

Spring 1986

Black working women and equal employment legislation

Barbara Donese Mitchell
New Jersey Institute of Technology

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.njit.edu/theses>



Part of the [Industrial Organization Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Mitchell, Barbara Donese, "Black working women and equal employment legislation" (1986). *Theses*. 1442.
<https://digitalcommons.njit.edu/theses/1442>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Digital Commons @ NJIT. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons @ NJIT. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@njit.edu.

Copyright Warning & Restrictions

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be “used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.” If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use” that user may be liable for copyright infringement,

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

Please Note: The author retains the copyright while the New Jersey Institute of Technology reserves the right to distribute this thesis or dissertation

Printing note: If you do not wish to print this page, then select “Pages from: first page # to: last page #” on the print dialog screen

The Van Houten library has removed some of the personal information and all signatures from the approval page and biographical sketches of theses and dissertations in order to protect the identity of NJIT graduates and faculty.

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Black Working Women and Equal Employment
Legislation

Barbara Mitchell, Master of Science, 1986

Thesis directed by: Dr. Anthony Kahng

The research for this thesis is undertaken in order to examine whether or not equal employment legislation improved opportunities in the workplace for Black working women. The following areas will be focused on:

- Legislation - Civil Rights Act of 1964, Equal Employment/Affirmative Action, Equal Pay Act, and Title IX.
- Racism/Sexual Harassment
- The Public and Private Job Sector
- Unions
- Academia/Education
- Politics

Some sources for examination will include studies by researchers from various universities on Black women and employment, statistics from the U.S. Labor Bureau, National Research Council and Joint Center for Political Studies, and reports and writings from the Women's Bureau as well as authorities on the above topics.

The final chapter will be devoted to reporting the results of interviews and a survey questionnaire of Black

working women regarding their views on equal employment's impact and contemporary workplace problems. Suggestions for improving Black women's opportunities and status on the job will also be included in the final chapter.

BLACK WORKING WOMEN AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION

BY
BARBARA MITCHELL

Mitchell, Barbara Donese,

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
the New Jersey Institute of Technology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Science in Management
1986

APPROVAL SHEET

Title of Thesis: BLACK WORKING WOMEN AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT LEGISLATION

Name of Candidate: Barbara Mitchell
Master of Science in Management, 1986

Thesis and Abstract Approved: _____ Date _____
Professor Anthony Kahng
Associate Professor
Organizational and Social Sciences

Signatures of other members
of the thesis committee _____ Date _____
_____ Date _____
_____ Date _____
_____ Date _____

VITA

Name: Barbara Donese Mitchell

Permanent address:

Degree and date to be conferred: Master of Science, October 1986

Date of birth:

Place of birth:

Secondary education: South Side High School, June 1963

Collegiate institutions attended	Dates	Degree	Date of Degree
New Jersey Institute of Technology	MS	October 1986
Edison State College	BA	December 1982
Edison State College	AA	December 1979

Major: Human Resources Management

Minor: None

Publications: None

Positions held: Administrative Assistant
Affirmative Action Office
New Jersey Institute of Technology
Newark, New Jersey 07102

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND THE PROTECTED CLASSES.....	1
A. Black Women and White Women.....	2
B. Black Women and Black Men.....	4
C. Race or Sex.....	7
D. Black Women and the Women's Liberation Movement.....	9
II. EEO AND THE JOB MARKET.....	13
A. The Public Sector.....	13
1. Case No. 1.....	15
2. Case No. 2.....	16
B. The Private Sector.....	18
1. Case No. 3.....	19
2. Case No. 4.....	20
C. In Unions.....	23
1. Case No. 5.....	27
III. EEO IN ACADEMIA.....	31
A. Black Female Faculty.....	31
B. Black Female College Administrators.....	35
C. Black Women and Education.....	39
IV. BLACK PROFESSIONAL WOMEN.....	43
A. Black Women and Career Opportunities.....	43
B. Black Women in Politics.....	49
V. WORKPLACE ISSUES OF THE EIGHTIES.....	53
A. Pay Equity.....	53
B. Sexual Harassment.....	56

C. Racism/Sexism.....	57
1. Case No. 6.....	59
D. Unique Problems of Black Women.....	61
E. Strategies for Career Advancement.....	66
VI. CONCLUSION.....	71
ADDENDUM A. FACTS ON BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE.....	75
ADDENDUM B. THESIS QUESTIONNAIRE.....	77
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	80

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Women's Labor Force Participation, by Occupational Group and Race 1973.....	3
2. Occupation of Employed Black Men and Women, 1964, 1970 and 1974.....	5
3. Minority Women Employees in the Public Sector, 1972 and 1980.....	17
4. EEO-1 Occupational Employment in Private Industry 1980, Women.....	23
5. Black Women in Selected Male Dominated Occupations 1980.....	29
6. Black American Recipients of Doctor's Degrees 1967-68 through 1972-3, By Sex.....	31
7. Doctorate Recipients by Race, Sex and Discipline 1981.....	33
8. Persons in the Labor Force by Years of School Completed, Sex and Race, March 1981.....	41
9. Black Women in Professional and Technical Employment, 1972 and 1980, in Percentages.....	44
10. Black Elected Officials by Sex and Office, January 1985.....	52
11. Unemployment Rates by Race, Sex, and Age, 1984.....	55

CHAPTER I

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT AND THE PROTECTED CLASSES

Legislation dealing with employment discrimination is generally referred to as Title VII. Included under its umbrella is The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VII and its amendment and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. Together they cover state, municipal, and federal employees, and companies with 15 or more employees. Title VII forbids discrimination in the terms and conditions of employment based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (BBP Job Discrimination Handbook 1980).

In December 1971, the Secretary of Labor issued Revised Order No. 4, the active part of Executive Order 11246, which became the bases for ¹ Affirmative Action programs. Recognizing that past practices concentrated women and minorities in certain segments of the workforce and at the lowest end of the pay scale, this legislation required public and private sector employees with 50 or more employees and federal contracts totaling \$50,000 or more to develop and carry out a written plan to hire, promote and upgrade these "protected classes".

Black Women and White Women

The Black female worker is purported to be in a unique position as a member of this "protected class"; as she qualifies based on race and sex. And, based on her position in the workforce when compared with her counterparts, i.e., white female, Black male, the Black female should benefit the most from equal employment legislation. The fact is, however, Black women rank lowest on the economic scale when compared with Blacks or white men and women (Lerner 1972). The proceeding chapters will examine this reality.

Black women, historically, are shown to have a strong work ethic. They have always worked in greater proportion to white women. One reason has been because poverty necessitated that they work; the other reason was because Black women had better opportunities for steady employment as domestics than their husbands had as laborers. The United States Department of Commerce census reported in 1966 that Black women were 50 percent of the workforce; white women were 39 percent. In 1972 Black women comprised 47 percent versus 44.5 percent for white women; and in 1974 the percentages were 48 for Black women and 45 for white women. These figures were reported at the beginning of the first of two economic recessions (the impact of these two recessions is evident today when one notes the disproportionately high unemployment rate in the

Black community.

Black women moved consistently from the predominately farm and factory work as compared with 37.9 percent for white women. Only 8.4 percent of all Black women were in professional occupations while 13.7 percent of white women held jobs on the professional level (Lerner 1972). By 1973, however, Black women had made phenomenal progress. Table 1 shows that a substantial number of Black women had moved from domestic service to clerical work, resulting in a work pattern similar to white women. In just seven years Black women had significantly narrowed the occupational gap for women (Farley 1979).

Table 1. Women's labor force participation, by occupational group and race, 1973.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	WHITE WOMEN	2BLACK WOMEN
Clerical	36%	25%
Service Work	17	25
Professional and Technical	14	13
Operatives	13	16
Private Household Workers	4	14
All other occupations	16	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Source: Adapted from 1975 Handbook on Women Workers (Washington D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Labor, chart J, p. 103)

In the professional/technical job category, Black women had reached near parity with white women (13 percent and 14 percent respectively). By 1979, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1980b, the gap had widened only slightly - with Black women professional/technical at 14.2 percent and white women at 16.4 percent.

As is true of all women in a sexist society, Black women are overrepresented in unskilled and service jobs compared with men, get paid less, advance less rapidly and, consequently, are more likely to be poor (Lerner 1972). The Black woman, however, has consistently earned less than any of the "protected class" members, including white women. Census statistics revealed Black women's wages were 66 percent that of white women in 1965; 86.3 percent by 1974 and 93.9 percent by 1978 (computed using figures from Table 3, Women, Work and Wages 1981). Although earnings had reached near parity, factors computed into the percentages include the fact that Black women stay in the job market longer and are less likely to retire for childbearing (Fiske University Study on Negro Employment in the South 1964).

In summation, proportionately more Black women work than white women; Black women made phenomenal gains in their shift from domestic to white collar occupations after 1960; by 1973 were employed in similar occupations as white women; in terms of³ professional/technical representation and pay equity Black women have reached near parity with white women; and Black women stay in the job market longer than white women.

Black Women and Black Men

According to Lerner (1972) there is a "sex loophole" in race discrimination when it comes to employment. When job opportunities open, white society tends to hire Black

women over Black men. Table 2 confirms this observation. More Black women hold white collar jobs than Black men. However, those jobs are primarily clerical and entry-level for Black women while Black men hold an edge in mid to upper level management jobs.

Table 2. Occupation of Employed Black Men and Women, 1964, 1970 and 1974.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	1964		1970		1974	
	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
White Collar Workers	16	23	22	38	24	42
Professional/Technical	6	8	8	11	9	12
Teachers, except college	1	5	1	5	2	5
Managers & Administrators	3	2	5	3	5	2
Sales Workers	2	2	2	3	2	3
Clerical Workers	5	11	7	21	7	25
Blue Collar Workers	58	15	60	19	57	20
Service Workers	16	56	13	43	15	37
4 Private Household		33		18		11
Farm Workers	10	6	6	2	4	1
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Percentages may not equal 100 due to rounding. Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1976).

The comparative distribution of Black women and men in selected job categories has not changed, according to the 1980 Census of Population on EEO Special File. 15.3 percent of Black women compared with 10.8 percent of Black men hold professional/technical jobs; 4.4 percent women are in executive, administrative and managerial jobs compared to 5.3 percent men; and 24.6 percent administrative support and clerical jobs are held by Black women while 8.8 percent are held by men.

The belief that Black women hold an advantage over Black men because they can find jobs, however menial, does

not bear out when unemployment statistics are taken into account. They show that the Black female is unemployed more often than the Black male or white female.

In 1969 the unemployment rates were:

Black women 6.0 percent

Black men 3.7 percent

White women 3.4 percent

In 1974 the statistics were:

Black women 10.1 percent

Black men 8.4 percent

White women 5.9 percent

During the 1975-1984 period the number of unemployed Black women increased by 44.8 percent, with Black female teenagers accounting for a disproportionately large count. It was not until 1984 that Black male teenage unemployment became slightly higher at 42.7 percent compared with Black female teenagers at 42.6 percent. Again these double digit unemployment statistics are disproportionately high in the Black community (Facts on U.S. Working Women 1985).

