ACHIEVING ORGANIZATIONAL EXCELLENCE THROUGH

MANAGING DIVERSITY:

ENHANCING PRODUCTIVITY, SELF CONCEPT, AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT
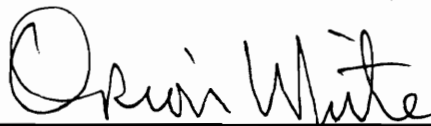

by

Edith Berkowitz Needleman

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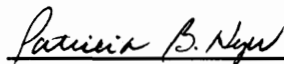
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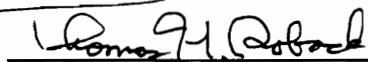Public Administration and Public Affairs
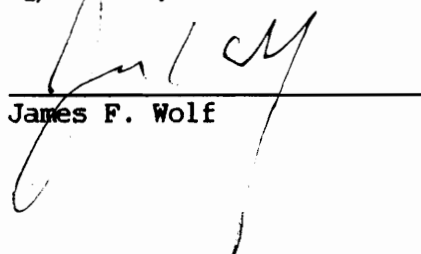

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by

Edith Berkowitz Needleman

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(ABSTRACT)

This study used focus groups to explore the nature and effects of gender-related microinequities on women in the upper levels of government. Microinequities were defined as subtle forms of differential treatment toward any person who is different than the others in a group. Subjects were selected from eight federal agencies and included 114 women and 30 men at the SES and GS/GM 13-15 grade levels. Each focus group was asked questions pertaining to the nature of microinequities, and the effects of microinequities on self concept, productivity, and career development.

Female subjects reported experiencing a wide range of microinequities, primarily related to interpersonal relationships between men and women, attitudes about women, social support, family roles, and physical characteristics. Despite the large number of women who reported experiencing microinequities, a substantial number of women reported that men and women were treated equally in the workplace.

The research question regarding the effect of microinequities on self concept yielded a small number of responses and diverse views. Some women reported experiencing self doubt when confronted with microinequities; other women reported that microinequities had no affect on self concept. Views about the effect of microinequities on energy or productivity were also diverse. Some women reported that microinequities had no effect on their energy. Other women reported that microinequities affected their energy; comments were related to stress, long hours, aggression, strategy, anger, superwoman tendencies, and coping strategies.

With regard to career development, female participants generally reported that microinequities did not affect their career success. When effects were reported, they were described as short-term.

Recommendations for managers based upon reported experiences were described, and implications for managers were explored.

In memory of my grandmother,

Ray Goldstein

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John Dickey. My CPAP colleagues, Jennifer Alexander-Terry and Susan Halbert, generously shared their ideas and friendship. I am especially indebted to Lisa Weinberg who, in addition to her friendship and support, initially informed me of the MSPB study; without her help, this research would have been substantially different. Many thanks to other CPAP colleagues and the Virginia Tech faculty members who participated in the pilot study; their input contributed significantly to this project. I would also like to recognize the assistance of Gerald McLaughlin and Julie Snyder, and the support of Professor Don Creamer.

My friends and colleagues at Virginia Tech, College of Engineering, and at Wharton, Career Development and Placement, cheered me on throughout the process. Karen DeBusk deserves a special thank you. In addition, Andrew Adams, Dean Wayne Clough, Duke Perry, and Dr. Paul Torgersen each provided a supportive work environment in which to pursue my academic goals.

My friends, Joy, Jon, and Jason Stern, provided a wonderful home base for me in Washington. Wendy Brady and Heidi Oster, who deserve a very special thank you, have been enthusiastic supporters of this endeavor from the onset.

In many ways, the values espoused in this dissertation are a reflection of the influence of my parents, Gloria and William Berkowitz. My mother sought to instill in my brother and me a

respect and appreciation for the individual, long before anyone had ever heard of the term "diversity." The way she treats others--with kindness, dignity, compassion, and equality--is truly an inspiration. My father, who was perhaps my first career counselor, encouraged me to explore a variety of occupations. From early on, he conveyed to me that women should not be constrained by societal expectations or stereotypes when choosing a career. My brother and sister-in-law, Michael and Deborah, and my aunt, Brenda Kramer, have been enthusiastic about this project from the beginning, and made many helpful suggestions along the way.

I would like to thank my mother- and father-in-law, Sima and Philip Needleman, and my sister-in-law, Nina, for their support. In addition, I wish to thank the following family members for their encouragement: my grandfather, Haskell Goldstein; my grandparents-in-law, Sadie and Al Kolman, and Lily Needleman; and my aunts and uncles--Betty and Lou Berman, Kay and Aaron Goldstein, Brenda and Marty Kramer, Ruth and Jack Linn, and Jewel and Eddie Littenberg.

My husband Larry deserves the greatest thanks. He has been a constant source of support, good will, and encouragement. His willingness to listen to, analyze, and discuss every minute detail of this study was more appreciated than words can express. It is to my husband and to my parents that this dissertation is dedicated.

Differences must be integrated, not annihilated, nor absorbed. .
. . Instead of shutting out what is different, we should welcome
it because it is different and through its difference will make
a richer content of life. The ignoring of differences is the
most fatal mistake in politics or industry or international
life: every difference that is swept up into a bigger conception
feeds and enriches society; every difference which is ignored
feeds on society and eventually corrupts it.

Mary Parker Follett, <u>The New State</u> (1918: 39-40)

It is like an abscess that has been festering for years. It's
been getting bigger and bigger. What I did was throw a scalpel
at it and opened it. Now, there is pus running all over the
floor. What I have done, I hope, is help others open up a
dialogue about this. If we can get men and women to start
talking to one another about what gender insensitivity means,
then we will have accomplished a great deal.

Dr. Frances Conley, in an interview
with <u>Time</u>, July 8, 1991

IMPRESSIONS FROM AN OFFICE

The family picture is on HIS desk. Ah, a solid, responsible family
     man.
The family picture is on HER desk. Umm, her family will come before
     her career.
HIS desk is cluttered. He's obviously a hard worker and a busy man.
HER desk is cluttered. She's obviously a disorganized scatterbrain.
HE is talking with his co-workers. He must be discussing the latest
     deal.
SHE is talking with her co-workers. She must be gossiping.
HE's not at his desk. He must be at a meeting.
SHE's not at her desk. She must be in the ladies' room.
HE's not in the office. He's meeting customers.
SHE's not in the office. She must be out shopping.
HE's having lunch with the boss. He's on his way up.
SHE's having lunch with the boss. They must be having an affair.
The boss criticized HIM. He'll improve his performance.
The boss criticized HER. She'll be very upset.
HE got an unfair deal. Did he get angry?
SHE got an unfair deal. Did she cry?
HE's getting married. He'll get more settled.
SHE's getting married. She'll get pregnant and leave.
HE's having a baby. He'll need a raise.
SHE's having a baby. She'll cost the company money in maternity
     benefits.
HE's going on a business trip. It's good for his career.
SHE's going on a business trip. What does her husband say?
HE's leaving for a better job. He knows how to recognize a good
     opportunity.
SHE's leaving for a better job. Women are not dependable.

                              Natasha Josefowitz in
                              Paths to Power (1980: 60)

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BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

If I am in an operating room, I have to be in control of
the team that is working with me. That control is established
because people respect who I am and what I can do. If a man
walks into the operating room and says, "How's it going,
honey?", what happens to my control? It disappears because
every woman who is working in that room with me has also been
called "honey" by this guy, and it means all of a sudden I don't
have the status of a surgeon in control of the case being done.
I have suddenly become a fellow "honey."

                    Dr. Frances Conley, in an interview
                    with Time, July 8, 1991

On June 3, 1991, prominent neurosurgeon Dr. Frances Conley

resigned from her tenured professorship at Stanford Medical School

declaring that she had been a victim of "gender insensitivity"

throughout her 25 years as a neurosurgeon and 16 years as a professor

at Stanford. According to Dr. Conley, incidents like the one

described above "seem trivial, but they are real, and they do affect

a person who has a professional life" (L'hommedieu, 1991, 52-3).

Elaborating on the effects of such treatment, Dr. Conley stated

that she experienced a low energy level, similar to chronic

depression, during the two years in which a colleague with sexist

attitudes served as department chairman. One area of productivity

affected was her creative writing which diminished to virtually

nothing. Two weeks after she announced her resignation, Dr. Conley

indicated that she had done more writing in those two weeks than she

had done in the previous two years (Conley, 1991, personal

communication).

Dr. Conley recounted another incident involving gender inequity

relative to her neurological research in her early days as a

professor. When referring to her work, her male colleagues would

comment, "We've got to make time for Fran to play with her mice."

Dr. Conley interpreted these comments as demeaning the importance of

her work (Conley, 1991, personal communication).

More recently, at a monthly departmental meeting, a newly hired

administrative assistant asked Dr. Conley, "Do they always treat you

that way?" The assistant was referring to her observations that Dr.

Conley's input was not taken seriously and ideas Dr. Conley presented

were not acknowledged as her own. When questioned about how she felt

about these interactions, Dr. Conley remarked that "you feel like

something's been stolen from you." These examples depict an

interesting dichotomy: although Dr. Conley had been accepted by her

male colleagues as a professional with good skills, she was perceived

as not quite equal (Conley, 1991, personal communication).

Despite being subjected to "gender insensitive" treatment

throughout her career, Dr. Conley stated that she believed that it

did not prevent her from achieving professional success (Conley, 1991, personal communication). And, when asked how pervasive is this kind of treatment of female doctors, Dr. Conley responded, "The vast majority of men that I have worked with—and there have been a lot of them—are wonderful, warm, supportive human beings who make me feel good about me when I am with them. It is just a few bad apples, but those bad apples can make you feel pretty small" (L'hommedieu, 1991, p. 52-3). Finally, when questioned about what she thought she accomplished by resigning, Dr. Conley remarked, "First, I will be able to rebuild myself and regain my self dignity" (L'hommedieu, 1991, p. 52-3).

In summary, Dr. Frances Conley experienced gender insensitivity because she was different than her male colleagues. According to Dr. Conley, these gender inequities diminished her energy and self dignity. If such treatment can affect the creative productivity of a woman as accomplished as Dr. Conley, what would be the effect on persons of lesser abilities and perseverance? Can organizations afford to have the energy of their employees depleted because of inequities that erode their employees' self dignity? In a worst case scenario, can organizations afford to lose talented individuals because of such insensitivities? This study looks at the nature of subtle types of inequities and their effect on energy, self concept, and career success.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Increased competition and worker productivity are topics of grave concern in both the public and private sectors. Coupled with the changing demographics of the American workforce, managers face the challenge of maximizing the productivity of employees representing diverse groups. This challenge is commonly referred to as "managing diversity."

This study examines the concept of managing diversity in the federal government. Its major focus is on the relationship between inequities experienced by "persons of difference" and their energy, self concept, and career success. Women, as a group, have been subject to gender inequities; because they will comprise nearly fifty percent of the federal workforce in the year 2000 and because their differential treatment has been clearly documented, this study examines their experiences as one group affected by differences.

The purpose of this study is to help managers become more aware of how subtle differences in treatment may affect workers. Much of past research has focused on overt inequities remedied by legal means. This research examines the subtle inequities that have yet to be thoroughly investigated in terms of their nature and consequences. That is, this work goes beyond looking at discrimination or harassment solely as defined by law; it examines instead the experiences of federal employees that do not necessarily fall under the legal definitions of harassment or discrimination, but which

affect their work lives nonetheless. These types of inequities will be referred to as "microinequities," or sometimes as "subtle differences," and "inequities."

Four major research questions are posed:

1. What is the nature of microinequities experienced by women in the federal government?

2. How do microinequities affect women's self concept?

3. How do microinequities affect women's energy in the workplace, and hence, overall organizational effectiveness?

4. How do microinequities affect women's career development?

Chapter two provides the rationale for this study, including the literature on which the research is founded. The literature review covers three major areas: managing diversity, women in public administration, and gender differences at work. Chapter three describes the methodology used in this study.

Chapters four through eight present the data collected in the study. Specifically, chapter five describes the nature of microinequities experienced by study participants. Chapters six, seven, and eight describe the relationship of microinequities to self concept, energy, and career development respectively. Finally, chapter nine discusses the findings of the preceding chapters and concludes with recommendations for managers.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review for this study is divided into three major areas: managing diversity, women in public administration, and women's work experiences. Each area draws upon literature from a number of disciplines including public administration, human resources management, organization behavior, psychology, sociology, law, and women's studies.

MANAGING DIVERSITY

Demographic trends will change dramatically in the United States by the year 2000 (Hudson Institute, 1987). These trends include slower population growth, an aging workforce, and an increasing number of women, minorities and immigrants entering the labor market. Women will account for approximately 60 percent of all new labor force entrants. In contrast, only 15 percent of new workers will be white males, compared to 47 percent in that category today (Hudson Institute, 1987). More recently, updated reports confirm these statistics (Kutscher, 1992).

According to <u>Civil Service 2000</u> (Hudson Institute, 1988a), federal sector demographics will mirror those of the workforce in general. Approximately 200,000 women will enter federal employment by the beginning of the next century and will comprise 44 percent of the federal workforce (Hudson Institute, 1988a).

Within the public sector, competition for well qualified workers will become more intense during the 1990s (Hudson Institute, 1988a). Conditions such as low morale, limited resources, and problems with recruiting and retaining able workers have created what some authors view as a "crisis" in public agencies (Lane and Wolf, 1990; Levine and Kleeman, 1986).

Recent studies show that economic growth and prosperity in the U.S. depend primarily on increased productivity, particularly in the service industries (Drucker, 1991; Hudson Institute, 1987). Among the service industries, the largest single category of employer is retail trade, followed by education, health care, and government (Hudson Institute, 1987). A 1979 study by the Joint Economic Committee reported that productivity increases in the federal government have lagged 25 percent behind those of the private sector (Starling, 1986). With nearly 20 percent of working Americans employed by government, growth of output per worker hours in the public sector becomes critical (Starling, 1986).

Lane and Wolf (1990) suggested ways that public agencies can "release and utilize employee energy more effectively (p. 92)."

Likewise, Peters and Waterman (1982) referred to "productivity through people" as a key to organizational excellence. For managers in both the public and private sectors, managing workforce diversity has been identified as a priority (Financial World, June 23, 1992; Hedrick, 1990; Schuler and Walker, 1990).

According to Loden and Rosener (1991), "diversity is otherness or those human qualities that are different from our own and outside the groups to which we belong (Loden and Rosener, 1991, p. 223)." Loden and Rosener (1991) categorized diversity in terms of primary dimensions that are stable (e.g., gender, race, ethnicity, age, physical abilities, and sexual orientation) and secondary dimensions that are changeable (e.g., education, marital status, work experience, geographic location, and religious beliefs). From an organizational perspective, managing diversity involves changing organizational systems, structures, and management practices to eliminate any subtle barriers that might keep people from reaching their full potential (Geber, 1990).

The benefits of diversity programs include full utilization of human capital, enhanced work relationships, and increased commitment (Loden and Rosener, 1991). The costs of not addressing diversity issues are high (Caudron, 1990; Leibowitz, Schlossberg, and Shore, 1991; Loden and Rosener, 1991; Reminger, 1991). Costs may be easily quantifiable, such as money spent on EEO litigation, or difficult to quantify, such as negative publicity (Caudron, 1990), employee stress

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(Cross, 1992), decreased productivity (Gordon, 1992; Loden and
Rosener, 1991), high turnover, and low employee morale (Loden and
Rosener, 1991).

In response to the changing workforce, many businesses have
created programs for accommodating cultural differences among
employees (Caudron, 1990; Cox, 1991; Geber, 1990; Haight, 1990;
Overman, 1991; Tomlinson, 1992). Managing diversity initiatives
typically include special recruitment efforts, career development
programs, and diversity awareness training (Copeland, 1988). Rather
than viewing all employees as the same, managers must use a flexible,
individualized approach (Jamieson and O'Mara, 1991).

In the public sector, diversity programs have been in place
since the early 1980s, and participation has increased steadily
(Larkin, 1991). According to Larkin (1991), the proliferation of
diversity workshops in the public sector "is not only proper but
necessary to the survival of organizations as the century comes to an
end (p. 1)." Despite the presence of such programs, there has been
little published research related to diversity in the public sector.

One study (Fine, Johnson, and Ryan, 1990) examined gender and
race issues in a regional office of a federal agency. The authors
conducted focus groups with employees representing a variety of
status levels and constituencies and then developed a questionnaire
based on the issues raised in the interviews. The authors found
that: (a) employees used informal networks to communicate with

members of their own race or gender about promotion and recognition within the workplace; (b) men, women, and minorities perceived criteria for promotion somewhat differently; and (c) 25 percent of women versus 3 percent of men reported being sexually harassed (Fine, Johnson, and Ryan, 1990).

In general, Fine, Johnson, and Ryan (1990) asserted that different groups experience the work environment in very different ways. This finding is congruent with other studies that claim that women's experiences are significantly different than those of men (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Rentsch, 1990; Tannen, 1990). Fine, Johnson, and Ryan (1990) concluded that while women and minorities perceived attitudinal and cultural barriers to their career success, white men believed that structural changes (government policies and programs) have eliminated those barriers.

Although laws prohibiting discrimination have been in place for over twenty years and have eradicated much of the overt discrimination experienced by women and minorities, subtle discrimination still exists in many work environments (Zeitz and Dusky, 1988). Rowe (1990) claimed that inequities, based upon differences, often take the form of subtle, nearly imperceptible, and often unintentional behaviors. She argued that:

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> [S]ubtle discrimination is now the principal scaffolding for
> segregation in the United States. . . . [T]his scaffolding is
> built of "microinequities": apparently small events, which are
> often ephemeral and hard to prove; events that are covert, often
> unintentional, frequently unrecognized by the perpetrator.
> Microinequities occur wherever people are perceived to be
> "different". . . . These mechanisms of prejudice against persons
> of difference are usually small in nature, but not trivial in
> effect. They are especially powerful taken together. . . .
> Microinequities work both by excluding the person of difference
> and by making that person less self-confident and less
> productive (p. 153).

According to Rowe (1990), microinequities deplete the time and

energy of those who are victims. Furthermore, victims must cope with

the pain and anger associated with the experience. Because

microinequities are often difficult to detect, victims may experience

self-doubt as to whether their anger is justified (Rowe, 1990).

Rowe (1990) suggested that although microinequities could be a

problem for any person who is considered different, women and

minorities probably experience microinequities more frequently than

do white males. Moreover, women and minorities may witness

microinequities against others like themselves. Specifically,

microinequities often occur between persons of unequal power and may

take on sexist or racist forms. Rowe (1990) stated that while

certain behaviors may have no effect on the "average white male,"

those same behaviors may be morally and psychologically destructive

to persons of difference. Persons of difference may have difficulty

finding role models to help them cope with microinequities (Rowe, 1990).

According to Rowe (1990), subtle discrimination can not and should not "be legislated, made the subject of formal policy, or dragged into formal grievance procedures (p. 162)." Instead, employers must recognize the importance of microinequities and institute programs such as workshops, support networks, and attitude surveys in combatting the problem (Rowe, 1990).

WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The proportion of women in work settings appears to have important effects on the work environment for women (Kanter, 1977). Thus, one part of this review will consist of an analysis of the proportion of women in various positions within the federal government. The statistics cited in the following section were obtained from the Office of Personnel Management in the fall of 1991 and refer to the proportion of federally employed women in full-time, permanent, white collar positions in 1990.

Approximately 55 percent of employees at the GS 1-12 levels are women. At the higher grades, this proportion decreases substantially. Women comprise 18 percent of employees at grades 13-15, and only 11 percent of employees at the GS 16-18 and ES[1] 1-6

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[1] "ES" refers to individuals in the Senior Executive Service (SES), the highest levels of the federal government.

levels. Of the 22 largest agencies, those with the highest proportion of women at the GS 13-15 levels include Education (41%), OPM (33%), HHS (32%) HUD (30%), EPA (28%), and GSA (27%). Agencies with the lowest proportion of women at the GS 13-15 levels include Transportation (11%), NASA (12%), Interior (13%), DOD[2] (14%), Agriculture (15%), and Justice (15%).

Similarly, of the 22 largest agencies, those with the highest proportion of women at the ES 1-6 levels include OPM (30%), Education (26%), Labor (24%), SBA (22%), and HHS (21%). Agencies with the lowest proportion of women at the ES 1-6 levels include NASA (5%), DOD (6%), Justice (7%), Veterans Affairs (8%), and Energy (9%).

In terms of PATCO[3] categories, women comprise 31% of professional positions overall. However, at the GS/GM 13-15 levels women comprise only 15 percent of professional positions; at the ES 1-6 levels they comprise a mere 8% of professional employees. With regard to administrative positions, women comprise 38 percent of administrative positions overall. However, at the GS/GM 13-15 levels women comprise only 22 percent of administrative positions; at the ES 1-6 levels they comprise 14 percent of administrative employees. Finally, in the technical category, women comprise 54 percent of

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[2] DOD as referred to in this study includes Air Force, Army, Navy, and Office of the Secretary, unless otherwise noted.

[3] PATCO refers to a classification of occupations into the following categories: Professional, Administrative, Technical, Clerical, and Other.

technical employees overall. However, at the GS/GM 13-15 levels
women comprise only 3 percent of technical employees; at the ES 1-6
levels they comprise 33 percent.

Of those who are supervisors in the professional category, only
20 percent are women (compared to 31 percent of women overall in
professional positions). Of those who are supervisors in the
administrative category, 26 percent are women (compared to 38 percent
overall in administrative positions). Of those who are supervisors
in the technical category, 46 percent are women (compared to 54
percent overall in technical positions).

Although the number of federal women in supervisory positions
and at the GS13 and above levels has increased over time, progress
has been limited. According to Lewis (1987), if the rate at which
women are moving into higher positions continues at the same pace, it
will take approximately 35 years to eliminate the differential of 2.2
grades between men and women in the federal government after
controlling for variables such as education, length of service, etc.
Kellough (1989) stated it will take approximately 45 years for the
representation of women in top grades (13-18) to equal their
representation in the national population.

Much of the research on women in public administration to date
focused on patterns of distribution as described above (Cayer and
Sigelman, 1980; DiPrete, 1987; Howard, 1986; Kellough, 1989, 1990;
Kellough and Kay, 1986; Kelly, Guy, Bayes, Kuerst-Lahti, Duke, Hale,

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Johnson, Kawar, and Stanley, 1991; Killingsworth and Reimers, 1983; Lepper, 1976; Lewis, 1987, 1988; Nachmias and Rosenbloom, 1973; Rehfuss, 1986). Other studies examined promotion rates (Booth and Rohe, 1988; DiPrete and Soule, 1986, 1988; Lewis, 1986a; Markham, South, Bonjean, and Corder, 1985) and barriers to advancement (Kelly, et. al, 1991; Steinberg, Haignere, and Chertos, 1990).

Stewart (1990) pointed out that much of the early research on women in public administration was quantitative and documented women's representation in the public service. However, in the 1980s, research became more qualitative with an emphasis on understanding the forces that influence the numbers derived from quantitative research (Stewart, 1990).

Within the federal government, GAO has conducted a number of agency-specific or industry-specific studies over the past ten years relating to discrimination (U.S. GAO, 1989a), representation of women and minorities (U.S. GAO, 1980b, 1980c, 1989b, 1991), comparable worth (U.S. GAO, 1985), and special emphasis programs such as the Federal Women's Program (U.S. GAO, 1980a). Recently, the U.S. Department of Labor (1991) issued a report on the glass ceiling. The Department of Labor (1991) defined the glass ceiling "as those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions (p. 1)." Barriers to advancement identified by the study include recruitment practices

that rely on personal contacts and networking, career development experiences that are often necessary for advancement but not as often available to minorities and women, and lack of accountability for EEO responsibilities at the top management level (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). Other organizations, such as the Center for Women in Government in New York State, are engaged in a variety of projects aimed at understanding women's work experiences in the public service (Stewart, 1990).

Because much of the research on women in public administration mirrors that of general research on women's work experiences, studies from both public administration and the literature addressing women's work related issues will be discussed in the next section.

WOMEN'S WORK EXPERIENCES

Stewart (1990) asserted that research on women has provided conceptual models for analyzing the obstacles facing women in public administration. Applying these conceptual models to the study of women in the public service enables researchers to better understand the advancement of women in public administration (Stewart, 1990). Because the focus of the present research is on women in upper level positions, research related to the "glass ceiling" (Devanna, 1987; Fierman, 1990; Friedman, 1988a; Gallese, 1991; Barnett, 1987; Korn/Ferry, 1990; Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990) is particularly relevant to this study.

This section of the literature review will examine research on women's work experiences relative to career success, energy and productivity, and self concept. The literature related to career success will be presented within the framework of a conceptual model proposed by Stewart (1990). This model was chosen for two reasons: first, it incorporates a current, comprehensive overview of research on women in public administration, and second, the model is consistent with the conceptual approach of other research (Morrison and Von Glinow, 1990; Riger and Galligan, 1980).

Stewart's (1990) conceptual model consists of three paradigms: political, psychological, and sociological (Stewart, 1990). In brief, these three paradigms together represent a framework in which to view the strategies for improving the status of women in public administration. The political paradigm focuses on political and legal issues (e.g., discrimination and affirmative action policy, representation of women in government) as the means for improving women's status; the psychological paradigm seeks to help women by strengthening their skills and behaviors; and the sociological paradigm focuses on organizational interventions that create opportunity and advancement for women (Stewart, 1990). Although Stewart's (1990) model provides a framework through which to view women's work experiences, the causal relationships suggested by the model will not be explored in this study; instead, the categories

proposed by the model will be used to organize the literature on women's work experiences.

<div align="center">Career Success</div>

Political

According to Stewart (1990), the political paradigm posits that discrimination is the primary reason for women's work status. Consequently, studies from a political perspective have focused on topics such as equal employment opportunity and affirmative action programs (Bremer and Howe, 1988; Hellriegel and Short, 1972; Huckle, 1983; Kellough, 1990; Kellough and Kay, 1986; Slack, 1987; Stewart, 1980), wage differences and occupational segregation (Borjas, 1983; Friedman, 1988b; Horrigan and Markey, 1990; Jacobs and Steinberg, 1990; Lewis, 1988; Smith, 1976; Taylor, 1979), comparable worth (Baron and Newman, 1990; Scholl and Cooper, 1991; Steel and Lovrich, 1987; U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1987), and sexual harassment (McIntyre and Renick, 1982; Radin, 1980; Ross and England, 1987; Stringer, Remick, Salisbury, and Ginorio, 1990; U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1981, 1988).

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1984-1990) reported that formal complaints of discrimination based on sex (females only) comprised 14.8 percent of the total number of formal complaints for the 1990 fiscal year (FY). The number of EEOC complaints based on sex (female and male) increased between FY 1987 and FY 1990. The

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number of EEOC complaints based on sex (male and female) were higher in FY 1990 than in the previous five years. Alleged issues upon which EEOC complaints (i.e., all complaints including sex, race, age, etc.) are based include issues such as promotion, non-sexual harassment, termination, assignment of duties, evaluation/ appraisal, pay, and sexual harassment.

The EEOC (December, 1990) defined sexual harassment as follows:

> Sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
>
> Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when submission to or rejection of this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance or creates an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment.

In a recent review of the sexual harassment literature, Fitzgerald (1993) reported that prevalence figures, and perceptions and attributions, constitute two major themes in the research to date; two emerging areas of interest are victim responses and organizational factors.

In 1981, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board conducted a comprehensive study on sexual harassment (U.S. MSPB, 1981). The MSPB study, which was replicated and updated in 1987 (U.S. MSPB, 1988), examined the nature and extent of sexual harassment in the federal

government. Within the context of the report, the MSPB defined

sexual harassment as "unwanted and uninvited sexual attention (U.S.

MSPB, 1988)." Despite the legal definition, employees do not always

agree on what behaviors constitute sexual harassment (Collins and

Blodgett, 1981; U.S. MSPB, 1988).

According to Collins and Blodgett (1981), people often agree on

what situations constitute extreme cases of sexual harassment whereas

there tends to be greater disagreement with regard to less extreme

cases. Extreme cases of sexual harassment include behaviors such as

actual assault and pressure for sexual favors in return for

promotion. The ambiguity of defining less offensive behaviors (e.g.,

sexist jokes and innuendo) is illustrated by the following example:

When survey respondents were asked if "innocent, social comments" of

a sexual nature made by a man each morning at work constituted sexual

harassment, 40 percent of those surveyed viewed it as harassment, 48

percent viewed it as possible harassment, 8 percent did not view it

as harassment, and 4 percent did not know (Collins and Blodgett,

1981).

Comments by respondents in the MSPB (1988) survey also reflect

the ambiguity of defining less extreme cases as sexual harassment.

The following quotes taken from the MSPB (1988) study illustrate this

ambiguity: "I feel there is a gray area that needs to be clarified--

for example, unwanted looks and remarks (p. 15)"; "I become very

tired of hearing how pretty you are, how sexy you look . . . and on

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and on (p. 17)"; and "The more subtle types of sexual harassment are a hand on the shoulder, if not wanted, or dirty jokes in the hall or lunchrooms, or innuendos and looks (p. 19)."

The percentage of women reporting having been sexually harassed ranges from 42 to 66 percent (Gutek, 1985; McEnery and Lifter, 1987; McIntyre and Renick, 1983; U.S. MSPB, 1988; Schneider, 1982). In the MSPB (1988) study, 42 percent of women, compared to 14 percent of men, reported that they had experienced uninvited and unwanted sexual attention over the previous two years. According to Mishkind (1992), sexual harassment claims are on the rise and will continue to increase.

In comparing the results of eight sexual harassment studies, Ford and McLaughlin (1989) found that behaviors perceived as being least offensive (e.g., "comments, innuendo, sexual joking, or remarks" and "sexual staring, looks, or leers") were more frequently reported than the more serious offenses (e.g., "actual sexual assault or attempted assault" and "pressure to have sex as part of or condition of job").

Other studies report similar categorizations and frequency patterns of sexually harassing behavior (Brooks and Perot, 1991; Ford and McLaughlin, 1988; Gutek, Cohen, and Konrad, 1990; U.S. MSPB, 1988; Schneider, 1982; Terpstra and Baker, 1987). The MSPB (1988) found that 35 percent of all female respondents and 12 percent of all

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males said they experienced some type of "unwanted sexual teasing, jokes, remarks, or questions."

Women are more likely than men to report having been sexually harassed (Collins and Blodgett, 1981; Konrad and Gutek, 1986; U.S. MSPB, 1988; Tangri, Burt, and Johnson, 1982). In addition, the MSPB (1988) found that women who (a) are single or divorced, (b) are between the ages of 20 and 44, (c) have some college education, and (d) have a nontraditional job, or work in a predominantly male environment or for a male supervisor, have the greatest chance of being sexually harassed. Among working women, those at higher occupational levels are more likely than those at lower levels to perceive sexual harassment (Reid, 1987; Vertz, 1985) or to report subtle sexist behaviors as harassment (McIntyre and Renick, 1982).

Other research shows that women who have traditional sex role beliefs are more likely to blame the victim for being harassed (Jensen and Gutek, 1982). Also, women who have been victims of sexual harassment are more likely than male colleagues or females who have not experienced sexual harassment to support affirmative action programs (Beck and Stohr-Gillmore, 1991). Top management seems unaware of the extent of sexual harassment at work (Collins and Blodgett, 1981).

Co-workers are more likely than bosses and subordinates to initiate sexual harassment behaviors (U.S. MSPB, 1988). Nonetheless, many researchers view sexual harassment from a power perspective

(Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987; Cleveland and Kerst, 1993; Collins and Blodgett, 1981; Gutek, 1985; Hemming, 1985; Tangri, et al, 1982; Rowe, 1981b; Stringer, Remick, Salisbury, and Ginorio, 1990). According to Stringer, Remick, Salisbury, and Ginorio (1990), three forms of power (i.e., achieved, ascribed, and situational) can be used to describe various types of sexual harassment. Ascribed power, or "gender power," is based upon societal attitudes that value men more than women with regard to work (Stringer, et al., 1990). Situational power results in defining women as different and discounting their competence (Stringer, et al., 1990). Situational power is found most often in nontraditional work settings where women are often tokens (Kanter, 1977; Stringer, et al., 1990).

Although a large proportion of women experience unwanted sexual attention at least once throughout their working lives, only a small number of sexual harassment cases are formally reported (Riger, 1991). Reasons for not reporting sexual harassment include fear of negative consequences (Gutek, 1985; Rowe, 1981b) and women's possible discomfort with reporting procedures (Riger, 1991). The MSPB (1988) found that almost half of all victims tried to ignore the offending behavior and/or did nothing; only five percent said they took formal action. Forty four percent of female victims and 25 percent of males took informal action by confronting the harasser (MSPB, 1988).

