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*Barriers to Work Place Advancement
Experienced by African-Americans*

*A Monograph Prepared for
Glass Ceiling Commission
U. S. Department of Labor*

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Executive Summary

In this monograph we review the status of African-American managers, describe the barriers to their advancement, and offer policy recommendations to eliminate the barriers. We offer a brief summary of our major findings.

African-American men and women still lag behind White women and men in holding management positions. Over the last ten years, the proportion of African-American men and women holding management positions has only ranged between 5 and 7 percent. They continue to be invisible at the very top levels of companies.

Despite legislative mandates to eradicate racial discrimination in the workplace, African-American managers still encounter a number of highly interrelated barriers that operate at the individual, group, and organizational level to restrict their advancement. At the individual level, the foremost barrier to their advancement is subtle racism and prejudice. They still work in an environment where Whites hold negative stereotypes and attitudes about their suitability and competence for management responsibility. They also experience more overt racial harassment in the work place in the form of racial slurs, racial jokes, and abusive language. Intergroup conflicts and exclusion from formal and informal networks create dynamics on a group level that further restrict their mobility. Other barriers are embedded within organization systems. African-American managers have less access to mentors, are subjected to bias in the rating of their performance and promotability, and are functionally segregated into jobs less likely to be on the path to top levels of management. More recently, corporate efforts to downsize operations have dampened the prospects of advancement for many African-American managers.

Removing these barriers will require multilevel action on the part of the government and employers. The government must strengthen its enforcement of equal employment opportunity.

The government must mandate compliance reviews to investigate the subtle ways in which organization systems like succession planning and performance evaluation adversely effect the advancement of African-Americans. Explicit guidelines on racial harassment in the work place must be developed and issued jointly by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other appropriate governmental agencies. However, if real change is to occur the government must act towards eradicating racism and racial segregation within all major institutions of our society.

The top leadership of organizations must demonstrate its commitment to the recruitment and advancement of African-Americans by removing obstacles embedded in personnel practices. Managers must be held accountable for the development of African-American managers, ensuring that they receive challenging job assignments and the requisite training to advance. Organizations must establish on-going training and educational programs on race relations for all organizational members. Such training can help get to the root of many of the barriers African-Americans experience--racism and prejudice.

About the Authors

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No project of this scope can be successful without excellent secretarial support. Kathleen McMahon cheerfully and meticulously typed each draft of the monograph. In addition, we appreciate the continued support of our academic institutions, the Sloan School of Management, MIT and the Belk College of Business Administration at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Finally, we would like to thank Florence Ladd and the staff of the Bunting Institute for providing an inspiring and supportive space in which to work.

Introduction and Purpose

The purpose of this monograph is to identify the barriers to advancement for African-Americans and to make policy recommendations for removing the barriers. We use the word barrier to mean any personal, group, interpersonal, or organizational impediment that gets in the way of the career advancement for African-American men and women.

We use both an intergroup and intragroup approach to analyze the barriers. An intergroup approach compares the experiences of African-Americans and Whites, taking into account race and gender at the same time. Consequently, we specify the analysis in terms of four race and gender groups: White men, White women, African-American men, and African-American women. Traditional approaches framing glass ceiling issues in terms of "women and minorities" create several problems. First, although not always explicitly stated, the "women" really has meant White women. The experiences of women who are both women and minorities--African-American women, Latino women, and other women of color--fall between the cracks and are often overlooked. Second, the lumping together of women and minorities implies that African-American men and African-American women face the same barriers as White women. Our review of the research literature certainly does not support such an assumption.

We also use an intragroup perspective to help understand the differences that may exist in the organizational experiences of African-American men and African-American women. Our intent is not to determine who suffers the most because of discriminatory practices, but to capture the unique ways that barriers affect each group.

This monograph is organized into four major sections. Section 1 gives a statistical overview of the status of African-American men and women relative to White men and women from 1980 to the present. Information is provided on their overall occupational attainment, educational preparation, industry representation, and status in executive, administrative, and managerial jobs.

A description and overview of the barriers to advancement based on a comprehensive review of the research literature is presented in Section 2. These barriers are grouped into three levels: individual, group, and organizational. The barriers are also summarized in a model indicating their consequences. We end the section with a discussion of additional research needs.

Section 3 focuses on the unique barriers faced by African-American women managers. We discuss the results of our research based on survey and interview data collected from a national sample of African-American and White women managers in private-sector corporations.

The last section, Section 4, contains recommendations for governmental and organizational policies to address the barriers.

Appendix A is an annotated bibliography of 99 articles and books identified through an electronic library search. Appendix B briefly describes the methodology for the literature review.

Section 1. Current Status of African-American Managers (1980 - Present)

In this section we take a quantitative look at the current status of African-Americans and Whites holding managerial- and executive-level jobs.¹ Although the time period of interest is from 1980 to the present, we present historical data from 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. This historical context allows us to see trends and changes in the status of the different race and gender groups over time. Additionally, instead of just focusing on the managerial occupation, we present our analysis within a broader discussion of overall changes in the occupational distribution of African-Americans and Whites.

The first part of this section introduces the concept of occupational segregation. Occupational segregation, also termed occupational distribution, is simply the distribution of employed people by race, sex, age, etc. For example, it is helpful to know the labor force participation rate for African-American men because it gives information about the general level of employment for that group. However, we get more information when the data are presented showing the proportional representation of African-American men across industries and occupation. Given that the labor force participation rate for African-American men is 73.1 percent, how is that 73.1 percent distributed among industries and occupations and how does the distribution of African-American men compare to that of African-American women, White women, and White men? It would be helpful to know, for example, if 100 percent of employed African-American men work in a single industry, or if 80 percent of employed African-American men were occupied as executives, administrators, or managers.

For this reason, we present occupational segregation in two ways. First, we employ a concept called the dissimilarity index which allows us to compare the relative

concentration of race and gender groups within occupations. Second, we graphically present the distribution of workers among different industries by race and gender.

After showing that occupational segregation still exists, we turn our attention to industry² distribution of occupational attainment by race and gender. Given that racial and gender occupational segregation does exist and that we can identify relative industry concentration of African-American and White men and women, are these concentrations effective predictors for levels of occupational attainment? In other words, if it is determined that African-Americans are more likely to have jobs in the service industry, is it more likely that they will have attained executive, managerial, or administrative responsibilities in that industry?

Finally, this section examines the pipeline issue. The data indicate that in the last 20 years, education helps to explain much of the variance observed in occupational differentiation (see Tables 2 and 3). So, any review of the current status of African-American managers would not be complete without mention of current trends in educational attainment. The data show that African-American and White women are being awarded more college degrees than their respective male counterparts. Therefore, it would seem logical to assume that the level of occupational segregation between men and women will continue to narrow (see Table 1).

The distribution of African-American managers across industries and at various occupational levels within industries has changed over the past 13 years. While labor force participation rates for African-American and White women have been rising, participation rates of African-American and White men have been falling. Noticeably, the participation rate for White women is nearly the same as that of African-American women. Historically, African-American women were more likely than White women to

be labor force participants. Recently, however, the gap has closed. In 1973, 44 percent of White women 20 years and older were labor force participants, compared with 52 percent of African-American women. In 1992, the participation rate for African-American and White women was 60.1 percent and 58.1 percent, respectively. White men (at 77.8 percent in 1992) and African-American men (at 73.1 percent in 1992) continue their historic decline in labor force participation (see Figure 1).

Percent Participation

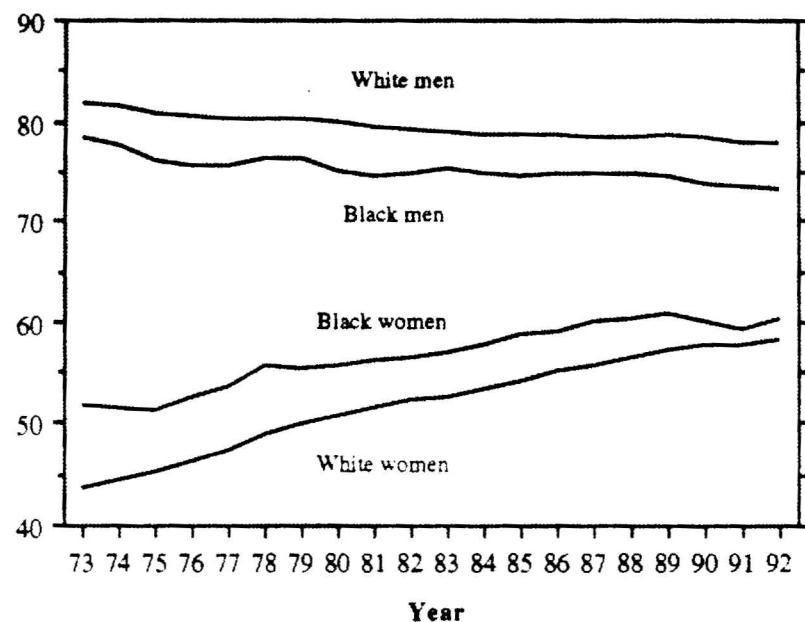


Figure 1. Civilian labor force participation rate by race and gender, 1973-92 annual averages.

Sources: *Working Women: A Chartbook*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 2385, August 1991, and *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume 40, No. 1, January 1993.

Occupational Segregation

In the April 1992 issue of *Monthly Labor Review*, Mary C. King wrote an article entitled "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88."³ In her article, King argues that occupational distribution is more indicative than current salary, education, or experience of future advancement or unemployment. Furthermore, King says that focusing on occupational distribution, rather than on wages, yields a richer understanding of the mechanisms of labor market barriers between African-Americans and Whites, and between men and women. King used an index known as the dissimilarity index, also referred to as the Duncan index,⁴ to examine occupational segregation.⁵

The dissimilarity index measures the relative concentration of one group in an occupation compared to another group. Values of the dissimilarity index range from Ø to

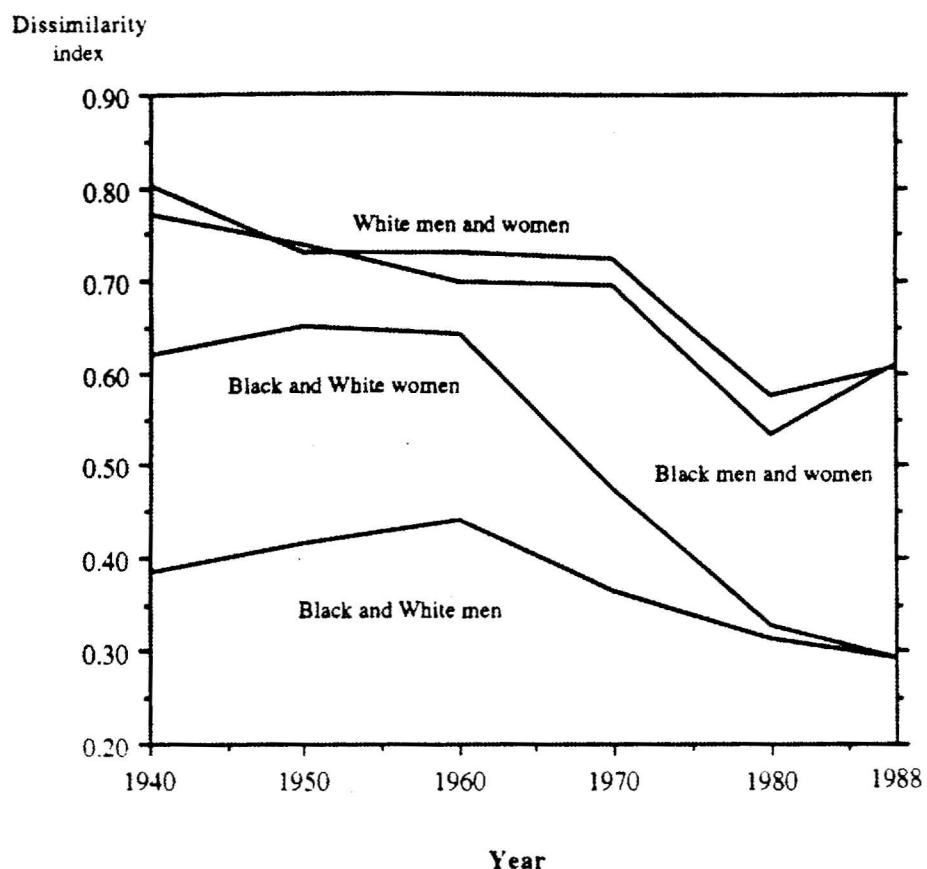


Figure 2. Dissimilarity index measures for selected race and gender pairs, 1940 - 88.

Sources: Mary C. King, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1992.

pp. 30-37.

1.0, where \emptyset indicates perfect integration and 1.0 indicates total segregation of an occupation.

The intuitive feel of the dissimilarity measure is its biggest advantage. The more similarly employed comparison groups are, the smaller the dissimilarity index. The dissimilarity index also has several limitations. Its measure can be affected by changes in

the number of occupations and by the existence of separate and equal (that is, equally titled) occupational settings. On the first point, the number of occupations in coding systems such as those employed in the decennial census expand each decade, thus making comparisons from decade to decade difficult. In order to resolve this problem, a core group of 159 occupations found in the occupational coding system of the 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980 census has been established. The establishment of a core group of occupations allows for direct comparisons from decade to decade. The second problem is more difficult to correct. If, for example, African-Americans and Whites were working in the same jobs, but in segregated plants, they would have essentially the same title and would appear to be similar. For this reason, the dissimilarity index is probably best used to establish magnitude and direction of changes in occupational segregation.

Table 1 shows computations of the dissimilarity indexes by race and gender for African-Americans and Whites for the years 1940 through 1988. The same data are shown graphically in Figure 2. As Table 1 indicates, the general trend in occupational differentiation between African-American and White women and men has been to be more integrative. The dissimilarity index has fallen in every case. For a more complete discussion of the data shown in Table 1, see King's article.

However, there are two interesting points worth mentioning in this discussion. First, the greatest reduction in segregation occurred between African-American and White women. While this is an interesting finding, it becomes even more interesting when one considers that occupational choice for women has always been less than that of men. Women have tended to be concentrated in fewer industries and at narrower occupational levels. So, on the one hand, one is led to ask: given the limited selection of occupations that women have historically had to choose from, how could the dissimilarity index have ever been so large (see Table 1, 1940 Black and White women)? On the other

hand, one has to ask: given that the dissimilarity index was so high, what mechanism has allowed the differentiation to lessen so dramatically?

Educational Attainment and Occupations Segregation

Table 2 gives some clues as to why the occupational segregation between African-American and White women has reduced so sharply. When the dissimilarity indexes are considered by educational attainment, the lowest overall index appears between African-American and White women who are college graduates. This finding suggests that education can be a powerful weapon against occupational segregation between women.

Table 1. Dissimilarity indexes of occupational differentiation between African-American and White women and men, selected years, 1940-88.

<u>Groups compared</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1988</u>
Black and White women	.618	.649	.640	.474	.326	.293
Black and White men	.383	.415	.439	.362	.313	.293
Black women and men	.772	.738	.697	.694	.532	.609
White women and men	.802	.729	.729	.723	.574	.604
Black women and White men	.819	.798	.813	.701	.593	.662
White women and African-American men	.806	.800	.785	.770	.592	.643

Source: Mary C. King, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88." *Monthly Labor*

Review, April 1992, pp. 30-37.

Table 2. Dissimilarity indexes of occupational differentiation between African-American and White women, selected years, 1940-88¹.

<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
All African-American and White women	.618	.649	.640	.474	.326
By age:					
14 to 35 years	.644	.679	.658	.394	.248
36 years and over	.595	.633	.631	.540	.448
By region:					
The South	.665	.684	.702	.582	.389
All other regions	.575	.614	.588	.385	.287
By economic sector:					
Public sector	.275	.233	.272	.239	.263
Private sector	.623	.679	.687	.544	.371
By educational attainment:					
Less than 8th grade	.460	.515	.479	.417	.459
8th through 11th grades	.512	.584	.556	.516	.383
High school graduate	.662	.617	.660	.424	.336
Some college	.430	.420	.621	.274	.242
College graduate	.225	.239	.267	.159	.213

¹ This data is developed from the core sample of occupations mentioned in the text.

Source: Mary C. King, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1992, pp. 30-37.

Table 3 details occupational segregation for African-American and White men. Interpretation of the data in this table should be made with great care. Upon inspection, the level of occupational segregation has been historically low relative to that of women. However, further inspection shows several disturbing trends in the data. First, notice the stability with which occupational segregation has existed between African-American and White men. There are few characteristics of men in Table 3 that vary as widely as those of women.

Another interesting point to note is that during the 1960s the data on men and women stopped tracking. That is, if one examines the data on African-American and White women, and that of African-American and White men, one notices a gradual rise in the dissimilarity indexes between 1940 and 1960; however, after 1960 the indexes for men returned to nearly 1940 levels, while the indexes for women drop precipitously. While this is not true for each index, it is true for the majority of them.

One final observation: for African-American men, a college education is not always as effective a weapon for combating occupational segregation as it has been for African-American women. In fact, in the fifties and sixties, a college education led to increased occupational segregation as opposed to decreased segregation. While occupational segregation also increased for women during this time, one should note that not only was the increase proportionately smaller, but also the level of segregation was less pronounced. During the 1950s and 1960s we note that a college educated African-American man was *most* likely to find himself occupationally segregated when compared to White men.

Table 3. Dissimilarity indexes of occupational differentiation between African-American and White men, selected years, 1940-88¹.

Characteristic	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
All African-American and White men	.383	.415	.439	.362	.313
By age:					
14 to 35 years	.413	.451	.431	.338	.280
36 years and over	.380	.411	.450	.407	.366
By region:					
The South	.320	.403	.483	.440	.359
All other regions	.473	.502	.424	.338	.317
By economic sector:					
Public sector	.409	.500	.403	.375	.356
Private sector	.375	.410	.450	.373	.321
By educational attainment:					
Less than 8th grade	.295	.310	.335	.347	.312
8th through 11th grades	.416	.458	.429	.314	.287
High school graduate	.502	.581	.412	.387	.344
Some college	.550	.651	.498	.354	.300
College graduate	.415	.509	.523	.369	.283

¹ This data is developed from the core sample of occupations mentioned in the text.

Source: Mary C. King, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1992, pp. 30-37.

The aggregate data can be misleading. For instance, Natalie J. Sokoloff points out in her research that over the last 20 years disadvantaged groups have gained greater access to professional and technical occupations when considered as a whole. However, when fields are examined individually, only certain jobs opened up significantly to women and minority men. The race and gender hierarchies continued with White men at the top of professional and technical occupational ladder and African-American men and women at the bottom. White men retained their dominance in the most desired professions such as medicine, law, engineering, and the like. A few male-dominated occupations on a lower level (i.e., accounting, design, and non-specific college teaching) opened up to White women, and to a lesser degree African-American men and women. African-Americans, both men and women, did best in relation to White men outside male-dominated professions in such areas as personnel and labor relations and vocational and educational counseling.⁶

Industry Representation

Another way to view occupational segregation is to look at the proportional industry representation by race and gender of employed workers (Figure 3). Looking at more recent trends, how has the proportional distribution of the labor changed during the ten-year period from 1983 to 1992? In the ten-year period from 1983 to 1992, the distribution of employment among industries by race and gender has not changed very much. There has been a perceptible shift from the manufacturing industry to the service industry. Another interesting difference in the race and gender distribution by industry is that gender is more prominent than race. Women, both African-American and White, are more likely to be employed in the service industry than men. Women also appear more likely to be employed in finance, insurance, and real estate, and in the wholesale/retail industries. In fact, nearly 75 percent of employed women work in the three industries

listed above: service; finance, insurance, and real estate; and wholesale/retail (see Figure 3). On the other hand, men tend to be more evenly dispersed across industries. While women are concentrated in three industries, they are significantly represented in each of the eight industrial classification with two exceptions: construction and mining.

