated in leadership positions. Such entitlement and privilege may negatively impact Black women, who generally have neither entitlement nor privilege based on their race and gender. In summary, Black women's positionality at the intersections of race and gender influenced their sport leadership opportunities and experiences based on: (a) their outsider-within status, (b) inequities in their salaries, marginalizing promotions, and occupational stereotyping, (c) their tactics identity negotiation, and (d) to a lesser extent, their experiences with womanism.

Research Question 3: *To what extent does the preliminary Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP) capture the impact of sport organizational cultures on Black women's leadership challenges, opportunities, and experiences in intercollegiate athletics?*

Overall, the women had very similar experiences regarding the elements contained within the SIMP (policies and practices, diversity resistance, and legitimate power) regardless of the division in which their athletic department was affiliated. However, analyses of the interview transcripts revealed unique insight suggesting that the SIMP needed to be revised. The enhancements needed to the SIMP based on the findings included: (a) the addition of the heading intersectionality – race, age, and gender (under the culture and power umbrella), (b) addition of the subheadings of 'traditional methods—'job postings' and 'informal methods—'networks' under recruitment and hiring practices, (c) addition of 'networks' under the policies and procedures element, with the subheadings of 'consistent' and 'situational', and (d) a revising of

the concept of racially gendered workday to 'work-life balance.' See Figure 8 for a revised presentation of the SIMP based on the data obtained. Following is a discussion of the unique insight gained that necessitated a revision to Simpkins and Armstrong's (2017) preliminary SIMP.

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                    │  Sport Culture  │
                    │     & Power     │
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                    │ Intersectionality:
                    │ Race, Gender, and
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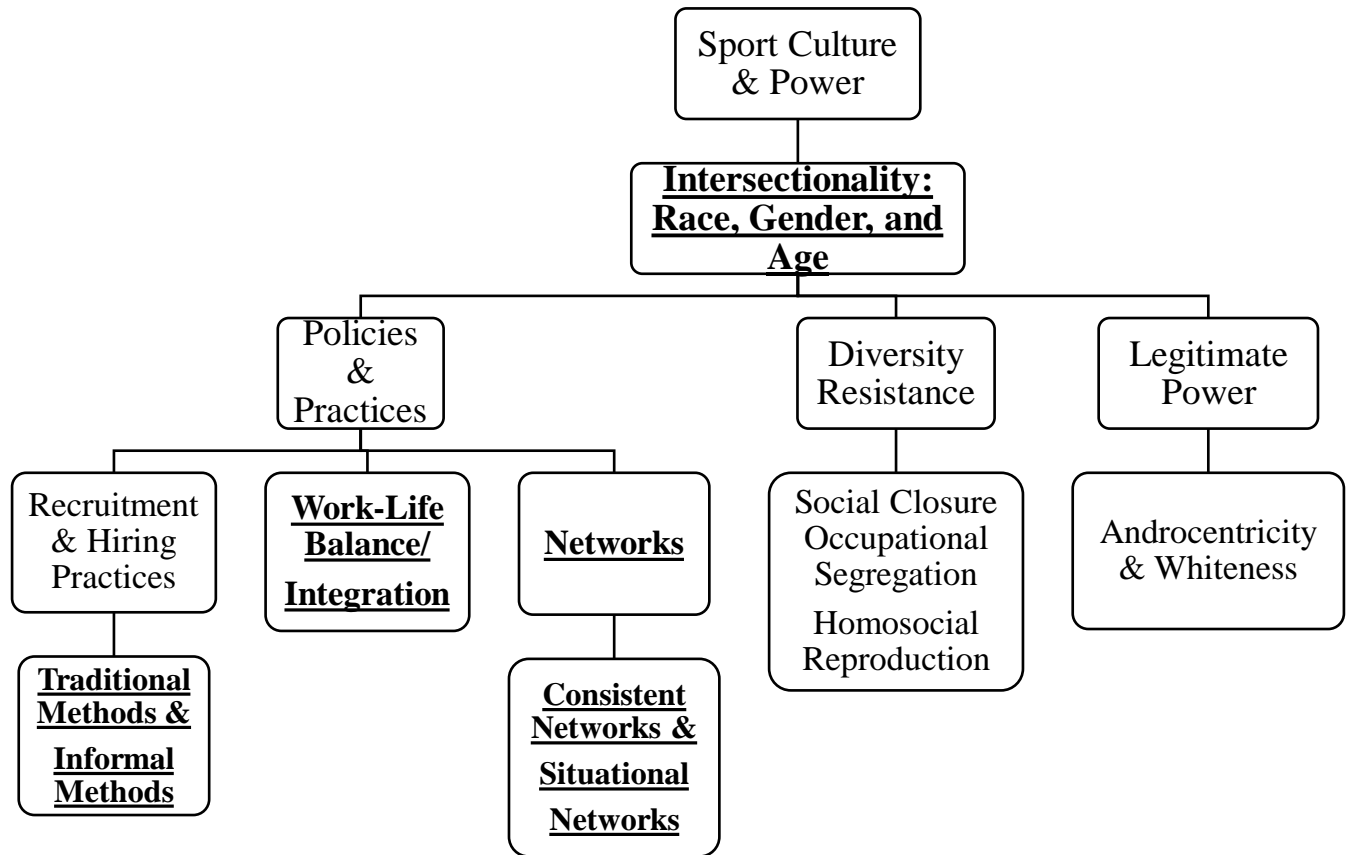
Figure 8. Revised Sport Intersectional Model of Power (SIMP)

Intersectionality: Race, Gender, and Age. The women in this study either alluded to or

explicitly discussed how race, gender, and age were often disempowering characteristics and

integral filters through which others perceived them as sport leaders. These perceptions

negatively impacted: (a) how people responded to seeing Black women in positions of authority,

(b) other people's perceptions of the women's ability to do their job, (c) times and spaces in

which the women were reminded that they were Black women, and (d) being asked to provide

insights on their race and/or gender. Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director)

and Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) illustrated how

the women's perceived age impacted other people's perceptions about them. For instance, their youthful appearance prompted people to ask for their supervisors when they were the ones in charge.

Recruitment and hiring practices: Traditional and informal methods. Based on the data, the women in this study spoke openly and candidly about how traditional and informal hiring methods played an integral role to their current positions. The combination of traditional methods (applying via a job posting and continuing through the interview process) and informal methods (hearing about a job via networks) provided the women with access to leadership opportunities and experiences within intercollegiate athletics. Even the women who relied on more traditional methods early on in their careers found the informal channels served just as fruitful in later years. For instance, the women discussed how they are to post about jobs on formal websites while also reaching out to their networks when looking for potential candidates.

Networks: Consistent and situational. All of the women heralded the importance of having a professional network in sports. As several of the women commentated, a professional network was everything because it is not "what you know, but who you know". Three of the participants discussed how networks should be akin to establishing relationships. In order to facilitate this, networks should be tiered and consist of relationships that are consistent and situational. Consistent contacts are those that you can rely on to "champion" for you and are people you reach out to regularly. Situational relationships are those that you reach out to in specific contexts. For instance, Rebecca's (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) discussion about her varied networks showed how she relied on networks that related to her

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current position, her aspirations for future roles, and networks filled with other People of Color in athletics that served as a point of support.

