THE MYTH OF THE DOUBLE-ADVANTAGE:
BLACK WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

by

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ABSTRACT

It has been said that black women, as "double minorities", have a double-advantage over other workers. Black women who work in professional occupations are believed to be in a particularly good position to take advantage of their dual status.

The theme of my dissertation centered around this notion, with the central question: "Are black female managers a doubly-advantaged group?" I used four data sources to address this question: 1) theoretical work on occupational segregation; 2) empirical research on managers; 3) my own original survey data of black female managers; and 4) my own original interview data of 25 black female managers.

The primary focus of the first two sources is black men and white women. However, I concluded that given the characteristics, regularity and pervasiveness of the obstacles that black men and white women tend to encounter, black women are likely to experience obstacles on account of their race and their gender.

The second two sources provided support for my assumption. Specifically, I found that: 1) highly educated white women appear to have a greater chance for upward mobility than highly educated black women; 2) the mobility of black women who have achieved high levels or have made rapid progress can be explained by their length of service or the rapid growth and age of the companies for which they work; and 3) black women who experience limits to their mobility experience generic mobility inhibitors plus race and gender related mobility inhibitors.

Given all of the evidence, I concluded that the assertion that black professional women are doubly-advantaged in the workplace is more a statement of fiction that it is of fact.

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My dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather, who passed away while I was completing my writing. He was a black man who had such a high regard for the value of education that he traveled forty miles from his hometown in Sturgis, Mississippi to attend high school. He taught me how to read at his kitchen table when I was three years old, and I will be forever in his debt for the love of learning that he passed on to me.

I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee, Phil Clay, Bennett Harrison, Gary Marx and Phyllis Wallace for the guidance and encouragement that they gave me. I owe a special thanks to my advisor, Bennett Harrison. Without his quick turnaround time in responding to my drafts I would not have met my goal of getting out of school before my thirtieth birthday.

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Finally, my special thanks goes to my family. They have been a source of inspiration for me throught my academic career. Without their constant support and encouragement, I would never have been able to complete this task.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
Chapter One:

Introduction

A major criticism of affirmative action programs is that they support preferential treatment for women and minorities at the expense of better qualified white males and therefore compromise the merit system (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1978; Abramson, J., 1979).

It has been said that black women, as "double minorities", have a "double-advantage" over other workers (Glover, et.al., 1979; Nelson, 1975; Krieter and Piercy, 1982; King, 1978). In common jargon black women are referred to as "two-fers"--two minorities for the price of one--who have better opportunities for entry and mobility in the workplace. This view has been popularized by the media. For example, in an article on black women in business, Time Magazine (1971) stated that:

Heeding the call for social responsibility, many corporations now try to fill managerial posts with blacks or women. An even more logical solution, though, would be to employ persons who can meet the demands of both the N.A.A.C.P. and Women's Lib: black business women (p. 102)

And at least one scholar developed a theory around this issue based on interviews with twenty-five black female lawyers (Epstein, 1978). The theory was posed as a mathematical theorem. That is, the two negative statuses of being a black person and a woman cancel each other out and enable black women to parlay their dual negative statuses into positive experiences.

Popular sentiment and the double-advantage theory gave little acknowledgement to the possibility that instead of being "doubly advantaged", black women may actually face a "double
burden" as they experience sexism and racism. The double-
advantage hypotheses sounds mathematically logical but
intuitively illogical to me. As such, the objective of my
dissertation is to assess the merits of this hypotheses.

The unit of analysis for my dissertation is black female
managers. I have chosen to focus the analysis on the experiences
of this group for five reasons.

First, I have a special interest in the experiences of black
women who work in male-dominated occupations. Very little
research has focussed on black women who work in male-dominated
occupations. These occupations are characterized by generally
higher wages, higher status and greater opportunities for upward
mobility. If the promotion of increased numbers of black women
into the professional ranks is a serious objective of public
policy, then we badly need to give the subject closer attention
than it has received thus far.

Second, of all the male-dominated occupations, the field of
management is of special interest to me. The educational
requirements of management are highly standardized. vis-a-vis
other occupations, thereby effectively removing the influence of
substantial variation in human capital from racial and gender
comparisons of career mobility.

Third, there is an existing and continuously growing body of
literature on managers.

Fourth, while there are no directories of black female
managers, per se, there are existing professional organizations
which can serve as sources through which black female managers
could be identified.
Finally, one of the most interesting things about the notion that black women who work in professional occupations are a doubly-advantaged group is that it is not clear that there is a basis of support for it. The traditional sources to which we normally turn for information about perplexing issues are theoretical work and empirical studies. As the brief literature review that is presented in the paragraphs below will demonstrate, black women in general, and in particular, black women who work in male-dominated professional occupations have been overlooked in most theoretical and empirical work on occupations.

**Criticisms of the Literature**

That economics and sociology, the two social science disciplines that have studied workers and the labor market in perhaps the greatest detail, have been sexually biased in this area has been noted by several scholars. According to economist Carolyn Shaw Bell:

> Women at work, their accomplishments, and even their productive potential are measured and analyzed by standards and terminology developed for the male labor force even where (as in the case of women's work at home) these are inappropriate (1978).

Concomitantly, sociologist Joan Acker stated that:

> The basic assumption is: male = general. What is typical, usual, or to be expected of human beings is equated with the male. This equation can be seen clearly in sociological studies of "workers," which are almost always studies of male workers (1978).

As the number of women entering the labor force increased and the women's movement grew stronger, women received greater attention in work-related research. Old theories about working
women have been revised and new theories have been developed. For example, in a re-examination of the Hawthorne studies, Acker and Van Houten found that the structure of the work situation, not personality traits attributed to women, may have caused the observed differences in behavior in the male and female plant workers (1978). Subsequent work by Kanter (1977) uncovered information that supports the Acker and Van Houten thesis. Other scholars have examined the ways that cultural factors and ideology about women and their roles effectively block women's occupational mobility (Epstein, 1970; Larwood and Wood, 1977; Tavris and Offir, 1977; Blaxall and Reagan, 1976; Laws, 1976). Still others have told the story from the point of view of the women who work through in-depth interviews (Schreiber, 1979; Walshok, 1982; Douglass, 1980; Smith, 1975).

Despite the increase in the number of studies of working women, they have not presented a full picture. Rather, many studies of working women have focussed exclusively on sex without considering the possible joint effects of race and sex, as in the case of black women. As one scholar noted after surveying economic literature on the employment status of black women during the 1960-1970 decade:

It soon became apparent that, although a number of economists had conducted studies on the labor force participation (LFP) of women, few had focussed on the distinctive characteristics of black women in the civilian labor force. Thus the economic literature is particularly sparse on this topic. (Wallace, 1980)

More recently, this void has been noted in the forward of a book on the need for black women's studies that was so aptly entitled

All the Women are White: All the Blacks are Men, But Some
of Us are Brave... (Hull, Scott, and Smith, 1982)

The women’s movement and its scholars have been concerned, in the main, with white women, their needs and concerns. (Berry, 1982)

In a similar vein, studies that have considered the effects of race have tended to focus on black men (Sorkin, 1971; Almquist, 1975, 1978; Miller, 1975; America & Anderson, 1978; Davis & Glegg, 1982; Hull, Scott and Smith, 1982).

By implication, the assumption of this approach is that there is no significant difference between the experiences of black and white women, or between black women and black men. While it is likely that black women do in fact share similar labor market experiences with black men and white women, it is not entirely clear that significant differences do not exist. On the contrary, research that has considered race and sex in conjunction has generated evidence that undermines such an assumption.

Alternatively, in comparisons of black and white women on a number of labor market related variables such as job opportunities, occupational status, earnings, labor force participation rates and distribution in employment training programs, data have indicated that the experiences of black and white women can be quite different.

In a study of the quality of entry employment secured by minority and majority working class women, Baker and Levenson found that referral, placement and recruitment activities prevented minority women from sharing the occupational success of their white counterparts (1975). With respect to labor force participation rates, several researchers have noted and analyzed
the fact that black women have consistently maintained higher participation rates than white women (Wallace, 1980; Douglass, 1980; Cain, 1973; Sweet, 1973). Differences in the experiences of black and white women who participated in employment and training programs have been noted in a study by Perry (1980). A major finding of the study was that black women were concentrated in programs that were not skill-oriented and did not increase their job options. In a review of the literature on black working women, Douglass noted that within female-intensive occupations, gender allocates black women to "women only" jobs and race allocates black women to jobs separate from those of white women (1980). Finally, several scholars have noted that black women have the lowest earnings of all workers in the labor market (Fernandez, 1981; Almquist, 1975, 1978; Wallace, 1980, Malveaux, 1982). Thus the data indicate that black and white women often have quite different labor market experiences.

A review of the literature also indicates that when the traditional pattern of studying workers who are white women or black men is broken and black women are identified as the primary unit of analysis, the research is seldom conducted within the context of male-dominated occupations. As a result, little research has been conducted on black women who work in managerial, professional, technical or craft occupations.

Description of the Dissertation

With all of these factors in mind, my assessment of the double-advantage hypotheses will be conducted in four stages.
Stage One

In Chapter Two I will consider myths about a woman's place. Because of the dual ascribed status of black women, myths about black people will also be included in the discussion. I will suggest that while myths about women have been used to rationalize their underrepresentation in management and other professions, one can present the case that the myths indicate that women have acquired skills that make them particularly well suited for management careers.

Following this, I will review paradigms from the disciplines of psychology, sociology and economics for explanations for the prevalence of inequality. It is not the purpose of the review to present a comprehensive and indepth analysis of each discipline. Rather, the intent is to survey these fields for insights about our current system that may contribute to an understanding of the status of black female managers.

It should be noted that theoretical explanations of inequality often interchange black males and white females. However, in some cases, feminists have added another dimension to theories about sexual inequality and have made provocative assertions that have different implications for males and females. For example, the psychoanalytic literature points to anatomical differences between the sexes as one source of tension. These views will also be included in the review.

Stage Two

In Chapter Three I will review empirical data on developmental aspects of the lives of black female adolescents and adults that are related to the hypotheses that are drawn from
the theories. This will include a review of studies of the career/educational aspirations of adolescents, fear of success imagery, personal and family characteristics of women who choose non-traditional occupations, and the influence of role models on the career decisions of black women. Following this, a review will be made of empirical work on discrimination against black and female managerial and professional workers.

Stage Three

In Chapter Four I will describe the results of my own survey of black female managers. These results will be compared with secondary data sources on comparable white female and black male managers. The secondary sources used different sampling procedures and as such are not directly comparable with the black female manager survey, but can be used as a rough guide to assess the double-advantage hypothesis.

I will not compare my sample with surveys of white male managers because existing surveys of this latter group focus only on senior level executives. The vast differences in age and years of management experience make the two data sets incomparable.

Stage Four

In Chapter Five, I will explore the issue of the mobility of twenty-five black female managers. The examination will focus on: a) access to entry jobs; b) rate of mobility and c) limits to mobility. I will explore the validity of the following three hypotheses:

- The processes that sociologists and psychologists assume
influence the non-traditional career choices of women are not the same as those that influence black women.

- Contrary to popular belief, black women are not being promoted more rapidly than better qualified white males on account of affirmative action.

- Black female managers are likely to encounter the same limits to their mobility that anyone, regardless of race or gender, might encounter, and they are likely to encounter limits to their mobility on account of their race and sex.

In Chapter Six, I will summarize the merits of the double-advantage hypotheses and raise questions for future research on this topic.
CHAPTER TWO

THE MYTH OF A WOMAN’S PLACE:

SOCIAL SCIENCE THEORIES OF OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION
Chapter Two:
The Myth of A Woman’s Place
Social Science Theories of Occupational Sex Segregation

Introduction

One function of the social sciences is to provide explanations for social phenomenon and the circumstances under which they occur. By extension, the social sciences provide insight about the influence of social phenomenon on the experiences of individuals, from which empirically testable hypotheses can be developed. As noted in chapter one, black women have been overlooked in both social science theories of occupational segregation and in empirical work on women in male-dominated occupations. As such, we are without a theoretical base from which to anticipate or evaluate the experiences of black female managers. We can, however, use theories of occupational inequality/segregation to draw inferences about these women and use empirical data to explore the validity of the theories as regards these women.

The focus of this chapter is the social phenomena of occupational segregation. I will consider this phenomena within the context of myths about the place of women in society. Because of the dual status of black women, references will also be made to myths about black people. Following this, social science theories that offer explanations for the existence and prevalence of occupational segregation will be drawn from the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, sociology and economics. I will conclude with a summary of hypotheses about black female managers.
The Myth of a Woman's Place

Every society has formed a set of conclusions and prescriptions for proper behavior based on sex differences (Janeway, 1971; Tavris and Offir, 1976; Epstein, 1971; Cater, Scott & Martyna, 1977; Larwood & Wood, 1977). Similarly, this society and others have done the same thing regarding racial differences between blacks and whites (Baxter & Sansom, 1972). One effect of this is that men and women are expected to perform different duties and to conduct themselves in a manner that is consistent with society's views.

One fact which is universal is that regardless of the arbitrariness of the division of labor, the work of white men tends to be regarded as more valuable than that of women or of blacks (Tavris & Offir, 1979; Harris and Hogan, 1975). One need only to look as far as our current labor market for evidence of this. It is undeniable that our labor market is segregated along sexual lines. Similarly, it is divided along racial lines. With respect to salary levels and the quality of work, women and blacks have traditionally been and remain at a disadvantage as compared to white males. They continue to be underrepresented in jobs that are characterized by upward mobility, high pay and prestige. Concomittantly, they are overrepresented in low paying, no-growth jobs, the kind of jobs that appear to be extensions of those held by women in the home, or by blacks during slavery. As Janeway (1971) so aptly phrased it, women tend to hold jobs such as:
...Elementary school teachers (who) look after children, secretaries (who) work as assistants and aides in support of active dominant males, receptionists (who) pretend to be hostesses, and telephone operators (who) facilitate interpersonal relationships by speeding communications. (p.183)

Along the same line, Hogan and Harris (1975) characterized the occupations of blacks by stating that:

Blacks tend to obtain jobs that are latter day extensions of the work they performed in the plantation economy of the antebellum south. Blacks are highly overrepresented as dieticians, cooks, health aides, maids, janitors, personal service workers, food service workers, laundry workers, bus drivers, taxi drivers, and laborers. In addition, Blacks who worked with brick or cement and wood as skilled construction craftsmen in the south during and after slavery continue to do so in record proportions today. A number of skilled craft occupations...have high proportions of Blacks simply because they involve hot, heavy, and dangerous duties. (pp.19-20)

Throughout history, men have attempted to explain the inferior status of women, as whites have attempted to explain the inferiority of blacks. When evidence did not support the assumptions of inferiority, the original line of reasoning was often revised or dropped and sources of favorable evidence were pursued (Tavris & Offir, 1976; Jones, 1973). For example, efforts were directed toward proving that women were inferior to men due to differences in brain size. When it became known that brain size and surface were correlated with body size, and that the brain weight to body size ratio sometimes favored women, this line of reasoning was dropped (Shields, 1975).

As might be expected, there are a number of stereotypical images about women and blacks that accompany the beliefs about their inferiority. In one of the best known studies of sex
College students identified forty-one characteristics, attributes and behaviors in which they believed women and men differed (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, and Rosenkwantz, 1972). It was found that the traits that were considered to be female, such as dependence, submissiveness and passivity, were diametrically opposite of those considered to be masculine. In a study of black managers in white corporations, Fernandez (1980) reported that a survey of the racial attitudes of corporate employees found that a large number of those who were interviewed attributed blacks with the stereotypical characteristics of laziness, stupidity and sluggishness.

These stereotypes have not found general support in research. On the contrary, research has found that in general, the differences between the sexes are fewer and less dramatic than most people believe and many stereotypes about blacks are products of the ideological biases of theorists rather than actual attributes of blacks (Tavris and Offir, 1977; Ladner, 1973).

It is interesting to note that the stereotypical traits that have been attributed to women and blacks are antithetical to those that are professed as being necessary for successful performance in management. For example, survey data indicate that many assume that the successful manager must have such characteristics as aggressiveness, emotional stability, vigor, and self-reliance, characteristics that are most often associated with white men (Schein, 1975; Basil, 1972). Clearly, there is a mismatch between these characteristics and the commonly held stereotypes about women and blacks. What is even more interesting
is that if we consider studies that assessed the links between the characteristics that are assumed to underlie management skills, one finds little or weak evidence which indicates that the stereotypical masculine traits are necessary for successful performance in management.

The fallacy of the assertion that the stereotypical masculine traits are necessary for good management is perhaps best illustrated when one considers the actual generic tasks that managers are required to perform and the generic tasks that are expected of women. In a book for manager practitioners, Silber and Sherman identified five tasks of effective managers (1974). These tasks included: serving others; determining bosses' problems and opportunities; problem-solving; use of interpersonal skills to assist people in getting the job done; and juggling the interests and balancing the demands from other departments for her/his organizations' activities. This would suggest that women, by virtue of their ascribed place in society, should have had the opportunity to acquire generic managerial skills. William Goode made a persuasive argument that the stereotypical female characteristics match those required in management when he stated that:

If our stereotypes of women are correct, the skills and behavior they acquire in becoming a woman are exactly those of good managers: they are trained in human relations, not test tubes and machinery; in insight, in the organization and maintenance of a social unit, the family; in command not through arbitrary orders, but through persuasion and participation; in taking care of subordinates and serving their needs so that they will produce better. If they can become good homemakers, surely they could become excellent managers. (p.99)
The combination of these factors presents us with an interesting paradox. We have a situation in which women and men and blacks and whites are believed to inherently have opposite personality traits but there is little factual evidence to support this belief. We also find that the traits that are identified with white males are assumed to be those that are required for success in management, but again there is little factual evidence to support this. Finally, we find that the uncorroborated beliefs about women appear to have a good fit with required managerial skills, yet few recognize or accept this, and few women or blacks are in management positions.