Negative effects of sexual harassment on victims include depression, anxiety, increased stress, loss of job motivation (Jensen

and Gutek, 1982); anger, humiliation, fear (McIntyre and Renick, 1983); impaired work performance (McIntyre and Renick, 1983; MSPB, 1988); and lowered self confidence (Collins and Blodgett, 1981). Costs to the organization include damaging its public image, decreasing morale, and increasing absenteeism and turnover (McEnery and Lifter, 1987). The MSPB (1988) estimated that during the two year period from May 1986 to May 1988, sexual harassment cost the federal government an estimated $267 million in terms of turnover, sick leave, and reduced individual and work group productivity. This estimate does not include the personal cost suffered by victims.

Women disagree on how to cope with sexual advances; some women believe that women must be able to cope with anything while others feel that the organization should share the responsibility of coping with harassment (Collins and Blodgett, 1981; Rowe, 1978). Ways to cope with sexual harassment from an organizational perspective include training to change attitudes (Beauvais, 1986; Rowe, 1978), gender integration of work groups (Hemming, 1985), support of women's networks (Rowe, 1978), and increasing women's representation on committees (Rowe, 1978). From an individual perspective, techniques found to be effective in stopping sexual harassment involve written or verbal requests from the victim to the offender to stop the behavior (U.S. MSPB, 1988; Rowe, 1981a).

Nonharassing sexual behaviors (e.g., comments intended as compliments or jokes that are not offensive enough to be considered

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harassment by some women) are assumed by some researchers to have

less adverse effects than extreme sexual harassment (Gutek and

Dunwoody, 1987). However, according to Fitzgerald (1993), it is

unclear how the effects of "low level" situations, such as an

offensive atmosphere characterized by sexual innuendo, compares with

the effects of "dramatic, one-time events, such as a direct

proposition from one's supervisor (p. 9)." Consequently, it may be

important to examine the less severe phenomenon to determine whether

it does affect women's productivity and behavior (Gutek, Cohen, and

Konrad, 1990). Similarly, Ford and McLaughlin (1989) state:

> Much of what the literature and practitioner discussions bring
> to mind when the term 'sexual harassment' is used does not
> appear to be the areas of most common employee experience or
> complaints. The extreme behaviors often used as illustrations
> of sexual harassment may be helpful in gaining public attention
> for the issue but are not especially helpful in aiding managers
> seeking organizational strategies to effectively address the
> more frequently found problems (p. 89).

Psychological

According to the psychological paradigm (Stewart, 1990),

> A woman's capacity for managing (traits, skills, and behaviors)
> is the factor that accounts for her success in management from
> the perspective of this paradigm. But the relationship may be
> mitigated by stereotypes that alter perceptions of female
> capabilities, by relationships with male mentors, by experience
> in opportunity positions, and by understanding pathways to
> success (Stewart, 1990, p. 209).

Researchers disagree on whether managerial women and men exhibit similar personality traits and leadership styles. In a study of male and female federal career executives at the GS 15-18 level, men and women were found to have similar power needs, interest in decision-making, and loyalty to co-workers (Lynn and Vaden, 1979). Vertz (1985) found that women at the GS 11 level and above did not differ from men on psychological variables related to career success (i.e., self esteem, aggressiveness, and management personality). Significant differences in self esteem, aggressiveness, and management personality exist, however, between women in upper and lower level positions (Vertz, 1985). Moreover, women in city government positions at the GS 11 level and above have much less traditional attitudes toward working women than do men in similar positions or women at lower GS levels (Vertz, 1985). Other studies have found that managerial women and men are similar in terms of managerial efficiency, performance, and potential (Davidson and Cooper, 1987; Powell, 1990; Ritchie and Moses, 1983); leadership styles (Davidson and Cooper, 1987; Dobbins and Platz, 1986; Epstein, 1991; Moore and Rickel, 1980); power needs (Chusmir, 1986); mobility (Markham, Macken, Bonjean, and Corder, 1983; Maynard and Zawacki, 1979; Vertz, 1985); and willingness to travel (Markham, Bonjean, and Corder, 1986).

Some researchers found that women and men exhibit different leadership styles (Helgesen, 1990; Jago and Vroom, 1982; Rosener,

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1990). In laboratory studies, men emerge as leaders more frequently than do women (Dobbins, Long, Dedrick, and Clemons, 1990; Powell, 1990).

Other studies suggest that women in general lack managerial skills primarily because of sex role socialization (Harragan, 1977; Hennig and Jardim, 1977). Related to sex roles is the impact of family responsibilities on working women (Alegre and Brice, 1992; Kelly, et al., 1991). Because women traditionally assume much more responsibility than men for child-care and household chores (Biernat and Wortman, 1991; Vertz, 1985), family constraints may limit women's career advancement (Davidson and Cooper, 1987; Houseknecht, Vaughan, and Statham, 1987). Married women who are the primary wage earners are significantly more satisfied with their pay and promotional opportunities than are nonprimary wage earners (Witt, 1988). However, in terms of professional image, being married helps a male executive's career; in contrast, being divorced enhances a woman executive's professional image (Cox, 1983).

Other research within the psychological paradigm suggests that supervisors may perceive women as being less capable of managerial roles than men and, as a result, may restrict their advancement (Stewart, 1990). Berman (1988) describes this phenomenon in terms of "glass walls": "Besides the famous glass ceiling, managerial women seem to be hemmed in by glass walls that distort their image in the

eyes of male and female colleagues (p. 29)." The solution according to Berman (1988) is to change the way women are perceived.

People's unfavorable perceptions of women may take the form of sexism (Lott, 1985). According to Lott (1985), components of sexism include: negative attitudes toward women (e.g., generalized hostility, dislike, or prejudice); beliefs about women that support, complement or justify the prejudice and that assume women are inferior (e.g., stereotypes, which are widely shared beliefs about the nature of women); and exclusion of women (e.g., discrimination or avoidance behaviors ranging from derogatory humor to physical aggression).

Researchers have shown that women are devalued in certain work related situations (Seymour and Voss, 1988). For example, although attractive candidates in general are preferred over unattractive candidates (Dipboye, Arvey, and Terpstra, 1977; Morrow, McElroy, Stamper, and Wilson, 1990), attractiveness is an advantage for women seeking nonmanagerial positions and is a disadvantage when seeking managerial positions (Heilman and Saruwatari, 1979). In contrast, attractiveness is helpful to men no matter what the level of position (Heilman and Saruwatari, 1979).

In other studies, female managers who used a considerate leadership style were viewed equally or more favorably than their male counterparts who used the same style (Bartol and Butterfield, 1976; Jago and Vroom, 1982). On the other hand, female managers in

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leadership positions who used autocratic leadership styles or who held traditionally male positions were devalued relative to their male counterparts who used the same leadership style (Bartol and Butterfield, 1976; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky, 1992; Jago and Vroom, 1982; Petty and Lee, 1975). Likewise, women who used an autocratic leadership style were found to be somewhat less influential than women who used a considerate, problem solving approach and significantly less influential when they supervised male rather than mixed sex subordinates (Watson, 1988). Men in advanced positions were more likely to prefer male supervisors while women in advanced positions had no preference for the sex of their supervisor (Vertz, 1985). Moreover, males had more negative attitudes toward women executives than did women (Dubno, 1985), and women with formal education tended to have the most favorable attitudes toward women as managers (Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, and Smith, 1977).

Studies have found that people describe a "good manager" as possessing masculine traits (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein, 1989; Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon, 1989; Powell and Butterfield, 1989; Schein, 1973, 1975), but working women tend to view successful managers as possessing characteristics ascribed to both men and women (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein, 1989; Powell and Butterfield, 1989). Upper level women viewed themselves as fitting the masculine profile in management (Fagenson, 1986, 1990) and successful female supervisors scored higher on masculinity measures than did

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unsuccessful female supervisors (Baril, Elbert, Mahar-Potter, Reavy, 1989).

One study found there were no sex effects in evaluating the performance of male and female leaders (Izraeli and Izraeli, 1985), and Dobbins and Platz (1986) observed that male leaders are rated as more effective than female leaders in laboratory settings only. In another study, there were no significant differences between the way male managers rated men and women in managerial positions, but women rated women managers significantly higher than men rated men managers (Die, Debbs, and Walker, 1990). In a review of the research, Lott (1985) suggested that a competent woman is most likely to be devalued when the evaluation is made in a realistic situation that holds potential consequences for the evaluator (e.g., a real employer) and when the woman is unfamiliar to the evaluator.

With regard to hiring and promotion, most studies show a bias in favor of men (Nieva and Gutek, 1980), particularly in discriminatory organizational climates (Katz, 1987). However, one study (Powell and Graves, 1988) found no sex discrimination in hiring. Other studies show hiring and promotion is related to sex stereotyping (Plake, Murphy-Berman, Derscheid, Gerber, Miller, Speth, and Tomes, 1987; Schein, 1978; Schuler, 1975). For example, Rosen and Jerdee (1974a) found that men were hired more frequently than equally qualified females and men were evaluated more favorably than females in terms of potential for organizational fit and success (Rosen and Jerdee,

1974a), particularly with regard to managerial positions (Rosen and Jerdee, 1974c).

According to Fernandez (1988), sexist stereotypes still persist among corporate men and women, and are even stronger today than they were in the 1970s. Likewise, Dubno (1985) found that compared to women, men had more negative attitudes toward female executives, and these attitudes remained constant over an eight year period. Although exposure to successful women in male dominated occupations can reduce sex bias in hiring decisions, Heilman and Martell (1986) claimed that the conditions under which this is likely to occur are very limited (i.e., only when there was a direct connection between the occupation and the person being evaluated did such information counteract differential evaluations of otherwise identical male and female job applicants).

Compared with men, women receive fewer organizational rewards for comparable performance ratings (Drazin and Auster, 1987; Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Auster and Drazin, 1988). Heilman and Guzzo (1978) found that sex stereotypes affect attributions for success, which in turn affect organizational rewards. Specifically, women's work success is typically attributed to luck, effort, or task difficulty whereas men's work success is typically attributed to ability (Heilman and Guzzo, 1978). When work success was attributed to luck, effort, or task difficulty rather than ability, there was a tendency

to award fewer and less desirable organizational rewards irrespective of the employee gender (Heilman and Guzzo, 1978).

According to the psychological paradigm, women's career advancement may be enhanced by changing the attitudes and behaviors of individuals (Stewart, 1990). One intervention involves changing the behaviors and attitudes of supervisors so that the supervisors become resources for advancement, as in mentoring (Henderson, 1985; Kelly, et. al., 1991; Stewart, 1990; Vertz, 1985). Shapiro, Haseltine, and Rowe (1978) suggested that there is a continuum of advisory/support relationships which facilitate career development; points on the continuum include mentors, sponsors, guides, and peer pals. Mentors can be defined as "higher ranking, influential, senior organizational members with advanced experience and knowledge who are committed to providing upward mobility and support to a protege's professional career (Ragins, 1989, p. 2)." Functions of mentors include providing career guidance and psychological support, altering co-workers stereotypical perceptions, teaching proteges about corporate politics, informing proteges about job openings, and providing feedback (Noe, 1988a, 1988b; Ragins, 1989).

Male and female mentors perceive the ideal mentoring relationship in similar terms and prefer proteges who are similar to themselves (Colwill and Pollock, 1987). Overall, women report more interpersonal and organizational barriers to obtaining and maintaining a mentor relationship than do men (Betz and Fitzgerald,

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1987; Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Noe, 1988a; Ragins, 1989; Ragins and Cotton, 1991). Barriers for establishing cross gender mentorships include lack of access to networks, tokenism, stereotyping, and suspicion by others of sexual improprieties. These barriers decrease the likelihood of developing a mentoring relationship, or if such a relationship develops, is likely to cause stress, inhibitions, discomfort, and be less effective (Bushardt, Fretwell, and Holdnak, 1991; Fitt and Newton, 1981; Henderson, 1985; Noe, 1988a). Men and women expressed similar fears about initiating the mentor relationship (Ragins and Cotton, 1991). Despite the barriers to mentoring, women executives in municipal, state, and federal government had more mentors; compared to male executives, women executives also had significantly more women mentors (Henderson, 1985).

The benefits derived from mentoring are similar for men and women (Dreher and Ash, 1990; Gaskill, 1991; Ragins and Cotton, 1991). A mentored employee is able to exert greater organizational influence, obtain greater access to powerful people, and gain greater use of resources than nonmentored individuals (Fagenson, 1988). Among men and women in managerial, professional, and technical positions, individuals with extensive mentoring relationships reported receiving more promotions, higher incomes, and were more satisfied with their pay and benefits than individuals with less extensive mentoring relationships (Dreher and Ash, 1990). Mentoring

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benefits organizations by facilitating transmission of corporate culture and identifying future leadership (Wilson and Elman, 1990).

The second type of intervention within the psychological paradigm focuses on changing the behaviors and attitudes of women through training programs that teach women how to overcome psychological, interpersonal, and structural barriers in the work environment (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Hooyman and Kaplan, 1976; Rader, 1979; Radin, 1980; Stewart, 1990). For example, the advancement of female employees depends in large part upon how a supervisor perceives a female employee's communication skills (Shockley-Zalabak, Staley, and Morley, 1988). Quina, Wingard, and Bates (1987) found that masculine conversational styles were viewed as more competent than feminine conversational styles.

Sociological

According to the sociological paradigm, organizational structures and situations are the major contributors to women's limited career advancement (Stewart, 1990). Kanter's (1977b) work exemplifies the sociological approach. According to Kanter (1977b), the main variables affecting women's work experiences are: access to opportunity, distribution of power, and social composition of groups.

Access to opportunity encompasses factors such as hiring, promotion, organizational rewards, and pay. As a group, men advance higher in the hierarchy than do women, even though women receive more

promotions than their male counterparts (Stewart and Gudykunst, 1982). For men, the best predictors of hierarchical level are education, age, and number of meetings with their supervisors; for women, the best predictors of hierarchical level are perceived importance of informal networks, number of meetings with supervisors, and perceived importance of assistance by colleagues (Stewart and Gudykunst, 1982).

Barriers to promotion are often very subtle (Wentling, 1992). For example, women may be excluded from meetings or not invited to social occasions; thus, they are unable to participate in informal business discussions which may be critical to advancement (Wentling, 1992). Similarly, Shore (1992) found that:

> The occurrence of blatant gender bias may be less frequent today than in the past due to legislation and societal awareness of the problem. However, the existence of subtle gender bias, such as not providing appropriate opportunities for women who may be more qualified than their male counterparts, is much less well understood.

Gender differences in pay are well documented in the literature. The female/male earnings ratio is now about 72 percent, after three decades at about 60 percent. Women scientists in the public sector earn more than in the private sector, but salary discrimination against public sector female scientists worsened between the 1970s and 1980s, narrowing the gap between public and private sector women

scientists (Haberfeld and Shenhav, 1990). Some researchers suggest that occupational segregation (Bergmann, 1989) and unequal division of family responsibilities (Cannings, 1991) affect gender based wage differentials. Gender based wage differences tend to be concentrated in higher or managerial levels (Auster and Drazin, 1988; Drazin and Auster, 1987).

With regard to the distribution of power, female employees in public and private organizations perceive that they are delegated less authority and have less influence in decisions than their male colleagues regardless of supervisor gender (Sherman, Ezell, and Odewahn, 1987). In the federal government, women are less likely to supervise employees and to manage programs as are white males at the same levels (Lewis, 1986b). In general, women are rated as less influential than men (Brass, 1985) and are perceived to hold lower status jobs than men (Eagly and Wood, 1982). When job titles were known, subordinates perceived no differences in overall power between male and female managers in similar positions (Ragins and Sundstrom, 1990).

Power relationships within organizations may be reflected in the humor targeted at groups of employees (Dwyer, 1991). Consequently, some researchers believe that joking behavior can provide insights into organizational behavior (Duncan, Smeltzer, and Leap, 1990; Dwyer, 1991). High status group members joked more than lower status members, and high status members were more likely to select lower

status persons as the focus of the jokes (Smeltzer and Leap, 1988).

Sexually oriented jokes are more commonly told by a person of the gender that is not the focus of the humor (Duncan, Smeltzer, and Leap, 1990), and women regard sexist jokes as being less appropriate for work settings than do men (Smeltzer and Leap, 1988).

With regard to the social composition of groups, relative numbers of socially and culturally different people are critical in shaping interpersonal dynamics (Kanter, 1977a). "Skewed groups" consisting of "dominants" and "tokens" exhibit certain phenomena such as visibility of tokens (resulting in isolation and performance pressures), polarization (accentuated differences between dominants and tokens), and assimilation (tokens are perceived in terms of stereotypes (Kanter, 1977a).

Female tokens often experience tests of loyalty to the organization (Kanter, 1977a) or "hazing", especially in traditional male environments (Josefowitz and Gadon, 1989). To women, hazing may seem like harassment; hazing becomes a form of harassment when employees are treated differently than opposite gender counterparts (Josefowitz and Gadon, 1989). Studies involving female tokens have been conducted in traditional male fields such as engineering (Bailyn, 1987; Carter and Kirkup, 1990; Robinson and McIlwee, 1989; Jagacinski, 1987).

Although tokenism is one of several forces limiting the advancement of women, sexism and men's attempts to remain dominant

also place constraints on women's career progression (Izraeli, 1983; Yoder, 1991). Furthermore, some researchers argue that women are experiencing a "backlash" from men who wish to maintain their dominant status (Faludi, 1991). Yoder and Sinnett (1985) found that underrepresentation alone does not account for the negative effects of tokenism for women, in that sex stereotypes affect male and female tokens differently. Specifically, (a) token males did not experience the negative consequences of tokenism, (b) token males identified with supervisors, and (c) token males advanced more quickly than their non-token counterparts (Yoder and Sinnett, 1985). Similarly, Williams (1992) found that, in contrast to the experience of women who enter male dominated professions, men in female dominated professions generally encounter structural advantages which tend to enhance their careers, resulting in a "glass escalator" effect. Other studies have shown that in work situations with a highly skewed sex ratio, "sex role spillover" may be prevalent (Gutek and Cohen, 1987; Gutek and Morasch, 1982). Sex role spillover is defined as the "carry over of gender based roles into the work setting (Gutek and Cohen, 1987; Gutek and Morasch, 1982)."

According to Stewart (1990), interventions within the sociological paradigm "help to create positions for women in organizations that are gender balanced, empowered, and provide for advancement and opportunity (Stewart, 1990, p. 215)." Examples of organizational interventions include flexible benefits, flexible

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working hours, flexible work locations, maternal and paternal leave,

child care services, modification of relocation policies, and career

development programs (Cooper and Davidson, 1983; Hudson Institute,

1988b; Martinez, Overman, and Thornburg, 1990; Raynolds, 1987; Thomas

and Thomas, 1990). Benefits of organizational interventions that

address the needs of women include increased productivity, better

work performance, more effective recruiting, higher employee morale,

an improved corporate image, tax benefits, and a reduction in

absenteeism, turnover, and stress (Gorlin, 1982; McGuire and Liro,

1987; Ralston, Anthony, and Gustafson, 1985; Thomas and Thomas,

1990).

Energy/Productivity

As early as 1974, Rosen and Jerdee (1974b) observed that subtle,

differential treatment, based on gender in favor of men, could

negatively affect not just the individual woman involved, but the

organization as well:

> When the results are extrapolated to the entire population of
> American managers, even a small bias against women could
> represent a great many unintentional discriminatory acts, which
> potentially affect thousands of career women. The end result of
> these various forms of bias might be great personal damage for
> individuals and costly underutilization of human resources
> (Rosen and Jerdee, 1974b, p. 58).

Nearly twenty years after this was written, other studies suggest that managers who fail to take advantage of their diverse work force because of discriminatory practices may damage the organization through diminished productivity (Chance, 1988; Gentile, 1991; Reynolds, 1992).

For many years, managers have accepted the notion that satisfied employees are more productive than dissatisfied employees, whereas researchers are still debating the relationship between productivity and satisfaction (Robbins, 1986). Mottaz (1986) found that within occupational categories, determinants of work satisfaction (e.g., work values, rewards) are fairly similar for men and women with two exceptions: task autonomy is significantly associated with work satisfaction for men but not women, and supportive supervisors are associated with more satisfaction for women than for men (Mottaz, 1986). Work satisfaction is higher among employees in white collar occupations dominated by men as opposed to white collar occupations dominated by women (Cassidy and Warren, 1991).

According to Riley and Zaccaro (1987), organizational effectiveness is influenced by the performance of individuals, which in turn is influenced by abilities, skills, motivation, and constraints. Constraints, or factors outside of the individual's apparent control, may inhibit performance efforts (Riley and Zaccaro, 1987). When viewed as a constraint, stress is one factor that may inhibit job performance. Although researchers acknowledge that

productivity may be improved when individuals are subject to "good" occupational stress, most of the literature on stress in the workplace centers on unproductive, dysfunctional, or "bad" stress (Matteson and Ivancevich, 1987; Cooper and Payne, 1978). While researchers disagree on the operational definitions of occupational stress (Newton, 1989), this study will view stress "as a stimulus or threat external to the individual that requires a response or adaptation by the individual" (Harlan, 1984, p. 819). "Strain" may be defined as the outcome of unsuccessful coping (Riley and Zaccaro, 1987) and encompasses variables such as anxiety, anger, frustration, hostility, and alienation (Newton, 1989).

Employees in managerial positions are likely to experience different types of stress than do employees at lower levels. Cooper and Marshall (1978) found that the following are stressors for managerial and white collar workers[4]: (a) job characteristics, (b) organizational role, (c) career development, (d) organizational structure and climate, (e) relations within organizations, (f) organizational interface with outside, and (g) characteristics of individual managers.

Compared to male managers, female managers have to cope with stressors emanating from their home lives in addition to work

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[4] Because the subjects for this study are individuals in high level occupations, this review will focus on studies about stress as experienced by white collar workers and managers.

generated stressors (Chusmir and Durand, 1987; Davidson and Cooper, 1983, 1987). One line of research shows that work and non-work stressors appear to have additive effects, while another theory states that stressors generated within one domain can transfer or "spill over" into the other domain (Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1986). Women managers reported experiencing higher levels of stress than men managers on a variety of stress variables. Specific stressors unique to female managers included: (a) prejudice and sex stereotyping, (b) overt and subtle discrimination from fellow employees, (c) employers and the organizational structure and climate, (d) lack of role models, (e) feelings of isolation, and (f) burdens of being the token women (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Larwood and Wood, 1979; Marshall, 1984; Davidson and Cooper, 1987).

Overall, Davidson and Cooper (1983) identified six factors that were significantly more stressful for women managers than for men: (a) the organization, (b) leadership/authority role, (c) home/partner relationships, (d) sex discrimination, (e) work load, and (f) being single. Reifman, Biernat, and Lang (1991) likewise found that professional women with small children perceived stress due to lack of authority and influence on the job, sex discrimination, a heavy work load, lack of relaxation time, and role conflict.

Among the stress outcomes more frequently reported by women but not men managers, are: tiredness, lack of confidence, and inability to be successful (Davidson and Cooper, 1983). These symptoms are

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more pronounced among middle and junior managers (Davidson and

Cooper, 1983). Other symptoms of strain include anxiety attacks,

migraine headaches, excessive drinking and or smoking, irritation,

tension in neck or back (Cooper and Davidson, 1983). Additional

effects of dysfunctional stress include absenteeism, turnover,

increased health care costs, decrements in the quantity and quality

of production (Matteson and Ivancevich, 1987); anxiety, hostility,

depression, and decrements in job performance (Motowidlo, Packard,

and Manning (1986). Chronic stressors, such as role ambiguity and

role conflict, have been found to be related to various psychological

symptoms including job dissatisfaction, tension, anxiety, depression,

boredom, psychological fatigue, decreased self esteem, and alienation

(Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1986).

Chusmir and Durand (1987) found that job commitment and

absenteeism are similar for men and women. Although women use more

sick days than men, a major reason for the difference is that women

frequently use sick days for pregnancy leave (Kroesser, Meckley, and

Ranson, 1991). Turnover rates for men and women in the federal

government do not differ by gender (Lewis, 1991). Also, there is no

evidence that being in a traditionally male occupation increases the

chances that a woman will leave her current employer (Waite and

Berryman, 1986).

One response to stress cited by many researchers is that of

coping. Coping can be positive or negative and refers to the

individual's behavioral and cognitive responses to reduce or manage stressful demands (Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1986). In this study, "coping" will encompass the cognitive and behavioral aspects of both short-term and long-term coping (Newton, 1989).

Greenhaus and Parasuraman (1986) identify three coping strategies: modify the stressful situation through action, modify one's attitude toward the stressful situation, or manage the symptoms caused by stress. Eagly and Chrvala (1986) found that women over 19 years of age were significantly more conforming than males of the same age when under surveillance (a stressor). Although young subjects (under 19 years old) tended to conform more than older subjects, there were no sex differences among younger subjects (Eagly and Chrvala, 1986). In a review of the literature on coping, Parkes (1990) stated that research about gender differences is inconsistent. While some researchers (Pearlin and Schooler, 1978; Billings and Moos, 1981) found that women use "selective ignoring" and other avoidant strategies compared with men, other researchers (Parasuraman and Cleek, 1984) found that female managers report greater use of adaptive coping strategies (e.g., planning, seeking information, setting priorities), or more frequently cope by seeking support from others (Folkman, Lazarus, Pimley, and Novacek, 1987) than do their male colleagues. To overcome feelings of insecurity and meet internal role expectations (stressors), many female managers report that they work harder, longer, and more thoroughly than their male

counterparts (Cooper and Davidson, 1983). This can create stress because women feel that they must constantly perform at their best to meet supervisor expectations (Cooper and Davidson, 1983).

A number of studies on sexual harassment discussed how women cope with the phenomenon. Only a small percentage of women ever report serious workplace assault experiences, and the less serious types of harassment are even less often reported (Schneider, 1991). In a literature review on how women handle sexual harassment, Gruber (1989) categorized women's responses into four major divisions (avoidance, diffusion, negotiation, and confrontation). The least assertive coping responses are used most frequently.

General social support does not serve as a buffer for stress (Reifman, Biernat, and Lang, 1991); supervisor support serves only as a buffer for individuals who are relationship oriented (Cummins, 1990). In contrast, other researchers find that women who experience higher levels of personal control and social support report lower levels of strain symptoms (Amatea and Fong, 1991). In a study of women professionals, hostility scores were not significantly related to general social support, although social support from women supervisors tended to reduce hostility (Houston and Kelly, 1989).

In general, relationships with colleagues and superiors have been found to be serious causes of stress at work (Buunk and Verhoeven, 1991). Buunk and Verhoeven (1991) characterize social interactions at work along three dimensions: rewarding companionship

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(e.g., "we had fun and laughed"), intimate support (e.g., "expressed his appreciation for the way I do my work"), and instrumental support (e.g., "helped me with a certain task"). According to Buunk and Verhoeven (1991), the data show that "rewarding companionship" helps reduce work stress and increases positive feelings.

Women in local, state, and federal government report more negative feelings toward coworkers than their male counterparts (Vaden and Lynn, 1979). Women's interpersonal behaviors in mixed gender pairs did not differ significantly from those in same gender pairs (Lott, 1987). In contrast, men were found to distance themselves from a woman partner (as compared to a man) by turning their faces or bodies away, by making negative comments, by not following advice, and by placing the task closer to themselves (Lott, 1987). Women tend to be excluded from informal work groups and networks (Fernandez, 1988; Schwartz, 1989) with the exception of women whose immediate workgroups include both men and women (Brass, 1985).

With regard to interpersonal relationships, studies have shown that compared to women, men tend to perceive less friendliness and more sexuality when observing mixed gender social interactions (Saal, Johnson, and Weber, 1989; Johnson, Stockdale, and Saal, 1991). In "office romances," females are perceived by subjects to be more likely to lose their jobs and to elicit more negative reactions from fellow workers when compared with males (Devine and Markiewicz,

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1990). Overall, high status people involved in mutual relationships were judged more favorably than low status people; however, subjects expected co-workers to react most negatively to a relationship in which the female holds a higher status position than the male (Devine and Markiewicz, 1990).

Vertz (1985) found that energy levels of men and women in advanced positions were not significantly different, although men in higher positions report having more energy and fewer health problems than men in lower level positions. Kanter and Stein (1979) stated that women have learned to put their energy into activities that are likely to yield more rewards. Despite their success and ability to cope, women subjects emphasized the extra energy it took to deal with many of the situations they faced because they were women (i.e., women feel they have to be "twice as good," women lack support and integration into men's networks, women may feel uncomfortable in male groups that are drinking or telling sexist jokes, etc.) (Kanter and Stein, 1979). Davidson and Cooper (1987) assert that:

> [Studies showing that women face more stresses than men] are not suggesting that women in managerial positions cannot cope with stress. What the authors suggest is that females in managerial positions are often faced with additional pressures, both from work and home/social environment not experienced by male managers, and consequently this lends further support for the urgent need for organizational and policy changes (Davidson and Cooper, 1987, p. 237).

Self Concept

In this study, self concept includes such constructs as self esteem, self acceptance, self confidence, and self perception. Women as a group entering management positions in local, state, and federal government show greater variability in facets of self concept than men as a group (Vaden and Lynn, 1979). The authors suggest that this difference is the result of managers' socialization toward male management norms (Vaden and Lynn, 1979). Another public sector study found that women have higher self esteem than men at equivalent GS levels (Markham, South, Bonjean, and Corder, 1985). With regard to Maslow's needs theory, professional (managerial and clerical) sales workers scored higher than homemakers on the esteem need (Betz, 1982).

Gibbons and McCoy (1991) found that people with high self esteem, when threatened, act derogatorily toward someone who they perceived as having lower status. When threatened, men demeaned the competence of the perceived lower status person, whereas women distanced themselves socially from the perceived lower status person. In general, women were found to disclose more than men and in particular, scored higher on disclosure of strengths than men (Hatch and Leighton, 1986).

Reflected appraisals are defined as other people's reactions to an individual, whereas self perceptions are defined as observations of our behavior and its consequences (Schwalbe and Staples, 1991).

Alternatively, social comparisons involve using others as standards for self evaluation (Schwalbe and Staples, 1991). Schwalbe and Staples (1991) found that women attach greater importance to reflected appraisals than do men, and that men attach greater importance to social comparisons than do women. No gender difference was found for self perceived competence (Schwalbe and Staples, 1991). Also, women and men were alike in that reflected appraisals were the most important source of self esteem for both groups, followed by self perceived competence, and then social comparison (Schwalbe and Staples, 1991).

Nevill and Schlecker (1988) found that strong self efficacy expectations and assertiveness were related to the willingness to pursue nontraditional occupations. On the other hand, women in engineering were found to have lower levels of self confidence and assertiveness than men (Robinson and McIlwee, 1989). For men, self confidence, perceived success at work, and the opportunity to develop technical expertise are all positively intercorrelated; for women, self confidence is most strongly correlated with perceived success in their lives outside of work and is negatively correlated with the opportunity to develop technical expertise (Bailyn, 1987). Consequently, Bailyn (1987) suggests that there is something in the way that technical work is experienced by women that diminishes their self esteem and increases ambivalence (Bailyn, 1987).

Self esteem is defined as "valuing oneself based upon perceived strengths" whereas self acceptance is "valuing oneself regardless of perceived shortcomings" (Shostrom, 1974 cited in Long, 1991). In a study of women scientists, women professionals (other than scientists), women college students, and women victims of domestic violence, Long (1991) found that masculinity scores correlated with self esteem for all but the student group, and with self acceptance for all but the student and scientist group. Moreover, self acceptance scores were significantly lower for women scientists than for professional and student groups, and femininity scores were significantly lower for scientists than for all other groups of women (Long, 1991). Although the results of the study are consistent with other findings, Long (1991) speculated whether women scientists begin to devalue the feminine traits in themselves as a result of devaluation of feminine traits in work environments, or if science attracts women with low self acceptance. It is unclear if women scientists' low self acceptance scores have any relationship to low identification with femininity or the notion that their career success is due to luck rather than ability. Another possibility is that women scientists have impossibly high expectations for themselves, and that working in a masculine valued environment may result in a devaluation of their feminine attributes thus making them more susceptible to the imposter phenomenon and low self acceptance (Long, 1991).

Long (1989) found that women who scored high on the masculinity dimension of the Bem Sex Role Inventory, compared with low masculine women, regardless of occupation, reported: lower levels of strain, trait anxiety, and work impairment (with the exception of interpersonal strain); greater frequency of problem-focused and preventive coping; and higher levels of personal efficacy. For high feminine women, self efficacy and coping are not differentiated by occupational role, whereas low feminine women in nontraditional occupations have greater self efficacy and greater relative problem-focused coping compared with low feminine women in traditional occupations (Long, 1989).