Work-life balance/integration. The women spoke about their difficulty with maintaining some sort of balance between their career aspirations and their home life. Many of the women were single/unmarried and without children. There were two women who had guardianship over relatives at various times. When conflicts between home life and career arose, several of the women spoke about reconciling those conflicts by prioritizing work. The data more readily supported the concept and challenges of establishing a work-life balance more so than they reflected the notion or challenge of their workdays being structured in racial, gendered, or racially-gendered ways. For instance, Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) recounted that her job was her top priority and how her family and friends understood the importance of her career.

These data necessitated the changes to the Sport Intersectional Model of Power. Since the SIMP was conceptualized to facilitate sport organizational cultures where Black women may thrive, it is imperative to understand the ways in which the model can be applied. For example, the SIMP may serve as an intervention. The SIMP may help to mediate the racialized and gendered beliefs created by inequality regimes present in intercollegiate athletic departments. Following is a discussion of how I conceived the SIMP as an intervention for recruitment and hiring practices and diversity resistance.

SIMP as an Intervention

An overarching purpose of the SIMP, as aligned with Black feminist thought, was to provide emancipatory spaces where Black women can thrive. One way to achieve a transition from research to practice, is to utilize the SIMP as an intervention. Two ways that the SIMP can be applied as an intervention are via: (a) recruitment and hiring practices and (b) diversity resistance. The challenges presented from these two organizational constraints may be challenged in creative ways that can help create more diverse and inclusive spaces where Black women can thrive. Following is a discussion of how these two elements of the SIMP can be utilized as interventions in a sport organization.

SIMP and Recruitment and Hiring Practices. The *Harvard Business Review* article from Mohr (2014) made people knowledgeable about the troubling statistic that men are likely to apply for a job when they only meet 60% of the qualifications; whereas, women typically apply for jobs only if they meet 100% of the qualifications. This study was based on a Hewlett Packard internal report and has been quoted and shared by several individuals and articles. It is often presented as evidence that men are confident about their ability 60% of the time while women are not confident unless they are able to check every item of the list (Mohr). Mohr later explained that this commonly quoted bit of information may be oversimplified. Given results from her survey of over 1000 men and women about why they did not apply to a job if they did not meet qualifications, lack of confidence in their abilities was the least common response for men and women. According to Mohr's survey the participants felt that because they did not meet the qualifications, they assumed they would not be hired and opted to not apply. There seemed to be an assumption that the participants needed to have all of the qualifications in order

to be hired. As Mohr explained, this may simply mean that women do not need more 'confidence' but more diverse and inclusive hiring and recruiting practices to help increase the amount of women applicants. Specifically, further examining the language used in job qualifications, the location of job postings, and incorporating more diverse and inclusive recruiting efforts may help increase the number of Black women applicants and could lead to more Black women being hired.

Given my earlier discussion about a reliance on informal recruiting and hiring practices, such as networks utilized in intercollegiate athletics, I have compiled various tips that may help to address this area. This includes: (a) reframing/rewording job postings, (b) proactive recruiting efforts, (c) creating and educating the hiring committee, and (d) diversifying interview procedures.

Reframing/rewording job postings. The job description is the first introduction a potential candidate has with the athletic department. The job posting should be clear, but as broad as possible when describing the competencies and experiences necessary for the job. Therefore, the tone, language, and details included or excluded in a job posting help to paint the picture of the athletic department (University Health Services, 2013). Ideal (2018) recommends refraining from the use of words that are thought to be associated with 'masculine' traits, for example, 'ambitious' and 'dominate'. Additional ideas include, emphasizing skills and experience over academic and/or professional degrees (if possible), offering incentives for specialized skills (i.e. language ability), and including experience with underrepresented groups as a required qualification as opposed to a recommendation (University Health Services). While the women in this did not speak explicitly to the impact language may have on job postings, they did speak

about making job postings accessible to different groups of people. I believe that varying the language in job postings is an additional way of making postings accessible to more people.

Proactive recruiting efforts. I believe that restructuring recruiting efforts may also yield positive benefits. Given that most athletic departments rely heavily on networks they may tend to function more like internal labor markets (Exum et al. 1984; Bennett, Griffin, & Harris, 2013). This has led to the 'old boys network' as referenced by some of the women in this study. In order to take advantage of internal and external pipelines, more proactive recruiting efforts should be utilized. This can be done initially by making connections with underrepresented populations and taking advantage of third-party hiring websites to post open roles (Ideal, 2018). Additional recommendations include: (a) partnering with minority-serving institutions to develop recruitment plans, (b) attending job fairs at local community, junior, and 4-year colleges that primarily serve underrepresented populations, (c) recruiting continuously – not just when there are job opening, making note of potential candidates, (d) personalizing recruitment, and (e) reaching out to alumni (University Health Services, 2013). Some of the women in this study were actively utilizing some of these aspects within their athletic departments. The participants in my study mentioned personalizing recruitment by reaching out directly to certain people and making use of their alumni networks. Incorporating some of the other components may include more diverse candidates within pipelines.

Creating and educating hiring committees. Along with addressing potential pipeline issues, athletic departments should also begin addressing how hiring committees are formed and who traditionally serves on them. Those in the athletic department that have demonstrated a commitment to diversity and inclusion are crucial to include on hiring committees (University Health Services, 2013). I suggest that the faculty athletic representative (FAR) along with other

stakeholders such as, student-athletes, and the athletic department's senior woman administrator (SWA) be on hiring committees. The hiring committee should include individuals that will bring diverse thoughts, outlooks, and those that are respectful of cultures and differences (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2013). Therefore, I am suggesting that it is beneficial to include faculty and staff from the university's sport studies/sport management program on hiring committees. Faculty and staff from a university's sport studies/sport management program may introduce a diverse way of evaluating potential candidates. Lastly, as I will discuss in the following section, have individuals on hiring committees think about, prepare answers, and discuss diversity-related questions that may be asked to potential candidates.

This process may allow the hiring committee to think through potential answers and their reactions to them. Discrepancies in how the committee feels about their questions can be addressed before potential candidates are interviewed. Educating the hiring committee is important so that one person is looked to as the 'expert' on diversity. As several of women in this study recounted, they were often asked to speak on and about issues pertaining to race and/or gender. Ensuring that everyone on a hiring committee is educated and understands the desired outcomes of diversity within the department one person or group of people will be responsible for guaranteeing that diversity and inclusion are incorporated throughout the hiring process.