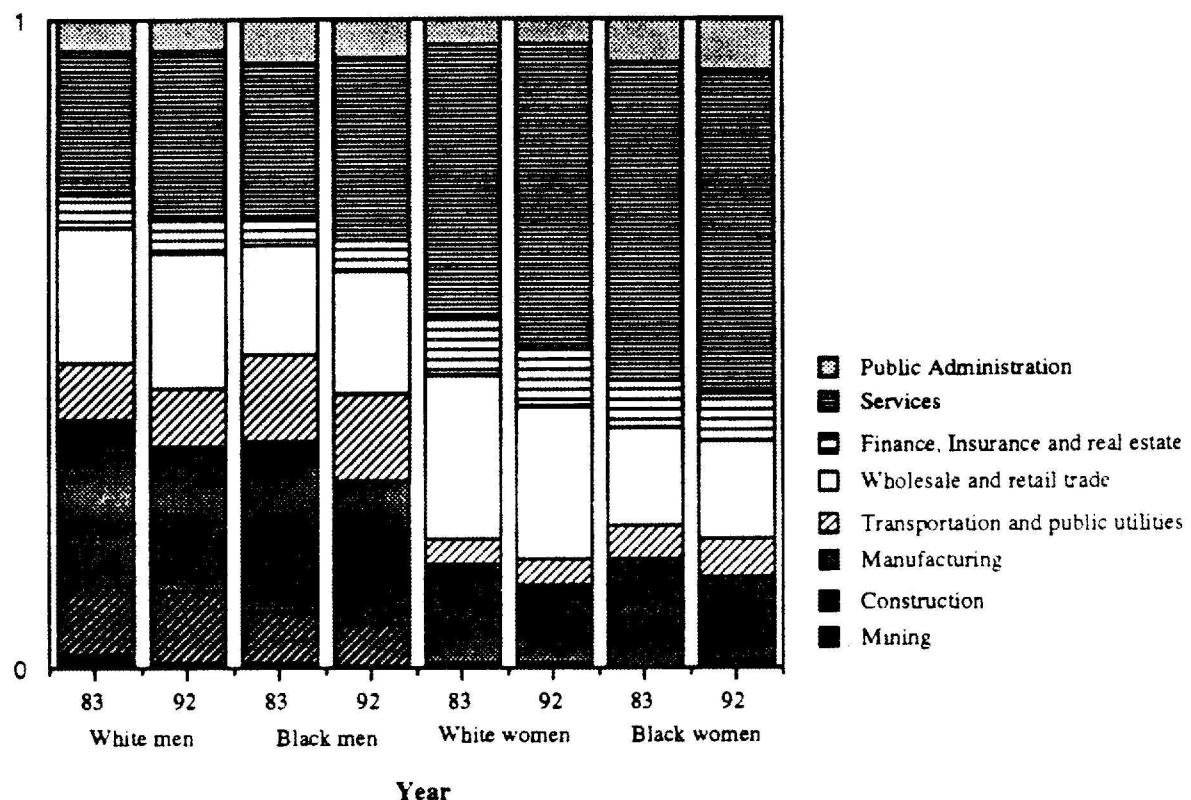


Figure 3. Industry distribution of employed worker by race and gender, 1983 and 1992.

Sources: *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume 40, No. 1,

January 1993, and *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics,

Volume 30, No. 1, January 1984.

Occupational Attainment in Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Jobs

The next logical question is: given that there appears to be a relationship between gender and industry representation, is it likely that women will be proportionately represented among the management in those industries where they are concentrated? Unfortunately, available data do not allow us to investigate that question. However, we can investigate race differences at the management level across industries (see Figure 4). African-Americans are more likely to hold management positions in public administration and service sector companies.

How has race and gender representation among executive and managerial jobs changed during the period from 1983 to 1992? In this period 1983 to 1992, males represent the only group to have experienced a loss in the percentage of executive and managerial jobs held. African-American males had three periods in which they experienced a decline in the percentage of executive jobs from 1985 to 1986, from 1987 to 1988, and from 1991 to 1992; White men experienced percentage declines in the periods from 1989 to 1990, and from 1990 to 1991. During the ten-year period from 1983 to 1992, African-American and White women did not have a single period when they experienced a net loss in their representation among managers and executives. Of particular note is that between 1987 and 1988, the percentage of African-American women in the executive ranks surpassed that of African-American men. However, that difference dissipated in 1991. While the percentage of White men in managerial positions is still greater than that of White women, the gap is closing (see Figure 5). It is important to note that African-American men and women continue to lag behind White men and women in management jobs. The proportion of African-American men and women holding management positions has ranged only between 5 and 7 percent over the last ten years.

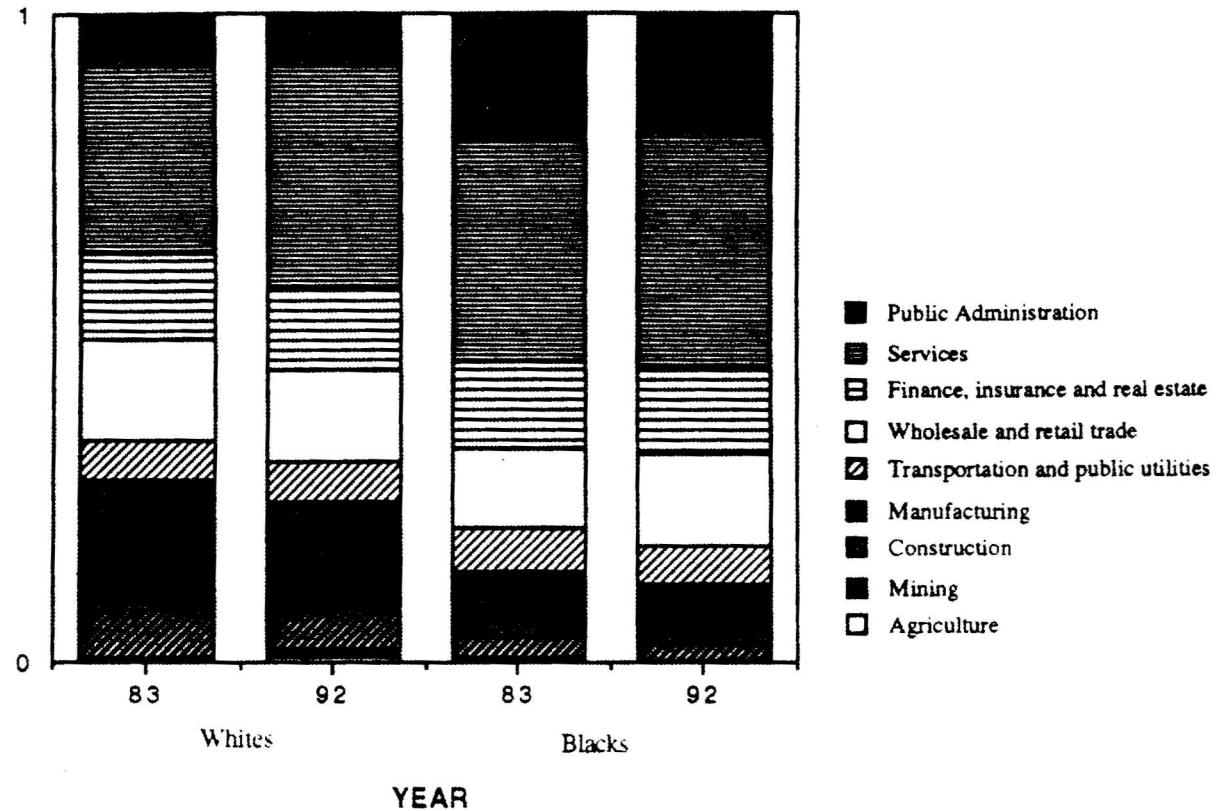


Figure 4. Management distribution of employed worker by race and industry, 1983 and 1992.

Sources: *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume 40, No. 1, January 1993, and *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volume 30, No. 1, January 1984.

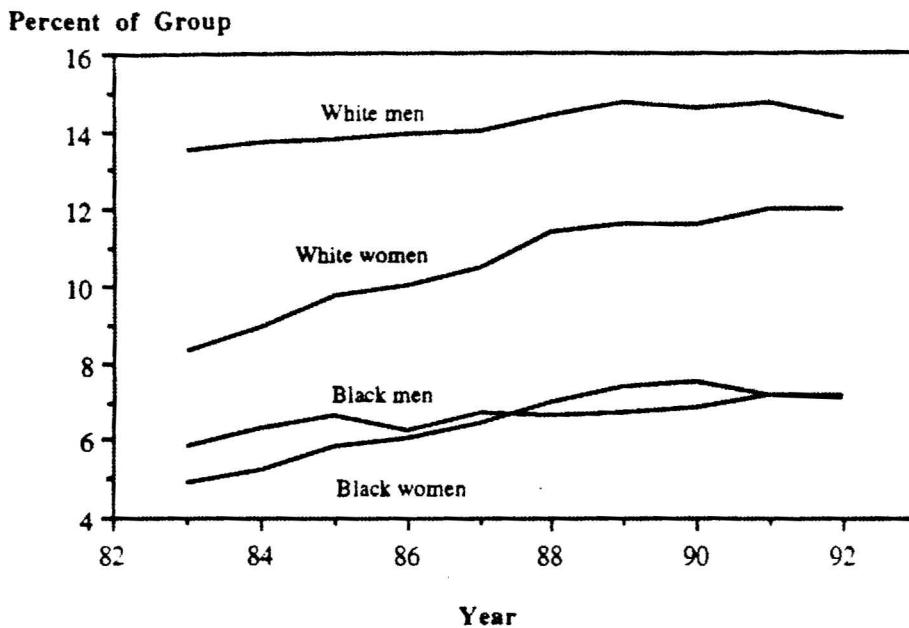


Figure 5. Percent of group employed in executive, administrative or managerial occupations by race and gender.

Sources: *Employment and Earnings*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Volumes 30 - 40, No. 1.

January 1984-93.

Educational Attainment

The narrowing of the gap between White men and White women, and the crossover that has occurred between African-American men and African-American women holding management jobs might have been predicted from the rising number of women graduating with bachelor's and master's degrees. Figures 6 and 7 show what has been happening with White men and women receiving bachelor's and master's degrees. Notice that in the early eighties, the difference between the number of White men and women receiving bachelor's and master's degrees was near zero. However, the gap has continued to grow as greater numbers of White women obtain degrees. This growth is

reflected in the fact that White women are fast closing the gap with White men in obtaining management jobs.

With African-American men and women, the gap has widened at the bachelor's level since the early eighties (Figure 6). At the master's level, the gap narrowed for a time, and then in the mid-eighties began to widen again (Figure 7). So it should come as no surprise, regarding managerial representation, that African-American women are even with and perhaps passing African-American men. According to the American Council on Education, African-Americans received 8.8 percent more master's degrees in 1990 than in 1989. For African-American women and men the increases were 10.3 percent and 6.1 percent, respectively. At the bachelor's degree level, African-Americans experienced a 5.2 percent increase in the number of degrees conferred. For African-American women the increase was 5.9 percent compared to 4.1 percent for African-American men. The smaller increases in degrees conferred upon African-American men indicate that they are falling further behind African-American women (and White women and men) in the number of bachelor's and master's degree holders. Consequently, without the appropriate educational background, their chances of obtaining managerial positions will be diminished.

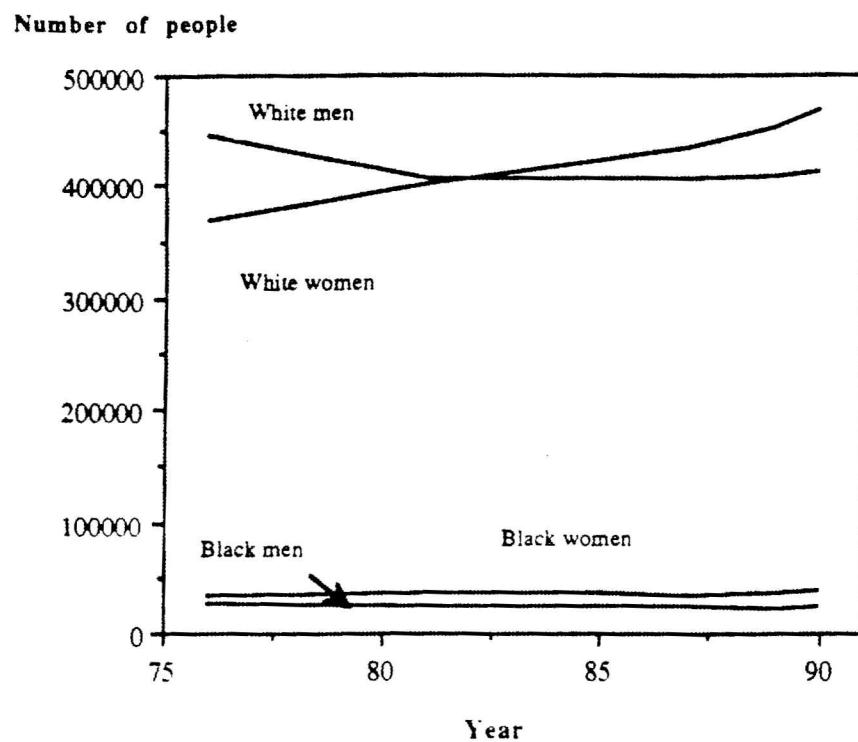


Figure 6. Bachelor's Degrees by race and sex for selected years.

Source: American Council on Education. Office of Minorities in Higher Education. Eleventh Annual Status Report:

Minorities in Higher Education. Washington, D. C., January 1993

While Figures 6 and 7 give a sense of the shift in overall college participation, consider what has happened in business. In business, at the bachelor's level, for the ten-year period between 1981 and 1990, the number of degrees conferred upon African-American women grew 36.5 percent (vs. -2.9 percent for African-American men). For White women in business, during the same time period and at the same level, the increase was 53.9 percent (vs. 1.6 percent for White men). At the master's level, for the ten-year period between 1981 and 1990, the change in number of business degrees is even more dramatic. The number of master's degrees in business conferred upon African-American

women during that ten-year period grew 91.2 percent (vs. 16.2 percent for African-American men). For White women, the number of master's degrees in business grew 70.8 percent (vs. 14.0 percent for White men). A word of caution here. Percentage increases can be misleading. It should be remembered that relative to Whites, fewer African-Americans earn degrees in business.

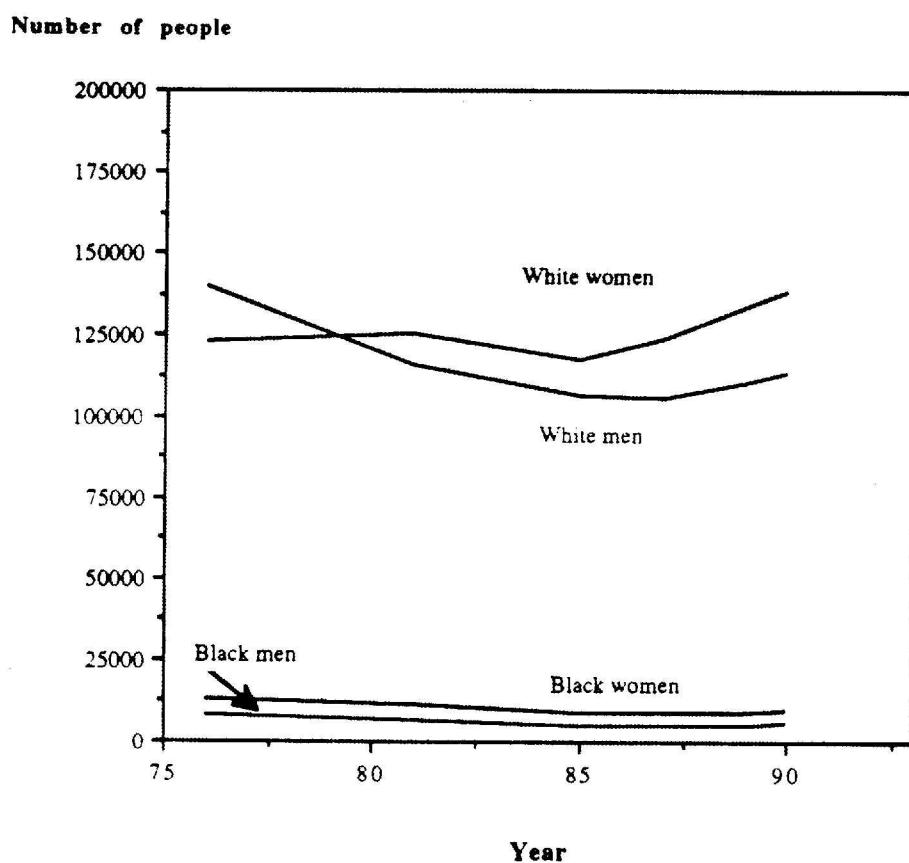


Figure 7. Master's Degrees by race and sex for selected years.

Source: American Council on Education, Office of Minorities in Higher Education, Eleventh Annual Status Report:
Minorities in Higher Education. Washington, D. C., January 1993

Summary

The current status of African American managers and those who aspire to be among that group is more encouraging for African-American women than for African-American men. This, at least, is the result that one takes away after looking at the numbers. Black women are participating in college in greater numbers. And a review of the dissimilarity indexes suggests that education for African-American women is an effective way to lessen occupational segregation. Recent trends (see Table 2, for African-American and White women) suggest that African-American women continue to make historic progress in lessening occupational segregation. Yet it is important to remember that the occupational selection of women has been limited to female-stereotyped occupations. African-American women's movement has been into jobs that White women abandon as they move up. For example, as White women have advanced, African-American women have been able to move more into clerical jobs. While 42 percent of management and executive positions are now held by women, 97 percent of those are held by White women.

The data clearly indicate that African-American men and women still lag behind White men and White women in occupational attainment in management positions. Over the last ten years, the proportion of African-American men and women holding management positions has only ranged between 5 and 7 percent. Although African-American women surpassed African-American men for a brief period from 1988 to 1990, that gap was closed in 1991. Data for 1992 indicate that the proportion of African-American women and men holding management jobs is about the same with African-American women having a slightly higher proportion. White women have made the greatest strides in attaining executive, administrative, and management positions relative

to both African-American men and women. The data are limited because it does not give specific information on the types and levels of management positions held by each group. Other evidence indicates that White men still continue to hold the highest paying, top-level positions in the management profession. For example, 995 of the CEOs listed in the *BusinessWeek* 1000 for 1990 were White and a recent Department of Labor Study of senior managers in nine Fortune 500 companies found that only 2.6% were non-White.

The numbers, of course, do not tell the whole story. Elsewhere in this report is a detailed analysis of the barriers faced by African-Americans as they make strides up the corporate ladder and into core occupations. Perhaps King sums it up best at the end of her paper:

Further work, which focuses more tightly on the years since 1960, is needed to disentangle the possible effects of improving education for African-American women, tight labor markets, the civil rights movement and consequent legislation, the women's movement, and widening opportunities for White women... Policy geared to improving labor market outcomes for [all] women and ethnic [minority men] need[s] to be informed by a sophisticated understanding of the differences in race and gender dynamics in the labor market.

Section 2. Comprehensive Review and Analysis of Research Studies

The numerical data in the previous section indicated that African-American men and women continue to lag behind White men and women in gaining access to management jobs. As management jobs have opened up, White women have benefited the most. The small percentage of African-Americans in management are most likely to hold these positions in the public and service sectors of the economy. African-American men and women are virtually absent from senior-level executive positions and are concentrated at the lower levels of corporations. Next we will examine the barriers to advancement for African-American managers as described in the social science research literature. For discussion purposes and clarity, the barriers we identify are grouped into three categories: (1) individual level; (2) group level; and (3) organizational level. Within each of the categorical barriers are a set of complex forces, some being "visible and invisible, public and private events, and stable and changing relations." In addition, we perceive the barriers identified as interrelated and cyclical in nature. We chose to present the barriers using this categorical scheme to greater illuminate the systematic interconnectedness both between and within the groups of barriers.

Our review of the literature also suggests that the barriers may not have a one-time influence. African-American managers tend to experience one or more of these barriers throughout the various stages of their careers. For instance, at the job entry stage, an African-American manager may deal with the scrutiny of a biased interview process. But the scrutiny may not stop there. Pressures to outperform White colleagues due to presumed incompetence and biased performance reviews are likely to continue throughout his or her career.

The first category of barriers we describe work on the individual level. These barriers appear in studies concentrating on issues and dimensions affecting a manager's psychological and social well-being. Within this category are those barriers embedded in the psychological make-up of a manager, the roles he or she plays in the organization, interpersonal style and ways of managing conflict, values, attitudes and goals, and an individual's self-identity.

Barriers on the group level are the second set discussed. After all, individuals do not function alone in organizations. They work in task groups and are members of identity groups as well. A group is a collection of individuals who have significantly interdependent relations with each other; who perceive themselves as a group; whose group identity is recognized by non-members; who have differentiated roles in the group as a function of expectations from themselves and others; and who have significantly interdependent relations with other groups.⁸

There is an interdependency between the groups African-American managers represent and the groups in which they work. The former - the groups they represent - are referred to as identity groups. Membership in an identity group includes, but is not limited to, kinship ties and gender, racial, and class identities: that is, those group affiliations that one is born into or are difficult to change. The latter - the groups in which African-American managers work - are known as organizational groups. According to Bell, et al., "An organizational group is one in which members share approximately common organizational positions, participate in equivalent work experiences, and consequently have similar organizational views."⁹ It is important to remember that individuals have multiple memberships in both identity and organizational groups.