Although they hold more of the white collar jobs, Black women earn less than Black men. In 1972, Black women earned a median annual income of \$5,147 while Black men earned \$7,301; in 1975 Black women earned \$7,486

versus Black men with \$10,000 and in 1978 the numbers were \$9,388 versus \$12,898, respectively. The pay gap is accounted for by the fact that women hold white collar jobs primarily in the lower paying female dominant positions, i.e., teachers, nurses and secretaries.

To sum it, Black women hold more of the white collar jobs than Black men, though fewer mid and upper management positions; Black women also have historically had higher rates of unemployment with one exception - teenagers; Black women earn less than Black men. The overall picture, however, is that Black women and men, collectively, lag behind the general population in employment and income.

Race or Sex

Which is the lesser of two evils...racism or sexism? Many Blacks feel race discrimination is enforced more strictly than sex discrimination and, therefore, Black women should analyze any legislation, movement, etc., that does not address equal opportunity for all Black people. On the other hand, white women point out that Black and white women share a common oppression called sexism and Blacks cannot be free until women are free (Staples 1973). This call for allegiance to either exert her energies to fight racism or sexism has been coined "double jeopardy" for Black women (Johnson, Green 1975).

The race/sex status of Black women has consigned them to the most restricted, most deprived, most discriminated and most oppressed lot in American society, according to ⁵ Eudora Pettigrew, a Black feminist and professor at Michigan State University (Civil Rights Digest 1974). And perhaps the clearest example of the adverse effects of this race/sex status is to be found in the form of employment discrimination. The white male job structure has successfully prevented women and minorities from promotions into higher level and decision making positions and, consequently, has kept them out of the mainstream. If women are denied jobs because they are "not supervisory material" and Blacks are denied jobs because they're "unqualified"...then it's no surprise that Black women are often relegated to the lowest paying dead-end jobs. They are exploited in the labor market by being paid less for the same work and are the group least likely to be promoted.

Now attempts are being made to force Black women to choose one side over the other in the fight to end employment discrimination. Devisive tactics by some employers used to circumvent affirmative action compliance is responsible, e.g., minority women were hired and counted twice, once for race and once for sex, to satisfy minority hiring goals and/or when white women in the

1970's were used to replace Black males hired in the 1960's, Black women were called upon for allegiance toward the Black males' plight (Civil Rights Digest 1974). The result, of course, is that these tactics have caused distrust amongst the "protected classes" for the limited opportunities afforded them at best.

Black Women and the Women's Liberation Movement

The Black woman's lack of involvement in the Women's Liberation Movement has been puzzling to some. After all, if legal potentials were realized, the sex-segregated work place would be eliminated and sex based occupations, income and benefits would be erased...guaranteeing equal pay for equal work. Certainly the Black female worker has the most to gain by supporting the Movement. In fact, in 1972, the Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll indicated that 49 percent of Black women were supportive of change in women's status as compared with 39 percent of white women. And as long as the issues center around equal pay, educational opportunities, business opportunities, political participation, respect and justice under the law, etc., Black women are in agreement. But...there is disagreement between the races over several basic tenets of the Movement:

(1) Where white women are trying to define themselves apart from their husbands and children, Black women are trying to stabilize their families. Some feel

that the jobs white women are asking for have long been denied Black men...and Black women shouldn't compete with their men thus compounding the problem of family stability.

(2) Where white women are trying to get out of the house and into the labor force, Black women, who have been forced to work out of necessity, find it hard to imagine liberating themselves from the household. They want time to enjoy all that middle income affluence is finally affording them.

(3) White women have identified male chauvinism and patriarchy as fundamental as racism in keeping people oppressed (Black Collegian 1980). While Black women understand the ramifications of male chauvinism well in this context, they are unconcerned with giving up feminine behavior - they still want men to open doors for them (Rodgers-Rose 1980).

(4) While Women's Liberation groups are focusing on being liberated from the constraints and protections of society, Black women are addressing fundamental issues of survival for their community, i.e, unemployment and underemployment, rising teenage pregnancy, drugs, inferior education and the increase of Black female headed households living in poverty.

(5) It has been suggested that when white women begin to address racial oppression as well as economic issues, Black women will more willingly join the Movement.

This must be addressed soon. The Black American Political Association of California in October 1979 called for all Black women to reject overtures from the National Organization of Women (NOW) citing racism within the ranks. NOW was publically condemned for its "lilly white" national officers and failure to include Black women's leadership ideas and experiences (Black Collegian 1980).

No matter how much Black and white women have in common, racism seems to transcend all relationships in a racist society and forces Black women to examine their allegiances and coalitions with white women (Omolade 1980). And...when all is said and done, white women did play a part in the subjugation of the Black race.

Certainly when the interests of the Women's Movement and the interests of Black people combine, the coalition will lead to the reinforcement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and Affirmative Action programs. Indeed, under the present Administration these two factions have come together to form strong lobbies in order to preserve and resist changes to existing equal employment laws.

Since Black women are members of overlapping groups organizational theorists conclude that they themselves could provide the new leadership within organizations functioning as "linking pins" or "change agents" (see

Warren Bennis' Changing Organizations). Because Black women understand the "jargon" of each group and heretofore have been skillful in interpreting one group to another, Black female professionals fit as the group best able to bring together the sexes and the races (Rickman 1974).

The Black woman's interests can best be served by the merging of the Women's Liberation Movement and the interest of Blacks. To quote Professor Pettigrew, "There is no need to fight two different battles for different kinds of liberties, rights and justice. Both racism and sexism should be fought simultaneously". As it stands now, the race/sex issue is one each Black woman will have to resolve based on her own experiences.

-FOOTNOTES-

¹Affirmative Action programs require plans, goals and timetables to ensure equal employment opportunities for women, minorities and all protected classes.

²Reported as "Black and other women". True figures for Black women would be lower.

³By 1981 twice as many white women were in the managerial/administrative category than Black women, although numbers for both increased during the 1970's. (Women's Bureau 1983)

⁴4.7% of Black women held private household (domestic) positions as reported in the 1980 Census of Population/EEO Special File.

⁵Dr. L. Eudora Pettigrew was appointed President of the State University College of Old Westbury, New York as of August 18, 1986.

CHAPTER II

EEO AND THE JOB MARKET

The Public Sector

The Civil Service Act of 1883 permitted women to compete for jobs under the merit system. The Classification Act of 1923 established uniform salary ranges. But for many years, due to an 1870 law allowing agencies to fill job openings from separate male and female registers "at their discretion", few women held jobs in the public sector. Requests ran 56 percent for males and only 17 percent for women. It wasn't until 1962 when then U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy ruled the law invalid and outlawed requests for single-sex registries. Only agencies seeking to fill jobs requiring guns or certain custodial positions were exempt.

Additional practices, some used today, continue to bar the progress of women in the public sector: (1) requiring candidates who took the Professional Advancement Careers Exam (PACE) to have a bachelor's degree; (2) evidence that the "rule of three" (appointing authorities must choose among the top three scorers on tests to fill openings) was being subverted; (3) the preferential treatment given to veterans of military

service; and (4) patronage (political favors) appointments.

Executive Order 11478, issued August 8, 1969, strengthened the equal employment opportunity program for federal employees, and directed the heads of each executive department and agency to establish and maintain an affirmative action program. But the most significant legislation affecting federal employment in recent years has been the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, providing for a restructuring of the civil service system and including programs for recruitment and hiring of minorities and women.

The person in charge of interviewing applicants is in a crucial position as s/he determines who gets hired. Since interviews are less open to review than are applications, sensitive questions and subjective judgements have been used to disqualify minorities and women. On behalf of Black applicants who brought a class action suit against a chemical company on the above premise, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled (interviewers) remarks concerning applicants "adaptability", "bearing", "demeanor", "manner", "appearance", "maturity", "drive", and "social behavior" subjected applicants "to an intolerable occurrence of conscience prejudice". This type of interview was encountered by a Black female

applicant in the following case:

Case No. 1

When a Black woman sued a hospital after it rejected her job application, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals found that the hospital's hiring process relied solely on the subjective evaluations of a white interviewer. As the hospital had no guidelines for the interviewer to follow, the Court wanted to know on what bases was the applicant rejected. The interviewer claimed the Black woman had a "poor attitude" and wouldn't work well with others; but her testimony revealed that she thought a pleasant personality and the ability to work well with others were characteristics only of white people. This attitude, ruled the Court, indicated that the interviewer was racially biased. Since the hospital failed to establish hiring guidelines, its explanation was discredited (Robbins vs. White-Wilson Medical Clinic, 660 F2d 1064) (FEP Guidelines 1982).

Federal job training and vocational education legislation did benefit Black women. The Minority Women Employment Program (MWEPP) placed 1,750 Black women in managerial, professional and technical jobs during an eight year period. Black women in the Work Incentive Program reportedly increased annual earnings during the 1974 and 1976 reporting periods. Federal training programs did not offer quick solutions to unemployment, discrimination and poverty; however, these programs did improve the employment and earning status of the participants. Black employment rose faster overall in Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) reporting firms than employment as a whole between 1966 through 1974: 23 percent vs. 15 percent (Williams 1980).

Progression up the career ladder can be subverted by the lack of objective criteria when promotions are considered. This was the situation of the Black female

worker in the following case:

Case No. 2

A Black woman took a hospital to court after she was passed over for promotion and later fired. The woman was a respiratory therapist who applied for promotion to assistant chief therapist. She was the only Black respiratory therapist at the hospital; had nine years supervisory experience with the hospital; received favorable performance reviews; and was acting chief therapist for several months prior. She was sure she met all of the qualifications for the job. After applying, her supervisor, the chief therapist, evaluated her performance much lower than in the past and recommended, by letter to Personnel, that her promotion be denied. The letter cited a negative attitude, not getting along with others and excessive absences. A white woman got the promotion. The Black woman filed a complaint with EEOC. The position opened again. The Black woman reapplied but two days later was placed on probation for alleged failure to follow a doctor's order, knocking her out of contention for the job. She was fired a few month later as a result, according to the hospital, of a number of incidents similar to the one that led to her probation.

After weighing the testimony on both sides, the Fifth Circuit of Appeals concluded that the hospital had used the poor performance ratings as a "pretext to discriminate" against the woman. The Court ruled that there was no other explanation for the sudden turnabout in her ratings. The alleged incidents leading to probation and eventual firing of the woman were disputed by witnesses and the Court felt there was "a strong attempt to create a record against" the Black woman. The hospital was found guilty of race discrimination in promotions and guilty of retaliation by placing her on probation and ultimately firing her when she filed EEOC charges. Her settlement - \$20,123.52 damages and \$8,785.95 attorney's fees (Mitchell v. M.D. Anderson Hospital, 679 F2d 88) (FEP Guidelines 1982).

The employment pattern of Black women in the public sector today is no different than women in general, i.e., they are concentrated in the lower civil service grades. In October 1980 women were three-fourths (74 percent) of all employees in General Schedule (GS) and equivalent

grades 1 to 6 (lowest pay grades), 33 percent in grades 7 to 12, and only 8 percent in the highest grades of 13 and above. Nonetheless, as reported in 1972, the government was well ahead of private industry in terms of women in professional and technical positions. White women civil servants in these positions totaled 43 percent and Black women 34 percent compared with private sector statistics of 8 percent white women and 2 percent Black women (Farley 1979). By 1980 private industry figures reached 20.5 percent white women and 11.7 percent Black women...still behind public sector representation (Women's Bureau 1983).