Diversifying interview procedures. The interview likely represents the first contact the hiring committee will have with the selected candidates. Before the interview will take place, I suggest reframing the screening process as a way to include versus exclude candidates. When reviewing candidates, it may be beneficial to consider how an applicant might enhance diversity in the department and university-wide (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, 2013). Additionally, the committee should focus on the candidate's similarities to the current staff as opposed to possible

differences. Committees should also try to focus on how/if candidate differences matter to the work the candidate will be performing; those differences could enhance the team and its efforts. As a way to help ensure that all qualified candidates receive equal consideration, the hiring committee should avoid prematurely labeling one or more of the candidates as 'most promising' until all of the candidates have been interviewed (Faculty of Arts and Sciences). During the interview process, I suggest asking a series of diversity-related questions to the candidates (University Health Services, 2013). These diversity-related questions could include adaptations of questions asked by University Health Services such as:

- Please describe experiences you have had leading campus outreach activities for underrepresented student-athletes?
- What do you see as the most challenging aspect of a diverse working environment? What steps have you taken to meet this challenge?
- Explain how diversity has played a role in your career?

I believe these questions have the potential to create a situation where candidates are included or excluded. As Harriet noted, her department brought in a candidate that may not have been labeled as a 'first choice' based on their resume but during the interview process, he 'blew them away.' Had the department discounted him early on in the process, he would not have had the chance to interview. Taking a step back in the review process of candidates may help to increase the number of diverse candidates.

SIMP and Diversity Resistance. Resistance to diversity can manifest in various ways. More than likely, this resistance to diversity will be covert as opposed to overt. Three ways in which dominant group members may be resistant are: (a) obliviousness, (b) lamentation, and (c)

passive backlash (Davidson & Proudford, 2008). Obliviousness is the "tendency of dominants not to perceive the phenomena related to difference ranging from physical attributes to difference related dynamics such as discrimination and bias" (Davidson & Proudford, p. 253). In the case of obliviousness, dominant group members are genuinely surprised at the existence of bias, which then manifests into inquiry, and lastly test the validity of claims (Davidson & Proudford). Passive backlash may enhance tensions and hinder the success of diversity initiatives. The testing of validity leads to dominant group members concluding that bias does not exist or not to a significant degree (Davidson & Proudford). Davidson and Proudford further explain, lamentation is the "act of focusing on feelings of remorse for the discriminations and biases that drive diversity efforts" (p. 255). The focus on the actions that victimize others, ironically, becomes a self-focused experience where the feelings of guilt become a form of resistance.

In order to address individuals within the athletic department that may be resistant to diversity, I propose the following actions to address possible backlash to diversity. These changes should be implemented before, during, and after the hiring process. I do not suggest solely hiring for diversity without simultaneously developing an inclusive environment. Changes can occur on a structural or organizational level via direct policies and by targeting individual and group attitudes that are a hindrance to change. As Sabattini and Crosby (2008) suggested, "organizational structures guide behavior and may facilitate change [while] structures and policies that promote inclusion might attract (and retain) employees with similar beliefs" (p. 276).

Intercollegiate athletic departments could begin by utilizing trainings that: (a) encourage the use of clear, direct, and authentic communication and (b) help individuals recognize and engage in conflict as a creative, problem solving process (Miller, 1998). Conflict is a probable

outcome of increased diversity and may be used as an argument against it. However, I argue that conflict is not inherently negative. Learning how to successfully navigate potential conflict may help in creating environments in which everyone in the department feels comfortable to bring forth new ideas and ways of doing things. As proposed by Catalyst (2002; 2002a), two practices that can facilitate improved communication are: (a) education and (b) benchmarking (Sabattini & Crosby, 2008). Diversity education programs can increase individual knowledge but also have profound changes within the overall organization, while benchmarking utilizes metrics to keep track of where the organization stands in terms of diversity because it encourages accountability (Sabattini & Crosby). A necessity of education lies in the implicit attitudes and biases that people within an organization might have.

An additional way to create inclusive environments in the department is to offer more flexible workday policies that would support better work-life balance. "Flexible arrangements affect (and change) the ways in which people work at all levels of the organization…and these attitudes often transcend individual organizations to reflect larger cultural norms" (Sabattini & Crosby, 2008, p. 280). One way this could be addressed is by offering days in which staff can work from home or local co-working spaces. A policy like this may make it more feasible for individuals with various home commitments to still 'come into the office' without having to physically be in the office. This may not be possible for all positions or at all times but having the option may significantly attract more diverse candidates (Ideal, 2018). For this policy to be effective, a shift in how we think about work is necessary, with the main goal not only being to provide more flexibility but to "develop innovative work practices based on inclusion" (Sabattini & Crosby, p. 280). Sabattini and Crosby further explained, that if flexible workday policies are

properly implemented and integrated the programs can facilitate environments that allow people from various backgrounds to thrive and relay that an organization is committed to change.

Lastly, in order to address diversity resistance, there needs to be clear demonstrable support from the senior leadership (Sabattini & Crosby, 2008). Not only will this spark initial change but also create sustainable change within an athletic department. As Rebecca's (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) earlier example highlighted, women of color within the university leadership could push for more substantial change; seeing that the Provost at Rebecca's university was integral in her being hired.

Overall, the updated version of the SIMP more accurately captured the elements impacting the leadership opportunities and experiences of the women who participated in this study. It offers an overview of concepts that should be considered when examining the organizational culture in sport and its impact on leadership. Although the SIMP was applied to the experiences of Black women, it may also offer insight for other Women of Color. As exampled, the SIMP as an intervention holds the ability to shift the prevalence of Whiteness and maleness in sport leadership, and facilitate diversity and inclusion by deconstructing the inequality regimes present in sport.

Black Feminist Thought: Conceptual Implications

Black Feminist Thought as Oppositional Knowledge. A central component to this study utilized Black feminist thought as oppositional knowledge. As defined by Collins (2000), oppositional knowledge is, "a type of knowledge developed by, for, and/or in defense of an opposed group's interests. Ideally, it fosters the group's self-definition and self-determination" (p. 320). In this study, I worked to deconstruct the culture of intercollegiate athletic departments

utilizing the voices and feedback of Black women as a way to reconstruct intercollegiate athletic departments as a space where Black women can thrive. As Collins (2016) explained, "Black women typically have to do both [deconstruct and reconstruct], and works that draw upon both identifying problems and solving problems are especially timely" (p. 136). Therefore, Black feminist thought as oppositional knowledge in this study served two main purposes in that it allowed me to: (a) analyze unjust practices that confront Black women in intercollegiate athletic departments and (b) build new knowledge to stimulate new practices.

Furthermore, conceiving Black feminist thought as oppositional knowledge allowed me to highlight the experiences of Black women from the perspective of Black women. Throughout the research process I acknowledged Black women as a knowledge source and as a Black woman was central to the production of this knowledge. Lastly, I utilized intersectional approaches to further unearth Black women's knowledge.