Dynamics both within and between groups occur on two dimensions: (1) the intragroup, and (2) the intergroup. On the one hand, intragroup dynamics manifest within any group context. Such dynamics include the boundaries that encompass the group, its norms, traditions, language, and communication patterns, the explicit and implicit rules that govern group behavior and the conditions for membership, and formal and informal interactions. Behaviors and interactions between members of the same racial group and employed in the same company would be an example of intragroup dynamics. For instance, African-Americans may have common expectations for each other of being included in informal networks, mutually supporting each other and depending on one another for information. When an African-American manager does not conform to such expectations, he/she jeopardizes his /her status within the group. If his/her behavior does not conform to group norms, other members might isolate him/her. That is, he/she is perceived as not being a good group member by the other African-American managers.

On the other hand, intergroup dynamics explain the interactions occurring between two groups. In other words, how do two or more groups relate with each other? The historical legacy between groups profoundly influences the nature of their contemporary relationship. Because resources are an important commodity, one dynamic occurring between groups revolves around the availability of resources and how the resources are distributed among groups. Who has the power to decide who gets what? Hence, issues of competition, conflict, and hostility often arise. In addition, groups usually have some degree of hierarchy in terms of status. The group with the most power, status, and resources is most likely be the dominant group. The group having less power, status, and fewer resources is the subordinate group. A subordinate group must always struggle for access to the same privileges and rewards easily available to members within the dominant group. The degree of relative power and status between two groups creates

an in-group/out-group phenomenon, whereby the dominant group becomes the in-group and the subordinate group is the out-group.

The third and last set of categorical barriers occurs at the organizational level. The attention here is upon structures, policies, practices, and systems that are organization-wide. Examples of these are selection and recruitment procedures, promotion policies, career planning systems, performance evaluation methods, and training programs. Although organizational practices are perceived as being neutral and objective, they can often have differential impacts on organizational members because of their race and gender identity. In addition to human resource management systems, other components of the organizational level include organization culture and socialization processes. The culture of an organization may be defined as a system of underlying values, beliefs, shared meanings, norms, and traditions that serve as a foundation for an organization's management system.¹⁰ Unlike formal policies and procedures, an organization's culture is not explicit and must be gradually learned. The particular culture of an organization has ramifications for how individuals and groups become socialized to its values and expected behaviors. Gaining the critical knowledge and information essential for assuming a specific organization role and fitting in with the organization's culture is directly related to full acceptance as an organization member.

Individual Level Barriers

We found three major individual barriers for African-Americans identified in the literature: (1) subtle racism and prejudice; (2) managing duality and bicultural stress; and (3) tokenism and presumed incompetence. We believe that racism is the most insidious and tenacious of the barriers of this category and carries the strongest implications for both the group and organizational barriers. Jones reminds us that "there is a myth that companies are color blind...more accurately, discrimination is ever present but a taboo topic for Blacks as well as Whites."¹¹ The kind of racism being referred to is the modern, subtle form of racism. Unlike overt bigotry and outright racial hostility--the kind that is life-threatening--subtle racism is hidden deeply below the surface. Its impact can be far more psychologically damaging to the victim due to its covert nature. Pettigrew and Martin (1987, p. 50) described the powerful effect of modern, subtle racism:

Precisely because of their subtlety and indirectness, these modern forms of prejudice and avoidance are hard to eradicate. Often the Black is the only person in a position to draw the conclusion that prejudice is operating in the work situation. Whites have usually observed only a subset of the incidents, any one of which can be explained away by a nonracial account. Consequently, many Whites remain unconvinced of the reality of subtle prejudice and discrimination, and come to think of their Black co-workers as "terribly touchy" and "overly sensitive" to the issue. For such reasons, the modern forms of prejudice frequently remain invisible even to its perpetrators.

Essed, P. (1991) coined the phrase "everyday racism" to capture the very essence of modern subtle racism. Her theory proposes that African-Americans experience modern racism in their everyday, ongoing, routine encounters with Whites both at work

and outside the workplace. In fact, Essed's work shows how racist beliefs and behaviors permeate everyday life and become embedded in human systems so that they tend to reproduce themselves. According to her:

Everyday racism is the integration of racism into everyday situations through practices (cognitive and behavioral) that activate underlying power relations. This process must be seen as a continuum through which the integration of racism into everyday practices becomes part of the expected, of the unquestionable, and what is seen as normal by the dominant group (Essed, 1991, p. 50).

While Essed's empirical research investigates everyday racism among African-American women and Surinamese women living in the Netherlands from varying occupational groups, her findings are extremely appropriate for understanding individual barriers African-American managers experience. For example, she identified two mechanisms of everyday racism that are insightful to this discussion: marginalization and problematization. Marginalization occurs when African-American managers are kept from joining the mainstream of organizational life. They maintain an outsider status, so they never achieve full equality, power, or prestige as do their White counterparts. Problematization characterizes African-American managers as being inferior or incompetent, with fewer skills than White managers. Such stereotypic characterizations allow White managers to justify their exclusion of African-American managers without appearing to be prejudiced.

Another illustration of modern racism is offered by Ann Morrison (1992), who in a structured field study interviewed 196 managers from twelve large corporations (revenues ranging from \$3.5 billion to more than \$130 billion). One of the most frequent barriers Morrison found was prejudice. She reports that prejudice "prevents many

managers from seeing others without filters that turn differences into liabilities" (p. 38). Morrison concludes that prejudice is the most powerful barrier because it permeates policies and practices, making it nearly impossible for "non-traditional" managers to accumulate the precursors to success: advocates, resources, and power (p. 38).

Racial harassment is also a major function of modern day racism. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 makes it illegal for corporate employers to discriminate on the basis of sex, race, religion, or national origin.¹² While the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) developed specific guidelines in 1980 defining the kinds of behaviors that constitute unlawful sexual harassment in the workplace, there have been no definitive guidelines issued for racial harassment. Racial harassment is a situation where an employee or group of employees is subjected continually and over the long term to hostility, racial jokes and pranks, epithets, insults, abusive language, and violence because of their race. We believe that racial harassment is grounded mostly within the third condition of sexual harassment guidelines, where employees have the right to work in an environment free from intimidation, ridicule, and hostile or offensive behavior that interferes with his or her ability to perform.¹³

MacKinnon (1993) believes that, unlike sexual harassment, racial harassment, "works more through its content, as the traditional model of group defamation envisions, however hateful and irrational, however viscerally it plays on prejudice, however damaging to equality rights."¹⁴ In racial harassment "the target has a family, a community reviled together, an 'us' that defies being defined by this treatment by 'them.'¹⁵

MacKinnon gives the following examples of racial harassment: "a noose hanging over an African-American's work station" or "African monkey, why don't you go back to

"the jungle" left on an African-American manager's desk.¹⁶ Our review of newspaper articles reporting on the experiences of African-American managers reveal a number of examples of racial harassment in the workplace. These included: A Black law student was asked how would she react to being called a "nigger" or "Black bitch" by adversaries or colleagues.¹⁷ An employee of the FBI had pictures of his family defaced when someone taped a picture of an ape's head over his son's face; colleagues made death threats to him and forged his signature on death insurance and dismemberment policies and burial insurance.¹⁸ A photograph of a bruised and mutilated Black man was left on an African-American employee's desk.¹⁹

Joe Feagin and Melvin Sikes, (1994), in their forthcoming book based on interviews with Black managers, *Living With Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience*, discuss the adverse impact of racial jokes. They believe that "one way that Whites show hostility to Blacks in the workplace is by making racist jokes...joking about Blacks acts as a sounding board for popular White prejudices, especially notions about racial inferiority."²⁰ Feagin and Sikes conclude that racial harassment is an everyday reality for African-American employees who find it rarely possible "to go through a work week without being reminded, at least in a subtle way, of society's negative evaluation of their Blackness."²¹

The next major individual barrier for African-American managers is bicultural stress (Bell, 1986, 1990) and managing cultural duality (Jones, 1986; Lace, 1989; Cox, 1993; Cose, 1993). Here the key issue for African-American managers is fitting into corporate America. In the organizational world, there is little tolerance or appreciation for cultural diversity in terms of behavioral styles, dress, or rich aesthetics representing multiculturality. For most African-American managers, their work lives are embedded in White, male-dominated organizations, where the norms, culture, and values are based on

the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the Protestant Puritan work ethic of western society. Other dimensions of these manager's lives, such as family life, personal relationships, leisure activities, and spiritual life, are usually rooted in African-American communities. African-American managers can easily find themselves trying to manage two cultural contexts: one European-American and the other African-American. The challenge for many of these managers is to handle the tensions and differing realities between the two cultural contexts, a process we call being bicultural.

Being bicultural, writes Bell (1990), "assumes there are mutual rewards and resources available" in both the dominant cultural group and subcultural group: "Having membership in one cultural group is considered no more exclusive than having membership in the other" (p. 464). Yet there are stresses involved for those individuals who regularly cross the boundaries between two cultures. Bicultural stress (Bell, 1986) is a psychological barrier for African-American managers that manifests when they feel compelled to suppress and diminish one part of their identity (personal values, political ideology, interpersonal style, self-presentation) in order to exist or advance in one or both of the cultural contexts in which they work and live.

Bell shows in her work that, because of bicultural stress, professional African-American women are likely to have complex life structures with heavy responsibilities and obligations in all aspects of their lives. Thus, a psychological barrier for these women is managing the dual roles and social responsibilities, often without adequate social support to carry out their obligations, within neither the dominant cultural context or the African-American community. There is a tendency for the women to simply feel worn out from attempting to juggle the multiple and conflicting roles in two distinctive cultural contexts. Coping fatigue (Cose, 1993) comes from dealing with social isolations and other sorts of stressors.

Alvin Poussaint (1987) also calls attention to the consequences of African-American managers functioning in multiple and often unrelated cultural contexts. He maintains that they must make a conscious effort to maintain their racial identity now that they have moved into higher positions in White corporations. Poussaint underscores how shuttling between two worlds can produce psychological stress. One example of the types of stress that arise in the lives of these otherwise successful African-Americans is a phenomenon he identifies as survivor guilt. Survivor guilt is that guilt felt by many professional African-Americans, who have made it socially and economically, but who leave behind relatives, loved ones, and friends in poor urban or rural communities who have little or no means to make it out. Poussaint cautions that the symptoms of tension and despair are so strong among those less fortunate, that successful Blacks feel that they have somehow escaped death.

Perhaps Jones (1986) best captures the psychological barriers stemming from biculturalism and managing dual cultural contexts. Jones interviewed men and women from differing racial groups who were in managerial positions. In addition, he interviewed 30 Black executives each earning at least \$100,000. He sums up the phenomenon this way:

Most Black managers feel that to satisfy the values and expectations of the White corporate hierarchy they must run a gauntlet of contradictory pressures. . . . Running the gauntlet means smarting from the pain of prejudice even as White colleagues deny that your reality of race has any impact. It means maintaining excellent performance even when recognition is withheld. It means being smart but not too smart. Being the butt of prejudice and not being unpleasant or abrasive. . . It means seeking the trust and respect of fellow Blacks and acceptance

by Whites. . . Speaking out on issues affecting Blacks but not being perceived as a self-appointed missionary or a unifaceted manager expert only on Black subjects. Being courageous but not too courageous in areas threatening to Whites (p. 91).

An offshoot of the psychological phenomenon of biculturality and managing dual cultural contexts is the concept of self-limiting behavior among professional African-Americans (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986; Cox and Nkomo, 1993; Murrell, 1993; Morrison, 1992). Murrell (1993, p. 3) defines self-limiting behaviors as those "behaviors that have unintended consequences of restricting and inhibiting career advancement and success." This concept has two salient underlying dimensions.

First, African-American managers can gradually develop low self-esteem coming from the constant negative feedback on performance reviews and other work related evaluations. Eventually, based on negative feedback from White supervisors, they come to believe that their work performance is inferior in comparison to their White co-workers (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986). The second dimension of self-limiting behavior results from African-American managers being confined to low status jobs where they rarely, if ever, are given the opportunity to demonstrate their skills, leadership, and knowledge (Ilgen and Youtz, 1986).

Morrison (1992) also identified self-limiting behaviors as being detrimental for African-American managers. She refers to such behavior as a lack of organizational savvy and she suggests, "Nontraditional managers don't seem to pay adequate attention to organizational politics, the agenda of their colleagues and bosses, and they don't seem to be strategic about their career development (pp. 45-46)." One could hypothesize that such behavior results in part from self-limiting behaviors due to low self-esteem.

However, Murrell (1993) warns against jumping to any fast conclusions in this area of research and we strongly agree with her. She reports on a study conducted by Crocker and Major (1989) that found, "prejudice against socially stigmatized or oppressed groups does not uniformly result in negative psychological and interpersonal outcomes" (Murrell, p. 6). In addition, Cox and Nkomo (1993, p. 211) remind us "that the extent to which racioethnic minorities engage in such behavior may be influenced by one's level of racio-ethnic identity. Those minority group members with a strong sense of identity will more likely resist internalizing negative feelings and their self-esteem would remain intact."

The final barrier confronted by African-Americans on an individual level is tokenism, which often results in presumed incompetence of African-American managers. This barrier is particularly significant because it often begins from the very moment an African-American manager enters a predominantly White organization, before he or she can establish competency. They are often perceived as tokens when they enter an organization as a solo or are placed in an area of the firm where they are underrepresented or only one of a kind.

Kanter (1977) defined a token as one of a kind or one of a few in her research on gender in organizations. While it is not clear that the consequences of tokenism for women is the same as tokenism for African-Americans, her research offers a useful framework. According to her work, skewed numerical underrepresentation leads to high visibility and sets into place a variety of negative perceptions of persons labeled as tokens. Tokens are stereotyped and viewed as the representative of their entire group rather than as individuals. When African-Americans are perceived as tokens by majority group employees, their behavior and job performance, whether good or bad, is magnified, distorted, and overly scrutinized. They are also subjected to the slipping slope of double

standards. To overcome their presumed incompetence, they experience pressure to over perform in order to influence the perceptions of Whites. Yet high performance may not lead to comparable rewards and the same level of recognition received by Whites.

Pettigrew and Martin (1987) add that the phenomenon of tokenism should be understood within the context of White attitudes toward affirmative action mandates. Tokens are also viewed as only being hired because of affirmative action goals and not because of merit. As a consequence, African-Americans are assumed to be incompetent, underqualified, and taking the jobs of more qualified Whites. Supervisors and colleagues of African-Americans who are perceived to be tokens have low expectations for their performance and long-term success. These low expectations are both insulting and also affect performance and self-esteem. Low expectations can lead to a self-fulfilling cycle for African-Americans, wherein they are not given significant or challenging job assignments.

This observation is supported by research conducted by Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990). In a study of corporate managers in a large corporation, they found that compared to White managers, African-American managers perceived themselves as having less discretion in their jobs. The lack of access to challenging work assignments in turn results in less skill development and exposure to jobs leading to advancement. The development of an African-American viewed as a token is stunted because he or she does not receive the kind of accurate feedback that is so crucial to long-term career progression. The low expectations and exaggerated perceptions of the performance of African-American managers have been shown to directly affect actual assessments of their performance. We go into the specifics of these effects in greater detail under our discussion of performance evaluation systems in organizations.

The psychological effects of being treated as a token take a heavy toll on the emotional and psychic energy of African-Americans. They find themselves isolated from colleagues who do not want to work with them and have few outlets to express their frustrations and disappointments. As tokens, they have to spend an inordinate amount of time legitimizing their place in the organization. Continued isolation and undervaluation can ultimately affect their self-esteem and self-confidence. They are constantly burdened with the role of representing all African-Americans, regardless of class. They are not allowed to function as individuals. Consequently, they are well aware that if they do not perform well, all African-Americans will be viewed as incompetent. On the other hand if they do perform well, it is attributed to luck or getting extra help, rather than competence. Tokenism is a no-win situation for many African-Americans.

Group Level Barriers

At the group level, the research literature reveals two significant barriers to the advancement of African-Americans: (1) perceptions of cultural differences and ethnocentrism; and (2) minority group density. Intergroup cultural differences have been shown to have strong effects on the behaviors, attitudes, and interactions between African-Americans and Whites in the workplace (Alderfer, et al., 1988; Alderfer, 1992; Alderfer, et al., 1992; Jackson, Stone and Alvarez, 1993; Cox, Lobel, and McLeod, 1991; Cox, 1993). For example, there is substantial support of significant differences among racial groups in managing interpersonal conflict, cooperative versus competitive behavior, communication styles, and perceptions of organization experiences (Kochman, 1981; Davidson, 1993).

Martin Davidson (1993) inquired into the conflict coping preferences of African-American and European-American undergraduate students from a prestigious Eastern

college. He discovered that African-American students tolerated more hostility, were less prone to avoid conflict, and were more aggressive when engaged in conflict. There was a tendency for Black and White students alike to be more willing to engage in conflict across racial lines. African-American men reported being more aggressive in the ways they coped with conflict, in comparison to White men, White women, and Black women.

While Davidson's subjects were not managers, his study still provides insights on barriers experienced by African-American managers. Corporate cultures of large scale companies foster a lukewarm, reserved, and impersonal interpersonal stance among its members. Strong emotions, impassionate behavior, animated nonverbal gestures, and negative emotions are usually not tolerated in corporate settings. In this context, if African-American managers do handle conflict more overtly than their White co-workers, they can easily get stereotyped as being militant and hostile. They will be perceived as not fitting the image of the company's team. If they are too aggressive in managing conflicts with the supervisors, they can be perceived as insubordinate and run the risk of being fired. Such perceptions can be especially detrimental to African-American men, who in our society are already negatively labeled as dangerously violent. Confrontation is one coping mechanism that African-American managers employ. Another one is self-censorship and keeping silent when conflicts arise with White co-workers.²² Both can result in unhealthy psychological and physical side effects.

In another laboratory study, Taylor Cox and his colleagues (1991) found that groups composed of non-Whites including African-Americans held more collectivist-cooperative orientation to a work task than Whites. Whites displayed more competitive behavior. An African-American manager oriented towards more cooperative behavior in a White-dominated work group may be perceived as not possessing what it takes to

compete. The display of more cooperative and conciliatory behavior can be attributed to low ability and incompetence (Cox, 1993).

Communication style differences between African-Americans and Whites have also been reported. Black styles are generally characterized as more assertive, bold, and emotional compared to those of Whites (Kochman, 1981). Cox (1993) notes that African-American culture, especially among men, is high on verbal bravado and attention-seeking behaviors. Assertiveness is normally a valued managerial trait, but African-Americans who display such a style are often perceived as threatening, demanding, and speaking out of place. The display of emotion might get an African-American manager labeled as volatile, unpredictable, and unable to handle "stressful" situations. This can result in lower evaluations on performance dimensions related to cooperative behavior with others, ratings of collegiality, and communication ability.

The work of Alderfer, et al., (1980) and Alderfer, et al., (1992) demonstrates that the group memberships of Blacks and Whites influence how they perceive their organizational experiences. In an on-going effort to change race relations in one large corporation, Alderfer and his colleagues examined general perceptions of race relations, racial dynamics, perceptions of the influence of race on hiring, advancement, firing, and the effects of training on race relations. Overall, the research showed the existence of both parallel and non-parallel perceptions between racial groups (African-Americans and Whites). Whites and African-Americans, both males and females, reported that members of the other group socialized more with each other than across groups. And African-American men and women, not surprisingly, evaluated overall company race relations more negatively than did Whites.

While cultural differences by themselves have implications for how groups experience organizational life and interact in the workplace, the major phenomenon making them important is ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism, a form of intergroup bias, is defined as the tendency to view one's own group (in-group) as the center of the universe for interpreting other social groups (out-groups). The latter are judged less positively from the perspective of one's own group in terms of beliefs, behaviors, and values.²³ A more common element of ethnocentrism is the "comfort zone effect." Put simply, the comfort zone effect occurs when one finds greater psychological comfort when being with members of his or her racial-ethnic group. Ann Morrison's (1992) example provides us with a good illustration of the comfort zone effect: "Many White men will probably direct most of their extra effort to help someone else's career toward those with whom they have had more experience and feel more comfort."²⁴ More explicitly, we surmise from Morrison's statement that White men feel more comfortable among other White men. To the extent that Whites dominate organizations and are in the most powerful management ranks, they represent the in-group. African-Americans tend to find membership in lower-ranking hierarchical groups in organizations: they are relegated to out-group status. Out-groups are perceived less favorably and treated less favorably. As the in-group, Whites are advantaged because of their position and they have the power to control major decisions, such as the allocation of resources in organizations.

