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The Impact of Recruitment, Selection, Promotion and Compensation Policies and Practices on the Glass Ceiling

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The Impact of Recruitment, Selection, Promotion and Compensation Policies and Practices on the Glass Ceiling

Keywords

Key workplace documents, federal, ILR, Catherwood, recruitment, selection, promotion, compensation, glass ceiling, minorities, women, barrier, corporate, environment, policies, practices, programs

Disciplines

Human Resources Management

Comments

Glass Ceiling Report

FINAL

**THE IMPACT OF RECRUITMENT, SELECTION,
PROMOTION AND COMPENSATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES
ON THE
GLASS CEILING**

submitted
to

U.S. Department of Labor
Glass Ceiling Commission

prepared
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April 11, 1994

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The literature concerning policies and practices which impact recruitment, selection, promotion, and compensation - and subsequently the glass ceiling - has policy implications for both business/corporate organizations and government. As discussed in this monograph, certain business/corporate policies and procedures inherently operate to produce and/or maintain the effects of a glass ceiling in given organizations. These effects stem from formal organizational systems, (such as policies and practices of recruitment and selection, performance appraisal, promotion/succession planning, compensation, and turnover), to informal systems (such as mentoring and norms in organizations).

FORMAL SYSTEMS

Recruitment and Selection

Social Structural Dimension

- > Selective Recruitment - within "mainstream" or "traditional" social structural parameters, employers' typically direct recruitment efforts to predominately white labor pools and avoid recruitment sources that bring them a disproportionate number of racial/ethnic minorities and/or women.
- > Selective Personal Traits - mainstream or traditional personal and attitudinal traits of the candidate are as salient as educational training in the employer's selection process. Inherently problematic to this scenario is that what is considered mainstream or traditional is derived from a dominate culture which may or may not be mainstream for racial/ethnic minorities and/or women.
- > Selective External Information - not only do vast differences in the type of external information required of applicants vary by group, but, also the effort put forth in gathering external information.

Social Psychological Dimension

The traditional social psychological parameters of recruitment and selection foster bias interviewing and bias testing due to the absence of consideration for social and personal differences of candidates.

- > Bias Interviewing - individuals from differing social groups seem to lack common experiences and conversation patterns which typically ease interaction in interpersonal settings. Verbal and nonverbal cues are often absent and/or misread, thereby exacerbating misunderstanding. This situation tends to worsen with the interjection of class differences.
- > Bias Test - employment tests, in general, have been shown not only to be culturally biased, but weak indicators of job performance and successful employment.
 - * data show that employers who do not use testing extensively, tend to rely more heavily on selective recruitment and subjective impressions in the job interview. Although tests introduce bias, subjective means of screening may disadvantage minority and women applicants even more.

Performance Appraisal

- > Research indicates that when the rater and ratee are of the same race, the rater tends to assign higher ratings.
- > Although minority employees tend to receive lower overall ratings than white employees, individual rater bias is not the only causal factor. Race differences resulting in the structural differential treatment of minorities within organizations is also a factor.
 - * Treatment (or the lack of) experienced by minorities prompts fewer and less desirable opportunities to be held in high esteem.
 - * Opportunities such as sponsorship, job procedure discretion, supervisory support and overall acceptance affect subsequent performance.

- * Non-support excludes members from crucial informal networks which provide valuable resources to members in performing their job.
- > In contrast to race effects, same sex rater-ratee evaluations do not yield higher ratings. However, female raters tend to be more lenient than male rater.
- > Female ratees, as opposed to male ratees in the same job, are evaluated more positively in female-oriented job positions.
- * Long held traditional perceptions of sex roles, particularly job related sex roles, bias the evaluation ratings of women's job performance.
- > Women's performances in typically male-oriented job positions are often subject to being discounted severely; due to no other reasons than their sex. This phenomena is continually perpetuated because of few women in the upper-level environment and subsequent evaluation/decision-making process.

Promotion/Succession Planning

The presence of minorities and women in any type management position is low; and even lower to non-existent in upper-level management positions. Homosocial reproduction continues to surface and reinforce the stereotype that women and minorities are less qualified for management positions.

- > Racial minorities are more likely to be promoted in settings where they will supervise other racial minorities.
- > Minorities must display a higher level of qualifications in order to be considered for the same managerial positions.
- > Women have made substantial progress in organizational upward mobility, however, they still are faced with disadvantaged career progression.
- * Women and minorities' tendency to rely more on formal bidding for promotion deprives them of their "managerial momentum" - superior performance and greater ambition.

- * Due to the number of management candidates usually exceeding the supply of top-level managerial promotion opportunities, superior performance and greater ambition of women are frequently discounted as criterion for obtaining promotion.
 - * The increased success of men in gaining promotion is attributed to their greater use of informal networks.
- > The differences of firm type (private vs. public) indicate that public organizations are more sensitive to political and legal influences.
- * Higher rates of entrance into management positions by women and minorities are more likely in public organizations than private organizations.

Compensation

Although wages/income is only one component of compensation (profit-sharing, stock participation programs, retirement benefits, and vacation accumulation consisting of other forms of compensation), it represents the bulk of the literature concerning compensation differentials relative to race and gender.

- > The traditional approach to the examination of compensation differences in male-female earnings has been that of "human-capital" theory. This perspective argues that an individual's earnings are a function of his/her training and experience. In other words, "the only relevant productive attributes of individuals is their cognitive capabilities."
- * In recent years, this approach has yielded a considerable unexplained residual in earning differences. The residual is typically attributed to discrimination.
- > Neither human capital theory nor the declining discrimination hypothesis can account for the minority-nonminority wage gap.

- * Given the quantitative and qualitative achievements in minority formal education, the passage of antidiscrimination and affirmative action legislation, the movement of minorities into occupations characterized by lower turnover rates, and the reduction of the social acceptability of bigotry, it would be expected that discrimination has declined. Subsequently, the probabilities of minority employment and wage equality would converge. This has not occurred.
 - * Explanations of minority-nonminority employment and wage differential are more suitable in terms of the instability of the labor market since 1970. This market sustained employment discrimination. Therefore, findings concerning a decline in discrimination as well as policy recommendations focusing solely on the augmentation of minority human capital be viewed with skepticism.
- > The disproportionate responsibilities maintained by women outside the organization operate as a penalizing factor to their earning potential.
- * Relative to men, ongoing external constraints on females employees have an adverse affect on productivity and earnings. These constraints are inherent in the individual's commitment to the family (traditional thought to be primarily that of the women).
 - * The perception that women need autonomy and flexibility, more so than male employees, may prompt management to perceive women as having to prematurely curtail career advancements in favor of this commitment.

Turnover

Empirical evidence suggest that continuous employment is not the norm among young women, but it is a growing trend in the workplace. While employers may perceive women as more likely to quit than male employees, this assumption has not been confirmed.

- > In many instances young men and women, who are in the process of establishing their careers, do quit their jobs in order to advance or find a better "match" of employer/employee needs.
- > Also, younger cohorts of male and female employees do not show differences in quitting rates.
 - * Only one variable, the presence of a newborn child, is shown to have any impact on female turnover.
 - * This impact, however, is likely to be temporary and could be overcome by the provision of maternity/paternity leave and/or child care.
- > Women are more attached to the workplace than they were in the past.

INFORMAL SYSTEMS

Norms in Organizations

Informal systems, such as unwritten rules, norms of behavior, organizational politics, and accepted modes of operation have proven to be crucial in the incorporation of minority group members into the workforce. Based on cultural audits conducted by the American Institute for Managing Diversity, most employees feel that unwritten rules do exist and that adherence to such rules is of paramount importance to career advancement. These invisible barriers are rooted in traditions, attitudes, stereotypes, and perceptions. More specifically, norms of behavior characteristic of an individual's cultural background, but which may be different from the norms valued by the dominant corporate culture, are often barriers to selection and/or advancement.

Much of the literature on organizational diversity (norms in organizations) centers around ethnicity and gender although some attention has been given to age and functional diversity. There is much evidence that differences still do act as barriers to success within organizations.

- > Differences are a deficiency for employees.
 - * Issues of acculturation, corporate values, and organizational expectations are still challenges faced by employees who are different from the organizational norm.
 - * The existence of traditional stereotypes around women and minority employees prompt the interpretation of the same behaviors performed by whites as negatively different.
- > Employing several persons who share characteristics which are dissimilar to that of the dominant organizational culture, diminishes the effects of visibility, contrast, and stereotyping.
- > Individuals who are trained together are found to share more common experiences than individuals who are trained in segregated groups or alone.

Mentoring

Many believe that at least some of the problems related to glass ceilings are due to placement within organizations. That is, women, and minorities may not be "in the right place at the right time."

- > The lack of strategic placement for advancement seems to be strongly related to the lack of mentors or sponsors at higher levels within organizations.
 - * There is strong evidence that employees (the mentor as well as the mentee) benefit from mentoring relationships.
 - * Mentoring programs have been found to alleviate turnover problems, as well as low morale; with little to no extra funding.

- * Mentors act as a vehicle which provides information on organizational norms and/or career opportunities, delegate responsibility on key projects, and serve as liaisons between the employee and the upper-level.
- > Cultural audit data reveal that mentoring relationships are common within the workplace.
 - * However, the degree to which mentors are in positions to assist employees with career development may be contingent upon who the mentor is; the degree of access the mentor has to authority him/herself; and, whether the mentor is capable of sponsorship.
 - * Racial ties were more important than same gender relationships when examining the dynamics of mentoring.
 - * Cross-race as well as cross-gender mentoring relationships were found to be difficult to initiate and sometimes violate organizational norms.
- > Although mentoring/sponsorship is important throughout the career of minority employees, minority employees are frequently perceived as risky for the mentor/sponsor.
 - * Minority employees might even be required to prove themselves prior to the development of a mentor/sponsor relationship.
- > Despite the fact that women are often perceived as more nurturing than men, there are serious obstacles to female mentoring networks.
 - * The differences in career-orientation between younger and older female employees may be part of the problem.
 - * A strong mentor/protege relationship between two women is sometimes threatening to men within the organization.
 - * Female employees may not be able to initiate mentoring relationships due to the fact that there are fewer women at higher levels with whom to form relationships.
- > Cross-gender mentoring presents many problems for both mentor and protege, such as misconceptions about sexual advances, office gossip, and other stereotypes.

- > Female employees tend to prefer male managers, perhaps because male managers are seen as more powerful advocates for their subordinates.

CONCLUSIONS

Policy Implications

Considering the pitfalls of current policies and practices which seem to influence the production and maintenance of a glass ceiling, numerous policy implications surface at the organizational level.

- > Starting with the recruitment phase, organizations stand to benefit greater if the recruitment committee is representative (racially, culturally, and gender-wise) of larger society.
- > Selection decisions are more equitable when they are not the product of any particular individual.
 - * Selections should be committee decisions base on previously established criteria.
 - * These committees may serve themselves and the organization better if they consider a wider scope to advertise job positions.
- > There should be active recruitment on campuses and within other institutions where female and minority candidates are represented in the selection pool.
- > Organizations may consider a greater use of formalized internship programs, particularly for women and minorities.
- > In the interview and testing phase there is room for policy regarding the alleviation of biasness.
 - * Perhaps the use of outside consultation in this process may facilitate direct assessment of individuals' attributes.
- > The most salient problematic issue surrounding performance appraisal and promotion is the organization's reliance on informal decisionmaking networks, rather than formal processes.

- * Appraisal and promotion decisions are best derived at through inclusion of all formal committee members.
 - * Standards for evaluation and promotion need be written and clearly understood by all individuals involved (committee members and candidates) - from date of hire to present.
 - * To facilitate fairness in the personal dimensions of evaluation, managers and promotion committee members would best serve the organization if a previously established level of training has been successfully completed in the area of workforce diversity.
- > Turnover is actually a symptom of the process which creates and maintains the glass ceiling and a symptom of the glass ceiling itself.
- * Employers who wish to optimize the work potential of persons who face a scheduling dilemma might provide flexibility in work schedules, and at-home work when possible.
 - * In some instance the pressures associated with dual roles may be alleviated by support for family concerns such as provision of day-care, or broad family leave policies.
 - * An regularly scheduled open discussion of issues that are of concern to employees will provide employers some insight as to how employee turnover may be minimized and the needs of organizations and employees might best be met.
- > It is also important that employees are aware of the personnel policies of the organizations in which they work.
- * Written organizational goals for employee diversity that outline specific programs are far superior to word-of-mouth systems.
 - * Organizational leadership should outline in detail which programs will be in force to provide for recruitment, promotion, career planning, and mentoring for all employees.
- > The need for training was universally noted by respondents in the cultural audit data, as well as the subject of study for some of the literature.