In view of the inability of data to corroborate the stereotypes and attitudes, one might therefore conclude that they belong in the realm of myths. According to Anthropologist Malinowski:

Myth fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances and codifies belief, it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man...it's not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom...a statement of a primeval, greater and more relevant reality by which the present life, fates and activities of mankind are determined. (p.42)

Myths serve no less of an indispensable function in modern societies. They provide us with explanations of puzzling or troublesome events and a perspective from which to view the world. According to Janeway:

Very early we find the myths that our ancestors have made and hung like a tapestry of dream between ourselves and the rattling, thumping, unexpected universe of phenomenal events. The assumptions embodied in this mythology channel our ways of thinking, of judging, of acting in and on the world around us, and of communicating with each other both in
words and in the language of behavior, the roles we play...They strive to interpret, to justify or to rectify the way things are, sometimes -- illogically -- all at once. (pp.292 & 295)

Indeed, many have argued that stereotypical images of women and blacks have been promoted and maintained because they provide convenient explanations for the status of women and blacks in society (Jones, 1973; Wilhelm, 1973; Ladner, 1973; Tavris & Offir, 1974).

It should be noted that the place of black women in this discussion is not entirely clear as their societal and labor market experiences have been different from those of white women and black men. Black women have been occupationally segregated on the basis of their race and their sex (Douglas, 1982). Stereotypes about black women have often attributed them with masculine characteristics (Moynihan, 1965; Beale, 1970; Ladner, 1972; Scott, 1982). And, research on the workplace experiences of women and men, as well as theories of occupational segregation, have tended not to include black women. Following Goode's line of reasoning, one might argue that black women may be particularly well suited for management because they have traditionally combined homemaker roles with worker roles. However, the fact that they are considerably underrepresented in management indicates that they may be effected by some of the same processes that effect white women and black men. (according to 1980 EEOC data black women constituted 1% of private sector managers and administrators as compared to 76% for white males, 16% for white females and 3% for black males, EEOC 1982).

In order to better understand the discrepancy between the
myths and reality and to develop hypotheses about black women in management, in the remainder of this chapter I will review different paradigms within the disciplines of Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology and Economics for explanations for the prevalence of inequality between women and men and blacks and whites. It is not the purpose of the review to present a comprehensive and indepth analysis of each discipline. Rather, the intent is to survey these fields for insights that they can provide about the issue of occupational segregation, and by extention, hypotheses about the experiences of women who penetrate male-dominated occupations.

Social Science Theories of Inequality

Although economics is the discipline that is most often drawn upon to address the issue of sex segregation in the workplace, the disciplines of anthropology, psychology and sociology contribute information that can facilitate our understanding of this phenomenon. Of these four disciplines, Anthropology has the broadest focus. It uses entire cultures as its unit of analysis and it examines the economic, social and environmental factors that produced a given culture. Two perspectives, universalist, which was developed by biologically-oriented groups, and feminist, which was developed by those who stress distribution issues, will be reviewed in this section.

The narrowest focus is presented by the psychoanalytic school of psychology. The psychoanalytical literature uses the individual as its unit of analysis and examines the anatomical differences between the sexes as represented in the unconscious mind. This perspective raises the question, "What kind of
feelings are generated by the view that one sex has of the other's reproductive and sexual abilities?" Three perspectives will be presented in this section. They include the Freudian, feminist analytic, and existential and vulnerability perspectives.

Like the psychoanalytical perspective, the psychological perspective focusses on the individual. Unlike the psychoanalytic perspective, this perspective is more concerned with the learned motivations, expectations and personality traits of individuals than with the influence of anatomical differences. The perspectives that will be presented in this section include: learning, expectation, and structural.

In contrast to the psychological perspective, the sociological perspective is less concerned with individuals than it is with the circumstances that surround the individual. This perspective focusses on the people with whom and the institutions with which people interact, the roles that people play, the situations in which people find themselves and the rules that people unconsciously follow (Tavris & Offir, 1976). Four perspectives will be presented in this section. The first perspective, functionalism, is perhaps the most widely accepted theoretical paradigm in sociology. It focusses on the "inevitable" functions that society must assume to insure its stability. The second perspective focusses on social images, norms, and sanctions, and will be referred to as role theory. The third perspective focusses on organizational structure as a way of explaining sexual or racial inequality. This perspective
will be referred to as a structural model. The fourth perspective that will be presented, conflict theory, focuses on conflict and power relationships to explain sexual or racial inequality. While functionalism addresses the question "Who will do the important work?", conflict theory addresses the question "Who will do the dirty work?" (Vanfossen, 1979).

The last discipline that will be reviewed, economics, has both the individual and society as its units of analysis. It focuses on the ways in which individuals and society choose to employ and distribute scarce resources. Four perspectives will be presented in this section. The first perspective, neoclassical, focuses on choices that are made by workers as a way of explaining inequality in the workplace. The second perspective, institutional, focuses on the structure of institutions and their processes. The last two perspectives, Marxist and radical feminist, focus on conflict between capitalists and workers and the relationship of men, capitalists and women, respectively as a way of explaining inequality in the workplace.

Anthropology

Universalists

Perhaps the most widely accepted view in anthropology about the low status of women relative to men is that men assumed the dominant role in society because of their greater physical strength and women's reproductive responsibility.

According to these biologically-oriented theorists, in all societies, biological differences between men and women lead to natural differences in the rights and duties that are assigned to
each. The biological fact of women's childbearing capabilities and the dependence of infants and children limit the mobility of women and leads to their confinement to the domestic sphere. Men are not only free of the physical constraints that women experience, but, on average, are also stronger and larger than women. The combination of these factors make men particularly well suited to assume the roles of warriors and hunters, while women gathered plant food and small game near the homebase.

It has been argued that the male role of protector and provider of protein was viewed as necessary for survival and therefore led to the elevation of their status over that of women. Moreover, some have asserted that over time this early division of labor generated a psychological association such that in the current system men's work is more highly regarded and rewarded than women's work. This viewpoint has been expressed in the following syllogism: Hunting = essential; Men = hunting; Therefore, men = essential (Tavris and Offir).

Feminist Anthropological Perspective

The view that men are dominant because they are stronger than women has been criticized by feminist anthropologists who have cited examples of cultures in which women worked extremely hard performing tasks that required physical strength. (Reed, 1975) In addition, they argue that the existence of inequality and male dominance is related to the locus of control of the distribution of valuable resources (Friedl, 1975; Tiffany, 1979; Leavitt, 1972). According to those who subscribe to this perspective, all groups have three basic functions to insure
their survival. They must reproduce, feed, and defend themselves. It is believed that an imbalance in the division of labor arises because of women's role in the reproduction function, but is maintained because of their lack of control over the distribution of valued resources. Specifically, these theorists state that women's reproductive functions constrained their mobility and resulted in their adoption of the job of gathering food near the home base. Because men did not have such constraints on their mobility, the tasks of defending the group and hunting for animal food became their responsibility. In most societies, the plant food gathered by women was used for the internal consumption of the group while the meat was shared both within and outside of the group. It has been argued that this early division of sexual labor put men in a better position to acquire and control the valuable resources in society (Friedl, 1975; 1978). Moreover, feminist anthropologists argue that when women contribute to subsistence needs and participate in the distribution and exchange of valued resources beyond their immediate domestic sphere to the same extent as men, the power and autonomy of the two sexes tends not to be different (Friedl, 1975; Hartmann, 1976; Leavitt, 1972; Tiffany, 1979).

Psychoanalytic Perspective

Freudian Perspective

The Freudian perspective presents the view that the lower status of women relative to men is a result of unconscious motives of individuals, and anatomical differences between the two sexes. This is evidenced by Freud's statement about the feelings that women develop when they realize that they are
physically different from men:

After a woman has become aware of the wound to her narcissism, she develops, like a scar, a sense of inferiority. When she has passed beyond her first attempt at explaining her lack of a penis as being a punishment personal to herself and has realized that sexual character is a universal one, she begins to share the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser in so important a respect. (Freud, 1924; p.253)

It is believed that women's subconscious envy of the male genitalia creates feelings of fear and awe and, because of this, women believe that they are in fact inferior to men. As this belief is premised on immutable biological factors, this perspective suggest that women's feelings of inferiority are inevitable.

Feminist Psychoanalytic

A feminist psychoanalytic perspective as expressed by Karen Horney was developed through her critique of the Freudian analysis. According to Horney, Freud's failure to include social facts in his analysis (such as women's restriction to roles that emphasize or are built on emotional bonds) contributed to the ideology that supports the existing patriarchal establishment (Horney, 1972) Horney has argued that many men simultaneously envy and fear the ability of women to bear children, nurse and mother. To cope with these feelings, men glorify male genitals and fight to maintain a superior status over women. Through the former reaction men compensate for their inability to give birth. Through the latter reaction men control their fear of women's sexual power. According to Horney, the end effect is that women are forced to assume an inferior status.
Existential Identity and Vulnerability

The third perspective, existential identity and vulnerability, is premised on the assumption that women continuously receive physiological signs that they are women, while men must learn to be men. As a result, the sexuality of men is presumed to be more fragile than that of women. Those who subscribe to this view contend that the reaction of men to the women's movement can be explained by fact that men must base their sexuality and selfhood on being different from women. Offir and Tavris (1976) summarize this view in their statement:

Women make babies - men make civilizations. If men make civilizations because they can't make babies, naturally they'll resent female efforts to usurp their role. (p. 157)

If Tavris and Offir are correct, this perspective suggests that males will undoubtedly have negative reactions and resist the entrance of women into their domain.

Psychological Perspectives

Learning Perspective

The learning perspective explains women's second class status by pointing to the different personality traits that men and women acquire as they grow up. These traits are learned from a variety of sources including parents, teachers and the media. Thus, women are believed to hold low-ranked jobs because they have acquired or learned traits such as fear of success, dependence, sociability and non-competitiveness, that limit their aspirations and abilities (Mischel, 1966; Horner, 1969; Maccoby, 1974).
Expectation Perspective

In contrast to those who look to deficiencies in individuals' personalities for the source of sex differentials, those who subscribe to this theory assert that an individual's expectations of success serve as important motivational influences. This assertion is supported by data that indicates that when expectations are controlled, sex differences in preference or desire disappear (Gurin, 1978). According to expectation theorists:

Perceptions of alternatives and beliefs about opportunities may reinforce sex and race segregation in the labor pool and/or make for differential supply elasticities. (Gurin, p. 28)

This perspective suggests that the absence of role models or other evidence that opportunities exist for blacks and women serve to lower their expectations and motivation to pursue opportunities that are non-traditional for their groups.

Structural Perspective

According to Judith Long Laws (1976), the sexual segregation that is witnessed in the labor market is the result of a series of positive and negative interlocking incentives that reward or punish the labor market behavior of women. The cycle begins with the myths that are held about women in society that, among other things, women belong in the home and are less desirable workers than men. These myths are believed to create prejudicial attitudes toward women workers. The assumption is that these factors encourage employers to create work situations that effectually set the scene for a self-fulfilling prophesy. That is, by operating under false assumptions, they create the undesired effects. This ultimately serves to support and
perpetuate a system that restricts women to certain positions in the labor market.

Sociological Perspectives

Functionalism

The focus of functionalism is on the consequences of social inequality rather than the causes. As such the theory appears to promote the belief that social inequality is both normal and rational. According to this theory, to function properly, society must insure that positions are filled and that required duties are performed. The duties associated with different positions vary in their requirements and characteristics: "Some positions are inherently more agreeable than other... some require special talents or training, and some are functionally more important than others" (Davis & Moore, p.243). Rewards are believed to be distributed unequally in accordance with the uneveness in the requirements for, and importance of, different jobs. In this view, social inequality serves the purpose of making sure the right person gets the right job:

Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons. (Davis & Moore p.367)

This perspective suggests that blacks and women are concentrated in the lowest paying and lowest status jobs because they are not qualified to fill important jobs.

Role Theory

Role theorists maintain that, people's actions are governed by a network of rules that operate regardless of our consciousness of them. To address the issue of sexual
segregation, these theorists tend to focus attention on variables such as social images, values, norms, sanctions, and status. For example, Epstein contends that the professions are like communities in that they are composed of homogeneous groups and are characterized by shared norms and attitudes. In this view, those who are without the appropriate status who seek entrance into a professional community are regarded as deviants and subjected to social sanctions. Under these conditions, the few deviants who gain access to these communities often find that their opportunity structures are blocked (Epstein, 1971; Hughes, 1958).

Structural Theory

Epstein's assertions were taken a step further when Kanter (1977) suggested that specific aspects of organizational structure, such as opportunity, power and tokenism account for many of the observed differences between women and men at work. Kanter, like Laws, contends that sexual inequality is a self-perpetuating phenomenon. According to Kanter, when women are in jobs that lack power and opportunities and in which they are tokens, they exhibit behavior patterns that are stereotyped as female, hence negative or inferior.

Conflict Theory

The general theme of this theory is that some groups in a society are able to acquire sufficient economic and political resources, through force or inheritance, to establish themselves in privileged positions. Conflict theorists maintain that the dominant groups attempt to legitimize their position
through the promotion of ideology and myth to head off and control resistance by subordinants.

To explain the place of women and blacks in this society, conflict theorists point to the ability of societal institutions, such as education, to keep the expectations of subordinants low, and to the ability of the incumbents in high status, high paying occupations to control and restrict entry to others (Vanfossen, 1979).

Economics Perspectives

Neoclassical:

Discrimination

The neoclassical theory of discrimination represents a model of the way in which employer, consumer and employee "tastes for discrimination" affect the wages and composition of the labor force of firms (Becker, 1957). Employers who harbor a distaste for blacks or women are willing to sacrifice profits by paying higher wages than would be paid in the absence of discrimination, or to accept lower quality workers in order to hire white males. In cases where employees have tastes for discrimination, Becker's theory predicts that employers would have to pay the discriminating employees a premium to work with the groups against whom they are prejudiced. If the two groups are substitutable, some employers would only hire women while others would only hire men in order to avoid paying the premium. The result would be a sex-segregated labor market. Finally, cases in which consumers harbor tastes for discrimination against women can also contribute to occupational segregation in the labor market. These tastes serve to push women into jobs where
consumer contact or prejudice is low. The implication then, is that blacks and women in white male-dominated occupations will tend to be employed in positions that do not require much consumer contact and in which their subordinates are people of their same race or sex.

While the theory of discrimination offers an explanation for the existence of a sexually and racially segregated labor market, it does not explain why the jobs to which blacks and women have been restricted tend to be menial and low paying. An explanation for the low pay of women and blacks has been offered by Barbara Bergmann through the overcrowding theory. The human capital theory offers an explanation for the type of jobs and hence the monetary compensation of blacks and women. Both of these theories are reviewed below.

Overcrowding Theory

The overcrowding theory has its roots in the writings of British economists and historians of the early twentieth century. These writings pointed to male unions' exclusionary tactics as an enforcer of sexually segregated labor markets. Barbara Bergmann (1971) used these observations and Becker's theory of discrimination to develop a theory about the effects of discrimination on the wages of all workers. According to Bergmann, tastes for discrimination create a situation in which blacks or women are crowded into a few menial occupations and restricted from access to others. Crowding women and blacks into a few occupations is believed to lower the marginal productivity of these workers since each worker that is hired adds less to the
product than the previous worker. Crowding also lowers the opportunity cost of these workers since their opportunities to seek higher wages are curtailed by the restrictions on their access to other jobs. White males, on the other hand, do not encounter such restrictions but instead have free mobility. They can work in the occupations to which blacks and women are restricted and in the occupations from which blacks and women are restricted. The combination of these factors results in lower wages for blacks and women than for white males.

Human Capital Theory

The human capital theory represents a model of individual choice. That is, individuals have the option to make or refrain from making an investment in human capital, a term that refers to education and training. The quantity and quality of one's human capital investment is assumed to have an effect on an individual's productivity, wages, and opportunities for employment. This theory also provides a model of the family and women's role within it. Just as market goods have utility so do the non-market goods that are produced in the home. As such, in a utility-maximizing household, a woman's decision not to acquire a large stock of human capital is rational, since women traditionally perform household duties. According to Blau and Jusenius, human capital theory predicts that: 1) women would enter occupations that do not penalize their incumbents for discontinuities in employment; 2) women would exclude themselves from occupations that require lengthy training; and 3) in anticipation of high turnover rates among women, employers would exclude them from occupations that entail lengthy firm-specific
training or on the job learning programs and processes (1976).

Radical Perspectives

In contrast to the neoclassical paradigm, radical explanations for women's inferior position in the labor market address issues of power and control. A Marxist perspective and a radical feminist's perspective are presented below.

Marxist Perspective

In the Marxist view, occupational segregation in the labor market is promoted by capitalists as a way to maintain control over the labor market. That is, capitalists segment the labor market along social, racial and ethnic lines to weaken the power of any individual worker or group of workers.

Radical Feminist Perspective

An alternative to the Marxist position has been provided by radical feminists. While Marxists stress the role of capitalists in promoting a sexually or racially segregated labor market, radical feminists focus on sex segregation and the role of men in the promotion of sex segregation. One of the most well developed of these perspectives has been expressed by Heidi Hartmann (1976). Hartmann has asserted that segregation by sex is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women. According to Hartmann:

Low wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands. Men benefit then from both high wages and the domestic division of labor... I argue that male workers have played and continue to play a crucial role in maintaining sexual divisions in the labor process (p.139).

She further asserts that capitalists inherited job segregation by
sex and have used it to their advantage by weakening the labor force, or by using status differences as rewards to men to attain their allegiance to capitalism. Thus, in Hartmann's view, the process of interaction between patriarchy and capitalism is responsible for the present status of women and for sex segregated jobs.

**Institutionalist Perspective**

The last economic approach to be reviewed comes from the institutional school. Those who subscribe to this approach contend that many firms have developed internal labor markets that serve to allocate workers to jobs and specify wage relationships. As a result, the uncertainties that can hamper the daily and planned activities of firms are removed, while job security is provided for workers (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1977).

