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Abstract

Black, racialized minorities and Indigenous leaders ("BrmI", Henry et al., 2017) in higher education are part of an elite group of educators. Less than 5% of full professors are Black and Hispanic (Taylor et al., 2020), and it is typically from this pool that academic leaders (e.g., Provost, Department Chair) are selected. Given this finite population, this research aims to understand one potential reason for lack of ascension into positions of power for academic leaders of color: the *cost* of that success. Through the lens of stigma and discrimination, I hypothesize that academic BrmI leaders consider the interpersonal and intrapersonal time-based *cost* of their career success to be greater than their White counterparts. That said, I also anticipate that the support that BrmI academic leaders accumulate – specifically, social, capital, and institutional support – may be perceived to lessen that overall cost. To test these hypotheses, over 100 tenured (or tenure-track) BrmI leaders in higher education were surveyed to evaluate their perception of the cost of success in comparison to their White counterparts, and 26 fully completed the survey. Important results include: BrmI leaders report that their work had greater costs to their family, friendships, community involvement, health, stress, self-care, and leisure than their White counterparts, and sponsor/coach/mentor support only partially stemmed this cost. The results can be used to assist in encouraging interventions to these costs to in turn increase the number of BrmI leadership roles in higher education.

Keywords: higher education leadership; diversity and leadership

Introduction

"Character cannot be developed in ease and quiet. Only through experience of trial and suffering can the soul be strengthened, ambition inspired, and success achieved."

-- Helen Keller

Success reflects the accomplishment of a goal or purpose. Leaders are often considered pillars of professional success given the tournament-style competition to achieve promotions at work (Connelly et al., 2014). That said, "winning" this competition to transcend into a leadership position is a costly pursuit as cognitive and emotional resources are exhausted to obtain and retain a level of success (Yukl, 2012). For example, leadership in the corporate space has its own challenges, including things such as being beholden to a Board of Directors, as well as meeting the demands of the clients, employees, and organizational operations. These demands are magnified for leaders in higher education, where leadership can be particularly personally costly due to the human capital demands and expectations, such as responsibilities for student learning outcomes relative to shifting job market demands, coordinating complex curricula, and management and evaluation of a highly specialized, empowered personnel, such as faculty (O*NET, n.d.). In addition to the financial demands in the business of higher education, there is also great pressure on leaders to create and deliver a customized educational product that meets the needs of the consumer in a context where consumers are highly attuned to return on investment (Blaschke et al., 2014).

Given the intricacies of these demands, many have said that there is a cost to successful accession into and through leadership roles in a professional space (Baez, 2000). When you intersect race and professional leadership, there are new layers of demands that BrmI in leadership positions must bear, especially in a context where, in large part, organizations are

playing catch-up with respect to creating progressive, inclusive policies to combat racism (Trenerry & Paradies, 2012), and where effective strategies to counteract bias and restriction of economic opportunities for BrmI are hard to come by (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). More pointedly, the cost of ascending to leadership positions for BrmI may be greater than for White counterparts, considering the adage that a Black person must work "twice as hard for half as much" (DeSante, 2013) (This adage is often shared by Black parents to their children.) Research evidence offers some initial support for this idea: research from a recent National Bureau of Economic research shows that Black employees received laser-like surveillance from supervisors, which negatively impacted performance reviews and wages, which, over time lead to larger racial gaps in the workforce (Cavounidis & Lang, 2015).

Applying an evidence-based lens to the "twice as hard for half as much" adage within the context of higher education leadership, this research study will first establish if the time-based cost of professional success for BrmI leaders in higher education is, in fact, perceived to be greater when compared to White counterparts. For instance, this research study will examine if the additional effort required of a BrmI, who strove to attain a top academic leadership position may come at the sacrifice of time spent on their interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group, 2017), such as family time, health, community investment, and the like. A second aim of this research is to evaluate attributes that predict the relative time-based costs of success for BrmI leaders in higher education. Stress occurs when you overtax personal resources, and that overtaxing of resources is a direct personal cost. Conservation of Resources Theory suggests that the costliness of leadership ascension for BrmI may be mitigated by having enough resources to devote to the mobility's challenges (Hobfoll, 1989). Specifically, social support (Cohen & Wills, 1985), capital support, and

institutional support are three forms of resources that may mitigate that costliness by replenishing a BrmI's resource coffers. *Social support* reflects interpersonal support, such as mental, spiritual or sponsor/mentor support. *Capital support* reflects the political skill that a BrmI leader may have deployed to navigate their upward leadership trajectory more efficiently. Finally *institutional support* reflects the climate of inclusion that a BrmI worked in during their ascendency, and includes the dimensions of equitable employment practices, integration of differences and inclusion in decision-making. In examining each of these forms of support, this research will examine the extent to which BrmI leaders in higher education perceive that the time-based cost of their career to their intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships was less, equal, or more costly when directly compared to their White counterparts, relative to the capital they accumulated. Because of extensive research on the stigma and discrimination costs incurred by the BrmI (Mekawi et al., 2021), I anticipate the costs to be *greater* and therefore also want to understand if various forms of support (social, capital, and institutional) mitigate some of the cost. Please see Figure 1.

This research is important for several reasons. First, the evaluation of the time-based cost of leadership ascension will be examined in a higher education context. Typically, such contexts lean more liberal and Whiter, espousing many commitments to equality and justice. Yet we know a pernicious form of racism, *aversive racism,* thrives in such environments (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Aversive racism is non-blatant racism, and instead is the neglect of or the turning of a blind-eye through policies, practices, and cultural pressures that allow White people to keep power (e.g., deciding to not engage in blind resume review) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Roberts & Rizzo, 2020). The present research will provide some

portion of evidence of the costs of success for the BrmI relative to their White counterparts - which reflects a form of aversive racism - in institutions that historically support more egalitarian values. Description of additional costs for BrmI leaders in higher education will provide a clear mandate for an improved ethnically and racially diverse leadership promotion and retention strategy in this industry.

A related reason that this research is important includes the *meaning* of a cost discrepancy. If there are greater costs associated with leadership accession for BrmI, it alerts institutions that they need to (a) work harder to minimize these costs for the sake of true equity, and (b) work harder to minimize these costs for the sake of not burning out their BrmI leaders (Haberman, 2005). Further, if there are cost differences between BrmI and their White counterparts that are minimized by certain resources, this should activate sponsorship networks that are rife with the most impactful resources, as when senior level leaders provide more support to those more junior (Stanton-Salazar, 2011). In other words, this research's results will also give clearer direction about *what types* of support reduce the costs of leadership ascension for BrmI academics. Further, university administrators and human resource policy makers who are aware of this research's findings can provide more visibility around the problem of unequal costs so that allies and advocates can be confronted with these costs and begin to address the inequities (Melaku et al., 2020).

Finally, this research is important because quite clearly North America struggles with placement of BrmI in positions of power at historically majority institutions. A recent article in *The New York Times* article identified 992 people who represent the faces of power in the United States (Lu, D., Huang, J., Seshagiri, A., Park, H. & Griggs, T., 2020) . While 40% of the U.S. population identify as Black, Hispanic, Asian, Native American or multi-racial, only 20% of the

992, comprise the top academic leadership jobs. Of the presidencies of the 25 highest ranked institutions of higher education listed in *U.S. News and World Report,* only Massachusetts Institute of Technology has a Hispanic president. Research that investigates impediments to upward mobility at work can add to the narrative about what can clear the path for BrmI to ascend into more senior positions.

To evaluate the proposed research, this study focuses on a select sample of BrmI leaders in higher education. Due to the limited number of participants that exist in this elite group of professional educators and administrators, the survey distribution will be limited to those in the president, provost, chancellor and dean, chair and program director positions. Research shows that Blacks and Hispanics represent less than 5% of full professors (Perna, 2001), which is a job title typically required for advanced academic leadership roles, further limiting the sample. Responses from these most senior roles in higher education will inform the attributes of success relative to the cost of success.