- * Training that may specifically address the needs of specific groups, such as assertiveness training for female managers, might also be beneficial.
 - > Lateral moves to provide breath of experience for all employees may help dispel stereotypic roles for females or minorities.
 - > Formalized mentoring programs to assist employees with organizational norms and cultures may facilitate the integration of the nontraditional employee.
 - > Managers who are successful at developing the potential of the employees should be rewarded.
- * Evaluation of managers should include some aspect of employee career development, and managers and employees should be aware of this aspect of manager evaluation.
- > The efforts of various governmental agencies are more appropriate in encouraging and funding research to fill this need.
 - * The government may even act as a clearinghouse for research and information regarding the glass ceiling.
 - > Organizations that have diverse workforces would also be likely sources for funding research on employment diversity. These organizations have the most to gain from understanding diversity and its related dynamics.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although research on differences in gender is the most commonly addressed question in the literature noted here, continued research on gender differences is needed. In addition, the literature addresses racial differences mostly as white/black comparisons, ignoring other racial minorities.

- > Future research should include more racially diverse groups and make comparisons across more than one dimension.
- > More specific topics which would seem to demand further investigation include studies of diversity based on age of employees, task differentiation (functional diversity), and disability diversity.

- > In the area of compensation, forms other than wages/income (profit-sharing, stock acquisition, intangible benefits, etc.) need to be considered. That is the extent to which these other forms of compensation are available and accessible to minorities and women.
- > Research is devoted to managers or those who have "made it to the top," with little research available concerning the "sticky floor" that retains most women and minorities at the lower levels of responsibility and compensation.
 - * Research on those who fail to achieve higher levels of responsibility may be as informative, if not more so, as what is currently available on the glass ceiling.
- > Many studies noted herein have small samples, use college students as subjects, and/or are based on mail surveys. Case studies of single organizations are sometimes available but have little applicability to the workforce as a whole. In few instances are testable hypotheses or even propositions drawn from extant literature. Other published sources, not cited in this review, are simply the thoughts of individuals based on personal experiences. The quick availability of such literature may do more harm than good, as personal opinion may become accepted as fact.
- > Field research in this area of study is deficient.
 - * Field experimentation of testable hypotheses should be conducted in a variety of organizational settings, over time and across various dimensions of diversity.
 - * It is of paramount importance that applied field research be conducted on larger samples in work settings.
- > Research on the advantages that diverse employees bring to organizations is sorely needed.
 - * While there is some research on the presence of diversity in the workforce, there is little information available to managers that provides them with implications of how diversity may benefit their organizations.

INTRODUCTION

Representation of minorities and women in any type organizational management position is low (Auster 1988; Hartmann 1987; Davis and Watson 1982; Killingsworth and Reimers 1983; Zweigenhaft 1987); and even lower to non-existent in upper-level management positions (Dipboye 1987; Kesner 1988; Brenner, Tomkiewicz and Schein 1989). Various explanations surface as to why women and minorities are less likely to obtain and establish managerial careers: statistical discrimination (Phelps 1972); exclusion practices (Brass 1985); self-selection (McCarthy 1986); tokenism (Fairhurst and Snavely 1983); and differential socialization (Noe 1988). Homosocial reproduction, or the continuation of established social patterns (Kanter 1977), continues to surface and reinforce the stereotype that women and minorities are less qualified for management positions. The predominance of white males in managerial positions maintain the "traditional" or "ideal" characteristics considered to be essential to "good management." Subsequently, employers, other managers, and even many employees prefer to see white males holding managerial positions (Dubono 1985; Zweigenhaft 1987; Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein 1989; Powell and Butterfield 1989). Investigations in the differentiations of firm type (Cannings 1988; Lewis 1986) - private vs. public - indicate that public organizations are more sensitive to political and legal influences. Civil rights organizations, feminists organizations,

affirmative action laws and other equal opportunity efforts make up the bulk of such influences. Therefore, higher rates of entrance into management positions by women and minority are more likely in public organizations than private organizations.

There is also a widely held notion that women and minorities are not as likely as their white, male counterpart to consciously pursue managerial careers. There is no available research to support these claims. However, some research (Shenhav 1991; Bailyn 1987), indicates that women are just as likely as men to pursue management positions.

Initiatives, such as Affirmative Action, which were/are intended to open organizations to nontraditional employees, have been shown to have some impact on the numbers and percentages of women and racial minorities who are now part of the American workforce. The most obvious gains are those made by women. Currently women constitute half of the workforce with an increase of more than 40 percent in managerial positions from the 1970s to the 1990s (Morrison, White and Van Velsor 1992:5). Despite these optimistic statistics, being culturally different in an organization is still a barrier to promotion. The 'glass ceiling' or invisible barriers to upward mobility is seen as well as experienced by many who do not fit traditional roles. Persons who exhibit gender, racial, disability, age, organizational tenure, or position title differences may experience the glass ceiling. For example, at the highest levels of corporate power women are few, and women of color are indeed rare. Gender

differences are not the only variables subject to the effects of the glass ceiling. Some estimates note that fewer than 1 percent of the nations top managers are minority (Morrison, White, and Van Velsor 1992:6).

The idea of a glass ceiling refers to a supplementary constraint to the normal 'weeding' process by which individuals are selected for promotion and increased responsibility. Naturally there are fewer people at the uppermost levels of the organization and selection process at higher levels eliminates some employees. Thus the organization can be pictured as a pyramid, narrowing at the top, holding places for only the "most qualified" of employees. Individuals who are different are likely to face the same pressures of the inclining walls as everyone else, but they also must contend with other, sometimes competing, pressures: to conform; to retain their individuality; to socialize with those who share interests with them; and to deal with those who hold organizational power and who are culturally different from themselves. These are systemic pressures that apply only to specific groups within organizations, groups which are different in some respect from the organization as a whole.

Other scholars note that there is evidence that some individuals are systematically held down at the lowest levels of organizations. This represents a 'sticky floor' that retains people at low levels of pay and responsibility (Bureau of National Affairs 1992). The sticky floor holds individuals at

the lower levels of employment due to job stereotypes, cultural forces outside the organization (such as child or elderly care being the responsibility of women), or due to the lack of career or promotional training and opportunities.

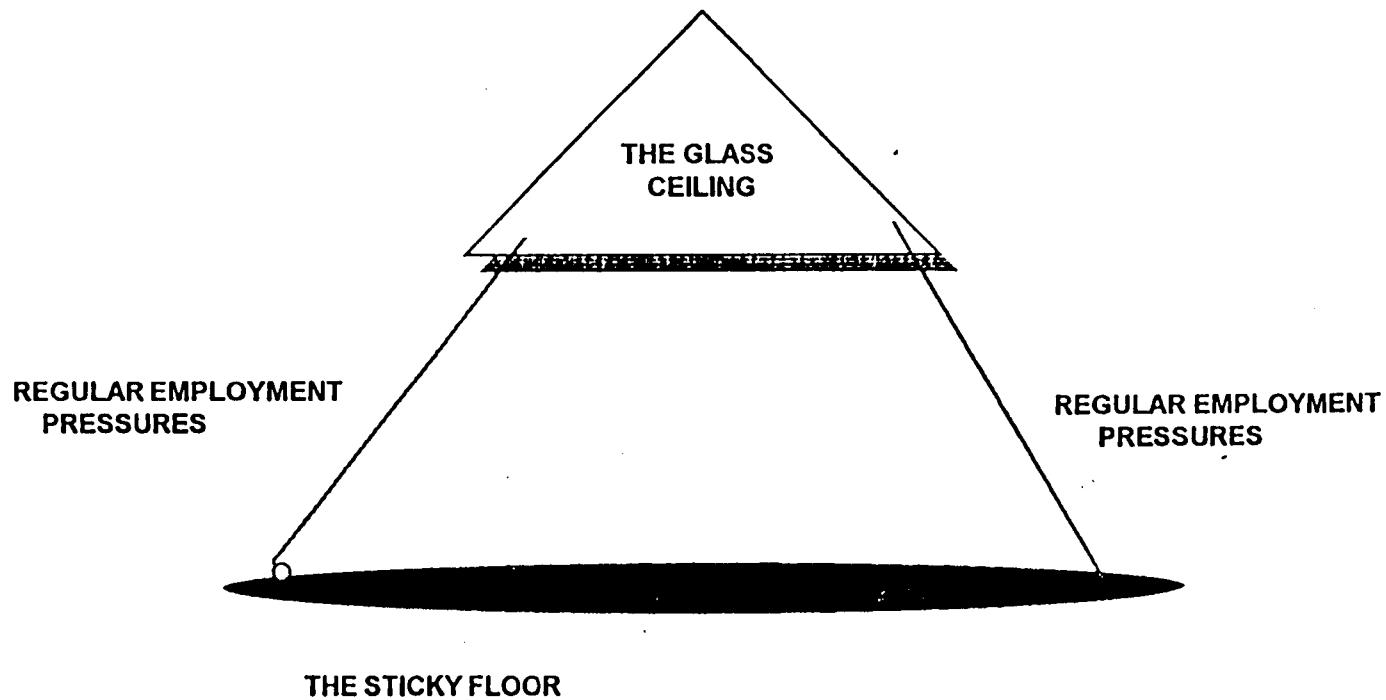
As Figure 1 illustrates, the glass ceiling works as a supplement to the sticky floor and the narrowing opportunities for employment at the top, systematically to disadvantage employees because they are nontraditional members of the workforce, or are seeking employment above those levels that have traditionally been reserved for them.

Exactly how much we know about this phenomenon is debatable. Anecdotal arguments can be found, but systematic analysis is limited. Literature on organizational diversity is available but tends toward a narrow set of hypotheses. In general, the literature that is synthesized in this report addresses race and gender differences. In most instances studies pertaining to race have examined black-white differences along employment dimensions. Studies examining diversity of age, function, physical ability, religion, or culture are notably absent. Indeed even the most popular topics for review are themselves limited.

Cox and Nkomo (1990) find that the number of articles dealing with race as a variable within organizational behavioral research has actually declined since the 1970s. These authors postulate reasons for the decline. Decisions on tenure, and dissertation topics are often reviewed by systems which may

FIGURE 1

THE GLASS CEILING



discount research in these areas. Journal editors may also feel that the scope of such research is too limited or even controversial, thereby blocking publication of such research and limiting its continuity and impact.

Most articles in the literature deal with diversity as a psychological concept, and psychology journals are most likely to publish such studies. However, even among published studies, the articles are merely comparisons of white-black performance ratings, test score differences and organizational behavior. Literature focuses on the higher pay levels within organizations, failing to address the needs or questions dealing with why people achieve or fail to achieve this level of success. Few articles test hypotheses or even postulate them. In short, even in the most researched areas of organizational diversity, literature is sparse and aging. Questions are limited. Topics are non-exploratory and repetitive. Quantitative analysis is rare.

This literature analysis describes the current status of research on the recruitment, selection, promotion, training, career development, performance appraisal, and organizational culture of diverse groups and individuals in the workforce. In addition to the literature, cultural audit results conducted by The American Institute for Managing Diversity (AIMD) at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia are integrated throughout the monograph. Since 1988, AIMD has conducted cultural audits in a number of organizations. For a more complete description of these organizations, see Appendix A. These organizational

culture audits assess the degree to which individual employees perceive that they are contributing members of the corporate environment in which they work. Since this is intended only as supplementary to the literature presented, comprehensive examinations of the audits are not provided in this monograph. Instead, data are presented that represent responses to questions asked of employees in a variety of settings. In some cases the type of organization (public, private, or nonprofit) is presented, while in others, race and gender categories are compared. These audits are used to provide empirical support for the literature. Telephone interviews with scholars who have contributed to the available literature on the glass ceiling provide insight and are incorporated into the literature analysis.

METHODOLOGY

This research is organized around specific organizational processes and phenomena: recruitment of new employees, selection of employees for hiring, performance appraisal of employees, promotion and succession planning within organizations, compensation practices, employee turnover, mentoring within organizations, organizational norms, group interaction and cohesion, and corporate culture toward diversity. In many cases articles that were reviewed cross-cut these topics and some authors have produced multiple publications on the same general

topic area. Readers will note that the same names appear in many sections of the monograph.

As the literature search progressed, specific questions developed that are addressed. They are:

- o What are the organizational policies and practices which either facilitate or inhibit the advancement of diverse groups to management and decision-making positions?
- o Under what conditions do specific groups advance or fail to advance?
- o Is there evidence that diversity is important in the advancement of employees to management and decisionmaking positions?
- o What are the research and policy implications of the literature analysis?

From these questions, an outline was drafted to guide the synthesis of the literature. This outline is provided in Appendix B.