Research by Popp and Muhs (1982), that used male and female employees, contrasts with previous studies that assert women as a group suffer higher fear of success than men. Popp and Muhs (1982) suggest that fear of success may not be so much a function of sex as it is a function of age, pay grade, or length in the organization. Regardless of sex, those in a subordinate role are more sensitive to how their leaders feel about them than are the leaders sensitive to their subordinates, suggesting that the stereotypically greater sensitivity of women might be explained by their traditionally subordinate role to men (Snodgrass, 1992).

Preferential selection negatively affects how women feel about themselves, and may promote negative self perceptions of competence by accentuating initial self doubts about work related ability

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(Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991). Moreover, if individuals have doubts about their abilities, the absence of positive feedback about their competence inherent in preferential selection can exacerbate these doubts and undermine the individuals' sense of competence in a work situations (Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991). Specifically, women who were preferentially selected for the role of manager on the basis of their sex were much less likely to choose a demanding work assignment than were women who believed themselves to be selected on the basis of merit (Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991). Women also rated their work related ability and task orientation less favorably when they were preferentially selected than when they were selected on a merit basis, whereas preferential selection did not affect similar ratings by men (Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991). Only when information about work related ability was left ambiguous did sex based preferential selection have adverse effects; women who were given favorable information concerning their ability and were preferentially selected behaved no differently than women chosen on the basis of merit (Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991).

Heilman, Simon, and Repper (1987) found that only women's self perceptions and self evaluations were negatively affected by the sex based preferential selection method relative to the merit based method. When selected on the basis of sex, women devalued their leadership performance, took less credit for successful outcomes, and reported less interest in persisting as leader; they also

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characterized themselves as more deficient in general leadership skills (Heilman, Simon, and Repper, 1987). These findings suggest that when individuals have doubts about their competence to perform a job effectively, non-work related preferential selection is likely to have adverse consequences on how they view themselves and their performance (Heilman, Simon, and Repper, 1987).

According to Kahn (1991), an individual's tendency to engage or withdraw one's personal self at work depends on three factors. The first factor, psychological meaningfulness, exists when an individual feels that there is a return on one's energy expended at work. The second factor, psychological safety, exists when an individual feels able to act genuinely, without fear of negative consequences. The third factor, psychological availability, exists when an individual has the physical, emotional, or psychological resources to personally engage at a particular moment (Kahn, 1991).

In one study (Heilman and Kram, 1978), subjects were led to believe they were working on a joint decision making task with either a male or female, and were given predetermined positive or negative feedback about their pair's performance. Women tended to derogate themselves when working with males, but not when working with females (Heilman and Kram, 1978). When paired with a female as compared to a male, women subjects accepted more responsibility for success and less for failure, and reported greater confidence about their future performance (Heilman and Kram, 1978). Thus, co-workers may be one of

many variables that can affect a woman's self perception of
competence (Heilman and Kram, 1978).

<center>**SUMMARY**</center>

In reviewing the preceding literature, several patterns emerge.
The current literature on managing diversity and the glass ceiling
seem to focus on many of the same issues in Rowe's (1990) research.
However, much of the managing diversity literature consists of (a)
quantitative reporting of demographic trends, and (b) descriptions of
diversity programs within private organizations. In contrast, the
glass ceiling studies report various ways in which women are treated
differently in the workplace, but the studies do not directly address
the effects of such phenomena.

One recent study examined the relationship of gender to
networks, promotion criteria, and sexual harassment within a federal
agency, but the study did not specifically address microinequities
(Fine, Johnson, and Ryan, 1990). Other literature on women in public
administration is primarily quantitative; for example, there are a
number of studies that estimate the proportion of women in various
grade levels. Some survey research has been conducted with women in
the public sector, but studies have not looked specifically at subtle
differences.

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The literature on women's work experiences tends to focus on legal, psychological, and sociological aspects of work. Discrimination and sexual harassment are well researched; in fact, several studies have even addressed the issue of how sexual harassment affects productivity. However, these studies did not examine the effects of subtle discrimination or harassment alone on women's work experiences. Only one study (Cooper and Davidson, 1987) was found that examined subtle discrimination and stress.

In sum, there have been no qualitative studies about the nature of microinequities as experienced by women in the federal government. In addition, past research has not dealt concurrently with the phenomena of microinequities and their effect on self concept; energy, productivity, and ultimately, organizational effectiveness; and career development. The current research will examine managing diversity in the federal government by identifying the nature of microinequities as experienced by women. The reason for using focus group methodology is to provide in-depth, qualitative data about microinequities, and about their effects on self concept, energy, and career development. Additional, few studies pertaining to women in the federal government have used this methodology. Most importantly, this study will examine differential treatment from a management perspective, rather than from the legal focus that has dominated past research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Research methods used in this study include focus group interviews, demographic questionnaires, participant observation, and computer-assisted content analysis. In this section, I will review the literature relative to focus groups, the primary method used for collecting data. Next, I will describe gaining access to subjects as well as selecting participants. Third, I will present the pilot study and the recommendations resulting from it. The next sections will include descriptions of the actual focus groups and participant characteristics. Last, I will discuss the process used in analyzing the focus group interviews.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, a growing number of researchers in fields such as public administration, urban planning, organizational studies, psychology, and sociology have shifted from quantitative to qualitative research methods. There are many reasons for doing qualitative research. According to Miles and Huberman (1984), qualitative methods often provide rich descriptions of the phenomena

under question and increase the likelihood of serendipitous findings. Moreover, qualititative data has a convincing quality, particularly when organized into incidents or stories (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

Miles and Huberman (1984) also discuss potential problems with qualitative methods. For example, there may be questions about the generalizability (i.e., external validity) of qualitatively derived findings. Moreover, qualitative research requires explicit systematic methods for analyzing data that can then be replicated by other researchers (Miles and Huberman, 1984).

One systematic method for analyzing qualitative data involves the development of codes that are used to classify segments of words (Miles and Huberman, 1984). In brief, codes allow the analyst to retrieve and organize segments of data that relate to a particular theme. Miles and Huberman (1984) recommend first developing some general codes based upon the research question. The next step is to develop content-specific, inductively derived codes based upon the actual data; thus, codes that emerge from the data will be well-grounded empirically. To test for the validity of inductively derived codes, Strauss and Corbin (1990) suggest comparing the data to the findings of other investigators.

Among the most widely used techniques in qualitative research are group-depth interviews or focus groups (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). The term "focus" implies that the interview is limited to a small number of issues (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). In addition,

focus groups are distinctive in their explicit use of group

interaction to produce data and insights that would be less

accessible without the interaction found in a group (Morgan, 1988).

The use of focus groups as a method for qualitative research have

been discussed extensively elsewhere (Goldman and McDonald, 1987;

Greenbaum, 1988; Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani,

1990).

Focus groups are particularly well-suited for research that

seeks to produce insights into the attitudes, perceptions, and

opinions of participants about a given phenomenon (Krueger, 1988).

In brief,

> [A] focus group can be defined as a carefully planned discussion
> designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in
> a permissive, nonthreatening environment. It is conducted with
> approximately seven to ten people by a skilled interviewer. The
> discussion is relaxed, comfortable, and often enjoyable for
> participants as they share their ideas and perceptions. Group
> members influence each other by responding to ideas and comments
> in the discussion (Krueger, 1988, p. 18).

In general, focus group participants should be homogeneous; the

nature of the homogeneity is determined by the purpose of the study

and serves as a basis for recruitment (Krueger, 1988). Moreover,

focus group participants should be unfamiliar with each other. Thus,

researchers should exercise caution when conducting focus groups

within organizations because people who regularly interact, either

socially or at work, may be responding to the discussion based upon past experiences or events.

There are many advantages of focus groups. First, the focus group format allows the moderator to interact directly with respondents and to probe for further clarification; this contrasts with more structured methods such as surveys (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990; Morgan, 1988). Second, because of group interaction, focus groups may produce data that may not be obtained in individual interviews (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Third, focus groups are lower in cost and can provide data more quickly than individual interviews (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Fourth, focus groups allow the researcher to increase the number of subjects in qualitative studies (Krueger, 1988). Fifth, focus groups typically exhibit high face validity, i.e., the results seem believable to those using the information (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). And sixth, focus groups provide flexibility since they can be used to examine a wide range of topics with a variety of individuals and in a variety of settings (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990).

Despite their advantages, focus groups also have a number of limitations. First, the researcher has less control in the group interview as compared to the individual interview. For example, group members may influence one another, or they may discuss irrelevant issues (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988). Second, data must

be interpreted within the context of the group discussion. Occasionally, participants will modify or even reverse their positions after interacting with others (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Third, the focus group approach requires trained interviewers; otherwise, the moderator may bias results (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). Fourth, groups are difficult to assemble, and discussions must be conducted in an environment conducive to conversation (Krueger, 1988). Last, focus group data do not necessarily generalize to the population at large. As a result, researchers must carefully present their data to minimize the risk that their findings will be misconstrued (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990).

Krueger (1988) provides practical suggestions for conducting focus groups, many of which were adopted for this study and are described in subsequent sections.

SUBJECTS

I conducted this study in the Washington, D.C. area for two reasons. First, because of financial constraints on the study, Washington, D.C. provided easy access and close proximity to my home base in Blacksburg. Second, the abundance of federal agencies located within the Washington, D.C. area provided a large number of agencies and employees from which to select subjects. To increase

the likelihood of participation, I conducted the focus groups during working hours and at the worksite.

Gaining access to federal agency employees proved problematic as agencies did not want a non-agency person conducting research that they perceived to be confidential. Fortuitously, I learned from a colleague that the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) was beginning a comprehensive "glass ceiling" study to be published in the fall of 1992.[5] After meeting with the study's program manager and deputy director of policy and evaluation, the MSPB agreed to collaborate on the research. (See Appendix A for a copy of the collaborative agreement.)

Several major areas of concern regarding the collaboration were addressed with the following outcomes:

1. All initial agency contacts were to be made by the MSPB; I would handle all follow-up.

2. The MSPB would use the focus group data in lieu of 60 individual interviews that had previously been planned. For their purposes, the information derived from focus group interviews would be used in designing an MSPB questionnaire to be distributed to 13,000 federal employees nationwide. In addition, comments from the interviews would be included in the MSPB report. Based upon the results of my pilot study (to be described later), we agreed to conduct two-hour

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[5] For comments on the published findings, see Chapter 9.

focus groups, with each party having control over its designated hour.

3. At least one MSPB representative was required to be present at any focus groups involving persons at the Senior Executive Service level. Because of this requirement, we decided that SES and non-SES personnel would participate in separate focus groups. This would give me the option of conducting additional non-SES groups independently so that I could meet my population target of at least 100 women. Because my study was exploratory in nature, I wanted to include enough women to increase the likelihood that diverse opinions would be expressed.

4. Both parties would have access to all data collected during the focus groups.

The agencies invited to participate in this study were chosen from a list of 28 agencies reported as having ten or more women in SES positions as of January 1991. (See Appendix B for a list of agencies with ten or more SES women.) Choosing agencies that had at least ten SES women increased the likelihood of obtaining sufficient numbers for the focus groups.

The criteria for selection across agencies were as follows:

1. Diversity among agencies with regard to the percentage of SES women. The percentage of SES women among the 28 agencies ranged from 4 percent to 40 percent. Because of a potential relationship between the number of women in SES positions and the nature and

effect of gender inequities, agencies with percentages of SES women

ranging from 4 percent to 27 percent were chosen for this study.

2. **Diversity among agencies with regard to traditional male versus**

traditional female occupations. Examples of agencies with

traditional male occupations would include the Department of

Agriculture and Department of Defense; in contrast, agencies with

traditional female occupations would include the Department of Health

and Human Services and Office of Personnel Management. It is

important to note that within an agency dominated by traditional male

occupations, there are units that may be predominantly female such as

human resources, and vice versa.

On May, 22, 1991, the Director of Policy and Evaluation for the

MSPB mailed letters to the head of personnel in twelve agencies that

were selected according to the criteria listed above. (See Appendix

C for a sample letter to agencies.) The Federal Women's Program

Manager in each agency received a copy of the letter. Of the twelve

agencies initially contacted, four agencies responded to the letter.

(See Appendix D for a list of agencies invited to participate in the

study.) Follow-up calls were made to non-respondents. When the

number of women participants exceeded 100, no additional agencies

were recruited.[6]

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[6] One agency requested a formal meeting prior to agreeing to participate in the study and would work with MSPB personnel only.

In total, eight agencies participated in this study: Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, Department of Defense,[7] Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Interior, Department of Justice, National Science Foundation, and Office of Personnel Management. With the exception of one agency, the eight agencies chosen for the study are among the 22 largest agencies, the population normally used in MSPB studies. The National Science Foundation, not among the 22 largest agencies, was included because of the large number of traditionally male occupations (e.g., scientists, engineers) represented in this agency.

After the MSPB made the initial agency contacts and the agencies agreed to participate, I worked with a contact person from each agency on arrangements for the focus groups. Specifically, I spoke several times with the contact persons to ensure that they understood the purpose of the study and their roles. I then sent the contact persons a memo that listed guidelines for selecting participants and the logistics of arranging the focus groups. (See Appendix E for sample memo to agency contacts.) Attached to the memo was information that was to be distributed to each participant: a letter

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[7] In this study, Department of Defense includes Department of the Air Force, Department of the Army, Department of the Navy, and Office of the Secretary of Defense. Focus group participants from the Department of Defense are non-military personnel. Any statistics related to the Department of Defense provided in this study refer to non-military personnel only. Furthermore, Department of Defense statistics in this study include the four departments listed above unless otherwise noted.

confirming time and place of focus group and information about the study. (See Appendix F for memo and information sheet to participants.)

With regard to participant recruitment, each agency was responsible for selecting and contacting its own employees. (See Appendix G for sample recruitment letters.) Participants were non-systematically selected from all employees who met the following criteria established by the researcher:

1. Gender. Within each focus group, participants were homogeneous with regard to gender. All eight agencies recruited women participants; four agencies were asked to recruit male focus groups as well. Of the four male focus groups, two were selected from agencies with traditional female occupations and two from agencies with traditional male occupations.[a]

2. Size. Each focus group consisted of six to ten participants.

3. Diversity in race, age, and occupation type. Focus groups were to be composed of participants from diverse race, age, and occupation groups. Diverse participants were chosen for two reasons: to more accurately reflect the federal workforce and to increase the generalizability of the findings of this study.

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[a] In the spirit of collaboration, men were included in the general research and design. I accepted this because male subjects provide potential to learn how different their perceptions are from those of women.

4. Occupation level. Participants in this study were chosen from the GS/GM 13-15 levels and the Senior Executive Service (SES). Within an agency, selected same-sex participants at the GS/GM 13-15 levels were combined in a single group, whereas selected same-sex SES personnel were assigned to a separate group. Participants were chosen from the upper levels (GS/GM 13 and above) for the following reasons: First, homogeneity in occupational rank would reduce the possibility that differential treatment would be confounded by level of position. On the other hand, employees from several grades below the SES were included to ensure an adequate pool of participants from which to draw. Second, upper level employees were chosen for this study in order to reduce the possibility that differential treatment could be attributed to differences in ability or effort.

5. Relationship of participants to each other. Agencies were asked to ensure that there were no supervisory relationships among group participants. Participants in each focus group all came from the same agency (e.g., Department of Agriculture, Department of Commerce, etc.). In addition, participants were to be chosen from a variety of units within the agency.

PILOT STUDY

Prior to collecting data in the federal government, I conducted a pilot study with the purpose of refining the research methods. My specific goals were as follows:

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1. To test the demographic questionnaire.

2. To test the interview questions to determine how specific the questions needed to be to elicit the desired information.

3. To determine the optimal number of participants per focus group and the amount of time needed to cover all questions.

4. To determine how moderator gender would affect male versus female focus groups.

5. To develop my own skills moderating focus groups.

I chose Virginia Tech as the pilot study site for a number of reasons. First, it was easily accessible. Second, Virginia Tech has departments that are characterized by traditional male and traditional female occupations. Such diversity would approximate the diversity in the actual study. Third, faculty members are comparable in rank to the subjects in the actual study. Fourth, faculty tend to be interested in research and in helping students, and for these reasons would be likely to participate.

I conducted three focus group sessions. Two focus groups consisted of women only. The majority of female participants were members of the Women's Network at Virginia Tech. One focus group consisted of men only. The majority of male participants had recently attended a workshop on diversity. The majority of both male and female subjects were likely to have been more schematic for gender differences than faculty members selected at random. The

reason for choosing participants with this bias was to increase the likelihood that faculty would agree to participate.

I recruited all faculty participants by telephone. (See Appendix G for recruitment call script and Appendix H for reminders.) In total, 11 male faculty and 25 female faculty were contacted; of these, seven men and eighteen women agreed to participate. Faculty participants in the focus groups represented seven out of eight colleges at Virginia Tech (i.e., Agriculture and Life Sciences, Architecture and Urban Studies, Arts and Sciences, Business, Education, Engineering, and Human Resources). Newman Library was also represented. Only the College of Veterinary Medicine was not represented; persons from Veterinary Medicine were invited to participate but were unable to do so because of other obligations.

Each focus group was held on campus during workday hours and lasted 1-1/2 hours. To encourage an informal atmosphere, light refreshments were provided and name tents with first names were used by all participants. Prior to the beginning of the focus group discussion, participants completed a demographic questionnaire.

For the female focus groups, I was the sole moderator and was assisted by a master's level, female, clinical psychology student who took process notes. For the male focus group, I co-moderated the discussion with a doctoral level, male, clinical psychology student. (See Appendix I for the introductory script used for the pilot study.)

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The focus group discussions were concluded after one hour and fifteen minutes to allow time for feedback from participants regarding their perceptions about the research methodology. Questions that were to be used in the current study were posed during one women's focus group; the MSPB's questions were asked during the other women's focus group. A combination of this study's and the MSPB's questions were presented during the men's focus group. (See Appendix J for questioning route.)

I observed that six to seven people per focus group seemed optimal. In addition, two hours would be required to cover my questions and those of the MSPB. Overall, the topic of microinequities generated much discussion, diverse opinions, and spontaneous interaction among members; thus, the research topic seemed well suited to the focus group methodology.

As a result of the pilot study, the following changes were made:
1. In order to more effectively study the phenomenon of interest, the discussion questions needed to be more specific.
2. Some of the questions on the demographic questionnaire needed to be revised due to lack of clarity. (See Appendix K for revised questionnaire.)
3. Several faculty suggested that I not use the question "How do you feel about . . . ."

4. Male faculty had no objection to one female moderator, or to a male and female co-moderator. Several male faculty advised against using two female moderators for a male group.

In addition to the three focus groups in the pilot study, I conducted one interview with a female faculty member who was willing to participate but could not attend the group session. After making adjustments to the methodology based upon the pilot study, I conducted one additional focus group consisting of graduate students and colleagues. This last group served as a trial run for the actual study; its primary purpose was to determine the length of time needed to address the revised set of questions.

RESULTS

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

A total of 19 focus groups were conducted during June and July
of 1991. Groups were characterized by the following gender and grade
level: seven groups of SES women, eight groups of GS/GM 13-15 women,
three groups of SES men, and one group of GS/GM 13-15 men. Each
focus group consisted of six to ten persons.

The interviews were conducted at the individual agencies during
normal work day hours. To ensure confidentiality to those
participating in the focus group discussions, the interviews were
held in private conference or meeting rooms. Seats were usually
arranged around a large table in the middle of the room. The length
of focus group discussions ranged from one and one-half to two hours
long. A maximum of two focus groups were scheduled for any given
day.

I personally moderated or co-moderated 18 of the 19 focus
groups.[9] Each women's focus group had one or two female moderators;

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[9] The group I did not moderate was moderated by the MSPB's
project manager for the "glass ceiling" study (a female) and an MSPB
research psychologist (a male). The male research psychologist was
assigned to co-moderate three of the men's focus groups with me, but
he wanted to conduct the first group with his colleague. In the
interest of the collaborative spirit, I made an exception and agreed

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each men's group had one female and one male moderator. A tape recorder was used during each focus group interview to ensure that responses were recorded accurately. All participants received prior notification that the interview would be taped. Only two groups, both from the same agency, failed to receive prior notice; although this necessitated a brief explanation at the beginning of the discussion, there was little resistance once the discussion began.

To help create a relaxed atmosphere, light refreshments were provided. In addition, participants received name tents with only their first names, to protect confidentiality and to encourage interactions among group members. Prior to the focus group discussion, participants were asked to complete a brief demographic questionnaire that was returned to the researcher before the end of the session.

Of the nine persons who organized focus groups for individual agencies, only one person chose to participate in the group discussion, even after being discouraged by the author to do so.[10] At several other sessions, the person organizing the focus group made some brief introductory remarks, but left immediately afterward.

At the beginning of each focus group session, one moderator gave a brief introduction to the study and announced the ground rules to

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to this.

[10] In the interest of not wanting to alienate the agency contact person, I allowed her to be a part of the group.

be followed throughout the session. (See Appendix L for the introduction.) In brief, the ground rules encouraged participants to freely state diverse opinions. In addition, group members were reassured that the results of the study would be reported across all agencies to ensure anonymity. Finally, participants were informed that they could move around the room or leave if needed.

The first hour of questioning consisted of questions by the MSPB; the second hour consisted of questions designed for this study. (See Appendices M and N for questioning route.) This study's questions were adjusted to accommodate a male perspective for the men's focus groups. (See Appendix O for male questioning route.)

In general, most of the participants seemed relaxed and took part in the discussions. It is not possible to accurately assess the number of people in each group who knew each other or how the interpersonal dynamics in groups affected the discussion.

SUBJECTS

A total of 144 people participated in focus groups interviews. Because this study focuses on subtle differences experienced by women, the majority (114) of participants were female. Interviewing a small number of men provided some comparative data. Table 1 shows demographic statistics for the participants in this study. In the following narrative, percentages for female vs. male respondent demographics are given in parentheses.

TABLE 1
FOCUS GROUP DEMOGRAPHICS

Note: Totals may not add to 100% because of rounding or no answers.

Demographic Characteristics	Females	Males	Total
Total:	79%	21%	100%
Race:			
White	65%	63%	65%
African American	16%	23%	17%
Hispanic	12%	7%	11%
Asian	4%	7%	5%
Native American	2%	0%	1%
Degree:			
Bachelor's	29%	33%	39%
Master's	42%	30%	40%
Doctoral or Professional	23%	33%	25%
Age:			
Under 40	22%	7%	19%
40-50	55%	40%	52%
Over 50	25%	53%	29%
Marital Status:			
Unmarried	39%	13%	32%
Married	62%	87%	67%
Dependents:			
None	54%	30%	49%
One	16%	17%	16%
Two	21%	33%	24%
Three	5%	20%	8%
Grade Level:			
GS/GM 13	12%	3%	10%
GS/GM 14	27%	23%	27%
GS/GM 15	19%	0%	15%
SES	41%	74%	48%

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)
FOCUS GROUP DEMOGRAPHICS

Demographic Characteristics	Females	Males	Total
Time in Present Position:			
Less than 1 year	16%	14%	15%
1-5 Years	60%	47%	57%
5-10 Years	11%	27%	15%
10-20 Years	10%	7%	9%
Over 20 Years	3%	7%	3%
Time in the Federal Government:			
1-5 Years	1%	3%	1%
5-10 Years	5%		4%
10-15 Years	20%		16%
15-20 Years	21%	20%	21%
20-25 Years	32%	30%	32%
25-30 Years	13%	37%	18%
Over 30 Years	7%	10%	8%
Supervisor:			
Male	84%	83%	84%
Female	16%	17%	16%
Work With:			
More males than females	58%	47%	56%
Equal males and females	22%	33%	24%
Less males than females	22%	33%	19%
Mentor:			
Yes	49%	33%	46%
Male	57%	60%	58%
Female	7%	10%	8%
Male and Female	36%	30%	35%
No	51%	67%	54%
Importance of Women's Issues compared to other social issues:			
Women's issues less important	10%	13%	10%
Women's issues equal importance	68%	73%	69%
Women's issues more important	19%	13%	18%
Women's issues much more important	3%	0%	2%

Of the 144 total focus group participants, 79 percent were female versus 21 percent male. Sixty-five percent were white (female, 65%; male, 63%), 17 percent African-American (female, 16%; male, 23%), 11 percent Hispanic (female, 12%; male, 7%), 5 percent Asian (female, 4%; male, 7%), and 1 percent Native American (female, 2%; male, 0%).

Thirty percent of the participants reported having a bachelor's degree (female, 29%; male, 33%). Forty percent hold a master's degrees (female, 42%; 30%); 25 percent hold doctoral or professional degrees (female, 23%; male, 33%). With regard to age, 19 percent of participants were under 40 (female, 22%; male, 7%), 52 percent were between 40 and 50 (female, 55%; male, 40%), and 29 percent were over 50 (female, 25%; male, 53%). Thirty-two percent of all participants were unmarried (female, 39%; male, 13%), versus 67 percent who were married (female, 62%; male, 87%). Forty nine percent reported having no dependent children or other dependents at the present time (female, 54%; male, 30%), compared to 16 percent with one dependent (female, 16%; male, 17%), 24 percent with two dependents (female, 21%; male, 33%), and 8 percent reporting three dependents (female, 5%, male, 20%).

With regard to occupational grade level, ten percent of participants were GS/GS 13s (female, 12%; male, 3%); 27 percent were GS/GM 14s (female, 27%, male, 23%); 15 percent were GS/GM 15s (female, 19%; male, 0%), and 48 percent were at the SES level (female

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41%; male, 74%). Fifteen percent of participants reported being in their present position for less than one year (female, 16%; male, 14%) compared with 57 percent of participants who had been in their current position between one and five years (female, 60%; male, 47%), 15 percent reported five to ten years (female, 11%; male, 27%) and 12 percent had been in their current positions over ten years (female, 13%; male, 14%). Thirty-seven percent had been federal employees for 10 to 20 years (female, 41%; male, 20%), and 58 percent had been federal employees for over 20 years (female, 52%; male, 77%).

Of those interviewed, 84 percent of all persons reported having a male as an immediate supervisor (female, 84%; male, 83%), compared with 16 percent who reported having a female supervisor (female, 16%; male, 17%). Fifty-six percent of all participants responded that they work with more men than women during a normal work day (female, 58%; male, 47%), 24 percent work with equal numbers of men and women (female, 22%; male, 33%), and 19 percent work with more women than men (female, 19%; male, 20%). Forty six percent of all participants reported having a mentor (female, 49%; male, 33%) compared with 54 who did not have one (female, 51%; male, 67%). Of those who reported having a mentor, 58 percent of those respondents had a male mentor (female, 57%; male, 60%), 8 percent a female mentor (female, 7%; male, 10%), and 35 percent had both male and female mentors (female, 36%; male, 30%).

Finally, when asked how they rank the importance of women's issues in comparison with other social issues, ten percent responded that women's issues were less important (female, 10%; male, 13%), 69 percent responded that they were of equal importance (female, 68%; male, 73%), 18 percent responded that they were more important (female, 19%; male, 13%), and only two percent said women's issues were much more important than other social issues (female, 3%; male, 0%).

In summary, the demographic data described above show that the respondents represented diverse groups in terms of age, race, and occupational rank within the selected GS/GM 13-15 and SES levels. In addition, most of the respondents have spent over ten years in the federal government. Consequently, their perceptions were likely to be based upon their federal government experiences. Although there was some diversity among participants with regard to whether they work with men or women during a normal work day, the data showed that a vast majority of participants report directly to a male immediate supervisor. Finally, 69 percent of the participants responded that women's issues are of equal importance when compared to other social issues, and the proportion of responses from men and women were nearly identical. On the other hand, 22 percent of women vs. 13 percent of men responded that women's issues were more or much more important than other social issues. Thus, there seemed to be a slight tendency for the women respondents, in comparison with their

male counterparts, to view women's issues as more important than
other social issues.

DATA ANALYSIS

The next four chapters describe the themes that emerged from the
data. However, before revealing the data, I will first give an
overview of the methods employed in analyzing the data.

As mentioned previously, I recorded every focus group in order
to have a verbatim record of the discussion. The first step after
each focus group was to transcribe the tapes; the 19 focus groups
generated nearly 1000 pages of transcripts. I typed 11 of the focus
group transcriptions; a hired typist transcribed the other eight.
After the transcriptions were completed, I listened to each tape
again in its entirety to check the accuracy of the 19 transcriptions.

The audibility of 15 of the 19 tapes was good; the audibility of
four tapes (from two agencies) was fair. In both cases, air
conditioning was operating. In one case, the diminished tape quality
may have resulted from the size of the room and the distance of
participants from the microphone.

I then categorized the data by assigning codes to groups of
words within each focus group transcript. As a next step, I entered
the codes into the computer using The Ethnograph: A Program for the
Computer Assisted Analysis of Text Based Data (1988).

Coding 1000 pages of transcripts yielded 141 codes. (See Appendix P for a list of codes and their meanings.) I then collapsed the 141 codes into 98 codes by grouping together words that were synonymous, or related enough in meaning, to be considered equivalent. Next, I grouped related codes into eleven themes that corresponded directly with the research questions posed in this study. (See Appendix Q for a list of codes and their equivalencies.)

To test for intercoder reliability, I first devised a priori rules to be used when comparing the coder's analysis with that of my own. (See Appendix R for coding rules). Next, I gave a Ph.D. level, male coder the list of 141 codes and asked him to code ten randomly selected, unmarked pages. I then compared the male coder's coding to my own. Because this study involved gender related issues, a male coder was used to reduce any gender bias that might affect interpretation of the data (See Appendix S for a qualitative comparison of intercoder reliability.)

Using a reliability formula provided by Miles and Huberman (1988), I determined that intercoder reliability was 75 percent. According to Miles and Huberman (1988, p. 63),

one shouldn't initially expect [i.e., without training] better than 70 percent intercoder reliability, using this formula:

$$\text{reliability} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{total number of agreements plus disagreements}}$$

Next, I used a reliability measure of two standard deviations from the mean to obtain a 95% confidence level for my reliability results. Based upon that further analysis, I am 95% confident that the intercoder reliability falls within a range of 68.4 percent and 81.6 percent. Thus, based upon Miles and Huberman's criteria, the intercoder reliability of this study's data is acceptable. (See Appendix T for a statistical computation of intercoder reliability.)

In addition to intercoder reliability, I also tested for intracoder reliability because I was the sole researcher and coder for this project. Consequently, I applied the same techniques for testing intracoder reliability that are described above. That is, I coded ten pages of transcripts and compared it to my original coding. Intracoder agreement, based upon the reliability formula by Miles and Huberman (1988), equalled 93 percent. Next, by using a reliability measure of two standard deviations from the mean, I am 95% confident that the intracoder reliability falls within a range of 87.3 percent and 98.7 percent. According to Miles and Huberman (1988), acceptable intracoder reliability should be in the 90 percent range. Thus, my intracoder reliability is acceptable.

The Ethnograph (1988) allows the researcher to search for single or multiple codes. The program then generates a list of only the data that has been assigned the selected codes. This step was the precursor to the actual data analysis. In brief, I generated numerous pages of transcribed segments, with each segment identified

by a single "search" code. By analyzing each segment in terms of
only a single code, despite the fact that there were other codes
assigned to the segment, I was able to focus on the particular
context of that code with relation to the other codes within the
segment. Thus, some segments in this study were analyzed more than
once, depending on the "search" code, which facilitated a
multidimensional analysis of the data.

CHAPTER 5

MICROINEQUITIES

The current study examined the nature of gender-related microinequities experienced by women in the workplace. Focus group participants were asked the following question: "At this stage, women report that there are a host of subtle differences in the ways men and women relate to each other in the workplace. As a woman, do you experience subtle differences in the way you see men treat you and other women, versus the way you see men treat each other?"[11] The following two probing questions were also asked of participants as a means of eliciting more detailed information: "In interpersonal relations in the workplace, do you experience differences in the way you see men and women relate to each other? Do you experience or observe differences in the interpersonal behavior of men and women at meetings?"

An additional question, slightly different than the ones mentioned above, was posed by this researcher in order to gain further knowledge about the nature of microinequities experienced by

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[11] For the specific questions posed to the male focus groups, see Appendix O.

women. The question was as follows: "As a professional woman, are there constraints on the places you go, the hours you work, or your activities as a professional, that your male colleagues would not have to encounter or be concerned about?"