Federal employment of Black women more than doubled in the 1970's, reaching 192,519 by 1980, up from 94,000 in 1972. Minority women experienced substantial gains in the public sector between 1972 through 1980.

Table 3. Minority Women Employees in the Public Sector, 1972 and 1980.

RACE	NOVEMBER 1972	NOVEMBER 1980
Black	94,000	192,519
Hispanic	10,982	26,726
American Indian	7,650	12,789
Asian American	4,211	10,674
Totals	116,843	242,708

Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Work Force Analysis and Statistics Division.

By 1980 Black women made up nearly 30 percent of all women in Federal white collar jobs. Women of Hispanic origin constituted 4 percent, American Indian women 2

percent, and Asian American women 2 percent of the female white collar workforce in the Federal Government by 1980 (Women's Bureau 1983).

The Private Sector

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, professional job opportunities were opened in fields previously closed to Blacks. The private sector established programs to encourage the hiring of Blacks; many as the result of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's effective strategies in 1972 (when this agency was given the right to go to court to enforce antidiscrimination laws) of attacking the largest companies in several industries in order to frighten others into line (Davis and Watson 1982). Big companies suffered by paying huge awards and being required to set up training and recruiting programs to hire women and minorities. The more notable court ordered restitutions were paid by companies such as AT&T...\$15 million in back wages to 15,000 women and minority group men and an additional \$23 million in raises to 36,000 employees in addition to establishing programs to track and upgrade women and minority workers (Farley 1979.)

In most corporations, forced affirmative action led to an understated discomfort for their "protected classes". Often Blacks had to fight to keep the positions in which they were hired...especially on the management

level. As a result of the race discrimination suit brought by a Black female manager in the following case, the Courts ruled "An employer's contention that its Black employees are not qualified to perform in a managerial capacity will be closely scrutinized....."

Case No. 3

A Black female manager's demotion at a national bus line's regional tour office came as a shock when her boss walked into her office with her male replacement. According to him, her sales for the month had declined sharply and her department suffered a morale problem due to her poor management. According to the manager, the sales drop cited represented only one month and, in fact, during the months immediately preceding the figures had actually improved steadily. The Black manager attributed the drop to a charter rate increase recently initiated by the home office. As to the morale problem, only two employees had made complaints...one of which was in a bitter rivalry with the Black manager. All of the other employees were completely satisfied with her supervision. Furthermore, two months before the demotion her boss had given her a raise and commended her in writing for "an outstanding job, both sales and management wise".

The District Court found that while commending the employee, the boss was already advertising and interviewing candidates to replace her. Because of the totality of the evidence, the Court felt the area sales manager had made a "concerted effort" to force this employee out of her job...and, absent of legitimate business reasons for this action, found discrimination had to be the real cause for the demotion. The Court awarded the female manager \$2,500 in damages for humiliation (under the Civil Rights Act of 1866), back pay of \$2,300, attorney's fees of \$16,000 and court costs of \$1,036.58. In addition to paying a grand total of \$21,836.58, the employer had to restore the manager to her former position of tour manager of the regional office (Jones v. Trailways, 477 FSupp642) (FEP Guidelines 1981).

Reputedly, the personnel manager's joke during the 1970's was, "Send me a Black female college graduate who is a handicapped veteran with a Spanish surname!" The fact that a Black woman could be (and was) counted twice to boost EEO reporting statistics (once for race and once for sex) was not, to her, a very amusing joke. The following case illustrates how some companies manipulated compliance reports using Black women:

Case No. 4

A teaching assistant at a university in Pennsylvania graded papers as a graduate student and held a part-time job in the university's administrative office. She thought the compliance reports' authors were dreaming when they reported for minorities and women two students and two faculty members in her department plus two employees in administration. She later found that she had been counted six times: once as a minority student, once as a woman student, once as a minority faculty member, once as a woman faculty member and once each as a minority administrator and woman administrator (Farley 1979).

Black men had a ten year head start in corporate America, but many believed, that the Black woman would over take and pass them. This supposition was based primarily on the "double protection, doubly favored" myth regarding Black women since they could be "double counted". Not surprisingly, this has caused a lot of tension between Black male and female managers (Davis and Watson 1982). Figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics discount this belief, at least in the management category: in 1970 Black men were 5 percent of the managers and administrators, Black women were 3 percent; in 1974 there were 5 percent Black male managers vs. 2 percent Black female; and in 1980 5.6 percent of the managers and administrators were Black men compared with 3.4 percent for Black women. As previously noted, Black women do outnumber their male counterpart in the professional job category.

In the 1970's white women also believed that Black women had it easier because of their double status; but, the numbers show that white women moved up much faster than any other "protected class" member under EEO. While a few Black females have been added, white women have made "quantum leaps" into the system and they hold more diversified positions (Davis and Watson 1982). At the beginning of the Women's Movement, specifically 1972, white women held 4.8 percent of the management and

administrative jobs, Black women held 2.1 percent. But by 1980 white women held 7.4 percent of those jobs vs. 3.4 percent for Black women.

As did their white counterpart, Black women strengthened their foothold in professional jobs. Black women professional/technical employees held 9.2 percent compared to 14.9 percent for white women in the professional job category as reported in the 1980 EEO-1 employment statistics on private industry.

In order to place into context the EEO gains in the 1970's for these "protected classes" relative to white males:

- Blacks (male and female) obtained 5 percent of the new jobs in the private sector by 1977.
- White women obtained over half (53 percent) of the new jobs in the private sector by 1977.
- White males obtained 26 percent of the new jobs in the private sector by 1977. (Williams 1980).

Making steady gains, by 1980 45.4 percent of Black women employees held white-collar category jobs, 66.4 percent white women; 44.6 percent Hispanic women; 63.1 percent Asian American/Pacific Islander and 50 percent American Indian/Alaskan Native. Table 4 shows the statistics for women by race and white-collar occupations.

Table 4. EEO-1 Occupational Employment in Private Industry 1980, Women

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC	ASIAN	AMER IND
White-collar workers	66.4	45.4	44.6	63.1	50.0
Officials and managers	5.6	2.5	2.6	3.6	6.0
Professional	9.5	4.2	3.2	18.1	6.0
Technical	5.4	5.0	3.5	7.2	4.0
Sales	12.5	7.2	8.7	6.4	8.0
Office and clerical	33.3	26.6	26.7	28.1	28.0

The EEO-1 is report required of employers of 100 or more persons. Source: Unpublished data, U.S. Equal Employment Commission.

From this table one should note certain trends: there are more Asian women in professional and technical jobs than all other women; Hispanic and American Indian women sometimes equal and/or surpass Black women's representation in every category except technical; and the largest group of white collar workers, for all women, is in the office and clerical category.

In Unions

Unions are subject to Title VII rules and regulations, (which oversee hiring and promotion practices as well as other terms and conditions of employment) if the union is even partially connected with an industry involved in interstate commerce and represents employees. A union is considered to be involved in interstate commerce, and therefore subject to Title VII, if it has 15 members or is a local chapter of a union which has 15 members. The same numerical boundaries govern its

employer status - 15 employees and the employer is subject under Title VII. Unions are governed by their own rules as well. Specifically, they are prohibited from:

- Segregating, classifying or limiting applicants for membership.
- Expelling or excluding covered group members from union membership.
- Otherwise discriminating against covered group members.
- Printing or publishing ads or notices that indicate a reference for members of one group as opposed to members of another.
- Failing to refer members for work or classifying them in such a way that their opportunities to gain employment are lessened.
- Causing or trying to cause an employer to disobey the laws.

(Bureau of Business Practices 1980)

Historically Black workers have been victims of racial discrimination by unions. For example, Black workers have been excluded from union membership by racial provisions in union constitutions; subjected to segregated racial seniority and promotional provisions in collective bargaining agreements, subjected to segregated locals; refused admittance into union-controlled apprenticeship programs; denied access to union hiring halls; and refused due process in grievance proceduress (Vak La 1981).

Unions' policies also kept out another group of legally protected workers - women. Although unions' hiring policies were generally based on nepotism (hiring family or relatives), the gauntlet passed from father to son...never from father to daughter. A review of the history of women unionists shows most of the organization has taken place in the needle industry (clothing) where women formed their own unions because they couldn't gain admission to the men's (Farley 1979).

Black women have a long history with the needle trade. When it was organized in New York City in 1906, the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union accepted Black women as a matter of course. After the 1917 strike where Black women were brought in as strike breakers, over 500 were accepted into the union with full equality. Many were chosen as shop chairpersons over whites (Spero and Harris 1931).

Such noble beginnings were not destined to last, however. In 1972 Florence Rice, a leading tenant and consumer activist testified before the House Committee on Labor, Education and Welfare concerning discrimination in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). She had been in the union 16 years and a "chairlady" for 5 years. During that time there were no Blacks nor women in leadership positions. Black workers were pitted against Puerto Rican workers and vice versa by bosses in order to

keep wages cheap while white women always got work and were paid better wage. When Black women complained, their union representatives told them they were expendable... minority groups were first to be laid off during the slow season regardless of seniority. White employees were trained on new equipment but not the Blacks nor the Puerto Ricans (being able to operate new equipment meant added income because piece work could be turned out quicker). As a result of her testimony, Ms. Rice was blackballed from union shops (Lerner 1972).

Black women have played key roles in the fight for union rights in a field where they are heavily represented - hospital workers. These workers usually are the food service workers, maintenance workers and aides; Black, Spanish speaking, or white; and often the sole support of the family. They were underpaid, received poor benefits, had no job security nor chance for advancement. With this background, the Black women hospital workers struck in Charleston S. Carolina for an historic 100 days in 1968. The strike centered around membership in Local 1199, the hospital division of the Drug and Hospitals Local 1199 of the AFL-CIO. Mary Ann Moultrie, the first rank and file delegate to address a national convention of the AFL-CIO (1969) described the days of the strike:

Case No. 5

"We 400 hospital workers -almost all of us women, and all of us Black - were compelled to go on strike so that we could win the right to be treated as human beings. We had to fight the entire power structure of the state of South Carolina...We had to face 1,200 National Guards -men armed with tanks and bayonets, and hundreds of state troopers. All because 400 Black women dared to stand up and say we just were not going to let anybody turn us around. A year ago nobody heard of us. We were forgotten women, second class citizens. We worked as nurses aides. We cleaned the floors. We prepared the food in the hospitals. And, if it had not been for the union, we would still be forgotten people."

As a result of their victory, Local 1199 has expanded north to such cities as Baltimore, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington DC, W. Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. Its membership covers 2-1/2 million hospital and nursing home workers (Foner/Lewis/Cvorneyek 1984).

It is significant to note that although unions historically did not fight for the rights of women and minorities, Walter Reuther and George Meany of the AFL-CIO donated thousands to the above cause. Their interests may have been spurred by the fact of decreasing union membership (and women were potential new members); or by the vigorous equal employment efforts of the 1970's. Whatever the reason, their interests were timely. The AFL-CIO has been in the forefront seeking equitable compromises between union rights and affirmative action. Their activities include:

- Establishing daycare centers at the workplace.
- Pressuring for pay equity studies for public

employees. (Washington v. Gunther 452 U.S. 161)

- Pursuing sex discrimination cases and charges for public employees.