Presence of Intersectionality as an Analytical Tool. Intersectional influences were an important component of the SIMP and an integral element of Black feminist thought. The six core dynamics: (a) social inequality, (b) social context, (c) complexity, (d) social justice, (e) relationality, and (f) power, that are the foundation of intersectionality as an analytical tool, also helped to guide this study and presented themselves in various ways. The core dynamic of social inequality was present given the low numbers of Black women present in intercollegiate athletics. It allowed me to keep in mind that inequality is not caused by a singular factor and to see the Black women's experiences through various lenses. I did this by remaining open to the idea that race and gender were not the only intersections that the women could be impacted by. Reminding myself of this fact allowed me to restructure the SIMP to more accurately depict the

women's experiences. Social inequality allowed me to utilize intersectionality to illuminate the Black women's unique standpoint in this study and to acknowledge that they were impacted simultaneously across varying axes. The core dynamic of social context, was present in my intent to interview all of the women in their workplace settings. The experiences I aimed to learn more about happened while the women were in their respective athletic departments. Having the women speak to me while in that specific context, was important and necessary. Black women are often impacted by their race and gender but the context of intercollegiate athletics highlight those identities in nuanced ways. As Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) exemplified during her discussion of a colleague's resistance to speak to her about football scheduling, even though that was her job. To maintain the structure of the context, I strove to interview all of the participants in their work environments. Social justice as an analytical tool, was present in the participants' engagement in mentoring young professionals – especially mentoring young Black women, and their efforts in promoting and creating policies/initiatives/organizations that aimed to provide more diversity and inclusion within their respective departments. Social justice was also a driving force behind the SIMP as it was conceptualized to create spaces where Black women can thrive. Relationality, which is rejection of either/or thinking was present in the interview data too. The women in this study and I had conversations about the impacts that their race, gender, and age impacted their leadership opportunities and experiences in intercollegiate athletics. We engaged in dialogue that emphasized how their race, gender, and age impacted their daily experiences. For the women, it was the combination of those three identities that had the most significant impact. This was exampled by Sienna's (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) story about how

other people's perception of her that she was in her thirties and unable to be the person they were sent to speak to.

Lastly, the women touched on two domains of power: (a) disciplinary and (b) structural. The disciplinary domain of power which indicated that based on who a person is they may encounter different treatment and receive varied implementations of rules. This was exemplified in Heather's (Division III Director of Athletics) retelling of how her collogue reacted to her displaying her authoritative power. She felt that the employee's reaction would have been less aggressive if she was not a Black woman. The disciplinary domain of power manifested in the women's discussions about pay disparities amongst themselves and other White men in their departments, or the differential treatment they experienced based on their race and gender. The structural domain of power which examined the complexity of intersecting power relations (race, gender, age, class, etc.) that may shape institutions, was emphasized in comments about how their intersecting identities hindered their access to power, ability to have authority, or people's perceptions of their ability to have authority. For instance Susanna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) recounted how she felt that she did not have the authority she thought she would in her position and how that is likely because her authority was not relayed to others effectively. The dynamics of Intersectionality as an analytical tool were not present as separate entities.

Impact of Matrices of Domination: Race, Gender, and Perceived Age. The matrix of domination was the other core component of Black feminist thought that was essential to this study. As Collins (2000) explained, the matrix of domination referred to the ways in which oppressions are organized within a society. "Regardless of the particular intersections involved,

structural, disciplinary, and [cultural] domains of power reappear across different forms of oppression" (Collins, p. 21). Regarding Black women's experiences with the matrix of domination present in intercollegiate athletics, several of the women in this study expressed that it was their race, gender, and *age* that specifically impacted their experiences. The women's perceived age, was not an intersection that I brought up but six of the women emphasized experiences where they were perceived to be younger than they actually were, or were treated as someone not in a leadership position because of their age. Young people are not often given authority and are often not seen to have authority, especially in intercollegiate athletics. Being Black—an identity that is seen as having less authority than Whites, being women—an identity that is seen as having less authority than men in sport, and being young—an identity that is seen has having less authority than those who are older; left the women in a tenable position. The women in this study were often assumed to be in less authoritative roles or often made conscious decisions about how they communicated with other administrators, coaches, supervisors, and students. Although intercollegiate athletic leadership typically follows a male-centered and Whiteness framing the majority of my women had leadership roles within the athletic departments. For instance, eight of the women in this study held a role with the title of Director of Athletics or Associate Athletic Director. They are members of a select few as the numbers of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership is still low. The women in this study had varied and vast networks that they pointed to as integral components to their career trajectory and ultimately their current positions.

Indeed, while this study looked mainly at the intersections of race and gender, it was the impact of race, gender, and perceived age that had the largest impact on the women. Six of the women in this study spoke about how their age seemed to be an integral factor into what roles

they were perceived to have. For instance, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) discussed how her age played an integral role in her leadership opportunities and experiences, "…my age. I think that's a big deal for me personally, I think one other person who shares my title and is in my age range, she's still four years older than me, she's broken the 30 mark." What appeared was that the intersection of all three in the contexts of intercollegiate athletics was necessary. As discussed in Chapter 1, race and gender may act as foundational components of inequality regimes. Susanna's example helped to illustrate how age can also offer an additional inequality regime. Therefore, the intersections of a younger appearance, race, and gender complicated the women's positionality as they seemed to be the antithesis to the ideal model of sport leadership.

Black Feminist Thought: Practical Implications

'Working Twice as Hard.' One of the practical implications of the findings supported by Black feminist thought is the notion of Black women to work twice as hard as their counterparts. As Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/ Compliance Coordinator) expressed, in Chapter 4, Black women are not often "seen in that point of authority" and because of this, Black women often have to work twice as hard to prove their capabilities. Black women having to work twice as hard as others is often facilitated by gendered and racialized beliefs about Black women. Gender as an inequality regime often expects women to have minimal knowledge about sports; whereas race as an inequality regime typically assumes that Black people are less intelligent. Since Black women's positionality places them at the intersections of race and gender they are often working against both simultaneously. One way the women did this was through education. As Susanna (Division I-

FCS Senior Associate Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) expressed, "terminal degrees allow access to spaces that may have otherwise been inaccessible."

These data supported the premise of Black feminist thought (Collins, 2000) regarding Black women's enduring history of having to always work hard while resisting oppressive forces. Black women "learn to expect to work…and that education is a vehicle for advancement can also be seen as ways of enhancing positive self-definition" (Collins, p. 198; Joseph, 1981; Ladner, 1972). Terminal and graduate degrees and other educational credentials were ways in which the participants worked to exemplify their worth. Seven of the 10 women had Master's degrees in sport studies or sport management, and five of the 10 women had or were pursuing a terminal degree. None of the participants boasted about their level of education or additional credentials and as Susanna mentioned, having credentials were a way of gaining access to previously inaccessible spaces. Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) solidified that message when she said, "So if people don't want you there and you gotta make them tell you they don't want you there. And if they ain't willing to do that, then you belong." If the women are technically qualified to be in the space then there has to be another reason why the participants' presence is unwelcomed or challenged. While terminal degrees did provide access to leadership positions in intercollegiate athletic departments, it did not prevent them from being challenged in those roles. Thus, Whiteness and androcentricity associated with leadership positions in sport are still closely linked.