In order to uncover as much extant literature as possible, computer assisted searches were made over a variety of databases using a variety of keywords. Once scholars were identified, searches based on the names of prominent researchers were also conducted. Databases used for this research include Sociofile, ABI INFORM, Lexis-Nexis, Psych Info, Infotrac, Trade and Industry, and Manage, as well as the computerized files of libraries at several colleges. Lengthy printouts from these

sources were culled to provide the literature that addresses pertinent questions. From this list, articles were copied and read and placed in an order corresponding to the outline.

As this synthesis is presented below, literature is explored around two major themes: Formal Systems which inhibit or facilitate the advancement of those who are different in an organization, and; Informal Systems which may also impact on the advancement and success of diverse groups within organization. The section on Formal Systems is subdivided to examine literature that deals with recruitment, selection, performance appraisal, promotion and succession planning, compensation practices and policies, and turnover. Informal systems literature is also subdivided, and its sections are focused on mentoring and sponsorship, norms and unwritten rules, group cohesion, and corporate culture. Findings from expert interviews are then examined, especially as they relate to the need for research in areas where scholars find it deficient, as well as implications for a research agenda based on the literature synthesis.

FORMAL SYSTEMS

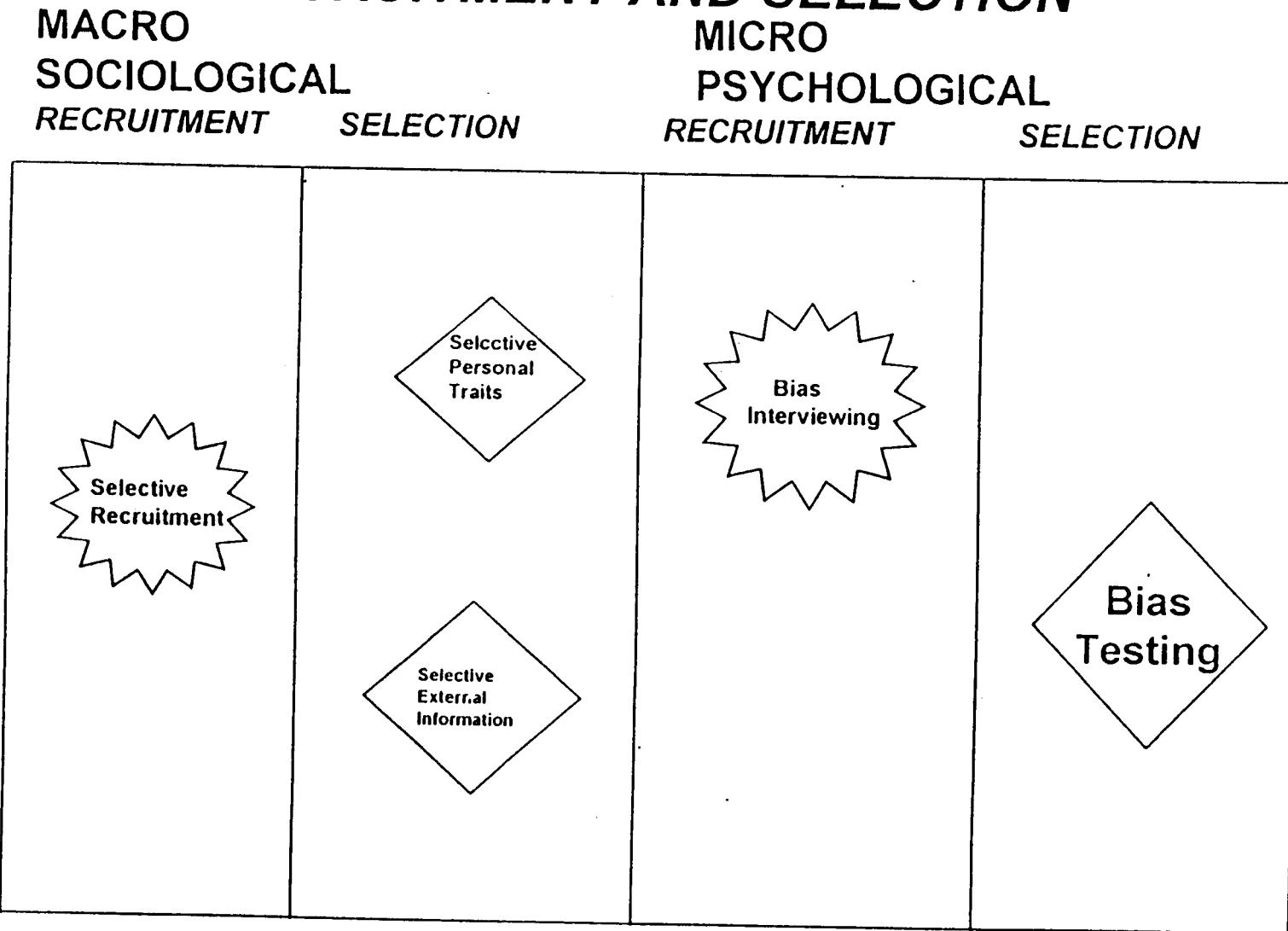
Formal systems are procedures that have been institutionalized in organizations to deal with employee relations. Such systems would include written regulations on recruitment, hiring, promotion, compensation, appraisal, and the like.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

The existing literature concerning recruitment and selection policies/practices within the U.S. labor market reflect analyses which operate on two levels - social structural (macro) and social psychological (micro); see Figure 2. Social structural recruitment and selection policies/practices characteristic of U.S. employers primarily consist of selective recruitment, selective personal traits, and selective external information. That is, recent investigations (Neckerman and Kirschenman 1991; Cross et al. 1990; Culp and Dunson 1986; Bielby and Baron 1980; Aigerner and Cain 1977; Phelps 1972; and Thurow 1975) indicate that employers typically direct recruitment efforts to predominately white labor pools (populations) and avoid recruitment sources that bring them a disproportionate number of racial/ethnic minorities and/or women. Specific personal traits, such as attitudinal traits, appear to be just as important as educational training in the hiring decisions of many employers (Braddock and McPartland 1987; Crain 1984; McPartland, Dawkins and Braddock 1986; and Rossi et al 1974). Finally, evidence (Bishop 1986; Hollenbeck 1984; McPartland, Braddock and Dawkins 1986; Friedman and Williams 1982; Tenopyr 1981; Berg 1981; and Kalleberg and Sorensen 1979) suggest vast differences in the types of external information required/used of varying applicant groups. Group characteristics influence not only the type of

FIGURE 2

DIMENSIONS OF LITERATURE ON RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION



information used in the hiring decision process, but, also the effort put forth in gathering desired information.

Social Structural Dimension

Selective Recruitment

An individual's chances of becoming a part of a given candidate pool followed by employment is surely greater if he/she is aware of job vacancies. According to Neckerman and Kirschenman (1991) the recruitment norm for employers seems to be a strategic selective search rather than the casting of a wide net. Employers explain their recruitment strategies in terms of practicality. Explanations range from the ease and low cost of using personal networks to the difficulty of screening the large numbers of applications yielded by media ads. In essence, employers justify selective recruitment with the argument that this is the most efficient way to zero in on "the best" candidates.

A recent national survey (Braddock and McPartland 1987) of employers (4078) reveals that the type of position strongly influences the recruitment method. Not advertising job openings in newspapers is one method of screening applicants. Recruiting applicants based on the quality or location of schools also allows employers a unique method of screening. State employment services are perceived by employers as disproportionately referring inappropriate, unqualified, minority candidates (Coverdill 1990). Therefore, these services are seldom utilized.

Informal recruitment methods, such as small social networks and employee referrals, are by far the most frequently used methods for all type positions. Employers are not likely to assume a great deal of expense for recruitment of lower-level positions. Therefore, the most inexpensive methods are typically reserved for lower-level positions. Other recruitment methods - placing ads in various media - are used less frequently especially when recruitment is for higher-level positions.

Although employers' recruitment methods vary much more for upper-level positions, the informal methods remain a major source for college-educated job candidates. Studies (Baker et al. 1984; Granovetter 1974, 1982; Mangum 1982) indicate that employers often spend time and money to seek candidates from placement services, media ads, professional organizations, and private employment services for upper-level positions.

Further support for this claim is suggested in a pilot study ("A Report On The Glass Ceiling Initiative," 1991) of nine Fortune 500 organizations; conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor with the intent of identifying systematic barriers to the career advancement of minorities and women. It is noted in the identification of attitudinal and organizational barriers that the progress of minorities and women is affected by more than qualifications and career choices. Internal monitoring and/or the planning for developmental programs and policies for equal access and opportunity, especially at the senior management levels, is almost never considered the responsibility of the

organization. In addition, recruitment practices primarily consisted of word-of-mouth and employee referral networking. Such practices promote the filling of vacancies almost exclusively from within. If the environment is already homogeneous, which many are, it maintains this same "home-grown" environment.

Executive search/referral firms are also utilized, particularly for upper level management positions. They seem to only add to the practice of exclusive consideration within non-diverse candidate pools. The majority of the search/referral firms not only failed in the acquisition of a diverse candidate pool, but in many instances were not even aware of the equal employment and affirmative action obligations under the law. This was evident in the fact that none had made any effort to reach out to agencies and/or professional organizations (i.e., National Black MBA Association, Hispanic MBAs, Who's Who Among American Women, etc.) rich in qualified minorities and women.

Informal referrals from current employees is still the most salient method of recruitment. Thus the use of informal social networks is the primary method which employers use to recruit outside individuals for job vacancies. The consequences of informal recruitment policies/practices have proven to be severe for minorities and women. Scientists (McCall 1972; Rossi, Berk and Eidson 1974; Becker 1980; Braddock, Crain and McPartland 1984; Lin 1982) have long argued that minorities and women are denied equal access to valuable informal sources of job

information. Minority and women job seekers typically hold primary ties to social networks composed of other minorities and women, who generally are not as well situated to know about employment opportunities as the members of social networks used by dominant group members. Consequently, an exclusionary barrier ("social network segregation") has been characteristic of the recruitment phase.

Selective Personal Traits

Employers have a mental, if not written, list of personal traits desired in a potential employee. The underlying consensus of this practice is two-fold: (1) to select individuals with similar demographic backgrounds, physical features, attitudes, values, and beliefs which creates a relatively homogeneous environment thereby reducing the level of team conflict (Jackson, et al 1991); and (2) to screen candidates' personality and potential behavior at the onset means that less effort is needed in training, socialization, or monitoring them once they are in the organization (Cohen and Pfeffer 1986). The assumptions that personal differences are associated with cognitive differences is widely accepted among employers (Dearborn and Simon 1958; Bass 1981; and Walsh 1988).

It is also noted (Braddock and McPartland 1987; Committee on Economic Development 1985; Hamilton and Roessner 1972) that ranking among the top are those traits associated with attitude. For instance, employers report dependability, punctuality,

positive attitude about work, self and authority, and the ability to work well with others as the most important attitudinal traits - especially when recruiting for lower to middle-level entry positions. On the other hand, attitudinal traits are top priority when seeking candidates for upper-level positions as well. However, other factors come into play. According to Walsh (1988) a high demand is placed on advanced levels of language, computation skills, specialized knowledge, the ability to learn quickly, and the ability to think on the spot in complex situations. Further, formal education, sound judgement and leadership qualities are highly valued.

On the surface these all seem like reasonable expectations of employers. However, Hartigan and Wigdor (1989) indicate that the average employer perceives various racial/ethnic groups and women as typically lacking in these priority job traits. Minorities and women candidates, even those with the same educational levels of their white counterpart, are considered to be a higher employment risk. The general consensus is that their attitude about work and previous training in specific skills leaves a lot to be desired.

According to Anrig (1987) the use of negative group images, rather than direct assessments of individuals, contributes to a crucial exclusionary barrier. This barrier can take effect whether the employers' perceptions are based on actual group differences or on entirely uninformed group stereotypes. When information about individual differences is absent, frequently

group identifiers such as sex and race are used to determine the chances of selecting the "best" employee. Usually the use of race and/or sex identifiers leads to the selection of a dominant group member.

Selective External Information

The level of the job position influences both the type of information used and the effort that employers may put forth in gathering information. Employers of middle and upper-level positions that require a college degree (or some college) also solicit specialized knowledge characteristic of specific disciplines. Screening information consist of the type and reputation of the applicants' college program, the applicants' grades, and recommendations from college officials. Even more important are references from previous employers (Hambrick 1981). Hambrick further notes that when selecting individuals for lower-level positions, employers rarely use detailed, in-depth, or specific information. The final screening process is often brief and superficial. Only two sources of information are highly valued and frequently used for lower-level positions: (1) impressions gained from the job application/resume or during the personal interview with the candidate, and (2) recommendations from previous employers. As mentioned earlier, both the employment application and the personal interview are extremely important in the selection process for lower-level positions.