(The AFL-CIO & Civil Rights, Publication No. 8)

By 1980, 30 percent of union membership was women, up from 24 percent in 1970. By race - Black women comprised 41 percent of all employed Black labor organization members, while white women comprised 28 percent. A larger proportion of minorities are organized...24 percent of employed Black women compared to 15 percent of white women - primarily due to the fact that a larger proportion of Black women work in service occupations in industries where union organization is extensive.

For members in labor organizations, the benefits can be summed by this statement by Edna Mallon, central service aide at Flushing Hospital in Queens since 1962. After the success of Local 1199's strike..."My wages rose from 75 cents an hour to \$260 a week with benefits and prospects of a nice pension" (Foner/Lewis/Cvornyek 1984). By May 1977, full-time women in labor organizations made 30 percent more than their unorganized counterparts and organized women's earnings were 73 percent of organized men's, while unorganized women earned 60 percent (54 percent for Black women) of unorganized men's earnings (Women's Bureau 1983).

Black women made strong gains in areas traditionally

male and union dominated, e.g., mechanics and repairers, bus drivers and guards. Table 5 shows Black women's representation in selected male dominated occupations:

Table 5. Black Women in Selected Male Dominated Occupations, 1980

OCCUPATIONS	BLACK WOMEN
Mail Carriers, Postal service	3,925
Firefighting and fire prevention	333
Police and detectives	9,792
Guards	23,252
Mechanics and repairers	17,849
Brickmasons and stonemasons	492
Carpenters, except apprentices	2,546
Electricians, except apprentices	1,712
Truck drivers, heavy	6,235
Bus drivers	22,652
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	3,974

Source: adapted from U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population/EEO Special File.

Recognizing that the problems of women workers transcend individual unions, women from 58 labor organizations formed the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in 1974 - initially without the support of AFL-CIO. Its role is to increase participation of women unionists, organize the nonorganized, utilize affirmative action through its unions and press for legislation to further women's interests (such as providing child care). Since that time two women have been elected to the Executive Council and one Black woman has held the office of president of the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the AFL-CIO (Women's Bureau 1983).

CLUW, the A. Philip Randolph Institute (founder A.

Philip Randolph, a Black man), and the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, all play important roles towards building bridges between Blacks, Hispanics, the Women's Movement and labor!

-FOOTNOTES-

⁶ This exam, acronym PACE, was discontinued in the early 1980's because of possible test bias.

CHAPTER III

EEO IN ACADEMIA

Black Female Faculty

There is a myth that the majority of Blacks who hold doctorates are women. According to statistics compiled by the Project on the Status and Education of Women in 1969, 95 percent of the doctorates earned by Blacks were awarded to men. This mirrors societal trends since 88 percent of all doctorates awarded by U.S. institutions go to men. Table 6 compares the number of doctorates awarded to Black women and men from 1967 through 1973. It shows that less than 3 percent of earned doctorates in America were held by Blacks...and less than 1 percent were held by Black women:

Table 6. Black American Recipients of Doctor's Degrees 1967-68 through 1972-73, By Sex

Year	% Of All Doctorates By Year	Men		Women		Black Women As % of All Doctorates By Year
		No.	6-yrs	No.	6-yrs	
1967-8	1.0	181	6.9	49	1.8	.002
1968-9	1.0	205	7.8	56	2.1	.002
1969-0	1.0	234	8.0	64	2.4	.002
1970-1	1.0	252	9.5	69	2.6	.002
1971-2	1.8	472	17.9	129	4.9	.004
1972-3	2.7	730	27.7	199	7.5	.006

Source: adapted from Digest of Educational Statistics, 1973 data published by Office of Education DHEW(Mims 1981)

In comparison to other women: in 1973 Black women with 199 doctorates held approximately 3 percent of the

total 6,085 doctorate degrees awarded to women that year (National Research Council 1982). The National Research Council also reports that in the 1980's more Black women than men were enrolled in doctorate programs. One must wait and see if this changes the statistics vis a vis degrees conferred to Black women and men.

Black women faculty members are scarce. Those employed are usually found in liberal arts colleges. Women, historically, have been absent from fields related to mathematics, science and technology. A 1973 report on minority doctorate-level scientists, engineers, and scholars revealed that approximately 4000 minority group members (men and women) held Ph.D., Sc.D., and Ed.D., degrees. This includes 975 Blacks, 2,430 Orientals, 350 Latins and 150 American Indians. The breakdown by disciplines shows Blacks and American Indians heavily concentrated in education and Orientals in the natural sciences.

Figures for minority women i.e., Black, Asian, Hispanic and American Indian revealed that they held approximately 1 percent of the doctorates in science and engineering by 1979. Of those minorities, Asian women represented 64 percent of the total. As a group, women comprised only 12 percent of the minority Ph.D's employed as scientists in the labor force.

Black women faculty are often overlooked even in

affirmative action programs. Among full-time faculty women, Black women make up only 2 percent of the total. When predominately Black institutions are eliminated, the percentage shrinks noticeably. Furthermore, as reported by the Project on the Status and Education of Women, Black women do not rise through the ranks of faculty as do their female counterparts (Project on the Status and Education of Women 1983).

The number of white female faculty, in spite of discrimination, has always been greater than the number of Blacks (male and female). To illustrate, a report by Moore and Wagstaff in 1974 (Mims 1981) stated that there were more white females in one large state college system than all of the Black females and males in predominantly white colleges and universities in the entire nation (Faculty and Staff Statistics, State University of New York, May 1971.) Considering the fact that white women hold more doctorates than Black women and men combined - 9872 (includes minority women) vs. 1104 Blacks - the above is not too surprising (National Research Council 1982).

Table 7. Doctorate Recipients by Race, Sex and Discipline 1981.

Discipline	Black (Men and Women)	Women (All Women)
Physical Sciences	3.1	11.3
Engineering	1.6	3.9
Life Sciences	6.3	26.4
Social Sciences	19.3	35.6
Arts & Humanities	8.3	41.3
Education	55.6	47.2
Professions & Other	5.6	30.5

Source: adapted National Research Council, Summary Report 1981 Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities (National Academy Press).

According to Dorothy Parrish (Mims 1981) college campuses should insist that special goals be set to assure Black women are included. Those goals should not merely be a redesignation of the goals to increase Blacks, but also should include goals to increase women. Revised Order No. 4, Subpart B, paragraph 60-2/12k on Affirmative Action Guidelines has provisions which support this effort.

Special efforts must also be made to identify and use organizations involved in identifying Black female faculty. Affirmative Action Guidelines suggests including minorities and women on all search committees as one way to begin efforts to increase their faculty representation. In addition, the Guidelines advise that committee members should be sensitized to the importance of the recruiting effort. If women and minority members are minimal, the Guidelines suggest engaging minority alumni members in the recruiting process.

One large state university renewed its recruiting efforts when the proportion of Black faculty began to slip from 6.8 percent to 6 percent. First, the President's Office began to monitor and take strong action when academic departments were found to underutilize minority faculty. For example, one department had its two vacant

lines frozen during the recruiting process...shortly thereafter a Black faculty member was hired to fill one line. This university later established the Minority Faculty Research Development Program which provides information, counseling and release time for minority faculty. This allows them to meet research and scholarship requirements necessary for promotion and tenure (Rutgers Newsletter 1979).

There is an organization of Black women faculty - the ⁷ Association of Black Women in Higher Education, Inc., (ABWHE) - which operates The Talent and Job Bank for its members. The organization's mission is to identify job openings as well as scholarships, fellowships, internships and other opportunities for Black women doctoral holders (Project on the Status and Education of Women 1983).

Black Female College Administrators

During the 1970's women's groups developed legislative strategies to end sexism in education, and through education to open economic opportunities for women. Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, administered by the U.S. Department of Education is one of the laws enacted to achieve these goals. It promotes educational equity for women and girls in federally assisted education programs including all types of education, athletic programs, counseling, facilities and extra

curricular activities (Women's Bureau 1983). Our interest here is how Title IX affected Black women with respect to employment opportunities in colleges and universities.

Black women share the same fate of all women in higher education, i.e., they are thinly represented on faculties, especially in the traditionally male fields of science and engineering. And, they are so rarely in top administrative positions as to be virtually nonexistent. This was the findings of a survey by The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in 1973 (Mims 1981).

According to a report by Moore and Wagstaff (Mims p.231) "almost all Blacks in university administrations fill newly created positions with little power and authority. Or they fill positions whose titles connote a superblack. Both types offer no potential for upward movement".

Black women, who face both race and sex discrimination, hold few positions of leadership in American higher education, according to researcher Gloria R. Scott, vice president of Clark College in Georgia. The accepted image - white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, mature, competent male - proves a major barrier for Blacks in general and Black females in particular, in the higher education arena. About 15 institutions have deans of

academic affairs who are Black women; approximately 40 Black women are deans of schools within universities, i.e., education, fine arts and nursing. No Black woman heads a statewide coordinating board, a professional or higher education association, or an accrediting agency. Two Black women are executive vice-president of associations, and a "possible three" Black women chair college boards of trustees (Chronicle of Higher Education 1982).

A study by Moore and Wagstaff (Mims 1981 p. 231) shows Black women have held deanships and other administrative positions for decades in all-black colleges and still hold a significant number of department chairs. These positions, they contend, are not confined to deans of women, housemothers or similar positions which are more disciplinary and custodial as opposed to guidance-oriented and professional.

The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974, amended in 1978, seeks to promote educational equity for women and girls by providing grants to public agencies and institutions and private and nonprofit organizations to develop materials and programs to achieve these goals. One area in which the Act is prevalent is in the development of sex-neutral educational materials. Black women on Black campuses have always had input on the

development of educational materials and/or input into curriculum development according to studies by Holmes in 1934 (Mims 1981 p.231). They often made changes in content of materials felt ill-suited (sexists or racists) for the needs of the students in their respective institutions.

Compared to white female administrators whose leadership roles were primarily confined to women's colleges, Black women headed coeducational institutions, e.g., Mary McLeod Bethune, Lucy Laney and Ruth M. Harris. For the purpose of adding more women to the upper echelons of academic administration, the American Council on Education's (ACE) Office of Women in Higher Education was created in 1975. As a result, the number of women being named to head colleges has increased dramatically in the last decade, i.e., from 148 in 1975 to 286 women presidents by December 31, 1984.

Most of the minority women presidents head public institutions. 9 percent of the women presidents today are minority women:

- 15 Black women
- 10 Hispanic women
- 1 Asian woman

Most of the minority women head two-year institutions rather than four-year institutions. The Office of Women

in Higher Education (OWHE) identifies women in higher education administration who are ready for major policy-making roles (Black Issues in Higher Education 1985).

Black Women and Education

In 1967 President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Its mission was to identify central issues responsible for the racial disorders occurring nationwide during the 1960's. Discrimination in employment and in education, the Commission found, was high on the list of causes of racial unrest. (Dickens & Dickens 1982). As a result of these findings, one of the Administration's top priorities was opening educational opportunities.

At one time it appeared Black parents favored educating their daughters over their sons. It is theorized that this practice was based on racial realities: (1) daughters could find work as teachers in Black institutions, even at times when many Black male college graduates could only find work as sleeping car porters (Farley 1979) and (2) the fact that the only other work available to Black women was household domestics (servants) whereas Black males had more of a variety of occupations.