The out-group status of African-Americans results in exclusion, in both formal and informal organizational groups. Feagin and Sikes (1994) found in their research that membership in informal groups is likely to be based on racial lines, "with Whites who have been there for a time setting the informal norms."²⁵ Thus, African-American managers struggle to fit in informal organizational groups where valuable knowledge and information is exchanged concerning organizational life. Minority managers have inadequate opportunities to be socialized for proper career entry, advancement, or just

simply, day-to-day survival because they are subtly blocked by Whites from participating fully in informal organizational groups.²⁶

Likewise, Herminia Ibarra (1993), in a study of informal networks of middle managers in four Fortune/Service 500 firms in the telecommunications, pharmaceutical, automobile, and photographic products industries, found that minority managers had fewer intimate informal relationships compared to White managers. Her interview data indicated that high-potential minority managers (the majority of whom were African-Americans) sought support relationships with people of the same race outside their divisions or business units. She concluded that relative to their high potential White counterparts, high potential minority managers had a significantly higher percentage of ties to people outside their immediate work group.

Alderfer et al. (1980) found that the greatest disagreement between African-American and White managers was on the information provided about promotions. White managers reported sharing career-relevant information with African-American managers at more than twice the rate that African-Americans reported receiving such information from White managers. Another effect of intergroup bias bearing on accurate feedback on job performances is that the in-group does not differentiate among individuals in the out-group. It is difficult for individual African-Americans to be seen or judged as individuals. They are subjected to global stereotypes and whatever summary views Whites hold of them (e.g. African-Americans are lazy).

The last group-level barrier for African-Americans in the workplace is minority group density. Minority group density refers to the relative percentage of minorities in a work group. There is a rather complex relationship between the number of African-Americans in a work group or organization and their treatment. A number of studies have examined how the varying proportions of minority versus majority group members affect group interactions and attitudes (Kanter, 1977; Hoffman, 1985; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1993).

Rosabeth Kanter in her influential work on gender proposed the idea that as the number of minorities increased, there would be less hostility and stereotyping towards them. It was assumed that in situations where members of a minority group were present in very small numbers, they would be subjected to exaggerated attention because of their largely "solo" status. The skewed representation of African-Americans, for example, sets into place several perceptual mechanisms resulting in some of the effects we discussed earlier under tokenism. These effects included limited and caricatured roles in organizations, social and interactional isolation, and lower levels of group opportunity. The solution offered to this problem was for organizations to increase the numbers of

African-Americans--that is, their density. However, a number of recent studies have shown that increased African-American representation does not automatically lead to greater acceptance, inclusion, and less biased treatment.

Eric Hoffman (1985) studied the influence of varying relative proportions of Black supervisors on the frequency of different types of group and organizational level communication. Hoffman found decreased interpersonal communication frequency among the supervisory cadre as the minority composition of the work group increased. Thus, the increased numbers of African-Americans did not translate into more access to information or acceptance within the group. African-Americans may be systematically excluded from majority-group members' personal interactional networks.

Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly (1993) examined the effects of demographic diversity in organizations on psychological and behavioral attachment to the organization, individual commitment, attendance, and tenure intentions. The Whites in their study had a larger negative response to increased work group heterogeneity than non-Whites. As a work group included more African-Americans, Whites began to show psychological discomfort. Research of this nature suggests that merely increasing in the numbers of African-Americans in a work group or organization doesn't always lead to positive effects. Instead, a critical mass of African-Americans is perceived as a threat to the power and position of Whites who have traditionally been in the majority. The behavior of Whites can become more contentious towards African-Americans as they act to protect their positions. The backlash generated can lead to less favorable treatment of African-Americans and some of the very same negative consequences they experience when they are present in very small numbers.

Organization Level Barriers

At the organizational level, the barriers include: (1) access to mentoring; (2) performance evaluation and promotion processes; (3) functional segregation into staff-type jobs; and (4) downsizing policies.

Research on organizations has long documented the importance of mentoring in the development of top-level managers. Mentor-protégé relationships provide budding managers with information instrumental to career advancement and also provide psychosocial support. A major element of the classic mentor-protégé relationship is a high level of rapport and interpersonal chemistry. Research indicates that mentors and sponsors are more likely to choose protégés who are more similar to them in terms of race and gender. To the extent that mentors tend to avoid risk in selecting protégés, stereotypes of African-Americans as incompetent pose a substantial barrier to their selection as protégés.

Studies of African-American managers' experiences with mentoring and sponsorship do suggest it is more difficult for them to get mentors and to build the type of developmental relationships necessary to long-term career development (Dickens and Dickens, 1982; DiTomaso, Thompson, and Blake, 1988; Thomas, 1989; Thomas, 1990; Cox and Nkomo, 1991; Cianni and Romberger, 1993). A survey of 397 members of the National Black MBA Association conducted by Raymond Friedman and Donna Carter in 1993 found that 53 percent felt they did not have the support of a mentor. Another study of 729 African-American and White MBAs also found that African-Americans reported significantly less mentoring assistance than Whites. Limited access to mentoring disadvantages African-Americans in terms of skill development, promotion opportunities,

and career satisfaction. They do not receive the grooming they need to assume top positions.

Even when African-Americans gain access to mentors, there are a number of racial dynamics that affect the quality and benefits of the relationship. David Thomas's (1990) study of developmental relationships of African-American and White managers in a major public utility company provided a number of insights about the cross-race and cross-gender dynamics that occur in such relationships. He found that African-American men and women had a majority of their mentoring relationships with White men. This finding is not surprising since White males dominate upper management positions in most organizations. Yet these cross-race relationships provided less psychosocial support compared to same-race relationships. As Thomas concluded: "The difficulty in developing the psychosocial support aspect of cross-racial relationships most likely contributes to and is caused by the lack of comfort that White and Black managers feel with each other."²⁷

The long-term result may be that African-American managers are not given difficult and important assignments of the type that lead to high visibility and advancement because such assignments create risk to the mentor. To find psychosocial and emotional support, African-American managers must venture beyond their departmental and hierarchical boundaries to establish relationships with other African-Americans. In fact, Thomas's research showed that African-American men and women formed relationships with other African-American men and women in numbers which exceeded their proportional representation in the management workforce in the company. Because of their small numbers in organizations, senior African-American managers have to assume an extraordinary burden when mentoring their junior colleagues.

Thomas (1993) also found that relationships between African-American protégés and White mentors are influenced by the racial awareness of both parties.

Complementarity in racial perspectives was identified as a necessary condition for the quality of the interaction. He reported that cross-race relationships were more difficult to sustain. Consequently, over the course of their careers African-American managers may not have mentors or may constantly be in the position of seeking out new mentors, requiring them to repeatedly prove their ability to perform.

Another dynamic posing difficulty for African-American men and women in having instrumental and satisfying relationships with White mentors is what Thomas (1989) labeled as racial taboos. These racial taboos have their roots in the complex relationships between White men, White women, Black men, and Black women dating back to slavery. He found these racial taboos resulted in ambivalence and less intense ways of managers interacting across race and gender. In the case of White men and Black women, both parties may be reluctant to establish a mentor-protégé relationship because of the lingering images of African-American women as concubines of White men during slavery. Likewise, African-American men being fully aware of stereotypes about their sexuality, expressed concern in having developmental relationships with White women.

The second barrier that exists for African-Americans on an organizational level is bias in performance evaluation systems (Kraiger and Ford, 1985; Cox and Nkomo, 1986; Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1993). Most organizations have performance evaluation systems designed to provide information on the performance level and promotability of its employees. To the extent that subjective evaluations and judgments are included in performance ratings, prejudice and bias can distort the performance record of African-American managers and thwart their upward mobility when they are rated as less

promotable. Subjective judgments by managers play a major role in management succession planning as well.

A number of studies document racial bias in performance ratings of African-American managers. Kraiger and Ford (1985) reviewed over 70 studies done on the effects of race on performance ratings and concluded that ratees receive significantly higher ratings from evaluators of their own race. Kleiman, Biderman, and Faley (1987) reported that Black females perceived the appraisal process to be less fair and accurate compared to White males and females. Greenhaus and his colleagues (1990) reported that White supervisors rated African-American managers lower than White managers on both relationship (how they work with others) and task components of their jobs. The African-American managers in their study had lower promotability ratings and were more likely to hit a career plateau than their White counterparts.

More current research provides insights into the ways in which the performance of African-Americans is evaluated. Studies demonstrate how White supervisors often attribute the performance of African-Americans to luck or to job ease. Jeffrey Greenhaus and Saroj Parasuraman (1993) examined attributions of performance and career advancement prospects for 814 African-American and 814 White managers from three companies. The performance of African-American managers in their sample was less likely to be attributed to ability than the performance of White managers. African-American managers' performance was less likely to be attributed to effort and was more likely to be attributed to help than the comparable performance of White managers. These perceptions can lead to African-Americans being viewed as less competent than their White counterparts. Continued negative feedback can cause African-American managers to lose self-esteem and question their own abilities.

Other research supports the view of differential use of information by supervisors when rating African-Americans. Cox and Nkomo (1986) found that the social behavior of African-American managers was the most important factor in the performance ratings they received. If White managers put more emphasis on certain criteria when judging the performance of African-American managers, it makes it difficult for African-American managers to figure out how to perform well. Lower performance ratings have a detrimental effect on judgments of their long-term career prospects in organizations and their potential for succession to higher level positions.

The next organization barrier is the functional segregation of African-Americans into jobs that are not on the pipeline to top management. Sharon Collins (1989) has noted that the occupational structure supporting the Black middle class was transformed during the 1960s and particularly the 1970s due to the unique emergence of African-Americans in the professional/managerial strata of jobs within major White corporations. She points out, however, that the jobs that African-Americans were relegated to were racialized. They were placed in jobs dealing with community relations, public relations, personnel and labor relations, affirmative action, and equal employment opportunity. So despite having several years of corporate experience, their work experience was less likely to be in jobs that were directly related to the organization's business operations or in jobs with significant power and influence. In her study of 76 of the highest ranking African-American managers, she found that 66 percent had their careers in the areas of Black consumer issues or jobs related to affirmative action. An examination of the career paths of CEOs of large American firms reported in the 1990 annual *Business Week* 1000 Profile showed that the critical career path for senior management positions has historically been finance, marketing, or operations/engineering, but certainly not human resources and community relations. This finding combined with the reality of the types of jobs African-

American managers hold is a major cause of their absence from top-level management positions.

Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) discovered that compared to White managers, African-American managers perceived themselves as having less discretion in their jobs. In our own research on African-American and White women managers, which we discuss later in this monograph, African-American women were more concentrated in staff positions than White women. The consequence for African-American managers is limited opportunity to gain critical skills and knowledge they would need to assume senior general management positions and confinement to jobs with lower salary compensation.

The final organization barrier affecting the advancement of African-American managers is the recent phenomenon of downsizing. Downsizing has had negative consequences for many employees. However, downsizing is believed to effect African-Americans more than other groups for two reasons (Whigham-Desir, 1993). First, because African-Americans are often the last hired, they are the first laid off during corporate downsizing. Second, if they are selected as a survivor, they are conflicted about the motives of management--whether they were kept because they were good or simply because they were African-American.

There are very few studies that have examined the impact of downsizing on African-American managers. However, a comprehensive study conducted by *The Wall Street Journal* using Equal Employment Opportunity statistics showed that African-Americans experienced deeper cuts than any other group. According to the *Journal's* findings African-Americans were the only group to experience a net job loss during the 1990-1991 economic downturn. African-Americans lost 59,479 jobs, while gains were

experienced by Hispanics (60,040), Asians (55,104), and Whites (71,144). The article reported that many of the companies were not even aware their downsizing policies had negatively affected African-American employees. In other words affirmative action goals were not explicitly part of downsizing planning.

Summary and Barriers to Advancement Model

The popular view is that under affirmative action African-American managers have not only entered the doors of some of the most elite and prestigious corporations, but they have also succeeded in climbing the corporate ladder. But is this true in reality? Our investigation of the barriers that African-American managers face led us to doubt it. While education had a positive effect on reducing occupational segregation between African-Americans and Whites, it does not appear to have removed the barriers to their upward mobility. In other words, if one controls for education there still appear to be barriers. To our dismay, the barriers that existed 20 years ago and were believed to be eradicated are alive and well and have grown more complex in a societal climate that is less tolerant of demands for civil rights and in a society where many Whites, and even some African-Americans themselves believe that racial inequities have been squelched.

In our discussion of the barriers to advancement for African-Americans we found many interrelated obstacles, each dependent on multiple impediments. The model, Barriers to Career Advancement for African-Americans, outlines the barriers and consequences on the individual, group, and organizational levels based on the research literature. (See model at the end of this section.) As our model illustrates, the majority of barriers create consequences on all three levels. In fact, all are rooted in more than one level of organizational life. Thus, the effects of any one barrier may overlap or interact with one in another level to create a multiple impact on the career mobility of African-Americans. For example, discriminatory promotion policies are considered to be an organizational level barrier. But because individual White managers can be racially biased in their promotability rankings of minority managers, it also has a devastating emotional affect on the individual employee while limiting his or her chances for upward mobility.

Although the literature review uncovered a number of studies addressing the barriers to advancement of African-Americans, there are several areas that were either under-researched or not researched at all. The topics studied rarely included succession planning systems and their effects on African-American managers, salary discrimination, the effects of downsizing on the career mobility and longevity of African-American managers, their access to training and development programs, leadership styles of African-Americans and their impact on advancement potential, and the causes of power inequities between African-Americans and Whites in the workplace. More importantly, there was very little research on effective ways of minimizing or removing the barriers.

While there has been some attention paid to the psychological and interpersonal factors, these areas would benefit from additional research. Issues related to authority dynamics of African-American managers, styles of conflict resolution, communication styles, and the pros and cons of multicultural teams are seriously underinvestigated. A majority of the neglected work is grounded in structural features of organizations. Theoretical frames and studies addressing the interrelationship between barriers at the individual, group, and structural level are needed. It is clear from our review that the barriers have multiple causes requiring a complex understanding of their combined effects.

Beyond the theoretical frames, we strongly believe that traditional research methodologies simply do not capture the powerfully complex effects of race, race relations, and racism in the workplace. Because the dynamics of these phenomena operate on the subconscious, conscious, interpersonal, and structural levels in organizations, survey methods can never fully provide an accurate picture of the barriers African-American managers experience and their consequences.

In addition to traditional quantitative approaches to data collection, there is a need for triangulation of research methods or combining qualitative and quantitative methods that allow researchers to corroborate their findings in multiple ways. We recommend the adoption of clinical approaches that facilitate intervention in organizations by developing policies and practices that can enhance an organization's ability to alleviate the barriers African-American managers face in the work place. We found virtually no longitudinal studies exist which would allow researchers to chart the career paths of cohorts of managers. The subtle dynamics of progression through an organization could better be captured with such methodology. Studies of this genre would give a more holistic picture of the experience of African-Americans within a specific organization and situation. Future research methods should draw more upon actual personnel and organizational records in addition to opportunities to monitor on-going organizational processes. Though this data is hard to obtain, it would allow for a better evaluation and understanding of the causes of the obstacles to the advancement of African-Americans.

Given many companies' present plans for downsizing, research is needed on its effects and consequences for African-Americans. Current thinking indicates organizations will continue to "rightsizing" and shrink the number of levels in the management hierarchy. Policies to promote the advancement and career opportunities for African-Americans will have to be understood within this reality. More research is needed on the mobility of African-Americans within different industries. While our literature review would suggest a great deal of similarity in the barriers across industries, this has not been specifically studied. At a minimum, getting on the path to the top, while often organization-specific, may also be influenced by the nature of the industry.

More attention needs to be paid to the concepts of race, racism, and racial identity. Often the research did not allow for a full understanding of the cultural significance of race. In other words, inquiring into the effects of differences in culture between African-Americans and Whites on how they perceive the world of work, each other, and ways they interact in the workplace. Along a similar line of research, investigations concerning the effects of the barriers on how African-Americans interact and behave toward one another in the workplace would be useful. These effects can range from positive examples of camaraderie and support to negative examples, such as appropriating the oppressive behavior of Whites to chastise other African-Americans.

Finally, there were very few studies of Whites and the causes of their attitudes and behaviors towards African-Americans. Insights on their racial identity, attitudes, and racial awareness are crucial because White racism, intentional and unintentional, is a root cause of many of the barriers. In this context, we recognize that White racism alone does not fully account for all the obstacles that African-Americans face in the workplace. But it is certainly a pervasive factor in every dimension of the problems African-Americans encounter in dominant White organizations.

**MODEL
BARRIERS TO CAREER ADVANCEMENT FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS**

BARRIERS	INDIVIDUAL CONSEQUENCES	GROUP CONSEQUENCES	ORGANIZATIONAL CONSEQUENCES	
Individual <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subtle racism & prejudice • racial harassment • managing duality • tokenism • self-limiting behavior 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anger • lack of motivation → • over-compensating behavior • psychological withdrawal • isolation • alienation • role overload • role ambiguity • low self-esteem • depression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rejection of minority group → • over identification with minority group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • high stress • high absenteeism • high turnover 	→ • low productivity
Group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ethnocentrism • intergroup conflict • exclusion from formal & informal networks • minority group density 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • overt accommodation • stereotyping → • racial taboos • overt hostility • limited resources & knowledge • inadequate career socialization • lack of social support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • low group expectations • low group morale → • low group status, prestige, and power • low group cohesiveness • backlash 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • polarization between African-Americans & Whites → • hostile work environment • unproductive work teams 	
Organization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access to mentoring • performance evaluation • promotion rating • functional segregation • downsizing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • limited opportunities for advancement → • inadequate career grooming • job loss • low career plateauing • pigeon holing • excluded from pipeline 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • racialized jobs → • institutionalized racism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EEOC complaints → • greater cost for training & recruitment • profitability 	

Section 3. Barriers Unique to African-American Women

Thus far in this monograph, we have discussed the current status of African-American managers and offered a comprehensive, interdisciplinary review of the literature examining the barriers they experience in the work place. We now turn our attention to the unique barriers African-American women managers encounter based on the findings of our four-year research project, *Life Journeys of Women in Corporations*. However, before describing the research and its results, we want to reiterate the importance of examining the specific experience of each race and gender group in the work place. The use of a global approach focusing on "women and minorities" obscures the particular barriers African-American men and African-American women face. Such an approach has assumed that the glass ceiling phenomenon is the same for White women, African-American men, and African-American women. It should not be assumed that the glass ceiling metaphor best captures the issues African-Americans confront in the work place. In reality, there has been no systematic research to test this assumption.

While we discuss work place barriers unique to African-American women in this section, readers must not infer that we believe the plight of African-American women is more severe than the plight of African-American men. In fact, given the data in Section 1 of this report indicating a decline in the percentage of African-American men holding management jobs, there is a dire need for research documenting their experiences. Our goal is to illuminate the perils that African-Americans experience. We prefer not to get caught up in playing "who's the most victimized"--African-American men or African-American women: both groups are severely disadvantaged in comparison to White men and White women.

Our study, *Life Journeys of Women in Corporations*, is an effort to make explicit the barriers faced by African-American women managers when compared to White women managers. The purpose of the project is to examine the life course and career experiences of African-American women managers in private sector corporations.

Although the major focus of the study was African-American women, we included a comparison sample of White women managers to allow for a fuller understanding of racial differences in women's career and life experiences. The research addresses several interrelated questions aimed at understanding the influence of race and gender in women managers' lives. In this section, we concentrate on the research findings related to work place barriers.

The research was done using a two-part data collection method. We conducted life history interviews with 80 African-American and 40 White women managers in the Northeast and Southeast. The women held jobs in a wide-range of industries including retail, finance, entertainment and travel, manufacturing, utilities, transportation, consumer products, insurance, publishing, and computer services. A majority of the interviewees were in middle-management positions although there was good representation in upper-level management. Among the job titles represented were senior vice president, national director, director, treasurer, vice president, superintendent, national accounts managers, and managing director. The life history interviews were conducted in two parts and each session with participants ranged from three to four hours. The interviews were subsequently transcribed and analyzed.

The second part of the data collection consisted of a national survey of women managers. The random survey, completed by 302 African-American and 480 White women managers was divided into eight sections covering areas ranging from current job

experiences (including race and gender dynamics at work) to family and social life. The average age of the subjects was 40.

Survey Results

The analysis of the survey data revealed a number of significant differences in the work place experiences of African-American compared to White women. The major findings are highlighted below:

There were no differences in the educational preparation of African-American and White women managers. The majority of each group possessed a graduate degree in a business field. Additionally, the African-American women reported more years of job experience than White women. Yet, significantly more White women than African-American women were at the top management level of their companies.

Significantly more African-American women were at lower management levels. Thus, equal educational preparation did not predict equal advancement for women.

African-American women managers had a lower promotion rate (ratio of number of promotions to years of work experience) than White women managers.

African-American women were more likely to be found in staff positions compared to White women managers. White women occupied more line positions than African-American women managers.

Number of promotions and promotion rate for White women was positively related to having White and African-American men as part of their network and feeling a part of the White male network. Neither African-American or White women indicated having women of the other race as a vital part of their network.

The promotion rate of African-American women was related to getting good career counseling, systematic training and development, and challenging job assignments. However, promotion was negatively related to feeling accepted by White males. It appears that African-American women managers who advanced did so without being accepted as insiders.