Participant responses to these questions, and other comments relating to the nature of microinequities, were assigned 63 different codes. These codes were then categorized into themes which comprise the subsections of this chapter: Interpersonal Relationships, Attitudes, Social Support, Family Roles, Physical Differences, and Individual Differences/Change.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Participant responses relating to the theme, Interpersonal Relationships, were assigned the following codes: Interpersonal (Subtle Differences), Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows), Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing), Constraint, Exclude (Ignore), Feedback, Meetings (Seating), Social, Sports (Gym), Teamplayer, Trust (Relationship), and Touching.[12] Table 2 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, a total of 1301 coded segments related to the Interpersonal Relationships theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 69, versus 63 for the males.

_____

[12] The codes in parentheses are equivalent in meaning to the immediately preceding code, in the context of the study.

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS
RELATED TO INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS THEME

Codes:	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
INTERPERSONAL (SUBTLE DIFFERENCES)	105	187	202	494
Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows)	29	44	41	114
Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing)	14	25	36	75
Constraint	47	92	90	229
Exclude (Ignore)	11	37	57	105
Feedback	1	1	9	11
Meetings (Seating)	12	46	41	99
Social	25	26	48	99
Sports (Gym)	8	12	17	37
Teamplayer	0	3	6	9
Trust (Relationship)	1	15	6	22
Touching	1	4	2	7
Total # of coded segments	254	492	555	1301
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	63.5	70.3	69.4	68.5

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

Of the 1301 coded segments related to Interpersonal Relationships, 433 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Interpersonal comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix U for the questions after which comments related to Interpersonal occurred.)

Table 3 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings were clustered together. In particular, the segments assigned codes Interpersonal (Subtle Differences) and Constraints were integrated with the segments assigned the other nineteen codes within the Interpersonal Relations theme. The divisions within this subsection reflect these groupings and are as follows: Comfort Level, Communication, Meetings, Exclusion, Social Activities, Sports, Trust, and Physical Contact. Table 4 summarizes the findings within the Interpersonal Relationships theme.

Comfort Level

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows), Interpersonal (Subtle Differences), and Constraints. Participants in all nineteen focus groups made comments related to Comfort Level. Women in eight

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS
ARE RELATED TO INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
INTERPERSONAL (SUBTLE DIFFERENCES)	4	7	8	19
Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows)	4	7	8	19
Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing)	4	7	8	19
Constraint	4	7	8	19
Exclude (Ignore)	3	7	8	18
Feedback	1	1	3	5
Meetings (Seating)	4	7	8	19
Social	3	6	8	17
Sports (Gym)	4	5	4	13
Teamplayer	0	3	3	6
Trust (Relationship)	1	5	3	9
Touching	1	1	1	3

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women experience
microinequities.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	Men	Women
Comfort Level		
* Men feel more comfortable relating to men.	3	8
People advance those with whom they are comfortable, regardless of gender.	1	6
People are comfortable with those with similar backgrounds, regardless of gender.	2	4
* Women must make an effort to interact with male colleagues.	2	4
* Women may feel uncomfortable in social settings.	1	4
* When males bond, they exclude women.	0	4
* Men seem to feel uncomfortable with successful women.	0	3
Communication		
* Women are ignored in meetings.	0	7
* Men take credit for women's ideas in meetings.	0	6
* Men don't swear and joke as much when women are present.	3	5
* Men communicate with men informally; women communicate with men formally.	0	5
Women need informal communication to get ahead.	0	4
* Men interrupt women at meetings.	0	4
Women can be effective if they swear.	1	3
* Women need to talk like men to get ahead.	0	3
* Women are not referred to by name in meetings.	0	2
Women are not ignored in meetings.	0	2
Meetings		
* Women are ignored or interrupted at meetings.	0	7
* Women are excluded from attending meetings.	0	7
* Men treat women in sexist ways at meetings.	0	6
Men talk about non-work related events at meetings.	1	5
* Women's ideas are often credited to men.	0	5
* Women are excluded from social repartee at meetings.	0	4
Gender does not affect the way people are treated in meetings.	2	3
* Assumptions based on stereotypes are made about women at meetings.	1	3
Men or women may have difficulty attending meetings because of family duties.	0	3
Women may use their gender to their advantage at meetings.	1	2

	Men	Women
Exclusion		
* Women are excluded from and at meetings.	0	11
* Women are excluded from networks and informal communication with men.	1	8
* Women are excluded from social events.	0	5
* Women are excluded from career opportunities.	0	5
Anyone who is different may feel excluded.	2	3
Social Activities		
* Women are excluded from social activities involving male colleagues.	1	10
Social activities are based on familiarity or interests, not gender.	2	0
Social activities have an impact on advancement.	0	5
* Women are constrained in their relationships with male colleagues.	0	5
* Women must make an effort to fit in with men socially.	2	4
Women have opportunities to socialize with men and are comfortable with them.	1	4
* Women have no other women to socialize with.	0	3
Women do not feel excluded, and socialize with men and women.	0	3
Social rituals do not affect advancement.	2	0
Sports		
* When men talk sports, women feel excluded.	2	5
Women are participating in sports to break into traditional male networks.	0	4
* Women should make an effort to talk sports.	0	2
Women should not have to make an effort to talk sports.	0	1
Trust		
* Men have difficulty trusting women.	0	4
Men trust women more now than they have in the past.	1	3
People trust those with whom they have worked.	0	3
Women don't trust each other as quickly as men trust each other.	0	2

out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups stated that men feel more comfortable relating to men.[13]

> : [Men] don't know how to do it. . . . They know how to take care of bonding, or whatever, in talking to a male senior to get ahead, but they can't figure out how to relate to a woman in something other than sexual object type situations.

> : [Male colleagues are] not as relaxed. . . . Almost . . . subconsciously . . . they put up their guard so that it's difficult for you to . . . really be on the inside of that group. Even . . . though you're physically present, you're not really inside that group.

> (Male): The conversation is quite different [between men and women] . . . You try to speak on something that you know the other person is interested in. And you will find that especially during the Red Skins season . . . you have males talking, . . . maybe cracking jokes that they may not feel comfortable in telling if there were females involved in the conversation.

Similarly, women in six out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups remarked that people select those for advancement with whom they are comfortable.

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[13] Throughout the entirety of this paper, it can be assumed that the "speakers" of the various quotes are female participants, unless otherwise noted in the text.

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: Women are not in the pipeline . . . into middle management, and so of course they're not going to be in the pipeline to upper management. . . . People want to . . . promote those that they have come up with, that they're familiar with, that they are comfortable with. And that doesn't include us. And when we get to the table to compete, the cards are stacked against us.

: You have . . . a succession of men in a particular job. . . . Then . . . it's vacant and women apply . . . who are just as qualified. It's . . . "Oh, we've always had a man in that job. We have to fill it with a man." Why? . . . "Oh, we always had a man in there. . . . I don't think I'd be comfortable if I had a woman in that job."

In contrast, women in four out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups mentioned that regardless of gender, people feel most comfortable with those whom they share similar background.

: That kind of thing happens. . . . There are certain rapports among all people generally. . . . You see them happening among men, but they happen among women too.

Women in four out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups remarked that women must make an effort to interact with male colleagues.

(Male): There is what they call male bonding. . . and . . . women have to learn to fit in to that. . . . You're not going to break it down. It's not going to end. . . . We're going to go to the bar and have a drink, and if she wants to come down to the bar or the lounge and have a drink, then she's got to be part of the group. She can't be a lady at a tea party.

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: You sometimes have to take that extra step . . . to make the individuals find out that . . . she doesn't have two heads. She's not weird. She's a woman. She's maybe a wife, maybe not. She may be a mother, maybe not. She plays tennis, she doesn't. . . . And she also happens to run this division or this office. But you have to take the step to let them know.

Women in four out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four

groups noted that women may feel uncomfortable in social settings.

: At the work place we are somehow buddies. . . . But once you get into that other arena of the social environment, it has happened to me. . . I go to a meeting, even in the lobby of the hotel. I see some of the people that I work with everyday, that I have written papers with, and they pretend that they are looking for [something]. . . . I know in their mind they are thinking, "Does she want to be invited somewhere? Do I have to pay for it? Is someone else going to look at us and see this?" A great friendship between men and women, the world is not ready for that. That's something that we have to accept.

Women in four out of fifteen groups stated that when males bond,

they tend to exclude women.

: When the going gets rough and men need to bond, the minority males are . . . right in there and accepted. . . . They just become that selected group, "one of us." And I observe that. And when they are talking about statistics, and we're talking about diversity, when you're talking about minority women, you're really talking about a double type of neglect.

Women in three out of fifteen groups stated that men seem to

feel uncomfortable with successful women.

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: I've seen . . . males who [are] not really comfortable being
supervised by a woman. And you just get that sense that it's
much more difficult to review them, that they won't take the
suggestions on change as readily. Whereas they don't seem to
have the same problem with the male [boss].

There were many other assorted, and sometimes conflicting,
comments relating to male bonding and comfort level. Some of the
remarks made by focus group participants in at least two groups were
as follows: that women feel comfortable and don't feel comfortable
with their male colleagues; that men may worry that their actions
could be misconstrued as sexual harassment; that women must feel
comfortable with themselves; and that male bonding will never end.

Individual comments made by focus group members were as follows:
that women are comfortable in the workplace; that women feel more
comfortable because of training; that women must decide what feels
comfortable for them; and that women are socialized differently than
men.

Communication

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing),
Feedback, and Interpersonal (Subtle Differences). Participants in
all nineteen focus groups made comments related to Communication. In
nearly half the female groups, women mentioned that they are often

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ignored or interrupted at meetings, or their ideas are attributed to men; none of the male groups reported on these particular phenomena.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups discussed being ignored in meetings.

> : I may make a contribution among a circle of male executives and that contribution is just totally ignored. . . . The person right next to me makes the same comments, and that becomes the focus of their discussion for everyone. . . . It's almost like. . . you are not ignored, but invisible.

> : They'll be in a meeting and the woman will have something to say, and she's talked right over.

> : I remember . . . one time . . . a senior person . . . at a meeting. . . never looked me in the eye. . . . He kept looking everywhere else. And I didn't say anything because I didn't deal with him often.

Similarly, women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned that they are not referred to by name as are their male colleagues. In contrast, women in two out of fifteen groups stated that women are not ignored.

Women in six out of fifteen groups commented that men often steal or take credit for women's ideas in meetings.

> : You know the woman said it but they quote somebody else.

: If you are female, . . . there is still this tendency to overlook, to interrupt you, to not hear what you've said. . . . I've gone into meetings and said something at the beginning of the meeting. And it's only 20 minutes later, after it's been repeated by two or three other men in the room. . . then the room begins to . . . hear it and recognize the point.

Similarly, women in four out of fifteen groups mentioned that men interrupt women at meetings.

: It's much subtler than you think it is. You're sitting at a meeting . . . and you open up your mouth, and the men don't hear you, or they talk over you, or they interrupt you.

With regard to swearing, women in five out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups remarked that men tend not to swear and joke as much when women are present.

(Male): When I go to staff meetings with all men, you don't hear that macho talk as much as we used to.. . . But you still hear it somewhat. . . . If there are women in the room . . . you won't hear it as much. That's probably a good thing. It makes you begin to be sensitive that there are people who may be offended by your language. Male or female.

: [Men] use fouler language. They're more expressive when they are referring to other people, and they'll tone it down if you are there. . . . If I'm talking to my boss about a situation and he's talking to somebody else about the same situation, he'll talk differently. . . It's man on man talk versus man talking to a woman.

Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four
groups stated that women can be effective if they swear.

> : I used a lot of crude language because it shook them up. And
> then they really didn't know how to take me.

Other comments made by participants in at least two groups include:
that swearing is more acceptable by men than by women, and that women
need to be thick-skinned to tolerate slurs.

With regard to general patterns of communication, women in five
out of fifteen groups remarked that men's communications with each
other tend to be informal, while women's communications with men tend
to be formal.

> : A lot of what I do has to be more formal. . . . Whereas my
> colleagues can introduce a thought or an idea in the course of
> the conversation, . . . I have to make an appointment or send a
> memo. . . . It's a lot harder.

Women in four groups out of fifteen groups cautioned that women
need informal communication to get ahead.

> : Often times you're successful not because of the formal
> information that's communicated, but because of the informal
> information that's communicated.

Women in three groups remarked that women need to talk like men to get ahead.

: You more or less have to say it the way they say it so that you are not that different. That is still real, and I think it's . . . at all levels.

Focus group participants made individual comments about communication, including: that women's names are listed after men in memos, and that communication may be unspoken in similar cultures.

With regard to feedback, women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned that men are more likely to give constructive feedback to men than they are to women. Other individual comments about feedback include: that men may give each other informal feedback and that male and female supervisors are equally reluctant to give their employees feedback.

Meetings

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Meetings (Seating) and Interpersonal (Subtle Differences). Participants in all nineteen focus groups made comments related to Meetings. Nearly half of the female groups commented on who women were treated at meetings. The most prominent thoughts expressed by participants were: (a) that the social banter occurring before and after meetings often excludes women, (b) that

women are often ignored or interrupted at meetings, and (c) that

women are often excluded from meetings.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four

groups discussed the social repartee that accompanies meetings. For

example, women in five of the groups and men in one group mentioned

that men talk about non-work related items at the beginning of

meetings, after meetings, and in the hallway. Women in four of these

groups also mentioned feeling excluded.

     : I went to a staff meeting . . . and before the discussion
     starts, the conversation will be . . . about sports, cars,
     things like that. . . . If you don't know about those topics,
     then you won't be included.

     : There's still the poker games and the golf games and the
     meetings out in the hallways after the session occurs, even
     though the men are very polite in the room, and almost gracious
     about you being there--as one person who they can kind of sit in
     the corner and ignore. Thinking you're not really going to
     contribute to the situation.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups mentioned that women are

often ignored or interrupted at meetings. Similarly, women in five

out of fifteen groups remarked that women's ideas are often credited

to men.

: You're in a room, you're in a meeting, a subject is being discussed. And it's obvious that contributions that women in the room make are literally ignored. . . .You don't even get eye contact. And the man who says the most stupid things, . . . they give him all the attention and otherwise pick up on it.

: I find there's a big difference between the people that you regularly work with, who know you for what you know, and so forth. . . . When you get into meetings where you're unfamiliar with a new crew, . . . I've observed the almost classic reporting of, if I or another woman says something, it's not heard until a male repeats it.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups remarked that women are often excluded from meetings. Reasons cited include that men schedule meetings when women cannot attend, or that women are not allowed to attend because of gender. A representative comment follows:

: Managers schedule meetings . . . at 9 o'clock on Saturday morning, or all day Sunday. . . . Then they say, "You're a manager and you need to be there." I think that's done purposely to rule out the female participation. . . . They could just as well hold the meeting at a different time. . . . They do it purposefully when they have certain subjects to discuss that they really don't want female managers involved. Or they'll hold it at 7 o'clock, and they'll call the meeting . . . at 4 o'clock . . . knowing that most, like myself, . . . have a young child. . . Not that I can't go to a 7 o'clock meeting, but at least I need notice.

In contrast, individuals commented that women do not exclude men at meetings, and that women are only excluded if they are few in number.

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Women in six out of fifteen groups discussed the sexist way men treat women at meetings. Sexist behaviors cited by focus group participants include: complimenting women, touching women, "helping" women with presentations, or making fun of women. For example,

> : If five people walk into a meeting with the big boss, four of them are men and one of them is a woman. The big boss who was [a man], only a man would do this, would say "Oh, you have on such a pretty suit today," or something like that. . . . Does he tell the four men . . . "Gee, you have really sharp looking suits on today." No! "What attractive jewelry . . . was that a gift?" I've had that happen to me in meetings.

In contrast, women in three out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups stated that gender does not affect the way people are treated at meetings.

> (Male): The way the meeting is held, who gets to talk is . . . rank oriented rather than . . . gender oriented.

Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four group discussed the assumptions made about women at meetings. According to focus group members, women are often assumed to be secretaries or asked to make coffee at meetings. Also, participants stated that men are not used to having women in charge at meetings.

: The more I'm known, the more meetings I go to, the more it
gets better. But . . . when I go to a new site, especially if I
take a man with me, . . . it's always the same thing. I feel
like wearing a sign that says, "I'm the Boss."

Women in three out of fifteen groups commented that men and
women may have difficulty attending meetings because of family
responsibilities. Women in two out of fifteen groups and men in one
out of four groups stated that women sometimes use their gender to
their advantage at meetings. Other comments regarding meetings
include: that women are uncomfortable speaking up at meetings, that
women are not afraid to speak up at meetings, that women must be
represented at meetings so they are privy to information, that women
are usually equal in number to men at meetings, that there are
usually more men at meetings, and that male speakers are asked more
follow up questions than women speakers.

Exclusion

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Exclude, Interpersonal (Subtle Differences),
and Constraints. Participants in eighteen focus groups made comments
related to exclusion. In general, focus group participants discussed
women's exclusion from both formal and informal work-related
activities.

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Women in eleven out of fifteen groups commented on the many ways women are excluded from and at meetings.

: We were all professionals. The men would be called in for a staff meeting and the woman wouldn't. And so I said something about it.

: Last week, I walked into a meeting. . . . I'm not a wallflower. But I walked in, I took my seat. I was the only woman in the room. And in walked another male. . . . And [the man heading the meeting] said, as usual, "Good afternoon, gentlemen, shall we proceed?"

: Often, [at] meetings I go to I've never met the men who are there. And there will be a group of men and they will all talk together, and they don't include you. . . That happens all the time.

: We have . . . had to make a big issue of . . . representation at the staff meeting because. . . you still have this hierarchical hangover where a lot of the super grades are males . . . and . . . you are at a disadvantage. You have to spend a lot of time . . . to stay well informed.

Women in eight out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that women are often excluded from interpersonal relations, networks, and informal communications with men.

: It's not a social group per se outside the office. But they do have this interpersonal relationship that I'm excluded from for a variety of reasons.

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: Those networks generally revolve around some aspect of the job, but not directly on the job. . . You know those people, you trust those people, . . . and when you think in terms of promotion, you go back to that little clique that you [worked] with. Well, generally, that has not included women.

: Sometimes the things that they do to reinforce the team are things that you can't join in on. They aren't open to women, like planning to go on a fishing trip. . .

Women in five out of fifteen groups mentioned that women are excluded from social events.

: Men that are in equivalent rank that I'm at are invited to . . . a reception . . . and I almost have to force my way in from a business standpoint to be invited. . . . I have to constantly, physically almost, . . . keep track of what my equivalent . . . are doing and that I'm part of it too. Otherwise, I'm left out.

Women in five groups out of fifteen discussed being excluded from career opportunities.

: There was a group that was deciding, informally, people who would be put in SES training. . . and we had a whole list of men who were real comers. . . . When I introduced two senior level women who I knew for a fact would be extremely interested, [the men] said . . . "We never thought about them. Do you think that they'd be interested?"

In contrast, one woman stated her belief that women were no longer excluded.

Women in three groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of four mentioned that anyone who is "different" may feel excluded, including white males. In other words, people with common interests socialize together regardless of gender.

> (Male): I'd just like to say that there are probably a lot of white males on these different staffs that feel that they are excluded as well. Their perception may be that I'm not part of the in crowd, I'm not part of the happy hour crowd or whatever. I don't play golf, therefore I'm not competitive. I don't know if it's gender specific.

Miscellaneous comments about exclusion included that women do not exclude men; that when women are treated as sex objects (e.g. when they are complimented), they are for that moment excluded; and that when a woman is excluded she wonders if it is because of gender or another reason.

Social Activities

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Social, Interpersonal (Subtle Differences), and Constraints. Participants in seventeen groups made comments related to Social Activities. Women in ten groups out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups discussed women's exclusion from social activities involving male colleagues.

: The upper ranks still tend to be dominated by males. And
still typically white males. When you talk about the importance
of networks, I think networks are frequently the same sex
networks because you network in a number of ways including
social as well as professional.

: I don't play basketball, I don't play tennis, I don't golf
and I'm not interested in going off with the guys and having a
beer. . . . And if those are the activities that are going to
precede or follow a conference, then I'm not in the mainstream.

: You might be present at some social setting, but to really be
included kind of emotionally and intellectually is highly
unlikely.

: In terms of informal conversation, coffee breaks, men-women
conversation, we're not included. . . .As a manager, I don't go
to coffee with the boss. I'm not included, and there are
business topics discussed. . . .

In contrast, women in three out of fifteen groups stated that they do

not feel excluded and indeed socialize with both men and women.

Women in eight out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four

groups stated that social activities are based on familiarity or

interests, not gender. Among these groups, women in four groups and

men in one group similarly stated that women do have opportunities to

socialize with men and they feel comfortable about it.

: I think I have to just put kind of the opposing side. I've
been able to maintain friendships, acquaintances, male, female,
with people below me, above me.

: At one time, the only way to network was at an agency. . . through task forces or workshops or things like that. . . . And most likely, a lot of the women would be excluded from that. Now you have informal ways . . . bowling teams—name it. Toastmasters clubs, that's another area where [you are] displaying a lot of skill that normally you would not be able to do at work.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups commented that on how social activities may have an impact on career advancement. Women in five of these groups indicated that they believed that social activities had an impact on advancement, while men in two of these groups stated that social rituals do not affect advancement.

: I think [men] usually have the advantage because a lot of times they may find out about a job from associations over lunches, playing golf, so I think it is slightly different, but then too they also apply through the open announcement process.

(Male): I don't think that the social rituals determine promotion. . . I don't begrudge the perception or the fear that it does. But if you watch a lot of these cliques, it doesn't work that way. . . . I don't really think the social aspects are that important in jobs.

Women in five out of fifteen groups mentioned that women are constrained in their relationships with work colleagues, while men are not. For example,

: You're not part of the top level people and so you start
communicating with lower grade people then they have second
thoughts about you.

: I do not fraternize at certain levels with the men that I
have to work with. . . . You come in, you're very serious, which
may not always be me, but you don't give them any ins. So you
control the situation that they are literally afraid to approach
you. And I think that a lot of men that I have worked with will
say that . . . they would be actually scared in their boots to
say something out of the way to me.

Women in four out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four

groups mentioned that women needed to make an effort to fit in with

men socially.

: When I speak to women, I always tell them, especially the
younger women, you must go out and make the initial contact.
You must break the ice. You must find something that they can
talk to you about to get the discussion going so they can find
out that you don't have two heads, that there might be some
other interests going on.

Women in three out of fifteen groups mentioned that they have no

other women to socialize with. Women in two out of fifteen groups

and men in one out of four groups mentioned that the amount of

socializing among employees depends on the culture of the agency.

Other miscellaneous comments by women include: that socializing with

colleagues is an individual choice, and that introverted people may

feel more anxious about socializing. A male focus group participant
mentioned that women's relationships are different than men's.

Sports

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Sports (Gym), Interpersonal (Subtle
Differences), and Constraints. Participants in thirteen focus groups
made comments related to sports. Women in five out of fifteen groups
and men in two out of four groups mentioned that when men talk about
sports, women feel excluded.

     : I think sports [is] the thing that knocks us out of it. When
     . . . you're waiting for whomever it is to come and start the
     meeting, the conversation may go to sports, which in my case
     excludes me from it in a lot of cases.

     (Male): If you have one of those groups and a woman wants to
     join, you can't resist that. If they want to come and talk
     sports or whatever and join in, that's fine. That's where I
     think the problem begins. If they feel as though this group of
     men is conducting some kind of business that is excluding them,
     then I think you've got to be sensitive to that.

Women in four out of fifteen groups mentioned that women are now
participating in sports in order to break into traditional male
networks.

: [Men] are beginning to see women . . . going on [outdoor
sporting activities] . . . with the men, and that's happened
enough now so nobody raises any eyebrows over it. . . . So we
are beginning to see some women break into the traditional men's
networks to get them in line to move into positions.

Women in two out of fifteen groups stated that women should make

an effort to be able to talk sports, while a woman in another group

stated that women should not have to make such an effort. Women in

one group and men in one group mentioned that women may be at a

disadvantage if they do not know or play sports. Finally, men in

three groups out of four commented that men talk about sports as a

means of getting to know one another.

Trust

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Trust (Relationship), Team Player, and

Interpersonal (Subtle Differences). Participants in nine focus

groups made comments related to Trust.   Women in four out of fifteen

groups mentioned it seems as if men have difficulty trusting women.

: [Men] see . . . [other men] as professionals, . . . so they
trust them and bring them along to responsible positions. Where
women will always have to prove themselves every step of the way
and almost do it on their own.

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In contrast, women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that men trust women more than they have in the past.

> : I have seen a change over the years where I feel more accepted as a woman . . . . I think the focus is shifting, albeit slowly, towards how competent you are. I guess you sort of have to prove you can do it, gain that confidence.

Women in three out of fifteen groups mentioned that people tend to trust those with whom they have worked and form networks with those colleagues. Women in two groups out of fifteen mentioned that women don't trust each other as quickly as do men. Individual comments include: that people tend not to trust others from different agencies, and that men's attitudes about not trusting women must change.

With regard to being a team player, women in two out of fifteen groups stated that men are trained to work in teams while women are not. Moreover, women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned that women must be viewed as a teamplayer to advance. Comments made by individuals include: that when women are aggressive, they are not seen as team players; that woman are often not considered team players; that people who socialize together may be more likely to be seen as team players; and that women often do not get the opportunity to become a team player.

Physical Contact

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Touching. Participants in three focus groups made comments related to Physical Contact. Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups mentioned the physical aspect of interpersonal relationships in the workplace. However, the comments were varied and no one idea emerged. Some individual comments by female participants include: that women feel uncomfortable when male colleagues touch them or hug them in front of other professionals, and that a man hugging a woman is comparable to him slapping a man on the back. A male participant mentioned that men may worry that their actions could be misconstrued as sexual harassment.

ATTITUDES

Participant responses relating to the theme, Attitudes, were assigned the following codes: Attitude (Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype), Ask Others (Your Problem), Awareness (Sensitive), Commitment, Credibility, Culture, Deferential, Discount, Harassment, Protect, and Question Authority (Question). Table 5 shows the number of coded segments for each code by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, a total of 733 coded segments related to the Attitudes theme. The mean number of coded segments per female group was 40.3, versus 32.3 for the males.

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TABLE 5

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS
RELATED TO ATTITUDES THEME

Codes:	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
ATTITUDE (ASSUMPTION, PERCEPTION, PERSPECTIVE, STEREOTYPE)	71	165	153	389
Ask Others (Your Problem)	12	12	6	30
Awareness (Sensitive)	12	14	19	45
Commitment	9	0	0	9
Credibility	3	19	5	27
Culture	11	27	41	79
Deferential	1	1	2	4
Discount	4	44	37	85
Harassment	5	16	16	37
Protect	1	11	6	18
Question Auth. (Question)	0	1	9	10
Total # of coded segments	129	310	294	733
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	32.3	44.3	36.8	38.9

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

Of the 733 coded segments related to the Attitudes theme, 150 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Attitudes comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix V for the questions after which comments related to Attitudes occurred.)

Table 6 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Word segments that were assigned codes that were related in meaning were clustered. Also, the segments assigned thematic codes (i.e., Attitude, Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype) were integrated with the segments assigned the other codes within the Attitude theme.[14] The divisions within this subsection reflect these groupings and are as follows: Credibility, Sexism, Awareness, Culture, Paternalism, Commitment, and Your Problem. Table 7 summarizes the findings within the Attitudes theme.

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[14] Because the segments assigned thematic codes (Attitude, Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype) were combined with the other thirteen codes within the Attitude theme, the number of groups cited as referring to particular codes may be higher than those listed in Table 4. For example, Table 4 shows that three groups made comments related to Commitment. However, when the coded segments assigned thematic codes (Attitude, Assumption, etc.) are added, the number of groups cited as making comments related to Commitment rises to seven.

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TABLE 6

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS
ARE RELATED TO ATTITUDES THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
ATTITUDE (ASSUMPTION, PERCEPTION, PERSPECTIVE, STEREOTYPE)	4	7	8	19
Ask Others (Your Problem)	1	4	4	9
Awareness (Sensitive)	4	5	7	16
Commitment	3	0	0	3
Credibility	2	5	4	11
Culture	3	6	8	17
Deferential	1	1	1	3
Discount	2	7	8	17
Harassment	2	4	4	10
Protect	1	4	3	8
Question Authority (Question)	0	1	4	5

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 7
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
MICROINEQUITIES: ATTITUDES

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
    in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women experience
    microinequities.

ATTITUDES	Men	Women
Credibility		
* Men do not take women seriously.	1	13
* Women need to prove they are competent and serious about their careers.	2	10
* Men are considered more capable and valuable than women.	0	5
* Women are often given assignments that undermine their credibility.	0	5
Women are considered competent in the workplace.	4	4
* People perceive women advance because of affirmative action.	0	4
Sexism		
* Women are perceived differently than men when they behave similarly.	0	10
* Men view women in sexual terms.	0	0
* Men make sexist comments at work.	1	5
* Men believe women don't need a job or money.	0	5
* Men believe women belong at home, not work.	0	5
Men may worry about being accused of sexual harassment.	0	3
* Women are treated as mom or wife.	0	2
Both men and women are targets of sexual innuendo.	2	1
Awareness		
* Individuals perceive microinequities in different ways.	4	10
* Lower level women may experience microinequities more often than higher level.	0	4
Culture		
* Women have a difficult time in traditional male environments.	1	7
Organizational cultures will change as new people replace the old.	0	6
* Incidence of microinequities may depend on the organizational environment.	0	5
Amount of socializing between employees varies among agencies.	1	3
Paternalism		
* Men act paternalistic toward women.	1	7

TABLE 7 (CONTINUED)
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
MICROINEQUITIES: ATTITUDES

Commitment

* Men perceive that women who have families are not committed to their work.   2   7

* When a woman has a family, men assume she can't travel and handle responsibility. 0   4

  Any parent, regardless of gender, may be perceived as less committed to the job. 1   3

  Women are viewed as more career oriented than in the past.   2   2

  A woman's commitment to work is no longer questioned if she has children.   0   2

Credibility

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Credibility, Discount, Question Authority (Question), Deferential, and Attitude (Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype). These differently coded segments were combined because they appeared, to a large extent, to be similar in meaning or addressed a similar facet of the codes. Overall, a substantial number of groups made comments referring to women's lack of credibility. The two most prominent thoughts articulated by participants were (a) that women are not taken seriously , and (b) that women must prove their credibility at work.

Women in thirteen out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that men do not take women seriously.

: Well, they just assume, no matter what you are, that you're sort of here for entertainment.

: The thing that has troubled me—as a woman coming up a thousand years ago—is it was never acceptable to make jokes about Blacks. It's not acceptable to make jokes about Hispanics. But it was certainly acceptable to make jokes about women. They were fair game and women laughed as well.

: Some of the people that I tried to work with couldn't take a woman seriously. I had enough else to do and I'd . . . work with the people who were not uncomfortable working with me.

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: He sort of had the attitude, "she's only a woman, and I don't have to ask her."

Women in ten out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups commented that women need to prove that they are competent and serious about their careers.

: I still think that women have to prove . . . with your dealings with people that you are competent and reliable. [With] men . . . it's sort of assumed and they have to prove that they are not.

: If you walk into some other agency . . . you expect to see a man sitting at the desk, because that's what you're conditioned to. And . . . you assume he's competent until proven otherwise. . . . You're pleasantly surprised when you see a woman in the position. I'm not sure you give her the same presumption.

(Male): For . . . those females who have moved up through the ranks, it's a slow process . . . They're going through the same process that we as minorities did in the organization where you have to continually prove yourself to be capable of carrying out functions that . . . traditionally white males have been able to do.

: I have to prove myself as a manager--that I'm tough. Just because I appear mild on the surface doesn't mean I can't make tough decisions. . . . I think women have to prove themselves to a lot greater extent than men.

Women in five groups out of fifteen mentioned that men are considered more capable and valuable than women.

: People are still more familiar with women. . . . I walked
into . . . a meeting and have had the secretary say "Oh thanks,
you brought your own secretary. I don't have to take the
shorthand!" They would never say that if a male walked in.

: It was much easier for my supervisors to acknowledge the
accomplishments of the males than it was for the females.

Women in five groups out of fifteen commented that women are

often given assignments that undermine their credibility as a

professional.

: [Being asked to organize parties] hurts your credibility with
your peers. My fear . . . is that they don't take you
seriously.

A contrasting opinion was expressed by women in four out of

fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups who stated that in

today's society, women are now considered competent professionals in

the workplace.

: It's only in the . . . last ten years . . . that women have
been recognized as having the potential to move into management.

Women in four groups out of fifteen voiced the perception that

women's success in the workplace is attributed to affirmative action.