Considering the above, it is interesting to note that

census data shows that it was not until the 1960's that the number of Black women completing college exceeded the number of Black men. In 1966, 6.1 percent of Black women and 5.2 percent of Black men between the ages of 25 to 34 had completed four or more years of college.

There has been a steady rise in the educational level for the Black population over the past two decades. And as educational opportunities opened, Black males became the referred group to be sent to college. This (short) period in the 1970's showed that 19 percent of Black males vs. 14 percent of Black females between 18 and 24 were enrolled in college in 1973. By the 1980's, however, Black women again outnumbered their male counterpart on campus. Researchers project that given the present trend Black women college graduates will outnumber Black male college graduates two to one in the next decade (Staples 1977).

Comparatively speaking, the difference in educational attainment is much greater along racial lines. In the same time span (1973) 25 percent of whites (male and female) in comparable age groups were in college - 29 percent male and 21 percent females (Project on the Status of Women). However, there has been a significant closing of the gap between the educational attainment of white and Black women...primarily due to the rapid gains made by

Black women. The median years of schooling for Black women rose between March 1973 and March 1981 from 12.2 to 12.5 years vs. 12.5 in 1973 to 12.7 in 1981 for white women. The 0.2 years gap is down from 1.8 years in 1962 -an achievement that Black women made in less than one generation! (Women's Bureau 1983)

Table 8 compares the educational levels of the workforce by race and sex, as of March 1981.

Table 8. Persons in the Labor Force by Years of School Completed, Sex and Race, March 1981

Characteristics	White	Black
<u>Women</u>		
Total: Number (in thousands)	39,975	5,346
Percent	100.0	100.0
Less than 4 years of high school	18.8	30.0
Elementary: 8 years or less	5.3	9.4
High School: 1 to 3 years	13.5	20.6
High school: 4 years or more	81.1	70.0
High school: 4 years	46.3	41.6
College: 1 to 3 years	18.7	17.9
4 years or more	16.1	10.5
Median school years completed	12.7	12.5
<u>Men</u>		
Total: Number (in thousands)	54,328	5,549
Percent	100.0	100.0
Less than 4 years of high school	23.5	38.3
Elementary: 8 years of less	8.9	14.2
High school: 1 to 3 years	14.6	24.1
High school: 4 years or more	76.2	61.8
High school: 4 years	37.7	37.7
College: 1 to 3 years	17.5	16.0
4 years or more	21.0	8.1
Median school years completed	12.7	12.3

Source: Adapted from Educational Attainment of Workers, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Women's Bureau 1983).

-FOOTNOTES-

⁷ For Black women faculty contact Gloria Primm Brown, Program Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York, 437 Madison Avenue, New York or Jacqueline A. Kane, 30 Limerick Drive, Albany, New York (Project on the Status and Education of Women 1983).

CHAPTER IV
BLACK PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

Black Women and Career Opportunities

Black women strengthened their economic position by entering more skilled, better paying jobs - made possible through higher educational achievement. They were quick to make the transition from low paid unskilled domestic jobs to clerical, technical, professional, sales and service jobs as each field opened (Reference Library of Black America).

However, the results of the campaign to end racial discrimination in the sixties and to end sexual discrimination in the seventies caused Black women to feel they had received only marginal benefits. They were the wrong sex during the sixties (when "Black" was synonymous with men) and the wrong race in the seventies (when "women" was synonymous with white). Black women with degrees equivalent to those held by men and white women continue to be unable to obtain equivalent jobs. This fact is obvious when one sees the statistics - 42 percent of college-educated professional Black women are clustered in the teaching profession (excluding colleges) (Rodgers-

Rose 1980).

Although they did not make the gains reasonably expected during the last two decades, Black women's occupational status did improve. Between 1970 and 1982, Black women increased their numbers in many professional and technical jobs, including accountants, nurses, dieticians, therapists, engineering and science technicians, and vocational and educational counselors. And, although limited, their numbers in sales, management, administration and administrative support positions increased since 1970. Between 1973 and 1984 Black women achieved:

- 15 percent managers
- 17 percent sales
- 7 percent administrative support

Table 9 compares the percent of employed Black women in professional and technical jobs in 1972 vs. 1980.

Table 9. Black Women in Professional and Technical Employment, 1972 and 1980, in Percentages

OCCUPATION	BLACK WOMEN	
	1972	1980
Professional and Technical		
Accountants	5.2	7.4
Computer Specialists	6.5	9.3
Engineers	(1)	(1)
Personnel and Labor Relations	12.5	10.8
Physicians, Dentists @ related practioners	(1)	5.0
Nurses, Dietitians, Therapists	6.1	8.2
Health technologists and technicians	7.8	9.2
Lawyers and Judges	(1)	7.1
Religious Workers	(1)	(1)
Social and Recreation Workers	17.4	17.4
Teachers, college and university	5.4	5.3
Teachers, except college and university	9.0	10.2
Engineering and Science Technicians	(1)	6.7
Vocational and Educational Counselors	13.4	17.8
Writers, Artists and Entertainers	2.8	3.6

¹Data not shown where numerator is less than 4,000 or denominator is less than 35,000. Source: Monthly Labor Review, Bureau of Labor Statistics June 1982.

A study by the Women's Bureau on women workers revealed that the amount of education a woman has significantly affects the kinds of jobs she can obtain. For example 60 percent of the professional/technical women have completed 4 years of college and 82 percent have attended some college; 31 percent of the clerical workers had some college, 59 percent only a high school diploma, and 8 percent have 4 or more years of college; more than 20 percent of all white-collar women had 1 to 3 years of college; women in private household work had the least amount of schooling - 8.5 percent had some college (1983).

While the educational gap is greater between the races, the salary gap is greater between the sexes. Both Black and white women with some college education earn less than white or Black men with only 8 years of education. The Bureau of the Census reported in 1981 that women with 1 to 3 years of college had a median income for full-time workers of \$14,343, while men with 8 years of schooling had a median income for full-time workers of \$16,084. In addition, women have to gain more education to reach middle to upper income levels; e.g., workers with incomes of \$20,000 to \$24,999 - women had 14.7 years of schooling compared to men with 12.8 years; in the \$35,000 to \$49,999 income category women's median education was 16.4 years with men at 15.9 years.

Comparing their percentage of earnings to a white male, Black women and white women with 4 years of high school earn 57.0 percent and 58.0 percent, respectively. It is at this educational level that Black women begin to reach salary parity with white women.

By 1978, a comparison of earnings of Black men, Black women and white women, all with some college, to the earnings of white men revealed:

- Black Men 82.9 percent
- Black Women 59.0 percent
- White Women 58.4 percent

Notice that Black women with 1 to 4 years of college earn slightly more than similarly educated white women. Beyond the baccalaureate, however, white women outdistance Black women with 56.8 percent vs. 49.3 percent, respectively (Treiman and Hartmann 1981).

Despite the many obstacles, a few Black women have advanced to positions of authority and prestige in corporations and in the community. Relative to their male colleagues, Black women constitute a larger proportion of the Black professional community than white women in the white professional community. In 1960 7 percent of white physicians were women, 9.6 percent of Black physicians

were women; Black women constituted 8 percent of Black lawyers while white women comprised only 3 percent. By 1980 (see Table 9) Black women were 5.0 percent of all physicians compared with 2.1 percent for Black men; and 7.1 percent of all lawyers compared to 3.1 percent for Black men (Epstein 1973).

Jewel Lafontant, a Black woman, is on the board of Trans World Corp., and seven other boards including Equitable Life, Continental Bank & Trust Company and Bendix. She is one of twenty-four women nationwide who serve on four or more boards. (As of 1981 women's total board membership represented only 1.8 percent.)

Virginia Askins Bell was named by Governor Kean of New Jersey to direct the Division on Women. She was the first Black woman nominated to a prominent position in his administration in 1982.

Jeri Warick-Crisman was named by the Kean administration to Assistant State Treasurer for Minority Affairs in 1984. Her responsibilities include assuring affirmative action in the \$400 million state purchases and \$200 million spent by the state on construction.

In the 1980's more minority women became small business owners, making inroads into a world traditionally

dominated by men. Unlike her female counterpart, the Black woman has always been encouraged by her parents to "be all that she could be" even when her career aspirations were in male dominated fields. Therefore, it is no surprise that Black women would enter the expanding growth area of entrepreneurial opportunities. A survey of women-owned businesses revealed that 4 percent were owned by Black women...a small but growing faction (Women's Bureau 1985).

To be sure, one cannot ignore the fact that the absolute numbers of black women, for all professions, are so small that they may go unreported. Noting the lack of executive development programs to address the needs of minority women, the Women's Bureau contracted with Howard University in 1982 to develop a model that would address both the mature Black woman and the younger Black woman student. Under the Institute for the Advancement of Black Females in Corporations, this project makes recommendations for instructional materials to address the concerns of Black women corporate executives, internships/apprenticeships, and continuing research into preparing Black women for advancement to leadership positions.

⁸The Minority Women Employment Program (MWEP) mentioned earlier, is funded through the Labor Department and provides a link between Black women seeking employment

and employers in need of their skills. Community agencies and organizations such as the National Urban League, The National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Black Professional Women's Network provide job information, referral programs and networking opportunities for Black women. These organizations along with the Black churches afforded many Black women the opportunity to learn leadership skills and take on leadership roles in their communities.

Black Women in Politics

Even with the passage of the 19th Amendment, Black women could not participate in politics - their exclusion based on race. Prior to that, during the brief period of Reconstruction when Blacks held political office, Black women were excluded because of gender. As a result of the impact of racism and sexism, Black women gained elective office later than Black men or white women.

It wasn't until 1930 that the first Black woman was elected to a state legislature and not until the 95th Congress when the highest number of Black women served - there were four. In appointive positions, the first Black woman cabinet member was appointed in 1979 by President Carter - Patricia Roberts Harris headed the Department of Housing and Urban Development. 1967 saw the first Black woman federal judge, Constance Baker Motley of New York

appointed by President Johnson. If the trend holds, it will take another thirty years before a Black women is appointed Justice of the United State Supreme Court (Hernandez 1981).

Today there are 74 Black women state legislators and executives, 1 U.S. Senator, amd approximately 35 Black female mayors. When all elected offices are taken into account, ranging from members of Congress to local school boards, the number of Black women more than doubled since 1976, to 1,483. They accounted for 30 percent of the political gains for Blacks in 1985 (Star Ledger 7/86).

Women elected to these positions are known for their sensitivity to and fight against racism and sexism. To name a few: Shirley Chisholm from New York, Barbara Jordan of Texas, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of California, and Wynona Lipman of New Jersey.

Shirley Chisholm, considered a pioneer because she was the first Black woman to be elected to the national Congress (House of Representatives, Democrat, New York), and the first woman, Black or white, to run for President of the United States on a national ticket (McGovern won the parties nomination) summed the difficulties face in her political career: "Being Black and a woman is a disadvantage because America as a nation is both racist

and anti-feminist". But..."I have pointed out time and time again that the harshest discrimination that I have encountered in the political arena is anti-feminism - both from males and brain-washed, Uncle Tom females". She noted female political participation was declining and urged many times that women become revolutionaries by bringing their special qualities of leadership to effect change in government (Lerner 1972).

To reiterate, Black women's inclusion in the political arena has been slow and the numbers small. If her power depended on positions in elective office, the Black woman would be powerless. (Gains of the last year must continue before change is seen.) Nevertheless, they have always played major roles (mostly behind the scenes) in civil rights and community organizations. Today, not unlike their white counterparts, Black women have begun to form organizations to influence local government.