Theory and Hypotheses

In this section, I review why being a BrmI in a professional space may be costly to a BrmI: stigmatization, discrimination and bias, and disinterest to social relationships. Each of these reasons for costliness hinges on the consistent, unfair devaluation of racial identify, largely based on attributes that signal membership in a racial group, such as skin color, language used, and styling choices. These reasons for time-based costliness are each discussed next.

Stigma's cost to the Black, racialized minority and Indigenous People. Stigma occurs when a perceiver attaches negative meaning to a benign attribute or aspect of a person (Goffman, 1959; Major & O'Brien, 2005). Stigmatization harms the recipient because an unfair judgment (and subsequent reaction) is made about them simply because they possess some defining

characteristic, such as an accent, a wheelchair, or, pertinent here, attributes that signal racial identity. This harm accrues because of how a person from a stigmatized group is made to feel (typically: different; negative) and the outcome or results of that feeling (Major et al., 2003). As such, being stigmatized is connected to a decline in mental and physical health as well as social status (Major & O'Brien, 2005). When the stress of coping with stigma is unabated, research demonstrates this causes trauma in the body (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2013; McEwen & Stellar, 1993). The health-impacting role of stigma-induced stress has presented itself in several models that depict the stigma process. One such model is Minority Stress Theory, which examines how social position (and social power) influence racialized minority individual's daily lived experience and highlights how both external stigmatizing pressures and internal stress-based responses erode well-being (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2013).

Stigma also impacts the BrmI people through intangible thoughts allocated to them. The cost as it relates to stigma and BrmI is the energy spent on navigating the traffic of associations or assumptions made based on the group(s) others assign you to due to your physical features (Zhang et al., 2020). For example, academics have been found to second guess their placements due to comments made regarding their ethnic backgrounds rather than their academic acumen (Niemann, 2003). This navigation causes rumination when thoughts could otherwise be professional or personal in meaning. This navigation also causes stress because the person being stigmatized is consistently feeling uncertain about how any interpersonal interaction will go. When resources are allocated to coping with uncertainty and anxiety, the stigmatized person may feel less focused on core job responsibilities, with the consequence being that they must spend more time on their work to complete it - let alone trying to advance into leadership positions.

Bias and discrimination's cost to the BrmI. In addition to stigma, bias and discrimination also increase the cost of career progress for BrmI. If stigma reflects thoughts and stereotypes made about an attribute, *bias* reflects the summarizing negative attitude - specifically the prejudice - that develops toward a particular group as a result of internalizing those stigmatizing thoughts. From bias (an attitude), people act discriminatorily (a behavior) (Ajzen, 1991). In the context of the BrmI people, *bias* is prejudice towards BrmI, manifesting often as discriminatory behavior that is unjust, exclusionary, or otherwise detrimental toward that group. Discrimination toward BrmI *at work* manifests through both macro decision making (e.g., who is interviewed; who is hired) to micro decision-making (e.g., who receives credit for performance), in addition to its non-work applications (e.g., housing) (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Examples and details of bias and discrimination are covered next.

Through self-reported data, research finds that racial bias in the workplace towards Black women strongly exists (Hughes & Dodge, 1997). Regular encounters with racial bias depletes energy needed to do one's job well. Many BrmI have found that there is a time-based cost to storing up or regularly replenishing this energy to continue to perform at an optimal level (Deitch et al., 2003). As an illustrative example, in responding to a question about racialized minority women in science and the experience of bias in academia during a recent podcast, Dr. Suzet McKinney described how she has seen minorities in STEM academic positions experience more bias than Whites. She recalled how previous faculty discouraged racialized minorities from selecting certain complex research topics and rigorous academic courses (Adil & Negron, n.d.), presumably because of the bias that minorities did not have appropriate cognitive research ability for such challenging work. She elaborated that: " unfortunately I think that women experience bias much more than men and I also think that minorities experience bias much more than our

White counterparts and my life and my career has certainly been no exception to that" (Adil & Negron, n.d.). For Dr. McKinney, establishing and building her reputation as an academic was made that much more difficult because her peers held the attitude that she did not "fit" with challenging work assignments. Her thesis chair questioned her topic and referred to it as a fad. Other professors prescribed that she take the most difficult science courses first or stack them with challenging non-STEM core requirements as a strategy to weed her out. Dr. McKinney still succeeded in her studies and career, but her path was not easy given the prevailing attitude of "doubt" about her abilities; she had to rely on her will and drive to push through, essentially devoting more time to building herself up, re-focusing on her values, and fending off the persistent doubt levied on her by those meant to manage her doctoral education. Her journey embodies the fact that inherently there is, then, a cost to doing worthy work - in this case, taking time to fight for the space to do that work - that will earn a BrmI merit and acclaim. It is easy to see why the next career step - from establishing a professional research stream (in the case described above) to management of other faculty - may feel particularly costly.

In addition to racial bias, another obstacle that BrmI are faced with in the workplace is discrimination, which is the unjust treatment of certain categories of people. This discrimination manifests at work as unfair pay, promotion, performance evaluation, and recruitment and selection practices. Even though Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made discrimination in the workplace based on race illegal, the most experience with discrimination in the workplace is reported by African Americans and the least by their white counterparts (Hirsh & Lyons, 2010). Another damning experience relates to the *rate* of discrimination at work: Around 80,000 claims are filed annually regarding discrimination in the workplace with the EEOC and other civil rights agencies, which reflect the prevalence of discrimination and its impact (Bielby, 2000). (Only

about 15% of those cases result in relief - that is, compensation - for the aggrieved party (Jameel, 2019).). Outside of reported filings, a recent survey of Americans indicated that more than half of Blacks have said they still feel discrimination due to the color of their skin. They have experienced discrimination in the way of job promotion, hiring, and by not being seen as intelligent or capable (Horowitz et al., 2019). Stereotypes have also played a role in inhibiting opportunities - that is, activating discrimination. Stereotypes that have existed for Blacks in the United States, for example, are vast, and at their core show up as perceptions of incompetence (and resulting behavior toward this group) in the workplace (Carton & Rosette, 2011).

When leadership and race meet, it can intensify discriminatory behavior. BrmI women have reported feeling stereotyped due to management or co-workers' discomfort with their skin color, which contribute to lost opportunities in promotion to leadership roles. This has been most apparent for BrmI women (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Unfortunately, these stereotypes could sometimes play out in the hiring process, which is a barrier of entry for diverse faculty and leadership in higher education (Hughes & Dodge, 1997), with the unfortunate consequence of BrmI professionals having to spend more time within the hiring process (e.g., apply to more positions; dealing with unexpected barriers to entry). In aggregate, the cost of discrimination is unrewarded work, unoffered job opportunities, and unacknowledged effort, all of which time for the BrmI professional to counteract if they wish to ascend into positions of leadership in the workplace.

Contextual cues highlight why discrimination at work (in all its forms) exists. Discrimination is commonly experienced by employees whose superiors feel that it is condoned in the workplace by management (Trentham & Larwood, 1998), which indicates that attitudes of permissiveness can increase tolerance for discrimination. Further, organizations that do not

invest in just, fair, and transparent systems for hiring, training, and performance evaluations create environments where demographic features become a basis for decision-making (Nishii, 2012). Finally "taste-based" racial discrimination (that is, discrimination rooted in stigma and bias specifically related to race) persists even when disconfirming evidence is presented, which suggests that the enormity and embeddedness of cultural/social attitudes toward race do not easily shift in professional environments that historically purport to rely on data.