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: In my organization, when a woman receives a high ranking award, the guys will walk around and say, "Well, somebody must have pushed them with respect to EEO."

: You're immediately discounted that the only reason you got there is because you are a woman.

Sexism

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Harassment and Attitude (Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype). Comments regarding sexism at work were made by a substantial number of focus group participants. In particular, the two most prominent thoughts articulated by focus group members were (a) that women, when exhibiting the same behaviors as men, are often perceived differently and in a negative light, and (b) that women are treated as sexual objects in the workplace.

Women in ten groups out of fifteen mentioned that women are perceived differently than men even though their behaviors may be the same. For example, women are often the object of rumors and sexual innuendo, and may be seen as inappropriately aggressive.

: I think there are certain things which as a woman you simply don't do around the work place because, if you do, people interpret it very differently than if a male colleague does the same thing. I work very hard at not letting anger show . . .

: Things will be misconstrued. A lot of times . . . I've heard
females talk about other females who are with their bosses. And
you see it more in terms of a sexual overtone than . . . a peer
relationship.

: She's been tagged as [a tyrant] because . . . she is . . .
sometimes a little too sharp . . . and she gives marching
directions. . . . If a guy was doing that, he might be a tough
boss, but it would be expected of him to do it.

Women in eight groups out of fifteen mentioned that men view

them in sexual terms.

: I've had female colleagues tell me that men look at them in a
certain way that is demeaning and enraging. And actually sort
of creepy.

: Men have a different view of women, and they view them still
as sex objects. And that's the reality.

: If I go to an office function or something, I will not wear
anything that is the least bit sexy. I always want to be
professional. . . . The tendency of the gender difference in
this building . . . is, if you don't dress extremely
professionally and classic, . . . people either think that
you're a secretary, or they think that you have advanced through
means other than your abilities.

Women in five groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of

four mentioned that sexist comments may be voiced in the workplace.

: We've had people saying, "I really don't want to work with a woman at that level."

: I've had comments . . . when I . . . walk in at the meeting that they didn't expect me. They'd say, "Oh, we thought you were home cooking dinner" or something. And that kind still refer to women as girls.

Women in five groups out of fifteen stated that men seem to believe that women belong at home, not at work.

: My particular supervisor . . . doesn't believe mothers ought to be working.

: I've had guys come up to me in my job, in my position, saying, "You have no right being here. You ought to be home with your children." I'm serious. To my face. . . .

Similarly, women in two groups out of fifteen stated that they are often treated as a mom or a wife.

Women in five out of fifteen groups voiced their perception that males seem to believe that women don't need a job or the money.

: I work[ed] . . . very closely where people's bonuses, grades, salaries were being discussed. And it was literally mentioned by the other men that, "Look, he's a male. He has a family to support. If anybody should get a promotion it should be him." . . . They always feel like women--if they are married--[should] let their husbands take care of them. That their salary really doesn't make any difference. Now I've heard this.

: It wasn't until my divorce, that triggered [the promotion].
Because then I was supposedly supporting myself, so perhaps they
ought to upgrade me then.

Women in four out of fifteen groups talked about the prevalence

of sexual harassment. The comments were varied and were as follows:

that older men are more sexist, that sexism may be more prevalent now

that there are more women in the workforce, and that harassment is

less blatant than it was before. Women in three groups out of

fifteen and men in one group out of four mentioned that men may worry

about being accused of sexual harassment. Finally, males in two

groups out of four and women in one group out of fifteen commented

that both genders are equally the targets of sexual innuendo.

Awareness

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Awareness (Sensitive), Ask Others (Your

Problem), and Attitude (Assumption, Perception, Perspective,

Stereotype). Women in ten groups out of fifteen and men in all four

groups commented on how individuals will perceive microinequities in

different ways. Women in four of these groups remarked that women at

lower levels probably experience microinequities more frequently than

women at the SES and GS/GM 13-15 levels. A representative comment

follows.

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: This is probably the wrong group to ask. . . Ask the 13s and
14s if they're feeling what we felt at that level. . . . We've
already gotten past those things.

Aside from the above comment, no one idea prevailed and the

comments were largely unrelated. Participants mentioned various

ideas including: that both men and women need to be aware of

microinequities; that both men and women may not be aware of

microinequities; that older men are more likely than younger men to

treat women in sexist ways; that men and women who attend diversity

workshops have heightened sensitivity to diversity issues; that men

who make sexist comments have a problem, and that supervisors may not

be aware of microinequities experienced by their staff members. Some.

of these thoughts are reflected below:

: I think that there are just a lot of subtleties that we're not
always aware of, and that we don't realize or recognize, until
maybe much later.

: Yesterday, I was just walking long the hall and heard . . . a
new male [employee] speaking to a new female [employee]. . . .
And he was saying, "Go get me some coffee, will you?" And she
made an appropriate response, and I think it was all jocular,
yet . . . I kind of . . . said . . "Wait a minute. . . . What's
going on here, and how has this . . . kind of joking [come
about]?" . . . I'm just not aware of it.

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Culture

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from the segments coded as Culture and Attitude (Assumption,
Perception, Perspective, Stereotype). Women in seven out of fifteen
groups and men in one out of four group commented on the difficulties
encountered by women in traditional male environments.

: In a non-traditional career, you have to live down the
stereotype before you can get down to business.

: Here, I don't see women advancing early in their careers or
given . . . opportunities [like I had at another agency].
Because it's a very traditional old line kind of situation.

: Women still are not quite accepted in . . . management roles
in that organization because . . . [the men] are born, bred,
grow up, . . . live, and . . . die in that organization. And
there is a lot of competition for those higher grade positions
among the men. So, they see a woman or a minority being
appointed to one of those, it means there's less of an
opportunity for men. And it's very subtle, but it's there.

Women in six out of fifteen groups stated that organizational
cultures will change as the new people replace the old.

: There's going to be--in the next five years--a big shift in
this department as we see the people who are at top echelons . .
. go . . . into retirement. Because they're the people who
perpetuate that old traditional mentality.

: I think [the agency] is certainly different now than when I came here fifteen years ago. And one of the differences is there are just . . . a whole lot more [women].

Women in five groups out of fifteen remarked that the incidence of microinequities experienced by women may depend upon the organizational environment.

: There is subtle [sexism] in some agencies, but there is directly overt in others.

: [The attitude toward women] is so variable across the [agency]. . . .There are some divisions that are good, and there are some that are notoriously bad.

Women in three groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four mentioned that the amount of socializing between employees varies among agencies. Other comments by focus group participants include the following: that the old boy network is alive but slowly changing, and that women can succeed in male dominated environments.

Paternalism

Focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Protect and Attitude (Assumption, Perception, Perspective, Stereotype). Participants in approximately half the groups talked about paternalism in the workplace. Women in seven

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groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four remarked that

men often act paternalistic toward women. For example,

> : I think one of the worst things that comes in a disguise
> because it's often . . . well meant is this whole issue of
> paternalism. . . ."I'm going to take care of you," and "This is
> what I've decided for you in your career," and "You've done a
> great job, and I'm going to show my appreciation by taking care
> of you.

> : What I've seen happen, not to me, but to other women, is men
> making the decision for them. "Well, I know she doesn't want to
> travel because she's got a two year old." They don't think;
> nobody's asked her.

Commitment

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Commitment and Attitude (Assumption,

Perception, Perspective, Stereotype). Focus group participants in

nearly half the groups discussed the notion of commitment to one's

career. Women in seven groups out of fifteen and men in two groups

out of four commented on the perception that women who have families

are not committed to their work.

> : What might be holding a lot of . . . women back . . . is the
> perception by the interviewer, the supervisor, the manager, that
> she is going to have to take a lot of time off to raise the
> kids. . . . that's just very basic and that's still there.

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(Male): Unfortunately, it makes a difference in my boss's
perception of [my subordinate]. She's clearly made a priority
decision [to get pregnant]. . . . There's nothing irrational
about the decision, but . . . it's much less likely that she'll
get a managerial shot, or critical deadline-driven assignment
shot. That's much less likely.

Women in four groups out of fifteen mentioned that when a woman

has a family, men wonder about her willingness to travel or to handle

the position.

: When a career woman has a child, there is still more of an
assumption, "Well, now you won't want to travel," . . . than
there is when a man's wife has a child. . . . Even though . . .
there is more of a shared responsibility, . . . I still think
the woman is viewed more as "You put things on hold now. . ."

On the other hand, women in three groups out of fifteen and men

in one group out of four mentioned that any parent, regardless of

gender, may be perceived as having less of a commitment to the job.

Women in two out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups

stated that women are viewed as more career oriented than in the

past. Similarly, women in two out of fifteen groups remarked that a

woman's commitment is no longer questioned if she has children.

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SOCIAL SUPPORT

Participant responses relating to the theme, Social Support, were assigned the following codes: Confide, Isolation, Mentor (Advice), Network, Visibility, and Women vs. Women. Table 8 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 533 coded segments that related to the Social Support theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 30, versus 19.8 for the males.

Of the 533 coded segments related to the Social Support theme, 74 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Social Support comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix W for the questions after which comments related to Social Support occurred.)

Table 9 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. All 19 focus groups made comments assigned the codes Number Women and Network. In 18 of the 19 focus groups, participants made comments related to Mentoring. Among the other codes, there were several major differences between male and female groups. Women in nine out of fifteen groups made comments related to Confide and women in eight out of fifteen groups made comments related to Isolation, while none of the male groups made

TABLE 8

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO SOCIAL SUPPORT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
NUMBER WOMEN	39	74	86	199
Confide	0	8	16	24
Isolation	0	11	7	18
Mentor (Advice)	14	34	52	100
Network	24	38	68	130
Visibility	1	11	22	34
Women vs. Women	1	17	10	28
Total # of coded segments	79	193	261	533
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	19.8	27.6	32.6	28.1

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO SOCIAL SUPPORT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
NUMBER WOMEN	4	7	8	19
Confide	0	3	6	9
Isolation	0	4	4	8
Mentor (Advice)	3	7	8	18
Network	4	7	8	19
Visibility	1	4	7	12
Women vs. Women	1	3	4	8

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

comments related to these codes. In addition, women in twelve out of fifteen groups made comments related to Visibility and women in eight out of fifteen groups made comments related to Women vs. Women, while only one male group out of four made comments related to either of these codes.

Word segments that were assigned codes with related meanings were clustered together. The divisions within this subsection reflect these groupings: Network, Mentoring, Visibility, Isolation, Women vs. Women, and Number of Women. Table 10 summarizes the findings within the Social Support theme.

Network

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Network. Participants in all nineteen focus groups made comments related to Network. Overall, a substantial number of groups made comments referring to networking. The most prominent thoughts expressed by participants were: (a) that networks form when people feel comfortable with one another, (b) that women are starting to move into traditional male networks, (c) that the "old boys" network is still strong, and (d) that women should network with each other.

Women in twelve out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups reported that people network with those whom they feel

TABLE 10
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
MICROINEQUITIES: SOCIAL SUPPORT

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
    "Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
    in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women experience
    microinequities.

SOCIAL SUPPORT	Men	Women
Network		
* People network with those with whom they feel comfortable; women may be excluded.	3	12
Women are currently moving into old boys' networks.	3	9
* The old boy network is still alive.	1	8
Women are or should be networking with other women.	1	8
People with common backgrounds network and it may not be related to gender.	3	6
Networks serve as a support system for women.	0	5
* Women have difficulty breaking into male networks.	1	4
Men as well as women may feel excluded from certain groups.	1	3
Networking helps people know where the opportunities are.	1	3
* Women need to get to know others in order to influence decisions.	0	3
* Women may avoid associating with other women because men feel excluded.	0	2
People are now networking at gyms.	0	2
Networking does not affect career advancement.	2	0
Managers do not know how to deal with diverse groups who do not mix.	2	0
Mentoring		
Women are mentoring or should be mentoring other women.	2	11
Mentors give mentorees advice.	1	10
Men often serve as mentors for both men and women.	1	9
* Men tend to mentor other men.	1	8
Mentors help mentorees in ways other than advice.	1	5
Participants have not had a mentor.	1	5
Mentoring is similar for men and women.	2	2
* Women must be careful about mentoring relationships because of perceptions.	1	2
* Mentoring is different for men and women.	1	1

	Men	Women

Visibility

* Because of their visibility, women's mistakes are often magnified when compared to those of their male colleagues.	1	5
* Women may be used as a showpiece for affirmative action reasons.	0	4
Visibility may help women's careers.	0	4
Women are more visible in the workplace now.	0	3
* Women feel uncomfortable being so visible.	0	3

Isolation

* Women at the highest levels have very few women peers and some find it lonely.	0	7
Gender is irrelevant, but it's important to have colleagues to confide in.	0	2

Women vs. Women

Some women resent other women who advance; women won't help each other.	1	7
It is a myth that women resent each other.	0	3

Number of Women

The number of women in the workplace is increasing.	3	12
* There are not many women in high positions within the agency.	2	9
* In order for women to advance, men need to change their attitudes about women.	2	6
Affirmative action has increased the number of women.	2	6
* Women face challenges in male dominated environments.	0	6
The number of women varies by agency and field.	3	5
* There are not enough women in entry level positions.	1	4
* To increase the number of high level women, top management must support it.	0	3
* When there are few women relative to men, women are often excluded.	0	3
* When there are few women, they get secretarial or undesirable assignments.	0	2
There are relatively equal numbers of men and women in high positions.	0	2
When there are few men relative to women, women usually do not exclude the men.	0	2
There are now more women at entry level and they will move up.	2	0

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comfortable. A number of the participants in the above groups

indicated that women often are excluded from these networks.

: People hire those people they feel they'll be comfortable
with, which in some respects may be good because . . . you could
get a feeling of team work. But in other respects, if you hire
too many people you're comfortable with, you may not benefit
from the wide diversity of opinion that's out there to help get
the job done better.

(Male): Members of the SES are male and . . . people who are
selected for the SES tend to pick people that are known
quantities. I think men tend to pick men for the SES. I don't
think it has very much to do with women's attitudes or their
abilities or their mobility. It has to do with men picking men.

: Men relate to one another much more easily than to a woman. .
. . I think men tend to have a network where they know a lot of
the people who [are present at] meeting[s].

Women in nine groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out

of four stated that women are currently moving into the "old boys"

network.

: Men have been . . . around a long time, compared to many of
us. I do believe . . . that there is a predisposition on the
part of some toward men. . . . . [Nonetheless], I've seen a
change. . . in recent years, that if [men] can do something for
a woman, and if she's good, they don't hold back any longer.
They don't try to find a reason not to.

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: I think that society has changed. Where people used to go
out and have drinks at lunch, they're not doing that any more.
And so where it may have been more exclusionary for women, with
the removal of that there's less of an opportunity for men to
mingle that way.

: There are now decisions being made in the ladies room, and
[men] are feeling [excluded] in reverse.

On the other hand, women in eight groups out of fifteen and men in

one group out of four indicated that the old boy network is still

alive and functioning.

: I find that even in the federal service, . . . old boy
networks still exist, especially at the higher grades. And
[higher grade people] tend to go to each other for
recommendations and promote people that they know. And they're
usually males.

: I . . . think [men] still have . . . the old boys network.
And I think they usually have the advantage because a lot of
times, they may find out about a job from associations, over
lunches, playing golf . . . .

: [Men] have great networks. Whether or not they have specific
mentors or not. The old boy network is alive and well, let me
assure you.

Women in eight groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four reported that women are, or should be, networking with other women to help other women.

(Male): Many [women] have really taken an active role in terms of helping other women, setting up mentoring kinds of programs, really serving as an example in terms of women moving to the top ranked positions.

: A number of us made, sort of, a pact. That we would help each other out and that every time one of us was asked about who would be good candidates for a particular job, we wouldn't give any candidates unless we could name at least one female in the batch. And it really worked. Over the next ten years, we saw some real progress being made.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups reported that people with common backgrounds or interests tend to network, and the networking is not necessarily related to gender.

(Male): I see a lot of the black females and black men that seem to socialize together. It isn't just the man/woman thing, I think that you can almost expand it to . . . common interests and so forth.

: I think maybe if I were closer to [the age of the men in my department] and [if I] came in with them through the ranks, they might be more friendly. . . . I'm really friendly with my counterparts . . . even if they are males, that came with me. . . . So I think that [age is] more of a factor than the sex. But I think the sex has always been there. We will never be as close friends.

Women in five groups out of fifteen mentioned that networking serves as a support system for women.

> : That's where networking comes in. That's where meeting women at my level in terms of having similar experiences [is beneficial]. . . . sometimes, if something happens and you've just got to get it out, then, it's difficult to wait until the evening or call someone and say let's have lunch because I need to talk about it.

Females in four groups out of fifteen and males in one group out of four discussed the difficulty women have breaking into male networks.

> : We are beginning to see some women break into the traditional men's networks to get them in line to move into positions. But there still is . . . the men's room, thing. Only, it's out in the field. It's still going on. And we're having a hard time breaking into it.

On the other hand, females in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that men as well as women may feel excluded from certain groups.

> (Male): There are probably a lot of white males on these different staffs that feel that they are excluded as well. Their perception may be that "I'm not part of the in crowd, I'm not part of the happy hour crowd," or whatever. "I don't play golf, therefore I'm not competitive." I don't know if it's really gender specific.

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Focus group participants made a variety of other comments related to networking. Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups reported that networking helps people know where the opportunities are. Women in three groups out of fifteen stated that women needed to get to know others in order to influence decisions. Women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned that women may avoid associating with other women because men feel excluded or suspicious. Women in two out of fifteen groups stated that people are now networking at gyms. Men in two groups out of fifteen mentioned that networking does not affect career advancement, even though women may perceive that it does. Men in two groups also mentioned that managers do not know how to deal with diverse groups of people who do not mix.

Comments by individual female participants include: that women are not supposed to socialize with lower level women, that networks may hurt the organization, that networks are not active, that women need to learn how to network better, and that when women started networking it became downplayed.

Mentoring

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Mentor (Advice). Participants in eighteen focus groups made comments related to meetings. Women in eleven out

of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups mentioned that

women are mentoring or should be mentoring other women.

> : I am always asked to talk to middle level women in the
> agency, and one of the things I say to them [is] look behind you
> and help pull those people. Because you went through those
> walls doesn't mean you need to build those walls . . . I've
> heard a lot of women are worse to women than they are to anybody
> else. And that's sad. It's sad.

> (Male): I have seen more of a willingness on the part of women
> to help other women--direct them--than I have seen . . . on the
> part of men [toward other men].

> : I think it's important for women to be willing to be mentors.
> Some women are and some women aren't. Just as some men are and
> some men are not. But I think that that's a critical role. I
> don't think that it's something you can just mandate either. I
> think there has to be some willingness on both sides.

Women in ten groups out of fifteen and males in one group out of

four talked about the role of mentors in giving proteges advice.

Similarly, women in five groups out of fifteen and men in one group

out of four talked about other roles mentors play such as helping

their proteges with promotions, hiring, and good assignments.

> : I was fortunate . . . that I did have a mentor. . . . . Even
> when I left and went on to another agency, he was always there .
> . . to make sure that I would go for this job, to advise me . .
> . how to write my 171 and what kinds of training . . . to take.

: One of my male mentors, one of the first words of advice he
[gave me were],. . . "You're a woman, and there are not many
women down here. . . You just take every advantage of it."

: As a mentor to several women, I told them to watch out for
that. Don't get comfortable in those kind of staff positions,
be sure that you take care of yourself and see that you have . .
. direct management, line supervision jobs because you'll find
when you really try to get into management, you don't have that
experience. And the culture will direct you elsewhere.

Women in nine groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of

four stated that men often serve as mentors for both men and women.

In most cases, participants related their experiences with their own

mentors.

(Male): I think over the years I've seen more men mentor other
men, But I honestly have seen changes in the last five years
where I've seen more men mentoring women, too.

: Early in my career I had a white male mentor . . . Not in
terms of giving me visibility or setting me on the right course
in terms of job promotions and stuff, but in basic life's
philosophy.

In contrast, women in eight groups out of fifteen and men in one

group out of four mentioned that men tend to mentor other men.

: There are a lot more men with mentors than there are women.

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: I believe that because there are so many more men in positions to offer those opportunities to junior people than there are women that the men in the past have tended to get those kind of assignments more.

Women in five groups out of fifteen and males in one group out of four stated that either they have not been mentored or mentoring does not take place in the agency.

: It still is very difficult to find a mentor within the same area which you work. You have to go outside of your [agency], maybe another bureau. It's difficult. . . . . So there's a natural tendency to leave the immediate area for a mentor.

Women in two groups out of fifteen mentioned that mentoring is similar for men and women, while women in one group out of fifteen and men in one group out of four said it is different. Women in two out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups mentioned that women must be careful about mentoring relationships in terms of perceptions and choosing the right mentor.

Other individual comments made by female focus group participants include: that mentoring is better when it is structured, that mentoring is better when it is informal, that mentoring is more prevalent today than before, that women serve as mentors to both men and women, that mentoring may limit opportunities as well as creating them, that role models are important, that

mentors could be peers, that women don't need mentors, and that women want to make their mentors proud of them.

Visibility

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Visibility. Participants in twelve focus groups made comments related to Visibility. Women in five groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four stated that because of their visibility, women's mistakes are often magnified when compared to those of their male colleagues.

: You have to toe the line. You are a woman, and you are a minority. So everybody's watching you.

: You put the wrong woman in a job and she does damage to all women. You put the wrong minority in a job, and the same thing happens. Same with handicapped. So although I've pushed those programs, . . . I said "Don't pick someone that's not qualified. They do you more harm than good." They give you one statistic, but they hurt the whole cause. Because everyone points to that as, "See, it won't work . . . that one failed."

Women in four out of fifteen groups mentioned that women may be used as a showpiece for affirmative action reasons.

: Sometimes they would trot me out when they needed to show off their only woman, and I never took offense because if that's what they want to do, then that's their problem.

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Women in four groups out of fifteen said that visibility may help women's careers.

: In the [agency] . . . there were no other women and all that, but once you got in those positions, it was almost an advantage in most cases to be a woman, because they didn't know what to make of you.

Women in three groups out of fifteen discussed visibility of women relative to the numbers of men in the workplace.

: In terms of numbers in the ranks, we're more visible. I mean, I've been here twenty years and . . . the halls used to be filled with flat tops and polyester, and it's not the same.

Finally, women in three out of fifteen groups stated that women feel uncomfortable being so visible.

Isolation

Focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Confide and Isolation. Participants in over half of the female focus groups mentioned the importance of having women colleagues in which to confide.

Women in seven groups stated that women at the SES and GS/GM 13-15 level have few, if any, peers who are women; some participants find it lonely that there are so few women at their levels.

: I'm actually at the level where I don't have anyone to talk to, especially . . . other women at the professional level. . . . I can't go to anyone for advice. It's very difficult. You're just left out.

: I'm at a very small . . . organization and they are all men. . . . When you're at the top, it's very lonely if you're a female in the SES.

: You look for your support group outside. . . . I have experienced a lot of loneliness.

In contrast, women in one group commented that they have female colleagues in whom they can confide.

Women in two groups out of fifteen mentioned that it was important to have people at one's own level in which to confide, but gender is irrelevant. Comments from focus group participants include: that men feel threatened when women confide in each other, and that confiding in one another raises women's consciousness about common issues that women face at work.

Women vs. Women

Focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Women vs. Women. Women in seven groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four mentioned that some women resent other women who advance or do not help other women in their careers.

: The other thing I find out about females in the SES--and I don't understand this--but we have a predilection, if you will, not to trust each other as quickly as the men do.

: There are not as many women at the top levels to network, and sometimes I'm not sure that they always reach out to women in grades a level below them . . . I don't know whether there's a tendency to be a little protective or whatever. . . .

In contrast, women in three groups out of fifteen indicated that it is a myth that women resent each other. Also, women one group stated that women may not join women's groups for fear of their male colleagues' perceptions.

Number of Women

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Number Women. Some of these segments coded Number Women have already been described in the sections on Network, Mentoring, Confide/Isolation, Visibility, and Women vs. Women. Thus, they will not be repeated here. The most prominent ideas cited by participants were (a) that the number of women in the workplace is increasing, and (b) that there are not many women in high positions.

Women in twelve groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out of four commented that the number of women in the workplace is increasing.

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(Male): There weren't that many women in . . . the middle 70s
when I came into the federal government, at least in
professional jobs. There are many, many more. I don't know
what the percentage is now, but certain fields are dominated by
women.

: I really think that this atmosphere has changed in this
agency. . . . And one of the differences is, there are just a .
. . whole lot more [women].

: It was very unusual to have a woman professional in the
organization. So over the years, we saw the situation change
and change—more women—more equality. Certainly, it's much
more pleasant now . . . . You felt like sort of the oddball.

: Women are now getting to the top and men are used to be
working with women. And therefore they're more comfortable with
the culture and more women, new women can get in.

Women in nine groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of

four stated that there are not many women in high positions within

their agencies.

: Our agency tends to congratulate itself on the fact that
there are all these women in senior management. But if you look
at the numbers, it's . . . no great shakes.

: There are many more men at the agency level at the top. I
think if you tried to count the number of women and minorities
who are at the [highest] level there, you can count them on two
hands.

: I think there are a few women who are extremely well respected who make it. But they are a smaller number than a lot of the men who are not necessarily well respected.

In contrast, women in two groups out of fifteen stated that there are relatively equal numbers of women and men in high positions at their agency.

Women in six out of fifteen groups discussed the various challenges faced by women in male dominated environments.

: The problem is, we don't have many peers. So when we go into some of these meetings, we're not like anybody else in them, even if there are other women.

: There's always that . . . fear hanging over your head that you're really alone. That you don't have a group of people that will assist you if there are some negatives or some mistake that you might make.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups mentioned that in order for women to advance, men need to change their attitudes about women.

: But, you know, some of the women do it too. I remember nominating a woman very ably to be a [high position] of part of our agency. . . . A woman was chairing the search committee and said to me "They already have two women.". . . I said to her "She is very competent," and later she read her resume and saw she was. . . . Then she wanted to hire her. But the knee jerk reaction was that I don't need another one. . . . I thought that was incredible for a woman.

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(Male): I think the reason that there are fewer women simply is that . . . men need to change in terms of how they view women in the workplace . . . as truly equals in terms of competence and technical skills and everything else that it takes to be a good manager. And until that happens I don't believe that we're going to see them represented in SES of the areas which is probably the importance that they possibly should be.

Women in six groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of

four discussed the effect of affirmative action on the number of

women in their agencies.

: We still have a quota system. . . . It's like the crab in the barrel syndrome here. You have so many clamoring, and so few who succeed. . . . Once you have your quota of women in visible positions . . . it's filled, and you don't go any further.

: I've heard it announced by leadership in my own organization "Well, because she left and she was woman, we know we need to replace her with another woman because we lost our woman". . . . And that hurts. . . . You are then sort of putting me down because I'm a woman . . .--one of something you need to pledge a spot for.

Women in five groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out

of four stated that the number of women varies by agency and field.

(Male): There are certain agencies . . . where you find women [in highest positions] and . . . find significant numbers of women. When you go into the older, on-line agencies . . . you won't find [women] in their major mission functions . . . In the . . . old-line bureaus, . . .they will be . . . tough . . . in terms of people getting ahead.

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Women in four groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four mentioned that there are not enough women in entry level positions, thus there is less of a base of women to choose from. In contrast, men in two groups out of four stated that there are more women now at entry level, and that they eventually will move up. On the other hand, women in three groups out of fifteen commented that to increase the numbers of women at high levels, the people at the top have to push for it.

Women in two groups mentioned that lone women get assignments that secretaries get or that males do not want, while another woman in another group said just the opposite. Women in three groups mentioned that lone women are often excluded while women in two groups stated that women usually do not exclude males even if there are more women.

Comments by individual focus group participants include: that women are treated equally when there are equal numbers of men and women, that sexism may become more prevalent as the number of women increases, that men may believe they are being discriminated against when they work with a predominant number of women, that there are very few disabled women in high ranks, and that the increase of women in the workplace has created greater competition for jobs.

FAMILY ROLES

Participant responses relating to the theme, Family Roles, were assigned the following codes: Family, Housework, Marital, Nurturing, Pregnancy, and Share. Table 11 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 254 coded segments that related to the Family Roles theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 13, versus 11.5 for the males.

Of the 254 coded segments related to the Family Roles theme, 32 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Family Roles comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix X for the questions after which comments related to Attitudes occurred.)

Table 12 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Participants in all 19 focus groups made comments that were coded as Family. Persons in fourteen of the 19 focus groups mentioned comments coded as Marital, while twelve out of 19 groups made comments coded as Share. Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings were clustered together. The divisions within this subsection reflect these groupings and are: Marital Status, Share Responsibilities, Pregnancy, and Family Roles. Table 13 summarizes the findings within the Family Roles theme.

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TABLE 11

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO FAMILY ROLES THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
FAMILY	29	71	57	157
Housework	0	3	4	7
Marital	5	13	20	38
Nurturing	0	1	0	1
Pregnancy	9	12	5	26
Share	3	8	14	25
Total # of coded segments	46	108	101	254
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	11.5	15.4	12.6	13.4

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO FAMILY ROLES THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
FAMILY	4	7	8	19
Housework	0	2	3	5
Marital	3	4	7	14
Nurturing	0	1	0	1
Pregnancy	2	3	3	8
Share	2	4	6	12

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 13
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
MICROINEQUITIES: FAMILY ROLES

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
        in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women experience
        microinequities.

FAMILY ROLES	Men	Women
Marital Status		
* Employers make assumptions about married women.	0	8
Employers make assumptions about single people regardless of gender.	2	6
When with members of the opposite sex, men and women may be perceived negatively.	1	5
Share Responsibilities		
Men are now sharing more family responsibilities than in the past.	2	10
* Although men share more responsibilities, women do most of the work.	0	4
Pregnancy		
* Employers should/should not accommodate pregnant women (split opinions).	4	3
Pregnant women can handle normal work duties.	0	3
* Men may perceive that pregnant women cannot handle their jobs.	0	3
* Pregnant women are still a novelty at work.	0	3
Family Roles		
* Even when husbands share household responsibilities, women do the most.	3	11
Anyone with family duties, regardless of gender, must establish priorities.	4	9
* Women with family duties may receive different assignments than men.	1	9
Organizations do or should accommodate women with families.	2	8
Women can have careers and families.	2	8
Anyone with family duties, regardless of gender, may find it hard to travel.	1	8
Anyone with family duties, regardless of gender, may find advancement penalized.	3	6
Balancing work and family is stressful.	0	4
Family responsibilities do not affect advancement of full-time workers.	2	2

Marital Status

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Marital. Participants in fourteen focus groups made comments related to Marital. Women in eight out of fifteen groups stated that employers make assumptions about married women. For example,

: Management in my office seems to feel that divorced women with children . . . are more mature than women who have never had children, never been married.

: So when you get to the bonuses, if that woman has a husband . . . she doesn't need the bonus as much as these guys do. It's really still there.

: I have a husband who does primary child care in my family. But I still think there is that assumption, that women are going to spend time, women are going to be the ones that are going to take off when their child is sick. Nobody assumes it's going to be an equal sharing for one thing.

Women in six groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of four discussed the assumptions others made about single people, as well as their own observations of how single people are treated.

: We've had some of our single men complain they're on the road too much. . . And we've looked at who gets what assignments. Do the single female and the single male get the assignments that are going to make them travel more than married male or the female whether or not they have family responsibilities?

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: Somebody has to leave right at four-thirty to get home to see the kids. . . . I can obviously stay a little bit later and finish it up. And I truly don't think that's because I'm a woman. I think it's because I'm single.

Women in five groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four mentioned that both men and women need to be careful about the perceptions of others with regard to being seen with members of the opposite sex. Women, however, reported believing that females must be more scrupulous than their male counterparts to avoid any appearance of impropriety.

: I feel a whole lot of constraints about dating in the office that I don't think men do. I mean, it's always the woman that suffers in those kinds of things. . . . People [dating]. . . GS 7s when they're SES, and that kind of thing. That doesn't seem to bother men at all.

Share Responsibilities

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Share and Housework. Participants in twelve focus groups made comments related to Share and Housework. Women in ten groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of four mentioned that men are now sharing more of the family and household responsibilities than in the past.

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: A lot of . . . the males who work for me now. . . split their time when their child is sick. The wife takes one day, and the husband takes the next.

: I see something that I never have seen before. I see dual career couples both in high power, high pressure jobs, where on some occasions it is the wife . . . doing the traveling or taking a temporary move away, and the husband keeping the children.