One organization, Black Women Organized for Action (BWOA), formed in 1973 addresses the education, development and motivation of Black women to function at all levels of the community. Their goal is to identify issues, devise strategies for problem solving and find and encourage Black women to run for office. BWOA also endorses men and women of all races who support the goals of their organization (Hernandez 1981).

Another organization, 100 Black Women, addresses political and community issues and is very involved in mentor programs for young Black women.

The biggest gains for Black women, politically, have been during the last twenty years when the country was committed to increasing the number of women, Blacks and Hispanics in the political mainstream. In the present Reagan Administration, which seems committed to reversing minority gains, the numbers are eroding in some areas. At the state level overall representation declined for Black women from 294 to 285. Black women at all levels are needed to support and/or become involved in organizations and coalitions fighting to insure equal opportunity legislation is upheld.

Table 10. Black Elected Officials by Sex and Office, January 1985

Office	Total 6049	Male 4690	Female 1359
U.S. Senators and Representatives	20	19	1
State legislators and executives	396	322	74
Mayors	286	251	35
Substate Regional	32	17	15
County	611	534	77
Municipal	2612	1999	613
Judicial/Law Enforcement	661	575	86
Education	1431	973	458

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies

-FOOTNOTES-

⁸Contact MWEP at the Women's Employment Division of R-T-P Inc., 148 International Blvd., Suite 403, Atlanta, Georgia 30303

CHAPTER V
WORKPLACE ISSUES OF THE EIGHTIES

What are the problems Black women face on the job today? This was the question asked of Black women from a variety of occupations from both the public and private job sectors. A spectrum of occupational categories was represented in this survey, i.e., management, professional, clerical, technical and non-traditional (male-dominated) fields. Despite the job diversities, Black women appear to have similar experiences and problems.

Because of the universality of problems based on sexism, working women face the same barriers. The race issue, however, sometimes poses added dimensions for Black women...

Pay Equity

Comparable worth, or a sex-blind pay structure, is touted as the women's issues of the eighties. As shown, women earn less than two thirds as much as men - a fact that cannot readily be explained even after considering such variables as length of service, education, etc.

Recent studies by the Bureau of the Census reveal that these variables would account for an earnings gap of only 14.6 percent. Even in jobs traditionally female, such as clerical, men's earnings are consistently higher (Women's Bureau 1985).

Since she's at the bottom of the pay scale, pay equity is certainly an issue which affects Black women. In fact, of those interviewed, all but one felt she was underpaid when compared to others with similar job duties and responsibilities. The one dissent was due to a recent job demotion without a corresponding downward adjustment in pay.

For Black women there are some socioeconomic issues to consider, i.e., the feminization of poverty and Black female teenage unemployment. Each has long-term ramifications with regard to the economic future of Black women. Women's Bureau statistics show that the incidence of poverty is greater (and increasing) among female headed families. For Black families this translates into over half (53.8 percent in 1983) of the female headed families with incomes below the poverty level. Since the economic attainment of the family affects the aspirations of the children, the significance of income parity becomes apparent in terms of opening opportunities for the next generation and in terms of the next generation being in a

position, both educationally and with the necessary skills, to compete in the job market.

According to a study in Black Working Women (Malveaux 1981) the only group in which the number of white working women exceeds Black women is in the 16 to 24 year age group. The unemployment rate for Black women, and teenage Black women in particular, has increased steadily since 1975. At 42.6 percent in 1984, unemployment among Black teenage women is nearly three times the rate of white teenage women at 15.2 percent (Women's Bureau 1985).

Table 11. Unemployment Rates by Race, Sex and Age 1984

Teenagers (ages 16-19)	Rate	Adults (ages 20 and over)	Rate
Black men	42.7	Black men	14.3
Black women	42.6	Black women	13.5
White men	16.8	White men	5.7
White women	15.2	White women	5.8

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau

The significance of the disproportionately high rate of unemployment for Black youth is felt when it comes to gaining marketable skills. When this reality is tied to the fact of the rising female headed household, the lack of any kind of work experience becomes a critical problem for Black women.

Until these important socioeconomic issues are resolved...the feminization of poverty and Black teenage unemployment...the small gains that Black women have made in the job market will continue to be jeopardized.

Sexual Harassment

According to Dr. Mary Berry, former Vice-Chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, being sexually harassed in order to keep a job has always been a part of the Black woman's history. "White bosses still regard Black working women in that old traditional notion of sex objects that they can exploit as they had during slavery...Black women are getting attention as far as exposing sexual harassment only because of the white woman's crusade against it", she observed (Black Collegian 1982).

In the corporate world where sexual harassment is considered a "hot issue", Black women contend most of the charges of that nature are filed by white women against white men. Few charges are filed by Black women against white men primarily because Black women usually have the most to lose in these situations. As noted earlier, over 53 percent of Black families are headed by women. Losing a job (a very real possibility when these types of suits are filed) means the difference between independent family subsistence and welfare for women who are not considered a commodity in the marketplace.

Although they represented a cross-section occupationally, including non-traditional (male dominated) jobs, none of the women interviewed for this chapter indicated having had problems with sexual harassment on the job. Why? Perhaps sexual harassment, by its strictest

definition, had been dismissed or handled as a minor problem. Or perhaps because these women, none of which were under 30 years old, mostly college educated, were self-confident about their abilities and indicated they would not allow themselves to be intimidated in this way. When asked to share strategies or coping mechanisms used to handle sex-related work problems most answered:

- Conduct yourself always in a business manner and demand to be treated in kind. Don't socialize.
- Speak up when the man is "out of line" and (know) quote company policy when necessary. Attack the problem before it becomes unmanageable.
- Be direct and use the company's policy...that's what it's for!

While the population interviewed was not as vulnerable as some, their coping strategies came from years of experience and, as such, are useful coping tools for working women.

Racism/Sexism

For the past two terms under the Reagan administration, affirmative action programs have been systematically attacked. The mood of the country, therefore, has been lax towards enforcing equal employment laws and sometimes hostile towards those protected by these laws. Roma Stewart, a Washington lawyer specializing in racial discrimination and sexual

harassment cases remarks that because of the anti-affirmative action signals from the government and the amount of litigation regarding sexual harassment, racial discrimination is becoming the more prevalent problem for Black women. "I've been getting the kinds of racial discrimination cases that I thought went out in the 1960 where there was no pretense in covering the fact that the employer didn't want a particular Black woman around any longer...failure to hire, promote or consider Black women for advancement are the most blatant examples of racial discrimination", Ms. Stewart asserts (Black Collegian 1982).

Survey results for this chapter pointed to the fact that Black women feel most of the discrimination they experience is because of race rather than sex. When asked how they rated their company's commitment to equal employment in terms of women and minorities, each interviewee made the following qualification, "for white women, efforts to mainstream have been pretty good". However, for Black women and all minorities none rated their company better than fair...and most were rated poor.

Another indication of the presence of racial problems at work and how difficult they are to cope with was revealed when interviewees were asked to share strategies or coping mechanisms used to handle race related problems. These women, who were direct and assertive when handling

sex related discrimination, seemed at a loss as to how to best handle racial issues. Some of the responses were:

- Don't overreact...the reality is this is a racist society.
- Consider the source...because it's their problem.
- Overlook it and continue business as usual...don't socialize as it affords more opportunity for racial remarks.

Some of the women interviewed did indicate employing direct confrontation. But the underlying consensus seemed to be a feeling of lack of company support and/or desire to resolve discrimination problems with racial overtones.

All of the women indicated they they would not sit back and continually take racial abuse. In fact, one woman interviewee had taken her company to court on a charge of racial discrimination. She was willing to share her experience:

Case No.6

In 1976 the interviewee and several other secretaries were promoted, based on excellence of skill and longevity, to the newly created position of Supervisor of Stenographers. The interviewee was the only Black/ minority woman in the group. The duties included evaluating their group of stenographers; however, none of the supervisors had authority to hire fire or transfer workers (although they could make recommendations on the evaluation forms).

By accident, the interviewee found that her evaluations were being discarded and more favorable ones written by her supervisor for a white stenographer whose work she rated marginal. The note attached to the evaluation she retrieved stated "the rater forgot she was being rated". Believing

her immediate supervisor was undermining her, she complained to his supervisor. Not only did she not receive support, but her next evaluation was poor.

By late 1977-78 the other Supervisors were receiving promotions...even some of the stenographers she supervised were promoted over her. She filed a race discrimination suit, using the company's internal grievance procedure. Months passed...her case was not satisfactorily resolved. In the meantime, she was demoted to stenographer.

She took her case to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission where, after approximately three years of having her case shifted between agencies and caseworkers she was issued a "no-fault judgement", given a "right-to-sue" letter...and her case was closed. In 1980 she retained the services of an attorney who specialized in discrimination law.

By this time treatment from her coworkers was becoming intolerable. She was shifted from department to department and given work normally assigned to entry-level employees. She became a "non-person", e.g., supervisors/ peers answering her phone would pretend not to know who she was. The stress became so bad that she sought the help of the company doctor. Under her private physician's care she had begun to take valium "for her nerves".

By 1982 her case had still not come to trial. She found her lawyer to be grossly incompetent but felt she couldn't stand the mental strain of starting over with a new lawyer. The pressure on her job became too great by this time and one morning she simply walked off the job and never returned.

In 1983 her company retired her on total/permanent disability based on mental stress, primarily founded upon the company physician's records. Her court case was heard in 1984 where she was awarded a "nominal sum" in back pay... although the company denied the discrimination charge. She won because she persevered...but in terms of her health, her job and her self-esteem she paid much too much!

This interviewee is still recovering from what she terms "seven years of indescribably unrelenting harassment".

She used the system as it was set up, first the internal company procedure and then the state and federal agencies.

For her the system failed miserably. One might speculate that her case with EEOC would have had a very different outcome under pre-Reagan affirmative action administrations. The reality is that most people filing charges today encounter the same experiences as the interviewee. And they, as the interviewee, will come away feeling embittered and with little faith in a government which will not enforce its own laws.

Unique Problems of Black Women

Black females with middle and upper management responsibilities find they have additional problems because of who they are. A May 1986 Chronicle of Higher Education article on Black Female College Presidents quoted several who stated that because they are Black, and women they are often characterized as not being capable of unbiased decisions on issues involving women and minorities. Vera King Farris, President of Stockton State College, believes these perceptions can be dispelled over time; however, "one must prove over and over again to students, faculty and administration that their decisions are based on sound judgement and not bias".

Further problems are encountered because society perceives women as more nurturing and Black people as more accommodating than other ethnic groups. As a result, black women may find their subordinates overly dependent,

precluding these women from delegating... and very often taking on more than their share of responsibility. Or, they may find themselves the target of special interest group demands, often having to deal with hostile confrontations or mediating conflicts. Sometimes these women find themselves on the "front lines" having to defend a company position for which they have no power to change (although the dissidents do not understand this fact). Under the circumstances, the woman's work suffers, she becomes ineffective and, because she feels overwhelmed with responsibilities and no support, may resign because she feels she cannot handle her job (Dumas 1980).