Even though blatant discrimination in the workplace may be declining (at a rate of about 8%; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004), the narrative does not appear to be improving overall because, increasingly, racialized minorities report experiencing covert microaggressions (Basford et al., 2014; Williams, 2019a, 2019b). In the workplace, microaggressions are comments or actions that are made by a BrmI person's colleagues that are meant to undermine and belittle BrmI. An example microaggression would be to tell a BrmI colleague that their presentation was "articulate" - while culturally "articulate" is a compliment with a history of being derogatory because it is implied that what is actually meant is "articulate, *for a Black person."* Frustratingly, researchers have even found that microaggressive behavior has a negative (physical, psychological) impact on other BrmI people that *witness* these microaggressions, not just the victims themselves, because it implies a culture permissive of stereotyping (Basford et al., 2014). For the BrmI person experiencing a microaggression, the impact is just as profound: it undermines the person's sense of confidence and well-being, and can interrupt a person's sense of efficacy around their work (Williams, 2019a, 2019b). The BrmI professional must, therefore, invest time in coping with this aggression. As such, clearly for the BrmI it is costly (in many senses, but here, specifically, in terms of time-based cost) to psychologically cope with microaggressions at work as they progress in their career. In addition to combating

discrimination that impacts the psyche, racial discrimination can also manifest itself in physical health polarity for BrmI (Deitch et al., 2003). The cost of discrimination and bias experienced by the BrmI spans to a BrmI people's financial health, too. Financial costs can arise through the lens of tournament theory, which is an organizational environment where resources, rewards, and promotions are finite and allocated according to who is best performing (Connelly et al., 2014). For the BrmI person, performing at a level required to achieve rewards is made that much harder by (a) the automatic downgrading of performance and abilities inherently in the stereotyping process, and (b) the emotional and energetic expenses of operating in an environment where one must cope with microaggression, discrimination, bias, and stigma. The BrmI loses finite, valuable time addressing and coping with these discriminatory processes.

Disinterest in social relationship's cost to the Black, racialized minority and Indigenous People. This section will outline the costliness of advancement for BrmI because of their comparatively weak (to White) social networks. This perspective is derived from an analysis of the consequences of stereotyping at work; the consequences of being seen as someone who is treated consistently unfairly; and the challenges of pushing those in one's network to suppress prejudicial thoughts.

As described above, BrmI are less likely to thrive at work because of stigma, bias, and discrimination - they may be denied promotions, training opportunities, or even jobs. This reduces their social capital because, consequently, they have less social status given their comparative deficit in career success. For this reason, they may be less likely to develop a strong social network, and must – to counteract this – spend more of their time building their network. Because most academic leadership positions require using one's network to advance objectives (e.g., a tenured professor can tell their Dean "no" with little job security repercussions, so a Dean

may instead rely on the strength of their relationship with a faculty member when making a request), this makes the difficulties of leadership in an academic unit that much harder.

Bearing witness to (or even participating in the occurrences of) discrimination and bias can deter Whites from meaningful and supportive relationships with their Black and Brown colleagues (Kulik et al., 2008; Pryor et al., 2004). In an effort to rationalize the outcome and avoid their own discomfort at seeing an unfair process, a majority employee may view a BrmI who was treated unfairly during an organizational decision as toxic, tacitly undeserving, or even pity the person (Trentham & Larwood, 1998). These reasons further weaken a BrmI's social network, making it increasingly challenging to lead others through softer means of influence at work.

BrmI must, consequently, spend more time proactively making professional connections, and must work harder to form bonds through the morass of stereotyping. In effect, they must engage in activities or behaviors that *suppress* prejudicial behavior of others (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Justification-suppression theory (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003) describes how overt attempts to undermine stereotypes can jolt an observer into reducing their own prejudice against an actor. As a non-race-related example, a fat-bodied secret shopper drinking a milkshake (which aligns with the stereotype that fat people overindulge) were treated more poorly than a fat-bodied secret shopper drinking a Diet Coke (which aligns with the stereotype that fat-bodied people must be trying to reduce their weight by controlling calories) (King et al., 2006). Relevant to race-based prejudice, Black workers are perceived as more "professional" when they engage in code-switching behaviors, such as adjusting their speech or styling to reflect White norms (McCluney et al., 2021). Black workers, then, must *actively work* to manage their fit with White professional standards, which again takes from their finite, valuable

time (to monitor the environment for opportunities to switch and to actually multi-task and switch). In essence, to suppress the stereotype levied by White professional culture, there is a notable time-based cost to Black employees.

Prior research has revealed the systemic discrimination within organizations that stem from a cycle of discouraging BrmI to seek opportunities of growth and lower their expectations for opportunities of power or advancement by inundating them with remedial tasks and blocking access to social networks, which leave BrmI at a loss when advocating for their own career (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Research from an EEOC African American workgroup report highlighted a disadvantage in the labor market for Blacks due to having weaker social networks than other groups (EEOC, n.d.) And the duty to make up for this weaker social network falls squarely on the shoulders of the BrmI: rates of advocacy, coaching, mentorship, and sponsorship is lower for BrmI than for majority workers (Greenhaus et al., 1990). As such, to counteract all these effects of systematic discrimination - that is, to suppress the prejudicial stereotypes, BrmI employees are placed in the position to go above and beyond to be rewarded. Going above and beyond means, at its core, spending more time on work. For instance, for an BrmI professional's work to be seen and to make their talents known since they are not afforded the social networks held by their White counterparts, BrmI must invest far more time in self-advocacy, which is a very real cost with respect to time, energy, and emotional resources, to name only a few. BrmI must spend more time attempting to find opportunities to take on challenging, growth-oriented work, must be very intentional and vocal about their contributions, and must continually, proactively grow their network because it will not contain the same pace of organic growth as their white counterparts.

Tallying the Personal Costs to Black, Racialized Minority and Indigenous People

As a clear example of this, consider the case highlighted in a recent Chronicle of Higher Education article reviewing the Nikole Hannah-Jones tenure case. Ms. Hannah- Jones was initially denied tenure at North Carolina Chapel Hill School of Journalism over controversy of her research. Her research was focused on the origins of slavery in the United States and its connection to systemic racism. She advocated clearly for the need for critical racial theory. A board member that felt that this is not something he wanted the school to be associated with exhibited his influence with the schools' Dean in an attempt to discourage hiring Nikole Hannah-Jones (with tenure). Historically board members have not gotten involved with the tenure process, but clearly BrmI person Ms. Hannah-Jones received all-too-common hyper-monitoring of her work (Cavounidis & Lang, 2015). Witnessing the aftermath of the situation, a chairperson of the North Carolina Black Caucus commented on the fact that these types of things happen because there is not (diverse) representation when decisions are being made. This results in missed opportunities for BrmI people (Stripling, 2021).

For academic BrmI leaders, considering the costs of leadership ascension, a plethora of resources are needed to succeed at work. The resources include but are not limited to time, money, patience, persistence, and coping (Pryor et al., 2004). Importantly and quite obviously, these resources are finite. As such, because BrmI people are challenged with attempting to shed being stereotyped and discriminated against even after achieving success (Pinel, 1999), expending additional time-based resources at work to counteract stigma, bias, and discrimination, to advocate for one's work product and achievements when otherwise they would be overlooked, and to build one's professional network, as required by leadership roles, can easily and naturally pull resources from other life domains. Specifically, I argue that the time-based resources that the BrmI must invest beyond their majority counterparts must be taken from

other domains (given the finite nature of time), including the personal relationships they develop with others (i.e., family, community, friendships), and personal relationships they have with themselves (i.e., their time spent on activities that support their health; their own stress regulation; their own self-care; their own leisure time). Importantly, I must note a distinctive use of "health" second hypothesis: here health reflects investment in health-promotion behaviors (which functions as a resource, much like time spent on self-care functions as a resource), rather than health as an eventual dependent variable (e.g., blood pressure, as been evaluated in Minority Stress Theory models). As such, I hypothesize that academic BrmI leaders will perceive that they have spent less time on interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships as they moved into leadership roles than their majority counterparts.[1]

Hypothesis 1: BrmI people will report spending less time (a) with their family, (b) on their community, and (c) on their friendships than their White counterparts.

Hypothesis 2: BrmI people will report spending less time (a) on their health, (b) on stress management, (c) on self-care, and (d) on leisure than their White counterparts.

Resources that Mitigate the Cost of BrmI Career Success

I anticipate that the time-based cost of success for academic BrmI leaders to be both interpersonally and intrapersonally high. Understanding this, there are factors that can reduce those costs. The main way that these costs are reduced is by offsetting resource loss (e.g., more time, energy spent on developing one's professional network) with resource gain, which is one of the central tenants of Conservation of Resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989; Hobfoll et al., 2017).