: I think a lot of young men are really into taking care of their children as much as women, at least in our agency.

Women in four groups out of fifteen stated that although men are

now sharing more of the responsibilities, the primary

responsibilities still reside with the women who do most of the work.

: I . . . feel that I'm still more responsible for the smooth running of my household. . . the cooking, the cleaning, the laundry. Even though my husband shares all those, I still feel that I've got the basic responsibility. . . . Most men have wives to see that they're ready, . . . that the clothes are there.

Pregnancy

Focus group responses described in this section were drawn from

the segments coded as Pregnancy. Participants in eight focus groups

made comments related to Pregnancy. Women in three out of fifteen

groups stated that pregnant women can handle normal work duties.

: We had our first pregnant [woman] about four years ago, and
the folks that moved her into that position were watching . . .
the fact that she could actually work right up until she
delivered. And she was back on the job two months later. And
they still to this day talk with great pride about [it].

On the other hand, women in three groups out of fifteen stated that

men may perceive that pregnant women cannot handle their jobs.

: I had a supervisor at [the agency] tell me that he would go
forward with the promotion action. . . .When I later became
pregnant, he said he would pull the action. So there is, . . .
a fairly negative experience here at [the agency].

Women in three groups out of fifteen and men in all four groups

discussed whether and how employers should accommodate pregnant

women. Their opinions were diverse, as indicated below.

: I've been in executive meetings where they've discussed—"I
don't think they should allow a female executive to be off six
months for maternity leave." We had that meeting one month, and
the following month an executive was pregnant. Obviously, at
that level of responsibility, you don't take six months. . . .
But, . . . I heard the comments. . . . We had a healthy
conversation, and I . . . said, "That's not fair. There's a lot
of males who have heart attacks and drop out of work for eight
months, and nobody punishes them. . . .Why are you going to
punish them for having a baby? They would have come back with
no problems. The ones who had a heart attack . . . come back
not as well.

: Having a female staff, we probably had more than our fair share of pregnancies. And I think there has been a change--certainly more in the last several years. . . . With [high official] being much more an advocate of maternity leave or paternity leave, . . . there's much more of a tolerant attitude towards not just the old six week to three months for maternity leave, but . . . if the situation warrants, to six months.

(Male): I think we've got to make a distinction between maternity leave and patterns of how you do your work.

(Male): I don't think we should treat women on maternity leave any differently than the men who insist on working 7:00 to 3:30. As far as I'm concerned, I'm not going to have a . . . 15 . . . or an SES . . . who can only work 7:00 to 3:30. And when 3:30 rolls around, they're out of here. . . . I think everybody has to be evaluated the same way. That is, their availability to put in the hours that the job requires.

Finally, women in three groups out of fifteen stated that pregnant women are visible and still somewhat of a novelty in the workplace.

Family Roles

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Family and Nurturing. Participants in all nineteen focus groups made comments relating to Family. Women in eleven out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups commented that even when husbands share some of the household responsibilities, most responsibility usually resides with women.

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: I think that certainly family responsibilities are by and large . . . women's, not men's. It's very rare that any man who's ever worked for me has called up to say he couldn't come because the baby was sick or his mother fell down the stairs, or what have you. But it's a fairly common occurrence with women.

: Women do tend to take more of the responsibility for children. I think it is more of a factor for a woman than for a man if the job demands a lot of travel, I think it's harder for women from what I've observed. Assuming that there is a male person at home.

(Male): I think for women, it may be a little bit more difficult to [work long hours] because of family responsibilities, if the children are home or whatever.

: No matter what, it always, my feeling is that females carry a lot more of the work load if you have a family. . . if you have kids. . . . [I]f you don't have kids, I'm not sure that matters. . . .

Females in nine out of fifteen groups and males in all four groups stated that people with family responsibilities, regardless of gender, must make a choice as to their priorities.

(Male): The commitment that a person makes to get into the high grade game is very great. . . . If you put your hat in the ring for a job, you know what the job is about. . . . It's not gender specific. There's no gender differential. A supervisor's looking to get a body of work done.

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: I have [two infants]. . . .My goal has been to get as high up
as I can without having to supervise, because I just don't want
the responsibilities right now.

(Male): There are . . . individuals . . . who make a decision
as to how much they wish to be available, and how much they want
to give and take from their family. I have a staff member whose
quality of work and output is very high, but he's made the
decision that at carpool time, he's going to get to it. He and
his wife both work, and they both have this balance. . . . But
that was a conscious decision. . . . It's in each of us, how
much are we willing to give or not give in setting priorities.

: I manage . . . a small office. . . and I find that our
applicants, men and women, . . . are attracted to it. They . .
. want to balance home and family. . . . The men and women seem
to do that equally, but I might have an odd assortment because
they self-select for that.

(Male): I find that individuals are sometime treated
differently when it comes to travel assignments based on their
family situation. In our case it's not a gender thing--it's a
family situation or personal commitments. . . . And I'm guilty
of that. If I know somebody has a particular family situation I
may hesitate before I ask that they do something that I wouldn't
expect that I would want to do in their similar situation.

On the other hand, women in nine out of fifteen groups and men

in one out of four groups stated that women with families may be

treated differently than men with regard to assignments.

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: There are assumptions made about what a woman really wants. Men tend not to do that for other men. They don't tend not to think that some men may choose to mix a career and family responsibilities in a different way than some of those who are leaders now. But there's always that assumption about women.

: I was going on job interviews. . . . Men as well as women that were interviewing me asked "Will the children hinder [you] from coming to work on time? . . . How much leave do you have?" . . . I went . . . [with a male] on the interview. . . . He had two kids also, but he was not asked that question.

Women in eight out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups stated that their organizations currently offer, or should offer, parttime work or other accommodations to help women balance both their work and family responsibilities.

: I have two children and I worked part time most of the time until about five years ago. This was before I took my current job, which I would find impossible to do that with now. . . . But I found that my immediate supervisor was very sympathetic to it. I don't think it hurt my career at all.

(Male): I think part time work in the pipeline would allow more women to prepare for the higher level jobs. If you look at it as a pipeline issue, then I think parttime . . . should be an opportunity that should be available.

: I'm the only professional woman in the office that I'm in and I'm also a single parent. And I have found that not only has it not blocked my career. . . . They really go out of their way to schedule things around day care hours for me. They are very cooperative.

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Women in eight out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that anyone with family responsibilities, regardless of gender, may have a more difficult time traveling or relocating.

> (Male): We found mobility is the biggest problem at any kind of promotional range after the 13. We just have a lot of difficulty getting people to move. And it isn't just women, it's men because of the dual career families. . . . The increase of one grade isn't sufficient to take the place of the other spouse having to find a job.

> : I put [my career] on hold for five years, after my children were born. . . I worked same place, same position. . . . I had a job for five years because I told them I didn't want to travel. . . . It was on hold for five years until I went in and said "I can now travel again."

> : My husband. . . is being forced to relocate and he's telling them to stick it, "My family is more important. My kids go to good schools. You can't give me that, where you want me to go." . . . Family is just more important today.

Women in eight groups out of fifteen and men in two groups out of four indicated that women can have both rewarding careers and family responsibilities.

> : The thinking is so different now. . . . I don't think there's that much of an attitude where, "Oh, we shouldn't hire a woman because she's going to get married, or have kids." Or, "If she's already married, we shouldn't hire her because she's going to have kids."

(Male): I've never heard anybody talk about a 15 or 14 being
selected, or not selected, because of a family situation, male
or female. . . . It's another one of these things you are past.

On the other hand, women in six groups and men in three groups

stated that people who have family obligations, regardless of gender,

may be penalized in terms of their advancement.

: I had someone say to me . . . "Your decision to have a child
really means that you wouldn't be interested in X job.". . . In
one case, . . . it was said to a man who was choosing to make a
big commitment to his family. It actually was going to affect
the person's evaluation. . . . I think that there's the ethic in
this department, . . . if you're in the SES, you really better
be available from 7:00 to 7:00.

: I knew if I didn't take that [job responsibility] in [another
state] I would not be competitive for the [higher level]
position. So I felt I had to take that at the same time that I
was nursing this three-month-old kid. And it was really rough.

In contrast, females in two groups and males in two groups commented

that family responsibilities did not affect the likelihood for

advancement of full-time workers.

Women in four groups out of fifteen mentioned the stress

involved in balancing both work and family.

: My feeling is that, and maybe it's personal, only if you have
young children do you have added stress compared to males.

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Participants in the female focus groups made the following individual comments: that women are more understanding than men of family issues because they have been there, and that SES women in the future will probably have more family concerns as more will be having babies than in the past. Women in one group and men in one group also mentioned that individuals adjust differently to family responsibilities.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Participant responses relating to the theme, Physical Characteristics, were assigned the following codes: Physical, Age, Compliment, Disability, Geographical, Race (Foreign), and Safety. Table 14 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 179 coded segments that related to the Physical Differences theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 10, versus 5.3 for the males.

Of the 179 coded segments related to the Physical Differences theme, 78 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Physical Characteristics comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix Y for the questions after which comments related to Physical Characteristics occurred.)

TABLE 14

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
PHYSICAL	5	16	22	43
Age	7	22	31	60
Compliment	0	6	2	8
Disability	0	0	2	2
Geographical	0	3	0	3
Race (Foreign)	7	8	24	39
Safety	2	8	14	24
Total # of coded segments	21	63	95	179
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	5.3	9	11.9	9.4

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

Table 15 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Participants in 15 out of 19 focus groups made comments that were coded as Age, and participants in 14 out of 19 focus groups made comments that were coded as physical. People in 11 out of 15 groups made comments coded as race/ethnicity, while nine groups discussed safety. There did not seem to be any major differences between the female and male groups with regard to the number of comments assigned specific codes.

In some cases, comments made by focus group members were similar in meaning or context even though the codes assigned to the comments were different. Thus, to avoid duplication in presenting the data, comments with diverse codes that were similar in meaning or context were combined. The divisions within this subsection reflect these groupings and are: Age, Race/Ethnicity, Safety, and Physical Characteristics. Table 16 summarizes the findings within the Physical Characteristics theme.

Age

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Age. Women in nine groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out of four indicated that older men seemed somewhat uncomfortable interacting with women in the workplace.

TABLE 15

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
PHYSICAL	3	6	5	14
Age	3	6	6	15
Compliment	0	1	1	2
Disability	0	0	1	1
Geographical	0	2	0	2
Race (Foreign)	3	3	5	11
Safety	1	4	4	9

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters; regular codes are in small
letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent and thus were combined in these tallies.

TABLE 16
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
MICROINEQUITIES: PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
    "Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
    in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women experience
    microinequities.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	Men	Women
Age		
* Older men seem uncomfortable interacting with women at work.	3	9
* Younger women may need to gain credibility with older men.	0	7
Younger men, compared to older men, are more used to working with women.	1	6
* Younger men are not really different than older men.	0	4
* Microinequities bother younger women more than higher level women.	0	4
Race/Ethnicity		
* The interaction of race/ethnicity with gender intensifies microinequities.	0	6
Differential treatment may occur along racial and ethnic lines, not just gender.	4	5
Safety		
* Safety concerns may constrain women from engaging in certain work activities.	0	8
Safety is a concern to men and women.	1	5
Physical Characteristics		
* The difference in women's physical appearance draws attention to them.	0	6
* Women need to take more care with their appearance than do men.	0	4
* Physical differences between men and women may be a reason for male bonding.	0	3

(Male): The senior women use terminology much like the senior men do. But. . . the mid-level women are using terminology . . . that are kind of interesting these days. A couple of weeks ago I was advised that the word 'lady' was no longer acceptable. That was quite a jolt to an old man like me. A lady used to be a very nice thing to call somebody. Well, I was informed that that's no longer the deal.

: The younger man has more sensitivity and more acceptance of total equality, whereas the older man, we're still sort of fighting tooth and nail . . . because using the old boy network that he's comfortable with won't allow us to win in it.

: Some of the older men [at the agency] definitely have problems dealing with women. . . .

: It's the older white males that hold a lot of these views. . . . I think younger men are becoming more aware of our situations. There are a lot of younger men who are. . . having babies and they're understanding that they can take time off.

Similarly, women in six groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four stated that younger men, in comparison with older men, seemed to be more accustomed to working with women as colleagues.

: I wonder if there isn't a generation gap here though. . . . I really find the younger men much more open and much more dealing on professional basis without regard to gender or minority status, or whatever it is.

: What I see in my agency is a shifting of attitudes along with the changing age and I see the younger the managers have become, the more opportunity women have.

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In contrast, women in four groups out of fifteen stated that men of

today's generation are not really all that different from the men in

the generation preceding them.

    : I think there are probably just as many young [men] who are
that way [treat women differently] . . . as there are older men.
I don't think it has anything to do with age. It's just a
matter of how they are brought up, and some of it's just not
going to go away.

Women in seven groups out of fifteen commented that younger

women may need to go to greater lengths than when they are older to

gain credibility at work.

    : There was a perception that I was much younger than I
actually looked. . . . My supervisor put me in for outstanding,
and the second level reviewer said, "Oh, . . . [she's] got to
sweat a little more". . . . I did not believe that a counterpart
of mine would have gotten the same comments. . . . If that male
had performed well, . . . I think that person [would have been
rewarded].

    : I know a female . . . who . . . looks young. . . . She said
that, at meetings, men didn't tend to look at her, if her
partner who was a man was with her. . . . She realized she would
have to ask some questions . . . so that they'd have to look at
her to respond.

Women in four groups out of fifteen indicated that microinequities

seem to bother younger women more than women at higher grade levels.

: I think it depends on your age. . . . When I was in my middle
20s . . . I found [that microinequities] really made me angry.

Race/Ethnicity

The focus group responses in this section were drawn from the

segments coded as Race (Foreign) and Disability. Women in six out of

fifteen groups indicated that race and ethnic background interact

with gender, resulting in a worsening of the microinequities directed

at women.

: It's more a function of being female than it is a function
being a minority. Certainly being a minority female intensifies
the dynamic.

: There are very few . . . females disabled females that are at
the higher ranks in the department. And I know it's the same
with . . . minority females. . . . I think there's some other
stuff that goes on with those of us who carry another--I don't
want to call it burden or disadvantage, because it shouldn't be-
-but another characteristic that somehow affects us.

: Being a woman is already a strike against you. But being
minority and foreign born are three strikes against you.

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in all four groups

stated that differences between people occur not only along gender

lines, but that racial and ethnic differences may cause differential

treatment.

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(Male): Well, I'm not quite sure, in all candor, being a black male is quite the same experience [as being a white male].

(Male): [W]hen a question comes up that says is a male treated differently than a woman, in certain situations, that depends on whether you're a black male or white male.

: I think the minority men are treated differently in this agency. . . . But . . . even among minority men, their attitude toward minority women is a very different attitude than you would normally have expected them to have. They would have, in some cases, a more difficult time working for a minority woman than they would a non-minority woman. That's just because the way they think.

Safety

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from the segments coded as Safety. Women in eight groups out of fifteen mentioned that safety concerns may constrain women from engaging in certain work activities.

: Part of it is having to extra scrupulous when I'm traveling, particularly when I'm traveling with men. Whether it's on an [assignment] or to a conference, and essentially if you're single and a single woman traveling with men. . . .

: I know in my last office, I think people assumed I could stay later because I'm single and it was okay, even if I had to walk through that parking lot at 9:00 at night. They didn't think about that. They only thought that I didn't have to go home and take care of the kids.

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: When you're on the road, you have to select your hotel [more
carefully]. . . . So your costs . . . are higher than . . . the
men . . . in terms of which neighborhood they stay in. . . .
Women have to be cautious about that.

Similarly, women in five groups out of fifteen and men in one

group out of four indicated that safety is a concern to both men and

women.

: It's a little weird to be here alone at 10 o'clock at night
and then go downstairs to the parking garage. But men may feel
that way too.

: I don't think anybody in their right mind should be walking
around down there after 7 o'clock at night.

In contrast, women in one group out of fifteen stated that safety was

not an issue with regard to work.

Physical Characteristics

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from the segments coded as Physical, Compliment, and Geographical.

Women in six groups out of fifteen mentioned the difference in

women's physical appearance draws attention to them.

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: I can go into a meeting and [when a man mumbles]. . . they
say, "Oh, [he's] not . . . good on his feet. But he's really
good." . . . A woman comes in there and [talks in a high pitched
voice], and they'll say, "Listen to that shrill voice. Did you
hear how bitchy she was?"

: [At] that particular moment . . . where you got the
compliment on your suit, you are sort of one down. . . .
You're a woman. . . . For that second, your status was called to
the attention of everybody in that room.

Similarly, women in four out of 15 groups stated that women need

to take more care with their appearance than do men, in order to make

sure that their appearance conveys a credible, professional image.

: If women dress well, nobody notices. But if they don't, they
do.

Women in three out of fifteen groups commented that the physical

differences between males and females may be one tangible reason why

men seem to have an inherent bond with each other.

: It used to be everything happened in the men's room. You
take a break, and they all go to the men's room. And you come
back and you find that it's been decided. . . . It isn't real
open but it's subtle, and little things that they do tend to
make you feel like "You're one of them, not one of us."

Focus group participants made other comments relative to

physical characteristics, including: that physical contact could be

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misconstrued as sexual harassment, that women's physical characteristics may prevent them from being able to perform certain types of jobs, that males may treat women differently depending upon where the males are from geographically, that short women may feel the need to compensate for their lack of height by becoming more aggressive, and that women with physical disabilities often suffer a "double whammy" of microinequities.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES/CHANGE

Participant responses relating to the theme, Individual Differences, were assigned the following codes: Individual Differences, Equality, Options, and Unique. Table 17 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 367 coded segments that related to the Individual Differences theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 16, versus 30.5 for the males.

Of the 367 coded segments related to the Individual Differences theme, 57 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Individual Differences comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix Z for the questions after which comments related to Individual Characteristics occurred.)

TABLE 17

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES	94	83	109	286
Equality	14	14	12	40
Options	14	15	10	39
Unique	0	2	0	2
Total # of coded segments	122	114	131	367
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	30.5	16.3	16.4	19.3

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters; regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent and thus were combined in these tallies.

Table 18 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type.

Participant responses relating to the theme, Change, were assigned the following codes: Change, Future (Legacy), Past Situation, and Recommendations. Table 19 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 247 coded segments that related to the Change theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 13.5, versus 11.3 for the males.

Of the 247 coded segments related to the Change theme, 47 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Microinequities and Constraints questions (i.e., questions number one and two of this researcher's questioning route). (See Appendix AA for the questions after which comments related to Change occurred.)

Table 20 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type.

Individual differences refers to various situations in which focus group participants stated that men and women are treated equally. Many of these comments have already been mentioned in the previous sections. Because this research focuses on microinequities, a detailed description of the "equities" is not justified here. However, in order to present a balanced perspective of the "equities" mentioned by focus group participants, it is important to note that

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES	4	7	8	19
Equality	4	5	6	15
Options	4	7	5	16
Unique	0	2	0	2

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters; regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent and thus were combined in these tallies.

TABLE 19

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO CHANGE THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Code words:				
CHANGE	41	55	63	159
Future (Legacy)	4	29	10	43
Past Situation	0	14	3	17
Recommendations	0	11	17	28
Total # of coded segments	45	109	93	247
Mean # of coded segments	11.3	15.6	11.6	13

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters; regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent and thus were combined in these tallies.

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO CHANGE THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Code words:				
CHANGE	4	7	8	19
Future (Legacy)	1	6	6	13
Past Situation	0	5	3	8
Recommendations	0	3	2	5

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters; regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent and thus were combined in these tallies.

the code, Individual Differences, appeared in conjunction with nearly every other code. In addition, the code, Change, appeared with a substantial number of other codes.

SUMMARY

In sum, focus group participants described a variety of microinequities that were categorized within the following themes: Interpersonal Relations, Attitudes, Social Support, Family Roles, Physical Characteristics, and Individual Differences/Change. Overall, the number of comments per focus group made by women were greater than the number of comments per focus group made by men. In descending order, the greatest number of comments were made with regard to the Interpersonal Relations theme, followed by Attitudes, Social Support, Family Roles, and Physical Characteristics. Throughout each of these themes, focus group participants also made comments related to Individual Differences/Change, indicating that they perceived that men and women in the workplace were not treated differently because of gender.

With regard to Interpersonal Relations, women and men in over half the female focus groups reported that men feel more comfortable relating to men; in contrast, women in six out of fifteen groups reported that people advance others with whom they feel most comfortable, regardless of gender. With regard to communication and meetings, women in nearly half the female focus groups reported that

women are ignored or interrupted in meetings, men take credit for women's ideas, women are not invited to meetings, and that men treat women in sexist ways at meetings. Women in over half of the female groups stated that women are excluded from meetings, male networks, informal communications with men, and social activities involving male colleagues. In contrast, women in eight out of fifteen female groups reported that social activities are based on familiarity or interest, not gender.

Relative to the Attitudes theme, women in over half the female groups talked about credibility, reporting that men do not take women seriously and that women need to prove their competence and career commitment. Women in over half the female groups also reported that women are perceived differently than men who behave in a similar fashion, and that men tend to view women in sexual terms. Women in nearly half the female groups reported that women have a difficult time in traditional male environments, that men act paternalistic toward women, and that men perceive that women who have families are not committed to their work.

Relative to Social Support, women in over half the female groups reported that when people network with others with whom they feel most comfortable, women are often excluded, and that the old boy network is still alive. In contrast, women in over or nearly half of the female groups reported that women are currently moving into the old boys' network, that women are or should be networking with other

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women, that people with common backgrounds network regardless of gender, and that men often serve as mentors for both men and women. Women in nearly half the female groups reported that women in the highest levels have few women peers and find it lonely, that men must change their attitudes in order for women to advance, and that women face challenges in male dominated environments. In contrast, women in nearly half the female groups reported that women may resent other women who advance, and that affirmative action has increased the number of women.

With regard to Family Roles, women in over half the female groups reported that employers make assumptions about married women; in contrast, women in nearly half the female groups reported that employers make assumptions about single people, regardless of gender. Women in over half of the female groups reported that men are now sharing more of the family responsibilities than in the past; in contrast, women in over half of the female groups mentioned that even when husbands share household responsibilities, women do most of the work. Women in over half the female groups reported that anyone with family duties, regardless of gender, must establish priorities, may find it hard to travel, and may be penalized in terms of advancement. On the other hand, women in over half of the female groups reported that women with family duties may be treated differently than men with regard to assignments.

Relative to Physical Characteristics, women in over or nearly half the female groups mentioned that older men seem uncomfortable interacting with women at work, that younger women may need to gain credibility with older men, and that safety concerns may constrain women from engaging in certain work activities.

CHAPTER 6

SELF CONCEPT

The current study examined whether microinequities impact upon a person's self concept and the nature of the impact, if any. The focus group participants were asked the following: "How do these subtle differences or constraints, related to your gender [discussed in the previous question], affect you in terms of your sense of yourself as an effective part of the organization?"

Participant responses to this question and other comments relating to the theme of Self Concept were assigned the following codes: Sense of Self, Ego, Pride, Self Doubt/Self Confidence, Threat, Upset, and Worry. Table 21 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 192 coded segments that related to the Self Concept theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 10, versus 4 for the males.

Of the 192 coded segments related to the Self Concept theme, 56 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Self Concept question (i.e., question number three of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Self Concept comments

TABLE 21

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO SELF CONCEPT THEME

Codes:	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
SENSE OF SELF (SELF ESTEEM)	10	50	48	108
Ego	2	8	4	14
Pride	0	1	2	3
Self Doubt/ Self Confidence	1	11	16	28
Threat	0	13	2	15
Upset	2	5	0	7
Worry	1	7	9	17
Total # of coded segments	16	95	81	192
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	4	13.6	10.1	10.1

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small
letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix CC for
the questions after which comments related to Self Concept occurred.)

   Table 22 shows the number of groups in which coded segments
occurred by focus group type. Participants in all 19 focus groups
made comments that were coded as Sense of Self. However, among the
other codes (i.e., Ego, Pride, Threat, Upset, Worry, Self Doubt/Self
Confidence) there were several major differences between male and
female groups. For example, females in five out of fifteen focus
groups made comments related to Ego as compared to one out of four
male groups. Altogether, thirteen different female groups out of
fifteen mentioned either Threat, Upset, or Worry whereas only one out
of four male groups mentioned Threat, Upset, or Worry. Finally,
segments coded as self doubt/self confidence occurred in eleven out
of fifteen female groups compared to one out of four male groups.

   Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings
were clustered together. The subsections of this chapter reflect
these groupings and are: Self Confidence, Self Doubt, Ego, and Sense
of Self. Table 23 summarizes the findings within the Self Concept
theme.

SELF CONFIDENCE

   The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Self Doubt/Self Confidence, Self Esteem, and
Sense of Self. In general, most of the comments within this section

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS

ARE RELATED TO SELF CONCEPT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Code words:				
SENSE OF SELF (SELF ESTEEM)	4	7	8	19
Ego	1	3	2	6
Pride	0	1	1	2
Self Doubt/ Self Confidence	1	4	8	13
Threat	0	4	2	6
Upset	1	3	0	4
Worry	1	4	4	9

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 23
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
SELF CONCEPT

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
    "Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
    in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women are affected by
    microinequities.

	Men	Women
SELF CONFIDENCE		
Women feel confident about their abilities and have good self esteem.	0	11
Microinequities tend to not affect women's sense of self.	0	10
Women are not affected by microinequities, but understand how others are.	0	3
SELF DOUBT		
* Women experience some form of self doubt when confronted with microinequities.	0	10
* Women question themselves after experiencing microinequities at meetings.	0	4
Self questioning may be a function of personality rather than microinequities.	0	4
* Women were afraid to speak out when treated unfairly by the organization.	0	4
* Women question themselves after experiencing microinequities in social settings.	0	2
* Women often struggle to retain their identity in a male workplace.	0	2
EGO		
* Men may feel threatened by successful women.	0	7
* Women adjust their behavior to protect male colleagues' feelings of self worth.	0	4
Men are not threatened by successful women.	0	2
SELF CONCEPT		
* Women are bothered by not receiving the recognition they deserve.	0	4
* Women are more likely to be bothered by microinequities at a younger age or in lower positions.	0	4
* Women speak out when they encounter microinequities to help future women.	0	3
* Women have less freedom than males with regard to acceptable behavior.	0	3
* Women felt offended and resentful when men were patronizing.	0	2
* Women must have a sense of humor to deal with microinequities.	0	2
* Women would have a difficult time working in a male dominated environment.	0	2
* Women are treated differently than men.	2	0

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pertain to the following topics: the confidence of the female

participants, and the notion that microinequities do not or should

not affect one's self confidence.

Women in eleven out of fifteen groups mentioned feeling

confident about their abilities or having good self esteem. Several

representative comments are listed below.

: I have to remind my peers and women I coach that we have to,
once in a while, for our own sanity, look back and say "Where am
I? Look where I am. Look where I've managed to get to and had
to fight for every bit of it." . . . There's a certain amount of
great feeling of accomplishment that you have. . . You just get
this great feeling . . . knowing that you had to fight for it,
that you've had to be twice as good. . . . And every once in a
while you have to stop and congratulate yourself or maybe
someone else who's having a struggle at the moment.

: You have to realize that the women sitting around this table
are probably at least 50 percent, probably 100 percent better
than their bosses and their peers. Otherwise, they wouldn't be
here.

: I think you're talking today to a group of women with pretty
rugged self esteem.

: I can honestly say . . . that every promotion that I've
received . . . has been only because I have a very, very
aggressive personality and would absolutely have put people
through walls--and have tried and have done it--when they have
tried to block every promotion. If I did not have the
personality and the sense of security within myself I do, I
couldn't, I wouldn't . . . be sitting here today.

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: We're survivors. . . . Most of us grew up . . . learning to have your own self worth and . . . you put your own value on your performance and what you accomplish. And it really comes more from within than from what somebody else expects of you.

: I find that the woman at our level . . . are very secure within themselves about who they are and how far they've had to travel to get where they are today. And they are very confident about tomorrow. Very, very secure. . . . I could be biased . . . but . . . women more often than not are more secure . . . than men.

: I found that I had strength and energy I didn't realize I had. Otherwise I couldn't have done that for years, but I did. And maybe part of it has to do with the subtleties and how you feel about yourself. Your self worth. Because I really wanted to prove that I really could do the job. It takes a lot out of you, no doubt about it.

Similarly, women in ten out of fifteen groups stated that microinequities tend to "roll off their back" and do not affect their sense of self.

: It's not that I don't care what people say. . . . It's that I can't afford to let that get in the way of me doing my job. . . . You have to set the tone. You have to set the precedence and the have to understand that this is just the way it is.

: I know the people and I know their intentions. I don't take it in a negative way. I just find that . . . a generational cultural carryover, and they're not even aware of it. Sometimes I do bring it up and they're very embarrassed, and sometimes they get shook up about it.

: I seldom think about the fact that I'm a woman administrator. . . . It rarely enters my consciousness.

: I used to be very offended or tried to correct [microinequities directed at me], or tried to rush around and establish my credentials. And now, one of the best things, responses I have is . . . just sort of laugh. And I mean a big, uproarious laugh. Because they don't expect it.

: My feeling is I know what I'm doing and if people have that problem, that's something they deal with. What I don't know I can't deal with and I have no power to change.

Women in three out of fifteen groups mentioned that although they were not personally affected by microinequities, they could understand how others would be bothered by them. Furthermore, these women stated that not all women should be expected to ignore microinequities just because some women are able to ignore them.

: But that's your personality [to ignore microinequities] . . . People are different about how they react to things and how tough they are. . . . I don't think we should judge other women by how tough we are either. . . . We had to deal with it. I don't think they should have to deal with it. You know, it shouldn't have to be an issue.

Some relevant miscellaneous comments include the following: one woman stated that she believes that women today are more confident and do not have the "inhibitions" experienced by her generation of female colleagues. Similarly, one male observed that women are more

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confident about requesting EEO observers at meetings which he reported seemed to be an indication that women have a greater sense of equality today than in the past.

SELF DOUBT

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Self Doubt/Self Confidence, Self Esteem, and Sense of Self. In general, most of the comments within this section pertain to the following points of discussion: the questioning of the self which women experience when confronted with microinequities at meetings and in social settings versus the questioning of the self as a function of their personalities.

Women in ten out of fifteen groups reported experiencing some form of self doubt or self questioning when confronted with microinequities. According to some women, their perceptions of how male colleagues related to them in the workplace were, in part, a reason for their self questioning. For example, one woman stated that she questioned herself after being ignored by her male colleagues. Another woman indicated that when she was younger, she hesitated to take risks. She reported feeling that if she failed, she would not be given another chance, while she observed male colleagues at the same level who failed and got other chances. Several women mentioned that they spent a great deal of time thinking

about and questioning themselves when confronted with

microinequities.

: You go home exhausted and . . . wondering, "What is wrong
with me?". . . You're the wrong everything. . . . I know . . .
[I have the right answers, yet] they're sitting in the room
looking blank. . . . So, you begin to wonder, "What is it? . . .
What am I doing wrong?". . . It's your self esteem. . . . We've
got to deal with self esteem . . . issues that could become
problems if we're not astute enough to recognize it, or [if]
somebody somewhere along the line does not say "Hey, what you're
dealing with here is not you. It's a function of some external
factors that you were obviously not prepared to deal with."

: I found [I was] angry, . . . suspicious of people's motives .
. . . "Are they reacting to my work, or to the fact that I
rebuked them last week for making a sexist comment or pass?" . .
. It make you anxious and you read into things . . . . Or maybe
you're assuming that they are putting you down because you are
female when in fact they are putting you down because you did a
lousy job, and you're not certain what it is.

: When I was . . . moving out of the technical ranks into
management . . . I was exposed to, in many staffs, all white
males, many of them older than I was. And at that time, it was
kind of a self questioning, because you were the only female,
and you were younger and sometimes you were the 'sweet young
thing.' And you had to live with that and try to be the best
that you could and just state who you were. Don't let it get to
you, even though I recognized it in myself, there were times
when I didn't get anything done in a day because I was having so
many conversations in my head because I was feeling so much
pressure around the men.

: If I perceive that maybe I'm being treated different[ly], I really have to take the time to think through it. . . . I say . . . "Are you having a persecution complex because of the comment--or are you being excluded because it's just oversight, or because you're a woman?"

: . . . Some of the confusion that comes in from those subtleties . . . add to it. And you sit there and say "Did this happen to me--because I was really good? I just got assassinated. . . . [O]r did this happen to me because I'm a woman, or both?"