Having African-American and White men in their professional networks and being accepted by White men on the job predicted higher management levels for African-American women. Yet African-American women managers were less likely to have White men in their professional networks.

The career satisfaction of White women was tied to feeling accepted. For African-American women, the more negatively they perceived race and gender dynamics in their company, the less their satisfaction. For example, the more conscious African-American women managers were of being a member of a minority group at work and of race and gender differences in the company, the less satisfied they were, and the less challenged they felt with their jobs.

African-American women felt they had to outperform their White colleagues, both male and female, to succeed. This feeling was tied to feeling less satisfied with their jobs.

These survey findings strongly indicate that race makes a difference in how women managers experience their careers and the barriers they encounter to advancement. Even though the African-American women had the same educational background, and in fact more work experience, than the White women, they did not receive the same benefits from these investments. They were at lower levels of management and had received fewer promotions. In other words, if one controls for education, there are still barriers to upward mobility. Indeed for African-American women the best predictor of promotion rate was time. That is, it appears that if they wait long enough, they are eventually promoted. The slower mobility they experience is not a function of individual deficiencies in education or work experience. Clearly, other factors are at play.

One barrier to their advancement is being placed in positions with less authority and less challenge. This finding is bolstered by the fact that African-American women managers were more likely to hold staff jobs compared to line jobs--positions that have a direct impact on a company's bottom line. These staff positions do not give African-American women managers an opportunity to develop, hone, or demonstrate critical managerial skills necessary for those jobs on the path to the top. Nor are these positions pipelines to upper-level general management responsibility. Thus, African-American women managers can find themselves plateaued in jobs that do not lead to advancement.

The data also indicated African-American women were less likely to be accepted by White colleagues, both male and female. Being accepted into organizational networks

is important to long-term advancement. African-American women are often excluded from these networks and are marginalized and isolated in their work settings. They do not have the opportunities associated with being accepted as a full member of the organization. Consequently, access to mentoring is limited. Without mentors and sponsors, they must learn to succeed in spite of exclusion from the mainstream of organizational life. In this respect, African-American women are doubly disadvantaged. To compensate for a lack of cross-race mentoring, they can only hope to establish such relations with other African-American women and men in their organizations. However, senior African-American men and women may be scarce, making such relationships impossible to establish.

A final and poignant barrier was race and gender dynamics in the work place that result in African-American women being very conscious of their double minority status. One pervasive feeling was that they had to outperform their White male and White female colleagues to succeed. This puts African-American women constantly under the pressure to be superstars to combat stereotypes labeling them as inferior and incompetent. African-American women still suffer from a token status in many organizations. Their abilities and skills are downplayed by their White supervisors, and unlike their White women colleagues, they perceive themselves as working under the shadow of being hired only because of their race **and** gender.

In contrast, compared to African-American women, the White women in our research reported feeling accepted into White male networks. To a certain extent the White women in our study had assimilated and their acceptance was positively related to their advancement. On the other hand, African-American women rarely had the chance to become part of the mainstream. This finding highlights a key difference between the experience of African-American women managers and White women managers: White

women may be more socially and culturally acceptable in White male-dominated organizations than African-American women and men.

Interview Results: African-American Women's Perceptions of Barriers

The results of our analysis of the interview data amplify and supplement the major findings from the survey data. The narratives of the African-American women managers revealed how the barriers they experience are grounded in everyday racism in their work places. By everyday racism we refer to the recurring day-to-day treatment of African-American women because of their race. Thus, we only use a few narratives to illustrate the texture of everyday racism because its repetitiveness indicates practices that can be generalized. In other words, these are not isolated incidents, but reflect many of the experiences the women shared with us. The narratives are presented in the women's own words because in a given situation they are best able to interpret the events. The lack of acceptance and recognition by White colleagues is captured in the following narrative by a female business manager employed in the financial industry.

We were at an off-site business meeting. I was the only Black woman present. It was evening, the formal portion of the meeting for the day was over. After the meeting, a small group from my work team went to the bar for drinks. There were four White males, all managers. They asked me if I wanted to join them. I thought it would be best to go to my room and not get involved in socializing, but then I figured it was important for me to act like I was a part of the team. So I went.

Everybody gathered around the bar for drinks, the five of us were standing in a circle. One of the guys said to me, "My, this was a good year for you, you did like a 187 percent for the year." I said, "Ya, I had a good year." Then one of the other guys looks me right in the face and jokingly says, "You little Black bitch." I couldn't believe it was coming out of his

mouth. It was very insulting. The other guys dropped their mouths, I mean they looked at him as if they couldn't believe what he said.

I'd been called a black bitch before, but not in my work environment. It's been on the streets with a cab driver that kind of thing. But this was a peer. This was a business environment, this was where people were supposed to be professional.

This narrative reveals an incidence of racial harassment that is contextualized by gender. The harassment is implicitly sexualized. Catherine MacKinnon (1993, p. 63) reminds us that "much racist behavior is sexual." What is of particular interest in this episode is the language of the harasser, his words "black bitch." First of all, "black" used as an adjective in this context denotes the lowliest of the low, representing a sinister and impure status. "Bitch," the noun used to describe the woman, carries a different connotation. Jane Mills (1989) describes a 1977 sex discrimination case involving a New England woman and "whether the word 'bitch' used by a male in reference to the woman carries any inference of bias or prejudice against women."²⁸

The woman's counsel argued that a bitch is a female dog which, when in heat, actively seeks insemination; judged by the cultural standards of the time, such a dog is considered 'lewd' -one of the meanings of bitch when applied to women. During gestation and immediately after giving birth, continued counsel, a female dog develops a behavior pattern which by prevailing human standards may be said to be spiteful, malicious, unpleasant, and selfish, to the point of stopping at nothing to achieve her aim. Bitch conveys the same connotative meanings when used of a

woman as it does when used of a female dog, and in using the word a speaker "betrays a preconceived judgment that a woman's behavior is directed by her reproductive function; it also repudiates her want of docility to the male."

Therefore use of bitch "does manifest prejudice and a discriminatory attitude towards women as a group and conversely, betrays prejudice towards the woman of whom it is said because of her sex." The woman won her case.

When the word black is combined with bitch, coming from a White male, it relegates the female manager to a profoundly inferior position, grounded in the devalued statuses of being Black and female. Because her performance was outstanding, she had overstepped the acceptable boundary for a minority woman; she was out of place in the mind of the White male. Feeling threatened he quickly had to remind her of what he perceived to be her appropriate place: way behind him in terms of performance, visibility, and stature.

Still another interesting aspect of this narrative is that it took place in an informal gathering. Within most corporations, the purpose of informal social functions is to foster collegiality and strengthen working relationships. It's a time to unwind and interact on a causal basis. Yet for the African-American woman it is a time of anxiety. She must deal with how to fit into a social arena where she has little in common with her peers. She is blatantly reminded, in the harshest of ways, that she does not belong. More importantly, the other managers, who appeared to be stunned by the harasser's words, do nothing to intervene. No one comes to her support. By observing and not saying anything, they silently condone the harasser's behavior. They become his accomplices. While the Black female is a victim of racial and sexual harassment, it is highly unlikely that she will have any recourse within the formal channels of the organization for restitution. The behavior of her colleague will go undisciplined. All she can do is rely upon her own personal defenses and fortitude to withstand such treatment.

Another barrier faced by African-American women is their lack of acceptance in authority roles. The words of an marketing executive captures the dynamics of this experience:

Joan is okay, but she can never hear anything intelligent from a Black person, especially me. I'm in a position where she cannot avoid working with me, but she tries. Joan just refuses to acknowledge the validity of my role. So she'll deal with anyone else around me, but she will not deal with me directly. And I've tried to talk to her about it.

Now Joan's friendly in a meeting, but it's a subtle thing. She might have an idea--a marketing suggestion. She'll write the memo to my boss and won't even bother to copy me. She can easily pick up the phone, call me or drop me a note. But she will never directly deal with me that way.

My boss, another White female, is constantly bouncing Joan's memos and ideas back to me. She doesn't understand why Joan won't talk to me directly. Still, my boss won't step in and say to Joan, "What are you doing?" She considers that I am unwilling to work on my relationship with Joan.

I've tried to explain to my boss what I believe the problem to be. Joan refuses to deal with a Black woman in authority. She doesn't seem to have a clue and it's hard for me to explain it. I don't really expect my boss to understand the real subtle forms of racism. Unless there is some blatant racist remark or something, most of the time when I do try to complain, she thinks I'm being paranoid.

This manager's experience illustrates the problem African-American women can have in gaining acceptance in authority roles. Most Whites including men and women have had little experience with African-American women in such roles. Her White female colleague bypasses her and will not directly work with her. Although there is no indication of overt racism, the narrator feels she is experiencing a more subtle form of racism. Because of its subtle nature, the executive is unable to convince her boss that racism is an issue. In a sense, her boss is unintentionally displaying a form of subtle racism. She is unable to understand that race may be in a factor in the relationship between the two women. Instead she views the African-American woman as overreacting to the situation and as the one who is uncooperative.

The narrative also calls into question the assumption that because White women have experienced gender discrimination, they are more sensitive to racism and prejudice and are less likely to engage in such behavior. Both White women in the narrative are engaging subtle forms of racism, one intentionally and one unaware of her behavior.

Indeed our interview data and survey data indicated a number of tensions and strains in the work relationships between White women and African-American women in the work place. The fact that they share a common gender did not result in bonding and collegiality at work.

In sum, our research suggests that while gender represents a barrier to the mobility of White women, the addition of race creates qualitatively different types of barriers for African-American women. We would argue that while White women may hit a glass ceiling in their careers, African-American women encounter barriers that are embedded in both racism and sexism. The findings presented in this section argue strongly for not lumping together the advancement issues experienced by African-American women and White women.

Section 4. Policy Implications

Previous sections identified the current status of African-American managers in the workplace and the barriers to their advancement. Our last section offers recommendations for policies to address the barriers. The alleviation of formal barriers to the entry of African-Americans into the workplace has not by itself assured their advancement into higher level positions in organizations. Our review indicates that barriers to progression are more subtle and deeply entrenched. The prognosis for the advancement of African-Americans is also dampened by the resurgence of resistance from Whites who feel African-Americans are receiving too much preferential treatment. Additionally, continued pressures on organizations to downsize their operations are negatively affecting the advancement of African-Americans. Consequently, multilevel strategies are needed to dismantle the barriers. The policies proposed in this section are not meant to be exhaustive but represent those critical to removing the obstacles outlined in this monograph. Policy recommendations are made at two levels of intervention: governmental and organizational.

Governmental

The governmental policies we prescribe include both actions to be taken under the jurisdiction of the Commission and actions that President Clinton needs to take to address the broader societal context.

(1) The Commission should avoid using a perspective that defines glass ceiling issues in terms of "women and minorities." This agglomerated categorization creates several problems. It renders African-American women invisible because they are both women and minorities. It also implies that the glass ceiling is the same for White women and African-American women and African-American men. It creates the illusion that all groups have made similar progress in gaining access to managerial jobs. Clearly,

our information presents a different scenario for African-Americans. The specific needs of each group (i. e., White women, African-American women, African-American men) must be considered when developing strategies and policies. In the case of African-Americans, this consideration will lead to a better understanding of the racism African-American men encounter and the combined effects of racism and sexism experienced by African-American women.

(2) Instead of having companies report only summary statistics of the number of employees in broad job categories (e.g. semi-skilled, management, professional, technical, etc.), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should require the information in EEO-1 Reports by job title, including the position of the job in the management hierarchy. Current methods of data collection make it very difficult to get accurate information on the types of management jobs held by African-American men and women and the place of those jobs in the management hierarchy. Information of this kind would yield better insight into the access African-Americans have to jobs on the path to higher level responsibilities. This information is vital. The literature review indicated overconcentration in staff jobs as one of the barriers to the advancement of African-Americans.

(3) The Office of Federal Contract Compliance should continue monitoring recruitment and selection practices of companies and their effectiveness in achieving EEO and Affirmative Action goals. Recruitment and selection practices are essential to building up a critical mass of African-Americans within corporations.

(4) Closely monitor promotion and succession planning processes that companies use when making decisions about who will advance. Promotion, succession planning, and performance appraisal systems rely heavily upon the subjective judgment of managers. It is within these processes that African-Americans often experience discrimination and prejudice. Governmental compliance reviews should include: (a) how companies conduct performance appraisals and the outcomes for African-Americans; (b)

how ratings of managerial potential are carried out and their effects on African-Americans; (c) the extent and type of training provided to those conducting performance evaluations; (d) the race and gender composition of management committees involved in assessing managers. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance should be responsible for these reviews.

(5) Explicit guidelines on racial harassment in the workplace need to be developed. The guidelines should be modeled after those created for sexual harassment. While guidelines exist for defining racial discrimination under Title VII, racial harassment has received less attention. A violation of Title VII requires proving that a negative employment decision (e.g. not getting hired, lower salary raise, demotion, etc.) resulted from racial discrimination. Racial harassment can involve racial jokes, racial innuendoes, or racial slurs, none of which may involve an employment decision. Nevertheless this harassment can create a hostile, unfriendly work environment for an employee. Long-term harassment can have detrimental effects on the psychological and emotional well-being of African-Americans. Rarely is there a means within most organizations for relief from such harassment. These guidelines should be developed through a process jointly involving the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Judiciary Committee, the Civil Rights Department of the Justice Department, and other relevant groups.

(6) Convene Glass Ceiling Commission hearings allowing African-Americans to testify about their organizational experiences instead relying solely upon presentations from company representatives. These hearings would have to be conducted in a manner that protects the anonymity of participants. Their testimony can provide invaluable insights into the barriers they encounter and possible solutions.

(7) Make on-going funds available for research projects focusing on the understudied areas identified in this monograph (see Section 3). It is often difficult for researchers to obtain research funds to examine issues of racism and sexism in

organizations. Government funding would help to expedite research activity to address existing gaps in knowledge about the work place experience of African-Americans. Funding should be made through several sources and agencies including the Department of Labor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and the Department of Justice to name a few.

(8) None of the above actions will be successful unless attention is given to the broader social context. The position of African-Americans in the work place is inseparable from their position in U.S. society. Organizations do not exist in isolation; they are microcosms of larger society. Racial segregation in our schools, our neighborhoods, our churches, our social networks, and other major institutions outside of work reinforce exclusionary and racist behavior towards African-Americans in the work place. If real change is to occur in the work place, public policy must be aimed at eradicating all forms of racism and racial segregation. A number of actions are needed. First, the President needs to convene a special Commission similar to the Kerner Commission to examine the status of African-Americans, racism, and race relations in the country. Based on their work, President Clinton, Congress, and the Senate must develop a national agenda for recharging the country's energy towards the full inclusion of African-Americans and the elimination of racism within all major institutions. A comprehensive effort is needed which encompasses policy initiatives for all major systems: housing, education, family, economic, cultural, and health.

Organizational

There are also a number of actions organizations can take to help remove barriers.

(1) The Board of Trustees, top managers including Chief Executive Officers, and other senior executives must demonstrate a commitment to the recruitment and advancement of African-Americans. This commitment means not only actively recruiting candidates for management positions but ensuring that African-Americans are thoroughly represented in all positions, including senior levels throughout the organizational

hierarchy. Succession plans must specifically target African-Americans for future job advancement and provide challenging job assignments and the requisite training and mentoring that leads to advancement.

Beyond demonstrating commitment, top managers must model their commitment. All too often, top-level White male executives require White managers at lower levels to work with African-Americans as peers and colleagues while at the very same time, failing to include African-Americans among their own management ranks. African-American managers are rarely found among the inner circles of executive management groups. Other managers quickly realize this as a case of "It's okay to hire African-Americans, as long as it's not next door to my office." Instead of fostering an organization-wide commitment to the advancement of African-Americans, their behavior creates resentment, especially among other White males. If top managers actively mentor, coach, develop, and place African-American managers within their ranks, they send a powerful message about the organization's commitment.

(2) Avoid a "women and minorities" approach towards issues of advancement. The issues and problems should be identified for each specific group in the organization. Numbers and data on the status of managers should also be monitored by specific race and gender groups. Instead of developing blanket strategies aimed at "women and minorities," initiatives should be designed to address the unique barriers encountered by African-American men and African-American women.

(3) Develop and issue policies to prevent racial harassment on the job. These policies should include a clear statement that the company will not tolerate racial harassment, a list of consequences for such behavior, and a non-threatening means for victims to file charges. All employees should receive training on the policies developed.

(4) Reduce the subjectivity of performance evaluation by monitoring the evaluation process and outcomes for African-Americans. This monitoring could include a review of the appraisal submitted by a manager at a higher level. As our review indicated, the subjective nature of most appraisal systems often works to the disadvantage of African-American managers. A dual review system could improve accountability and encourage managers to employ only job-related criteria in assessing performance.

(5) Strengthen affirmative action initiatives. On-going recruitment and placement of African-Americans is essential to secure a pool of individuals who can advance within the organizations. Current managing diversity initiatives should not be viewed as substitutes for obligations under affirmative action.

(6) Hold managers accountable for the career development and advancement of African-American managers. This accountability and responsibility should be reflected in the evaluation and reward of their performance.

(7) Before implementing downsizing policies evaluate their consequences for African-American managers. Downsizing strategies should not supersede and negatively affect affirmative action goals. If reductions are based on performance, the importance of a valid and non-biased performance evaluation system becomes even more critical.

(8) Make sure African-Americans have access to formal mentoring and development programs. However, in addition, allow opportunities for same-race networking and support groups, including company sanctioned associations.

(9) Establish on-going training and education on race relations for all organizational members. The education should not be just for African-Americans or fixing the victim. Whites need to understand their own behavior in regard to racist actions, whether intentional or unintentional, and their effects on the advancement of African-Americans.

Endnotes

¹In this section, the term manager corresponds to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' classification of occupations known as executive, administrative, and managerial occupations. This class includes, but is not limited to: legislators, financial managers, purchasing managers, management analysts, and funeral directors.

²For the purpose of this investigation, we classified industries into nine categories: agriculture; mining; construction; manufacturing; transportation and public utilities; wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; services; and public administration. While these industrial classifications certainly aggregate finer industrial classifications, they are sufficient to make the point; however, if we were to further investigate occupational segregation a more detailed classification might be helpful (especially for the analysis of a particular industry).

³Mary C. King is an assistant professor of political economy at James Madison College, Michigan State University. Her article, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Sex, 1940-88," which appeared in the April 1992 issue of the *Monthly Labor Review* serves as a basis for discussing occupational segregation. She gives a much more detailed discussion of the issue in her paper and includes several references that readers might find interesting.

⁴Named the Duncan index after a 1955 article by Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan entitled "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review*, April 1955, pp. 210-17. King also refers to Andrea H. Beller, "Trends in Occupational Segregation by Sex and Race, 1960-1981," in Barbara Reskin, ed., *Sex Segregation in the Workplace: Trends, Explanations, Remedies* (Washington: The National Academy Press, 1984).

⁵The equation for the dissimilarity index is: $D = 1/2 \sum |(B_i/B) - (W_i/W)|$. Where, for example, B_i might represent the number of African-American women found in a particular occupation i , B is the total number of employed African-American women, and W_i and W , analogously represent numbers of White women. For example, assume that all African-American and White women are employed in two occupations: doctors and nurses. Assume further that 10 percent of the African-American women were doctors and that 90 percent were nurses, while 50 percent of the White women were doctors and 50 percent were nurses, the dissimilarity measure would be:

$$1/2 \{ |(.10-.50)| + |(.90-.50)| \} = .40$$

- 6 For a full discussion, see Natalie J. Sokoloff (1992), *Black Women and White Women in the Professions* (New York: Routledge), 114-115.
- 7 Brown, David L. (1983), *Managing Conflict at Organizational Interfaces* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing), 20.
- 8 Alderfer, C. (1977), "Improving Organizational Communication Through Long-Term Intergroup Intervention," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 13, 193-210.
- 9 Bell, E., Denton, T., Nkomo, S. M., (1993), "Women of Color in Management: Toward an Inclusive Analysis," In E. Fagenson (Ed.), *Women in Management: Trends, Issues, and Challenges in Managerial Diversity*, (Newbury Park: Sage), 116.
- 10 Dennison, D. (1990), *Corporate Culture and Organizational Effectiveness* (New York: Wiley).
- 11 Jones, Edward, Jr., "Black Managers: The Dream Deferred." *Harvard Business Review*, 64, 85.
- 12 Lester, T., *The Reasonable Woman Test in Sexual Harassment Law - Will It Really Make a Difference* 42 U.S.C., 2000e (1988 & Supp. II 1991).
- 13 Lester, T.; MacKinnon, C. A. (1993), *Only Words* (Cambridge: University Press), 231.
- 14 MacKinnon, 56.
- 15 MacKinnon, 61.
- 16 MacKinnon, 50.
- 17 *The Wall Street Journal*, "Minority Job Applicants Say Slurs Often Surface," February 10, 1989, B1.
- 18 *The New York Times*, "Black F.B.I. Agent's Ordeal: Meanness That Never Let Up," January 25, 1988, A1, A18.
- 19 *The New York Times*, "Blacks Tell of Anger as Daily News Bias Case Starts Damages Phase," June 9, 1987, A28.
- 20 Feagin, J., and Sikes, M. P. (1994), *Living with Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience* (Boston: Beacon), 172, 175.
- 21 Feagin, J.; Sikes, M. P., 185.
- 22 Cose, E. (1993), *The Rage of a Privileged Class* (New York: Harper Collins), 66.
- 23 Cox, Taylor, Jr., (1993), *Cultural Diversity in Organizations: Theory, Research and Practice* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler), 130.
- 24 Morrison, A. (1992), *The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers), 51.
- 25 Feagin, J.; Sikes, M. P., 169.
- 26 Feagin, J.; Sikes, M. P., 142.