Jolly, Reynolds and Slocum (1988) state that when outside information is used in the selection process, another exclusionary barrier potentially forms. This barrier occurs when employers select candidates by using specific information that minorities and women may not be able to provide with the same frequency or credibility. Women and minorities are concentrated in segregated institutions of society, thereby attaching a stigma to the information employers most frequently use to evaluate applicants.

Lorsch (1985) argues that minorities and women are especially disadvantaged when employers heavily weight a candidate's previous employment experiences or references from school officials. Due to the higher unemployment rates in minority communities, minorities are less able to list consistent work experience on job applications or describe previous significant jobs during the employment interview. Additionally, the lack of consideration of volunteer work frequently discounts the candidates' qualifications. This is particularly true for women who may have opted for nearby social and community involvement due to their assuming a greater proportion of family responsibilities.

In addition, information bias occurs when the recommendations/references provided by minority applicants carry less weight with employees than those provided by white candidates. Obviously, minorities and women receive their recommendations/references from officials of the segregated

institutions of which they are a part. These institutions may be viewed in a lesser light than more mainstream institutions. In other words, predominately white employers may be less familiar with a predominately black school, a black church, or a black firm that an individual may use for sponsorship of his/her candidacy. White employers may feel more suspect of information provided by minorities/women due to stigma or stereotypes attached to minority sources.

Companies that wish to improve their track record on hiring and recruiting minorities must provide education and training for managers and supervisors. Career development courses, networking programs and the like can open the door for more diverse members of the workforce. In addition, companies may wish to recruit more vigorously by targeting schools where minorities are more likely to be among potential candidates, or by hiring a minorities, women, or individuals with disabilities as recruiters. One promising tactic is to offer internships to students from such institutions in order for them to understand more fully the corporate culture they may be entering, and to allow other employees to interact with them prior to full-time employment (see Sadano and Baler 1983:33; Rendero 1980).

Social Psychological Dimension

The social psychological dimension of recruitment and selection emphasizes the prevalence of bias interviewing and bias testing within the interactive processes among individuals and

small groups of differing personal and social characteristics. Research (Neckerman and Kirschenman 1991) shows that prejudice and cultural misunderstandings create difficulties for minorities and women - especially those from lower income levels - who interview with predominately white employers. Although levels of classic racism and sexism have declined over the years, race and gender relations between strangers remain filled with fear, suspicion, and moral contempt (Blauner 1989; Anderson 1990). Individuals from differing social groups seem to lack common experiences and conversation patterns which typically ease interaction in interpersonal settings (Erickson 1975). In addition, verbal and nonverbal cues (Parsons and Liden 1984; Hollenbeck 1984) are often absent and/or misread, thereby exacerbating misunderstandings (Kochman 1983; Arvey 1979). This situation tends to worsen with the interjection of class differences.

Bias Interviewing

The interview is a crucial component of the hiring process. Virtually, all employers use some form of an interview before hiring. The primary intent is to assess the candidates personal qualities. Research (Arvey and Campion 1982; Parsons and Liden 1984; Turner, Austin, Fix and Struyk 1991) indicates that the essence of the typical interview centers around the candidates' past work experiences; indicators of dependability and willingness to work; and any possibility of falsification.

Employers often developed their own subjective "tests" of productivity and character. For example, attention is placed on how expressive or open a candidate appears. What is the candidate's personal philosophy about work - his/her work ethic? What is his/her view of life? Personal appearance is also very important. Sitting up straight, talking expressively, intelligently, and being articulate are positive traits. Also, many employers mention that when a candidate comes straight out with an answer ("you don't have to drag every word out of them") that this is perceived as a good sign.

This may all have particular significance for minority and women candidates. Martocchio and Whitener (1992) suggest that further complicating the interview is the employers' general distrust of candidates, particularly minority candidates. A common perception of employers is that candidates frequently lie about their work experience and job skills. This is mentioned more often by employers who interview a considerable number of minority candidates. Other research (Arvey 1979; Arvey and Faley 1988; Schmitt and Noe 1986; and Hartigan and Wigdor 1989) shows that employers complain about minority and women dressing in shabby or inappropriate clothing or showing up late to interviews. Employers recognize that there are definite cultural differences operating in these interviews. Nevertheless, they consider these differences not appropriate for the work environment.

From the literature, it is obvious that job interviews are biased in favor of individuals whose behavior and appearances reflect a conformity to society's dominant cultural norms. In other words, problematic interviewing goes well beyond interpersonal skills. The root of the problem lies in differing cultures, a lack of common understandings of "appropriate" interaction, and conversation style (Ford, Kraiger, and Schechtman 1986). Neckerman and Kirschenman (1991) contend that job candidates, as well as the employer, must be sensitive to verbal and nonverbal cues and to the hidden agenda of each question and response. Due to the likelihood of minorities and women being perceived in a negative light before they even get a chance to respond, they are likely to be at a disadvantage in the interview.

Bias Testing

Race and gender bias in hiring which results from employment testing have been longstanding concerns (Braddock and McPartland 1987; Cohen and Pfeffer 1986; Hamilton and Roessner 1972). Employment tests, in general, have been shown not only to be culturally biased, but weak indicators of job performance and successful employment (Burstein and Pitchford 1990). Research reveals that the correlation between test scores and job performance ratings is even lower for minorities and women than for non-minority male employees (Hartigan and Wigdor 1989). Nevertheless, employment testing has prevailed for decades as a

salient measure in the hiring process. On the other hand, data show that employers who do not use testing extensively, tend to rely more heavily on selective recruitment and subjective impressions in the job interview. Although tests introduce bias, subjective means of screening may disadvantage minority and women applicants even more - providing the candidate gets that far in the hiring process (Holzer 1987).

Many employers use formal skills and/or aptitude tests to screen candidates. Nathan and Alexander (1988) suggest that this stems from an overall distrust of the public school system and the quality of the available workforce. The use of skills testing is much more common among clerical employers. However, more than half of all white-collar employers use conventional tests. Blue-collar employers also administer tests to potential employees, but most often they are informal. In some cases candidates are asked to work for several trial days.

When employers have objective means of getting information about applicants, such as through various tests, it is expected that less weight is placed on subjective, biased hiring strategies. Evidence (Nathan and Alexander 1988; Hoffman, Nathan and Holden 1991; Vance, MacCallum, Coovert, and Hedge 1988; and Sackett, Zedeck, and Fogli 1988) shows that employers who use tests to screen job applicants, formally or informally, tend to employ a higher proportion of minorities and women than those employers who do not use tests. It is noted that these findings must be reported cautiously due to alternative explanations.

That is, it may be that these employers test for skills because they attract more minority and women applicants. Or, it may also be that their hiring criteria differ from those employers who do not use tests. Nevertheless, the numbers hold up under several examinations and analyses.

Training

Training is generally provided for new employees as they settle into their new work environment. Problems may occur in training when communication between trainers and trainees is characterized by contradiction to the norms of the organization or the cultural background of the trainee. Hentges, Yaney, and Shields (1990) propose approaches to multi-ethnic training sessions in which goals are to increase shared experiences and knowledge and unify values (42).

Training specific to the needs of individual employees or employee groups is also recommended. Studies on the self-awareness of managers with like career aspirations have found that women often have lower job satisfaction levels, and that women may benefit from assertiveness training in order to be more effective managers (see Berryman-Fink 1985: Goh 1991:702). There is general agreement in the literature that assertiveness is important for managerial success and that women tend to be less assertive than their male counterparts. The gender of the interviewer (manager) is also of importance.

In some instances responses to the AIMD cultural audits recommend human relations training for managers. It appears clear that the expected increased diversity of the workforce will require some accommodation by managers. It should be noted that training to understand ethnicity and diversity is not value driven. That is, it is not a goal in-and-of-itself, but is a component of good management of a diverse workforce.

PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL

Rater-Ratee Race Effects

The literature relative to the effects of race and gender on performance evaluation and promotion yields inconsistent findings. Some investigations (Kraiger and Ford 1985; Kraiger and Schechtman 1986 Campbell, Crooks, Mahoney, and Rock 1973) of the effects of the evaluators' race on performance appraisals reveal significant discrepancies. On the other hand, other studies (Schmidt and Johnson 1973) indicate no effects of rater-race on performance ratings. In a similar vein, ratee-race effects have been significant in some studies (Farr, O'Leary, and Bartlett 1971; Landy and Farr 1973) and insignificant in others (Fox and Lefkowitz 1974; Schmidt and Johnson 1973).

More recent investigations (Kraiger and Ford 1985; Pulakos, Oppler, White, and Borman 1989; Landy and Farr 1980; Schmitt and Lappin 1980), illustrate that the effects of rater-ratee race are significant, particularly within race. That is, when the rater

and ratee are of the same race, the rater tends to assign higher ratings. Several studies (Bass and Turner 1973; Casicio and Valenzi 1978; Pulakos et al. 1989; Waldman and Avolio 1991), however, emphasize that the significance in rater-ratee race effects on performance ratings is reduced when controls are imposed for age, tenure, and individual ability.

Ilgen and Youtz (1986) note that although black employees tend to receive lower overall ratings than white employees, rater bias may not be the only causal factor. Suggested are race differences in actual job performance resulting from differential treatment minorities experience within organizations. Treatment (or the lack there of) experienced by minorities prompts fewer and less desirable opportunities. It is argued that opportunities such as sponsorship, job procedure discretion, supervisory support and overall acceptance affect subsequent performance.

Greenhaus (1987), for example, describes that managers (typically minorities) who are assigned routine, nonchallenging, meaningless tasks are likely to experience a lack of supervisory support. Subsequently, performance feedback is based on these trivial tasks thereby hampering career aspirations over time. Further, Greenhaus points out that non-support excludes members from crucial informal networks which provide valuable resources to members in performing their jobs. Hackman and Oldham (1976) add that members with limited job discretion and autonomy have fewer opportunities to exhibit decision-making skills. The

absence of these type opportunities promote low levels of motivation which is reflected negatively in performance evaluations. Lead by previous research, Greenhaus, Parasuraman and Wormley (1990) offer the availability of sponsorship opportunities, the level of supervisory career support, feelings of organizational acceptance, the degree of perceived job discretion, and participation in formal strategical career planning as positive indicators of performance evaluation.

Rater-Ratee Gender Effects

Inconsistencies also exist in the research regarding gender effects on performance evaluations. Although rater gender does not seem to affect performance evaluations (Schmitt and Lappin 1980; Pulakos and Wexley 1983; Peters, O'Connor, Weekly, Pooyan, Frank, and Erenkrantz 1984), some studies (Bartol and Butterfield 1976; London and Poplawski 1976) have discovered that female raters tend to be more lenient than male raters. In contrast to race effects, same gender rater-ratee evaluations do not yield higher ratings (Bartol and Butterfield 1976; Mobley 1982; Pulakos and Wexley 1983; Izraeli and Izraeli 1985). Some research (Rosen and Jerdee 1973; Bartol and Butterfield 1976; Landy and Farr 1980) has indicated an interaction between sex of ratee and sex role perceptions (stereotypes) of the job position as influential to ratings. In other words, female ratees, as opposed to male ratees in the same job, are evaluated more positively in female-

oriented job positions. As well, male ratees are evaluated more positively in male-oriented job positions.

Research in the area of sex role perceptions, stereotyping, and performance evaluation (Sackett, Dubois, and Noe 1991; Heilman 1983; Kanter 1977) concludes that long held traditional perceptions of sex roles, particularly job related sex roles, bias the evaluation ratings of women's job performance. Women's performance in typically male-oriented job positions is often subject to being discounted severely; due to no other reason than their sex. Kanter (1977) contends that this phenomena is continually perpetuated because of few women in the evaluation environment and subsequent decision-making process. Kanter refers to environments with less than 15% minority membership as "skewed" and environments with 15%-35% minority membership as "tilted." Performance evaluations are more likely biased in skewed settings. The same bias occurs in tilted setting, but less so.

Promotion/Succession Planning

Race and Promotion

Findings (Mueller, Parcel and Tanaka 1989) indicate that racial minorities are more likely to be promoted in settings where they will supervise other racial minorities. Even then, minorities must display a higher level of qualifications (than their white counterpart) in order to be considered for the same

managerial positions. Other literature (Wright, Costello, Hachen, Sprague 1982; Fernandez 1981; Kerckhoff, Campbell and Trott 1982) noting differences between racial minority and white supervisors include findings that: 1) racial minorities have to demonstrate that they subscribe to attitudes and values which are presumed to be characteristic of management material in order to be considered for advancement; and, 2) for all racial groups, but particularly blacks, the awarding of responsibilities affecting decisions about hiring and firing, promotion, and compensation is subject to higher scrutiny than the awarding of more subordinates to supervise.