Women in four out of fifteen groups mentioned questioning themselves after experiencing microinequities at meetings. For example, one woman mentioned having to "gear up" and possibly "pound on the table" because of her uncertainty as to whether the men wanted to listen to her. One woman reported,

: You tend to have . . . your self confidence eroded. And you're less likely to pipe up and present an idea that you might have come to the meeting with. . . . You're trying to gauge when might be the right opportunity to bring up your ideas. . .

Women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned questioning themselves when they were the object of microinequities in social situations. They reported either feeling out of place with the men or being reluctant to socialize for fear that their behavior would be perceived as an indiscretion.

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Women in four out of fifteen groups stated that they were afraid
to voice their opinions in situations in which they felt they were
treated unfairly by the organization. These women reportedly
withheld their opinions either "for the good of the organization" or
because they were afraid of negative consequences.

> : On a personal level, . . . I can't . . . go to my supervisor
> and say, "Well, he said so and so and it hurt my feelings."

> : I think a lot of us are afraid to say . . . "A promotion is
> really in order here" because you don't want to end up having
> your supervisor angry with you and perhaps taking it out on your
> ratings or in other [ways].

Women in two groups mentioned that women often struggle to
retain their female identity in a male workplace.

In contrast to the women who believed that microinequities were,
in part, a cause of their self doubt, women in four out of fifteen
groups stated that self questioning could be a function of a person's
personality or gender role behavior rather than (or in addition to)
external circumstances. One woman stated that females tend to bring
"a lot of baggage" with them.

: I think I hear [what you are saying, that microinequities
bother you]. But I don't know whether part of it's personality.
[I]f you're introspective, if you're shy, if you're not that
outgoing to begin with, all those insecurities just kind of get
wrapped up in the job and how people look at you. If you know
either the men working for you or your peers are questioning
your capabilities or your right to be there, that is certainly
going to reinforce all that. But I don't know how much of it is
a personality thing and how much of it [isn't]. . . . Would I
be any different if I were a man? . . . Would I be any more
ready to assert myself in a meeting or whatever?

Although one man referred to self doubt, his comment did not

appear to be related to his work performance. Instead, he expressed

concern that certain behaviors by males could be construed by women

as sexual harassment.

EGO

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Ego, Pride, Threat, Upset, and Worry. In

general, most of the comments within this section pertain to the

following points of discussion: whether men are threatened by

successful women, and whether women adjust their behavior to protect

men's feelings of self worth.

Only one male out of thirty stated that he believed that his

self esteem would be diminished if a female colleague with whom he

was in competition received a promotion or other such honor for which

the two of them were competing. On the other hand, women in seven

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out of fifteen groups perceived that men may feel threatened by successful women.

: I'd say lots of the males feel intimidated if they do encounter a strong, assertive woman.

: I think that successful women are somewhat of a threat to a lot of men and that makes your developing a relationship of trust with them a lot more difficult. The woman then has to give far more than they should have to in building that relationship.

: We might be discussing . . . a very objective subject . . . and when I bring the point, it's taken as if it's adversarial. And then you have five men defending their position when in fact they didn't need to defend anything at all. I was just trying to make one contribution. But because it is the person that is different in that group that is making the contribution, they feel that it is almost a threat to whatever they were trying to do.

Similarly, women in four groups mentioned that they often adjust their own behavior in order to protect male colleagues feelings of self worth. For example, one woman reported that she sometimes "goes out of [her] way" to make men think that her idea is their idea. Another woman indicated that she is reticent about voicing her opinion in a group of men, while another stated that she had asked male colleagues to assist her in disciplining her male subordinates because she knew the subordinate did not feel comfortable with her

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"being in the job in the first place, . . . younger, . . . a woman, and . . . in the place he wanted to be." One woman stated,

> : I find sometimes . . . I . . . fall back into protecting their egos. Just like you learn when you are a teenager on a date or something. And then I shoot myself . . . because I do sometimes not speak out.

One male mentioned that both men and women use a similar technique that involves protecting the self worth of others. Specifically, he stated that when a person wants their supervisor to do what they want them to do, "you basically make it their idea." He indicated that he did not view this technique as negative, but as a method that everyone employs at one time or another.

While some women perceived men as being threatened by successful women, women in two out of fifteen groups stated that they perceived that men were not necessarily threatened by women. One woman indicated that she believed that older men seem to be more threatened by younger males than by female colleagues. Another woman reported seeing that the men in her agency were taking pride in the accomplishments of their female employees.

SELF CONCEPT

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Sense of Self and Self Esteem, and were not

discussed within the prior sections of Ego, Self Confidence, and Self Doubt. Thus, this section contains miscellaneous comments related to Self Concept. In general, most of the comments within this section pertain to the following topics: the effect of affirmative action on one's self esteem, the effect of microinequities on women early in their careers, women's reasons for being outspoken with regard to microinequities, and various comments about the constraints imposed by microinequities.

Women in four out of fifteen groups mentioned that they are bothered by not receiving the recognition they deserved for their efforts. For example, one woman stated that she believed that men often assumed the only reason a woman advanced was because of affirmative action, and this attitude affected her self esteem. Other women reported that they felt that men in general did not recognize their contributions or success. The following are some representative comments of this viewpoint.

> : Yeah. You never get a good taste in your mouth like "I deserve this and I worked hard for it and I got it" because they're going to make sure that you hear these little comments [that imply you don't deserve your success]. And it sort of knocks you down. At least, that's been my experience.

> : . . . I feel like wearing a sign that says, "I'm the boss!" drives me crazy and I'm sure other women experience that.

In contrast, men in two out of four groups commented that they have

always felt confident that their ratings and success were based upon

work performance only.

Women in four groups out of fifteen indicated that they were more

likely to be bothered by microinequities when they were younger or in

lower positions.

> : But it is counterproductive when you're younger. I think one
> of the things you decide to do is confront, or get angry, or
> leave.

Women in three groups out of fifteen stated that they were more

likely to persist or voice their opinions when encountering

microinequities because they wanted to make the workplace better for

future generations of women.

> : At one point I may not have said anything, just sit through
> this. But now, because it's so blatant and so much of it, I
> find that I'm outspoken. . . . I don't want . . . for other
> women to have to go through this. I'm not changing anything,
> but at least I feel better about it.

In three groups out of fifteen, women commented that females

have less freedom than males in terms of what is considered

acceptable behavior and these constraints affect the way women

behave. In two other groups, several women mentioned feeling

offended and resentful that men often acted in patronizing ways and

had a difficult time relating to women as people rather than sex-objects.

Women in two groups out of fifteen commented on the importance of having a sense of humor when they were the object of microinequities. In one group, women agreed that power helped give them a sense of security. One woman stated that the training she received helped her feel more confident at work.

Women in two out of fifteen groups reported that they would have a difficult time working in a male dominated environment. One women mentioned that she felt that she needed some support from other women while another woman stated that because she liked herself, she would not subject herself to a male dominated environment. Other women in two groups reported feeling discouraged and embarrassed by microinequities.

Males in two out of four groups recalled incidents where their male colleagues had treated female colleagues differently. One man commented that some of his female colleagues were offended by microinequities. Another male stated that women needed to become more resilient because men would attempt to test them to find a weakness. In another group, one male perceived that women have been "protected" in their careers, and have not had the experience men have had of being "knocked down."

Several males in one group indicated that they felt that they could not answer the question about sense of self with regard to

gender. Comments included "I don't understand that question," "I don't see how I can answer because I have no concept of whatever else it would be," "Compared to what?" and "This is who we are. I think the question would be better, are we satisfied with who we are. And I think the answer is yes and no."

SUMMARY

In sum, focus group participants described how microinequities affect their sense of self. The broad categories described by participants included ego, self confidence, self doubt, and sense of self. Most of the comments were made by women, and related to self confidence and self doubt. The results were diverse in that a number of women reported that their self concept was affected by microinequities, while others reported that microinequities did not affect their self concept.

Women in two-thirds of the female focus groups reported that women feel confident about their abilities, have good self esteem, and that microinequities tend to not affect women's sense of self. In contrast, women in two-thirds of the female focus groups reported that women experience some form of self doubt when confronted with microinequities. Relative to self doubt, a minority of women (i.e., women in four out of fifteen female focus groups) reported that women question themselves after experiencing microinequities at meetings and that women are afraid to speak out when treated unfairly by the

organization. On the other hand, women in four out of fifteen focus groups reported that self questioning may be a function of personality rather than microinequities. Women in nearly half of the female focus groups reported that men may feel threatened by successful women, and women in four out of fifteen female focus groups mentioned that women adjust their behavior to protect male colleagues' feelings of self worth. A minority of women (i.e., women in four out of fifteen female focus groups) also reported that women are bothered by not receiving the recognition they deserve, and that younger women may be more likely to be bothered by microinequities.

CHAPTER 7

ENERGY

In addition to examining whether microinequities impact upon a
person's self concept, the current study explored the impact of
microinequities upon employees' energy level or productivity at work.
The focus group participants were asked the following: "How do these
subtle differences or constraints [discussed in a previous question],
related to your gender, impact on your productivity or your available
personal energy at work? (a) Do the subtle differences interfere
with your productivity or energy at work? (b) How have these subtle
differences affected you in terms of frustration, stress, fatigue, or
burnout on the job?"

Participant responses to this question and other comments
related to the theme of Energy were assigned the following codes:
Energy (Effort), Aggression, Anger, Conflict, Cost, Initiative,
Leisure (Extracurricular), Long Hours, Productivity, Strategy,
Stress, Superwoman, and Work Habit.

In addition, comments related to Coping are included in this
chapter on Energy for two reasons. First, coping behaviors require
energy which could otherwise be used for other activities. Second,

the consequences of coping behaviors may be to diminish or enhance one's energy. Participant responses related to the theme of Coping were assigned the following codes: Coping, Conform, and Exit Government.

Table 24 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by group. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 834 coded segments that related to the Energy theme (including Coping). Of the 834 total segments, 589 related to Energy and 245 related to Coping. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 49, whereas the mean number of coded segments per group for males was 27.

Of the 834 coded segments related to Energy (including Coping), 242 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Energy question (i.e., question number four of this researcher's questioning route). The remainder of the Energy comments occurred in the context of other questions. (See Appendix DD for an analysis of the questions after which comments related to energy and coping occurred.)

Table 25 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Participants in all 19 focus groups made comments that were coded as Energy. In addition, all 19 focus groups made comments related to Coping. In 18 of the 19 groups, focus group participants made comments related to Stress, while

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TABLE 24

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO ENERGY THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
ENERGY (EFFORT)	19	90	107	216
Aggression	8	17	39	64
Anger	2	23	11	36
Conflict	7	9	6	22
Cost	1	4	1	6
Initiative	1	6	3	10
Leisure (Extra-Curricular)	1	7	1	9
Long Hours	14	15	22	51
Productivity	1	2	0	3
Strategy	6	20	27	53
Stress	11	47	41	99
Superwoman	0	8	9	17
Work habit	1	2	0	3
# of ENERGY segments (without Coping)	72	250	267	589

TABLE 24 (CONTINUED)

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS

RELATED TO ENERGY THEME

Codes:	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
COPING	20	84	86	190
Conform	10	27	10	47
Exit Government	1	2	5	8
# of COPING segments	31	113	101	245
Total # of ENERGY segments (with COPING)	108	363	368	834
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of ENERGY segments (with COPING)	27	51.9	46	43.9

Note:
Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 25

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS ARE RELATED TO ENERGY THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
ENERGY (EFFORT)	4	7	8	19
Aggression	4	5	7	16
Anger	1	6	5	12
Conflict	3	4	3	10
Cost	1	1	2	4
Initiative	1	4	2	7
Leisure (Extra-Curricular	1	2	1	4
Long Hours	3	6	7	16
Productive	1	1	0	2
Strategy	3	5	6	14
Stress	4	7	7	18
Superwoman	0	4	4	8
Work Habit	1	1	0	2
COPING	4	7	8	19
Conform	3	4	6	13
Exit	1	2	3	6

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus, tallies include equivalent codes.

comments coded as Aggressive and Long Hours were made in 16 of the groups.

With respect to gender differences, comments about Anger were made by eleven of the fifteen female groups, whereas only one male group out of four mentioned Anger. Conflict was mentioned by three out of four male groups, while only seven out of fifteen female groups mentioned Conflict. Similarly, eight out of fifteen female groups, compared to zero out of four male groups, discussed the topic of "Superwomen."

Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings were clustered together. The subsections of this chapter reflect these groupings and are: Stress, Long Hours, Aggression, Strategy, Anger/Conflict, Superwoman, Energy, and Coping. Table 26 summarizes the findings within the Energy theme.

STRESS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Stress and Leisure (Extracurricular). Women in nine out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that women have more stress than men with regard to family obligations.

> : My feeling is that . . . only if you have young children do
> you have added stress compared to males. . . . I think females
> tend to take over.

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TABLE 26
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
ENERGY

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
    "Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
    in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women are affected by
    microinequities.

	Men	Women
STRESS		
* Women have more stress than men because of family obligations.	1	9
* Women experience stress in interpersonal relations with male colleagues.	1	8
Both men and women experience stress at work.	0	8
Women do not experience stress in interpersonal relations with male colleagues.	0	4
Anyone, regardless of gender, has more stress because of family obligations.	1	3
Stress is a function of personality, and is not gender related.	1	2
LONG HOURS		
* Women work longer hours and work harder than their male colleagues.	1	6
Long hours are expected if one wishes to advance to SES.	3	5
Working long hours is a matter of individual choice, not gender.	2	5
Family responsibilities, regardless of gender, often affect one's availability to work long hours.	3	3
Men leave work early for carpools and it's acceptable.	0	2
Supervisors assume single people are more available to work than married people.	0	2
* Family duties are often the woman's responsibility and it becomes a disadvantage.	2	1
Working long hours should not be related to one's advancement opportunity.	2	1
AGGRESSION		
* Women suppress their aggressive tendencies because aggression in women is perceived negatively.	0	7
* Men and women are judged differently when exhibiting similar aggressive behaviors; men are judged positively and women negatively.	0	6
* Women must be aggressive in order to advance.	3	4
Both men and women tend to conform once they are in higher positions.	0	2

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TABLE 26 (CONTINUED)
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
ENERGY

	Men	Women

STRATEGY

	Men	Women
* Women need to develop strategies for dealing with men, particularly at meetings.	0	8
* Women need to develop career strategies.	0	5
* Women need to develop strategies for gaining entrance into male networks.	0	3
Successful people, regardless of gender, use similar strategies to succeed.	1	2
Swearing is an effective technique for women.	1	1

ANGER/CONFLICT

	Men	Women
* Women feel angry when men look at them in a demeaning way, make sexist comments, or take credit for their ideas.	0	9
* Women must suppress their anger.	0	4
* People may resent women who seem to have advanced because of affirmative action.	1	2
People resent anyone who advances, regardless of gender.	0	2
Fulltime workers resent parttime workers, especially those who are promoted.	2	1

SUPERWOMAN

	Men	Women
* Women must be a superwoman to succeed in the workplace.	0	8
Women hold multiple roles at work and at home.	0	4

ENERGY

	Men	Women
* Women must work harder than men to prove they are competent and to advance.	2	12
* Women must take the initiative to overcome microinequities resulting from interpersonal relationships with male colleagues.	0	10
Both men and women must work hard to advance.	3	9
* Women use extra energy when dealing with microinequities.	0	7
* Women must speak out to make others aware women are not being treated fairly.	0	3
* Men have an advantage in the workplace because it was the norm for men to work.	1	2
* Women are advantaged because of affirmative action efforts.	0	2

TABLE 26 (CONTINUED)
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
ENERGY

COPING

* Women must keep up a good attitude when faced with microinequities.	1	14
* Women must learn how to interact with males in order to succeed.	1	12
* Women make their male colleagues aware of microinequities when they occur.	0	12
* Women must conform to the male culture to advance.	2	7
* Microinequities affect women differently and thus women cope differently.	0	6
Organizations help women cope with work-related concerns.	3	5
Anyone, regardless of gender, must learn how to balance family and work.	3	5
Women and men will leave their jobs in certain circumstances.	1	5
* Women find it easier than men to cope with workplace problems.	0	5
* Women use strategies to succeed in their career.	0	5
* Men seem to conform more than women.	0	3
Anyone, regardless of gender, must conform to advance.	1	2
Males and females conform to avoid being seen as a troublemaker.	0	2

: It's certainly taking a toll on [my male employee] while he arranges for day care. But I think the stress is much more on the women because they do feel that it's their primary responsibility to take care of the children, regardless of the fact that their husband carries a fair share.

: I even joke about it when I'm walking down the hall and someone says . . . "You're leaving already? You've only been here ten hours today." "Yeah, I know, I'm going to go home and start my second job." And I think a lot of males. . . turn it off. It's done, they go home [i.e., they don't have a second job at home]. . . And the concern of trying to do well in both jobs puts an extra burden. There's no question.

: I try to be the superwoman, or felt I had to be. . . .I'm doing a very high pace, high stress job, as well as being on a number of board of directors, being president of associations and this and that. . . . as well as running the house, doing the laundry, taking care of my husband's clothes. I have to make sure he looks good for work the next day. . . . Trying to juggle a lot . . . . you do pay a price. There's an enormous amount of stress with that.

In contrast, women in three groups out of fifteen and men in one group out of four stated that people, regardless of gender feel pressure because of family obligations. Some indicated that this was particularly the case for single parents.

Women in eight out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups reported that women experience stress in their interpersonal relationships with male colleagues.

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: I agree that there are many stresses that we feel that every
man feels as well, but I think it's that extra added confusion
that's added to it that's your gender.

: Sometimes having lots of interactions in one day—me being
the only woman—puts a lot of strain and I'm tired. . . . Many
times my meetings and my interactions are personally unpleasant.
While at face value they may not be, . . . the things that I'm
feeling make me feel uncomfortable.

: The idea is that there's stress from the job, but there's the
added stress because of the male-female relationship.

: I think [microinequities do] create some stress for women.
[But] not in my particular case, because the women in our
division . . . have discussed among ourselves . . . how do you
operate within the system . . . in this old boys network.

: What we're talking about, that's probably the additional
stress item. . . [the] extra efforts that I don't think men do.
Although I'm sure there are men who work to establish
credibility and trust and understand other people. But, . . .
we do it a lot. And we do it as a matter of course. It's the
rule rather than the exception for us to do it. So that's extra
work..

In contrast, women in four groups out of fifteen reported that women

do not feel stress in interpersonal relations with men; in addition,

the stress women experience is not gender related. Two women stated,

: I'm certainly not conscious of feeling more stressed . . .
because of being a woman in my environment.

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: I have found that I can talk to men. I've always gotten the support from men where I work as easily as the women.

Women in eight out of fifteen groups stated that both men and women experience stress at work. Some women indicated that the stress is particularly strong at the SES level. In addition, women in two groups and men in one group stated that stress is a function of personality rather than gender related.

: I find more stress in . . . [family obligations] than in what happens on the job. I'm not sure that it makes a difference that I'm a female [with regard to] the amount of work I have to do . . . . I think men have the same from what I've seen.

: Do I feel highly stressed? Do I feel pulled in a number of directions? Yes, I do. Can I say that it's worse on me than on my male colleagues? I don't know.

: Other than having the other additional family responsibilities, I don't think women have more stress on the job than men.

: Whatever stress you're having . . . is being experienced by everybody.

Women in one group out of fifteen and men in one group out of four made the following comments: that managers may feel pressure to accommodate the family needs of workers and that managers may feel

pressure in trying to meet affirmative action goals. Comments from individual female focus group members included: that women may try to relieve stress by taking leisure time, talking to other women, asking advice of other women, and prioritizing what they need to do; that being at work is less stressful than being at home; that women were better at coping with stress because they were "inculcated to expect a certain level of stress and frustration that men aren't"; that part-time workers seem to experience more stress than full-time workers; that women felt pressure to act like men; and that societal norms caused more stress for women than for men. Individual comments by male focus group participants included: that men feel stress about having to be aggressive at work, and that men feel pressure that their actions may be misconstrued as sexual harassment.

LONG HOURS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Long Hours and Work Habit. The comments were fairly evenly divided among those who reported that women work longer hours than men, and those who reported that working long hours is a matter of individual choice irrespective of gender.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups related their observations that women tend to work longer hours and work harder than their male colleagues. Most of the comments were from women at the 13-15 level.

: I think the few women that we have tend to work extra hours
and take work home and some men do, but . . . . the majority
don't.

: In my agency. . . I have observed this on a number of
occasions. [The] second level supervisor is a male, and under
him is a female and a male. . . . I have noticed [that the] male
. . . leaves work 5 o'clock every single day. No matter what,
he is out of there at that same time. On the other hand, the
female works later. She sacrifices her lunch hour. . . . The
second line supervisor never asks the . . . guys to stay over.
Whereas he does it to the female all the time.

(Male): Some of the women managers in this agency seem to live
here. They are early here and they are always late here.

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four

groups indicated that they believed that working long hours was a

matter of individual choice.

: I think some people are coming [to this agency] to stay a
little longer because they don't want to work seven days a week,
twelve hours a day. . . . That means they want to spend time
with their families. We do see that from both the men and the
women wanting to take the work home on the weekends and leaving.

: I don't think we necessarily have to work from 7 to 7. I
think some of that comes down to personal decisions about what
you want to do individually. . . . Some of my male supervisors
or people in SES positions. . . put in longer hours than I do,
but I wouldn't want to do that. I mean, that's a personal
decision I've made.

: The males are as happy . . . to get out as soon as the
females. I don't think anybody wants to stay there any longer.
They're not competing to stay there any later than they have to.

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four

groups commented that long hours are expected if one wishes to

advance to the SES level.

(Male): I have worked in organizations. . . where the
leadership tended to be there until six thirty, seven, seven
thirty in the evening. And to the extent that you wanted to
become part of the management team, you didn't leave.

: I think that there's the ethic in this department, if you're
in the SES, you really better be available from seven to seven.
It's strong in some places.

: Being able to work around the clock . . . makes a difference
in the opportunity for advancement.

Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in three out of

four groups reported that family responsibilities, regardless of

gender, often affect a person's availability to work long hours.

(Male): By the time you get to the senior level, that's behind
you. You've found a way to deal with your personal problems and
time consuming outside activities and you're willing to work
those weekends. . . . And I don't think it's gender specific.
. . . Men have responsibilities on the weekend too.

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Women in two out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four
groups discussed the issue of parttime employment. Women in one out
of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups stated that they
believed that family duties more often become the woman's
responsibility than the man's, and thus "in most cases it puts women
to a disadvantage." Alternatively, women in two out of fifteen
groups mentioned their perception that supervisors often assume that
single people are more available than married people to work late.
Women in one out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups
questioned the relevance of working long hours on one's opportunity
for advancement. Women in two groups commented that they have
observed men leaving work early for their carpool; according to one
woman, "Everyone realizes the demands of the carpool are much more
compelling than those of a sick child."

AGGRESSION

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Aggression. These responses fall along a
continuum ranging from passive at one end to aggressive at the other.
Specifically, the responses reflect the following topics: suppressing
one's inclination to speak, controlling one's aggression, being
willing to speak up, acting assertively, and showing aggression.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups reported that they tended
to suppress their aggressive tendencies because "being aggressive
doesn't get you anywhere."

: I found that being female and black, . . . if I pass the line
of assertiveness into aggressiveness, I'm automatically labeled
as hostile. . . . . So I have to take a different approach to
handling it.

: I've had to work hard to avoid all the stereotypes about
women. . . . . I've seen other women around our agency who men
labeled one way or the other. . . mostly bad, in terms of being
called brash and arrogant and all the names they have, and
bitchy.

: Maybe you would rather that they [male colleagues] go a
different direction. If you present your case too strongly you
can wind up in another bureau. You know, "There goes [so and
so], the troublemaker."

: I have a naturally aggressive tendency. I feel within me all
this energy that I can't apply in the workforce because you have
to toe the line. You are a woman, and you are a minority. So
everybody's watching you. . .
    When you have to take a nonaggressive approach, not only do
you have to work so much harder, but in the long run, you
ultimately do the agency you're working for a disservice. You
lose money, you lose time, you lose resources.

In contrast, women in four out of fifteen groups and men in
three out of four groups indicated that women must become aggressive
in order to advance in the workplace.

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(Male): At the high grade, I can't picture 14 or 15 or SES women who wouldn't speak up at a meeting. . . . If they hold back, they won't be 14s, 15s, or SESers. Now, I don't know what they go through before they speak up.

: Every promotion that I've received. . . has been only because I have a very, very aggressive personality and would absolutely have put people through walls--and have tried and have done it-- when they have tried to block every promotion.

Women in six out of fifteen groups indicated that men and women are judged differently when exhibiting similar aggressive or assertive behaviors. Namely, aggressiveness in men is viewed as acceptable whereas aggressiveness in women is usually negatively perceived.

: I sometimes speak out very forcefully and I objected to something that was being said. . . . My boss told me later that I was being emotional. . . . I thought, "I don't consider it emotional, I'm just speaking out." But if a man had been that other individual and said the same thing, he wouldn't have said that about him.

: If women are assertive and strong, they [men] say they're aggressive and unpleasant, but if men do it. . . they're wonderful leaders. . . . And if women are quiet and retiring they say they don't have any leadership skills. So . . . we get both sides of it.

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: I think certain behaviors in women are not tolerated. If
women behave . . . similar to a man's behavior. . . . a woman
might be perceived . . . . as a bitch. . . . The man is doing
his job. . . . They may make similar comments about men but I
think there's also some bit of admiration for the men.

In contrast, men in one group stated that aggressive women used to be

regarded negatively, but that perceptions have changed and younger

men today do not seem to be intimidated by aggressive women.

Women in two out of fifteen groups felt that both men and women

tended to conform when they moved into the higher graded positions.

One male stated that he felt pressure because of the expectation that

men should be aggressive. Individual comments from female focus

group members include that women may become more aggressive in the

hopes of helping other women to advance, and that aggressive men may

exhaust nonaggressive women.

STRATEGY

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Strategy. Women in eight out of fifteen

groups reported that they needed to develop strategies for dealing

with men, particularly at meetings.

: I've had to think before I speak. I don't want to come
across as whiny. . . I think when women do that they turn off
immediately. . . So I think you have to present yourself as one
of the group, a team player.

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: You've got to study your approach all the time . . . . We constantly have to weigh every situation in terms of how we're going to be perceived and . . . what'll it do to us in the long run. . . because every move is critical. . . . You're allowed fewer mistakes if you're a woman. You can only blow it once. You don't get to blow it again and again and again the way men do, so you must constantly weigh every step.

: I have to think about what I say, whereas I'm not sure that the men do that. And I have to be conscious about how I behave.

: I remember that for a meeting, when I thought it would take approximately an hour, I had all these agenda items. I was through in less than eight minutes. . . . I just spent five hours preparing for this and we just spent eight minutes.

In contrast, only one man mentioned needing to strategize when talking with women because it is easier to "break the ice" with a man by talking about sports or common interests.

Women in five out of fifteen groups mentioned developing career strategies.

: At this grade level, ability is not an issue. It's trying to find the strategies to move up.

: I was careful where I took those jobs in terms of the environment in which I would be working. . . . I have gone about my career growth, career development, set initiatives. . . . I had an agenda.

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In contrast, men in one group and women in two groups stated that successful people, regardless of gender, utilize similar strategies to succeed.

Women in three groups out of fifteen commented that as women, they needed to determine a strategy for gaining an entree into the male network.

> : Some people use information and by not sharing it with you, you're at a disadvantage. You have to spend a lot of time scratching for information, reconnaissance work. Double up on your business lunches, these kinds of things to stay well informed.

One male and one female indicated that swearing is an effective strategic technique for women because "a woman can swear and get more effect out of it than any man can."

ANGER/CONFLICT

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Anger and Conflict. A prominent thought expressed by women in over half of the focus groups was that women often feel angry when confronted with microinequities.

Women in nine groups out of fifteen mentioned feeling angry when men look at them in a demeaning way, when men make sexist comments, or when men take credit for their ideas.

: I got a new boss who was checking out his staff and he asked a cohort of his about us. . . . The way [the cohort] described me was that I was efficient and that I dressed nice. And that was infuriating to me.

: When you see attitudes of men which are . . . protective, patronizing, or maybe seeming as if they have to be careful what they say around you, . . . it offends you that . . . they can't deal with you just as a person.

: Or even the way they address you and look at you. I've had female colleagues tell me that men look at them in a certain way that is demeaning and enraging.

: They told me I could not go to [a certain region] because they would not listen to a woman. And so I had to dump all of my knowledge to a man so he could go out there and brief them. And I just took it. But it really irritated me.

: He . . . called me the blond girl . . . . and was one of the main reasons why I left [that agency]. . . . Even though I was getting the promotions and . . . the awards and. . . . the recognition. . . . after awhile the anger which was fueling me, it was time to say "All right, I've done everything I can to show him that he's wrong and now it's counterproductive and time to go elsewhere."

: They just assume . . . that you're . . . here for entertainment. Your comments triggered more hostility than I knew I had in me.

Women in four groups out of fifteen reported that women must

suppress their anger.

: I don't have the world's greatest temper, but I find that if I show even that much of the kind of anger that males in similar positions do routinely, it's all over the halls and somebody discusses it with me or I'm discussing it with myself.

: When I get angry at a meeting at something that has happened, I have to divert my anger. . . . and forget the pool of what's going on.

Women in two out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups mentioned that people may resent a woman who they perceive has advanced because of affirmative action. In contrast, women in two groups reported that men and women resent women or any person who advanced.

Women in one group and men in two groups talked about fulltime workers resenting women in parttime positions, especially when the parttime person is promoted or is unable to work due to limited hours. Individual comments by female focus group participants include the following: that workers get along better when they have something in common, or when the number of men and women is roughly the same; that conflict between people is not necessarily gender related; that women may have better relationships with older male colleagues than do her younger male counterparts; that men became defensive when women voice differing viewpoints; and that men tend to treat women as inferior when men feel defensive.

SUPERWOMAN

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Superwoman. Women in eight out of fifteen groups indicated that women must perform multiple roles or be a "superwoman" to succeed in the workplace.

>   : You not only have to be better qualified, your credentials
> have to be intact. You have to be superwoman to get the job.
> Once you've got the job, you have to perform like a superwoman.
> You're expected. . . to be twice as good as anybody else in
> order to be heard.

>   : When we have a visible leadership position, . . . if it's a
> woman, we try to choose a superwoman. And I think we do some
> awful things to people in those jobs because of that. But we
> routinely select men who don't walk on water. And if they [the
> men] don't do real well, they say, "Well, he didn't do real
> well, we'll have to move him someplace else."

>   : I came up through my career. . . . with a lot of it being
> based quite frankly on working harder than some of the folks I
> was around and cleaning up after them when they didn't do right.
> And just generally working hard and . . . going to school at
> night, and working during the day, and doing the family. You
> know, the superwoman "I can do it all" bit.

Women in four groups out of fifteen discussed the multiple roles women hold, namely at work and at home.

: I'm more tired than my counterparts that are male. And I
know many male Senior Executives whose wives still pack their
suitcase for them and have it ready for the trip the next day.
And . . . I'm making my midnight run to the one-hour dry cleaner
that stays open all night so I can go.

In contrast, one woman asserted that women no longer need to be

superwomen now that more women have entered the workforce.

ENERGY

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn

from segments coded as Energy (Effort), Initiative, Productivity, and

Cost. Many of these segments have already been described in the

previous sections and will not be repeated here.

Women in twelve out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four

groups stated that females must work harder than men to prove that

they are competent and deserve to advance.

: I personally think that women have to work harder than men to
prove themselves. . . . I have observed that men are promoted
sooner than women and . . . when I push for [the] promotion [of
women on my staff], I've really had to fight to get them
promoted.

: Most women before they get positions of authority . . . have
done all the dirty work for somebody. . . . So by the time they
give you the authority . . . you really know what you're doing.

: I felt I had to do a lot more. . . . I had to prove myself more than the male competitors for the job.

: If you talk to any women in the grades 13 to 15 in the federal government and they said they didn't have to work harder, they're kidding themselves or lying to you.

: I want to emphasize that it has always been a process of showing that you can do better. Showing that you can do more work and not letting anyone say, "Oh, because you are a girl, you can't compete. . . or you can't do this." . . . No one can take that away from the environment.

: If you have opportunities to make points, lobby for issues in an informal setting over lunch or while you're out jogging or whatever, that's a lot easier. That takes a lot less energy than making an appointment, . . . cooling your heels outside until it's your turn to talk, or writing a memo. . . . [T]hat's bound to siphon off some effort that you could use to get the job done.

Similarly, women in seven groups out of fifteen reported that women

use extra energy when dealing with microinequities.