Leadership Modeling. Another practical implication of the findings supported by Black feminist thought is the need for leadership modeling. According to Collins (2000) the negative matriarch stereotype places Black women in an untenable position. The matriarch stereotype

paints Black women as deviant and modeling inappropriate gender behavior. Stereotypes that Black women are superwomen, dominating, and feisty (Reynolds-Dobbs, Thomas, Harrison, 2008; Rosette et al., 2016; Rosette et al., 2018; Rosette & Washington, 2012). The experiences of the women in this study pushed back on this notion. As explained in Chapter 4, half of the women recognized their mothers or grandmothers as their first memory of someone being a leader. For these women, their maternal figures (mothers and grandmothers) provided them with positive insights into what a leader should look like and what characteristics a leaders should possess. As Collins (2000) discussed, mother/daughter relationships are fundamental among Black women. This is typically because "Black mothers empower their daughters by providing them with everyday knowledge that is essential for Black women's survival" (Collins, p. 112; Collins, 1986; Joseph, 1981). Black mothers providing insight about specific experiences was highlighted by Rebeca (Division III Associate Athletic Director/SWA) who recounted an instance in which she encountered a racist incident. In the moments following, Rebecca's mother had to have a conversation with her about how people will not see her the way she saw herself. This served as a self-empowerment tactic utilized by Rebecca in her role as an Associate Athletic Director/SWA. Rebecca's mother had to impart knowledge on Rebecca about how to navigate spaces as a young Black girl and eventually a Black woman.

For other women in this study, women outside of the common familial structure played an integral role in their leadership modeling as role models. While these women may not have been Black women, they served as mentors and role models as additions to "women-centered networks" (Collins, p. 193). For these women, coaches, professors, and professional women athletes served as leadership models for them. The women spoke about how these role models provided them with examples of what it meant to be a leader, not by telling the women what to

do, but by providing examples for which they could follow. These mentors, role models, and women centered-networks offered similar insights and had lasting effects on the women. The mentors and role models provided examples of women in sport leadership and offered them an alternative framework for the common male-centered model of sport leadership.

Suggestions for Black Women in Sport Leadership

The women were asked to offer suggestions that would improve the opportunities and experiences for Black women in sport leadership. They offered insightful ideas and practical suggestions and included the following: (a) the need to expand the definition of diversity, (b) more intentional inclusive hiring and recruiting practices, (c) career guidance (the introduction of sport studies/sport management majors to young Black women – both those who were formerly student-athletes and those who were not), (d) the offering of more diverse and inclusive professional development opportunities, (e) employing a mixture of traditional and informal hiring methods, and (f) intentional mentoring and networking. Following is a presentation of their suggestions, as well as some of my own.

Expanding the Definition of Diversity. Many of the women discussed diversity in terms of representation and inclusion. For instance, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) explained, "If we're defining diversity and not inclusion, diversity means representation." Similarly, Gabrielle (Division III Associate Director of Athletics/SWA/Compliance Coordinator) discussed how her athletic department described diversity, "diversity is inclusive on gender, race, and sexual orientation." One woman emphasized the importance of diverse thoughts and ideas as necessary components of diversity. For example, Sienna (Division I- FBS Senior Associate Athletic Director) recounted how her

department described diversity, "…it is more about people who have different thoughts. A different way of thinking, a different way of looking at things." Gabrielle's response stood out because she mentioned the importance that ability status should play in definitions of diversity. That particular comment stood out and is the foundation for this suggestion. As Crenshaw (1991) stressed, the interplay of an individual's identities can impact how power and privilege affect them. Oftentimes, when thinking about sport, ability status is not a part of the conversation. This may be attributed to how the athletes' bodies are viewed in connection to playing a sport, typically because athletes are considered to be at the pinnacle of performance. Expanding definitions of diversity have the potential to bring more qualified candidates who may have otherwise been overlooked. A person's ability status may mean they approach the world, and possibly sport leadership, in unique ways.

In the context of intercollegiate athletics, diversity often refers to racial and gender diversity. This is likely due to the history that women and People of Color had in terms of integrating the world of sports. While it is necessary to continue being inclusive of those groups, it is also imperative that other individuals are included. Issues of disability may be overlooked in intercollegiate athletics because when we often think about sports, we think of people at their peak performance. Expanding the boundaries of the definition of diversity has the potential to make intercollegiate athletics a more inclusive space. Creating spaces for people with varying degrees of ability can foster intercollegiate athletic departments that flex their "inclusive muscle memory" (T. Boynton, personal communication, March 10, 2019) by creating structures and putting procedures in place that are already inclusive. For example, Gabrielle discussed how her athletic department recently hired individuals that identified as being on the autism spectrum. In light of this, her department hosted educational workshops that addressed communicating with

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all types of individuals. This allowed, her department to have the opportunity to begin instilling

practices that would be inclusive to a wider range of people. Therefore, an expansion of

diversity to include ability status allowed Gabrielle's department to begin building their

'inclusive muscle memory.' Potentially making the intercollegiate athletic department one that

will be accessible and inclusive to more people.

More Intentional Recruiting and Hiring Practices. Five of the women in this study

discussed their participation in ensuring that their departments took intentional steps towards

bringing in diverse candidates. These actions were: (a) suggesting formalized processes, (b)

utilizing various types of job boards, (c) being willing to start a search over if the pool was not

diverse, (d) and bringing candidates to campus for interviews even if they did not meet 100% of

the requirements. They acknowledged that these additional steps could be more time consuming

and costly, but they were worth it to find candidates.

Formalized process have the ability to ensure that candidate pools are more diverse. As

Gabrielle mentioned, the formalized process her department used allowed them to be intentional

about selecting diverse candidates and ensured that everyone would follow the same procedures.

Additionally, Gabrielle discussed that one of the processes her athletic department practiced

informally, that she planned to push for formally, was the commitment to starting over with a

candidate pool that was not diverse. Creating formalized processes may work well in

conjunction with using different job boards to post jobs. Having formalized processes in place

means that everyone is following the same policies and procedures. Following a process similar

to the one Gabrielle discussed necessitates that even the process of choosing candidates will be

intentional and will uphold the value of diversity. In this process, people will not be limited in

their knowledge of jobs because of smaller networks. Re-evaluating how candidates are selected may also help with increasing the diversity of candidates. This could involve, bringing candidates to campus who may not address every qualification on paper. As Harriet referenced, her department brought in a candidate to interview (based on her persistence) that may not have touched every qualification on paper but when brought to campus the candidate 'blew their interview out of the water'.