The lack of decisionmaking authority in financial matters and an assurance of a subscription to specific values and attitudes among minority managers is consistent with Kanter's (1977) analysis of "homosocial reproduction." This contention is threefold. First, it states that persons who hold power in organizations are more likely to promote others like themselves. Second, persons of the same social background will make similar decisions and provide continuity in management. Finally, these choices for management will diminish the possibilities of creating a threatening environment for current managers and/or supervisors.

Gender and Promotion

Coinciding with the inconsistencies present in the literature on race-gender/rater-ratee effects, empirical research

regarding the effects of gender on promotion is also non-conclusive. Some studies (Eberts and Stone 1985; Cannings 1988; Spurr 1990) suggest that there are significant gender effects on promotion, while others (Hartmann 1987; Lewis 1986) claim no significance. Studies that argue that there are little to no significant gender effects on promotion frequently point to the advancements women have made in the workforce. A safe conclusion is that women have made substantial progress in organizational upward mobility (Cetron, Luken, McFadden, and Weir 1987; Blau and Ferber 1987), however, they still are faced with disadvantaged career progression (Morrison and Von Glinow 1990). Stroh, Brett, and Reilly (1992) examine the career progression of male and female members of Fortune 500 corporations who have been tagged for management positions. After a two year period, the members are all considered to have equal qualifications - they all possess the "right stuff." Nevertheless, there are significant differences in career progression, particularly in salary and geographic mobility.

Cannings and Montmarquette's (1991) investigation of male-female career progression indicates that women's tendency to rely more on formal bidding for promotion deprives them of their "managerial momentum" - superior performance and greater ambition. Due to the number of management candidates usually exceeding the supply of top-level managerial promotion opportunities, superior performance and greater ambition are frequently discounted as criterion for obtaining promotion. The

increased success of men in gaining promotion is attributed to their greater use of informal networks. It is a less meritocratic means than formal bidding in acquiring the attention of superiors. However, it appears to enable men to offset deficits in formal performance evaluations which may frequently be lower than women's.

Snyder, Verderber, Langmeyer, and Myers (1992) emphasize negative self-referent and organization-referent attitudes (that is, salient negative attitudes which are associated with ones self, the organization, and/or both) as potentially the most serious barrier to women's upward mobility. Support is present for the claims that referent attitudes are positively related to promotion outcomes (Tharenou 1979; Shamir 1986; Brockner 1988; Tharenou and Harker 1982; Gist 1987; Romzek 1989). In essence, positive self-referent (such as perceptions of confidence and competence) and positive organization-referent (such as organizational commitment) attitudes are strongly related to upward mobility in organizations. When a women's perceptions of confidence and competence matches or exceeds that of their male counterpart, her mobility may still be restricted by an overriding noncompliance with organizational goals and values.

COMPENSATION PRACTICES/POLICIES

Although wages/income is only one component of compensation (profit-sharing, stock participation programs, retirement

benefits, and vacation accumulation consisting of other forms of compensation), it represents the bulk of the literature concerning compensation differentials relative to race and gender. This may reflect organizations/corporations reluctance to publicly reveal their financial arrangements. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the void in research pertaining to compensation is the absence of attention given to other forms (other than wages/income) of compensation.

Minority-Nonminority Earning Differences

The traditional approach (Becker 1962) to the examination of compensation differences in male-female earnings has been that of "human-capital" theory. This perspective argues that an individual's earnings are a function of his/her training and experience. In other words, "the only relevant productive attributes of individuals is their cognitive capabilities" (Cannings 1991). In recent years (Becker 1985), this approach has yielded a considerable unexplained residual in earning differences. The residual is typically attributed to discrimination (Butler 1982; Neumark 1987).

Shulman (1986) contends that neither human capital theory nor the declining discrimination hypothesis can account for the minority-nonminority wage gap. Given the quantitative and qualitative achievements in minority formal education, the passage of antidiscrimination and affirmative action legislation, the movement of minorities into occupations characterized by

lower turnover rates, and the reduction of the social acceptability of bigotry, it would be expected that discrimination has declined. Subsequently, the probabilities of minority employment and wage equality would converge. Shulman (1986) finds that this has not occurred. He explains minority-nonminority employment and wage differential in terms of the instability of the labor market since 1970. This market sustained employment discrimination. Therefore, Shulman concludes that findings concerning a decline in discrimination as well as policy recommendations focusing solely on the augmentation of minority human capital be viewed with skepticism. The inclusion of an unstable labor market over the past two decades must be integrated into any analysis.

Male-Female Earning Differences

An examination of gender differentials indicates that the disproportionate responsibilities maintained by women outside the organization (usually home) operates as a penalizing factor to their earning potential. Relative to men, ongoing external constraints on female employees have an adverse affect on productivity and earnings. These constraints are inherent to the individual's commitment to the family - that is, the division of labor of that family due to its particular situation (Greenhalgh 1980; Chapman 1987; Fox and Hesse-Biber 1984; Pleck 1981); whether children are a part of the family (Langer 1985; Olson and

Frieze 1987; Taylor 1986); and, whether it is a dual career family (Pare 1985; Markham 1987).

TURNOVER

Continuity in Female Employment

Although it is clear that the number of working women has risen in recent decades, it is not unanimously agreed upon as to the level of dedication to career of the female workforce. Many authors have expressed concern about the commitment female workers make to the workforce. Gallagher (1990) finds that women's need for autonomy and flexibility may prompt them to curtail career advancement in favor of other commitments. Gallagher's evidence is sketchy. However, her point is that businesses which wish to take advantage of the talents of women must meet the human needs of this highly educated but relatively untapped labor supply.

Light and Ureta (1990) note that the increase in female employment levels may be due to women entering the workforce for shorter periods of time. They also note that women who enter the workforce seeking continuous employment and who engage in career building should have career patterns that are similar to those of men. Their findings suggest that continuous employment is not the norm among young women but it is a growing trend within the female workforce. Gender wage gaps narrow when only continuously employed subjects are analyzed. Later research by these authors

(Light and Ureta 1992) indicates that while employers may perceive women as more likely to quit than male employees, this assumption is not well founded. In many instances young men and women, who are in the process of establishing their careers, do quit their jobs in order to advance or find a better "match" of employer/employee needs. Their results indicate that women are more attached to the workplace than they were in the past and that younger cohorts of male and female employees do not show differences in quitting rates. Only one variable, the presence of a newborn child, is shown to have any impact on female turnover. As the authors note, this impact is likely to be temporary and could be overcome by the provision of maternity leave and/or child care.

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics also addresses the rates of exit and re-entry into the workforce for men and women. Their findings (see Smith, 1984) conclude that women do have higher rates of exit and re-entry than men, and that men have, on average, longer work lives than women. However, statistics from this report indicate that activity levels for women are narrowing this gap, and that women are developing stronger ties to the job market.

Bureau of Labor Statistics data also indicate that white women are more likely than minority women to leave the job force in their early thirties. They show a correspondingly strong likelihood to return to work in the age range from thirty-nine to forty-four. This research also indicates that periods of work

inactivity for white males is often later in life, while inactive periods for minority males may be during prime work years.

Both genders show increasing propensity to reverse retirement decisions. Race is a more important factor for male workers than female workers, with minority males more likely to leave and less likely to re-enter the job force than their white counterparts. Worklife differentiation was less defined by racial differences for women.

Some scholars have expressed concern over commitment to the workforce among female employees. The disproportionate responsibilities maintained by women outside the organization can impact the degree to which female employees devote themselves to their work. This may, in turn, affect rates of turnover, compensation, and promotion. Women's perceived need for autonomy and flexibility may prompt them to curtail career advancements in favor of outside commitments to family. Rosen, Miguel and Peirce (1989) illustrate the findings of research on the extra-organizational demands on women. They find that women may 'bail out' of successful careers due to these external stressors which include difficulties with child care arrangements, short or non-existent maternity leave policies, lack of flexibility in working hours and other family responsibilities. It is of great importance however to note that women responding to surveys cited in this research listed these complicating factors as secondary to institutionalized biases, such as lack of promotion, few female role models, limited access to challenging and rewarding

task assignments, and other problems noted in other sections of this monograph. Thus it is clear that women may note that external stressors are salient in their decisions to leave the workforce (either temporarily or permanently) but these factors are not the sole determinants of their decisions.

These studies do not indicate that women are becoming nonquitters, but instead noted that men and women quit jobs in order to attain the same goals: career advancement in durable employment relationships where there is a satisfactory match of skill and demand. Taken with the idea that employers avail themselves of a strong work force, these findings indicate that businesses have much to gain by the elimination of the gender turnover bias.

The idea of turnover bias, that is, that women are more likely to quit than are men, is problematic at several career stages. It may serve as an impediment to the hiring, training, and promotion of women. This, like other outdated stereotypes, must be addressed at the organizational level.

INFORMAL SYSTEMS

Although changes have been made in some organizations regarding the formal processes by which employees are hired, trained, and selected for promotion, many subtle modes of maintaining the status quo persist. Adherence to law and changes in formal policies that may discriminate are necessary but not

sufficient steps toward the elimination of the glass ceiling. Unwritten rules, norms of behavior, organizational politics and accepted modes of operation may work against the incorporation of groups into the workforce. In order to address these more subtle barriers to diversity within the workplace, organizations need to take proactive steps. In the sections that follow, evidence of such barriers is presented as well as tactics that have been successfully utilized to break down such barriers.

Evidence of Informal Barriers

Cultural audit data (see Appendix A for a summary of companies included in the audits) indicate that most employees feel that unwritten rules do exist and that adherence to such rules is of paramount importance to career advancement. Traditions, attitudes, stereotypes, and perceptions are some of these invisible barriers. Norms of behavior based on cultural background that are different from the norms valued by the dominant corporate culture may also provide barriers that are not addressed in corporate literature and standard practices.

Cultural audit data reflect these ideas. When asked whether unwritten rules do exist, 68 percent of all respondents indicated that they perceived unwritten rules. This finding was consistent across race and gender groups (see Table 1). Unwritten rules were identified by these respondents as adhering to corporate dress, willingness and availability to stay overtime, participation in office politics, social interaction with

TABLE 1
CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
ARE THERE UNWRITTEN RULES?

RESPONSES	RACE AND GENDER CATEGORY					TOTALS	PERCENT
	WHITE MALES	WHITE FEMALES	MINORITY MALES	MINORITY FEMALES			
YES	592 69.3%	269 68.8%	148 66.0%	85 61.2%		1094 68.0%	
NO	195 22.8%	94 24.0%	55 24.6%	37 26.6%		381 23.7%	
DO NOT KNOW	67 7.8%	28 7.2%	21 9.4%	17 12.2%		133 8.3%	
TOTAL CASES	854 53.1%	391 24.3%	224 13.9%	139 8.6%		1608 100.0%	

NO TWO GROUPS ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT AT THE .05 LEVEL.

colleagues and 'keeping your mouth shut.' Moreover, when asked how useful unwritten rules were in understanding the corporate environment, 41.2 percent of respondents indicated that they were very useful and 22.6 percent indicated that they were mostly useful (see Table 2). As was noted earlier in the section on performance appraisal, employees often find informal feedback more important than formal performance appraisals.

Thus it appears that informal barriers do exist and may be more crucial for career development than formal barriers. As is noted in the sections following, barriers to informal feedback, and other informal decisionmaking processes may exclude people who violate corporate norms. Such exclusion may provide additional barriers to career development.

Norms in Organizations

Much has been made of the consequences of being different in an organizational setting. Much of the literature on organizational diversity centers around ethnicity and gender although some attention has been given to age and functional diversity. Scholars have noted that increasing diversity has caused conflict in finding a standard workforce role model (Fine, Johnson and Ryan 1987). Stereotypes of successful members of the organization have traditionally found differences to be deficiencies for employees (Fant 1982; Segal 1962; Kanter 1977; Washington 1987; Fine, Fern and Ryan 1990) as well as for organizations (Sadano and Baler 1983:30). Later studies focused

TABLE 2
CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
HOW USEFUL ARE UNWRITTEN RULES?

RESPONSES	RACE AND GENDER CATEGORY					TOTALS PERCENT
	WHITE MALES	WHITE FEMALES	MINORITY MALES	MINORITY FEMALES		
NOT USEFUL	20 4.7%	16 9.2%	5 5.1%	8 11.6%		49 6.4%
BARELY USEFUL	27 6.4%	8 4.6%	9 9.1%	3 4.3%		47 6.2%
SOMEWHAT USEFUL	114 27.0%	20 11.5%	24 24.2%	22 31.9%		180 23.6%
MOSTLY USEFUL	104 24.6%	40 23.0%	19 19.1%	10 14.5%		173 22.6%
VERY USEFUL	157 37.2%	90 51.7%	42 42.4%	26 37.7%		315 41.2%
TOTAL CASES	422 55.2%	174 22.8%	99 13.0%	69 9.0%		764 100.0%

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN RACE AND GENDER CATEGORIES ARE STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT AT THE .05 LEVEL.

on differences as advantageous for the organization and innovation within organizations (Baird and Bradley 1979; Foeman and Pressley 1987). More recently, scholars call for a move away from the ideas toward differences as merely differences and calls upon managers to use these differences to produce a better workforce as well as a better place in which to work (Fine, Johnson and Ryan 1990).