[1] Studies on how White versus BrmI professionals spend their work time, on the surface, tell a contrary story: White people tend to work more hours (Wilson & Jones, 2018). These studies, however, do not capture specifically professionals ascending into leadership positions (let alone leadership in academia), nor do they catalogue the increased hours devoted to countering and proactively fending off bias, prejudice, discrimination, and the like at work, which the BrmI professional must engage in as argued here and in other professional reports (Gurchiek, 2020; Roepe, 2021). Instead these stories talk about how the hours available to BrnI individuals are using at less desirable, lower-wage (for same amount of effort as Whites) jobs (Miller, 2020; Patten, 2016).

When resources are gained (or off-set), BrmI may feel less stressed about their resource usage because the total "cost" is reduced (Hobfoll, 1989), which incidentally can also stall the effect of stress on cognition (which is required for work performance) (Lupien et al., 2007). (It is true that actually acquiring the resources to offset resource loss associated with succeeding at work as a BrmI person can, on its own, be costly.) This off-setting effect is echoed by the Stress Buffering Hypothesis, which states in particular that social support ameliorates the intensity of stressors (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Through an appraisal of the stressor process, resources that help offset costs make stress feel more manageable, like the prospects of success feel less hopeless or doubtful in the face of the stressor, or that the focal person has specific aid to cope with the stressor (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Lazarus & Folkman, 1987). This is true specifically for more intense social stressors (Wilcox, 1981) and those coping with not being rewarded equitably for their efforts (Ducharme & Martin, 2000), such as the recurrent pressure on a BrmI person to invest in their work to get ahead. Moreover, these sources of support can be essential in coping with the stressful demands found in leadership positions. There are many different types of support, but in general support for work-related endeavors can be seen as a tool or network to cope, grow, and/or excel. The three that I will focus on in this dissertation are social support, capital support, and institutional support.

Social support. Social support is defined as the feeling of being cared for, and/or provided with the resources to cope with stressors of any kind by another person. Social support can, therefore, manifest as the belief that you are being looked after by someone in your trusted social network (Cobb, 1976). Another manifestation of social support involves the perception of having access to a community that can be relied on for intel, and other concrete assistance (Viswesvaran et al., 1999). Social support is an important element of being successful and

productive in the workplace because it implies that people help you, tend to your needs, and proactively ensure that you receive the resources that you need (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Kossek et al., 2012). When faculty, BrmI staff and students experience the availability of supportive relationships and social network of peers there is a positive influence on growth and retention at the organization (Greenhaus et al., 1990). With social support, academic BrmI leaders offset the cost of hyper investment in their own professional network because the fruits of their own social network give them the material support they need to offset the time-based costliness of contending with leadership ascension as a BrmI professional. They may also reap the benefit of personal sponsorship, such as when someone helps the BrmI academic leader navigate organizational politics or promote career growth through the work of "forging connections" by the mentors for their academic leader mentees (Zambrana et al., 2015). Four forms of social support will be explored: personal social support, mental health support, spiritual support, and sponsor/coach/mentor support.

Capital support. Capital support for our purposes is support that directly advances or advocates for the goals of an individual (Seibert et al., 2001). Leaders of color are put at a disadvantage due to systemic racism and discrimination in the workplace as reviewed earlier. That disadvantage lends itself to a drive for capital support in the organization to assist with mitigating stress and advocating advancement - or put another way, BrmI academic leaders may directly attempt to build their own capital support. One particular form of capital support will be evaluated here: the political skill of the BrmI academic leader. Political skill is a resource that reflects an academic leader's strength and quality of political network, as well as their adeptness and authenticity at navigating critical network-based relationship (Ferris et al., 2005). When a BrmI leader builds their own political capital, leadership influence occurs more

frequently, productivity (efficiency) increases, and their ability to manage a team improves (Ahearn et al., 2004; Brouer et al., 2013; Harris et al., 2007; Munyon et al., 2013), which both reduce the overall time-based costs of these leadership activities. In essence, a politically skilled BrmI professional will offset some time-based costs of working while being a BrmI person with efficient network building.

Institutional support. The final area type of support is institutional support which, in the context of this dissertation, is considered a level of assistance provided by the organization in order to accomplish the demands of one's role. As documented above, leaders of color are faced with racism and other forms of discrimination on a daily basis. Support from the institution helps in coping with those challenges and it helps to maintain a path to success. This support can come in many forms, but, as Nishii (2012) describes support that increases *fairness and equity* in the organization best supports historically disadvantaged groups. She describes three institutional support elements to this end: equitable employment practices (e.g., just decision-making procedures as it relates to pay, promotions, etc…); integration of differences (e.g., respect, honor, and voice for *all* employees); and inclusion in decision-making (e.g., transparency and voice given to *all* employees). How might such practices play out to reduce the costliness of success for BrmI people? BrmI Faculty are disproportionately asked to serve the needs of people from their own ethnic backgrounds, which is coined "cultural taxation" and reflects additional time-based resources a BrmI professional must invest at work (Baez, 2000). Further, research shows how women and BrmI people routinely engage in more "care" work, such as serving on committees, task forces, groups that concern themselves with building culture, all at the expense of progress toward "objective" career success (unless they commit additional time compared to their majority peers) (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group, 2017).

University policies that clearly state how this service work is distributed and rewarded, that clearly give BrmI faculty a voice in *how* the work is carried out, and that gives BrmI a voice in how the workload is allocated would reflect a university that provides its BrmI faculty institutional support. The forms of institutional support described here should provide BrmI with supplementary resources that reduce the total time investment a BrmI person is expected to make beyond their White peers, or even stem the loss of resources related to discrimination, bias, and stigma less likely given this form of support's commitment to developing a more equitable workplace culture, which together means that the time-based cost of success on other domains is reduced for BrmI working in environments of greater institutional support.

Hypothesis 3a: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with <u>family</u> relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3b: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with <u>community</u> relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3c: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with <u>friendships</u> relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3d: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with <u>health</u> relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3e: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with stress management relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3f: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with self-care relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 3g: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with leisure relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4a: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4b: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with community relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4c: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with friendships relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4d: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with health relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4e: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with stress management relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4f: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with self-care relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 4g: Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with leisure relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5a: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5b: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on community relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5c: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on friendships relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5d: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on health relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5e: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on stress management relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5f: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on self-care relative to White counterparts.

Hypothesis 5g: (a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on leisure relative to White counterparts.

Method

Participants

The total sample size goal for hypothesis testing was 43, based upon a power analysis computed using G*Power (multiple regression, moderate effect size, one-tailed test, alpha error rate of .05, and six total predictors). A Qualtrics survey was distributed to a total of 85 participants through a recruitment email. The link to the survey was embedded in the email. The email explains the purpose of the survey and addresses why the individual was selected to receive the email. The participants are BrmI leaders in higher education in North America and hold the positions of president, provost, chancellor, dean, chair, or program director. Given the limited number of these leaders in the highest rank of president, provost, chancellor and dean, the pool was expanded to included program director and chair. All genders were selected for the survey. The initially recruited participant was asked to forward the survey to anyone in their network who also met the study's inclusion criteria, for an increase of 28 additional respondents (i.e., the snowball technique). Participants are informed of the length of time anticipated to complete the survey, and that the data collected will be anonymous and confidential. The survey utilizes mixed method survey questions that include a Likert scale and open-ended questions.

Procedure

After an information sheet that outlined the study's purpose and requirements, participants who elected to participate in the research were shown a survey. The first set of questions asked inclusion criteria questions. The inclusion criteria questions asked if participants were 18 years of age or older, identified as a BrmI people, if they were tenured or tenured track professor in higher education, if they held a leadership position at their university and the name of the leadership position at the university. They were asked not to include the name of the

university in their response. After answering questions verifying that they met the inclusion criteria, participants were told they would be asked to complete a survey containing multiple choice and short-answer questions about their experiences with success in higher education, their personality, and demographic information, such as age, race, gender, income, and years of service with their current/most recent organization, and within their career overall. The survey includes questions related to how costly they believe their career success has been relative to their White counterparts, as well as questions related to what forms of support were received during their career ascendancy. Several quality checks are embedded in the survey, and participants not meeting quality checks are not included in the final sample.