Earlier Career Interventions for Black Women. As noted, none of the women in this study entered college with the knowledge sport studies or sport management were possible majors of study, including the women who were collegiate student-athletes. The two women who did graduate with sport management/sport studies degrees, they switched their majors during their junior years of college. While none of the women spoke explicitly about this issue, it was one that the document analyses made apparent. Introducing young Black women to sport management majors earlier (as they are forming and defining their career pursuits and aspirations) has the potential to create more Black women in the athletic leadership pipeline. This is applicable to young Black women who are student-athletes and those who are not. While Black women who were formerly student-athletes may be familiar with navigating the organizational culture and ideologies of athletic leadership, Black women who were not former athletes can help to bring a different perspective to the field. As a Black woman who was not a student-athlete, I can attest to the fact that Black women who are not student-athletes can be passionate about their pursuit of a career in the field of intercollegiate athletic leadership despite not have a sport/athletic background. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, when I discussed expanding definitions of diversity, Black women who were not student-athletes bring a diverse perspective which can help to expand the boundaries of intercollegiate athletics.

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One way to enact the strategy of earlier interventions may be to encourage athletic departments to partner with sport studies/sport management programs to create outreach programs that cater to Black women. Such outreach program could include: (a) formalized mentoring programs, (b) shadowing/internship opportunities, (c) hosting career and major fairs, and (d) summer internship programs. These programs would target young Black girls in middle and high school. Implementing these initiatives before young Black girls get to college would bring awareness to sport studies/sport management and make working in intercollegiate athletics a viable option earlier on.

Diverse and Inclusive Professional Development Opportunities. Some of the women in this study discussed different experiences they had with professional development opportunities. For these women, these opportunities meant that they were the only Black woman in those spaces. Such isolation can be disheartening and may contribute to the low numbers of Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Creating more professional development spaces where Black women feel included and represented can encourage Black women to continue to develop and advance their leadership skills to make career strides within the field.

Professional development spaces where Black women do not have to constantly feel like the only one are important and necessary (Collins, 2000). Several of the women reflected on being the only one at conferences or other large events and spaces. Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) discussed how it would be nice to not have to always explain the nature of her experiences and how it would be nice if someone were able to relate to her experiences. Consistently being in those professional development spaces where Black women are not highly represented, could lead to what Heather (Division III Director of Athletics) described as [racial] battle fatigue." This 'battle fatigue' could push women out of

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intercollegiate athletics and into other fields. Professional development is a necessary component of any industry and this is also true for intercollegiate athletics. For people to progress to the highest level of leadership in intercollegiate athletics they should have experience and/or knowledge in all aspects of how an athletic department functions. Gaining that knowledge and/experience requires investment in professional development. If Black women are required to gain additional professional development in spaces they are the only ones or one a few, this could lead to 'battle fatigue' in Black women. According to Smith, Yosso, and Solorzano (2006), racial battle fatigue is "the stress associated with racial microaggressions that causes African Americans to experience various forms of mental, emotional, and physical strain" (p. 300). This mental and emotional strain caused by racial battle fatigue may lead some Black women in sports administration to find employment in other fields.

Utilizing a Mixture of Traditional and Informal Hiring Methods. As previously mentioned, several of the women spoke about the impact that traditional (job postings) and informal (networks) hiring methods had on their career. The women in this study said that the combination of both guided them to their current roles. Therefore, intercollegiate athletic departments should rely on both traditional methods and informal methods. Such a combination will allow for access by a wider range of candidates and will help to ensure that underrepresented individuals such as Black women will have access to critical networks.

For some of the women in this study, early on in their careers, they relied heavily on traditional methods of hiring. This included finding a job posting, applying for it, going through the interview process, and then being hired for the position. This transitioned to more informal methods as their careers progressed. While the women in this study were able to transition to

more informal methods later on in their careers, this does not mean that this is likely for all Black women. As several of the women in this study emphasized, there is a lack of Black women in intercollegiate athletics. Continuing to incorporate traditional and informal methods of hiring will increase the likelihood that Black women are consistently in applicant and candidate pools.

Intentional Mentoring and Networking. All of the women in this study spoke about the importance of mentorship and networking or relationship building. The women all acknowledged that mentorship relationships were integral in their career trajectory. They also emphasized the importance of being intentional about who to choose as a mentor, as well as acknowledging that all of your mentors do not have to look like you. The women also stressed the importance of networks, mentioning that without their networks they would not have been in their current positions. Connecting Black women with networks and mentors early on has the ability to create more access in intercollegiate athletics.   As I discussed earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 4, mentors and networks were integral to the women's current career trajectories. Seeing that none of the women entered college intending to major in sport studies/sport management and may have been beneficial if the women had earlier access to these networks and mentors. As Hannah (Division II Associate Athletic Director Academic Support/SWA) and Susanna (Division I-FCS Senior Associate Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) showed this mattered. They were the only two women to switch their majors after being exposed to mentors and networks.

Abney and Richey (1991) also discussed the inadequate counseling and lack of role models that Black women in sport leadership often experience. This finding was partially evident in this study. None of the women were 'counseled' into sport leadership careers, as they

did not enter college with the intention to be sport studies or sport management majors. Only two of the ten women in this study were sport studies or sport management majors after they switched to these disciplines of student later on in their collegiate careers. While the women in this study discussed the lack of available role models for Black women due to their underrepresentation in leadership positions, three of them did discuss the impact that women role models had on their experiences. The women also addressed how the lack of representation could deter Black women from seeing or pursuing the field as a possible career option. For the women in this study, their role models made a significant impact on their career trajectories. One of Abney and Richey's suggestions—initiate formal and informal mentoring programs, was also discussed by several of the women in this study, as some of them actively mentored young Black women. While the women did not explicitly mention creating formal programs, they discussed the necessity of having mentors who look like them and those that do not.

As the women in this study indicated, and as I can attest, mentoring is an integral component in gaining knowledge and access to intercollegiate athletic departments. For example, my current trajectory was heavily influenced by a mentor. Mentors are not only able to provide Black women with an understanding of how the field of intercollegiate athletics operates but also "champion" for them in their absence. Building relationships and "not just taking business cards" can work to mediate the inaccessibility found in some intercollegiate athletic departments. Several of the participants spoke to how their mentors were integral in at least one job during their careers. Intentional mentoring could be combined with the previously mentioned implication of introducing young girls to the field of intercollegiate athletic leadership earlier on.

Limitations and Future Research

The methods employed and data obtained in this study offered valuable insight that allowed me to: (a) answer the research questions that guided this inquiry with confidence, and (b) note the theoretical and practical implications. Nonetheless, there were limitations associated with this study that must be acknowledged. First and foremost, although my findings supported the overall premise of research on Black women in sport leadership, I am unable to generalize the findings of this study beyond the sample participants. Additionally, despite my efforts to secure equal numbers of participants from each of the three athletic divisions, Hannah was the only participant from Division II in my sample. Therefore, it is unclear how/if the findings would have changed if I were able to secure the participation of more Black women from the Division II sector of intercollegiate athletics. Given the unique culture of Division II and the experiences and comments Hannah, who represented Division II in this investigation, there is more insight that could be unearthed in this regard.

This study also focused on the sport domain of intercollegiate athletics, and the findings may not apply similarly to other sport settings such as professional sports or international sports. Additionally, the participants in this study hailed from co-educational institutions and those classified as Predominately White Institutions. Therefore, the findings may not apply similarly to Black women who are employed in athletic departments that are housed in single-sex institutions or those classified as Historically Black Institutions.