However, there is much evidence in the literature that differences still do act as barriers to success within organizations. Washington (1987) finds that issues of acculturation, corporate values, and organizational expectations are still challenges faced by employees who are different from organizational stereotypes. Indeed the same behaviors performed by white and minority employees may be interpreted differently by managers. Literature in anthropology (see Okamura 1981) is helpful in determining why this is so. Being different offers role constraints in which actors may feel that certain behaviors are outside the range of what is acceptable for him/her. In some cases this is a highly salient factor limiting behavior, while in some instances the role of being different is less keenly felt. In any case, the behavior of someone who is different in an organization is open to interpretation by other organizational members who may interpret behaviors as different, regardless of whether they actually are, simply because actors are different.

Persons who are different, especially persons who are one-of-a-kind in an organization face three issues: visibility,

contrast and stereotyping (Sodano and Baler 1983). Being highly visible may draw attention to the employee when he/she makes errors, causing him/her to behave more cautiously and be more self-conscious than others in order to avoid such attention. Such cautious behavior may not reflect a person's highest potential. Since those who are different in organizations often have weaker or no support systems (as is noted in more detail in the mentoring sections that follow) maintenance behavior becomes more important, since negative attention will have more serious drawbacks without such support.

Co-workers as well as managers may scrutinize the employee who is different more than others who conform. High visibility for a person who represents the first of a type of employee, such as the first woman or first black, may feel pressure to perform well in order to make way for others (Morrison, White, and Van Velsor 1992; Sodano and Baler 1982; Sarason 1973).

Contrast is also important for those who are different. A dominant organizational culture may actually develop more strongly to distance itself from diversity. Thus, people who are different are isolated, not only by their differences, but by the accentuation of those differences by members of the majority. Radin (1980) found that people who feel this contrast may attempt to rejoin the majority on the fringes, as might be the case when a female attempts to become a "good old boy".

Finally, stereotyping is problematic for those who are different. Women who are expected to serve in traditional roles,

who are addressed differently from men, or mistaken for executive wives, and minorities who are assumed to be lower level employees are examples of such stereotypes. Individuals find themselves locked into these stereotypes resulting in overcompensation, reduction of self-esteem and difficulty in rapport with the dominate corporate culture (Sadano and Baler 1983).

In a cognitive sense, being different is also a barrier to acculturation within society (Okamura 1981:454) or within an organization (Washington 1987). Limited knowledge of corporate complexities, limitations on the breadth of education experience, and in some instances differing religious beliefs, and language, while not "inferior" may cause problems in an organizational context. Actors may lack understanding of corporate signs or norms, as well as the meaning that may be ascribed to these norms.

There is some evidence that employing several persons who share characteristics which are dissimilar to that of the dominant corporate culture, diminishes the effects of visibility, contrast, and stereotyping. Moreover, individuals who are trained together are found to share more common experiences than individuals who are trained in segregated groups or alone. Thus one remedy to the problems of isolationism might be to hire several persons who share characteristics and train them in groups. An alternative approach provides experiences within which persons of differing backgrounds can interact, such as training programs, in order to establish a common experience (See

Sadano and Baler 1983:29-30). People are more likely to be accepted if they are not viewed as tokens, but are instead perceived to be active members of a group within the organization. In theory, problems of self-esteem would be minimized under this ideal.

As indicated earlier, studies show that female employees prefer formal regulations to informal decisionmaking. During critical situations in which decisions are made more informally, women have a higher tendency to be left out of discussions (Doll et al 1982; Henning and Jardim 1976; Radin 1980). Thus differences have worked within organizations to maintain the status quo on diversity.

Obviously the organization seeking to maximize contributions from female employees in times of crises could maximize these contributions by adhering to formal procedures which include female employees in discussions and decision making.

One such program that may be institutionalized into a formal system is mentoring. While the evidence below indicates that mentoring often occurs informally, there are differences between informal mentoring networks based on race and gender.

Mentoring

Many believe that at least some of the problems related to glass ceilings are due to placement within organizations. That is, women, and minorities may not be "in the right place at the right time." If this is in fact true, then the logical next

question is "Why not?" The lack of strategic placement for advancement may be related to the lack of mentors at a higher level within organizations, especially in early career stages. There is strong evidence that employees benefit from mentoring relationships with more senior colleagues and/or managers (Thomas 1990:479; see also Gabaro 1987; Thomas and Kram 1987; Blackwell 1989; Collins 1983). Some scholars emphasize that sponsorship or mentoring is one way that organizations separate those who will be considered for upward mobility from those who will not (see especially Turner 1965). Mentors provide information on organizational norms or career opportunities, delegate responsibility on key projects, and serve as liaisons with employees and the levels above. Mentors may also develop the potential within employees that they take under their wings. Howard and Munch (1991:13) outline the benefits for the employee as well as the mentor noting that mentors benefit from the relationship by developing their listening and managerial skills, while employees are likely to be able to set more realistic career paths, and highlight their skills. Mentors provide encouragement, feedback, and information concerning office politics to their proteges (Kalbfleisch and Davies 1991). Sponsorship, while akin to mentoring as defined above may be thought of as a more formal process within organization. For example sponsors might indicate which employees would be most appropriate for increased responsibility or promotion. The assumption therefore is that sponsors themselves have more access

to organizational power than other mentors who might be at the same level of authority as the person being mentored (see Thomas 1990:480; Turner 1965).

Cultural audit data reveal that approximately half of all respondents indicate that they have mentors at work (see Table 3). However, the degree to which these mentors are in positions to assist employees with career development issues may be contingent upon who the mentor is, what access the mentor has to authority him/herself, and whether the mentor is capable of sponsorship.

Thomas' (1990) study of a public utility company found some patterns of mentoring and protege selection by mentors based on race and gender. His findings indicate that cross-race mentoring does occur, in that black employees are often mentored by white males. However he also noted that there were high numbers of minority employees who sought mentoring relationships with persons of their own race. This suggests that employees derive different benefits from the two types of mentoring relationships. In one case, employees mentored by white males seek out these relationships in response to organizational culture. This is supported by the fact that these relationships were often with managers and within the employees specialty field. On the other hand, same-race mentoring relationships were more likely to be cross-departmental, or with peers. Thus, the cross-race relationships were clearly more career focused while the same-race relationships were more social. If theory holds, white

TABLE 3

**CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
DO YOU HAVE A MENTOR?**

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE	PRIVATE				PUBLIC				NON PROFIT			
	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female
YES	310 (47.9)	156 (51.6)	126 (50.4)	62 (46.4)	293 (44)	157 (44)	81 (42)	57 (44)	7 (50)	18 (45)	4 (28.5)	16 (51.6)
NO	336 (52.0)	146 (48.3)	124 (49.5)	71 (53.3)	362 (55)	193 (55)	108 (57)	70 (55)	7 (50)	22 (55)	10 (71.2)	15 (48.3)
TOTAL	646	302	250	133	655	350	189	129	14	40	14	31

managers and black proteges are less comfortable with each other than white managers and white proteges. The problem that these results imply for minority, and perhaps women employees, is that whites in positions of power within organizations may feel less comfortable working with minorities and therefore select whites for important and responsible tasks.

Kalbfleisch and Davies (1991) found that racial ties were more important than same gender relationships when examining mentoring among black professionals. Despite the low number of subjects in this analysis, their finding are of some note. Cross-race as well as cross-gender mentoring relationships are difficult to initiate and violate organizational norms.

Other scholars have noted that minority employees may be perceived as risky for the sponsor/mentor. Alvarez (1979) suggested that minority employees might be required to prove themselves prior to a sponsor/mentor relationship would develop. Thomas (1990) did not find support for this conclusion in the one organization on which he focused, but earlier studies (Davis and Watson 1982; Dickens and Dickens 1982) did find that sponsorship and mentoring was important for a greater share of the career of minority employees, even after their careers were more firmly established.

Despite the fact that women are often seen as more nurturing than men, studies (Parker and Kram 1993; Ragins and Cotton 1991) have found that there are serious obstacles to female mentoring networks. Scholars note that the differences in career-

orientation between younger and older female employees may be part of the problem. In addition, a strong mentor/protege relationship between two women may be opposed by men within organizations. Male employees may see such a relationship as threatening to their own power base. In such an instance there may be an organizational climate that discourages women from initiating cross-hierarchical relationships (Parker and Kram 1993:47).

Other studies note that female employees may not be able to initiate mentoring relationships due to the fact that there are fewer women at higher levels with whom to form relationships (Brown 1986; Couric 1987). Cross-gender mentoring presents many problems for both mentor and protege, such as misconceptions about sexual advances, office gossip, and other stereotypes (see Ragins and Cotton 1991:940).

Goh (1991) finds that women who are supervised by men are less satisfied than their male counterparts and are less likely to be mentored. Female managers tend to be perceived by their employees as more emotional (and that perception reinforces stereotypes, see Devanna 1987). On the other hand female employees tend to prefer male managers, perhaps because male managers are seen as more powerful advocates for their subordinates (see Goh 1991:703; Liden 1985).

Male employees are also more likely to form mentoring relationships in informal ways, such as through sports activities or out-of-work socialization from which women are isolated.

Ragins and Cotton (1991) provide empirical evidence that men face fewer barriers to mentoring, and are more likely to have experience in mentoring relationships that makes new relationships easier. Their evidence also indicates that employees who have longer tenure and higher levels of responsibility within the organization are more likely to have mentoring relationships. This further indicates that female and minority employees, who are most likely to hold lower level positions, are less likely to be mentored.

Steps may be taken to change the corporate environment to facilitate these relationships. These may include a discussion among female employees at different hierarchical levels concerning goals, and career choices, the initiation of multiple mentoring relationships, rewarding managers for the development of junior employees, education of managers as to the needs of employees, and programs to increase self-awareness.

These studies indicate that sponsorship/mentoring may be more important for minorities and women than for white males and yet less available to them. Moreover, the relationships that do exist may be more for social and psychological rewards rather than for career benefit. Other studies examine exactly how mentoring relationships affect career outcomes.

Mentoring programs were found to alleviate turnover problems, as well as low morale. After a mentoring program was adopted within a subunit of the Department of Defense, Howard and

Munch (1991:14) found that the program operated with little to no extra funding, and contributed to the quality of leadership. In some cases, formal mentoring programs have proven less than successful (see Morrison and Von Glinow 1990:205) and training in how to be a mentor has been more beneficial. All employees would benefit from such training as it promotes awareness of the barriers that exist within organizations while allowing managers and employees to seek out those persons with whom they are comfortable.

The desire to work in an environment and with colleagues with whom you are comfortable is hardly a startling concept. Social interactions are often the basis for business decisions and social patterns indicate that people tend toward those with similar traits as their own. In the workplace, there are productive, financial, as well as social consequences for such patterns.

Group Interactions and the Glass Ceiling

As an organization itself is a microcosm of society, so is a workgroup within an organization a microcosm. The interactions of groups members may be thought of in a variety of ways: as a "melting pot," where a new culture is derived from the incorporation of two or more distinct cultures ($A+B=C$); as a cooptation of new groups into an existing framework, ($A+B=A$); or as a blending of groups without the loss of identity of any or either group ($A+B=AB$). These patterns are complicated by the

dominance of one group or identity over others, and may contribute to the degree to which members of a group are permitted to take part in decisionmaking, and/or gain or retain control of the group's attention. Workgroups, perhaps best defined as two or more interdependent persons who relate to a larger organization collectively and who are given responsibility for a task (Hackman 1990:45), have become more popular in the American workforce in recent years (Jackson 1992:142-3). Clearly the ability of minority and female employees, as well as employees who differ on other dimensions to work within groups is of paramount importance to their acceptance within the organization as a whole, their ability to be recognized for their accomplishments, and their ability to develop successful careers. As is noted throughout this literature analysis, acceptance within groups runs counter to the ideas of homosocial behavior (Kanter 1975). Such behavior has been linked to the decision by managers to hire persons of like social attributes. It can therefore be reasoned that similar decisionmaking patterns would play into the decisions of group members to accept diversity within the group.

Despite this potential reluctance to work in socially diverse groups, there is ample evidence that diverse work groups are productive. Wood (1987) found that mixed gender groups were more productive than were single-gender groups, and Magjuka and Baldwin (1991) have shown that in groups where there was diversity of job function and occupation, team-based employee

involvement programs were more effective. Milliken and Vollrath (1991) also concluded that functional diversity as well as hierarchical diversity within groups enhances group performance.