According to these theorists, the labor market is divided into two broad segments. One segment is referred to as the secondary labor market while the other is referred to as the primary labor market. The former market is characterized by routine work assignments, low wages, and little opportunity for upward mobility. As compared to the secondary labor market, the primary labor market is characterized by higher wages, career ladders which have fixed entry ports and provide opportunities for upward mobility and job stability for those who work in this market. In addition, custom and informal systems play an important role in the allocation of workers to jobs within the primary labor market.

According to Blau and Jusenius (1976), this type of
arrangement has a great potential for creating sex-segregated labor markets. Within the internal labor market, group or categorical treatment of individuals is the norm. Such group treatment will be most efficient when the degree of intra-group homogeneity is greatest. Clearly sex and race are obvious bases for such differentiation. Furthermore, the importance of custom and the highly structured character of internal labor markets facilitate the occurrence of intentional and unintentional discrimination against women and blacks.

Conclusion

The above review indicates that both within and between the disciplines various theories have been developed to explain the inferior status of women with either specific references to the labor market or with general explanations that provide insight into the labor market experiences of women. Moreover, the review indicates that a pattern can be observed in the explanations for inequality that transcends discipline boundaries and is paradigm related. Regardless of the differences in the units of analysis of the disciplines, it is clear that the traditional/dominant perspectives support the status quo. They base their explanations on issues of individual choice, or perceptions of inherent differences between the sexes and inadequate qualifications of women. Alternatively, the non-traditional/radical perspectives attribute inequality to structural factors such as racism, sexism and power relationships.

One result of this difference in emphasis is that the mainstream perspectives suggest that the evolution of the
division of labor was a natural process. By implication, because it was inevitable and natural, it should be left to run its own course. For example, the Freudian psychoanalytical perspective suggests that since women feel they are inferior to men, that is their reality and effectually, they are inferior to men. As these feelings are believed to stem from immutable factors, at best, their removal is likely to be extremely difficult. Similarly, the human capital perspective suggests that women choose not to acquire the lengthy educational training or work experience that is required for high status jobs because their performance of household duties maximizes the utility of the household and as such is a rational action. On the other hand, the radical feminist, conflict theory and existential, identification and vulnerability perspectives suggest that the division of labor is neither inevitable nor natural, but rather results from men's efforts to keep women out of the jobs and occupations that they want for themselves.

Clearly this does not exhaust the number of explanations that can be derived from the disciplines. However, this exercise does suggest that, not unlike Janeway's description of myths, the dominant theories, such as: human capital, universalist, Freudian and functionalism are those that support the status quo. More important, regardless of the discipline in which one seeks an explanation for our current occupational structure, a common thread that runs through each explanation is the implication that for whatever the reasons - discrimination, myths and stereotypes, institutional or personality factors, women who cross the sex-line or blacks who cross the color line and enter white male
dominated occupations are likely to encounter numerous obstacles due to external or internal factors. Were we to use some of the tenets of the disciplines to form hypotheses about black female managers we might find the following list:

1. Expectation theory would lead us to believe that black women make up the smallest percentage of managerial and professional workers because they have lower aspirations and expectations than others. Conversely, we would expect that those who are managers have had high aspirations through adolescence and adulthood.

2. In addition, we would also expect that the managers would not have seriously considered management without exposure to role models.

3. Human Capital theory would lead us to believe that black women, particularly those who are married, who did seek entrance into this field might choose not to participate in extensive training/educational programs because of the sizeable investment in human capital that would be required by these programs. We would also expect that, in general, these women would have a low level of educational attainment.

4. The learning perspective suggests that women who hold jobs in non-traditional occupations are likely to exhibit personality traits that are typically associated with males, such as, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and independence, and this behavior is likely to be negatively perceived.

5. Role theory implies that black women who have entered the field of management are likely to be regarded as deviants and
subject to social sanctions.

6. The existential identification and vulnerability, conflict and radical feminist perspectives lead us to believe that women who enter the field of management will encounter resistance from men on the job.

7. The universalist perspective suggests that women in management will tend to hold positions that are regarded as "typically female" positions and are less highly regarded than "male" positions, and will be assigned to perform less important tasks.

8. The feminist perspective in Anthropology suggests that women who hold management positions which allow them to participate in the distribution and exchange of valuable resources (i.e., information, jobs, money), particularly when this participation extends beyond their immediate area, they are likely to have the same degree of power and autonomy as their male peers.

9. The feminist anthropology perspective also suggests that women in management are likely to have fewer children and more likely to be unmarried than other women.

10. The Freudian and learning perspectives suggest that women's feelings of inferiority, non-competitiveness, fear of success, etc. are so deeply imbeded that even those who obtain management positions are likely to find that their progress is stymied because of these internal forces.

11. The structural perspectives within economics and sociology suggest that women who seek entrance to, and progress in, management are likely to find that their opportunity
structures are blocked.

In Chapter Three I will assess the applicability of the theories to black women. This will be done by reviewing empirical work that relates to the theoretical concepts described above, such as, the importance of role models, motivation and aspirations, sex role concepts and fear of success. Following this, a review will be made of empirical data on women and blacks in management. Because of the absence of black female subjects in the majority of the studies of managers, the findings of the studies will be used to form hypotheses about the information that we might expect the interviews of black female managers to yield.
CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW
Chapter Three:

Literature Review

Introduction

The hypotheses that were outlined in Chapter One raise a number of questions about the experiences of working black women in general, and in particular, about those who work in non-traditional occupations. The focus by psychologists and sociologists on the aspirations of women raises the basic questions of: What are the career and educational aspirations of black females? In what way are their aspirations similar to and different from those of white females and black and white males? In addition, given that in 1981 31.6% of all black females and 30.8% of all black families were below the poverty level, we need to know whether or not there are differences in the aspirations of black females who are from different socio-economic groups.

As will become evident from the literature review, the aspirations of black female adolescents tend to be quite similar to those of other adolescents. With one exception, where differences were observed they have occurred between black males and females who either resided in an urban ghetto, or were attending college.

A critical question regarding the issue of aspirations is: Are the aspirations of black and white women influenced by the same factors? Moreover, if black and white women are influenced by the same factors, are their responses the same? Sociologists and psychologists have cited a number of factors that can influence the aspirations of white females. They include the
fear of success, role models, socialization practices, and role
conflicts.

A common denominator for all of these factors is their
influence by societal views about femininity and a woman's place.
For example, the fear of success theory proposes that women's
fear is a function of their internalization of the societal view
that intelligence is not a feminine characteristic. In this
society, however, the standards of femininity that have been
imposed on white women have not been so imposed on black women.
On the contrary, while white women have been exemplified as the
personification of femininity, black women have been viewed as
the antithesis (Hooks, 1981). Concomitantly, because of economic
necessity, black women have traditionally not had the option to
choose between a career in the paid workforce or a career as a
housewife. They combined the two careers as did their mothers,
grandmothers, aunts and friends.

Both of these situations suggest that black and white women
have had very different experiences and because of this,
influences on their aspirations and their reactions to these
influences are likely to differ. As the literature review will
reveal, differences have been observed.

All of the theories reviewed in Chapter One gave insight
into what could be expected about women's access to and
experiences in male-dominated occupations. Like the occupational
segregation theories, empirical work on managers has devoted
very little attention to black females. Rather, the focus has
been on black men and white females, using white males as the
standard for comparison.
Studies of female and black managers have tended to frame the analyses of their expected or actual experiences in terms of two forms of discrimination, access and treatment. The former type of discrimination refers to action that takes place at the time a job or position is filled. Rejection of applicants for non job-related reasons, lower starting salaries and placement in lower skill level jobs relative to white males with similar qualifications are examples of the forms that access discrimination can take. Slower promotion rates and less frequent job raises relative to white males with similar qualifications are two examples of the forms that treatment discrimination can take (Letvin, Quinn & Stains, 1971).

With a few exceptions, most studies of treatment discrimination against black managers have largely focussed on evaluations of their job performance. Research on female managers has not been as limited. Rather, studies have been made of their job assignments and progression as well as evaluations of their job performance.

As the literature review will reveal, studies have shown that white women and black men have been victims of access and treatment discrimination. More important, in the study that compared the experiences of black female managers to black male managers, it was reported that the women were the victims of both forms of discrimination more often than black males.

In the paragraphs that follow, a review will be made of empirical work on the aspirations of black females and on black male, white female, and where available, black female managers.
Where it is appropriate, empirical work on non-professional workers will also be presented. The work on aspirations will be used to answer the questions that were raised earlier in this chapter. Both sets of work will be reviewed for their implications for black female managers.

Educational and Career Aspirations of Black Females

The number of studies of the educational and career aspirations of black female adolescents have been few. The tendency of those that have been made has been to compare the aspirations of black females with those of other adolescents. A review of the literature yields conflicting findings.

On the one hand, it has been reported that black females' educational and job aspirations were consistently equal to or higher than those of white females (Middleton & Brigg, 1959; Youmans, 1965; Orlendorf & Kuvlesky, 1968; Hall, 1974). Their aspirations were also found to be equal to or higher than those of black and white males (Youmans, 1965; Kelly & Wingrove, 1975).

Alternatively, at least two researchers have reported that black males had slightly higher educational/occupational goals than black females (Kuvlesky, 1968; Gurin & Gaylord, 1976).

In addition, at least one study that reported equivalent aspirations among black and white females, noted that both groups aspired to traditionally female careers (Hall, 1974). This finding is consistent with reports that many black women have been influenced by the same sex role constraints as white women and hold traditional views about appropriate roles for women (Gump, 1972; Gurin & Epps, 1975).

The studies which reported that black females have lower
aspirations than black males focused on ghetto youth and college students. Those which found the aspirations of black females to be higher or equal to those of other adolescents focused on the rural South or Florida and on high school students. This suggests that perhaps something is happening in the South that boosts the aspirations of black females. Conversely, something may be happening in metropolitan ghettos and in colleges that depresses the aspirations of black females, or, alternatively raises the aspirations of black males above those of black females.

Sources of the Aspirations and Expectations of Black Females

A review of the research on black females' perception of their opportunity structures and expectations of success provides some insight into the reports of low aspirations among black females.

Fear of Success

Work by Matina Horner (1969) suggests that women's occupational and educational aspirations may be affected by their fear of succeeding. As a result of tests that were administered to white college students, Horner found that many of the women who were tested experienced increasing levels of anxiety as the potential for their becoming successful increased. Horner attributed this occurrence to the fact that many women "equate intellectual achievement with a loss of femininity." She concluded that this fear of success might cause women to avoid success and thereby impede their achievements.

As might be expected, the women in Horner's study who
exhibited a fear of success differed from those who did not exhibit such a fear in terms of their career aspirations. The former group expressed a desire to enter traditional female careers while the latter group aspired to male-dominated careers.

When this theory was tested among black subjects, the studies yielded results that were, for the most part, consistently different from those of the Horner study. Several studies that replicated Horner's study but used black subjects reported that college level black women had levels of fear of success imagery that were considerably lower than those reported for white women by Horner (Weston & Mednick, 1970; Bright, 1970; Mednick & Puryear, 1975).

Other studies reported little or no evidence of differences between the relatively high levels (Lavach & Lanier, 1975) or the relatively low levels (Mednick & Puryear, 1976) of the fear of success imagery of black and white adolescent and college level females respectively.

More recently, in a study of black male and female graduate students, Flemming (1982) reported that not only was the incidence of fear of success imagery among females low relative to Horner's original research, but also, there was no indication of success avoidance.

In light of the evidence it appears that as regards black females at the college or graduate school level, there is little support for the fear of success theory in empirical work. It would appear then, that fear of success may not be a viable explanation for the reports of low aspirations for black female college students. Further research is needed to assess the
viability of this theory for adolescent black females.

**Expectations**

A number of researchers have reported that although black women exhibited a high level of desire for success, they did not express the expectation that they would reach their desired level of success (Teahan, 1974; Hall, 1974; Turner & Turner, 1975). According to Teahan black female adolescents tended to be:

> depressed in terms of expectations of success whether they are of lower or higher socioeconomic status and regardless of whether they are students in primarily low or high socioeconomic settings (p. 252).

Teahan also noted that as compared to black males of any socioeconomic status, black females were not in an enviable position:

> Perhaps the most important conclusion of the present study may be that the only condition as bad as being a lower socioeconomic black male in a predominantly lower socioeconomic school is to be a black female in any school (pp. 254-255).

In a survey of students at historically black colleges, Gurin and Gaylord reported that one result of black females' lower expectations of success was that they chose jobs that they knew required low ability, were traditionally held by females or blacks, and were perceived as being less racially discriminatory. According to Gurin and Gaylord (1976):

> The finding that the black women we studied differed from the black men primarily in their aspirations and expectations, not in their need for achievement or in their anxieties or basic values, suggests that early socialization may be far less important than has been suggested in some of the analyses of achievement among women. These black women were motivated, but they chose to direct their motivation into conventional roles, at least partly because they did not as often expect to fulfill more challenging goals (p.15)
Research findings from Turner & Turner provide some insight into black females' choice of less challenging occupations. According to the authors, black college students perceived more racial discrimination against black people than did white students. In addition, black females and white males perceived significantly more occupational discrimination against women than did white females. It is possible that black females perceived that their dual status would cause them to face the obstacles of double discrimination should they choose a path that is not traditional for blacks or women.

**Traditional/Non-traditional Role Conflicts**

Another possible inhibitor to the career aspirations of black females is the role conflict between family roles and work roles.

Role theory suggests that married women, particularly those with children, who work in demanding jobs are likely to experience role conflicts between the traditional role of mother/wife and the role of worker. Because of the historical differences in the labor force participation rates of black and white women, it is likely that the two groups experience and respond to this type of conflict differently. Married white women have traditionally had lower labor force participation rates than married black women. In addition, white women have typically withdrawn from the labor force for long periods after having children (Lloyd, 1979; Douglass, 1980). Alternatively, black women have traditionally combined several roles by remaining in the labor force except for brief periods around the birth of their children (Douglass, 1980; Wallace, 1980).
Several reasons have been suggested for this behavior by black working women. The reasons that have been cited include: economic necessity (Willie, 1978); the availability of help from social support network members (Hill, 1972); the influence of African culture that has not socialized blacks to polarize their behavior (Lewis, 1975); and, it has been suggested that the sex role ideology for black women is an integration of non-traditional and traditional components (Gump, 1980; Malson, 1981).

All of these reasons imply that within black culture it is expected that black women combine mother/wife roles with worker roles. As such, we might expect that black women would experience less conflict about combining these roles than white women would. A review of the literature supports this assumption.

In a study of professional women, Epstein (1973) reported that black mothers who had careers appeared to be far less anxious about their children than whites. Fichter (1964) found that one-half of the college-educated black women that were studied stated that they preferred to combine their family role with an occupational role. According to Fichter, these women were twice as likely as southern white women and the comparable group of other white women in a national NORC sample to select a combination of marriage, child rearing and employment. (Epstein, 1973). The finding that college-educated black women prefer to combine family and occupational roles has been confirmed for a cross section of black women. In a study of black women with
different educational backgrounds, Malson (1981) found that they too preferred to combine family and occupational roles.

Research indicates that, of the factors that are believed to affect the career decisions of white women, expectations for achieving success appears to be the factor that most affects black women's aspirations. Although the number of black women in non-traditional occupations is small, clearly, there are black women who have pursued and achieved careers in these occupations. In the section that follows, a review will be made of the literature that has sought to identify characteristics of black women who pursue non-traditional careers.

Black Women in Non-traditional Occupations

Role Models

Studies of black women in non-traditional occupations have not specifically focused on the issue of role models, but rather have identified personal and family characteristics of non-traditionals. However, there is evidence that working mothers and fathers exert an influence on the career choice of black and white females.

It has been found that the presence of a working mother is an important predictor of career oriented desires for white females. In addition, studies have found that the fathers of white females tend to be employed in professional occupations and influence their career decisions (Henning, 1971; Johnson, 1975; Crawford, 1977). There is not evidence that simply having a working mother predicts non-traditional occupational choices for black females (Burlew, 1980). Rather, at least two attributes in addition to the status of being working women have been
identified for the mothers of black women who chose non-traditional work. It has been reported that mothers of non-traditionals tended to be better educated than mothers of traditionals, tended to hold professional or semi-professional jobs and tended to be employed in non-traditional fields (Burlew, 1980; Epstein, 1973).

Because most studies of black women have focussed almost exclusively on the influence of mothers, it is likely that others who may have influenced the career decisions of black women have been overlooked. For example, when black women in the fields of law and medicine were asked to identify the major sources of information on their educational and career development, they reported that their fathers had a strong influence on their career decisions (Heaston, 1972).

**Personal Characteristics**

Differences have been observed between the characteristics of black women who work in non-traditional professional occupations and those who work in traditional female occupations. Unlike the latter group, the non-traditional black women tended to have had: early work experiences; non-traditional views about sex roles; and strong feelings of self-assurance about their ability to complete the educational requirements for their chosen careers. Black women with non-traditional careers were, however, less confident than traditionals that they would be successful in their careers. (Burlew, 1982; Epstein, 1973; Mednick & Puryear, 1975).
Managers

Access and Treatment Discrimination

In one of the few studies of black MBAs evidence of access discrimination against a subset of black MBAs, and of treatment discrimination against the majority of those studied was reported (Ford, 1977). Specifically, Ford found that black MBAs from mixed schools received higher starting salaries than their white counterparts, while black MBAs from black schools received starting salaries that were several thousand dollars below that of whites. In addition, Ford reported that with respect to salary and job progression, black MBAs progressed at a slower rate than whites. For example, proportionately more blacks than whites were in entry level positions after controlling for the number of years out of school. Consequently, any initial salary advantages that the black MBAs from mixed schools may have had over their white counterparts declined over time.