²⁷ Thomas, David (1990), "The Impact of Race on Manager's Experiences of Developmental Relationships (Mentoring and Sponsorship): An Intra-Organizational Study," *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 11, 489.

²⁸ Mills, Jane (1989), *Woman Words: A Dictionary of Words About Women* (New York: Free Press). Mills draws her example from the scholarly work of Casey Miller and Kate Swift (1977), *Words and Women: New Language in New Times* (Victor Gollancz, London).

Appendix A

Annotated Bibliography For the Glass Ceiling Report

1. Alderfer, C. P., Charleen J. Alderfer, Leota M. Tucker, and Robert C. Tucker. 1980. "Diagnosing Race Relations in Organizations." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 16: 135-166.

The authors reports the theory, process, results, and consequences of diagnosing the race relations among managers of a large industrial corporation. Data were collected and analyzed on general race relations, management groups, hiring, advancement, firing, actions for change, and reactions to the study. Analysis showed that the state of race relations in the company was related to a variety of systemic conditions including the ideas and feelings of individuals, the perceptions and actions of key groups, and the structure of the whole organization. As a result of the diagnosis, management committed itself to an action plan that addressed all the problematic issues uncovered by the diagnosis.

2. Alderfer, C. P., Robert C. Tucker, Charleen J. Alderfer, and Leota M. Tucker. 1988. "The Race Relations Advisory Group: An Intergroup Intervention." *Research in Organizational Change and Development* 2: 269-321.

A race relations advisory group is a structural innovation within a formal organization to assist with the objectives of eliminating racism and improving race relations among Black and White managers. The group consists of approximately equal numbers of Black and White organization members, balances membership by gender within race, and reflects a representative cross section of hierarchical levels and functional departments.

The group meets on a regular basis, receives assistance from a race- and gender-balanced consulting team, and participates in all major decisions and programs that affect race relations among members of an organization. Such a group is created when an organization makes a major commitment to diagnose and change working relationships between Black and White managers. This chapter presents the theoretical basis for such a group, describes the seven-year developmental history of one group, and reports systemic data on the behavior and attitude of members.

3. Alderfer, C. P., Charleen J. Alderfer, Ella L. Bell, and Jimmy Jones. 1992. "The Race Relations Competence Workshop: Theory and Results." *Human Relations* 45(12): 1259-1291.

This paper presents the theoretical basis and the associated perceptions of race relations that characterize a race relations competence workshop which served as the educational component of an overall program to improve race relations among managers within the fictitiously named XYZ Corporation. Workshop activities combined didactic and experimental methods and focused on group and individual levels of learning based on embedded intergroup relations theory. The study finds that Blacks evaluated the workshop more favorably than Whites; also, the groups most likely to show unfavorable consequences of participating in the workshops were White male first-level managers younger than 41 years and White female first-level managers older than 40 years.

4. Alderfer, C. P. 1992. "Changing Race Relations Embedded in Organizations: Report on a Long-Term Project with the XYZ Corporation." Pp. 138-166 in *Diversity in the Workplace: Human Resource Initiatives*, ed. S. Jackson. Guilford: New York.

This report describes a project of more than 15 years' duration carried out by the fictitiously named XYZ Corporation. Alderfer writes about the undertaking as a White man who has been associated with the work from its beginning to the present. Throughout the history of the project, all major activities have been the product of a gender-balanced Black and White cooperation. This process began with the formation of a four-person race- and gender-balanced consulting team that, in turn, worked with a 12-person (later expanded to 20) race-, gender-, and hierarchically-balanced Race Relations Advisory Group of corporation members.

5. Alexander, J., and Stephen Miller. 1983. "Strategy Sessions for Corporate Success." *Black Enterprise* 14(1): 61-70.

A career development seminar can help young executives develop the networking skills and business savvy necessary to succeed in the competitive corporate environment. It takes a concerted effort to manage a career, and U.S. businesses are demonstrating a new commitment to employees through management skills workshops and career development seminars. The impetus to offer career development workshops at major corporations came from the new players in the corporate environment - women and minorities. Consulting firms study the operation of the company and design programs to help employees better understand the needs of their employees. Consulting firms can also help management to see that developing an effective management pool among minorities is profitable and productive. Some firms offer programs to White managers to help them prepare to supervise minority staffers. Special programs can compensate for those without a mentor in the workplace and help employees to plan their career steps.

6. Barnash, I. 1980. "The Invisible Ceiling." *Modern Office Procedures* 25(7): 10-14.

Many American companies hired Black employees in the 1960s to counter claims of discrimination and then forgot about them after the initial display. During the 1970s, Blacks in corporate management found that there was a level beyond which they could not advance, according to minority recruiter Richard Clarke. The same was true of women in senior management. A major reason for the lack of advancement is the preference of the chief executive officer and top associates for persons who match the corporate style of the firm and with whom senior management feels comfortable. The claim by senior management that there are not enough women, Blacks, and other minority groups with adequate credentials is groundless since the criterion used for promotions in any corporation is matching senior management's team concept. Only about 1 percent of top management in America in 1977 were women. A problem with hiring Blacks and training them as executives is that their worth increases and they change jobs more frequently. Many Blacks also choose to move to small organizations from large ones, and they are no longer satisfied with jobs of little substance.

7. Bell, E. L. 1990. "The Bicultural Life Experience of Career-Oriented Black Women." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 11: 459-477.

This study explores the bicultural life experience of Black career-oriented women. Findings reveal that these women perceive themselves as living in two distinct cultural contexts, one Black, the other White. The women compartmentalize the various components of their lives in order to manage the bicultural dimension. However, movement from one context to the other causes identity conflict, tension, and other problems.

8. Bell, E. L. 1986. "The Power Within: Bicultural Life Structures and Stress Among Black Women." Case Western Reserve University, Ph. D. dissertation.

Most Black professional women live in a bicultural world that requires a cultural positioning around careers in the White world, while embedding their family and personal lives in the Black community. This study explored the bicultural life structures and manifestations of bicultural stress among these women. Bicultural stress results when the norms and expectations of the dominant culture deviate from those reflected in the women's personal lives. What leads to acceptance and fulfillment in one world, often does not in the other.

9. Bell, E. L., and Stella Nkomo. 1992. "The Glass Ceiling vs. The Concrete Wall: Career Perceptions of White and African-American Women Managers." Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, Working Paper No. 3470-92: 52.

Bell and Nkomo differentiate between the glass ceiling and the concrete ceiling. The latter is composed not only of the barriers of sexism, also faced by White women, but adds the opaqueness of racism. Bell and Nkomo identify lack of sponsorship from supervisors, lack of collegial support, higher incidence of sexual discrimination, and greater potential for interpersonal conflict as potential barriers to career advancement for Black women.

10. Bell, E. L., Toni C. Denton, and Stella Nkomo. 1993. "Women of Color in Management: Toward an Inclusive Analysis." Pp. 105-130 in *Women in Management: Trends, Issues, and Challenges in Managerial Diversity*, ed. E. A. Fagenson. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications

According to the authors, existing approaches to the study of women in management do not include women of color as an area of research, nor do major literature reviews include the problems and issues confronting women of color as an area of study. The omission of women of color is more implicit than explicit and occurs when authors of studies of mostly White women managers generalize their findings to all women. While the major focus of this chapter deals with issues of race and ethnicity, the authors hope to draw attention to the wide variety of issues that differ among women: class, sexual orientation, and physical ability, to name a few. They hope that by raising these issues, they will prompt researchers to include these variables in future research.

11. Benson, C. A. 1985. "Question of Mobility in Career Development for Black Professionals." *Personnel Journal* 54(5): 272-275.

Benson addresses the issue of Blacks' willingness (or rather unwillingness) to move to isolated locations for the sake of career advancement. The author says that too many Black professionals prefer the safety and anonymity of the big city to the more untraveled, less glamorous environs of the small town. Why this is true and how it can be dealt with by business and by management, are subjects covered in this paper.

12. Braddock, J. H., and James M. McPartland. 1987. "How Minorities Continue To Be Excluded from Equal Employment Opportunities: Research on Labor Market and Institutional Barriers." *Journal of Social Issues* 43(1): 5-39.

Barriers to equal opportunities for minorities are examined at three stages of the employment process: the job candidate stage, the job entry stage, and the job performance stage. Using the author's survey of 4078 employers covering a nationally representative sample of jobs, four types of exclusionary barriers are investigated: "segregated

"networks" at the candidate stage, "information bias" and "statistical discrimination" at the entry stage, and "closed internal markets" at the promotion stage. The authors outline the practical implications for equal employment opportunity policies directed toward occupational processes and employment outcomes.

13. Bridges, C. R., and Jolene D. Scriven. 1992. "Career Achievement Characteristics of African Americans College Administrators and African American Executives." *Delta Pi Epsilon* 34(3): 135-46.

Surveys of 245 African-American College administrators (175 responses) and 175 African-American corporate executives (71 responses) revealed similar beliefs regarding crucial career achievement factors: communication, goal setting, high personal standards, and self-confidence. Administrators felt that formal education was more important; executives stressed management training.

14. Campbell, B.M. 1990. "Success Beyond the Open Door." Pp. 112-114 in *Black Enterprise*.

Black professionals are now just about everywhere in the corporate workplace - from Silicon Valley to Wall Street. Yet while having come a long way in one generation, the struggle continues. Impeccable credentials, tenacity, and networking savvy are the keys Black managers have used to gain access to the higher rungs of the corporate ladder.

15. Cianni, M., and Beverly Romberger. 1993 "Gender, Race, and Ethnicity: Effects on the Supervisor-Subordinate Relationship." Paper presented at the *National Academy of Management*, "Academy of Management Meeting: Women in Management Division." Atlanta, Georgia.

Access to developmental experiences provided by immediate supervisors among male and female Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White employees were investigated to determine the influence of (1) gender and race/ethnicity, and (2) relational demography. The author found significant effects for gender and race, and for racial differences. Findings reveal experiences among the groups.

16. Collins, S. M. 1989. "The Marginalization of Black Executives." *Social Problems* 36(4): 317-331.

Employment barriers appear to have lifted to allow greater numbers of educated Blacks to move into high-paying professional and managerial occupations. The author conducted interviews of 76 top-ranking Black executives in the Chicago area to investigate whether greater numbers of Blacks indicate equal participation in the labor market. Findings suggest that Blacks have succeeded within White management hierarchies, but their upward mobility has been delineated racially. Furthermore, this delineated structure creates a highly visible but economically vulnerable Black managerial elite.

17. Cose, E. 1993. *The Rage of a Privileged Class*. New York: Harper Collins, Inc.

Cose interviewed scores of Blacks, men and women, in a wide variety of professions, all with stories of continuing encounters with prejudice, of its damaging effects on their lives, their careers, and their children, and of the painful insensitivity Whites continue to display towards Blacks, no matter how well-dressed, well-connected, well-paid, and competent they may be. Cose shows that for the Black middle class, which has worked hard and played by the rules, the American dream is still a dream deferred.

18. Cox, T., Jr. 1993. *Cultural Diversity in Organizations: Theory, Research and Practice*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publications.

This book is based on the author's ten years of teachings, research and consulting. It provides a comprehensive base of knowledge on the effects of race, gender, culture ethnicity and age in organizations. It also provides action tools for more effective management of cultural diversity in the workplace.

19. Cox, T., Jr., and Stella M. Nkomo. 1986. "Differential Performance Appraisal Criteria: A Field Study of Black and White Managers." *Group and Organization Studies* 11(March-June): 101-119.

The authors discovered that Black managers' social behavior -- an indication of how well they fit in with the established norms -- is an important factor in their overall performance evaluation. On the other hand the authors of the study find that the social behavior of White managers does not appear to be a factor in their performance evaluation. Cox and Nkomo propose that companies provide rater training, institute more objective appraisal processes such as behaviorally anchored rating scales (BARS) or management by objectives (MBO), establish supervisor or peer-evaluation committees, and finally, increase the proportion of people of color in the workforce.

20. Cox, T., Jr., and Stella M. Nkomo. 1991. "A Race and Gender-Group Analysis of the Early Career Experience of MBAs." *Work and Occupations* 18(4): 431-446.

Race and gender differences were examined in four career experience variables using a sample of Black and White MBAs. The results supported the hypothesized race effects for job involvement, access to mentors, career satisfaction, and gender differences in the

job involvement and hierarchical level. However, Black MBAs were not at lower hierarchical levels than White MBAs of comparable experience, and female MBAs did not report significantly less access to mentors or lower career satisfaction than did male MBAs. To improve mentor access, more organizations should establish mentor programs to assist non-Whites and White women in forming support relationships for career enhancement. Such programs already exist in some companies, and favorable results have been reported.

21. Cox, T., Jr., Sharon A. Lobel, and Poppy Lauretta McLeod. 1990. "Effects of Ethnic Group Cultural Differences on Cooperative and Competitive Behavior on a Group Task." *Academy of Management Journal* 34(4): 827-847.

This study tested the hypothesis that differences in the cultural norms of Anglo-Americans and three other ethnic groups -- Asians, Hispanics, and Black Americans -- will result in different behaviors on a group task. The hypothesis: groups composed of people from collectivist cultural traditions would display more cooperative behavior than groups composed from individualistic cultural traditions. Results confirmed this hypothesis. Implications for future research and for organizations seeking to manage diversity are discussed.

22. Cox, T., Jr., and Stella Nkomo. 1993. "Race and Ethnicity." Pp. 205-229 in *Handbook of Organizational Behavior*, ed. R.T. Golembiewski. New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc.

This chapter addresses the impact of racial and ethnic diversity on organizational processes and behavior. There are several reasons for devoting a chapter to this subject. First, in America, race has been shown to influence many categories of life experience.

Second, previous research on the effects of race in the organizational context has generally shown that the work experience of employees varies systematically by race. Finally, the workforce in the United States and throughout the world is becoming increasingly more diverse in terms of race and ethnicity. Throughout the chapter the term racioethnicity is used to refer to the combination of physical and cultural differences that distinguish Euro-caucasian members of organizations from minority groups such as African-Americans, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans, and American Indians.

23. Crocker, J., and B. Major. 1989. "Social Stigma and Self-Esteem: The Self-Protective Properties of Stigma." *Psychological Review* 96 (4): 608-630.

The authors propose that members of stigmatized groups act to protect their self-concept. It is proposed that members of stigmatized groups may (a) attribute negative feedback to prejudice against their group, (b) compare their outcomes with those of the in-group, rather than with relatively advantaged out-groups, and (c) selectively devalue those dimensions on which their group fares poorly and value those dimensions on which their group excels. Evidence for each of these processes and their consequences for self-esteem and motivation is reviewed.

24. Cunningham, J. S., and Nadja Zalokar. 1992. "The Economic Progress of Black Women, 1940-1980: Occupational Distribution and Relative Wages." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 45(3): 540-555.

Micro-level data from the 1940, 1960, and 1980 Censuses of Population are used to examine the long-term trends in Black women's relative economic status. Black women's increased relative wages after 1940 are linked to their entry, especially after 1960, into occupations and industries in which they were previously unrepresented, most

notably factory jobs and clerical work. The authors find little evidence that convergence in the characteristics of Black and White women (increasingly similar education, for example) is responsible for Black women's increased relative wages and occupational status. They conclude that Black women's improved economic status after 1940 was largely due to decreases in racial discrimination by occupation and industry. They also find that, in the South, racial discrimination had greater adverse effects on Black women and began to decrease there later than in the rest of the U.S.

25. Dauffenbach, R. C., and Paul W. Grimes. 1989. "Self-Selection and Occupational Mobility." *International Journal of Manpower* 10(3): 11-19.

The determinants of occupational upgrading over time for mobile workers in the U.S. are analyzed using three cross-sectional data sets created from supplemental mobility surveys conducted jointly with the Current Population Survey during January 1979, 1978, and 1981. A single equation multiple linear regression model that controls for variables theoretically identified as determinants of occupational upgrading is estimated for both male and female workers. Findings indicate a trend toward greater sexual and racial equality in mobility outcomes in the job market. Probit results indicate significant differentials in the probabilities of occupational mobility in race and sex coefficients for the two earlier periods. For 1981, the coefficients fall substantially to about one-third to one-half of the previous levels. While advantages still appear to accrue to White males in such variables as education, internal mobility, and experience, the trends seem to be in the right direction.

26. Davidson, M. N. 1993. "The Effect of Racioethnicity on Beliefs about Coping with Interpersonal Conflict: A Comparison of African American and European

Americans." Amos Tuck School of Business, Dartmouth College, Working Paper No. 298: 34.

The interpersonal conflict management behavior of African-Americans and European-Americans are compared. Davis suggests that conflict resolution is hampered by ignorance of cultural norms of diverse workforce members. According to Davis, African-American subjects reported using more aggressive confrontation, less avoidance, tolerating more hostility, and feeling more pessimistic about outcomes than European-American subjects. African-American men reported more aggressive strategies than the rest of the subjects.

27. Davis, G., and Glegg Watson. 1982. *Black Life in Corporate America: Swimming in the Mainstream*. New York: Doubleday.

This book attempts to look at aspects of the mostly hidden effects on the personal lives of Black men and women who have entered the managerial ranks of major American corporations. Using interviews with over 160 managers and experts, as well as scholarly and popular writing in the field, the authors have constructed a mirror into which Black and White managers can look to see reflections on their work lives, not the entire lives but those portions where they interact across racial lines.

28. Dickens, F., Jr., and Jacqueline B. Dickens. 1991. *The Black Manager: Making It in the Corporate World*. 2 ed. New York: AMACOM.

This work provides a step-by-step process for overcoming barriers and suggests effective ways to manage of a diverse workforce. The authors describe strategies for maximizing chances of success in organizations for Black managers. Suggestions are categorized as:

internal (controlling rage and developing an effective personal style); external (forming key relationships with others in the organization); and environmental (the strategic management of corporate culture, effective use of power, and Black development).

29. Dickens, F., and Jacqueline B. Dickens 1982. *The Black Manager: Making It In The Corporate World*. New York: AMACOM.

Dickens and Dickens seeks to address the question, "why are some Blacks successful, and move up in White institutions, while other of equal intelligence struggle, flounder, give up, and are set aside?" This volume is the result of research data collected from interviews conducted with Black managers in White institutions. Research interests focused on pinpointing some attitudes, emotions, behaviors, and job skills learned by Black managers in adjusting and becoming successful in White corporations. This book outlines practical day-to-day how-to solutions to the management problems faced by Black men and women.

30. DiTomaso, N., and Donna E. Thompson. 1988. "The Advancement of Minorities into Corporate Management: An Overview." *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* 6: 281-312.

The advancement of minorities into corporate management is an important indicator of equal opportunity and access to equal life chances for minority persons in the United States. This paper provides an overview of the issues and research findings on this topic. It discusses the current status of minorities in corporate careers, the prospects for the future, policy implications, and directions for future research.

31. Edmond, A., Jr. 1993. "Gee, Blacks Really Did Lose More Jobs." P. 20 in *Black Enterprise*.

In March 1987, *Black Enterprise* reported that Black professionals felt disproportionately victimized by the downsizing ax. The corporate response suggested that corporations had a commitment to diversity and existing EEO laws, and that African-Americans would not lose more than their share of jobs. Eight years later, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, African-Americans have experienced deeper cuts than other groups since the term "downsizing" has come into vogue.

32. Essed, P. 1991. *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

This volume compares contemporary racism in the United States and the Netherlands through in-depth interviews with fifty-five Black women. Essed's book seriously challenges both the notion of Dutch tolerance and the idea that U. S. racism is a problem of the past, by employing an interdisciplinary analysis of gendered social constructions of race. Essed problematizes and reinterprets many of the meanings and everyday practices that the majority of society has come to take for granted.

33. Feagin, J. R., and Melvin Sikes. 1994. *Living with Racism: The Black Middle-Class Experience*. Boston: Beacon Press.