One study using college students as subjects, found that racially mixed groups outperformed racially segregated groups (Ruhe and Eatman 1977). Other experimental studies suggest that the inclusion of divergent viewpoint produced a higher work product (see for example, Nemeth and Kwan 1987). Studies of management teams confirm the hypothesis that diverse groups are more productive (see Murray 1989; Bantel and Jackson 1989).

Thus despite the idea that newcomers to an organization should adjust to the norms and values of that organization group (as in the melting pot idea above), this does not appear to be in the best interest of the organization or group. Recent literature notes that women and minorities are not likely to perceive organizational life the same ways that white males do (Fine, Johnson and Ryan 1990). This is at least one potential explanation for the fact that group heterogeneity is associated with higher levels of turnover and with a lack of group cohesion (Jackson, et al 1991). How then to accept and even encourage diversity without contributing to turnover and lack of cohesion? Clearly the solution to this paradox is in the creation of an organizational environment in which emotional and personal costs of diversity are minimized and in which organizational benefits of diversity are maximized. Organizational norms which encourage conformity and reward assimilation, managers who implicitly or

explicitly impose their own values on groups, and the avoidance of open communication are barriers to group productivity.

How Can People of Diverse Backgrounds Best Work Together?

Three tables of findings from the cultural audits are presented here to illustrate how employees perceive problems within organizations. In each case employees were asked what remained to be done to remove barriers to women, minority employees, and white male employees. As Tables 4-6 indicate, different barriers were found to exist for different types of employees. When asking about female employees, respondents noted that education and training would be important for female employees' career development. Some comments were also noted on the elimination of sexism, however comments by some private sector employees indicated that women should be kept from performing some jobs (requiring lifting and physical labor). This idea in practice would violate the civil rights of female employees excluded from such jobs. Responses also included family and flexibility needs, which was not noted as strongly for male employees.

Training appears to be an across-the-board concern for employees. Some respondents indicated that training for white males include human relations training to deal with diversity. In all three tables, respondents indicated that employees should be treated fairly and equally, although perceptions of who was being disadvantaged were disparate. White male employees seem to

TABLE 4
CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO HELP FEMALE EMPLOYEES

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE	PRIVATE				PUBLIC				NON PROFIT			
	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female
Education/ Training	89 (17.9)	28 (11.4)	29 (13.3)	32 (31.1)	82 (15.4)	67 (17.2)	23 (14.1)	13 (11.7)	2 (12.5)	3 (6.3)	4 (21.0)	3 (11.9)
Treat Fairly	48 (9.6)	37 (15.6)	19 (8.7)	18 (17.4)	91 (17.1)	54 (13.9)	31 (19.0)	17 (15.3)	2 (12.5)	1 (2.1)	2 (10.5)	3 (7.1)
Hire Better Qualified	34 (4.8)	2 (0.1)	5 (2.3)	2 (1.9)	54 (0.1)	24 (6.1)	16 (9.8)	10 (9.0)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.3)	2 (10.5)	2 (4.7)
Promote/ Give Opportunity	62 (12.5)	48 (20.2)	42 (19.3)	21 (20.4)	50 (9.3)	26 (19.6)	21 (12.8)	23 (20.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (4.3)	2 (10.5)	5 (11.9)
Respect Differences Eliminate Sexism	35 (11.1)	36 (15.1)	40 (18.3)	11 (10.7)	77 (14.5)	63 (0.42)	31 (19.0)	18 (16.2)	1 (6.3)	5 (10.6)	0 (0.0)	3 (11.9)
Keep in Certain Jobs	48 (9.6)	3 (0.1)	15 (6.9)	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Career Development/ Mentoring	14 (2.8)	11 (4.6)	23 (10.5)	3 (2.9)	30 (5.6)	28 (9.8)	7 (4.3)	12 (10.8)	2 (12.5)	1 (2.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Address Family/ Flexibility Needs	32 (6.4)	40 (16.8)	22 (10.1)	9 (8.7)	35 (6.5)	51 (13.1)	15 (9.2)	13 (11.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (6.3)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Recognition	2 (0.0)	2 (0.1)	3 (1.3)	2 (1.9)	11 (2.1)	2 (0.5)	2 (1.2)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.2)	2 (10.5)	5 (11.9)
Nothing	65 (13.0)	15 (6.3)	10 (4.6)	2 (1.9)	48 (9.0)	5 (1.2)	10 (6.1)	1 (0.9)	5 (31.3)	22 (46.8)	3 (13.7)	6 (14.3)
Do Not Know	48 (9.6)	15 (6.3)	10 (4.6)	2 (1.9)	54 (0.1)	8 (2.1)	7 (4.3)	3 (2.7)	4 (23.0)	6 (12.7)	4 (21.1)	11 (24.3)
Total	497	237	218	103	532	388	163	111	16	47	19	42

TABLE 5

CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO HELP MINORITY EMPLOYEES

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE	PRIVATE				PUBLIC				NON PROFIT			
	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female
Education/Training	87 (30.3)	475 (23)	20 (20)	38 (31.6)	153 (23.5)	90 (28.2)	55 (26.6)	33 (27.9)	5 (31.2)	13 (27.0)	3 (20.0)	6 (27.2)
Treat Fairly	44 (15.3)	30 (150)	17 (17)	11 (8.1)	155 (23.8)	50 (15.6)	49 (23.7)	26 (22.0)	1 (6.2)	11 (22.9)	4 (26.6)	8 (36.3)
Better Qualifications	26 (9.1)	17 (8.5)	9 (9)	10 (8.1)	102 (15.6)	55 (17.2)	13 (6.3)	10 (8.4)	0 (0.0)	4 (8.3)	2 (13.3)	0 (0.0)
Promote/Give Responsibilities	33 (11.4)	36 (18)	21 (21)	26 (20)	41 (6.3)	35 (10.9)	30 (14.5)	21 (17.7)	2 (12.5)	1 (2.0)	1 (6.6)	1 (4.5)
Respect Differences Eliminate Prejudices	24 (8.3)	41 (20.5)	23 (23)	26 (20)	69 (10.6)	49 (15.3)	46 (22.3)	21 (17.7)	4 (25.0)	6 (12.5)	2 (13.3)	3 (13.6)
Recruitment/Hiring	5 (1.7)	8 (4)	2 (2)	7 (5.6)	18 (2.7)	8 (2.5)	4 (1.9)	6 (5.0)	1 (6.2)	4 (8.3)	3 (20)	1 (4.5)
Nothing	68 (23.1)	21 (10.5)	8 (8)	6 (4)	112 (17.2)	32 (10.0)	9 (4.3)	1 (0.1)	3 (18.7)	9 (18.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (13.6)
Totals	287	200	100	124	650	319	206	118	16	48	15	22

TABLE 6
CULTURAL AUDIT DATA
WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO HELP WHITE MALE EMPLOYEES

ORGANIZATIONAL TYPE	PRIVATE				PUBLIC				NON PROFIT			
	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female	White Male	White Female	Minority Male	Minority Female
Human Relations Training	37 (6.1)	24 (9.5)	35 (15.2)	10 (9.3)	40 (6.3)	54 (16.7)	31 (24.4)	23 (29.8)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Treat Family	48 (7.9)	19 (7.5)	15 (6.5)	4 (3.7)	196 (30.9)	54 (16.7)	26 (17.1)	9 (10.7)	3 (20.0)	9 (25.0)	2 (14.2)	6 (30.0)
Better Better Qualified	18 (2.9)	2 (0.8)	5 (2.2)	1 (0.9)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (11.3)	4 (11.1)	3 (21.4)	0 (0.0)
Promote/ Give Opportunity	66 (10.8)	11 (4.3)	9 (3.9)	3 (2.8)	33 (5.2)	20 (6.2)	9 (5.9)	3 (3.6)	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (7.1)	1 (10.0)
Address Perceptions of Reverse Discrimination	10 (1.6)	7 (2.0)	4 (1.7)	2 (1.9)	97 (15.3)	31 (15.7)	10 (6.5)	5 (6.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Training	84 (13.9)	23 (9.1)	12 (5.2)	10 (9.3)	114 (17.9)	50 (15.4)	25 (16.4)	12 (14.3)	3 (20.0)	4 (11.1)	3 (21.4)	1 (10.0)
Career Development/Mentoring	7 (1.2)	3 (1.1)	3 (1.3)	0 (0.0)	26 (4.1)	11 (3.4)	1 (0.6)	0 (0.0)	1 (6.7)	0 (0.0)	1 (7.1)	0 (0.0)
Address Family/Flexibility Needs	4 (0.7)	0 (0.0)	2 (0.8)	0 (0.0)	14 (2.2)	8 (2.5)	1 (1.9)	2 (2.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Nothing	291 (48.0)	131 (51.8)	120 (52.1)	60 (56.1)	89 (14.0)	40 (12.3)	33 (21.7)	13 (15.5)	3 (20.0)	15 (41.7)	4 (28.6)	0 (0.0)
Do Not Know	41 (6.7)	33 (13.0)	25 (10.9)	17 (15.4)	26 (4.1)	36 (11.1)	14 (9.2)	15 (17.0)	2 (13.3)	4 (11.1)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Total	606	253	230	107	635	324	152	84	15	36	14	10

perceive that they are not being treated fairly due to "reverse discrimination," a view that was also expressed by others, notably white females in public sector employment.

Of the formal processes addressed in this monograph, special attention was paid to promotion in the responses of the employees surveyed. Not surprisingly, females were most likely to mention that females needed to be promoted, minorities were most likely to note that minorities needed to be promoted and white males were the most likely to respond that white males needed to be promoted.

CONCLUSIONS

Policy Implications

Based on this extensive literature review, there are three major phases justifying policy recommendations: 1) employee acquisition, 2) employee development, and 3) laborforce maintenance. The employee acquisition phase involve equitable policies/practices in the recruitment and selection of a diverse workforce.

- > Recruitment committees should be representative (racially, culturally, and gender-wise) of larger society.
- > Selection decisions are more equitable when they are not the product of any particular individual. In other words, selections should be committee decisions base on previously established criteria.
- > These committees may serve themselves and the organization better if they venture beyond environments that are familiar

and comfortable (not just because committee members attended school there); beyond those environments that yield individuals that are similar to the current makeup; and beyond those environments that are used because they are cheaper.

- > There should be active recruitment on campuses and within other institutions where female and minority candidates are represented in the selection pool.
 - > Organizations may consider a greater use of formalized internship programs, particularly for women and minorities. The benefits of internships are twofold: 1) the exposure socializes the individual to the organizational environment and appropriate protocol; and, 2) the organization is allowed the opportunity to train and season potential employees.
 - > In the interview and testing stage there is room for policy regarding the alleviation of biasness. The use of outside consultation in this process may facilitate direct assessment of individuals' attributes. It appears that individuals inside the organization are so attached that they may not be able to evaluate candidates in a non-bias manner. Rather than consider what the organization is in need of, individuals tend to access candidates based on their personal values, attitudes and beliefs. Outside involvement as well as committee decisions will operate to diminish such bias.
- * The employment development phase consist of policies/practices pertaining to the development of employees once they are a part of the organization/corporation. Keep in mind the efforts of the overall development process is to elevate each employee to his/her maximum potential.
- > The most salient problematic issue surrounding performance appraisal and promotion is the organization's reliance on informal decisionmaking networks, rather than formal processes. Appraisal and promotion decisions are best derived at through inclusion of all formal committee members. Standards for evaluation and promotion need be written and clearly understood by all individuals involved

(committee members and candidates) - from date of hire to present.

- > To facilitate fairness in the personal dimensions of evaluation, managers and promotion committee members would best serve the organization if a previously established level of training has been successfully completed in the area of workforce diversity. This training should not be limited to descriptions and composition profiles of the current workforce. However, this training should stimulate sensitivity to personal, social, and cultural differences. Communication skills (how to listen as well as how to provide feedback) relative to these differences are essential.
 - > Training is a necessary component for a successful organization. Training programs provide employers opportunities to optimize employee potential and alleviate problems associated with the glass ceiling. For example, on-the-job training groups with diverse members provide opportunities to form more social mentoring relationships. In addition, group members are then provided with a common experience, despite their diversity in other areas. Training that may specifically address the needs of specific groups, such as assertiveness training for female managers, would be beneficial.
 - > Lateral moves to provide breath of experience for all employees may help dispel stereotypic roles for females or minorities.
 - > Formalized mentoring programs to assist employees with organizational norms and cultures may facilitate the integration of the nontraditional employee.
 - > Managers who are successful at developing the potential of the employees should be rewarded. Evaluation of managers should include some aspect of employee career development, and managers and employees should be aware of this aspect of manager evaluation.
- * The laborforce maintenance phase involves policies and practices which pertain to maintaining a workforce as well as the environment which is operating at its greatest potential.