Another problem unique to the Black woman was discussed at the Association of Black Women in Higher Education Conference (Black Female College Presidents May 1986). That is the traditional belief that Black women are more outspoken than other women. Seen as a negative trait, Black women have become less outspoken the higher up the ladder they climb. Again, President Harris observes that Black women should realize that often they are chosen for a position because of who they are and, therefore, owe it to themselves and others to continue to speak out on issues rather than compromise.

Two of the interviewees commented on the relationship they have working for white women bosses and/or having

them as peers. "White women still feel Black women should be cleaning their (white women) floors", said one Black secretary after a bitter experience with a white female supervisor. "That woman was always telling me, in expletives, how she expected me to clean her desk each morning and arrange objects on her credenza...she'd even call me from secretarial duties to run errands such as buying the newspaper for her. After several months of this, I took my complaints to her supervisor and, by the end of that week, found myself out of a job"! The only satisfaction the interviewee received was when she found that the woman had been fired shortly thereafter because of her incompetence.

The second interviewee spoke of her peer relationship with white women. "White women feel threatened by competent Black women", she stated. "No matter how many degrees we possess, we must constantly prove our abilities to these women...even when they're subordinates!" She herself has been the recipient of covert "put downs", subtle resistance to access of information needed, and impediments to advancement which she's later found to have been initiated by a white female peer. She also observes that the "old boy's system" is now the "old girl's system" for white women. She has witnessed women hiring friends, with no experience, over competent minority job applicants. Her revelations she assures are not based on

bitterness...they are factual.

This interviewee also felt Black men support the advancement of white women over Black. Another interviewee corroborated by relating a similar experience with a Black male coworker. She had been newly transferred, about a month with this new division, when she was called into a meeting to discuss complaints about the way she handled her job duties. Neither her competence nor skills were being questioned...just that she did not handle tasks the way the department usually did. After some discussion, it was agreed that she was entitled to the same "honeymoon period" to adjust to practices peculiar to the department as others were afforded. Digging deeper, however, she later found that the lone, and constant complainer was the only other minority in the department...the Black male coworker. Both women felt that Black men who took this role did so to prove they were "team players", thus securing their jobs.

Other interviewees identified other Black women as active participants in the problem of behind the scenes sabotage and/or undermining of Black women. One found Black women subordinates resisted taking direction from her while not showing the same resistance to white managers. This interviewee found she had to act

authoritatively at all times in order to establish her credibility; a role she did not enjoy. She observed, "It's as if they (Black women) don't want to see you succeed".

Another interviewee related her exasperating experiences trying to network with other Black women while job hunting. Most of the women she contacted in a position to give job hunting strategies, offered superficial advice and/or no support. One contact to whom she wrote as well as called never bothered to return the calls. Her worst experience was with a contact who happened to be an affirmative action officer in a large corporation. This woman not only made appointments which she did not keep (on one occasion interviewee was advised that the contact had "taken a vacation day"), when interviewee suggested lunch to discuss job possibilities within the corporation, the affirmative action officer replied, "speak to my secretary...she makes all of my appointments". Finally tiring of this treatment, the interviewee made another contact within the corporation which led to two job interviews.

When asked what they felt were major problems or barriers impeding Black women's progress in the workplace many of the interviewees identified isolation in various forms:

- Isolation due to the small numbers of Black women the higher the position.
- Isolation that is self-imposed due to a lack of self-confidence or assertiveness in seeking coworkers, both male and female, with similar interests..and those with influence (mentors).
- Isolation due to lack of management, peer or subordinate support.
- Isolation due to "elitism" - choosing to associate only with those on equal or higher job levels.

Further comments on the ramifications of isolation due to "elitism"...the consensus of the interviewees was that the true "professional" is able to talk with everyone from the custodian to the president...one never knows from what sector a support group will appear.

Strategies for Career Advancement

Despite the barriers Black women have to contend with on the job, each of the women interviewed felt they could do much in deciding how their careers advanced. Each was asked to share a strategy(s) they felt Black women should be using to advance on the job. They offered the following advice:

- (1) Networking -Black women need to support one

another, whether they belong to the same organizations or not. And they should reach out not only to the professionals but to those coming through the ranks. One interviewee pointed out that Black women's networks have to go further than offering job leads, they should speak to issues peculiar to Black women. For example, in her experience when transferring to a southern state during her graduate years, this interviewee contacted a local Black women's organization purported to help in the job hunt. Not only did they handle that inexpertly, but also could offer no advice as to local churches or available housing. One result was that she found housing in a neighborhood she later learned was two blocks from a Ku Klux Klan headquarters!

Develop support groups of all races and sexes both within and outside the workplace. The interviewee reporting the negative Black female affirmative action officer, had an equally positive experience with another contact, a Black female personnel officer. Other women reported solid advice and help from white female contacts. One stated a white male helped her in her job hunt by personally calling his contacts - leading to job interviews for her. Still another told of the Black male who gave her inside tips regarding the politics of moving up in the organization in which they both worked.

The fact is that most Black women will encounter one or more of the problems that these women have faced. By joining or starting a networking organization they will have contact with people who can offer solid advice, job leads, understanding and support.

(2) Within the Organization - The consensus of the interviewees is that the way to advance within an organization is to do what other successful people do:

- politic, i.e., communicate with people key to your career.
- develop mentors where possible, include males and females regardless of race.
- join support groups...network.
- keep up with changes in your field, become expert.
- learn more than one area of the company.
- be loyal to the company.
- keep constant vigilance for advancement in all departments of the company.
- develop good work habits, i.e., punctuality, attendance.
- be aware of the impression you create, i.e., speak well, dress appropriately.
- be informed...keep up with current issues especially in the workplace.
- if you work in a nontraditional job or around men most of the day, read the sport section of the

newspaper.

- talk with every level of employee. Class "snobbishness" is as bad as racism, sexism and any other form of discrimination.
- stay away from "soft money" government supported jobs (grant funded). They are usually funded for a limited period of time.
- avoid positions relegated to minority concerns or use them as a springboard to mainstream - they usually are dead-end jobs.
- delegate/train subordinates...it's part of your job evaluation.
- become indispensable not irreplaceable. The latter can compromise your chances for mobility.

finally

- longevity does not always lead to upward mobility if a company is not committed to advancing women and minorities...so don't be afraid to change jobs in order to move ahead.

(3) Toward the Future - The following advice was offered in the spirit of insuring continuing the ranks of successful Black women:

- be aware of and prepare for future changes in the workforce with the addition of more minorities and foreign born. Learn a second language...it could open new areas in the anticipated foreign job

market.

- set yourself as a role model for those Black women who come after you...it will help your growth and increase your visibility.
- don't forget to give something back when you reach a position where you can help another Black woman...on the job or wherever your expertise lies.

CONCLUSION

This research on Black working women was conducted to answer the question, "Has equal employment legislation helped to improve the job status of Black women? When one compares the employment opportunities for Black women prior to EEO legislation, the answer would have to be yes. Basically at that time, the majority of Black women workers were concentrated in the service area...mostly domestics or unskilled workers. The professional women, primarily, were teachers. And...it was virtually impossible to find a Black secretary in the corporate world. Black women were allowed no other options.

Today, barely twenty years later, Black women are employed in every sector - on every level. Some sit on Boards of powerful corporations, are presidents of colleges, senators and mayors of cities, run community organizations and own successful businesses. In the public and private sector they hold positions from executive through technical - and have entered nontraditional fields such as firefighters, police officers and skilled crafts workers.

The statistics show Black women have been given the opportunity and have advanced; but statistics don't show the whole picture. For example, if a company with one Black woman hires a second, that company has increased its

statistics for Black women by 50 percent. Many companies were able to boast phenomenal gains based on this "statistical loophole".

For Black women the opportunities were never as equal as for other minorities. The Civil Rights Movement was conceived with the Black male in mind and the Women's Movement with the white female. Black women's employment opportunities were attained on the periphery of each. And even though the employment opportunities have improved markedly for Black women, the reality is that in most fields the numbers holding those positions are so small as to be statistically insignificant. They have fared better in public employment insofar as numbers and advancement, and have fared best as union members insofar as pay equity (See Addendum A). But by far, the majority of Black women are still in clerical and entry-level positions.

There is real validity in the fear that the gains made thus far by Black women may erode because of serious socioeconomic problems. i.e., disproportionately high unemployment for Black teenage women and the increase in poor, Black female headed-households. (During the period 1975-84 the number of unemployed Black women has increased by 44.8 percent!) Another pressing concern involves the critical need for better networking efforts among Black women and between themselves and other groups (since the

opportunities for attracting mentors is so small).

In spite of the negatives, however, Black women have made impressive strides in only two decades (See Addendum A). They applied for and worked in positions in which they were "pioneers" (usually the first and only Black employee); were flexible in that they sought the necessary education needed to advance (doubled the numbers of college educated between 1970 and 1981, thus closing the education gap with white women to only 0.2 percent and outnumbering Black men on campus by nearly two to one); challenged discriminatory company policies through the courts when necessary; and renewed self-help efforts (and networks) to improve socioeconomic conditions for Black women and their communities.

The future of equal employment legislation is important to all women and minorities. But the Black woman knows that as the "new kid on the block" she has to work harder and smarter and be twice as good as everyone else in order to get equal treatment. In spite of the fact that she is more likely to be unemployed than white women and more likely to be in the lowest paying jobs than any of the "protected classes", the Black woman worker 's consciousness has been raised vis a vis opportunities which are hers if she prepares. She is more sophisticated today about the remedies available to fight discrimination

in the workplace...and will use them.

With more Black women graduating college and going on to graduate and professional schools than men...and the changing workforce becoming more ethnically diverse, companies in the future will be forced to recruit and promote more Black women simply to get the best talent. And the Black woman, if her performance of the past two decades is any benchmark, will continue to challenge equal employment legislation to fulfill its promise to all of the "protected classes".

ADDENDUM A

FACTS ON BLACK WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

- Slightly more than 63 percent of Black mothers were in the labor force in March 1984. Seventy percent of Black mothers of children age 6 to 17 only were workers, as were nearly three-fifths (57 percent) of those with children under age 6. The comparable figures for white mothers were 68 and 51 percent and for Hispanic mothers, 58 and 41 percent, respectively.
- There has been some improvement in the occupational status of employed Black women. Between 1970 and 1982, Black women increased their representation in many professional and technical jobs, including accountant, nurse, dietitian, therapist, engineering and science technician, and vocational and educational counselor. Although progress has been limited, both the numbers and proportions of black women in sales, management and administration and administrative support positions have increased since 1970.
- Black women have advanced faster in the public sector versus the private sector jobs.
- Black women made inroads into blue-collar occupations such as bus driver, delivery, person, and truck driver. However, their proportion in service occupations continued to decline, reflecting the continuous movement of Black women out of private household (domestic) work.
- Although the number of women business owners is on the rise, women still own only a small portion of the businesses in the United States, approximately 7 percent. A survey of women-owned businesses revealed that 94 percent were owned by white women, almost 4 percent by black women, and nearly 3 percent by women of Hispanic origin.
- Black women who worked year round, full time in 1983 approached income parity with their white counterparts (\$13,000 compared with \$14,677). However, the average Black family's income (\$14,506) remained considerably less than the average income of white families (\$25,757). A smaller but still significant gap existed between the average income of Black married couple families where the wife was in the paid labor force (\$26,389) and that of similar white families (\$32,569).
- Today, families maintained by women have a poverty rate which is three times that of all families and five times the rate for married-couple families. As of 1984 about 69 percent of the women maintaining families were white, 29 percent were black and fewer than 10 percent were of Hispanic origin. However, over half (53.8 percent) of Black families headed by women had incomes below the poverty level, compared with 28.3 percent of similar white families.