Ford also found that black female MBAs were the victims of access and treatment discrimination more often than black males. The number of black women included in the Ford study was small (N=13). Despite the size of Ford's sample of black women, this observation is particularly relevant to the present study and will be further investigated.

Ford's findings of access and treatment discrimination against black managers have been corroborated in studies of white women and black men who work in managerial and professional occupations. For example, Terborg and Ilgen (1975) reported that the results of an experimental simulation of women in non-traditional occupations showed that women were hired at an equal
rate to identically qualified males but were offered lower starting salaries. They were also assigned to more routine work assignments than the males. In addition, they reported that second year salary salary offers increased the initial salary discrepancy which occurred at hiring (p. 353).

Access Discrimination

A study of preselection decisions for female applicants cited evidence that the sex of a job applicant can have a negative effect on applicant evaluations. Henneman (1977) reported that male and female college students rated hypothetical applicants for the job of life insurance agent differently, despite the fact that their qualifications were equivalent. High scoring females were evaluated as being less suitable for the job than high scoring males (p. 525).

In a later study of preselection decisions, fictitious resumes for entry-level professional positions were mailed to employers (McIntyre, Moberg and Posner, 1980). The resumes were designed to contain essentially the same information except for the race and sex (black males, white males and white females) of the fictitious applicants. McIntyre, et.al., reported evidence of favoritism toward the black applicants over the white applicants, and toward the male applicants over the female applicants.

Other studies of access discrimination against women have reported evidence that the perceived level of difficulty of a job and the sex of subordinates can effect the evaluation of female applicants for managerial jobs. In addition to reporting that
female applicants for managerial positions were evaluated as being less acceptable than male applicants with identical qualifications, Rosen and Jerdee (1974) reported a "marked" tendency for the evaluators in the study (undergraduate business students) to reject females for demanding jobs (p. 512). Rose and Andiappan (1978) noted that evaluators favored applicants whose sex was the same as that of the subordinates.

**Treatment Discrimination**

Studies that assessed the incidence of treatment discrimination in actual or simulated professional settings have reported evidence that black and female employees in male-dominated occupations are treated in a discriminatory manner. In an experimental investigation using male managers from the banking industry, Rosen and Jerdee (1974b) reported that male administrators tended to discriminate against female employees in terms of promotions, their choice of employees to attend a professional training conference and whose solutions to supervisory problems they would support. Terborg and Ilgen (1975) reported that female employees were assigned to routine jobs significantly more often than they were assigned to challenging ones.

The incidence of treatment discrimination is clearly not limited to white male supervisor - black male or white female subordinate relationships. Evidence of treatment discrimination against blacks by their white peers was observed in an experimental study of the effects of the reversal of the traditional status relations between whites and blacks (Dovidio and Gaertner, 1981). It was reported that white subjects were
more willing to help their black partners when the status of the partner was below their status. Alternatively, ability determined whether or not white subjects would help their white partners. In addition, the authors noted that white subjects evaluated high ability blacks as being less competent than themselves, but rated high ability whites as being more competent than themselves.

**Perceptions of Job Performance**

One possible explanation for reports of treatment discrimination may be found in a review of the literature on the sex and race effects on the perceptions of job performance. Just as the opportunities of black and female workers can be inhibited by superiors or peers who underrate them relative to white males with essentially the same qualifications, it is not difficult to imagine that the efficiency and effectiveness of black and female supervisors can be affected by subordinates or supervisors who, for whatever reasons, underrate their competence. A laboratory study designed to assess the impact of supervisors' race on the evaluation of their job performance, reported evidence that supports this hypothesis (Richards and Jaffee, 1972).

In a study that used male undergraduates, Richards and Jaffee (1972) found that white observers judged black leaders more harshly than white leaders and subordinates with more liberal attitudes were more likely to give their black supervisors higher ratings than those with less liberal attitudes. Of greater importance, Richards and Jaffee reported evidence that subordinates supervised by blacks behaved in ways that affected the effectiveness of the black supervisors.
According to the authors:

It was found that white subordinates behave differently when supervised by blacks and that some of these behaviors impeded the effectiveness of the supervisor...(p. 240).

The authors noted that it was likely that many industrial workers had more conservative attitudes than those displayed in their research and consequently white subordinates in such settings might react more negatively towards black supervisors.

The results of a later study corroborated Richards and Jaffee's finding that the race of the subordinate and supervisors may be related to differences in subordinate perception, but did not support their hypothesis about the reaction of white subordinates in industrial settings (Parker, 1976). While Parker observed that black and white supervisors received different ratings, the direction of the ratings differed from those observed by Richards and Jaffee. In a study of workers in three midwestern industrial plants, Parker reported that black supervisors were consistently ranked more favorably by their subordinates than were white supervisors.

A study of a large retail organization reported findings that were consistent with those of Parker. After controlling for the type of organizational unit, manager background characteristics, job responsibilities and duties of subordinates, Adams (1978) reported significant differences in the perceptions of black male and white female managers when they were compared to white males. Black males and white females were perceived as exhibiting higher consideration behavior than white males.
Not all field studies reported positive ratings for black supervisors. A field study that investigated employers' evaluations of black women and men who had completed a supervisory training program reported evidence that employers tended not to evaluate their performance on program content or task related behaviors. Rather, black supervisors were rated on their social behavior (Beatty, 1973).

Evidence on the effects of sex on the ratings of females supervisors has also been mixed. Several researchers concluded that the sex of a supervisor did not have a consistent influence on actual supervisor behavior, the evaluation of supervisory behavior/performance, or subordinate satisfaction (Day & Stogdill, 1972; Osborn & Vicars, 1976; Lee & Alvares 1977). Others, however, reported contradictory findings.

Rosen and Jerdee (1973) reported that the evaluation of male and female supervisors by undergraduate students and bank supervisors were affected by both the sex of the supervisor and the sex of the evaluator.

In a study of non-academic employees in a southern university, Petty and Lee (1975) reported that subordinates whose supervisors are female and display consideration behavior are more satisfied with their jobs than those whose supervisors are male and display consideration behavior (p. 626). It has been suggested that this finding may not have necessarily been due to the sex of the supervisor, but may have resulted from the low level of the job of the subordinates of the female supervisors (Petty and Lee, p. 627; Terborg, 1977).

Consistent with Petty and Lee, Bartol and Butterfield (1976)
reported that males and females portrayed with identical managerial behavior were evaluated differently by management students. Women were rated higher on consideration behavior than identical men, and men were rated higher on structuring behavior than identical women. They all noted that the sex of the manager influenced evaluators' expectations of effective managerial styles.

Non-Professional Workers

The tendency for women and black professional workers to be judged by different standards than white men was also reported in an evaluation by college students of the performance of non-professional workers. In a study of grocery store stock clerks, Hamner, Kim, Baird, and Bigoness (1974) reported that the sex and race of the raters had different effects on the evaluations of the ratees. Overall, females were rated significantly higher than males, while blacks were rated lower than other ratees. In addition, high performing females were rated considerably more favorably than high performing white males; high performing black males were rated only slightly higher than low performing black males; while high performing whites were rated significantly higher than high performing black males. Another study that used college students as evaluators, however, reported no significant effect of race or sex on the evaluation of black and white/male and female supervisors. (Hall & Hall, 1976).

Conclusion

For the most part, studies of access and treatment discrimination against professional workers have not focussed on
black women. In addition, studies of access discrimination have
tended not to focus on black managers. In the only study reviewed
that considered the selection of black applicants for
professional positions (McIntyre, et. al., 1980), only black
males were studied and the results were dissimilar from those
reported for white females (Henneman, 1977). In the former study
favoritism toward black males over white female and male
applicants was reported. In both studies, favoritism toward male
applicant over white female applicants were reported. However,
studies that considered the starting salaries and job progression
of black female, black male and white female professionals tended
to report similar experiences for the three groups.

Although black females have been considered in few studies
of professional workers, the similarities in the findings of
treatment discrimination against women and black professionals
make it doubtful that black women have fared much better.
Indeed, if Ford's findings about the black female MBAs in his
study can be generalized, it would appear that as regards access
and treatment discrimination, the experiences of black female
professionals have been worse than their counterparts. And, if
job stress is considered, there is additional evidence that black
females' work experiences are far from ideal.

In a study of black female managerial and professional
workers in private manufacturing firms in three midwestern
cities, Edwards (1980) examined the differential effects of
management function and job support on job satisfaction and
perceived job stress. She reported that job support, not
management function, accounted for the levels of stress perceived
by the women in her study. The type of support that was identified as being significantly and negatively correlated with job stress was structural support. Unfortunately, structural support was found to be the type of support that was least often received by the black women in Edwards’ study.

In general, the predictions that were drawn from the theories of occupational sex segregation have found support in empirical work on women and black professional and managerial workers. For example, there is evidence that: role models are important to career decisions of black females; white females have been assigned to less important job responsibilities and have had their opportunity structures blocked; and black workers have encountered resistance from white males in simulated work environments. Again, because of the small number of studies that have included black women as subjects, it is only conjecture that the findings about black male and white female professionals are true for black female professionals. However, where black men were the favored group, as in the McIntyre, et.al. study, white women were the disfavored group. Where white women were the favored group, as in the Hamner, et.al. study, black men were the disfavored group. It appears then, that for black women, the possibility for escape from access or treatment discrimination is slim.

This literature review also generated several hypotheses from which the experiences of black female managers can be evaluated. If the results of the empirical work presented in this chapter are valid, we would expect that black female
managers are:

1. likely to have low expectations for success

2. not likely to experience a conflict between work roles and home roles

3. likely to have been influenced by their fathers in making their career decisions

4. likely to have slower promotion rates relative to their peers

5. likely to receive lower starting salaries relative to their peers

6. likely to receive less frequent raises relative to their peers

7. likely to encounter problems with performance reviews

8. likely to have low levels of stress if they receive job support

In the chapters that follow, results from my own original survey of, and interviews with, black managers will be presented and compared to existing surveys of white female managers. In evaluating the findings I will address the central question of the dissertation: Are black female managers a doubly-advantaged group? To the extent that it is possible and feasible, I will evaluate relevant hypotheses from those that were outlined in this chapter and in Chapter Two. Clearly, it is not within the scope of this dissertation to assess the applicability of all of the hypotheses that have been raised thus far. Indeed those which require relative comparisons between workers (i.e. hypotheses 4-6 in this chapter and hypothesis 8 from Chapter Two) cannot be properly addressed within the framework of the
research design of this dissertation. As such, hypotheses that are not addressed should be treated as questions for follow-up research on the issue of the double-advantage of black female managers.
CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND SURVEY RESULTS
Chapter Four
Methodology and Survey Results

Introduction

The same pattern of overlooking black women that was found in the theoretical work on occupational segregation and in the empirical work on managers holds true in surveys that have been designed to provide descriptive information on managers. The primary focus of past and recent surveys has been on white female managers or white male senior level executives. There has been only one survey of black male managers. All of the previously mentioned surveys were of managers who work in the private for-profit sector.

Studies that have included black women have been conducted by the government and have been limited in two ways. They have either provided detailed information on a small sample of black female managers, or have had a narrow focus on a large sample of black female managers. The Current Population Survey (CPS) that is conducted by the Census Bureau is an example of the former survey. The number of black female managers who work full-time, full-year who were included in the 1982 CPS was only sixty-five. The Report of Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industries that is conducted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC, 1982) is an example of the latter type of survey. Their sample size of officials and managers is large (N = 46,140) but this survey only provides information on the industrial distribution of workers. The 1980 Census may correct
these two problems, however, resource limitations prevented me from using this data source.

Consequently, my survey has three primary goals: 1) to develop a roster from which a subset of black female managers could be identified for indepth interviews; 2) to develop a base for comparing black female managers with recent profiles of other managers; and 3) to establish a primary data source on black female managers that can be used for future research.

As an exploratory attempt to identify and document the status and experiences of black female managers, this study was not designed to meet the methodological requirements of a statistically representative sample. Consequently, all comments and conclusions about the women in this study are not intended to pertain to the general population of black female managers. However, it should be noted that this survey of black female managers corrects the limitations of previous studies that have included black women. First, the sample size is 185 black female managers. This represents one of, if not the largest survey of its kind. Second, the scope of the study is significantly wider than that of the EEOC survey.

The purpose of this chapter then, is to describe (1) the survey instruments; (2) the population; (3) the procedure; (4) the returns; and (5) the survey results.

The research for this study was conducted in two stages that used different survey instruments. In the first stage the survey instrument consisted of a questionnaire that was administered through the mail. In the second stage the survey instrument consisted of personal interviews with a subset of the survey
Stage One

The Survey Instrument

The questionnaire that was administered during this initial stage of the study consisted of three parts: (1) Job-Related; (2) Demographic/Family Status; and (3) Education. The job-related section contained twenty-three items that were used to collect information about where the women work, their job responsibilities, stress, and their sources and amount of compensation. The demographic/family status section consisted of five items that were designed to collect information about the age, marital status and number and ages of the women's children. The last section, education, consisted of three items. This section was designed to collect information on the highest level of education attained by the women and the names of the graduate schools they attended and their major fields of study.

The Population

A variety of sources were used to identify black female managers. These sources include: The Black MBA Association regional officers, The Consortium, business school faculty and alumni offices; alumni offices at women's colleges; Black Enterprise Magazine; business school alumni directories; referrals from survey respondents; and the following professional women's organizations: Catalyst; the Association of Women Executives; and One Hundred Black Women. In addition, I attended the National Black MBA Association Annual Conference that was held in Atlanta, GA in October, 1983. Copies of the project description and the survey
were available at the registration desk and announcements about the project and the survey were made at the plenary sessions and luncheons. A job fair, in which approximately 75 companies were represented was held at the conference. I met with the majority of the company representatives to describe the project and gave them surveys and project descriptions to pass along to black females managers that they knew.

Procedure

Between October, 1983 and December, 1984 three hundred and twenty-five black women, who were believed to hold management positions, were contacted by mail. A cover letter that described my professional and personal interest in the project, a description of the project and the survey were mailed to this group (Appendix A). They were also asked to share information about the project to black women managers that they know or to send their names to me. Women who did not respond within one month of the initial contact were sent a second letter and another survey. The number of women in this category was 206.

Thank you letters were mailed to all women who completed the questionnaire. They were asked again to pass along information about the project or to forward names to me. They were also told that summary findings would be mailed to them upon completion of the survey and that I might contact them regarding their participation in an interview.

Returns

Of the 325 initial contact letters that were mailed, 112 useful responses were received (22 letters were returned because of incorrect addresses and 2 were from women who are not
managers). The response rate was 37%. Of the 206 second letters that were mailed, 30 responses were received and 9 letters were returned because of incorrect addresses. Of the 30 responses 5 cannot be used. One of the 5 respondents is white, two are not managers, one found the survey too personal, and one responded that she did not have time to complete it. The response rate from the second mailing was 15.6%.

Stage Two

The Survey Instrument - Interview

The survey instrument that was used in this stage of the research was a series of personal interviews. The interview consisted of two parts. The first part consisted of thirty-nine open ended and eleven closed ended questions that were divided into four major categories. The categories are: 1) Early influences on career decisions; 2) On the job experiences; 3) Future plans; and 4) Family issues. The second part of the interview contained fifteen closed ended questions. This section was designed to obtain basic background information that was either not covered by the questionnaire or may not have been answered by the respondent in her response to the questionnaire. The last part of the interview covered such issues as: birth order; parents' occupation and occupation of spouse; sorority affiliation; undergraduate education; sex and average bonus amounts; and salary.

The Population

Twenty-four middle and senior level and one entry level black female managers who work in the private sector were selected for the interviews. The selection criteria for middle level managers
were that they have an MBA or an advanced executive management degree and have a minimum of four years of management experience. The selection criteria for senior level managers were that they have a graduate degree and a minimum of ten years of management experience.

The educational criteria were established because of my belief that any obstacles/barriers that these women encountered in their careers were likely to be less severe than the difficulties that women who do not have advance degrees would face. If this is true, we can assume that problems that these highly educated and experienced women encounter would be even greater for those who are less educated and experienced than they. Also, because the educational requirements are highly standardized as compared to other occupations, this criterion should remove the influence of substantial variation in human capital from racial and gender comparisons of career experiences and mobility. Exceptions were made for three women who work for black owned companies and one woman who works for a public accounting firm.

There were other factors that influenced the selection of the interview participants. I suspect that differences in family status and job function are likely to generate differences in the experiences of the participants. As such the final selection of participants was guided by my desire to have a balance between married and single women; women who have children and those who are without children; women who have human resources responsibilities and women who have non-human resources responsibilities. A profile of the interview sample and the interview questions can be found in
Appendix B of this chapter, and the data from the interviews will be presented in Chapter Five.

The Procedure

Letters were mailed to potential participants to request their participation. A profile of 145 of the survey respondents was enclosed in the letter and the women were told that additional information about the respondents would be given to them at the interview. A stamped, self-addressed postcard with a list of possible interview dates was enclosed with some of the letters. Respondents were asked to check the most convenient date and suggest a time for the interview and return the postcard to me. Space was also provided for alternative dates for those who could not schedule an interview during the suggested times. In other letters the women were told that they would be contacted by telephone. All of the women who were contacted, except one who wrote that she was in the process of moving, agreed to be interviewed. All interviews were conducted by me with individual managers. Most of the interviews took place in the offices or homes of the women and a few took place in restaurants and over the telephone.

Within one week after the interview, letters were mailed to all of the participants to thank them for their participation. They were told to feel free to contact me if they had any questions or other issues that they wanted to discuss. They were also told that they might be contacted again for follow-up questions.

Survey Results

Twenty five of the respondents work in the public sector and
five are entrepreneurs. They will be excluded from the profile in order to be consistent with other studies.

**Profile**

The average survey respondent is 35 years old. She lives in the Midwest (44%), and has worked in the field of management for seven years. She is likely to hold a middle level management position (58%) and has experienced job-related stress (88%).