The authors use in-depth interviews with 209 middle-class African-Americans in professional jobs, including those working in corporations, to show the continued discrimination they face in their everyday life experiences. The authors argue that in spite of hard work and personal achievement, African-Americans still suffer

discrimination because of White racism. Chapter 4 gives an account of work-place discrimination faced by African-Americans.

34. Feldman, D. C. 1981. "The Multiple Socialization of Organization Members." *Academy of Management Review* 6: 309-318.

The author presents an integrated model of three relatively distinct views of organizational socialization: the development of work skills and abilities; the acquisition of a set of appropriate role behaviors; and the adjustment to the work group's norms and values. A theoretical rationale is developed to explain the contingencies on which progress through the different socialization processes depends. Three attitudinal variables (general satisfaction, internal work motivation, and job development) and three behavioral variables (carrying out role assignments dependably, remaining with the organization, innovation/spontaneous cooperation) are suggested as criteria for measuring progress in socialization.

35. Fernandez, J. P. 1987. *Survival in the Corporate Fishbowl: Making It into Upper and Middle Management*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

This edition covers diversity issues, such as race and sex differences, as problems that many employees must face. The author makes recommendations concerning career problems faced by people of color, women, and White male employees. Issues of specific interest to women and people of color include exclusion from informal work groups, dual-performance standards, and stereotypes.

36. Fernandez, J. P. 1991. *Managing a Diverse Work Force*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

The main thesis of this book is that the key to the United States' successful competition in the new global marketplace will be the diversity of its people. Data in this book is drawn from major surveys conducted in 1971-1972, 1976-1978, 1986, and 1988-1989. In total, over 50,000 lower-level, middle-level, and upper-level managers as well as occupational workers participated in these surveys. Fernandez concludes that those companies that are unwilling to take into account their employees' differences will be unable to attract a sufficient number of workers to fill their needs, because workers will gravitate by preference to organizations where they are fully appreciated.

37. Fisher, A. B. 1988. "The Downside of Downsizing." *Fortune* 117 (May 23): 42-52.

When companies fire middle managers, the survivors are prey to distraction, disloyalty, and resentment. Smart employers can keep their good will -- and productivity. This article gives some practical tips for managing downsizing.

38. Fitzgerald, M. 1993. "Minorities Managing Minorities." *Editor and Publisher* 126 (35): 28-29.

According to Black managers, management complications are emerging as increasing numbers of African-Americans move up the corporate ranks in news organizations. These issues were explored at a session entitled "Minorities Managing Minorities" during the recent National Association of Black Journalists convention. Problems crop up from both African-American managers and their African-American charges. Black managers themselves often feel they are held to a higher -- or different -- standards because of their race.

39. Friedman, R. A., and Donna Carter. 1993. "African-American Network Groups: Their Impact and Effectiveness." Harvard Business School, Working Paper No. 93-069.

Minority employee "network" groups are a new, emerging form of employee organization that is eliciting both hopes and fears among employers and employees. This paper addresses the following questions: How are they organized? What are their goals? How effective are they at achieving their goals? And what factors influence whether they are effective? They found most groups establish positive relationships with their companies and are a source of personal and career support for members.

40. Gaberiel, P. E., Donald R. Williams, and Susanne Schmitz. 1990. "The Relative Occupational Attainment of Young Blacks, Whites, and Hispanics." *Southern Economic Journal* 57(1): 35-46.

The authors examine the proposition that young Blacks and Hispanics encounter discrimination resulting in occupational segregation in the labor market. A multinomial logit model was used to construct hypothetical occupational distributions for young Black and Hispanic males and females, based on White male and female occupational structures from the National Longitudinal Survey Youth Cohort. A comparison of hypothetical distributions with actual distributions permitted the authors to estimate the extent to which minority youth face different processes for occupational attainment than Whites. The findings suggest that, for all minority cohorts examined, occupational distributions improved when adjusted to the White occupational structure. Overall, the impact of disparate treatment on occupational segregation was most pronounced for Black males and least pronounced for Hispanic females. The difference was statistically significant.

only for Black males. It is noted that policy measures designed to decrease occupational segregation among Black males should focus on the unionized sectors of the economy.

41. Gleckman, H., Tim Smart, Paula Dwyer, Troy Segal, and Joseph Weber. 1991. "Race in the Workplace: Is Affirmative Action Working?" Pp. 51-63 in *BusinessWeek* (July 8).

Does affirmative action work? The short answer: YES. Since the effort to end job bias began in earnest 25 years ago, minorities have achieved major gains. Yet affirmative action has become, for many, 'a four-letter word' that ignites racial tension. In this issue, *BusinessWeek* takes a look at several issues: How the model for equal opportunity ran afoul of the Labor Department, and how job cuts complicate the hiring and training of minority managers, and women, Hispanics, and Asians.

42. Greene, J. 1993. "Black Execs Believe Discrimination Hinders Their Careers - Survey." *Modern Healthcare* 23(10): 4.

According to a recent survey, Black healthcare executives overwhelmingly believe that their lower salaries and difficulty in gaining promotions have been the result of discrimination. The survey was released at the annual meeting of the American College of Healthcare Executives. Percy Allen, II, president of the National Association of Health Services Executives, outlined eight steps that two associations will take during the next several years to end discrimination. They include emphasizing the importance of first jobs and encouraging more networking among executives. The survey found that in 1990, Blacks earned a median of \$53, 000, compared with a median of \$67, 000 for Whites; fewer Blacks held CEO or top positions than Whites; and 96% of Blacks believe

that White managers have greater opportunities to advance than Black managers, while only 43% of White executives agreed that Blacks are at a disadvantage.

44. Greenhaus, J. H., Saroj Parasuraman, and Wayne M. Wormley. 1990. "Effects of Race on Organizational Experiences, Job Performance Evaluations, and Career Outcomes." *Academy of Management Journal* 33(1): 64-86.

This study examined relationships among race, organizational experience, job performance, and career outcomes for Black and White managers at three work organizations. Compared to the White managers, Blacks felt less accepted in their organizations, perceived themselves as having less discretion on their jobs, received lower ratings from their supervisors on their job performance and promotability, were more likely to have reached career plateaus, and experienced lower levels of satisfaction. This study examined the direct and indirect effects of race on job performance evaluations and career outcomes.

45. Greenhaus, J. H., and Saroj Parasuraman. 1993. "Job Performance Attributions and Career Advancement Prospects: An Examination of Gender and Race Effects." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 55: 273-297.

This article is part of a large study being conducted by the authors. The data were collected from 748 Black and White managers and professionals, and their supervisors, working in three companies. Researcher found that male and female managers who were rated as moderately successful were equally likely to have their performance attributed to ability. On the other hand, for women who were rate as highly successful, performance attribution had less to do with ability. For highly successful Blacks, performance was consistently more likely to be attributed to help from others, rather than to ability.

46. Hilliard, S. 1990. "Smashing the Glass Ceiling." *Black Enterprise* 21(1): 99-108.

U.S. corporations in the 1990s will be attempting to regain a leadership position in technology, reorganize in the aftermath of mergers and acquisitions, and manage an incredibly diverse workforce. Companies are also continuing to downsized workforces under the positive direction of right sizing. The Black Enterprise Corporate Roundtable, formed in 1987, reconvened in May 1990 to assess how well Blacks survived the first round of corporate downsizing activities and to clarify the role of Black professionals in the restructuring of American business in the 1990s. According to James G. Kaiser of Corning Glass Works, the best way for Blacks to prepare for senior management is to move back and forth between staff and line positions. Shila Clark of Dow Jones and Co. Inc. believes that there is an increase in the recruitment on Black college campuses from small and mid-sized companies. Although Walter C. Verneace of Amerada Hess Corp. feels that the struggle for Black middle managers is just as serious now as it was 35 years ago, the talent for that advancement exists in today's businesses and universities.

47. Hoffman, E. 1985. "The Effects of Race-Ratio Composition on the Frequency of Organizations Communication." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 48(1): 17-26.

Kanter's (1977) tokenism hypothesis predicts that as minority and majority social types within a group reach numerical parity, interactional isolation between the two groups will diminish. In an exploratory manner, it was hypothesized that increasing minority representation in a group would also affect the group's total frequency of interaction. It was found that increasing race-ratio composition was positively associated only with organization-level communication frequency.

48. Hund, J. M. 1970. *Black Entrepreneurship*. Problems in a Business Society, eds. Clarence C. Walton and Joseph W. McGuire. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing, Inc.

This volume in the Problems in a Business Society series focuses on the problem of bringing the Black minority of this country into the mainstream of American economic life. It centers on various institutional barriers that have served to prevent full participation. A point strongly emphasized throughout the book is that the development of human resources, not money alone, is the principal ingredient generally lacking in Black entrepreneurial situations. Thus, the book has applicability for the fields of sociology, social welfare, and political science as well as economics and business administration.

49. Ibarra, H. 1993. "Race, Opportunity, and Diversity of Social Circles in Managerial Networks." Harvard Business School. Working Paper No. 93-045.

This study investigates the informal networks of a diverse group of middle managers. Relative to their White counterparts, the minority managers had networks that were more racially heterogeneous and had fewer intimate informal relationships. Within the minority group, significant network differences were also observed between those who varied in their potential for advancement: In contrast to the predictions of the assimilation paradigm, high-potential minorities developed a balance of same- and cross-race contacts to gain access to instrumental and social support, while non-high potential minorities tended to have networks comprised primarily of ties to Whites. The racial composition of the network, in turn, was associated with the range of organizational groups represented in the network and differences in views concerning the integration of racial and professional identity at work.

50. Illgen, D. R., and M. A. Youtz. 1986. "Factors Affecting the Evaluation and Development of Minorities in Organizations." Pp. 307-337 in *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management: A Research Annual*, eds. K. Rowland and G. Ferris. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

The authors identify three major factors affecting the development and advancement of minorities in organizations. Drawing upon social psychological concepts they argue that rater bias, lost opportunities, and self-limiting behavior impact how minorities are evaluated. Rater bias occurs mainly because of stereotyping of minority employees. Minorities have lost opportunities because they lack access to mentors ,work in less challenging jobs and are left out of the informal network. Self-limiting behavior occurs as a long-term consequence of experiencing rater bias and lost opportunities.

51. Irons, E. D., and Gilbert W. Moore. 1985. *Black Managers: The Case of the Banking Industry*. New York: Praeger.

Drawing on one of the most comprehensive studies of Black managers in industry, this book offers insight into the perceptions and working realities that affect the progress of Black managers in banking. The study shows that eight out of ten Black Americans feel that the industry does not afford them the same opportunities as it does White Americans. This book analyzes the environment that has shaped this belief, at the same time that it describes practical strategies for success within the system.

52. Jackson, S. E., Joan F. Brett, Valerie I. Sessa, Dawn M. Cooper, Johan A. Julin, and Karl Peyronnin. 1991. "Some Differences Make a Difference: Individual

Dissimilarity and Group Heterogeneity as Correlates of Recruitment, Promotions, and Turnover." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 76(5): 675-689.

Schneider's (1987) attraction-selection-attrition model and Pfeffer's (1983) organization demography model were used to generate individual-level and group-level hypotheses relating interpersonal context to recruitment, promotion, and turnover patterns. For 93 top management teams in bank holding companies examined over a four-year period, turnover rate was predicted by group heterogeneity. For individuals, turnover was predicted by dissimilarity to other group members, but promotion was not. Team heterogeneity was a relatively strong predictor of team turnover rates. Furthermore, reliance on internal recruitment predicted subsequent team homogeneity.

53. Jackson, S. E., Veronica K. Stone, and Eden B. Alvarez. 1993. "Socialization Amidst Diversity: The Impact of Demographics on Work Team Oldtimers and Newcomers." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 15: 45-109.

This paper presents a broad framework for studying diversity that focuses on its impact on the socialization processes of oldtimers and newcomers within work teams, for it is during the socialization phase of group life that relations among group members are established and routinized. Key components comprising the framework cross multiple levels of analysis and include: demographic and personal attributes, intrapersonal mediating processes, interpersonal manifestations, and subsequent, more distal consequences. The authors derive several propositions about the relationships among these phenomena from existing evidence and offer them to stimulate new research.

54. Jackson, S. E., Karen E. May, and Kristina Whitney. 1994. "Understanding the Dynamics of Diversity in Decisions Making Teams." *Team Decision Making*

Effectiveness in Organizations, eds. R.A. Guzzo and E. Salas. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Changing workforce demographics and new organizational forms are increasing the diversity of work teams in general and decision-making teams in particular. After describing the types of diversity that characterize today's work teams, the authors present a general framework for analyzing how this diversity influences decision-making teams, their individual members, and their employing organizations. This framework guides the subsequent discussion of the dynamics of diversity. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of some of the implications of the analysis for both research and practice.

55. Jones, E. W. 1986. "Black Managers: The Dream Deferred." *Harvard Business Review* 64: 84-93.

In July-August 1973, HBR published Edward Jones's personal account, "What It's Like to Be a Black Manager." At the time he was a division manager at New York Telephone Company. A decade later, HBR asked Jones to assess the progress of Black managers in U.S. corporations. This article is the result. Jones suggests that even in the midst of the gains of equal employment legislation, there is still something ominous afoot. He says that in conversations with Black managers, he has heard expressions of disappointment, dismay, frustration, and anger because they have not gained acceptance on a par with their White counterparts.

56. Kanter, R. M. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Kanter's book is a seminal work in the study of organizations, particularly for the study of women in organizations. In this book she outlines a theory that the nature of intragroup interaction is a function of the proportional representation within the group.

57. Kennedy, S. 1988. "The Lowdown on Moving Up." *Black Enterprise* 18(7): 152-156.

Doris Young Boyer of Bristol Myers International Group has advanced in the human resources division by expanding her knowledge and expertise through company training programs and external courses. Through exposure to different levels of the company's ranks, Boyer believes one can extend beyond the traditional scope of one's position. This broadened approach enables the Black professional to achieve upward mobility. Many careers today are advanced by skills such as computer literacy, foreign language fluency, communication, creativity, and leadership. Line experience also enhances employees' understand of operations and increases their value to the company. Howard H. Bond of Executech Consultants Inc. advises Blacks to develop creativity and leadership skills through community service work. Mentoring and networking are two essential methods of establishing a foothold within a company. Some effective approaches to networking include: volunteering for assignments, initiating joint projects, attending seminars, and joining professional organizations. However, any networking strategy must be horizontal as well as vertical.

58. Kleiman, L. S., M. D. Biderman, and Robert. H. Faley. 1987. "An Examination of Employee Perceptions of a Subjective Performance Appraisal System." *Journal of Business and Psychology* 2: 112-121.

The authors identify factors related to employee perceptions of the accuracy of subjective performance ratings and the extent to which sex and race affect employees' perceptions. They reported that the Black females in their study perceived the appraisal process as less fair and accurate compared to White males and females. However, Black females with more job experience perceived the system as being fair and accurate. Thus, they concluded that job experience has a moderating affect on employee's perceptions of the accuracy and fairness of subjective performance ratings.

59. Kochman, T. 1981. *Black and White Styles in Conflict*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Kochman's book is an ethnographic study that looks at Black and White interactions in an attempt to discover what participants were seeing in each other's behavior that prompted them to react as they did. Kochman suggest that there are patterns of behavior in communications between Blacks and Whites that appear problematic. In this study, Kochman selects those patterns of behavior, or elements of patterns, and mapped Black and White cognitive territory to reveal or clarify the cultural reasons for communication difficulty. Kochman calls upon the reader to draw upon their own interracial experiences in order to provide a frame of reference into which the analysis can fit.

60. Konrad, A. M., and Barbara A. Gutek. 1987. "Theory and Research on Group Composition: Applications to the Status of Women and Ethnic Minorities." Pp. 85-121 in *Interpersonal Processes*. eds. S. Oskamp and Shirlynn Spacapan. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

In this chapter the authors first define group composition and describe how group distinctions occur. From that basis, they then outline and discuss three major ways in

which group composition can vary. Throughout the discussion, the authors focus on group composition regarding women and ethnic minorities since these are strong social distinctions and have been the subjects of intense research.

61. Kraiger, K., and J. Kevin Ford. 1985. "A Meta-Analysis of Ratee Race Effects in Performance Ratings." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 70(1): 56-65.

A recent review of ratee race effects on performance rating found conflicting results. For present research, meta-analytic techniques can substantiate the existence of ratee race effects and clarify whether the effects were related more to ratee race or situational factors. Substantial moderating effects were found for study setting (field vs. laboratory) and for the relative presence of Blacks in the sample. Race effects were more likely in field settings when Blacks composed a small percentage of the workforce. The authors discuss the appropriate role of laboratory studies and the implications of the results for guiding future research on racial bias.

62. Lacayo, R. 1989. "Between Two Worlds." *Time* 133 (11): 58-68.

Middle-class Blacks are making it in America -- but they are paying the price. Though their incomes, education, and life-styles rival those of their White counterparts, middle-class Blacks remain in some ways second-class citizens. Even with the passage of civil rights laws, a color barrier still exists where Blacks live and work. Nor has their own affluence resolved ambivalent feelings about the plight of the underclass.

63. Lang, M. 1992. "Barriers to Black Educational Achievement in Higher Education: A Statistical and Conceptual Review." *Journal of Black Studies* 22(4): 510-522.

Census and other data are used to examine recent trends in the educational achievement of Blacks at the secondary and postsecondary levels, presenting a statistical and conceptual summary of factors that affect their educational achievement. Findings show that the percentage of Blacks enrolling in colleges declined between 1976 to 1985, from its peak in the late 1970s. Black male college enrollment declined more than that of Black females. It is argued that a major problem is getting Black youths to make the transition from high school graduation to college enrollment, and to stay in college through graduation. Barriers and obstacles relevant to these problems include: college admission exams and requirements, academic preparation, family financial resources and socioeconomic status, and institutional factors.

64. Loughran, T. 1991. "Corning Tries to Break the Glass Ceiling." *Business and Society Review* Winter 1991 (76): 52-55.

In 1988, Corning Inc. Chairman James R. Houghton announced ambitious targets to be reached by 1991: Corning would attempt to increase the number of women professionals from 17.4% of the total to 23.2%, the number of Black professionals from 5.1% to 7.4%, the number of Black senior managers from one to five, and the number of women among senior managers from four to ten. Currently, Corning has only seven women senior managers and only three Blacks among its top executives. Blacks make up 6.5% of the firms salaried professionals; women make up 20.5%. Nonetheless, Corning is continuing its efforts to break the glass ceiling. In addition to sponsoring quality improvement teams that focus specifically on issues related to Blacks and to women, Corning also holds mandatory workshops to reinforce its policies against racial bias and gender discrimination and to encourage better working relationships among its diverse employee sectors.

65. McNatt, R.J. 1984 "Pride and Prejudice: The Story of Black Employee Associations." *Black Enterprise* 14(9): 63-65.

After Black professionals entered the ranks of major U.S. corporations in significant numbers in the late sixties and early seventies, their next concern was how to express their interests and make themselves heard. This concern resulted in the establishment of worker organizations at various large companies. Although there are not that many worker organizations, they have been largely successful in attaining their goals: to gain influence in corporate decision-making in such areas as hiring and promoting, to orient Black employees to the sometimes hostile corporate environment, to raise money for charitable causes, and to improve communication between top management and Black workers. One of the keys to building such a group is getting support from upper corporate management. An active membership is also essential, but some Blacks fear that joining will deter their career advancement. Many companies are fully behind their Black workers' efforts to organize, recognizing that having such groups is in their own best interest. Career development has become the main activity of most Black employee associations, which also play an advocacy role in advancing the cause of employees they believe are being hindered by racism. Personal needs are always balanced by the needs of the community, and many associations award scholarships or support similar community programs.

66. Morrison, A. M., Randall P. White, and Ellen Van Velsor. 1987. *Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Can Women Reach the Top of America's Largest Corporations?* New York: Addison-Wesley.

Since 1987, when *Breaking the Glass Ceiling* was originally published, "glass ceiling" has become a household term. Managers and media alike have used this term often as a symbol of inequality for women and, more recently, for people of color as well. The authors suggest that executives who had assumed that work/family policies would solve women's problems are increasingly shifting the focus to include more systematic career development and more objective promotion processes in their diversity tool kit.

67. Morrison, A. M. 1992. "The New Leaders: Guidelines on Leadership Diversity in America." The Jossey-Bass Management Series, eds. Leonard Nadler and Zeace Nadler. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

The purpose of this book is to help organizations and leaders design and implement practices that will develop diversity within the management ranks. The book provides information and guidelines regarding the practices that have worked in organizations noted for their progress on diversity, particularly at the management level. The material in the book is based on research into the experiences of 16 organizations that have been especially successful in diversifying their leadership.