- ✓ Except for the two recessions in the early 1980's, the unemployment rate for white women has declined since 1975, while the unemployment rate for Black women has continued to rise. During the 1975-1984 period, the number of unemployed Black women increased by 44.8 percent, while the number entering the labor force grew by 39.1 percent. More than 910,000 Black women 16 years of age and over, or 15.4 percent, were unemployed in 1984 - up from 629,000, or 14.8 percent, in 1975.
- ✓ Unemployment among Black teenage women, at 42.6 percent in 1984, is nearly three times the rate for white teenage women (15.2 percent).
- ✓ There has been a significant closing of the gap between the educational level of white and Black women workers. The median years of schooling of Black women workers was 12.6 years in 1983. The difference of 0.2 years that now exists between Black and white women workers is down from 1.8 years in 1962, an achievement made in about a generation.
- ✓ The ratio of Black women college graduates to Black men college graduates in the next ten years, if present trends continue, will be about two to one. Not only are there more Black women enrolled in college, but as a rule they are more likely to graduate than men. 95% of the doctorates earned by Blacks, however, are awarded to men.
- The number of women college presidents has doubled in the last ten years from 148 in 1975 to 286 at the end of 1984. 9 percent of the women presidents are minority women, including 18 Black women, 10 Hispanic women, and 1 Asian Pacific woman. More of the minority women may be found in two-year institutions than four-year institutions.
- The number of Black elected officials increased more than 6 percent over 1984 although the increase has slowed dramatically since 1970 to 1976 when it grew by more than 18 percent a year. Black women accounted for 30 percent of the gains last year and more than doubled their representation in elective offices ranging from members of Congress to local school boards since 1976 to 1,483.
- Black women made advances in many socioeconomic areas over the past decade. However, despite their strong and continued labor force experience and their increased years of schooling, Black women still are more likely than white women to be unemployed, to be in low-paying jobs, and to account for a larger proportion of those living in poverty.

* Selected Facts on Black Women in the Labor Force taken from the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau Fact Sheet Nos. 85-2, 85-4, 85-5 and 85-6.

BLACK WOMEN WORKERS AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

THESIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant: The following survey is designed to get input from Black working women regarding their perceptions of how equal employment legislation has impacted upon their terms and conditions of employment. Please answer all questions as directly as possible - no names are required to assure anonymity. Thank you in advance for your cooperation.

1. Job Title _____
2. Employment Sector
 - _____ Educational/College
 - _____ Industry/Business
 - _____ Government Agency
 - _____ Own Business
 - _____ Other (specify)
3. How long in position
 - _____ 1 year or less
 - _____ 1 to 5 years
 - _____ 5 to 10 years
 - _____ 10 to 20 Plus
4. Salary Range
 - _____ less than \$20,000
 - _____ \$20,000 - \$30,000
 - _____ \$30,000 - \$40,000
 - _____ \$40,000 - \$50,000
 - _____ \$50,000 plus
5. Do you feel you are underpaid when compared to others with similar job duties and responsibilities?
 - _____ Yes _____ No
6. Education:
 - _____ some college
 - _____ Associates Degree
 - _____ Bachelors Degree
 - _____ Masters Degree
 - _____ Professional (J.D. M.D. C.P.A. etc.)
 - _____ Ph.D. Ed.D Doctorate
 - _____ Other
7. How old were you when you acquired your first degree?
 - _____

8. Please rate the following aspects of your position:

	Very Good	Good	Fair	Poor
Support from your immediate supervisor	_____	_____	_____	_____
Support from upper management	_____	_____	_____	_____
Support from peers	_____	_____	_____	_____
Adequate support staff	_____	_____	_____	_____
Promotion and advancement opportunities	_____	_____	_____	_____
Opportunities for leadership	_____	_____	_____	_____
Training opportunities	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. Please rate your company's commitment to equal employment in the following areas:

Treatment of women employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Treatment of minority employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Mainstreaming women employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Mainstreaming minority employees	_____	_____	_____	_____
Policy making input from women	_____	_____	_____	_____
Policy making input from minorities	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Are women and minorities at your company "window dressing" - in visible positions to meet affirmative action requirements but no authority.

_____ Yes _____ No

11. What are some of the problems you've faced while carrying out your job duties?

- _____ stereotype resistance
- _____ challenge from male workers
- _____ authority/leadership undermined
- _____ establishing credibility
- _____ input not valued
- _____ expected to handle company race/sex problems when not your role
- _____ image problem
- _____ income parity
- _____ sexual harassment

12. Please share a strategy or coping mechanism you have used to handle a sex or race related problem at work:

13. In your opinion, how helpful has each of the following been with respect to your career advancement?

	Very	Somewhat	Not Too	Not At All	No Effect
Affirmative Action/EEO Legislation	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Civil Rights Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Litigation/Court Cases	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Black Women's Organizations	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Women's Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Minority Groups	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Women/Minorities in Elected Office	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Women/Minorities Networking	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Free Market Economy	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. Please describe your career goals:

- _____ continue in present position
- _____ apply for different position in same company
- _____ apply for different job at another company
- _____ start own business
- _____ go back to school
- _____ prepare to retire
- _____ undecided
- _____ other (specify)

15. Please share what you feel are one or two major problems or barriers impeding Black women's progress in the workplace today:

16. Please share the strategy(s) you feel Black women should be using to advance on the job:

Return to:

Barbara Mitchell
 New Jersey Institute of Technology
 Affirmative Action Office
 323 Dr. M.L. King Boulevard
 Newark, N.J. 07102

Return by

Feel free to add additional comments on the back of this form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS

- Aldridge, Delores P. "Black Female Suicides: Is the Excitement Justified." In The Black Woman, ed. LaFrances Rodgers-Rose. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- BBP Job Discrimination Handbook. Bureau of Business Practice, Inc., 1980.
- "The Black Woman." Reference Library of Black America, Vol IV. New York: Belwether Publishing Co., 1971.
- Davis, George and Glegg Watson. Black Life in Corporate America. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1982.
- Dickens, Floyd Jr. and Jacqueline B. Dickens. The Black Manager. New York: AMACOM, 1982.
- Dumas, Rhetaugh Graves. "Dilemmas of Black Females in Leadership." In The Black Woman, ed. LaFrances Rodgers-Rose. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Engram, Eleanor. "Role Transition in Early Adulthood: Orientations of Young Black Women." In The Black Woman, ed. LaFrances Rodgers-Rose. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women". In Changing Women in a Changing Society, ed. Joan Huber. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- Farley, Jennie. Affirmative Action and the Woman Worker. New York: AMACOM, 1979.
- Foner/Lewis/Cvornyek, eds. The Black Worker Since The AFL-CIO Merger, Vol. VIII. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984.
- Hemmons, Willa Mae. "The Women's Liberation Movement: Understanding Black Women's Attitudes." In The Black Woman, ed. LaFrances Rodgers-Rose. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Hernandez, Aileen. "Black Women and the Political Process in the U.S." In Black Working Women Debunking the Myths: A Multidisciplinary Approach. Berkeley: University of California, 1981.

- Johnson, Willa D and Thomas L. Green. Perspectives on Afro-American Women. Washington DC: ECCA Publications Inc., 1975.
- La, Vak. Labor Union and Racial Discrimination. Newark: New Jersey Institute of Technology, 1981.
- Leggon, Cheryl Bernadette. "Black Female Professionals: Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status." In The Black Woman, ed. LaFrances Rodgers-Rose. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Lerner, Gerda, ed. Black Women in White America A Documentary History. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.
- Malveaux, Julianne. "Shifts in the Occupational and Employment Status of Black Women: Current Trends and Future Implications." In Black Working Women Debunking the Myths: A Multidisciplinary Approach. Berkeley: University of California, 1981.
- Mims, George L., ed. The Minority Administrator in Higher Education. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1981.
- National Research Council. Summary Report 1981 Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities. Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1982.
- Rodgers-Rose, LaFrances, ed. The Black Woman. London: Sage Publications, 1980.
- Spero, Sterling D. and Abram L. Harris. The Black Worker. New York: Columbia University, 1931.
- Staples, Robert T. "The Black Professional Woman--Career Success and Interpersonal Failure." In Black Working Women Debunking the Myths: A Multidisciplinary Approach. Berkeley: University of California, 1981.
- Treiman, Donald J. and Heidi I. Hartmann, eds. Women, Work and Wages, Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value. Washington DC: National Academy Press, 1981.
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Affirmative Action in the 1980's: Dismantling the Process of Discrimination. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1981.
- U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Time of Change: 1983 Handbook. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau. The United Nations Decade for Women, 1976-1985: Employment in the United States. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

Pamphlets

The AFL-CIO & Civil Rights. Publication No. 8. Report of the AFL-CIO Executive Council to the Sixteenth Constitutional Convention. Washington DC: October 1985.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. America's Black Population: 1970 to 1982 A Statistical View. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1983.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Blacks In the 1970's: Did They Scale the Job Ladder? Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, June 1982.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Black Women in the Labor Force. Fact Sheet No. 85-6. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Earnings Difference Between Women and Men Workers. Fact Sheet No. 85-7. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Women Business Owners. Fact Sheet No. 85-5. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Women Who Maintain Families. Fact Sheet No. 85-2. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Women's Bureau. Working Mothers and Their Children. Fact Sheet No. 85-4. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, July 1985.

Articles

"Black Female College Presidents Declare They Are Leaders For Entire Institutions." Chronicle of Higher Education (Washington DC), May 14, 1986, p. 25.

"Black Officials' Ranks Continue Steady Increase," The Star Ledger (Newark NJ), July 1986.

Blakely, William A. "Everybody Makes the Revolution," In Civil Rights Digest, Vol. 6 No. 3, 1974.

- "Faculty Recruitment/Retention: Special Report." Rutgers University Newsletter (New Brunswick NJ), September 4, 1979, p.1.
- "Few Black Women Found to Hold High-Level Jobs at Colleges." Chronicle of Higher Education (Washington DC), September 15, 1982.
- Gite, Lloyd. "Workplace Problems: Sexual Harassment and Racial Discrimination." Black Collegian, Vol. 12 No. 5 (April/May 1982) p. 44.
- Hart, Donna. "Enlarging the American Dream." Project on the Status and Education of Women, Vol. 13 No. 1, Summer 1983.
- "Minority Women and Higher Education." Project on the Status and Education of Women, Vol. 13 No. 1, Summer 1983.
- "Number of Women Presidents Doubles in Ten Years." Black Issues in Higher Education Vol. 2 No. 7 (Virginia), October 1, 1985, p.1.
- Omolade, Barbara. "ERA and Black Women." Black Collegian Vol. 10 No. 5 (April/May 1980) p. 154.
- Rickman, Geraldine. "A Natural Alliance." In Civil Rights Digest, Vol. 6 No. 3, 1974.
- "Stats on Minority Women." Project on the Status and Education of Women Vol. 13 No. 2, Fall 1983.
- "Surprise!" FEP Guidelines, No. 196-(4) (Connecticut), 1982.