Measures

Below is a summary of the measures used in the survey instrument.

Interpersonal costs. These variables describe the relative costs of success regarding interpersonal costs of family, community involvement and friendships relative to Whites (alpha reliability = .90, .96, .96, respectively). The items were derived from Keeney and colleagues (2013) measure of domain-based conflict; modifications include a stem that asked respondents to compare themselves to their white counterparts and a shift in referent from where work drew resources. An example item is *Throughout my career, compared to my White counterparts the time I spent on work cut into the time I spent on my family.* To tap different domains from which work could draw resources, "family" was replaced by community and relationships in subsequent questions. Three items were used for each referent (family, community, relationships). The response options ranged from 1 = much less time compared to my White counterparts to 5 = much more time compared to my White counterparts.

Intrapersonal costs. These variables describe the relative costs of success regarding interpersonal costs of health, self-care, stress management and leisure relative to Whites (alpha reliability =.97, .99, .98, .97, respectively). The items were derived again from the Keeney and colleagues (2013) measure, with the same modifications except the domains included: health, stress management, self-care, and leisure. Three items were used for each referent. An example item is *Throughout my career, compared to my White counterparts my work keeps me from leisure more than I would have liked to.* The response options ranged from 1 = much less time compared to my White counterparts to 5 = much more time compared to my White counterparts.

Support. Three forms of support were evaluated. The directions for all forms of support read: *You indicated you currently hold an academic leadership position. For these questions, consider the time in your career when you actively sought to advance into a leadership role(s).* **Social support** is support provided by one's personal network. A single item was used to evaluate, separately, social support, mental health support, and spiritual support. An example item is: *I engage in social self-care (for example, engagement with a friend, family member, or message board) if I am upset).* These items were written for this survey, but the referent (social self-care, mental health support, spiritual support) were taken from Richards et al. (2010). Mentor/coach/sponsor support was evaluated using a single item (*I have a career mentor/coach/sponsor.*) from Riskin (1979).

Capital support was evaluated using Ferris and colleagues (2005) 18-item political skill measure (alpha reliability = .83). An example item is: I am able to communicate easily and effectively with others. Finally, **institutional support** was evaluated using Nishii's (2012) three-dimensional scale. Items were modified to reflect a referent of *university*. The first dimension, equitable employment practices, was measured by four items, with an example item

being: *My university has a fair promotion process.* Unfortunately, the alpha reliability for this scale was below the acceptable threshold of significant, and "dropping" item(s) did not improve it. No subsequent analyses were performed with this variable. The second dimension, integration of differences, was measured by seven items, with an example item being: *My university provides safe ways for employees to voice their grievances.* (alpha reliability = .86). The final dimension, inclusion in decision-making, was evaluated using four items, with an example item being: *In my university, employee input is actively sought.* (alpha reliability = .87).

Control variables. This study controls for conscientiousness and resiliency. For BrmI to transcend into academic leadership positions, they must, as outlined, combat discrimination and bias. A particular level of conscientiousness and resiliency is needed for them to succeed, and we wanted to control for these influences relative to support. Conscientiousness was evaluated using Saucier's (1994) five-item scale, with an example item being: *Please rate the extent to which you think each statement describes you: organized* (alpha reliability = .93). Resiliency was evaluated using Smith's six-item scale (2008), with an example item being: *I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times.* (alpha reliability = .73).

Qualitative questions. These questions were written only for background information only; no hypothesis testing will be derived from participant's answers to these questions. See Appendix A for a complete copy of the survey, including qualitative questions.

Demographics. This section controls for and allows the participant to self-identify the following: age, ethnicity, gender, marital status and sexual orientation. Table 1 includes a summation of these characteristics.

Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are provided in Table 2. Table 3 summarizes supported and non-supported hypotheses. Hypotheses 1 and 2 will be assessed by evaluating the mean scores for the various "costs." Mean scores above 3 (neutral point) indicate greater cost perceptions by BrmI academic leaders, when comparing their experiences to White counterparts. Hierarchical regression was used to evaluate Hypotheses 3-5 (separately), with the control variables of conscientiousness and resiliency included in each model. For example, consider Hypothesis 3a: (a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts. In a hierarchical regression model, Step 1 will include conscientiousness and resiliency, and Step 2 will include the four forms of support.

Hypothesis Testing

H1a was supported: the interpersonal cost to family was greater than 3 (3.78), as was H1b (interpersonal cost to community; mean = 3.72) and H1c (interpersonal cost to friendships, 3.49). H2a was also supported: the intrapersonal cost to health was greater than 3 (3.73), as was H2b (intrapersonal cost to stress; mean = 3.69), H2c (intrapersonal cost to self-care, 3.74), and H2d (intrapersonal cost to leisure, 3.77).

H3a received mixed support ($F = 3.02$, $p = .03$; $r2 = .48$). Social support (H3a.a; $B = .12$, $p = .37$), mental health support (H3a.b; $B = .11$, $p = .25$), and spiritual support (H3a.c; $B = -.02$, $p = .84$) did not relate to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts. However, sponsor/coach/mentor support did, indicating that those BrmI individuals with greater sponsor/coach/mentor support perceived *less* loss of time with family relative to White counterparts (H3a.d, $B = -.29$, $p = .01$). These relationships persisted after controlling for conscientiousness ($B = .58$, $p = .01$) and resiliency ($B = -.06$, $p = .79$). That said, H3b also

received mixed support (F = 2.30, p = .08; r2 = .41). Social support (H3b.a; B = .22, p = .16), mental health support (H3b.b; B = .04, p = .74), and spiritual support (H3b.c; B = -.08, p = .46) did not relate to loss of time spent with community involvement relative to White counterparts. However, sponsor/coach/mentor support did, indicating that those BrmI individuals with greater sponsor/coach/mentor support perceived *less* loss of time with community involvement relative to White counterparts (H3b.d, B = -.36, p = .01). These relationships persisted after controlling for conscientiousness (B = .39, p = .09) and resiliency (B = -.17, p = .49). H3c also received mixed support (F = 2.30, p = .11; r2 = .38). Social support (H3c.a; B = .26, p = .18), mental health support (H3b.b; B = -.05, p = .69), and spiritual support (H3c.c; B = -.15, p = .25) did not relate to loss of time spent with friendships relative to White counterparts. However, again sponsor/coach/mentor support did, indicating that those BrmI individuals with greater sponsor/coach/mentor support perceived *less* loss of time with friendships relative to White counterparts (H3c.d, B = -.37, p = .02). These relationships persisted after controlling for conscientiousness (B = .71, p = .01) and resiliency (B = -.06, p = .83). H3d received mixed support (F = 2.50, p = .05; r2 = .45). Mental health support (H3d.b; B = .05, p = .69) and spiritual support (H3d.c; B = -.22, p = .09) did not relate to loss of time spent with health relative to White counterparts. However, social support (H3d.a; B = .46, p = .02) and sponsor/coach/mentor support did (H3d.d, B = -.30, p = .05) were significant. For those BrmI individuals with greater sponsor/coach/mentor support perceived *less* loss of time with health relative to White counterparts, but those with more social support experienced greater cost to health relative to White counterparts. This contrary finding will be discussed later. These relationships persisted after controlling for conscientiousness (B = .65, p = .21) and resiliency (B = .06, p = .85). H3e received no support (F = 2.48, p = 06; r2 = .44). Social support (H3e.a; B =

.24, p = .16), mental health support (H3e.b; B = .03, p = .85), spiritual support (H3e.c; B = -.10, p = .39) and sponsor/coach/mentor support) H3e.d; B = -.22, p = .10) did not relate to loss of time spent on stress management relative to White counterparts. Also, H3f received no support (F = 1.87, p = 014; r2 = .37). Social support (H3f.a; B = .20, p = .26), mental health support (H3f.b; B = .15, p = .24), spiritual support (H3f.c; B = -.11, p = .36) and sponsor/coach/mentor support) H3f.d; B = -.11, p = .41) did not relate to loss of time spent on self-care relative to White counterparts. Finally, H3g received mixed support (F = 1/73, p = .17; r2 = .35). Social support (H3g.a; B = .20, p = .27), mental health support (H3g.b; B = .04, p = .77), and spiritual support (H3g.c; B = .10, p = .43) did not relate to loss of time spent on leisure relative to White counterparts. However, sponsor/coach/mentor support did, indicating that those BrmI individuals with greater sponsor/coach/mentor support perceived *less* loss of time on leisure relative to White counterparts (H3g.d, B = -.35, p = .02). These relationships persisted after controlling for conscientiousness (B = .46, p = .08) and resiliency (B = -.18, p = .52).