The primary focus of the SIMP was on the organizational elements of sport cultures. This was an intentional delimitation in the scope of this study. However, this delimitation did not allow me to delve into the individual factors such as career aspiration, career motivations, or coping strategies previous research has revealed as important to Black women's leadership

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aspirations, opportunities, and experiences – that may also have been operative in this study. The focus of this study on Black women's sport leadership was centered along the axes of race and gender because of the prominence in which these identities often have in influencing hiring decisions. Characteristics associated with race and gender are often more visible and more discernible, and thus more susceptible to the marginalizing effects of racial and gender ideology that impacts organizational cultures and the experiences of individuals therein. However, identities such as age (as mentioned by the women in this study), sexual orientation, ability, social class, nationality, and religion that also create intersectionality are also important. These identities are often more covert and 'hidden;' however, they undoubtedly also impact the leadership opportunities and experiences of Black women in sport. Future research on this topic should create an interview protocol that embraces other sources of intersectionalities that create Black women's composite identities and impact how they experience sport organizational cultures, and their access to opportunities and experiences as sport leaders.

Additionally, the women in the study did not experience the adverse implications of a racially gendered workday (even though they discussed the need for work-life balance), primarily because they prioritized work over their other obligations. This research did not delve into this matter. Future research should seek to examine the motivation, implications, and unintended consequences of Black women choosing their careers over personal, familial, or social obligations. The results revealed the need for additional elements to be explored that were not adequately captured in the SIMP. Future research employing the SIMP should use the revised version created based on the data obtained in this study featuring the new variables.

Black feminist thought was the main theory I used to frame this investigation. More research on Black women in sport needs to employ this theoretical lens to highlight the uniqueness of Black women's experiences and to also empower and inspire Black women in various domains with cultures that reflect Whiteness and androcentricity. However, integrating organizational theories, diversity theories, and leadership theories with Black feminist thought may have also been appropriate and may have yielded additional insight. For example, organizational theories could have highlighted more structural elements of intercollegiate athletic departments as opposed to the heavy focus I paid to Black women's individualized perceptions. Diversity theories may have allowed me to further unveil the impact of racial and gender composition of the respective departments on Black women's feelings of exclusion and their lack of access to opportunities and experiences in intercollegiate athletic departments. Moreover, diversity theories could have also been intertwined with leadership theories to offer suggestions to combat diversity resistance and to highlight the leadership styles that Black women employ, notably when working and advancing through the organizational culture of intercollegiate athletic departments.

As the women in this study displayed (and as previous research has revealed), Black women often share some common experiences. Nonetheless, more studies are needed to add to the conversation about Black women in intercollegiate athletics in general, and as sport leaders in particular. Studies are also needed that examine the experiences of Black women in sport studies/sport management programs in college, notably identifying their motivations and socialization into sport related careers. Understanding the experiences of Black women before they enter the workforce could help to: (a) create a pipeline of potential Black female applicants

for sport leadership positions, and (b) better create organizational spaces in sport where Black women can thrive.

Conclusion

I believe that this study made a viable contribution to filling a gap in regards to Black women in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Unlike previous research on this topic, the addition of the organizational audit was an integral component in allowing for a critique of the level of congruency (or lack thereof) between what the universities and athletic departments posited and espoused about diversity and inclusion at the macro and meso levels and what the women experienced at the micro level. Several of the individual-level strategies and suggestions brought forth by other researchers that Black women should employ (being confident, assertive, determined, etc.) may be impacted by organizational factors. However, previous research has not adequately included an organizational component in the analyses to allow for a contextualization of intercollegiate athletics environments. Framing Black women's sport leadership in an organizational context was one of the notable contributions of this study.

As stated at the outset, Black women are severely underrepresented in intercollegiate athletic leadership. Prior research showed that across all three NCAA divisions, Black women were typically one of the least represented groups within intercollegiate athletic leadership (Lapchick, 2017). As the data in Table 1 in Chapter 1 portrayed, it appears as though many of the intercollegiate athletic departments across Divisions I, II, and III function in a space of monoculturalism. However, as Miller (1998) explained, given the complexity of today's problems, monoculturalism may hinder an organization. As Mazur (2010) discussed, positive outcomes have resulted in the intentional increase of organizational diversity such as: (a) an

advantage in recruiting and retaining talent, (b) better suited to serve diverse stakeholders, (c) higher levels of creativity, (d) better at solving complex problems by displaying varied perspectives and interpretations, and (e) display more organizational flexibility, more effectively adapting to change.

With the increasing diversity among sport stakeholders (student populations, donors, and fans), intercollegiate athletic departments are in need of more diverse and inclusive leadership in general, and leadership that includes the contributions of Black women in particular. While other entities have begun to realize the valuable contributions Black women are making as leaders, the composite entity of intercollegiate sports/athletics (Divisions I, II, and III) has failed to do so. It is my hope that the theoretical and practical implications of this study will contribute to the creation of organizational cultures and associated policies and practices that will improve the opportunities and experiences for Black women as leaders in sport. As conveyed by several of the women in this study, intercollegiate athletics would be better if more Black women were entrusted with the access and opportunity to be leaders.

One of the primary reasons for undertaking this study was to obtain information to improve and enhance Black women's sport leadership opportunities and experiences. This topic is one of great personal and professional relevance to me given my prior experience in athletic administration and my career aspirations. Therefore, one of the highlights of the findings of this study was the internal fortitude necessary for Black women's leadership success. The Black women in this study spoke openly about moments in which their race and gender impacted other people's perceptions about their ability to do their jobs. However, despite the inequality regimes in which sport operated and in which they were employed, they did not internalize those external

perceptions. They did not feel that their race or gender adversely impacted their ability to do their jobs. In one instance, Susanna (Division I- FCS Senior Athletics Director/Chief of Staff) spoke about a time an employee refused to let her into a game because she had forgotten her identification. Susanna then mentioned how she felt compelled to "do the thing"—run down her list of credentials to prove she was worthy of being perceived as a leader, an action to which I could instantly relate. Susanna's need to run down her education, experience, and current position in her athletic department was because her race and gender did not align with others' perceptions about who would be Senior Athletics Director of a Division I (FCS) athletic department. As a Black woman, I was able to relate to the stories recounted by the women in this study based on situations where I have been required to 'prove' my credentials and show that I belong in certain spaces/places in sport and in the academy.

Therefore, in the spirit of emancipatory research, one of the most important takeaways from this study was that it further highlighted the need for Black women to have internal empowerment and be self-defined and not be defined by the external perceptions and stereotypes of others about their leadership abilities based on their race and gender. This is particularly important in settings, situation, and organizations where elements of power at the micro, meso, and macro level create inequality regimes of Whiteness and maleness that challenge Black women's leadership opportunities and experiences. I hope the information contained in this document will inspire and empower Black women to pursue and proclaim their rightful places as leaders in and of sport.