- > Turnover is actually a symptom of the process which creates and maintains the glass ceiling and a symptom of the glass ceiling itself. Turnover may be a response to the pressures of work and other roles in the home. Employers who wish to optimize the work potential of persons who face this scheduling dilemma might provide flexibility in work schedules, and at-home work when possible.
- > In some instances the pressures associated with dual roles may be alleviated by support for family concerns such as provision of day-care, or broad family leave policies.
- > Open discussions of issues that are of concern to employees will provide employers some insight as to how employee turnover may be minimized and the needs of organizations and employees might best be met. It is important to note that these ideas will maximize the efficiency of the organization, as well as provide strong employee loyalty.
- > Innovative policies on family leave, child care, flex-time, at-home work, job sharing, maternity/paternity leave, travel requirements and relocation will facilitate an overall reduction in turnover.
- > Employees must be aware of the personnel policies of the organizations in which they work. Written organizational goals for employee diversity that outline specific programs are far superior to word-of-mouth systems. Organizational leadership should outline in detail which programs will be in force to provide for recruitment, promotion, career planning, and mentoring for all employees.
- > Written policies outlining performance appraisal should be available to all employees.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although research on differences in gender is the most commonly addressed question in the literature noted here, continued research on gender differences is needed. In addition, the literature addresses racial differences mostly as white/black comparisons, ignoring other racial minorities.

- > Future research should include more racially diverse groups and make comparisons across more than one dimension. More

specific topics which would seem to demand further investigation include studies of diversity based on age of employees, task differentiation (functional diversity), and disability diversity. Additionally, in the area of compensation, forms other than wages/income need to be considered. That is the extent to which these other forms of compensation are available and accessible to minorities and women.

- > Research is devoted to managers or those who have "made it to the top," with little research available concerning the "sticky floor" that retains most women and minorities at the lower levels of responsibility and compensation. Research on those who fail to achieve higher levels of responsibility may be as informative, if not more so, as what is currently available on the glass ceiling. Many studies noted herein have small samples, use college students as subjects, and/or are based on mail surveys. Case studies of single organizations are sometimes available but have little applicability to the workforce as a whole. In few instances are testable hypotheses or even propositions drawn from extant literature. Other published sources, not cited in this review, are simply the thoughts of individuals based on personal experiences. The quick availability of such literature may do more harm than good, as personal opinion may become accepted as fact.
- > Field research in this area of study is deficient. Field experimentation of testable hypotheses should be conducted in a variety of organizational settings, over time and across various dimensions of diversity. It is of paramount importance that applied field research be conducted on larger samples in work settings. Furthermore, research on the advantages that diverse employees bring to organizations is sorely needed. While there is some research on the presence of diversity in the workforce, there is little information available to managers that provides them with implications of how diversity may benefit their organizations.
- > A crucial role currently stands vacant for government (at all levels). Given the void in recent literature, the efforts of various governmental agencies are more appropriate in encouraging and funding research to fill this need. The government may act as a clearinghouse for research and information regarding the glass ceiling.
- > It must become acceptable within the academic community to value and pursue research surrounding these issues. Journal editors, dissertation committees, promotion and tenure committees, and the academy as a whole must encourage such efforts. Evidence that this is not currently the case is

reflected in the dated literature and the decline in the number of published articles associated with issues of equity in employment.

- > Organizations that have diverse workforces should be funded for research on employment diversity. These organizations have the most to gain and offer from understanding diversity and its related dynamics.

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APPENDIX A
EXPLANATIONS OF THE CULTURAL AUDIT ORGANIZATIONS

This section provides explanations of the organizations included in the cultural audit data presented in the monograph. Not all organizations are included in each table.

Since 1988, the American Institute for Managing Diversity, Inc. Has conducted cultural audits in a number of organizations. These audits include surveys of samples of employees in sufficient numbers to represent the organizations' workforces. While these surveys are adapted to specific organizational contexts, there are a number of survey items which are comparable. Presented here are some of those items. In some cases wording may differ from organization to organization, but interorganizational comparisons can be drawn.

Organizations which have conducted cultural audits are described below. Not all organizations noted below are represented in each table, as some questionnaires did not include the questions illustrated in this monograph.

Organization A: This organization is a local facility owned by an national manufacturing fir. It is located in rural southeastern community. One hundred and twenty interviews were conducted at this site. The majority of respondents were blue-collar workers. Responsibilities ranged from line supervision to maintenance. Clerical workers were also included.

Organization B: A national manufacturing firm, this organization;s employees were interviewed at three sites in the Midwest. Ninety employees were interviewed including managers, clerical, technical, and research and development personnel.

Organization C: One hundred and sixty-six employees of this national food products firm were included in this audit. All interviews were conducted at the national headquarters in the Midwest. Management, technical, clerical employees were included.

Organization D: Over 580 employees of this large transportation firm were interviewed in the firm's headquarters in the midwest. Managers, clerical personnel, client-contact personnel, technicians and maintenance employees were included.

Organization E: This is the local division of a national non-profit service organization in a southeastern metropolitan area. One hundred managers, technicians, and clerical workers were included.

Organization F: The local division of a national non-profit organization were interviewed in a midwestern metropolitan area. Management, clerical and programmatic staff were included as well as volunteers. In all, 318 responses were achieved.

Organization G: Located in a southeastern metropolitan area, this organization is a division of a health related public agency. Sixty-seven employees were included in this analysis.

Organization H: Over 460 employees of this public research and development organization were included in the audit. This organization is located on the west coast and is affiliated with a large educational institution. Scientists, managers, technicians and clerical personnel were included.

Organization I: This organization is an agency of the federal government and employees were interviewed at three sites. Scientists, managers, clerical workers were included in this audit of over 450 persons.

APPENDIX B
ANNOTATED RESEARCH OUTLINE

THE IMPACT OF RECRUITMENT, SELECTION, PROMOTION
AND COMPENSATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES
ON THE GLASS CEILING

Research Outline

I **Introduction**

 A. **Discussion of the U.S. work force**

- Although women and minorities experience more opportunities today than twenty years ago, many obstacles still exist which inhibit employment and upward mobility within the labor force. Evidence indicates that over two-thirds of the new entrants into the workforce between now and the year 2000 will be women and minorities (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1989). If successful management of such a diverse work force is to occur, greater understandings of recruitment, retention, and promotion must be ascertained.

 B. **Research questions**

- The specific questions considered more salient to this research effort are as follows:

- 1) what are the organizational policies and practices which facilitate or inhibit the advancement of women and minorities to management and decision-making positions in business?;
- 2) under what conditions do women and minorities advance or fail to advance?;
- 3) is there evidence that individual characteristics such as age, tenure within an organization, gender, and race/ethnicity are important in the advancement of employees to management and decision-making positions?;
- 4) are there organizational characteristics (i.e., size, service/manufacturing, profit/nonprofit, private/public, governmental, industry type, and/or geographic area) which influence advancement?;

- 5) what is the significance of formal and informal systems (within organizational structures) in terms of facilitating or inhibiting the advancement of women and minorities?; and,
- 6) what are the research and policy implications of the literature analysis?
 - In sum, these questions address the more general issues framing this inquiry - what works?, for whom?, and under what circumstances?

II Methodology

A. Data Sources

- This inquiry examines the content composing four primary data sources:

1) Literature Review

* A computer-aided literature search insures the thorough and comprehensive obtainment of relevant research. CD-ROM reference databases such as ABI/INFORM, DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS, ERIC, INFOTRAC, NEWSPAPER ABSTRACTS ONDISC, PSYCLIT, SOCIOFILE, and are employed.

i. ABI/INFORM - (last five years), indexes over 800 journals covering all areas of business and management including: corporate structure, business conditions and trends, management techniques, products, industry, and analysis of individual companies and their competitors.

ii. DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS - (1861-current quarter), indexes doctoral dissertations completed at U.S. accredited institutions, in all areas of studies.

iii. ERIC - (1966-current quarter), indexes journals, magazines, and documents in the area of education and training.

iv. INFOTRAC - (1989-current month), indexes over 1,100 periodicals dealing with business, management, social

science, humanities, as well as general-interest topics.

v. NEWSPAPER ABSTRACTS ONDISC - (1985-current month), indexes nine major U.S. newspapers: Atlanta Constitution/Atlanta Journal, Boston Globe, Chicago Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Los Angeles Times, New York Times, USA Today, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post.

vi. PSYCLIT - (1974-current quarter), indexes over 1,300 journal titles from over 50 countries. Also included are summaries of English language books and book chapters from 1987 to date. Its subject matter covers all areas of psychology, statistics, methodology, social processes and social issues, intelligent systems, and learning methods.

vii. SOCIOFILE - (1974-current three months), indexes in Sociological Abstracts and Social Planning/Policy and Development Abstracts (SOPODA). Also included are relevant dissertations from 1986 to date. The subject matter covers sociology, group interaction, social culture and social structure, organizational culture, methodology, poverty and social welfare, family structure, and feminist/gender studies.

* By crosstabulating terms which are associated with the research issues, titles, authors, journals, books, and abstracts are acquired. Upon noting the relevant sources by reading the abstracts, the source is physically retrieved. If the source is unpublished, the author is contacted in order to receive a physical copy.

2) Expert Interviews

* As the literature is reviewed, leading scholars, bureaucrats, and business persons are identified. Later these individuals are contacted and interviewed by phone. The purpose of the interview is to cross-check the currency

of the existing literature. As well, there is solicitation of their perceptions of needed research and policy.

3) Cultural Audit Results (AIMD)

- * The American Institute for Managing Diversity, Inc. has been fortunate to work with numerous organizations over the past several years on various issues of diversity management. One of the conditions of a working relationship with the Institute is that we are allowed to utilize the data from these projects for research purposes. Ordinarily, cultural audit results are confidential information. In other words, it is not likely that one would come across this type data in any body of data. Nevertheless, the Institutes's Cultural Audit results are reviewed in order to support or suggest additional human resource practices and trends.

4) Focus Group Discussion

- * Collaboration among select members and consultants of the Institute insures validity in the synthesis and analysis of the data sources.

B. Resource Synthesis Strategy

- The following selection protocol guides the synthesis of pertinent data:

1) Academic and Commercial/Popular

- * Priority is given to the literature that is academic in nature. That is, special attention is place on the source, author(s), and research method. Quality works from commercial or popular magazines/journals are included as support material.

2) Women and Minorities

- * Literature is retrieved as it pertains to any population experiencing the effects of a "glass ceiling." However, a greater focus is awarded to women and minorities in this search.

3) Age of Individual, Tenure with Organization, Size of Organization, Type of Organization, Industry Type and Geographic Area

- * In addition to gender and race/ethnicity as factors influencing the advancement of employees within the workforce, other variables are considered - separately and in combination with one another.

4) Formal and Informal Systems

- * Traditionally, the recruitment, retention, and promotion of employees takes place within formal organizational systems. These systems are usually written, public, and considered the official path to successful employment. However, frequently informal systems within an organization supercede formal systems. When this occurs, those individuals following the official path to advancement typically face numerous barriers. Both systems are taken into consideration in this research.

III Synthesis and Analysis

An analysis is done of the total body of data produced by the four primary data sources. Patterns and trends are then noted within the confines of the following dimensions of organizational structure:

A. Recruitment

- * How are women, minorities and other groups excluded from the recruitment process both within the organization for upper level positions and from outside the organization? What types of recruitment strategies work best to facilitate the hiring/promotion of women and minorities?

B. Selection

- * What criteria are used to determine who among a group of candidates will be selected for advancement or for hiring? How do these criteria remove women, minorities and other diverse groups from consideration?

C. Performance Appraisal/Promotion/Succession Planning

- * Are there criteria currently being used for formal evaluation which disadvantage some groups of employees, without regard for the quality of their work or their contributions to the organization?

D. Compensation Practices and Policies

- * Are the current industry standards in terms of practices and policies equitable? Are efforts being made to insure that all persons who contribute equally to well being of an organization compensated equally? What practices promote such equality? How can organizations identify whether their employees are compensated for equal work?

E. Turnover

- * Given that turnover is costly to the organization and its productivity, are there particular groups of employees who have higher rates of turnover? How can such turnover be avoided? Are women and minorities (as well as other diverse groups) systematically encouraged to leave organizations? What are the roots of turnover for women/minority employees?

F. Mentoring/Sponsorship

- * How do mentoring relationships (formal and informal) contribute to the reduction of barriers for specific groups of employees? Does mentoring provide employees with advantages as they seek to advance at an organization?

G. Unwritten Rules

- * Are the unwritten rules in the cultures of organizations (informal systems) which systematically disadvantage groups of employees? How can this be avoided? How can employees of diverse backgrounds best work together within a single organization?

IV Summary and Conclusions

A. Policy Implications

B. Recommendations for Future Research