68. Moss, P., and Chris Tilly. 1991. "Raised Hurdles for Black Men: Evidence from Interviews with Employers." Paper presented at the *Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management - Annual Conference*. Bethesda, Maryland.

Recent evidence indicates that both earnings and employment of young Black men are falling further behind those of their White counterparts. While growth in the employment gap is long-standing, widening of the wage differential is relatively new. Based on the recent review of the literature on this issue, the authors identify four possible sources of declining demand for Black men's labor that appear worthy of further investigation:

increased skill needs by business; locational shifts of employers away from concentrated areas of Black population; more negative employer perceptions of potential Black male employees; and growing adoption of recruiting and screening procedures that disproportionately exclude Black men.

69. Mueller, C. W., Toby L. Parcel, and Kazuko Tanaka. 1989. "Particularism in Authority Outcomes of Black and White Supervisors." *Social Science Research* 18: 1-20.

Based on Kanter's notion that homogeneous social systems tend to reproduce themselves and the claim that promotion within authority hierarchies is susceptible to particular manipulation, the authors posit several hypotheses on how Black and White male supervisors attain authority as supervisors. Span of control (the number of subordinates) and span of responsibility (say regarding promotions and salary) are the dimensions of authority studied. Among the findings: regardless of race, a supervisor's span of responsibility, as compared with span of control, is more closely linked to the variables examined in the study. The authors infer that the granting of responsibility for making decisions about pay and promotions is more carefully scrutinized and controlled than the granting of more subordinates to be supervised.

70. Murrell, A. J. 1993. *Effects of Racial Group Identity And Organizational Experiences on Career Outcomes of African American Women*. Unpublished manuscript.

Participants (n=309) from a continuing study on mental and physical health of inner city African-American women completed measures of internalized racism and work experiences. The author also collected measures of current job level and total income. Negative identification with racial group membership was associated with low career

outcomes; women who endorsed negative racial stereotypes of African-Americans reported low job level and less disposable income. The impact of negative racial identity was moderated by experiences within the organization. Those with high negative racial group identity and frequent organizational changes had negative career outcomes while women with positive racial group identity and infrequent contact with organizational conflict had positive career outcomes. Implications of these findings are discussed.

71. Nkomo, S. M., and Taylor Cox, Jr. 1989. "Gender Differences in the Upward Mobility of Black Managers - Double Whammy or Double Advantage." *Sex Roles* 21: 825-839.

This study draws upon the theory and research on intraorganizational mobility to examine gender differences in the upward mobility of Black managers. Results suggest that neither the "double whammy" assumption nor the "double advantage" assumption accurately describes the contemporary experience of Black female managers in corporate America. Upward mobility rates were nearly identical for both gender groups. Other findings and the implications of the results for future research are discussed.

72. Nkomo, S. M., and Taylor Cox, Jr. 1990. "Factors Affecting the Upward Mobility of Black Managers in Private Sector Organizations." *The Review of Black Political Economy* 18(3): 39-57.

Compared to the 1970s, Blacks made less progress in moving into the managerial occupational category in the sector during the 1980s decade. This study utilized a model of intrafirm mobility to examine the factors affecting the upward mobility of Black managers in private sector organizations. Results indicate that line position experience, company seniority, mentor assistance, organization size, and the rate of job vacancies

were the best predictors of management promotions. The authors discuss the implications of these findings for the economic prosperity of the Black community.

73. Nkomo, S. M. 1992. "The Emperor Has No Clothes: Rewriting 'Race in Organizations'." *Academy of Management Review* 17(3): 487-513.

This article analyzes how race has been studied in organization scholarship and demonstrates how our approaches to the study of race reflect and reify particular historical and social meanings of race. The author argues that the production of knowledge about race must be understood within a racial ideology embedded in a Eurocentric view of the world. Finally, a "re-vision" of the very concept of race and its historical and political meaning is suggested for rewriting "race" as a necessary and productive analytical category for theorizing about organizations.

74. Pettigrew, T. F.. and Joanne Martin. 1987. "Shaping the Organizational Context for Black American Inclusion." *Journal of Science Issues* 43(1): 41-78.

This paper reviews the problems that arise at the recruitment, entry, and promotional stages for Black Americans. The problems arise from two interrelated sources: the structure of the situations themselves and the operation of anti-Black prejudice in both its traditional and modern forms. The authors advance a social psychological analysis that emphasizes the biases introduced by the "triple jeopardy" these new workers often endure: (1) negative racial stereotypes, (2) the solo role -- when the worker is the only Black in the group, and (3) the token role - when new Black workers are viewed by White co-workers as incompetent simply because they received their jobs through affirmative action.

75. Pfeffer, J. 1983. "Organizational Demography." *Research in Organizational Behavior* 5: 299-357.

The demography of formal organizations, more specifically, the length of service distribution of the work force, is argued to be an important explanatory variable in organizational analysis. Demography is, in part, a function of the rate of growth of the organization and the industry or sector in which it operates; the technology employed; the employment practices relating to compensation; layoff policies; and factors affecting voluntary and involuntary turnover; and unionization, which has important effects on these employment practices. The authors also discuss how to measure demography, the difference between demography and other concepts (such as turnover), and the type of explanations possible using demography as a variable in understanding organizations.

76. Poussaint, A.F. 1987. "The Price of Success." Pp. 76-80 in *Ebony*.

A sensitive issue continues to intrude on the tenuous tranquillity of the Black middle class. It is expressed in the traditional warning to all whose success takes them beyond their origins: "Don't forget where you came from!" Poussaint suggests that remembering their roots burdens many mainstream Blacks with feelings of either guilt or denial.

77. Reynolds, L. 1987. "The EEOC and the 'Glass Ceiling'." *Management Review* 76(12): 17-18.

Women and Blacks have made huge advances in getting elected to public office on the state and local levels, and they have enjoyed economic progress since the advent of affirmative action and other civil rights legislation. However, both groups point out that they continue to lag behind the earning power of their White male counterparts.

Moreover, they say that sex and race discrimination continue to be problems, although today they are more subtle. Critics of the Reagan administration say it has helped strengthen this "glass ceiling" by its unwillingness to file class-action suits or implement industry-wide hiring goals and quotas. Also, the EEOC has been charged with placing more of the burden of proof on complainants, which has led to an overwhelming backlog of cases and has done little to eliminate patterns of discrimination. Women and minorities on the national level are seeking to become independent political power brokers rather than supporting players.

78. Schneider, B. 1987. "The People Make the Place." *Personnel Psychology* 40: 437-453.

The author presents a framework for understanding the etiology of organizational behavior. The framework is based on theory and research from interactional psychology, vocational psychology, industrial and organizational psychology, and organizational theory. The framework proposes that organizations are functions of the kind of people they contain and, further, that the people there are functions of an attraction-selection-attrition (ASA) cycle. The ASA cycle is proposed as an alternative model for understanding organizations and the causes of the structures, processes, and technology of organizations. First, the ASA framework is developed through a series of propositions, then some implication of the model are outlined.

79. Sidlo, R. B., and Brian H. Kleiner. 1992. "Discrimination in Employment by Race." *Equal Opportunities International* 11(2): 1-5.

Racial discrimination in employment is only one type of discriminatory activity that Black Americans face. Although Affirmative Action (AA) is a positive and worthwhile

endeavor for minorities, management must be cognizant of the very important side effect of heavy reliance on AA requirements. Often when minorities attain representation in prestigious positions, the self-esteem of the group is impacted negatively. The concept of pluralism represents a change from the idea of equal opportunity and AA as remediation to the positive concept and benefits of a truly mixed workforce at all levels. Pluralism must embody diversity. With the diversity of today's labor force, a mixture of political views, religious belief, and values will inevitably be found within an organization. Through the concept of pluralism, a company can relate better to its customers and to other key stakeholders. Better ideas come out of mixed groups, implying a competitive advantage for a firm that can pool such talent.

80. Steele, S. 1990. *The Content of Our Character*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Steele says that if America is ever to achieve true racial harmony, its citizens must start by examining their own attitudes and preconceptions, and stop hiding behind the powerful symbol of skin color. Steele challenges Black Americans to embrace a pride based on achievement and cultural contribution, and to abandon the self-defeating pride of victimization. Equally important, White Americans must face their own prejudices, embracing Blacks as equal partners in society not just in the law but in their hearts.

81. Thomas, D. A., and Clayton P. Alderfer. 1989. "The Influence of Race on Career Dynamics: Theory and Research on Minority Career Experiences." Pp. 133-158 in *Handbook of Career Theory*, eds. W.A. Pasmore and Richard W. Woodman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This chapter is concerned with understanding how race and race relations influence career dynamics. Statistics on the occupational status of racial minority groups suggest that race

is a strong predictor of position in the labor market and career patterns. There is beginning to emerge a small body of research by scholars in organizational behavior that seeks to understand the dynamics of race in organizations and minority career and adult development processes. This review identifies and interprets the aspects of this research that have implications for other racial minorities as well as Black Americans.

82. Thomas, D. A. 1989. "Mentoring and Irrationality: The Role of Racial Taboos." *Human Resource Management* 28(2): 279-290.

Based on a sample of interview results that the author obtained when studying mentoring relationships between Black and White managers in WRL, a large corporation, this article suggests that race relations are embedded in taboos that both highlight and suppress the links between race and sex. Thomas examines how these taboos are experienced, and then explores the links between these experiences and the process of mentoring. Finally, implications for the human resource practice are discussed.

83. Thomas, D. A. 1990. "The Impact of Race on Manager's Experiences of Developmental Relationships (Mentoring and Sponsorships): An Intra-Organizational Study." *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 11: 479-492.

This study examines the influence of race on protégés' experiences of forming developmental relationships. Data were collected from 88 Black and 107 White managers, who, collectively, accounted for 487 developmental relationships. The results indicate that White protégés form 63 percent of their developmental relationships with Whites. Blacks are more likely than Whites to form relationships outside the formal lines of authority and outside their departments. Furthermore, same-race relationships were found to provide significantly more psychosocial support than cross-race relationships.

84. Thomas, D. A. 1993. "Racial Dynamics in Cross-Race Developmental Relationships." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 38: 169-194.

Data from qualitative field studies of 22 cross-race (African-American and White) supportive work relationships between pairs of junior and senior people are used to examine how people's strategies for dealing with the issue of race affect the kind of relationship that develops between the two and whether the senior person becomes merely a sponsor for the protégé, providing him or her with career support such as advocacy for promotions, feedback, and coaching, or whether the senior person becomes a mentor, offering psychosocial support and friendship along with instrumental career support. The study showed that the parties' preferred strategy for dealing with racial difference -- either denying and suppressing it or discussing it openly -- and whether both parties preferred the same strategy influenced the kind of relationship that developed. The paper provides a model of how racial dynamics affect cross-race developmental relationships.

85. Thomas, R. R., Jr. 1990. "From Affirmative Action to Affirming Diversity." *Harvard Business Review* (March-April): 107-117.

Thomas says that sooner or later affirmative action will die a natural death. Its achievements have been stupendous, but if we look at the premises that underlie it, we find assumptions and priorities that look increasingly shopworn. Thomas says that in his work, he has found that the realities facing U.S. corporations are no longer the realities affirmative action was designed to fix.

86. Thomas, J., and Matthew S. Scott. 1991. "Studies Show Widespread Bias Against Blacks." *Black Enterprise* 22(1): 11.

A series of recent studies have provided the strongest evidence ever that discrimination against African-Americans is still widespread in the U.S. The most significant study, by the Urban Institute, found that Blacks were three times more likely to be discriminated against than Whites when applying for jobs. Research for the Urban Institute study, "Opportunities Denied, Opportunities Diminished: Discrimination in Hiring," was conducted in the summer of 1990. Another study was conducted by Kathryn M. Nierman and Joleen Kirschenman of the University of Chicago. Interviews with senior executives at 185 Chicago-area firms indicate that employers did not hesitate to use race stereotypes to evaluate the quality of workers. Los Angeles sociologist Lawrence Bobo, co-author of "Racial Attitudes in America," believes that it will take years to change old stereotypes.

87. Thompson, D. E., and Nancy DiTomaso, eds. 1988. *Ensuring Minority Success in Corporate Management*. Plenum Studies in Work and Industry, eds. Ivar Berg and Arne L. Kalleberg. New York: Plenum Press.

This volume is based on the premise that discrimination is a cost not only to those who are excluded but also to those who do the excluding. Therefore ensuring minority success in corporate management is a goal that should be adopted by top managers of all corporations for their own benefit as well as for the benefit of society and of minority managers themselves. The editors have sought to break the dual cycle of minority pessimism and majority indifference by focusing on what has been done, and what can and should be done, rather than on what has not been done. The book includes essays from both the academy and industry.

88. Thompson, K. D. 1991. "Facing an Uphill Battle." *Black Enterprise* 22(4): 51-57.

Small businesses provide most of the new jobs in the U.S., employing 6 out of every 10 people, and bring new products to market faster than large corporations. To African-Americans, no symbol of economic self-determination is so powerful as the small Black-owned business. As the U.S. entered the 1990s, many Black small-business owners found themselves either at a crossroads or out of business. Some of the reasons are: a slumping economy, mismanagement, and rising health insurance costs. Despite all these obstacles, entrepreneurship remains a viable option for African-Americans. With all the restructuring and downsizing in corporate America, the country is witnessing more former Black executives launching their own businesses. Black business owners who want to thrive in a post-recession economy should consider the following: buying a business, seeking out top talent, and evaluating and updating the business plan regularly.

89. Thompson, K. D. 1991. "The M.B.A. Shuffle." *Black Enterprise* 21(7): 125-130.

As those with MBA degrees become concerned about an unstable job market and are courted less avidly by investment banks, they are looking for work in more stable industries. The key to success and survival in a cost-cutting era is to learn a variety of industry-transferable skills. Because about 75 percent of the country's MBAs want to launch their own businesses, popular areas for new graduates are consulting and manufacturing. Black MBA students need to develop good management, leadership, and organizational skills, and they must be flexible and receptive to lifelong learning. Some MBA graduates are going into consulting and banking in Europe as there is a demand for new graduates at U.S. companies with offices abroad. Fewer MBAs are entering

investment banking, although other areas of the financial services industry, including asset management, insurance, and commercial banking, are still popular.

90. Tsui, A., T. Egan, , and C. A. O'Reilly. 1992. "Being Different: Relational Demography and Organizational Attachment." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 37: 549-579.

Individual-level commitment, attendance behavior, and tenure intentions were examined as a function of the individual's degree of difference from others on such social categories as age, tenure, education, sex, and race. Analyses of a sample of 151 groups comprising 1,705 respondents showed that increasing work-unit diversity was associated with lower levels of psychological attachment among group members. Nonsymmetrical effects were found for sex and race, with whites and men showing larger negative effects for increased unit heterogeneity than non-Whites and White women. The authors conclude that results for the study call into question the fundamental assumption that underlies much of race and gender research in organizations - that the effect of heterogeneity is always felt by the minority.

91. Tsui, A. S., and Charles A. O'Reilly, III. 1989. "Beyond Simple Demographic Effects: The Importance of Relational Demography in Superior-Subordinate Dyads." *Academy of Management Journal* 32(2): 402-423.

This article examined the multivariate effects of six demographic variables -- age, gender, race, education, and company and job tenure -- on superiors ratings of performance and liking for subordinates and subordinates' role ambiguity and conflict. A field study of 272 superior-subordinate dyads produced results that support the notion that increasing dissimilarity in superior-subordinate demographic characteristics, referred to in the report

as "relational demography." is associated with lower effectiveness as perceived by superiors, less personal attraction on the part of superiors for subordinates, and increased role ambiguity experienced by subordinates. These effects were found even after we controlled for the effects of simple demographic variables.

92. Watson, W. E., Kamlesh Kumar, and Larry K. Michaelsen. 1993. "Cultural Diversity's Impact on Interaction Process and Performance: Comparing Homogeneous and Diverse Task Groups." *Academy of Management Journal* 36(3): 590-602.

The interaction process and performance of culturally homogeneous and culturally diverse groups were studied for 17 weeks. Initially, homogeneous groups scored higher on both process and performance effectiveness. Over time, both types of groups showed improvement on process and performance, and the between-group difference converged. By week 17, there were no differences in process or overall performance, but the heterogeneous groups scored higher on two task measures. Implications for management and future research are given.

93. Watts, R. J., and Robert T. Carter. 1991. "Psychological Aspects of Racism in Organizations." *Group and Organization Studies* 16(3): 328-344.

A study developed a multilevel framework for the study of racism in organizations as seen by African-Americans. Three levels were defined: institutional racism, racial climate, personal discrimination. Perceptions of racism on each level were related to racial identity, using the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, to determine if racial identity is associated with perceptions of racism. The sample consisted of 142 Black civil service employees of a state in the eastern U.S. The results indicated that racial identity was the best predictor of perceptions of racial climate and personal discrimination. Blacks who

reported Pre-Encounter racial identity attitudes saw less racism in the workplace, while those who endorsed Internalization attitudes saw more. Two factors were identified in racial climate: experience and intensity of racism, and management power and policy. These themes were consistent with previous findings.

94. Weil, P. A., and Nathaniel Wesley, Jr. 1993. "Disparity Found in the Career Attainment of Black and White Healthcare Executives." *Healthcare Executive* 8(3): 22-23.

The American College of Healthcare Executives (ACHE) and the National Association of Health Services Executives (NAHSE) conducted a study comparing career attainment of Black and White healthcare executives. Even though the two groups had few demographic differences, such as age and educational background, their actual career attainment revealed clear disparities. Fewer Blacks are in general management; more in specialized management areas such as human resource management or finance. Salaries also differ substantially, with Black executives earning a median salary of 21 percent less than that of their White counterparts. Based on findings of the study, ACHE and NAHSE have developed eight recommendations, including: recruit and promote Black managers with requisite preparation at all levels, emphasize the importance and impact of an individual's first position on career attainment, conduct a comparable study in 3-5 years to measure progress.

95. West, C. 1993. *Race Matters*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Described as West's most accessible book, *Race Matters* is a collection of essays that deal with many tough issues, ranging from Black conservatism to myths about Black sexuality. West argues that in order to engage in a serious discussion of race in America,

we must begin not with the problems of Black people but with the flaws of American society -- flaws rooted in historic inequalities and long-standing cultural stereotypes.

96. Whigham-Desir, Marjorie. 1993. "Strategies for Coping with Workplace Depression." *Black Enterprise* 24 (2): 77-82.

While everyone experiences some stress in the workplace, the reasons vary, explains clinical psychologist Juanita Doss, Ph.D. Some people cannot tolerate working in a situation over which they have little control. Workers become angry and disillusioned when they reach the "glass ceiling" and realize their career advancement is blocked. This article discusses several strategies to help employers and employees cope with workplace depression.

97. White, J. 1992. "The Double Disadvantage: Dealing with Sex and Race Disenchantment." Pp. 89-95 in *A Few Good Women: Breaking the Barriers to Top Management*. Englewood, NJ: Prentice Hall.

White chronicles the success and battle stories of 12 female executives. Among the stories told is that of Loraine Binion of Levi Strauss & Co., who tells of overcoming nearly being fired so the company could save the job of a White manager who 'needed' the job more than she. Binion also gives tips on dealing with sexual harassment, networking, and selecting a mentor.

98. Wilson, R. 1989. "Women of Color in Academic Administration: Trends, Progress, and Barriers." *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research* 21(1-2): 85-97.

This article presents historical events, legal restrictions, and traditional customs as barriers that women of color have had to face in pursuing of academic administrative positions. Wilson discusses degree attainment and fields of study for different ethnic groups, as well as recent changes in affirmative action policy.

99. Wright, R., Jr., Shirley Wesley King, William E. Berg, and Robert F. Creecy. 1987. "Job Satisfaction among Black Female Managers: A Causal Approach." *Human Relations* 40(8): 489-506.

Most workers, including human service professionals, tend to show relatively wide variations in their reported levels of job satisfaction. Although there have been many studies concerning this issue, only limited work has been done to explain the underlying causes of the variances in job satisfaction. Thus, a structural model of job satisfaction is proposed, specifying structural links among four factors: background, perceptions, organizational, and subjective rating. Data for the research came from a survey of 105 minority females employed in human service organizations in five southwestern states. The findings clearly illustrate the relative importance of organizational factors in determining levels of job satisfaction. The findings also indicate that those female managers who see themselves as having opportunities for advancement will be more satisfied than those with limited opportunities.

Appendix B

Methodology of the Literature Review

To identify the research literature on barriers to African-American advancement, we conducted an extensive electronic-library search using four large data bases: ABI/Inform, PAIS International, ERIC, and Social Science Search. The time frame for the search was 1980 to 1993. The search yielded 99 relevant articles and books. Each item was reviewed for information on the barriers. The barriers were then organized into three categories for presentation purposes: individual, group, and organizational. In addition to the electronic search, we wrote to researchers in the field to obtain their latest work-in-progress or working papers on the subject.