**Industrial Concentration and Income**

The respondents are largely concentrated in four industries: Manufacturing (40%); Finance (20%); Communications (11%); and Services (14%). Most (40%), have an annual salary that is between $34,000 - $45,999. The remaining women are fairly evenly distributed within the following salary ranges: $22,000 - 33,999 (18%); $46,000 - $57,999 (21%); $58,000 - $69,999 (13%). Only 8% of the respondents reported that their salary were $70,000 or more. All of the respondents are full-time/full year workers.

As regards bonuses, 54% of the respondents are eligible to receive bonuses, 38% are ineligible to receive bonuses and the remaining 6% either did not answer this question or reported that the question is not applicable to their current situation.

**Management Function**

The respondents are largely concentrated in the functional areas of Human Resources/Personnel (26%) and Marketing/Sales (27%). The next largest concentrations are in the areas of Finance (13%) and Public Relations (10%). The proportion of women who work in the areas of Operations/Production, Planning, Purchasing, or General Management does not exceed ten percent in any category.
Education

Highest Level of Attainment

The survey respondents are a highly educated group. Ninety-eight percent of them are college graduates. The majority (56%), cite graduate or professional degrees as their highest level of education attainment. Moreover, over one-third of the respondents (36%), hold masters degrees in business administration (MBAs), and nearly one-quarter of the respondents (20%), have graduate degrees in fields other than management:

**TABLE ONE**

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Highest Level of Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some College:</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA/BS:</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Courses, No Degree:</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBA:</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Graduate or Professional Degree:</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Schools

The universities that were attended by the women who have earned graduate degrees are highly rated. For example, 14% of these women have MBA degrees from Harvard Business School and 10% have graduate degrees from Columbia University. A full list of the schools that these women attended can be found in Appendix C.

Family Status

The majority of the respondents, 58.1%, are not married and
there are distinct variations within the not married category. The largest group within this category is made up of women who have never married (36.0%). Divorced women make up the next largest group in this category (19.0%) and the remaining women in this group (3.14%) are either separated, widowed, or in the "other" category.

The proportion of women in the divorced category is nearly three times as large as the national average for women who are 15 years old and older and are divorced (6.6%), and almost twice as large as the national average for women aged 30 - 34 years (11.0%), (Bianchi, 1983).

The majority of the respondents, 52%, do not have children, and none of the women in the never married or "other" category have children. Among those who have children, the average number is one.

Differences Between Management Levels

While proportional differences can be observed between the different levels of managers, the differences are minimal and generally occur where one might expect them to occur. In the paragraphs below the differences and similarities between the women in different management levels will be highlighted.

Industrial Distribution

The proportion of managers of different levels who are employed in manufacturing companies and communications companies is approximately the same. The figures average around 40% and 11% respectively. Alternatively, proportionately more entry level managers (30%) than senior (15%) or middle level (20%) managers are
employed in the banking industry. In addition, while nearly one quarter of the senior level managers work in the service industries as do fourteen percent of the middle level managers, none of the entry level managers are employed in this industry.

Education

As noted earlier in this chapter the survey respondents are a highly educated group. Proportionately more entry level (70%) than middle (55%) or senior (50%) level managers have graduate degrees. Moreover, the majority of entry level managers have MBAs, (66%), as do slightly more than one third of the middle level managers (37%). Senior level managers who have advanced degrees are more likely than other managers to have degrees in fields other than management (38%).

Earnings

The majority of the entry level managers (76%) earn salaries that are less than $46,999, as do nearly one-half of the middle level managers (49%) and one-third of the senior level managers (34%). It should be noted that the salaries were reported in ranges rather than in absolute numbers:
TABLE TWO

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Salary and Management Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Salary Range</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$10,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000-$21,999</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$22,000-$33,999</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$34,000-$45,999</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$46,000-$57,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$58-$69999</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$70,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/A</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average Years in Management

As noted in the general profile, the typical respondent has been a manager for less than ten years. As we would expect, proportionately more of the entry level managers have fewer than ten years of management experience than do senior or middle level managers. In addition, the profile of senior and middle level managers as regards number of years in management is almost identical:

TABLE THREE

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Number of Years in Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Management</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 9 years</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14 years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 or more years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They are also very similar in their age distribution:

**TABLE FOUR**

**Percent Distribution of Respondents by Age and Level of Management**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than 35:</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 55:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and older:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is curious to note that while middle and senior level managers are quite similar in their industry distribution, number of years in management and age but differ in their educational profile (proportionately more middle level managers have MBA degrees than do senior level managers), senior level managers are more likely than middle level managers to make salaries greater than $45,999. A look at the functional areas in which the managers work may shed some light on this observation.

**Functional Areas of Management**

The three levels of managers exhibit very distinct patterns of distribution within functional areas. Entry level managers are largely concentrated in the marketing/sales (37%) and financial (31%) areas while middle and senior level managers are largely concentrated in the marketing/sales (23%; 22%) and personnel/human resources (31%; 22%) areas. Moreover, the proportion of middle level managers who work in the finance area (16%) is exactly the
same as the proportion of senior level managers who work in the public relations/publicity area (See Appendix D for a full list).

This difference in the functional distribution of middle and senior level managers may partially explain the observed differences in earnings. Since the distribution of middle and senior level managers is nearly the same with the exception of the areas of finance and public relations, it is possible that middle managers who work in the finance area are experiencing limits to their mobility that senior level managers in the public relations areas are not. Alternatively, management functional areas that are central to the business of a company like finance have longer career ladders than staff responsibility areas like public relations (Kanter, 1984). As such it is possible that the middle level managers who work in the finance area need more tenure in their jobs in order to reach the same level of management in their career track as the senior level managers who work in public relations.

There is another factor that may account for the observed differences in mobility of the middle and senior level managers. When the ownership of the companies for which these managers work is examined, we find that more than one-quarter of the senior level managers (27%) work for companies that are black owned and operated as compared to only 6% of the middle level managers. This implies that black women who work for black owned companies may have greater opportunities for mobility than their counterparts who may be more highly educated than they, but who work in white owned and operated companies.
Marital Status

The distribution of managers within the broad category of marital status is, for all practical purposes, identical. Approximately 40% of the women are married and 60% are not married. However, when we examine the four components of the not married category: never married; divorced; separated; and widowed; differences in the distribution patterns of entry level managers, on the one hand, and middle and senior level managers, on the other hand, can be observed.

While most of the managers who are not married have never been married, the proportion of entry level managers in this category is nearly twice that of the proportion of middle and senior level managers in this category.

As regards the separated and divorced categories, the proportion of middle and senior level managers is at least twice as large as the proportion of entry level managers in these marital status categories. In addition, the proportion of middle and senior level managers who are divorced is double that of the national average for women in the 30-34 age group. The proportion of divorced entry level managers is only slightly higher than the national average for divorced women aged 15 and over, and is approximately the same as the national average for women in their age category (Bianchi, 1983):
TABLE FIVE

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status and Management Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never Married</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

National Average: age 15 and over: 7%
ages 30-34: 11%

Presence of Children

Of all the survey respondents, middle level managers are most likely to have children, although the proportion who do is only slightly higher than that of the senior managers. As we would expect, given their marital status distribution, entry level managers are least likely to have children.

TABLE SIX

Percent Distribution of Respondents by Level of Management and Presence of Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stress

There was virtually no difference in the proportion of middle (88%) and senior (89%) level managers who reported that they have experienced job related stress. Entry level managers, on the other
hand, were more likely to report that they have experienced stress (97%).

Comparisons with other surveys

There are no directly comparable surveys of white male managers. These surveys have focused on senior level executives and the profiles are totally different from the black female managers (BFMs) on a very basic level. For example, when one of the largest surveys of white male executives is examined, we find that as regards age fewer than 5% are under the age of forty; 69% of the senior level managers from the BFMs survey are under the age of forty (Korn/Ferry, 1979). In addition, senior level white male executives have significantly more years of management experience than senior level black female managers. Consequently there really is no basis for comparison between these two groups of managers.

The most comparable current survey is one that was conducted by the Wall Street Journal with assistance from the Gallup Organization (1984). This survey collected information from 722 white female managers with titles of Vice President (VP) or higher who work for companies which have annual sales of $100,000,000 or more. The survey respondents were divided into six categories based on their salaries, years in management, current age, age at which they entered management and chances for upward mobility. The categories of women listed in descending order by rank and chances for upward mobility in their companies are:
TABLE SEVEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage of Sample</th>
<th>Number of Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Top management</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Young achievers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middle level</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Young, lower level</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Senior, non-top</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Late starters</td>
<td>8/100</td>
<td>62/722</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the BFMS is compared with the Wall Street Journal Survey (WSJS) we find that as regards age, and years of management experience, the BFMs profile closely resembles the young, lower level respondents, but is also similar to the young achiever group. For example, although proportionately more of the BFMs are under age thirty five than the young achievers, the majority of both of these groups and the young lower level women are under the age of forty:

TABLE EIGHT

Percent Distribution of Managers by Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFMs</th>
<th>Young achievers</th>
<th>Young, lower level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 35:</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 55</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 and over</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards years of management experience, while
proportionately more of the BFMs and young lower level women have less than ten years of experience than do the young achievers, the majority of the women in each of these groups have fewer than fifteen years of management experience:

**Table Nine**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFMs</th>
<th>Young achievers</th>
<th>Young, lower level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 10:</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14:</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19:</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 or more:</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the highest level of educational attainment is considered, it is clear that the BFMs profile resembles that of the high achiever group but the BFMs are in general a more highly educated group than the high achievers and the young, lower level group. The proportion of BFMs who have graduate degrees (57%) is nearly twice that of the young, lower level women who have such degrees (29%). In addition, while the proportion of BFMs who have graduate degrees is only two percentage points greater than that of the young achievers who have graduate degrees, proportionately more of the BFMs have MBAs (37%) than do the young achievers (25%) (See Appendix E).

When the industrial distribution of the women is considered, we find that the proportion of the BFMs who work in manufacturing companies (40%) is twice that of the young achievers and nearly six
times that of the young, lower level women. The young achievers tend to be more highly concentrated in the services (30%) and in insurance, real estate and other investment companies (23%), while the young, lower level women tend to be more highly concentrated in banking (53%) (See Appendix F).

As regards management function, with the exception of being highly concentrated in the personnel/human resources area and underconcentrated in the non-specific executive area relative to the young achievers, the BFMs profile is similar to that of the young achievers. Indeed, it is much more similar to that of the young achievers than it is to the profile of the young, lower level women (See Appendix G).

When salaries are considered, however, we find that the young achiever salaries far exceed those of the BFMs. Indeed, the salary profile of the BFMs is much more similar to that of the young, lower level women. One-hundred percent of the young achievers have salaries of $60,000 or more as compared to twenty-two percent of the BFMs.

In addition, when we add to this picture results from the only survey of black male executives we find that a racial pattern emerges (Heidricks and Struggles, 1979). Specifically, the black male managers who were surveyed tended to be young, 60.3% were under the age of forty-four. They were largely concentrated in manufacturing companies (46%) and in the FIRE industries (28.6%). They tended to work in the personnel (17%) and marketing/sales (21%) functional areas although clearly not to the same degree as the BFMs. And, their salary profile is similar to the BFMs. Only
26% earn salaries greater than $50,000 while the rest, 74%, earn salaries less than $50,000.

Even when we compare black female managers who have achieved the status of VP or higher to the WSJS respondents, we find that like their counterparts their salaries are significantly lower than the WSJS respondents who are similar to them in terms of age, years of management but not as highly educated as they.

For example, the majority of the young achievers (100%) and the BFM VPs (64%) are under the age of forty-five. The majority of both groups also have fewer than fifteen years of management experience (BFM VPs: 91%; Young Achievers: 100%). Proportionately more of the BFM VPs have graduate degrees (59%) than do the young achievers (55%). Moreover, the proportion of BFM VPs who have MBA degrees (38%) exceeds that of the young achievers who have MBA degrees (25%).

When management function and industry distribution are considered we find that the BFM VPs have a different profile from the general profile for all BFMs. They are concentrated in the finance (26%) and personnel (31%) areas while the young achievers are concentrated in the non-specific executive (33%) and finance (20%) areas (See Appendix H). As regards industry distribution, the BFMS VPs are concentrated in banking (64%) and manufacturing (15%) while young achievers are concentrated in the service industries (30%) and insurance (23%) (See Appendix I). Also, sixteen percent of the BFM VPs work in black owned companies.

As regards salaries, however, the proportion of BFM VPs in the $60,000 or more category (38%) remains significantly lower than that of the young achievers in this category (100%).
Implications

These findings have serious implications. First it would appear that highly educated white women have a greater potential for upward mobility than do highly educated black women.

Second, although a high proportion of black women were found in the personnel/human resources area, an area that is known to have a short career ladder, they were equally represented in the sales/marketing area, and in the case of VPs, in the finance area. Both of these areas have been cited as being the fastest route to the top of the corporate ladder (Korn/Ferry 1979). It appears that this is not necessarily true for the black women who participated in this survey or the black men who participated in the Heidricks and Struggles survey.

Third, the fact that the proportion of black women and men who work in the personnel/human resources area so greatly exceeded that of the WSJS participants raises questions about whether or not those kinds of jobs are "reserved" for black men and women. Wallace (1984) noted that during the first four years after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 the focus was on black people. It is possible that under Affirmative Action pressure from the government, companies opened up existing personnel jobs or created jobs for black people in the personnel area perhaps as affirmative action or EEO administrators, rather than place black men and women in profit line responsibility positions. Once on the personnel career ladder, the opportunity for switching to another area is slim.

Alternatively, it is possible that black people are more
likely to choose a career in personnel than are white women of equal or lower educational levels. Choice, however, is a peculiar thing. There is informed choice, as when a person makes a choice based on information about different career opportunities that they read about or receive from guidance counselors, company recruiters, placement officers, or other informed individuals. And, there is uninformed choice, as for example, when a person is given or obtains misinformation about career opportunities that are in line with her or his abilities, and makes a choice based on that information. Then again, there is informed but limited choice, as for example when a person, through whatever means, learns of different career opportunities and pursues them but finds that her or his options are limited, and therefore "chooses" to pursue a more accessible career path. It is possible that any one of these situations could apply to the black people who work in the personnel area. Because of the fuzziness of the borders between the different types of choices it is undoubtedly difficult to pin down the "right" reason. For example, as noted in Chapters One and Two, expectation theorists emphasize the effect of one's expectations for opportunities, success, etc. on one's conscious and unconscious choices.

In order to assess these two propositions, trend data from company personnel records, longitudinal data on career paths of managers within the same companies and supplemental information on career "choice" decisions would be needed.

Fourth, the fact that 16% of the BFM VPs are employed in black owned companies indicates that black women may have greater opportunities for mobility than their counterparts in white owned
companies.

Finally, the bottom line of this analysis is that there is little indication that a group of highly educated black female managers are more advantaged than a group of comparable white female managers.
APPENDIX A
13 July 1984

Dear &title& &lname&:

I am writing my dissertation on black women in management. The first stage in my research involves conducting a preliminary survey to identify the population. I have enclosed a copy of the survey along with a brief description of the project. I would appreciate it if you would complete it and return it to me at your earliest convenience.

I have both a personal and professional interest in this topic. As a black woman, I am interested in the workplace and related experiences of black working women. In addition, the large body of literature on managers (which has focussed almost exclusively on white and black men or white women) provides a comparative basis for the data that I am collecting.

If you know of others who might be interested in participating in this research project, please pass the information along to them. If you prefer, send their names and addresses to me, and I will contact them.

All participants in the preliminary survey will receive a brief summary of the major findings after the results have been analyzed.

If you have any questions or suggestions, please do not hesitate to contact me (see the bottom of page 2 of the survey for my address and telephone number).

Sincerely yours,

Karen Fulbright

KF
DISSERTATION RESEARCH PROJECT: THE MYTH OF A WOMAN'S PLACE, BLACK WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

DESCRIPTION:

The dissertation will compare primary data on fifty black female managers that the author collects through personal interviews with secondary data on white female managers. The objectives of this endeavor are to: 1) explore the applicability of social science theories of occupational segregation to the self-reported experiences of black female managers; 2) assess whether or not the findings of research which has compared black and white women in female-dominated occupations hold true in a male-dominated occupation; and 3) explore the similarities and differences between black and white women in an occupation in which both groups presumably have equal qualifications.

NOTE:

The information requested on the attached sheet will be used to develop a roster of black female managers from which 50 women will be selected to participate in the study that is described above. Unless otherwise specified, all questions concerning job responsibility and company descriptions refer to your current job situation.

ALL INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY.
PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF BLACK FEMALE MANAGERS

ALL INFORMATION WILL BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY

1) Name

2) Mailing Address (Business and/or Residence)

3) Telephone (Business and/or Residence)

4) Race - _____

JOB RELATED

5) Number of years employed in management - ____

6) Number of years in current position - ____

7) Job Title - ____________________________

8) Number of persons who report to you - ____

9) Level of persons who report to you:
   Hourly: Clerical ____  Other Hourly ____
   Salaried: Staff ____  Line ____
   Other ____ (PLEASE SPECIFY)

10) In the space provided below, please give a description of your job.

11) How would you characterize your position in the company for which you work:
   Staff____ Line____ Exempt____ Non-exempt____ Entry Management____
   Mid-Management____ Senior Management ____ Full-time, full Year____
   Part-Time____

12) What are the boundaries for your level in the company for which you work?/ What is the level of the person to whom you report?
13. Please check the applicable salary range:

Less than $10,000  
$10,000 - 21,999  
$22,000 - 33,999  
$34,000 - 45,999  
$46,000 - 57,999  
$58,000 - 69,999  
$70,000 and over  

13 a) Industry Sector: Private___ Public___

14) Are you eligible to be considered for company bonuses?