H4a did not receive support (F = 2.26, p = .11, r2 = .13) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts (B = -.10, p = .73), nor did H4b: (F = 1.04, p = .39, r2 = .12) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent with community relative to White counterparts (B = -.13, p = .70). H4c did not receive support (F = 1.04, p = .39, r2 = .12) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent on friendships relative to White counterparts (B = .01, p = .97), nor did H4d (F = 1.62, p = .22, r2 = .18) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent on health relative to White counterparts (B = .44, p = .31). H4e did not receive support (F = 3.24, p = .04, r2 = .31) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent on stress management relative to White counterparts (B = .04, p = .91). Further, H4f did not receive

support (F = 1.87, p = .16, r2 = .20) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent on self-care relative to White counterparts (B = .08, p = .83). And finally,
H4g did not receive support (F = .99, p = .42, r2 = .12) in that political skill did not negatively relate to loss of time spent on leisure relative to White counterparts (B = -.38, p = .34).

H5a.b and H5a.c did not receive support (F = 2.48, p = .07, r2 = .31). Integration of differences (B = -.13, p = .58) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.21, p = .32) did not relate to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts, nor did H5b.b and H5b.c: (F = 1.65, p = .20, r2 = .23). Integration of differences (B = -.07, p = .81) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.33, p = .18) did not relate to loss of time spent with community relative to White counterparts. H5c.b and H5c.c did not receive support (F = 1.54, p = .23, r2 = .22). Integration of differences (B = -.32, p = .34) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.17, p = .55) did not relate to loss of time spent with friendships relative to White counterparts. H5d.b and H5d.c did not receive support (F = 1.35, p = .29, r2 = .20). Integration of differences (B = -.12, p = .76) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.30, p = .33) did not relate to loss of time spent on health relative to White counterparts. H5e.b and H5e.c did not receive support (F = 2.55, p = .07, r2 = .33). Integration of differences (B = .04, p = .90) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.19, p = .44) did not relate to loss of time spent on stress management relative to White counterparts. H5f.b and H5f.c did not receive support (F = 1.37, p = .28, r2 = .31). Integration of differences (B = -.12, p = .73) and inclusion in decision making (B = .02, p = .94) did not relate to loss of time spent on self-care relative to White counterparts. And finally, H5g.b and H5g.c did not receive support (F = .78, p = .55, r2 = .13). Integration of differences (B = -.25, p = .49) and inclusion in decision making (B = -.12, p = .67) did not relate to loss of time spent on leisure relative to White counterparts.

Supplemental Analyses

With respect to hours worked, those in the sample reported working about 41-50 hours per week as part of their professional obligations. On average, they reported working *more* hours than their White counterparts (mean = 3.93 on a scale from 1 = much less to 5 = much more). Ultimately, we did not control for the school type (predominantly diverse over not) because of concerns about sample size relative to number of variables in the model.

Discussion

Summary of Results

The first two hypotheses were fully supported by the data, which indicates that the BrmI participants in the sample perceived that their work requirements kept them from spending time with family, community, and friendships at a greater rate than their White counterparts. BrmI participants also reported that, because of their work, compared to their White counterparts, they spent less time investing in their health, stress management, self-care, and leisure. These results are striking because they indicate that BrmI participants felt they had less time for social activities that play a role in fundamental well-being, including ability to rebound, cope, or otherwise recover from acute stressors (Cohen & Wills, 1985; DuPont et al., 2020).

From this research's exploratory hypotheses that evaluated antecedents of BrmI participant's reduced time for social and physical caretaking of themselves, key influential variables were identified: sponsor/coach/mentor support reduced the *relative* perceived costs of the BrmI participants' work to their family time, community involvement, investment in friendships, time spent tending to physical health, and time spent enjoying leisure. BrmI

participants are therefore suggesting that some parity in work investment relative to the opportunity cost of that investment with White counterparts, only when sponsor/coach/mentor support is provided. Institutional support – namely the robustness with which the participant's institution attempted to integrate trans-demographic differences and include underrepresented voices in decision-making – did not, in regression models, reduce the perception of interpersonal or intrapersonal costs. That said, examining the zero-order correlations between these variables revealed that further exploration in a more robust sample size may allow a statistically-relevant relationship to be ascertained. Social capital (namely, political capital) also did not relate to perceptions of reduced costs relative to White counterparts, but this may indicate a small silver-lining: the onus of political skill is on the enactor to develop, hone, and practice this skill; these results do not suggest adding this skill practice to the already-full plate of BrmI university administrators.

Theoretical Implications

The fact that BrmI participants reported widespread relative costliness of success to their personal lives indicate that theories of career success must factor in that cost. Ascension to university administrative ranks clearly requires *more* investment by BrmI individuals relative to White counterparts. On a basic level, this pushes models of career success to "balance the equation" – if BrmI people are not ascending at the same rates as their White counterparts, bias, discrimination, and stigmatization clearly play an established role (e.g., which we already know with respect to gender; Eddleston et al., 2004). But, also, what is the role of basic feelings of exhaustion or burnout given the amount of energy (relative to White peers) BrmI people must invest, especially that investment's opportunity cost to home, persona, leisure, and other health-physical and mental health-oriented areas of life? Setting aside aptitude, educational attainment,

personality, and bias (Judge et al., 1995, 1999), what of the basic human factor (energy) in these models? Revisiting the adage that BrmI people must *work twice as hard for half as much*: of course mental fatigue accrues due to stigmatization and the need to approach or avoid such detrimental perceptions (Major & O'Brien, 2005; Pryor et al., 2004). However, based on this study's results, a deeper understand of the scope of this *work* needs investigation. This *work* must include the cost of work investment at the expense of personal growth and nurturance.

This research also provides some direction as to what types of support reduces the cost of ascension in the workplace for BrmI leaders. The data showed social support outweighed capital or institutional support for reducing that cost, and in particular having a sponsor/coach/mentor helped defray some relative personal life costs for BrmI leaders. The data supported the Stress Buffering Hypothesis (Cohen & Wills, 1985), which emphasizes that social networks play a key role in reducing the toll of stress by providing individuals with psychological resources, otherwise lost due to challenging events or chronic stressors. Why might this be? A sponsor, coach, and/or mentor has specific responsibility for providing the space needed for an individual to grow and thrive. Further, a sponsor is an influential advocate for a BrmI person that may not have access to those in decision making positions or certain social networks (Fu et al., 2014; Reskin, 1979). A coach focuses on enhancing skills or positioning leaders for the next opportunity, and a mentor is a confidant and guide for a leader in understanding and learning workplace experiences. Those BrmI participants with a sponsor/coach/mentor reported less perceived loss of time with family, community, friendships, health, and leisure relative to White peers. Yet this finding resurfaces the preceding question: if finding a sponsor/coach/mentor will ultimately reduce the mental burden of work investment for BrmI workers, what about the costs associated with *finding, nurturing,* and *collaborating* with that sponsor/coach/mentor?

Mentoring is more effective when contact is frequent and involved (Scandura & Williams, 2001), and further race-matched mentor-proteges (and sponsor-sponsee) report more successful relationships (Ensher & Murphy, 1997; Ortiz-Walters & Gilson, 2005; Randel et al., 2021). The mentorship process itself, then, requires *more* investment (recruitment, selection, maintenance), adding to the prior definition of *work.* While we certainly do not downplay the significance of a BrmI leader having an invested sponsor/coach/mentor to making work investment feel more equitable compared to White counterparts; I do want to ask, theoretically, what is the true cost/benefit of that relationship?