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Appendix

Interview Protocol

"This interview contains questions regarding your perceptions (if any) of how the organizational cultures of intercollegiate departments impact the experiences and opportunities of Black women."

Leadership Background questions (Questions adopted from Parker, 2005).

1. Will you share your name, race, and gender?

2. Can you describe any critical incidents, people, and/or events that impacted your career trajectory and your leadership development?

3. What is your first memory of someone being a leader? What made them a leader to you?

      3a. Do you recognize yourself as a leader? When did you first recognize/consider yourself as a leader?

      3b. Did/do others view you as a leader? When did others first recognize you as a leader?

4. What characteristics do you believe make you an effective leader?

5. Has your experience working in athletics been what you expected it to be? Why or why not?

"The next set of questions focus on your perception of the current culture in athletics generally and your athletic department specifically…"

Sport Culture and Power

1. How would you describe or explain the organizational culture of athletics? First generally and second specifically to your athletic department?

      1a. Do you think the organizational culture of your athletic department impacts individuals differently?

2. What do you think are the organizational strengths of your department? The organizational weaknesses?

3. Do you think the organizational culture of intercollegiate athletics would be different if there were more Black women present? Why/why not? Your department specifically? Why or why not?

"The next set of questions focus on certain policies and practices (formal and informal) in intercollegiate athletics and your department specifically…"

Policies & Practices

Practices

1. Does your department rely on formal or informal ways announcing hiring opportunities or on both equally?

      1a. Does your department rely more on formal or informal ways of announcing networking opportunities or both equally?

2. Do you think that the style of communicating these opportunities and experiences has had a negative impact on your leadership opportunities and experiences?

Networks

3. In your opinion, how important is having a professional network in athletic leadership?

      3a. Can you describe who is in your network and what types of roles they hold?

4. When thinking about your journey to your current position, how critical was your network?

      4a. Do you reach out to or rely on this network frequently? Why or why not?

      4b. Has your access to and knowledge of jobs been more formal (more 'traditional' hiring methods) or informal (through your network)?

5. Have you looked outside of your professional network for career development or advancement? Why or why not?

6. Are there networks within your department (or sports or related fields) that you feel are inaccessible or difficult for you to access? Explain.

      6a. How do you navigate this?

Policies

7. What are your thoughts about the recruiting & hiring practices of your department?

7a. What efforts, if any, has your department made regarding the recruitment and hiring of a diverse staff?

      7b. Specifically Black women?

8. Are there any policies and practices you think your department should adapt? Why?

      8a. (If applicable) Have you shared or implemented your ideas? (If applicable) Have you mentioned them to your supervisor? Why or why not?

"This next set of questions will explore the structure of your department's work day"

Racially Gendered Workday

1. How many formal meetings does your department have a month?

       1a. Are the meeting days and times convenient for you? Other women in your department?

2. Are there times when your aspirations or obligations in your home life conflict with those of your career?

       2a. If so, how do you prioritize and reconcile those conflicts?

3. Do you feel that you must keep your non-work life separate from your work like? Why or why not?

4. In your opinion, does your department offer enough flex time?

       4a. Maternity leave?

       4b. Sick-leave?

       4c. Overtime?

       4d. Others?

5. What time does your workday begin and end?

       5a. Is that time flexible or static?

"This next set of questions will explore how you perceive your department embraces diversity"

Diversity Resistance

1. How would you summarize or characterize the diversity profile of your athletic department? How does that compare to the university overall?

2. How does your department define diversity?

2a. Are there any changes you would make to their definition or to better exemplify their definition?

Social Closure/Homosocial Reproduction

3. In what contexts do you interact with your coworkers? Formally and informally? How regularly do these interactions occur?

4. Thinking back on your various roles in collegiate athletic leadership, did those workplace environments feel welcoming?

       4a. Were there times when you felt that your presence was underappreciated or unwanted? Explain.

6. Have you ever been told that you don't 'fit' in with the organizational culture of a department?

      6a. How did you interpret that?

      6b. Did you agree or disagree with that assessment?

"The next set of questions will explore dynamics of power"

Legitimate Power

Androcentricity and Whiteness

1. Do you have a direct supervisor?

      1a. What is their gender?

      1b. What is their race/ethnicity?

      1c. (If yes) Can you discuss your interactions with them?

      1d. (If no) Can you discuss how the interactions went with your most recent supervisor vs. your interactions with those that work under you now?

2. Do you feel like you have the authority to make important decisions within your department?

      2a. If you do not have authority, do you feel as if you have access to the people who do? Why or why not?

      2b. If you do, has there been a time (or times) when someone assumed you were not in the role you hold or held? Explain.

      2c. Do you ever feel that your authority to make decisions are challenged? Explain.

3. Could you see a Black woman, other woman of color, white woman, or other person of color obtaining that role? Why or why not?

      3a. Is that a role you aspire to? Why or why not?

"This next set of questions will explore the intersection of race AND gender"

Intersectional Influences

2. Does being [one of] the only Black women in a leadership role in your department affect the ways in which you do your job? Explain.

3. Have you ever felt that people responded to you differently as a Black woman, then they would a White woman or man or Black man in your position?

      3a. Can you give an example of how is this response different?

      3b. Did you adjust your behavior because of their response? How so?

4. Do you think your opportunities and/or leadership experiences are different than those of Black men, White women/men, or other Black women?

5. Are there times when you feel that your race, gender, or both impact your ability to do your job? Explain.

      5a. Are there times when you feel that your race, gender, or both impact other's perceptions of your ability to do your job? Explain.

6. Do you feel that being a Black woman has ever been a hindrance, assistance, neither, or both to you working in athletics? Explain.

7. During your career, have there been times in which you felt you were asked to speak for your race, gender, or both while at work? Can you describe what happened?

8. Do you think your race or gender impact your ability to have authority?

9. What are your personal opinions about mentorship?

      9a. Do you think that there is an unspoken obligation to do so?

      9b. Did/do you have mentors? How influential were these mentors to your career?

      9c. Do you mentor young professionals now? Have you ever or do you currently mentor young Black women?

10. Are there parts of your personality that you are uncomfortable or feel unable to share with your coworkers? Why or why not?

      10a. Where are the spaces that you feel comfortable or able to share those parts of your personality?

11. Are there times and spaces when you are reminded that you're a Black woman? Explain.

12. Do you think there is a lack of Black women in collegiate athletic leadership?

      12a. If so, what do you think contributes to this?

      12b. Do you believe that you have a responsibility to address this lack of Black women? Why or Why not?

      12c. What do you think would make this field more accessible to Black women?

        12cc. (if they think the field is already accessible) What do you think makes the field accessible to and for Black women?

Additional Questions

1. Are there additional factors that impact your leadership aspirations, opportunities, experiences, and interactions at work that I did not ask about?

2. Do you have any additional comments, thoughts, or reflections about the impact of sport organizational cultures on its employees?

3. Do you have any additional comments, thoughts, or reflections about Black women in collegiate athletic leadership?

4. What suggestions would you offer other Black women who have career aspirations in intercollegiate athletic leadership?