15) Size of company - 

16) Industry of company:

Agriculture___ Mining___ Construction___ Manufacturing___
Transportation___ Communications___ Public Utility___
Wholesale Trade___ Retail Trade___ Finance___ Insurance___
Real Estate___ Business and Repair Services___
Personal Services___ Entertainment and Recreation___
Professional and Related Services___ Public Administration___
Other___

17) Please specify the product/type of the company for which you work (i.e., manufacturer - Pepsi Cola, commercial bank, etc.).

18) Have you experienced Job related stress? Yes___ No___

19) If yes, how have you coped with it?

DEMOGRAPHIC/FAMILY STATUS

20) Age - 

21) Marital Status: Never Married___ Married___ Separated___
Divorced___ Widowed___ Other___

22) Number of Children_____ 

23) Do you have children under the age of 6? Yes___ No___
Between the ages of 7 - 18? Yes___ No___

24) Please check the highest educational category that applies to you:

BA___ Graduate courses, no degree___ MBA___
Other graduate or professional degree___(PLEASE SPECIFY)
Ph.D.___

25) Name of graduate school______________________
Concentration_______________________________
Note: Thank you for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. If you know other black women managers who may be interested in participating in this study, please list their name, address, and phone number on this sheet, or feel free to give them my name, address, phone number and project description so that they may contact me: Karen Fulbright, 320 Memorial Drive, 725, Cambridge, MA 02139 (H) 617-494-8275; (W) 617-253-7692.
26 November 1984

Dear &title& &lname&:

Thank you for your quick response to my survey of black female managers. I will be conducting the interviews that will be used as the primary basis for the dissertation research between 1 September and 15 January and may contact you during that time to ask you to be a participant. I have decided to keep the survey open until the end of the year. As such I will send a profile of the survey respondents to you sometime during the Spring.

If you know of other black female managers who might be interested in participating in the study I would appreciate it if you would pass my information along to them (I have enclosed a copy of the preliminary survey). If you prefer, send their names and addresses to me and I will contact them.

Again, thank you. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Karen L. Fulbright

KF
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Early Influences on Career Choices

1. When you were growing up, did you have thoughts about the kind of work that you would like to do once you became an adult?

2. Do you recall where the ideas came from?

3. Were you encouraged to/discouraged from pursuing this interest? If so, by whom?

4. How did your career/job preference change over the years and why?

4a. Who was the most important influence on you when you were in jr. high?

5. Why did you choose management?

5a. Why did you choose a staff/line position?

Current On the Job Experiences

5b. Please describe your career/the jobs you've held, including periods of unemployment, leaves of absence, and part-time work.

6. Who or what has had the greatest influence on your career?

7. What have been the most rewarding and disappointing aspects about working in management?

8. Have you encountered any difficulty from your subordinates regarding work assignments, their responses to you, etc.?

9. To what do you attribute this difficulty?

10. What about your co-workers and your superior(s)...have you encountered any difficulty from them as regards work assignments, their responses to you, their willingness to be of assistance? Have they been supportive?

10a. Have you been subject to sexist or racist comments?

11. Have you had an opportunity to participate in any formal or informal training programs that are sponsored by the company for which you work?

12. Why or why not?

12a. Do you feel that you have (had) access to office information?*

12b. Do you feel that your ideas are utilized in your company?*
13. What has contributed most to your success?

14. What has created the greatest problems/obstacles for you?

14a. Have you had a mentor throughout your career?

14b. How were those relationships established and maintained?

15. Knowing what you know now, would you have done anything differently in your career?

16. What kind of things are most important to you in a job?

16a. Do you feel that you’ve reached a ceiling in your current position?

16b. Do you feel that your opportunities are the same as, better than, or worse than your peers at work? Why?

16c. Are there any areas/jobs in your company that you feel are inaccessible to you? Why?*

Future Plans

17. If you were to make a job choice now, would you make the same choice or do anything differently?

18. Where would you like to be five years from now?

19. Where do you think you’ll be five years from now?

20. What would be critical in achieving what you want?

20a. What kind of problems do you expect to encounter?*

21. Do you still expect to be working full-time?

Family Issues

21a. Has your career influenced any of your decisions/desires about marriage?

22. Has your career influenced your decision about having children--ie. timing or number?

22a. Did you take a maternity leave? How long? Do you feel that the leave affected your career in any way?*

23. Have you found it difficult to balance the demands of your career and your personal life?

24. How have you coped with this difficulty?

25. How are household/child care responsibilities arranged in
26. Has the social side of business been a source of stress for you? Have you experienced any difficulty in balancing the social demands of corporate life and your own personal social interests?

27. It's been said that one's prospects for advancing in business are influenced by one's participation in company social functions, and that you need to appear with someone. Have you found this to be true? Has this caused any problems for you?

27a. Have you found that not having a spouse or mate has been a hindrance to you in your professional career particularly as regards social functions?

28. Have you found that the men in your life have been a help or a hindrance to your professional development?

29. Do you feel that your career aspirations/development have been influenced by the Civil Rights and/or Women's Movements?

30. You have had to have been strong and determined in order to make the achievements that you've made. Have you gotten any negative responses to your strength and determination? From whom?

30a. What are your sources of stress, and how have you coped with them?

31. Have you experienced sexual or racial harrassment?

32. It has been said that black women, because of our dual status of being black and female, may have a double-advantage over other workers. Have you seen any evidence of this?
Background Information

Name ___________________________ Code ( )

1. Number of brothers and sisters _________

2. Your Birth Order: First ____
   Middle ____
   Youngest ____
   Other ______________

3. Mother’s Occupation: ____________________________

3a. Did your mother work while you were growing up? Yes_; No_

4. Father’s Occupation: ____________________________

5. Occupation of spouse/ex-spouse: ____________________________

Education

6. College Attended: ____________________________

7. Years Attended: 19__-19__

8. Major: ____________________________

8a. Year graduate degree was received: _____

Job Related

9. Sex and race of subordinants: black: males__; females__;
   white: males__; females__; others (please specify) __________

10. If you are eligible to receive bonuses, please specify the average amount you receive: _____

11. What was the salary of your first full-time job: _____(year____).

12. What is your current salary: _____

Other

13. Are you a member of a sorority? yes__ name ________; no____

14. Do you live in a city__; or a suburban area__?
APPENDIX B
APPENDIX B

PROFILE OF BLACK FEMALE MANAGERS

INTERVIEW SAMPLE

Years in Management:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Management</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>less than 10</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Management Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Function</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive (non-specific)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Treasurer's office</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information systems</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations/Production</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel/Human Resources</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations/Communications</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Development</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Marketing</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Salary Range:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>less than $10,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $21,999</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$22,000 - $33,999</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$34,000 - $45,999</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$46,000 - $57,999</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$58,000 - $69,999</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$70,000 and over</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry of Company:</td>
<td>Agriculture, fishing, mining, construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation, communication, other public utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retail trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Banks and other credit agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Insurance, real estate and other investment:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Work for Black Owned Company:                    | Yes:                                      | 20 |
|                                                 | No:                                       | 80 |
| Total                                           |                                            | 100 |

| Highest Level of Educational Achievement:        | Other grad/prof degree:                   | 12 |
|                                                 | MBA:                                      | 68 |
|                                                 | Grad courses, no degree:                  | 8 |
|                                                 | College graduate:                         | 8 |
|                                                 | Some college:                             | 4 |
|                                                 | Total:                                    | 100 |

| Marital Status:                                  | Never married:                            | 44 |
|                                                 | Married:                                  | 32 |
|                                                 | Separated:                                | 8 |
|                                                 | Divorced:                                 | 16 |
|                                                 | Widowed:                                  | 0 |
|                                                 | Other:                                    | 0 |
| Total                                           |                                            | 100 |
Ages:
less than 35 years: 48
35 - 39 years: 28
40 - 44: 12
45 - 54: 12
Total: 100

Presence of Children:
Yes: 40
No: 60
Total: 100

Region of Residence:
Northeast: 28
Midwest: 52
South: 12
West: 8
Total: 100

Stress:
Yes: 84
No: 12
No Answer: 4
Total: 100

Level of Management:
Enter:* 4
Middle: 68
Senior:** 28
Total: 100

* included because she works for a type of company that is widely known for the underrepresentation of black people (public accounting firm)

** includes one recent entrepreneur
Schools Attended by the Black Female Manager (private sector) Survey Participants

American Educational Law Institute
American Institute of Banking
Atlanta University
Baldwin-Wallace
Ball State University
Ben Franklin
Berkeley
Boston College
Brooklyn College
Columbia
Cornell
Emory
Georgetown Law School
Golden Gate University
Harvard
Howard University
Hunter College
Indiana University
Krannert Business School (Purdue University)
Long Island University
Loyola Institute of Industrial Relations
MIT
New York University
Northern Illinois University
Northwestern University
Oakland University
Pace
Pepperdine University
RPI
Roosevelt University
Rutgers
San Francisco State
SUNY
Sangamon State University
Simmons College
Stanford
Syracuse
TCU
Temple University
Texas Southern University
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
University of Houston
University of Illinois
University of Michigan
University of Pittsburgh
University of Rochester
University of South Carolina
University of South California
University of Texas
University of Washington
University of Wisconsin
Washington University
Wharton
Xavier University
Yale
## APPENDIX D

### Percent Distribution of Black Female Managers by Level of Management and Management Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Function</th>
<th>Entry</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Senior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive (non-specific):</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Treasurer's office:</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information systems:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations/Production:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel/Human Resources:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations/Communications:</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Purchasing:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research and Development:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Marketing:</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Undesignated:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
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<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</table>
APPENDIX E
APPENDIX E

Percent Distribution of Black and White Female Managers

by

Highest Level of Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BFMs</th>
<th>Young Achievers</th>
<th>Young, Lower Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graduate School</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have MBA</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other college</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>No college</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### APPENDIX F

**Percent Distribution of Black and White Female Managers by Industry of Company**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry of Company</th>
<th>BFMS</th>
<th>Young Achiever</th>
<th>Young, Lower Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, construction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, communication, other public utilities</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks and other credit agencies</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance, real estate and other investment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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APPENDIX G

Percent Distribution of Black and White Female Managers by Management Function

BFMS Young Achievers Young, Lower Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Function</th>
<th>BFMS</th>
<th>Young Achievers Young, Lower Level</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Executive (non-specific):</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Treasurer's office:</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information systems:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations/Production:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel/Human Resources:</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations/Communications:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing:</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Development:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Marketing:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
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115
**APPENDIX H**

**Percent Distribution of Black (VPs) and White Female Managers by Management Function**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management Function</th>
<th>BFM VPs</th>
<th>Young Achievers VPs</th>
<th>Young Level VPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Advertising:</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive (non-specific):</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/Treasurer's office:</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information systems:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations/Production:</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personnel/Human Resources:</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning:</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Relations/Communications:</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchasing:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research and Development:</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Marketing:</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I

Percent Distribution of Black (VPs) and White Female Managers

by

Industry of Company

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry of Company</th>
<th>BFMS VPs</th>
<th>Young Achiever</th>
<th>Young, Lower Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, foresting, fishing, mining, construction</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation, communication, other public utilities</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks and other credit agencies</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance, real estate and other investment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undesignated</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</table>
CHAPTER FIVE

THE DOUBLE ADVANTAGE OF BLACK FEMALE MANAGERS:

FACT OR FICTION
Introduction

In the introduction of the dissertation I stated that the empirical and theoretical work that has focussed attention on black women who work in male-dominated, professional occupations is, at best, sparse. Despite this sparsity, the media and some scholars have asserted that black women have a double-advantage over other workers.

As such, reviews of social science theories of occupational segregation and empirical work on managers were presented in Chapters Two and Three respectively, to determine whether or not there is support for this thesis. A major conclusion from Chapter Two was that women who gain access to male-dominated occupations are likely to encounter external and internal difficulties as they pursue their career goals. Similarly, in Chapter Three I noted that white women and black males who hold management positions are likely to experience access and treatment discrimination. I concluded from this review that rather than being doubly-advantaged, black female managers are likely to be subject to the same type of processes that negatively impact the careers of black male and white female managers.

In addition, despite the methodological limitations of the comparisons of the survey data that were presented in Chapter Four, it was cautiously noted that the women who participated in
my survey of black female managers were, on average, more highly educated, and more likely to be employed in the manufacturing sector (which is characterized by generally higher wages), than the women who participated in the surveys of white female managers but were also more likely to have lower salaries than the white female managers.

It is clearly not within the scope of this dissertation to address all of the issues and questions that were raised in the previous chapters. In particular, the observations of salary differentials between managers of different sexes and races, and progress of the black female managers who participated in this study relative to their co-workers, can only be objectively addressed through a detailed analysis of the work settings and co-workers of the women. In addition, in order to do full justice to these issues, detailed information on the formal and informal structures of the past and current work settings of the women would be needed.

Therefore, the more limited objective of this chapter is to assess the claim that black women are a doubly-advantaged group in the workplace. This will be done by examining the self-reported professional experiences of a subset of twenty-five women who participated in the survey of black female managers that was summarized in Chapter Four.

The central focus of this chapter will be that of mobility. Toward this end, I will examine three aspects of the professional experiences of twenty-five black female managers: 1) Access to mobility -- the influences on their choice of a non-traditionally female occupation; 2) Rapidity of upward mobility within
The first section of this chapter will contain a discussion and analysis of the factors that influenced the women's decision to pursue a career in a non-traditional field. Given the occupational distribution of black people in this country, it is my belief that the influences on the career choice processes of the black women who participated in this study differ from those that are commonly assumed for women by sociologists and psychologists. It will be suggested that a collective political movement exerted a greater influence on the non-traditional career choice of the black female managers than did individual role models and family status.

In the second section I will analyse the career mobility of the interview participants who have reached the level of Department Head at Corporate Headquarters, Vice President, or have experienced rapid upward mobility within the first four to eight years of their tenure with a private sector company. The objective of this analysis is to assess the popular belief that black women are being moved through corporate systems at a faster pace than better qualified white males. The standard for comparison is a group of white males who have achieved the level of President or Corporate Executive Officer.

It will be shown that there are women in the sample whose progress might, in the abstract, appear to be unusually rapid. However, closer examination reveals that when their mobility is evaluated within the context of their length of service or the growth and size of the companies for which they work, we find
valid conventional explanations for their achievements. They are not especially advantaged.

In the third section of this chapter I will focus on the limits to the mobility of the black female managers. It is my belief that black women's dual status makes them vulnerable not only to the same kind of structural factors that can potentially affect the mobility of any worker, but also are vulnerable to limits imposed by racism and sexism. It will be shown that nearly one-half of the sample has encountered obstacles to their mobility during the course of their careers. Moreover, we will see that women who work in core functional areas tend to experience mobility inhibitors on account of race and gender while women who work in staff functions tend to experience the more typical structural factors that inhibit mobility.
Section One - Access to Mobility

Influences on Non-Traditional Career Choice

According to sociologists, the social world is governed by unspoken and spoken rules about appropriate behavior. These rules form the basis for the roles that people perform in society in general as well as in occupations in particular. It has been argued that female role models in non-traditionally female occupations are an especially important element in addressing the issue of occupational segregation because they, by their presence, give evidence that the occupation is a possibility for others like them, and provide a standard of behavior that a potential entrant can model herself after.

Within the work on role modelling, sociologists and psychologists place a heavy emphasis on the influence of individual role models. They contend that the fact that women are underrepresented in male-dominated, higher status, higher paying occupations is partially attributable to the lack of role models for women in these occupations.

In accordance with this view, using a strict definition, the role models for the women in this study would be black female managers. Given the historically heavy distribution of black women in lower paying, low status occupations it is doubtful that the women who participated in this study would have had role models that fit this strict definition. If we examine recent empirical work on women in management, however, there is evidence that this narrow definition should be broadened.

Studies of women in management have found that female
managers typically have fathers who work in managerial positions (Henning, 1971; Johnson, 1975) or are employed in professional occupations (Crawford, 1977). Studies have also noted that female managers report that their fathers had a strong influence on them (Henning, 1971; Johnson, 1975; Crawford, 1977). Similar findings have been made regarding the occupations of white male managers (Kotter, 1982; Sussman, 1979).

There have been no parallel studies conducted on black female or male managers, per se. However, studies have been conducted on black women who are on non-traditionally female educational paths (Burlew, 1982) or who work in non-traditional occupations (Epstein, 1973). These studies identified characteristics of the "typical" black woman who has non-traditionally female educational or occupational pursuits. As noted in Chapter Three, interestingly, these studies typically focussed on the characteristics of the mothers of the women who chose non-traditionally female pursuits. They found that the mothers of these women tended to work in non-traditionally female fields, and were likely to be employed in professional and semi-professional occupations. In addition, one study that assessed the influence of the fathers of black women who work in non-traditionally female occupations reported that the fathers had a strong influence on their daughter's career decisions.

Both the studies of white female managers and those of black women who have non-traditional educational or career pursuits imply that the strict definition of role model offered above should be broadened to consider the influence of family status
But, when the family status of the women who participated in my study is considered there is little support for the findings cited above. None of the women’s mothers worked in a non-traditionally female field and only eight of the twenty-five mothers worked in professional or semi-professional occupations.1

The same pattern holds true for the fathers of these women. One of the women’s fathers works in a non-traditionally black field (law) and only six out of twenty-three fathers works in professional or semi-professional occupations.2

In addition, only three women cited their fathers, in particular, as having influenced their career decisions. The majority consistently reported that their parents did not encourage them to pursue any particular occupation, but rather, encouraged them to excel at whatever they chose to do. All reported that they grew up knowing that they would have to work all of their lives.

In short, the data collected from the twenty-five black female managers who participated in this study do not support previous findings about: a) the family status of white female managers; b) black women who pursue non-traditionally female occupations; or c) the influence of fathers on career preferences and decisions. Given the absence from the lives of the women in this study of the most commonly identified factors that are

---

1 Includes one woman’s mother who is an entrepreneur. She works as a beautician and owns a beauty shop.

2 Includes a small business owner and an army officer.
believed to influence the non-traditional career orientation of
black and white women, there must be an intervening factor(s).