There was no support for the fourth hypotheses. With respect to political skill, it appears that interpersonal savvy does not reduce the efforts required of BrmI individuals at work relative to their White peers, when considering those efforts cost on one's personal life. This could be attributed to the limited opportunities and positioning for political skill deployed by a BrmI person. These skills are, after all, groomed over years, even beginning outside of the office. Seen another way, through halo effects and snowballing privilege, the political skill of White counterparts may simply heed more benefit than their BrmI peers, making political skill a less potent tool for BrmI leaders to use to manage workload relative to White counterparts. (Of note: the results do not suggest that BrmI respondents use less political skill than their White counterparts. It says, instead, that it is not an effective means to reduce the cost of work to one's personal life relative to White peers.)

With respect to Hypotheses 5a-5g, research has also shown that at many times when BrmI leaders have ascended to roles of increased responsibility, they have still been historically left out of the decision-making process or been less exposed to the process. This may result in feeling that organizational efforts to integrate differences or include them in decision-making is

too little (or too little too late), and therefore BrmI people may not see such institutional supports as assisting in the management of workload, relative to White peers. Further, White peers also benefit from these organizational efforts, meaning that – for example – inclusion of more voices in decision making means *all* voices are louder rather than just BrmI voices, negating the advantage to BrmI people. Further work is needed to tease apart if, why, and how political support and institutional support has less positive impact for BrmI leaders than anticipated, when considering these support's effects on offsetting the personal cost of work efforts.

Practical Implications

The results of this research can be applied to hiring and retention plans for senior leaders in higher education. The research suggests that establishing a structure of support that includes access to a sponsor/mentor/coach could assist with managing the basic workload (and consequently burnout) of BrmI leaders. This research also supports the growing movement towards inclusive leadership. Taking a closer look at the systems in place and the results that it has been producing can significantly shift BrmI representation that currently exists in higher education. This may be an opportunity to apply management expert's Deming's principle of transformation (Deming, 1986), specifically principle 7, which focus on leadership removing barriers to success such as the costs for success that were supported in this research. A clear barrier identified by this research is astoundingly simple **and** important: time. BrmI leaders perceive greater time investment in their career (at the expense of time spent in personal domains) for the same outcomes as White counterparts, creating a recipe for burnout and disengagement (Alarcon, 2011).

Strengths

This research included a rarified sample: tenured senior underrepresented leaders of color in higher education institutions. The most common job post in this sample was Dean, indicating that people of power, influence, and great achievement compose this sample. A glimpse into their perceptions of the work environment, especially on such a sensitive topic, makes this research meaningful because their voices are so rarely heard in academic research. Another strength of this research is the manifold ways in which support was evaluated. Investigated forms of support included the intrapersonal (in the form of personality), interpersonal (social support, political support), and intergroup (institutional support). This array of support gives a broader picture on what does (and does not) assist BrmI leaders with regulating their work input relative to White peers.

Limitations

Given the nature of the study, it was predicted that there will be a small sample size. In total, there were 40 attempts to complete the survey, but only 26 completed the survey. Interestingly, the drop-off occurred as soon as sensitive questions appeared, specifically when efforts *relative to White counterparts* were inquired about. As such, I believe the sensitivity of the questions with a very elite group of professionals resulted in a lower completion rate.

The survey was distributed to 100 plus individuals within the BrmI community, as well as allies. The majority of those that completed the survey were Black with a few Asian and one self-identified Hispanic. No one identified themselves as Indigenous, and as such, racial representation of the sample is not at its most effective. There were also a fairly even split between male and female respondents. Given there were fewer respondents at the highest senior levels in higher education (specifically the president, provost and chancellor level), separate future research on this cadre of people may be needed. Being in such a senior, elite position, it is

possible the limited completions were related to not wanting to impact their representation of their institutions by completing the survey, capacity to take time to complete the survey given their multiple demands and responsibilities, or even (the lack of) interest in the subject matter after living the experience denoted in the survey questions. So, in sum, the representativeness of BrmI people was a limitation.

Future Research

One area ripe for future exploration is between-hierarchy differences in resources. While my sample size prevented such further research, it would be interesting to evaluate if, for example, political skill *did* have an impact at the highest echelon of a university (where more outward-facing jobs appear) because of this skill's emphasis on diverse social network development. Or, alternatively, if institutional supports provided to Deans (who are often the *beneficiaries* rather than the *creators* of such supports) provide more benefit than to the most senior leaders. Analyzing how resources help (or hinder) at different levels of leadership may expose, for BrmI leaders, escalating or deescalating costs to their personal lives

Another area for future research relates to intersectionality, specifically as it relates to gender. Given the lagging number of women in senior leadership positions (Samuelson et al., 2019), is there a compounding effect of reduced forms of support for BrmI academic leaders? Female BrmIs may experience increased stigmatization and stereotyping, leaving open questions of if higher thresholds of resources are needed to assist this group? (And returning to the question proposed in the theoretical implications, is there, then, a greater cost to BrmI *women*?). Of course, intersectional questions related to age, sexual orientation, colorism, and other demographic characteristics provide a great opportunity to investigate the equality of benefit of supports to those identifying as BrmI.

A final area for future research is conducting more in-depth interviews about the subject matters of this dissertation. These interviews could give us a better idea about more senior-level BrmI leader's unique costs given their greater leadership ascendency. For example, do the costs of leadership grow linearly, or exponentially – that is, are the costs from going from a faculty member to Associate Dean proportionate from going from the level of Dean to Provost? I may also learn if there are unique domains in which costs accrue, such as a disproportionate cost to family or community involvement, given the spread of emotional resources required to ascend into senior leadership positions.

Conclusion

This research hopes to advance the dialogue around inclusion of BrmI leaders that hold senior level positions in higher education. Even though there was mixed support for the types of support that make work investments by BrmI leaders feel more equitable to their White counterparts, we do know that (a) BrmI leaders feel, frankly, that they are doing more work for the same career success (and *more* personal life sacrifice) than their White counterparts, and (b) sponsor/mentor/coach support solely appears to, only in part, stem this cost. Universities looking to attract and retain BrmI leaders must attune to this inequity if they have hopes of increasing the proportion of BrmI leaders beyond the less than 10% that currently exist at predominantly White-serving institutions, let alone arriving at concrete standards of workload fairness.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Demographic Variables

	Minimum Age	37	
	Maximum Age	68	
	Mean Age	50	
Gender		*N*	%
	M	11	46
	F	13	54
	Total	24	100
Age		*N*	%
	30-40	2	9
	41-50	8	35
	51-60	9	39
	61-70	4	17
	Total	23	100
Marital Status		*N*	%
	M	18	75
	S	6	25
	Total	24	100
Ethnicity		*N*	%
	Black/African American	20	83
	Hispanic	1	4
	Asian	3	13
	Total	24	100
Sexual Orientation		*N*	%
	Heterosexual	20	91
	LGBTQ	2	9
	Total	22	100