A logical place to look would be high school guidance
counselors, as one of their roles is to expose young women and
men to career and educational options as well as to advise
them. Those who used guidance counseling services in their high
schools reported that their counselors had low expectations for
them. Rather than exposing them to a broad range of educational
and occupational choices, they almost invariably guided the women
to traditionally female occupations and low status schools. This
was true for women regardless of their age or the region of the
country in which they grew up. Clearly, we must look elsewhere.

If the women's points of entry into the labor market are
examined, we find that a pattern emerges that may give insight
into their non-traditional career choice. First, the women can be
evenly divided into two groups based on their entry into a non-
traditionally female business track. The first group consists of
women who followed a "straight path" from college either by going
to an MBA program or by going to work for a company in a
professional capacity. A typical pattern for this group can be
graphically depicted as:

HIGH SCHOOL

COLLEGE

MBA PROGRAM MANAGEMENT TRAINEE,
ANALYST, ETC.

The second group consists of women who moved into a management
track after taking a "detour" through traditionally female jobs
in the public or private sector. A typical career path for these women can be graphically depicted as:

```
HIGH SCHOOL

COLLEGE

CLERICAL WORK

BANK TELLER, COLLEGE
NURSING, COLLEGE
SOCIAL WORK, ETC. ADMINISTRATIVE WORK

MANAGEMENT TRACK POSITIONS/MBA PROGRAM
```

This observation naturally raises questions about the family status of the two groups. In particular, if the parents of the straight path group are disproportionately employed in professional or semi-professional occupations relative to the parents of the detour group, then the earlier de-emphasis of family status may have been premature.

When the family statuses of the two groups are compared, we find that they are quite similar. Within both groups the number of women who have parents who work in professional or semi-professional occupations and those whose parents do not are fairly evenly split. Again, this implies that family status does not appear to be strongly related to an eventual career choice in management by these women.

In addition, none of the women recalled having a black female corporate or public sector manager who served as a role model. Two women did note that they each had a brother who was involved in business. One had a brother who was a white collar worker for a corporation as part of an educational cooperative program; the other had a brother who majored in business in college. Again, these women were evenly split between the
"detour" group and the "straight path" group.

The average age of the "straight path" group is thirty-three. They typically described their choice of management as a process of elimination between the fields of business/management, law and medicine.

The average age of the "detour path" group is thirty-eight. They typically described their movement into management as a process that occurred after they were exposed to broader opportunities in this field through jobs that they held in the private sector.

It is my belief that the difference in the average age of the two groups of women is important because of the historical position in time along the continuum of the Civil Rights' Movement in which their ages placed them. Specifically, the women in the "detour path" group would have been completing their high school and college education and entering the job market during the early period of the Civil Rights' Movement. As such, I believe that their initial movement into jobs that were traditionally filled by black women represented a rational action given the societal conditions that prevailed during the period in which they were making major career decisions.

The Civil Rights' Movement changed those conditions. In a very concrete way it changed the opportunity structure for black people in this country. On a less tangible but no less important level it raised black people's expectations about what they could seek to achieve. In addition, the Affirmative Action legislation, for which the Civil Rights' Movement was the impetus, ultimately created an environment that opened
opportunities for these women.

Concomittantly, the women in the "straight path" group would have been in high school and college during the period in which the Civil Rights' Movement was making advances and its impact was being felt throughout society. Given the time period in which they were making major career decisions, it is to be expected that these women should have been aware of opportunities for themselves in non-traditional occupations.

Thus, we find a situation in which none of the women in this study had traditional role models. Few came from families in which either parent worked in professional or semi-professional occupations. And, even fewer came from families in which a parent worked in non-traditional or managerial positions. They followed different entry paths to management, but ended up in private sector management track positions roughly around the same time period (mid - 1970's).

Given all of these factors, I would like to suggest an alternative to sociological and psychological theories that posit individual role models and family status as the major influences on the career decisions of women. I believe that the collective political movement that was led by civil rights' activists, and the outcomes that they generated exerted a stronger influence on the women in this study.

Indeed, without exception, all of the women spoke of how the Civil Rights Movement influenced their lives. They stated that the Civil Rights' movement opened doors, provided opportunities and heightened their awareness of the new opportunities. For example, comments by a woman who took a detour path and one who
took a straight path that are respectively quoted below typify the sentiments that their counterparts expressed to me:

Generally, that movement enabled me to feel that I could do anything. My family always told me that but I didn’t have the exposure. The Civil Rights’ Movement gave me the exposure because there were places where I could go to work and do what I wanted to do and it makes you feel more credible. It improved everybody’s self image and made me not embarrassed about being black or being female. I think that the bigger issue is being black.

I think it created the opportunity for me to go out and seize -- I really grew up thinking I could do anything I wanted to do and I think that’s because I was told that, I was reading it, hearing it, seeing it.

Summary

The data collected in the interviews with the black female managers did not support sociological and psychological theory regarding the influence of individual role models or family status on women’s career decisions. I suggest that, instead, the Civil Right’s Movement exerted a stronger influence on the women who participated in this study.

One implication of the information that was presented above is that the black women who participated in this study lacked the early exposure to management that their white peers may have gotten as a result of growing up in homes in which their fathers were managers. The former group must not only become acculturated to the general business environment but also must become acculturated to the environment of the particular companies for which they work; the latter group may need only to become acculturated to the environment of the particular companies for which they work. As a result, black female managers may be at a comparative disadvantage to their white counterparts.
Section Two

Mobility

It was noted in the introductions to the dissertation and to this chapter that the media as well as some scholars have asserted that black women are "doubly-advantaged" workers. If this assertion is true, an indication of this should be found in the rates of progression in the career mobility of the black women who participated in this study. Specifically, we should find that their progress is faster than the normal rate of progression of the typical worker.

Mobility is related to a number of factors including those that are associated with one's personal competence and ability; those that are associated with formal structural factors such as company career paths and growth rates; and those that are associated with informal work relationships with mentors, colleagues and superiors.

Clearly, in the absence of data on the co-workers of each of the women in this study and other relevant firm-specific data, a complete analysis of their mobility can not be made. However, the concept of mobility can be measured in a number of ways. This could include changes in absolute or relative earnings, changes in levels of responsibility, rate of progress along defined career ladders, and movement from lower to higher levels in organizations (Work, 1982).

Because this study was designed to explore the experiences of individuals within corporations rather than of corporations per se, the examination of the mobility of the women can perhaps
be best addressed by the last measure. Consequently, I will focus on the current level of achievement of the women and look for likely explanatory variables regarding their status.

When an overall view of the careers of the black female managers is taken, we find that slightly more than one-half of the group (N=15) have reached a high level or have made rapid progress in the companies for which they work. The first group will be referred to as High Achievers. They have reached the level of Vice President (VP), Department Head, or Division Director in the oil, automobile manufacturing, telecommunications or banking industries. All of these industries are widely known for their underrepresentation of white and black women and black men except at low level positions. The second group of women will be referred to as Rapid Achievers. They have reached upper middle or senior level management positions in the companies for which they work within four to eight years of starting there. These two groups will be the focus of this section of the chapter.

In the previous section of this chapter, I compared the women to each other. In this section I will compare them to an outside group. Because I do not have a control group, such a comparison will necessarily be sketchy and non-systematic. However, it should provide a reasonably objective measure for assessing the strength of the double-advantage hypothesis.

Perhaps the best source for a comparative group can be found in a recent book by John Kotter (1982) on fifteen white male managers who had reached a level of status in their companies in which they have multi-functional responsibilities (general
managers). In the paragraphs that follow, I will compare the mobility of a subset of the general managers’ group with the two groups of black female managers. The general managers with whom the comparisons are made work in companies that are similar in size and industry as those of the black female managers.

The comparisons of the black female managers are based on their rate of progress in reaching their highest levels of achievement. The comparisons for the general managers are based on their rate of progress in reaching the level of VP, in order to account for the highest level of achievement among the high achiever group. The comparisons that I make between these two groups and the conclusions that I draw will be based on three assumptions: 1. The rate of progress of a group of men who ultimately reached the levels of President or Chief Executive Officer in their careers is likely to be faster than that of the typical worker. 2. If it takes the black female managers more time to reach the same or a lower level of achievement than the general managers, we cannot conclude that the progress of the black female managers has been more rapid than that of the general managers. 3. If it takes the black female manager the same amount of time (or less) to reach the same or a lower level of achievement than the general managers, we can suggest that it is possible that the progress of the black female managers has been more rapid than the general managers unless other intervening factors can be identified.
Comparison between the General Managers and the Black Female High Achievers

Of the fifteen general managers that Kotter interviewed, four followed a similar work pattern as the high achiever group of working continuously at large manufacturing companies or large banks.

As regards education, the high achievers are a more highly educated group than the general managers. All of the high achievers have earned MBA degrees; fifty percent of the general managers have MBA degrees and the remaining fifty percent have either a BS or BA degree. As regards management function, all of the high achievers came up the ranks through functional areas that are not considered to be central to the business of the company (staff functions) while all of the general managers came up the ranks through functional areas that are central to the business of the company (core or line functions).

The average number of years that the general managers worked at their companies before reaching the level of Vice President was ten years. Given that functional line career ladders are typically longer than staff career ladders we would expect the high achievers to reach the level of Vice President or Department Head within roughly the same amount of time. However, this is not the case. Rather, the average number of years that the high achievers worked at their companies before reaching the level of Vice President or Department Head was fourteen years. As such, the progress of the high achievers is, at best, what one would expect and could possibly be considered slower than what one would expect given their education and functional area.
Comparison between the General Managers and the Black Female Rapid Achievers

The rapid achievers are also a more highly educated group than the general managers who work in comparable companies. Proportionately more of the rapid achievers have graduate degrees (67% MBAs; 11% MPA) than do the general managers (60% MBAs). As regards functional areas of management, the rapid achievers are more similar to the general managers than the high achievers were. All of the general managers work in line functions as compared to 67% of the rapid achievers. When we consider the average years that were taken by the two groups to reach the level of VP in the case of the general managers, and the levels of VP, Assistant Vice President (AVP), National Sales Account Manager by the rapid achievers, we find that the general managers took an average of nine years while the rapid achievers took an average of four years. Upon close examination we find that there are factors that may provide explanations for the rapid progress of this group of black female managers.

One third of the women in this group reached the level of VP within four years of starting their jobs in the banking or insurance industries. All noted that the rapid progress that they have achieved was spurred by affirmative action efforts that were initiated by their companies.

Another 33% percent of the rapid achievers work for companies that have very different products – consumer goods, computers, and pay television services. The common thread that links this group of rapid achievers is that they all work for
companies that have been experiencing rapid growth. In addition, the consumer goods' plant and the pay television company at which two of the rapid achievers work are both very young. They have only been in existence for about twelve years. Both of the rapid achievers started working for these companies within the first five years that they were opened. I believe that this rapid growth and the age of the companies were the impetus for the rate of progression experienced by these black female managers.

Kanter (1984) presented evidence that the career paths within high technology companies are radically different from those that typify older, established companies. The latter are characterized by well-defined internal labor markets which involve a process of vertical movement up a long career ladder within a specific functional area. The rapid growth of high technology companies creates such a demand for qualified personnel that the mobility of all employees is enhanced. While only one BFM in this group works for a high technology firm, I believe that the other two companies are characterized by the same phenomenon that Kanter has identified.

Finally, the last third of the rapid achievers includes a national retail sales manager in a consumer product manufacturing company, and two Vice Presidents who work in staff functions in a consumer product manufacturing company and an advertising company, respectively. The common link between these rapid achievers is that they each work for companies that are black owned and operated. I believe that this implies that the black owned companies, because of cultural factors or perhaps because of size, may have environments that are conducive to the upward
mobility of black women. This observation is consistent with my findings in Chapter Four regarding the comparisons between the status of middle and senior level managers.

Summary

I examined the mobility of sixteen black female managers who have attained the level of Vice President or Department Head at corporate headquarters, or who have made rapid progress within a short period of working for a company. In so doing I found that in all but three cases these achievements can be reasonably attributed to factors other than affirmative action efforts. Indeed, in 81% of the cases, the mobility of the women was associated with one of three factors: a) tenure - spending an average of fourteen years in service with a particular company, (or in one case, in a particular functional area with more than one company); b) relative age and growth rate of a company - working for a relatively young, rapidly growing company; or c) company ownership - working for a company that is black owned and operated. I believe this implies that, in a clear majority of the cases examined above, the circumstances were such that any qualified person, regardless of race or gender, would have, at the very least, experienced a similar mobility pattern.

Moreover, I would cautiously venture to say that the progress of the high achievers may have been slower than what we might expect, given their functional areas, years of service and educational attainment. I think the fact that the general managers in line functions reached the level of Vice President four years earlier than a group of more highly educated black
women who work in staff functions provides support for this assertion.

In addition, as regards the three rapid achievers who entered their companies during a time when the companies had strong affirmative action programs, they were, in my opinion, fast-track material. They came to these companies with strong educational backgrounds (MBA degrees from the University of Southern California, Harvard and Wharton), and two of them had previous work experience at Fortune 500 companies. In the absence of personnel data that is specific to their companies, I can only cautiously suggest that given their credentials, they might have experienced roughly the same rate of progression without assistance from an affirmative action program if had they been white males.

Limits to Mobility

I have considered the cases of those who have had rapid mobility or reached high levels in the companies for which they work. Now I will turn attention to those who have experienced limits to their mobility during the course of their careers. In so doing I will identify factors that contributed to these limits.

In a seminal study of workers in corporations, Kanter (1977) identified three structural factors that can limit an individual's mobility. These factors are: 1) the pyramid structure of corporations - that is as one gets closer to the top of a corporation, the number of available positions decreases; 2) movement into a dead end job, that is, a job that has a short career ladder; and 3) movement through the wrong route into a
job that normally has many opportunities such that the person in
the job lacks the necessary skills to take advantage of the
opportunities that exist.

When the careers of the BFMs are examined we find that
nearly one-half of the sample (44%) have hit "ceilings" during
the course of their careers. The limits to mobility experienced
by thirty-six percent of these women can be attributed to two of
the three structural factors that have been identified by Kanter.
The remaining 64% of the women experienced limits to their
mobility for reasons that I believe can be attributed to racism
and/or sexism. This first group will be referred to as staff
managers and the second group will be referred to as core
managers. The circumstances of these two groups will be examined
separately in the paragraphs below. Following this, I will
examine the characteristics of the women who have not reported
that they have experienced limits to their mobility. The purpose
of this examination is to look for patterns that may provide
insight about why some women tended to hit ceilings while others
have not.

Group One: Staff Managers

All of the women in this group work in staff positions. One
works in banking, another for a conglomerate and the others work
for manufacturing companies. The group includes two Vice
Presidents and the rest are titled as managers. All of the women
have masters' degrees (75% MBA; 25% MPA).

None hit ceilings because of the pyramid structure of the
corporations for which they work. Rather, their mobility was
limited either by ending up in a dead end job or by coming up the ranks through the wrong route. For example the situation of one woman highlights the wrong route dilemma. She is the Vice President of Personnel and Administration in a subsidiary of a Fortune 500 manufacturing company and has had seven bosses during her eight year tenure with the company. She noted that she was not considered for her bosses' job because she lacked a technical background. She followed a straight human resources/personnel path in her route up the corporate ladder and never worked in the technical areas of the company.

The situation of another woman highlights what may undoubtedly be a classic dead end job problem. She started her management track career in a diversified chemical manufacturing company and followed a generalist personnel track. Three years ago she became the manager of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) in the company for which she works and has held that position ever since then. She stated that given her background in personnel, a natural move for her would be to a position as a director of a division, or a VP of Human Resources. However, she feels that her EEO job has not given her "any points" and consequently believes that management will not give her director or VP responsibilities.

Group Two: Core Managers

All of the women in this group work in line functional areas. They are more broadly distributed among industries than their peers in group one. The types of companies in which they experienced limits to their mobility include: advertising, public accounting, banking, manufacturing (consumer goods), and
retailing. One of the women experienced limits to her mobility in a black owned and operated consumer goods company manufacturing company. The majority of the women have MBA degrees (57%), and another is completing the course work to become a certified public accountant. The remaining 29% of the women have BA degrees.

All of the women did the "right things". That is, they got on career tracks in areas that were central to the business of the company, i.e., sales or product marketing in consumer goods manufacturing companies; lending in banking. These are areas that are generally recognized as being the routes to the top of an organization. And they came up the ranks through their functional area without taking detours into dead end jobs or unrelated areas.

Yet they found themselves bumping into ceilings that were not inherent in the structure of the internal labor markets of the functional areas in which they worked. Rather, the ceilings were artificially created by individuals within corporations who had control over the distribution of work, promotions, and performance reviews of the women who worked for them. For example, one woman recalled a particularly painful experience in her career in which her manager deliberately erected barriers to her mobility:

"I was not prepared for the level of evil intent among the managers there. I knew the work would be difficult, but I did not expect the fact that I am black to be a barrier. Management was very reluctant to accept blacks at any level, it was a very hostile environment for black people... My manager would change deadlines on me, making it impossible for me to get assignments in on time. There was no recourse because..."
it was management's word against yours.

Her only recourse was to seek employment with another company, which she ultimately ended up doing.

Another woman who feels that she has currently reached a ceiling in her present job noted that the next step in her career progression would have been her boss' job. When it became known that her boss was being promoted and his job was opening up she applied for it but was passed over. The job was given to a white male whom she feels is less qualified than she:

It (the job) was between me and this other woman. We were both interested in the position. We both wrote separately to the manager of the office, but at the same time neither one of us was going to get the position because there was going to be too much in the way of politics involved, and neither one of us was close enough to the guy making the decision because they're not really that interested in being close to women on a professional basis. I know we both asked my boss "Well, if we're not going to get the job, why not?" And, he told me that "We really want someone that has more knowledge of administrative aspects of the office", which admittedly I didn't have. To me, it's something you can learn. I said "Well, are you going to hire someone who has those skills?" He said "Yes". They wound up hiring some white male who has no experience in this kind of lending. He has no experience in this group of the bank. He doesn't know the administrative paper work. He didn't know anything, except he's intelligent enough that he could learn the job. He's going to have to learn a whole lot more than I am. At least I know how to do the actual lending.

She is currently investigating the possibilities for employment in the high technology field.

**Implications of Constraints on the Mobility of the Core Managers**

It is possible that problems that the women in group two had were company specific. That is, it may just be that the individual companies for which they worked were hostile or unreceptive to women and black people. While I certainly do not
wish to downplay the possibility that there may be individual companies that are unreceptive to the upward mobility of black people and women, I hesitate to draw this conclusion for two reasons. First, the women in group two worked in seven different companies in five different industries. Second, all of the women in group two who experienced limits to their mobility on account of race or gender work in line functions.

The combination of the breadth of their industry and company distribution, and the fact that all work in core functional areas, implies that the problems they experience may not be solely company specific. Rather, I would suggest that these factors imply that there is resistance on the part of management toward the upward mobility of black women who work in functional areas that are central to the business of the company.

This assertion is consistent with the conflict/radical theories presented in Chapter Two. Core functional areas are areas from which future corporate executive officers are chosen. Core functional area positions and corporate executive officer positions are overwhelmingly held by white males. The conflict/radical theories postulate that white males strive to keep those who are not like them out of positions of status and power. The ascribed status of black females is the antithesis of that of white males. I believe that this theoretical framework and the reality of the incidents reported by the core managers support my earlier contention that the incidents are not solely company specific, but rather, may be function specific.

My assertion quite naturally begs the question, "Why is it
that all of the women in the sample who work in core functions did not report that they have experienced limits to their mobility?" I will address this question in the paragraphs that follow.

**Women Who Have Not Experienced Limits to Their Mobility**

**Core Managers**

When an overview is made of the women in the sample who did not report that they have experienced limits to their mobility, we find that out of a total of fourteen women, 43% work in core function positions. When their company distribution is considered we find that in all except two cases the women either work in companies that were experiencing rapid growth or (in one case) work for a company that has a strong affirmative action program. In short, with the two exceptions, these are the rapid achievers who were examined in the Mobility section of this chapter. It is possible that, if the rapid growth of the companies ceases or the affirmative action program is dismantled, these women may be faced with the same type of problems as their counterparts.

As regards the two women who do not work for companies that are experiencing such rapid growth or, in firms that (to my knowledge), do not have strong affirmative action programs, it is possible that they work in companies that are more receptive to the upward mobility of black females. Clearly, more detailed firm-specific information is needed to better assess the situations of these two women.

**Staff Managers**

The women in this group avoided the pitfalls of moving into a dead end job. Rather, they stayed on general personnel career
tracks. At the same time, all work in companies that are technically based (i.e. tele-communications, oil, auto, etc.), and all have come through a straight staff route. It is possible that they may ultimately experience limits to their mobility as they climb the corporate ladder because the lack a technical background. In short, they may encounter the "wrong route" mobility inhibitor that was identified earlier in this section. Longitudinal data on the careers of these women would be required in order to evaluate my hypothesis.

Summary

When the functional responsibilities of the women who have experienced limits to their mobility are examined, we find that those who encountered the typical barriers identified by Kanter tended to work in staff functions. In contrast, the women who experienced limits to their mobility for reasons that I (and they) believe can be attributed to race and gender issues tended to work in functional areas of management that were core to the business of the company.

Implications

There are at least three implications of the above observations. First, it appears that the informal structure of a company is at the very least as important as formal career pathing issues, particularly for women who work in core functional areas. Indeed, in the course of the interviews, almost without exception the managers raised a number of issues about the impact of the informal side of organizations on their professional (and personal) lives. The importance of informal
factors on the mobility of managerial workers has been widely discussed by a number of scholars (Work, 1984; Kanter, 1977; Van Maanen, 1979; Schein, 1983; Alvarez, 1978).

Second, it appears that women in staff functions may be better able than women in core functions to direct their careers along paths in which they are less likely to encounter barriers to their mobility.

Third, it appears that my earlier observation about the possibility that black owned and operated companies have an environment that is more conducive to the upward mobility of black women may need to be qualified. Instead, it is possible that this is more true for women who work in staff positions than in core function positions. I make this statement very cautiously because the sample only included one black woman who worked in a core function for a black owned company and who felt that she experienced limits to her mobility in the company.

Conclusion

In the beginning of this chapter, I set my goal as being an assessment of the contention that black females are a doubly-advantaged group. To evaluate this claim I examined the experiences of twenty-five black female managers who work in the private sector. In particular I focused on their family background, their upward mobility, and constraints on their mobility. I had three hypotheses in mind as I approached these issues.

First, given the occupational distribution of black people in this country I believed that it would be unlikely that the women in this study would have black female managers or family
members in management who could serve as role models. I contended that, contrary to sociological and psychological theories that emphasize the importance of these factors on women's non-traditional career choices, there must be other factors that influenced the career choices of the women in this sample.

Second, given my conclusion in Chapter Four that white and black women with comparable years of management experience, age and education did not appear to have the same opportunities for advancement, I posed an alternative hypotheses to the popular viewpoint that black women are being promoted more rapidly than better qualified white males solely because of affirmative action. Instead, I suggested that there were reasons unrelated to race or gender that could explain the progress of those in the sample who have experienced rapid mobility and reached high levels.

Third, given all that I learned about access and treatment discrimination against white female and black male managers, I believed that black female managers would: a) be subject to the same constraints on their mobility as any worker, regardless of race or gender, and b) be subject to constraints on their mobility because of their race and sex.

When I evaluated my hypotheses in light of the self-reported experiences of the twenty-five black female managers I found that each of my hypotheses receives some support from these admittedly narrow data.

First, the women did not have black female role models, nor did they have family members who worked in private sector
management position. In addition, they tended not to have a parent who worked in a professional or semi-professional occupation. Based on these findings, I suggested that the Civil Rights' Movement probably exerted a stronger influence on the non-traditional career choice of these women.

Second, I found that approximately one-half of the sample had achieved high levels in their companies or had made rapid progress. Within this group, in the overwhelming majority of cases their mobility could be explained by: a) length of service or b) rapid growth and age of company. This is not to say that affirmative action pressures may not have assisted these women. Rather, the point is that they experienced upward mobility under circumstances that any qualified person, regardless of race or gender, would have been likely to experience.

Third, in examining the cases of women who have experienced limits to their mobility I found that, overall, they experienced typical mobility inhibitors plus race and gender related mobility inhibitors. More important, I found that women who work in line functions tended to experience race and gender related mobility inhibitors while women who work in staff functions tended to experience only the typical mobility inhibitors.

Given all of the evidence, I believe that the assertion that black women are doubly-advantaged in the work place is more a statement of fiction than it is of fact.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION
Chapter Six:

Conclusion

I began this research with the central question: "Are black professional women a doubly-advantaged group in the workplace?" The notion that this group of women may be doubly-advantaged has been bantered about by the general public. And, at least one scholar developed a theory around this issue (Epstein, 1978). Simply stated she contended that, like a mathematical function, the two negative statuses of being black and being female cancel out each other and turn into a positive status. The result is that black professional women have an advantage over those who have only one of these two negative statuses. This theory sounded mathematically but not intuitively logical to me.

Once the question was posed, assessing its merits was no easy task. The difficulty arose primarily because of the fact that theoretical and empirical work on black women in professional occupations is, at best, sparse. Moreover, theoretical and empirical work on black women who work in professional male-dominated occupations is almost non-existent.

As a result I found myself with a two-fold task. First, I had to develop a primary data source on black female managers who work in a male-dominated professional occupation. I focussed my inquiry on managers because of the proliferation of secondary data on white male, white female and black male managers and my belief that in order to increase the number of black women who work in these higher paying, higher status jobs, we must have a better understanding of the experiences of those who hold these jobs. I conducted a survey and generated 185 responses from
black female managers, 156 of whom work in corporations in the private for-profit sector. I interviewed twenty-five women from this group who were, with one exception, senior or middle level managers, the majority of whom had MBA degrees. Second I had to compare my data to secondary data sources.

My first step in this inquiry was to focus on social science theories of occupational segregation. Despite the fact that the theories were not developed around black women I believed that was the best place to start for two reasons. Since the social sciences are concerned with the explanation of social phenomena I thought that the disciplines of psychology, sociology and economics would: a) shed light on the notion that I call the myth of a woman's place which implies that women are not well suited for managerial jobs; and b) I thought the theories might provide insight on the experiences of women who work in male-dominated occupations.

From this review I found that there is a theme that transcends discipline or paradigm boundaries. The theme is that women who enter male-dominated occupations are likely to experience external difficulties, such as resistance from co-workers, blocked opportunity structures, etc., and/or internal difficulties, such as fear of success, role conflicts, etc.

Having reviewed the theory, my next step was to review the existing empirical work. I relied on two data sources. To address the internal barrier issue I reviewed socio-psychological work on career aspirations of black and white women. To address managers specifically, I reviewed studies that compared black (almost invariably male) and white female managers.
As regards the internal barrier issue, I found that there was little evidence that black women experience fear of success or role conflicts. In reviewing the comparisons of managers I found that black men and white women are almost invariably subject to access and treatment discrimination. Moreover, I found that in the few cases where black men were not discriminated against, white women were; in the few cases where white women were not discriminated against, black men were.

My interpretation of this information is that black women in male-dominated occupations are more likely to encounter external barriers to their mobility than they are to encounter internal barriers to their mobility. Specifically, I believe that, contrary to popular belief, it is more likely that black professional women will be subject to the double burden of discrimination on account of their race and gender than that their dual status will give them a double-advantage. And, in cases where racial discrimination may take a back seat, the gender issue will be at the forefront. Similarly, in cases where gender discrimination may take a back seat, the racial issue will be at the forefront. The bottom line of this assessment is that it appears to me that it is unlikely that black women will escape racial or gender discrimination. Rather, it is likely that they will experience both forms of discrimination.

In Chapter Four I made four kinds of comparisons with my data set of 156 black female manager who are employed in the private sector corporations.

First, I profiled the total sample and compared the women
with each other by management level. I found that middle and
senior level managers have similar age and management experience
profiles, but that the middle level managers were on average a
more highly educated, but less well compensated group than the
senior level managers. Closer examination of the data revealed
that the proportion of senior level managers who work for black
owned companies was four times as large as that of the middle
level managers. I suggested that the environment of black owned
companies may be more conducive to the upward mobility of black
women managers than that of white owned companies.

Second, I compared the black female managers with surveys
of white male managers. It did not take long to realize that
there really was no basis for comparison between these two
groups. The surveys that I could find of white males only
focussed on senior level executives. These managers far out pace
black female managers in terms of their age, number of years in
management and earnings.

Third, I compared the black female managers with a group of
white female managers who are comparable in terms of age, number
of years of work experience and educational attainment. I found
that the black women were highly concentrated in manufacturing
companies while their white counterparts were highly
concentrated in the service industries. With the exception that
the black female managers were more highly concentrated in
personnel and underconcentrated in non-specific executive jobs
than the white female managers, the functional profiles of these
two groups were similar. However, the salaries of the white
female managers far exceeded those of the black females. I
concluded from this investigation that that highly educated white women appear to have a greater chance for upward mobility than highly educated black women.

Fourth, I added information from a survey of black male managers who were of comparable age and education to the third comparison. In so doing I found that a racial pattern emerged. Like their female counterparts, the black male managers were also highly concentrated in manufacturing companies and tended to work in the marketing/sales and personnel functional areas. Moreover, as regards salaries, they too were far exceeded by the white female managers.

The last comparison that I made was between the women in my sample who held the title of Vice President with the white female managers. I found that while the industrial and functional distribution of the black females shifted (to a heavier concentration in banking and finance) and they had a much higher level of educational attainment than their white counterparts, the wide divergence in salaries remained. This investigation generated several questions for future research:

Questions For Future Research

- Did corporations (especially manufacturing companies) create or reserve personnel jobs for black people while under affirmative action pressure to hire and promote qualified minorities?
- Do black people make informed choices when they take personnel jobs, or are they steered to those positions?
- What accounts for the higher mobility of black female
managers who work in black owned companies as compared to their counterparts in white owned companies? Is it a matter of culture or is size an intervening variable? Or, is it because we are looking at a slice in time and perhaps over time black women in white owned companies who may have access to longer career ladders (if size is an issue) may out-distance their counterparts in black owned companies?

Are there aspects in the dynamics of the workplace (formal and informal) that contribute to my observation that black women who have achieved a higher level of educational attainment than white females of comparable age and management experience do not experience a similar degree of mobility?

In the fifth chapter of this dissertation I took another cut at the double-advantage question by focusing on the issue of the mobility of black female managers. I began this investigation with three hypotheses.

First, I hypothesized that it was unlikely that black female managers would fit the sociological and psychological theoretical models that role models and family status are the major influences on their non-traditional career choice. Rather, given the occupational distribution of black people in this country, I believed that their career choice had to be influenced by other factors.

Second, I hypothesized that, contrary to the popular viewpoint that affirmative action programs are propelling black professional women more rapidly than other workers, close examination would provide explanations unrelated to gender and race for the mobility of the women in this study.
Third, based on the literature reviews in Chapters Two and Three I hypothesized that black women are vulnerable to at least three kinds of factors that can inhibit their mobility: a) company structural factors; b) racism and c) sexism.

Each of these hypotheses was supported by my interview data.

Hypothesis One – Evidence

First, I found that most of the women did not have parents who work in professional or semi-professional occupations and only two had family members who worked in management positions (both were small business owners). I suggested that the Civil Rights' Movement exerted a greater influence on the lives of these women than did family status or role models.

One of the implications of not having a family member in management is that the women were not exposed to business culture in the way that most white male and female managers are. Therefore the black women must spend time becoming generally acculturated to a business environment unlike many of their white counterparts.

Mentors could help ease this transition. Indeed, much has been written in recent years on the value of mentors. And, studies of successful white male and female managers report that the majority have strong mentors and sponsors who follow their careers, providing guidance and creating opportunities. Although the role of mentors was not discussed in the text, it should be noted that none of the women described mentor relationships that were similar to those that successful white managers have. Rather, all of the mentor relationships that were described by
the black female managers were short-term and informal.

Businesses that are truly interested in the upward mobility of qualified black female managers in particular and all qualified managers in general might consider developing mentor programs. Ortho-Diagnostics, a subsidiary of the Johnson and Johnson Products Company, initiated such a program for all new entry managers two years ago. Favorable evaluations of the program have been made by the mentors and those who have been mentored in the program. It would appear that while such programs could be particularly useful for black people all workers, regardless of race or gender, could undoubtedly benefit from such programs.

Hypothesis Two - Evidence

Approximately one-half of the sample has made rapid progress or has achieved the level of Vice President or Department Head at corporate headquarters.

Rapid mobility was associated with affirmative action programs in only three cases. I suggested that the qualifications of these three women were such that if they had been white males they might have been "fast-tracked" anyway.

In the rest of the cases, mobility could be explained by tenure--long length of service with a company or in a functional area, or by company size and growth--employment in a rapidly growing relatively young company. I suggested that under these circumstances anyone with similar qualifications, regardless of race or gender, should have similar mobility patterns.

Hypothesis Three -- Evidence

Approximately one-half of the sample experienced limits to
their mobility during the course of their careers. Within this group, a pattern was observed. Women who work in staff functions, functions that are typically viewed as being peripheral to the business of a company, tended to experience mobility inhibitors that anyone who works in corporations might encounter. In contrast, women who work in functional areas that are central to the business of a company tended to experience mobility inhibitors that were related to race or gender. I found this to be true for a woman who worked in a black owned company as well as for women who worked in white owned companies. I also found that women who worked in core functional areas who did not report that they have experienced limits to their mobility tended to work for companies that were experiencing rapid growth or had a strong affirmative action program.

**Implications of Chapter Five**

I cited at least four implications to these observations.

First, the experiences of the women who work in core functional areas were consistent with conflict/radical theories that were reviewed in Chapter Two. That is, women who enter male dominated occupations are likely to encounter resistance.

Second, women who work in core functional areas have little control over the inhibitors to their mobility. Their only recourse appears to have been to change jobs, which all ultimately ended up doing.

Third, it appears that women who want upward mobility in core functional areas have better opportunities in young, rapidly growing companies or those that have affirmative action programs.
than women who do not work for companies with these characteristics.

Fourth, women who work in staff functions need to carefully plan their careers to avoid getting detoured to dead end jobs. They should also try to get experience in the core area(s) of the business.

Fifth, the informal nature of corporations is at least as important as the formal structures. I have evidence from the interviews that this is indeed true and will pursue this issue in a later paper.

Summary

I found little evidence to support the contention that professional black women are doubly-advantaged in the workplace. In the absence of data on the co-workers and companies of the women who participated in this study I can only cautiously suggest that, rather than being doubly-advantaged, the black women managers who participated in this study are instead doubly-disadvantaged. I base my opinion on the following factors:

- They did not come from family backgrounds where a familiarity with business was the norm. Consequently they had to not only become acculturated to the business environment, in general, but also, they had to become acculturated to the environment of the companies for which they worked.

- They did not have corporate sponsors or mentors in the classic sense (long term, formal relationships).

- They experienced inhibitors to their mobility on account of race, gender, and structural factors.

- There is evidence that in black owned companies where one
would not expect racism to be an issue, sexism is an issue.

There is evidence that highly educated black female managers do not have the same opportunities for upward mobility as their white female counterparts.

Because this research was a first effort at systematically assessing the popular belief that black women are a doubly-advantaged group in professional occupations, it was necessarily exploratory. As such it raised more questions than it answered. It did, I believe, provide ample evidence that the issue of the double-advantage of black females is based more on fiction than on fact, and that further research is needed in this area.
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