Note: Not all participants provided demographic information.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Interpersonal cost: Family	3.782	0.736	*.902*[a]																
2. Interpersonal cost: Community Involvement	3.718	0.798	.761**	*.955*															
3. Interpersonal cost: Friendships	3.487	0.963	.633**	.545**	*.957*														
4. Intrapersonal cost: Health	3.731	0.975	.776**	.721**	.500**	*.974*													
5. Intrapersonal cost: Stress	3.692	0.859	.832**	.666**	.614**	.815**	*.988*												
6. Intrapersonal cost: Self-Care	3.744	0.850	.731**	.603**	.523**	.766**	.807**	*.976*											
7. Intrapersonal cost: Leisure	3.769	0.868	.753**	.717**	.443*	.695**	.617**	.669**	*.971*										
8. Social support	4.040	1.248	0.068	0.078	-0.038	0.315	0.173	0.273	0.193	--									
9. Mental health support	3.350	1.599	0.339	0.163	0.033	0.353	0.314	.470*	0.233	.474*	--								
10. Spiritual support	3.810	1.497	-0.052	-0.192	-0.247	-0.165	-0.12	-0.093	0.159	0.368	0.079	--							
11. Sponsor/coach/mentor support	3.270	1.402	-0.238	-.466*	-0.338	-0.081	-0.05	0.083	-0.287	0.337	0.207	0.197	--						
12. Political skill	4.013	0.458	-0.128	-0.206	-0.065	0.161	-0.035	-0.003	-0.236	0.185	0.012	-0.027	.414*	*.826*					
13. Integration of differences	3.269	0.683	-.436*	-0.313	-.413*	-0.339	-0.341	-0.303	-0.328	0.256	-0.11	0.209	-0.001	0.012	*.861*				
14. Inclusion in decision-making	3.308	0.779	-.390*	-.418*	-0.324	-0.352	-0.321	-0.168	-0.265	-0.218	-0.322	0.053	0.168	-0.054	.553**	*.869*			
15. Conscientiousness	4.477	0.763	.416*	0.09	0.292	0.301	.440*	0.36	0.161	-0.062	0.233	0.055	.399*	0.037	-0.346	-0.136	*.931*		
16. Resiliency	3.795	0.647	-0.168	-0.323	-0.154	-0.172	-0.262	-0.209	-0.206	-0.204	-0.283	0.219	0.159	0.216	.395*	0.362	0.155	*.733*	
17. Predominantly diverse university (0 = No, 1 = Yes)	0.385	0.496	-0.09	-0.22	-0.213	0.002	-0.181	-0.105	-0.033	0.04	-0.074	0.157	0.248	0.247	0.036	0.096	0.151	0.11	--

Note. $N = 26$

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

[a] alpha reliabilities appear in the diagonal

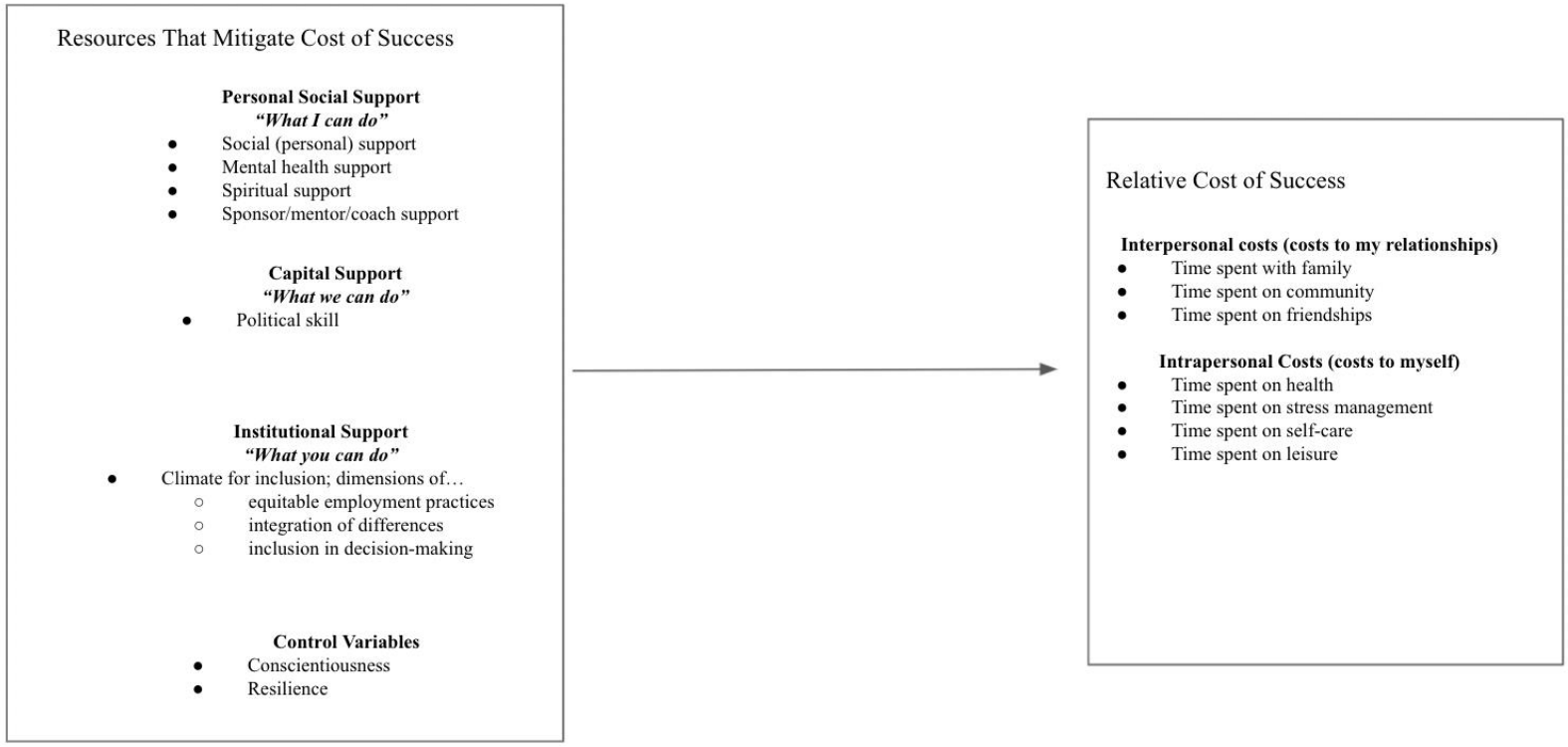
Table 3

Summary of Support for Hypotheses

Hypothesis Number	Hypotheses	Supported?
H1a, H1b, H1c	BrmI people will report spending less time (a) with their family, (b) on their community, and (c) on their friendships than their white counterparts.	**SUPPORTED, SUPPORTED, SUPPORTED**, respectively
H2a, H2b, H2c, H2d	BrmI people will report spending less time (a) on their health, (b) on stress management, (c) on self-care, and (d) on leisure than their white counterparts.	**SUPPORTED, SUPPORTED, SUPPORTED,** and **SUPPORTED** respectively
H3a.a, H3a.b, H3a.c, H3a.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to white counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, **SUPPORTED**, respectively
H3b.a, H3b.b, H3b.c, H3b.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with community relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, **SUPPORTED**, respectively
H3c.a, H3c.b, H3c.c, H3c.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with friendships relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, **SUPPORTED**, respectively
H3d.a, H3d.b, H3d.c, H3d.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with health relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, **SUPPORTED**, respectively
H3e.a, H3e.b, H3e.c, H3e.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with stress management relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, and NOT SUPPORTED, respectively
H3f.a, H3f.b, H3f.c, H3f.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with self-care relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, and NOT SUPPORTED, respectively
H3g.a, H3g.b, H3g.c, H3g.d	(a) Social support, (b) mental health support, (c) spiritual support, and (d) sponsor/coach/mentor support will be negatively related to loss of time spent with leisure relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED, SUPPORTED, respectively
H4a	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4b	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with community relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4c	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with friendships relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4d	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with health relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4e	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with stress management relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4f	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with self-care relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H4g	Political skill will be negatively related to loss of time spent with leisure relative to White counterparts.	NOT SUPPORTED
H5a.a, H5a.b, H5a.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent with family relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5b.a, H5b.b, H5b.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on community relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5c.a, H5c.b, H5c.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on friendships relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5d.a, H5d.b, H5d.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on health relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5e.a, H5e.b, H5e.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on stress management relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5f.a, H5f.b, H5f.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on self-care relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED
H5g.a, H5g.b, H5g.c	(a) Equitable employment practices, (b) integration of differences, and (c) inclusion in decision-making will be negatively related to loss of time spent on leisure relative to White counterparts.	NOT TESTED (insufficient alpha reliability), NOT SUPPORTED, NOT SUPPORTED

Figure 1

Hypothesized Relationships



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