: If you're not part of that circle, you have to figure out a way to gain that entree. That must take more energy.

: I get awfully tired, though, at the end of a meeting to have the boss say "Okay fellows, let's go and get the job done!"

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: Think of the kinds of energy . . . in terms of how she had to
not interact with people and had to have a certain stance. . . .
That takes tremendous energy to combat or to stop.

: I had to force myself to do things in order to feel included.

In contrast, women in nine out of fifteen groups and men in

three out of four groups stated that both men and women must work

hard and be willing to do what is needed to advance.

: I think everybody here has a hard job and everybody really
has to work very hard to keep up.

: The higher you go up, the harder it is. That may be because
we are women and it may not be. It's just harder--it's more
competition as it narrows toward the top. But I feel it, I see
it. It's harder.

: I haven't observed that . . . it's harder to justify
promotions for women.

(Male): I have always felt like I was in a performance based
culture where if I worked hard and did a good job, I was
recognized, I was rewarded. . . and it had nothing to do with my
gender.

Women in ten out of fifteen groups commented that women must

take the initiative to overcome microinequities that result from

interpersonal relationships with male colleagues.

: I had to prove myself in order to . . . become a part of the group, and it has always been that way.

: When I speak to women, I always tell them, especially the younger women, you must go out and make the initial contact. You must break the ice. You must find something that they can talk to you about to get the discussion going so they can find out that you don't have two heads.

: I guess the question I ask is, then, is it up to us to make those connections--to make the effort to establish a more social relationship as well as a professional one with these people?

Women in two groups and men in one group stated that in the workplace, men have had an advantage over women because "it was the norm" for a man to work while "it's not yet the norm for a female." Similarly, women in three groups indicated that women must speak up in order to make others aware that women are not receiving fair treatment, but "there is an extra burden placed on [women] to speak to it." In contrast, women in two groups reported feeling advantaged because of affirmative action efforts and that women nowadays, all things being equal, may have an advantage to men.

COPING

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Coping, Exit Government, and Conform. Some of these segments have already been described in previous sections and

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will not be repeated here. However, many of the segments coded as coping that were already mentioned previously will be described here because they represent a different facet of previously mentioned phenomena.

Most of the comments related to coping reflect the following ideas: how microinequities affect women's attitudes at work; whether women benefit from making men aware of microinequities; how women interact with males, or conform to the male culture, if they wish to succeed in the workplace; how women are affected by and cope with microinequities, including those women who decide to leave; whether organizations provide support for women to succeed in the workplace; how women develop career strategies for coping; and how anyone, regardless of gender, must learn how to balance family and work commitments.

Women in fourteen out of fifteen groups and men in one group out of four stated that when faced with microinequities, one must just keep up a good attitude.

: For the first twenty years of my stay here all [professionals in my field] were referred to as men regardless of sex. Every meeting I went to began with gentlemen. And basically you don't let it bother you. Who has time to bother?

: The more subtle things I . . . just ignore. . . . I do my job and if those things exist, that's your problem that's not my problem.

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: Anyone who's going to get ahead is not going to be able to hassle the small stuff, whether it's sexual, whether it's just unevenhandedness, or type of assignments. . . . People who get ahead. . . are the people who are willing to do any assignment and to move on with it. And I don't think that it's productive for women to focus on the very subtle discrimination.

: That kind of thing happens and you know it happens. I don't know how you get over that, but you can't be frustrated by it day by day because those are the kinds of things that you can't break through. There are certain rapports among all people generally. And then you see them happening among men, but they happen among women too.

: You just have to . . . say . . . "The boys are still boys, . . it's their problem," and move on with it.

: I used to be very offended or . . . . tried to rush around and establish my credentials. And now, one of the . . . responses I have is . . . just sort of laugh. And I mean a big, uproarious laugh. Because they don't expect it.

Women in twelve out of fifteen groups stated that they have made men aware of microinequities.

: I got feedback from the way those . . . panels worked and about how men took votes about women who weren't going to get promoted. And I took it right where I needed to take it to let them know this is not right and somebody ought to change it.

: You have to speak to [microinequities], but there is an extra burden placed on us to speak to it. And it is a fact of life, there's no question.

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: You survived through [microinequities]. You do an educating job. . . for all the women who come after you.

: A lot of things don't bother me that used to bother me, . . . but. . . . there was one meeting, and I don't know why. This has not bothered me for years. He said "girls." And it was the way he said it. . . . I don't know what I did, but they moved back. . . . I literally would've hauled off and hit the man.

: Because most of our women [professionals] are not shrinking violets, . . . they'll tell a guy where to get off if something happens.

: A guy will say to me something like "You know, you remind me of my mother or my wife." And I said, "Funny, because you don't remind me of my husband at all, or my son. . . ." You've go to bring it back to business.

: When some men have been very crude I have said, "You don't talk to me in that manner and I prefer you don't talk that way around me."

Women in twelve out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups mentioned that women must learn how to interact with males in order to succeed.

: Every morning we would go down to the cafeteria, Monday morning, and the subject was football. So the guy I was dating then taught me how to understand football and we actually went to football games so that I could discuss it with the guys so that I didn't feel excluded.

: You have to be more patient. You have to be more tolerant. .
. even when they are trying to catch themselves. . . . You have
to tolerate the slurs when they slip out.

: [The men] knew each other already and if you want to have any
influence . . . .it was up to me . . . to make sure that I got
to know who the important . . . people were.

: We. . . come up with whatever is our personal way of
circumventing it and going through the back door. . . . So it's
just bit by bit I see these barriers and these old styles being
eroded and . . . we [are] doing . . . whatever we can to make it
happen, and not waiting for some pronouncement from somebody to
open a gate.

: You've got to be able to play their game, or they don't want
to play.

Similarly, women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in two
out of four groups said that women must conform to the male culture
to advance. Some representative comments are below.

: I think people tend to select people for jobs or want people
around them who are like them. And one of the reasons women
have been left out is because they're not like men. . . If it's
an all male culture and you want to succeed in it, you have to
at least be aware of how things are done and operate by their
rules. Then when you get in charge you can change things.

: We've had to learn to adjust to [the men's] world.

> : I had one man describe me as the best man he had. . . I can't
> tell you how many men in the hallway came up to me and said "The
> best man got the job." And I smiled and I said thank you.
> Because I knew that was the best compliment they knew how to
> give me. It didn't occur to them that I might be the best
> person for the job.

One man stated that in the past, women needed to conform, but they no

longer have to conform.

In contrast, women in two out of fifteen groups and men in one

out of four groups stated that anyone, regardless of gender, must

conform to advance. Women in two groups mentioned that males and

females conform to avoid being seen as a troublemaker. Women in

three out of fifteen groups reported that men seem to conform more

than women, while one male stated that anyone who is the

"breadwinner" will tend to conform more.

Women in six out of fifteen groups mentioned that

microinequities affect women differently and thus women cope

differently.

> : I feel the same way you do. And I react the same way you do.
> But . . . what I have to remember is that people aren't
> necessarily like me. And that's . . . okay. . . .Maybe . . .
> something that would bother them wouldn't necessarily bother me,
> but maybe they're right. There's a legitimacy to that
> bothering. It's just like being called sweetie or whatever by
> your associates. It just didn't bother you; it probably
> wouldn't bother me. . . . But it was bothering somebody who was
> younger and you did deal with it.

: I think one of the things you decide to do is confront, or get angry, or leave. . . . Different people have different ways of dealing with it.

: Are we representative though in terms of the future? How many women are excluded from progressions that they should make or jobs that they should have because they aren't able to laugh it off. . . .

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups talked about leaving their jobs.

: There's a number of us, female. . . . that we feel like ladies in waiting or something. . . . And unfortunately, ladies in waiting for what? I'll be dead before there would be an opening. So in other words, to get a 15, you must look elsewhere.

: I was told I wasn't doing certain assignments because . . . I was a female. . . . I was given a whole range of excuses and so I decided it was time for me to leave there.

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups discussed organizational support in helping people to cope with issues in the workplace.

: One of the . . . big advantages at [our agency] is the extensive use of flexi-time. . . . That's literally how I made it the first few years I was here, was working 7 until 4 most days.

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Women in five out of fifteen groups talked about the strategies

they used to succeed in their career.

: You know what you want, so you've got to figure out. . . .
who am I dealing with, and how am I going to deal with them to
get what I want? And I don't really know that males have to do
that.

: The thing that you have to do individually or collectively is
to look to yourself, to get yourself the skills that you need. .
. fight back with everything that you have that is legal. And
if you don't get what you think is coming to you, look to
yourself first.

Women in five out of fifteen groups indicated that women find it

easier than men to cope with various workplace issues.

: Something very positive . . . is that women . . . get
together and . . . discuss these issues and feelings. . . . I
think when these things do come up, we have better release
mechanisms for not letting them build up.

: In terms of adjustment to that kind of displacement, [it] was
much more personally damaging to white males in that
organization than it was to minorities and women because of our
perception that we don't get things that easily, or things are
not really that secure, that stable, in our lives. . . . We
always have that degree of healthy insecurity--that we don't
have that full trust in that organization taking care of us.

: I think that all those things make you stronger as a
professional. You learn to do a lot and not rely on a lot of
people for extra help.

Women in five groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out of four stated that regardless of gender, people must learn how to balance family and work responsibilities.

> (Male): [Employees] will have worked out an accommodation of family responsibilities when they get to that stage so that if they want to play in the pool, they will. And I don't think it's gender specific. . . . Men have responsibilities on the weekend, too.

> : I've just had to adjust to it on a personal level knowing . . . that it's going to affect my career if I'm not at that seven o'clock meeting or that Sunday or Saturday session. So I've had to make some personal adjustments in terms of having someone available that I can just call and say, I need you to come over and take care of the baby.

Individual males made other comments related to coping. One male did not know how to facilitate the interaction of men and women in the workplace. Other males questioned how they could effectively deal with women on maternity leave.

SUMMARY

In sum, focus group participants described how microinequities affect their energy and productivity. The broad categories included stress, long hours, aggression, superwoman, strategy, anger/conflict, energy, and coping. The mean number of comments per female group was nearly double the mean number of comments per male group. In

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general, women participants reported expending greater amounts of energy at work than their male counterparts.

With regard to anger, women in over half of the female groups reported that women feel angry when experiencing microinequities, such as when men look at them in a demeaning way, make sexist comments, or take credit for their ideas. Women in over half the female groups mentioned that women must be superwomen to succeed in the workplace, that women must work harder than men to prove they are competent, that women must take the initiative to overcome microinequities resulting from interpersonal relationships with male colleagues, and that women use extra energy when dealing with microinequities. In contrast, women in nearly half the female groups reported that both men and women must work hard to advance.

With regard to coping, women in over two-thirds of the female groups reported that women must keep up a good attitude when faced with microinequities, that women must learn how to interact with males in order to succeed, and that women must make their male colleagues aware of microinequities when they occur. Similarly, women in nearly half the focus groups stated that women must conform to the male culture to advance. On the other hand, women in six out of fifteen focus groups reported that microinequities affect women differently and thus women cope differently.

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CHAPTER 8

CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The last focus group question addressed the issue of career development. Specifically, this researcher sought to discover whether participants perceived that subtle differences in the workplace made any impact on career success. Focus group participants were asked the following question: "How do these subtle differences or constraints affect you in terms of your ability to be successful on the job?" (For the exact wording of the question posed to male participants, see Appendix O.)

Participant responses to the question on Career Development, and other comments relating to career success, were assigned 44 different codes. Based upon responses from all 19 focus groups, there was a total of 1450 coded segments that related to the Career Development theme. The mean number of coded segments per group for females was 76.8, versus 74.5 for the males. Table 27 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group type.

Table 28 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Participants in all 19 focus groups made comments relating to Advancement, Credentials, and Mobility. In

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TABLE 27

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS
RELATED TO CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEME

Codes:	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
ADVANCE (HIRING, OPPORTUNITY, PROMOTION, SUCCESS)	115	150	205	470
Assignment (Responsibility)	5	26	31	62
Awards (Credit, Money, Reward)	3	18	19	40
Career Path	5	7	6	18
Clerical	0	3	6	9
Compete	8	6	14	28
Credential (Competent, Education, Experience, Job Qualifications, Military, Standards, Training)	61	98	149	308
Government Jobs	0	2	2	4
Male Occupation (Technical)	13	9	26	48
Mobility (Travel)	21	32	27	80
Organizational Support	8	17	18	43
Outside Government	0	4	0	4

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TABLE 27 (CONTINUED)

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS
RELATED TO CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
Parties	0	1	15	16
Part-time	10	15	1	26
Power (Leadership, SES Status)	16	47	44	107
Supervisor (Subordinate)	20	37	58	115
Traditional Roles	13	23	36	72
Total # of coded segments	298	495	657	1450
# of Groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	74.5	70.7	82.1	76.4

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 28

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS ARE RELATED TO CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
ADVANCE (HIRING, OPPORTUNITY, PROMOTION, SUCCESS)	4	7	8	19
Assignment (Responsibility)	2	6	7	15
Awards (Credit, Money, Reward)	2	2	6	10
Career Path	2	3	1	6
Clerical	0	1	3	4
Compete	3	5	7	15
Credential (Competent, Education, Experience, Job Qualifications, Military, Standards, Training)	4	7	8	19
Government Jobs	0	2	1	3
Male Occupation (Technical)	4	4	8	16
Mobility (Travel)	4	7	8	19
Organizational Support	2	5	7	14

TABLE 28 (CONTINUED)

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS
ARE RELATED TO CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Codes:				
Outside Government	0	2	2	4
Parties	0	1	3	4
Part-time	4	2	1	7
Power (Leadership, SES Status)	3	7	8	18
Supervisor (Subordinate)	4	7	7	18
Traditional Roles	3	6	8	17

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus tallies include equivalent codes.

18 of the 19 focus groups, participants mentioned comments related to Power and Supervisor-Subordinate Relationships. Participants in 17 of the 19 focus groups discussed Traditional Male Roles, while participants in 16 of the 19 focus groups mentioned Traditional Male Occupations. Participants in 15 of 19 focus groups discussed Work Assignments and Competition for positions. Participants in 14 groups discussed Organizational Support.

Of the 1450 coded segments related to the Career Development theme, 115 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Career Development question (i.e., question number five of this researcher's questioning route). The majority of the comments relating to Career Development (i.e., 628 comments) were made after the first four questions asked by the MSPB. A review of the MSPB questions shows that the questions were targeted specifically to address career advancement issues. (See Appendix EE for the questions after which comments related to Career Development occurred.)

Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings were clustered together. The 44 codes related to the Career Development theme reflect these groupings and were categorized into ten subsections which comprise this chapter: Credentials, Travel/Mobility, Power, Supervisory-Subordinate Relationships, Traditional Male Occupations, Work Assignments, Competition with

Peers, Organizational Support, Rewards, and Advancement. Table 29 summarizes the findings within the Career Development theme.

An eleventh subsection is titled Legal and Political Issues. In addition to the 1450 comments made by focus group participants related to the Career Development theme, this subsection is composed of an additional 205 comments related to political and legal issues affecting career success. These 205 comments were grouped into seven different codes and were coded as follows: Affirmative Action, Agency Performance, Decision, Discrimination, Policy, Political, and Representation. These comments appear in a separate subsection in order to highlight the emphasis on legal means of addressing differences in the workplace.

With regard to legal and political issues affecting career success, the mean number of coded segments per group for females was 11.26, versus 9.0 for the males. Table 30 shows the number of coded segments for each code word by focus group type. Likewise, Table 31 shows the number of groups in which coded segments occurred by focus group type. Participants in 17 out of 19 focus groups made comments relating to Affirmative Action, and participants in 16 out of 19 focus groups made comments relating to Discrimination.

Of the 205 coded segments related to Legal and Political issues affecting Career Development theme, 20 of the comments were made during the discussion following the Career Development question

TABLE 29
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
   in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women are affected by
   microinequities.

	Men	Women
CREDENTIALS		
Job Qualifications		
* Women must be better qualified than men to advance.	0	12
* Men's assumptions sometimes prevent women's career advancement.	0	9
Men and women are promoted based upon their competence, not because of gender.	4	6
Credentials are needed to advance in the workplace for both men and women.	2	4
* Women are not accepted as competent until they prove themselves.	0	4
* When a woman is incompetent, it harms other women's chances for advancement.	0	3
The military helps men build leadership skills.	2	0
Training		
* Women have to ask for training and may not be selected as often as men.	0	8
Training helps both men and women advance.	1	7
Training is equally available for men and women.	2	6
Diversity training helps people become more aware of diversity issues.	1	3
Training is granted to higher level people because of minimum requirements.	0	2
* Men get more management training than females.	0	2
Training is not enough to influence promotions.	1	1
TRAVEL/MOBILITY		
People with family responsibilities must make accommodations to travel.	2	4
Willingness to travel may affect career advancement.	1	4
Anyone, regardless of gender, with family duties may decide not to travel.	0	4
* Women must be careful of the way they are perceived when they travel.	0	4
* Women are excluded from social functions when traveling.	0	4
* Men often make assumptions about women's availability to travel.	1	3
Women are more mobile than their male counterparts.	0	3
* People often assume women are not mobile.	0	3
Both men and women need to attend to security issues when traveling.	0	2

TABLE 29 (CONTINUED)
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
CAREER DEVELOPMENT

	Men	Women
POWER		
* Men control the networks for advancement.	0	5
Women can and must help women when they obtain positions of power.	0	4
* Women in positions comparable to men often wield less actual power.	1	2
Men are more careful how they relate to a woman who has higher power.	2	1
SUPERVISOR-SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS		
* Male subordinates have difficulties with female supervisors.	0	7
Gender is irrelevant when judging the quality of supervisors.	3	2
Male subordinates worry about reverse discrimination.	0	2
* Male supervisors ask women to assume more work than men.	0	2
* Women are not comfortable dealing with male bosses.	0	2
* Supervisors need to change their attitudes about women.	0	2
Men do not mind having women supervisors.	2	0
TRADITIONAL MALE OCCUPATIONS		
* Women have difficulty moving into traditional male fields.	2	7
The number of women in traditional male fields is increasing.	2	5
The number of women in traditional male fields varies by agency.	1	2
WORK ASSIGNMENTS		
* Women are often given less responsible assignments than men.	2	10
Men and women receive the same assignments.	1	6
* Assumptions are made about what women want in their career.	0	6
* Women are usually asked to organize parties.	0	3
Both men and women need consideration about assignments due to family duties.	0	2
Women may have an advantage in getting assignments.	0	2
Men sometimes help with parties.	0	2
COMPETITION WITH PEERS		
* Men generally have a competitive advantage compared to women.	0	5
Women compete equally with men.	3	3
Competition is harder today than before, regardless of one's gender.	0	3

TABLE 29 (CONTINUED)
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
CAREER DEVELOPMENT

	Men	Women
ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT		
* Organizational support varies; women may get less support than men.	2	8
Some organizations are now providing support for family needs.	2	5
REWARDS		
* Women get fewer awards than men and receive less recognition.	0	5
Money is sometimes not divided fairly between men and women	0	5
PROMOTION/HIRING		
* Networks help men find opportunities.	2	7
* Women face various problems because of stereotypes.	1	7
* Women must have excellent credentials to compete.	1	6
* Assumptions are often made about women's lack of interest in advancement.	0	5
Promotional opportunities are equivalent for men and women.	3	3

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TABLE 30

TOTAL NUMBER OF CODED SEGMENTS
RELATED TO LEGAL/POLITICAL THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
Codes:				
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	9	40	16	65
Agency Performance	0	2	0	2
Decision	0	7	7	14
Discrimination	17	25	36	78
Policy	4	15	9	28
Political	5	0	3	8
Representation	1	1	8	10
Total # of coded segments	36	90	79	205
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Mean # of coded segments	9	12.9	9.9	10.8

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus tallies include equivalent codes.

TABLE 31

NUMBER OF GROUPS IN WHICH CODED SEGMENTS
ARE RELATED TO LEGAL/POLITICAL THEME

	MALE	FEMALE SES	FEMALE 13-15	TOTAL
# of groups:	4	7	8	19
Code words:				
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	3	7	7	17
Agency Performance	0	2	0	2
Decision	0	3	4	7
Discrimination	4	7	5	16
Policy	2	5	3	10
Political	3	0	1	4
Representation	1	1	3	5

Note: Thematic codes are in capital letters. Regular codes are in small letters. Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning; thus tallies include equivalent codes.

(i.e., question number five of this researcher's questioning route).
The majority of the comments relating to Legal and Political issues
(i.e., 80 comments) were made after the first four questions asked by
the MSPB. The remainder of the Legal/Political comments occurred in
the context of other questions. (See Appendix FF for the questions
after which comments related to Legal and Political issues affecting
Career Development occurred.)

Word segments that were assigned codes with similar meanings
were clustered together. The focus group responses described related
to legal and political issues are grouped as follows: Affirmative
Action, Discrimination, Policies, and Representation. Table 32
summarizes the findings within the Legal/Political theme.

CREDENTIALS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Credential, Competent, Education, Experience,
Job Qualifications, Military, Standards, and Training. All of the
aforementioned codes, with the exception of Military and Training,
were combined under one subsection entitled Job Qualifications. The
following divisions reflect these groupings: Job Qualifications,
Military, and Training.

TABLE 32
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
LEGAL/POLITICAL

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women are affected by
microinequities.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

	Men	Women
* Selection decisions are based on criteria favoring men.	1	10
Affirmative action has helped women to advance.	0	7
Affirmative action is necessary to bring about change.	0	7
Women have not experienced discrimination.	1	6
Agencies may advance women so that the agency gets credit for affirmative action.	0	5
* People may think a woman got a job because of affirmative action, not competence.	0	4
Anyone, regardless of gender, may experience discrimination.	1	3
Men are worried that they will face discrimination.	1	3
* Affirmative action may cause harm if the wrong woman is put in the job.	0	3

Job Qualifications

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Credential, Competent, Education, Experience,
Job Qualifications, Military, and Standards were combined. The
prominent ideas expressed by participants include (a) that women must
be better qualified than men to advance, and (b) that men's
assumptions about women hinder career advancement for women. Women
in twelve out of fifteen groups mentioned that women must be better
qualified than men to advance.

: If a woman is obviously better qualified, there's no doubt
that she'll be selected. . . . There's not the discrimination
that might have occurred 20 years ago. But I think she still
has to be better qualified.

: As far as the promotional opportunity, it seems like for
women to get ahead, they have to meet every single prerequisite.
. . . . If there's one little gap, they're overlooked. While
males don't have to meet every single prerequisite. You have to
have the experience. You have to have the degree. You have to
have the age. You have to fit all categories, . . . which I
think it's not as rigidly held to when it comes to men.

: I am now going to graduate school to get another degree which
most of my male counterparts do not have just so that I can be
considered for some of these other positions.

: I think [women] have had to be head and shoulders above the
men in general.

In contrast, one woman stated:

   : We're advancing a lot of women who are not meeting the same
   performance standards that they're holding for men.

   Women in nine groups out of fifteen mentioned that men's

assumptions sometimes prevent women's career advancement. For

example,

   : The other professionals that you work with look at you as if
   you were only selected because you're a woman. You're
   immediately discounted that the only reason you got there is
   because you are a woman.

   : If you're the one always called on to do the parties and yet
   never called on to . . . represent your boss at a staff meeting.
   There's something they are saying about their evaluation of you
   and your level of competence.

   Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in all four groups

stated that men and women are promoted based upon their competence,

not because of gender.

   : [People] are judged individually rather than whether they are
   a man or a woman, and you have incompetent men and incompetent
   women. . . . You also have very competent men and very
   competent women, and I think it's more on an individual basis
   than question of whether they're a man or woman.

: From my experience, the only criticism has been with actually evaluating the caliber of the performance, not the person, male or female. They may say the female isn't doing too well, but it's not because it's a female. They give compliments where compliments are due.

'

Women in four out of fifteen groups commented that women are not accepted as competent until they prove themselves.

: When I go into a meeting where I'm totally unknown, and I don't know the people, I feel that women are not necessarily accepted as competent until they speak up and they're proven competent. You carry a position and title with you. But . . . men, when they go into that same situation, they are assumed competent until they speak up and prove they aren't competent.

Women in four out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups mentioned that credentials are needed to advance in the workplace.

: I think that women perhaps need to have [training] more on their resume. All other things being equal, it gives them more credibility to have completed certain things.

: There are certain training courses, like the FEI for example. . . If you don't have that, your chances of becoming SES are slim.

Women in three groups out of fifteen stated that when a woman is incompetent, it harms other females' chances for advancement.

: You put the wrong woman in a job and she does damage to all
women. . .

With regard to military experience, focus group participants
made a variety of comments. Female participants mentioned: that
military males have an advantage over women in terms of advancement,
and that because ex-military personnel are accustomed to having their
education paid for, women have reaped that benefit as well. Male
participants in two out of four groups commented that the military
helped them build leadership skills.

Focus group participants made a variety of other individual
comments relating to job qualifications. Comments by male
participants include: that standards of advancement are not always
relevant, that men will not promote female subordinates because they
lack interpersonal skills, and that job qualifications may change
according to the gender of the applicant or what is politically
correct. Comments by female participants include: that women advance
because of technical skills and men because of managerial skills,
that there are many qualified women for upper level positions, that
women are held to lower standards so it is easier for them to
advance, that women must have more credentials to advance, that women
must look at themselves to see if they have credentials enough to
advance, that women do not know the qualifications it takes to

advance, and that the criteria used for advancement may bias
selection against women because men choose those who have experiences
similar to their own.

Training

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from the segments coded as Training. Ideas expressed by participants
in nearly half the groups were that women may not have as many
opportunities as men have for training, and that training helps both
men and women advance. Women in eight groups out of fifteen
commented that women have to ask for training and may not be selected
as often as men.

     : A lot of times we're not given the opportunity as women,
especially as minority women. We're not given the training
opportunities that the males are. So when it comes time for a
promotion, we are overlooked, or we are not selected.

     : Where I work, [it's] all females. . . . Last year my
supervisor put in for two of us to go to training. . . . We got
scratched. And I'm not saying that we got scratched and other
females didn't go, but the people who did go were male.

     : I haven't been to FEI. . . . I did technical training. . .
but I found that I had to ask for it.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that training helps both men and women advance.

> : I found that a lot of the training courses offered through the agency helped in terms of my moving upward in the agency. That's one of the things that they looked for. Especially the fact that you voluntarily asked for the training as opposed to being forced to do it.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups stated that training is equally available for men and women.

> : In my division, there is a career path. We bring people in as trainees and they can go up as high as they want to if they are motivated. I don't think there's any bias between men and women. It's based on your motivation and your capabilities and your interests.

Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four group mentioned that diversity training helps people become more aware of diversity issues. Women in two out of fifteen groups commented that there are minimum requirements to qualify for training, thus training usually is granted to higher level people. Women in two out of fifteen groups stated that men get more management training than females. Individual comments by one male and one female focus group participant include that training is not enough to influence promotions.

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Mobility and Travel. With regard to travel,
women in four out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups
stated that people with family responsibilities must make
accommodations in order to travel. For example,

> : Two couple families that both have careers that they both
> have to achieve a balance who's going to change their schedule,
> make sure that they're not traveling to stay home to take care
> of the children.

Women in four out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four
groups commented that willingness to travel may affect career
advancement.

> : There are certain positions that for the times in my career I
> wouldn't have really been able to accept just because of the
> amount of travel involved.

Similarly, women in four groups out of fifteen stated that both
men and women with family responsibilities may decide not to travel
because of family responsibilities.

> : I've heard men say that they wouldn't take certain types of
> jobs because they had small children at home and that they
> didn't want to be away for a long time.

Women in four groups out of fifteen mentioned that women must be careful about the way they are perceived when they travel.

: When you are on travel, you cannot hang in the bar after the meeting is over with the guys usually. . . . Because [the agency] is a small town and they talk about the women here that do that. So you do have to be very careful.

Women in four out of fifteen groups discussed being excluded from social functions when traveling.

: I've had to travel a lot and go to conferences. . . . A lot of times I'm the only woman there. . . . After we finish the procedures in the evening, everybody goes out for dinner, except for me.

Women in three out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that men often make assumptions about women's availability and interest in traveling.

: I had two children at the time. . . . I remember being told once that "You can't go on any trips. Who's going to take care of your children?" Well, that's my concern, and I would like to pick and make that decision myself.

Women in two groups mentioned that both men and women need to be attentive to security issues when traveling. Other individual comments by female focus group participants include: that male

colleagues do more traveling because of funding, and that bosses sometimes accommodated women's travel schedules because of family demands.

With regard to mobility, women in three out of fifteen groups commented that women are more mobile than their male counterparts.

: Just looking around this table, there are at least four of us that have moved around among agencies.

On the other hand, women in three groups out of fifteen mentioned that people often assume that women are not mobile.

: There is always this thing females are not going to want to move as much as males.

Individual comments include: that staying in one agency may facilitate advancement, that women may decide to change jobs if they encounter barriers, and that men today may follow their wives who move.

POWER

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Power and SES Status. Women in five out of fifteen groups stated that men control the networks for advancement.

: There should be at least minorities and women in every selecting panel. . . . For the most part, when there is a 14 or 15, there are predominantly male panelists who are looking at you.

: It's still a world in which men are still in control. They still have the controlling positions. They still make the policy decisions.

Women in four out of fifteen groups commented that women can and must help other women when they obtain power.

: I think that as you get more women into the policy level positions and into arenas that have the ability to influence directly a selection, a decision, an appointment, a detail, an assignment, it will work the same as men have worked it. It's just waiting to have enough women enter into that level of management.

Women in two groups and men in one group mentioned that women in positions comparable to men often wield less actual power.

: [When] we went from a male. .. to a female [boss], . . . I've been steadily watching her declining power in this position. From the littlest things, as being the [ceremonial head]. [The previous male boss] was always the [ceremonial head] . . . and this year,. . . it was someone else. . . . A male.

Women in one group and men in two groups stated that men are more careful how they related to a women who has higher power. Other individual comments by female focus group participants include: that

power is related to rank, that informal networks are powerful in advancing people, that power helps give women a sense of humor, and that by the time a female obtains power she is really experienced.

SUPERVISOR-SUBORDINATE RELATIONSHIPS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Supervisor, Subordinate, and Leadership. With regard to subordinates, women in seven out of fifteen groups discussed the difficulties male subordinates have with female supervisors.

> : I supervise some white males who are older than me. . . . They're having a real hard time adjusting to having a younger woman supervise them.

> : When field people come in . . . they're not used to dealing with women in senior positions. . . . If I go to a meeting . . . it just really blows their mind, because they don't know who's in charge. And it's such a hierarchical organization—everyone wants to make sure they kiss up to who their more senior person is because they may need them for a job later on.

Females in two groups stated that male subordinates worried about reverse discrimination. Focus group participants made the following individual comments: that subordinates must learn the language of their supervisor, that younger women have very different experiences than those of older women, that male subordinates may treat their

female supervisor like their mother, and that male subordinates find it easy to chat informally with male bosses.

With regard to supervisor and leadership, males in three out of four groups and females in two out of fifteen groups stated that gender is irrelevant regarding quality of supervisors.

(Male): I think it's on a case-by-case basis. I think there are good male supervisors and I think there are good female supervisors. I think there are both bad supervisors that are managers in both sexes. . . . You can't just stereotype.

There were a variety of individual comments expressed by focus group participants regarding supervisors. Male participants in two out of four groups mentioned that men do not mind having women supervisors. Women participants in two out of fifteen groups stated that male supervisors tend to ask women to assume more work than men. Women in two out fifteen groups also mentioned that women may not be as comfortable dealing with male bosses. Women in two out of fifteen groups reported that supervisors need to change their attitudes about women.

TRADITIONAL MALE OCCUPATIONS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Male Occupation, Technical, and Traditional Roles. Women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in two out of

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four groups stated that women have difficulty moving into traditional male fields.

> (Male: [In traditionally male divisions], there are opportunities that . . . have been historically a male bastion. You're not going to move up unless you have . . . [had a certain experience]. . . . For those types of occupations, it will take time for [women] to catch up.

> : It's tough, and I think women have to realize that if your field is dominated by men, then it's hard. . . to break through.

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups commented that the number of women in traditional male fields is increasing.

> : We are beginning to see some women break into the traditional men's networks to get them in line to move into positions.

Women in two out of fifteen groups and males in one out of four groups stated that the number of women in traditional male fields varies by agency.

WORK ASSIGNMENTS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Assignment, Responsibility, Career Path, and Parties. Women in ten out of fifteen groups and men in two out of

four groups commented that women are often given less responsible

assignments than men.

: Most of the women in the SES in the department are in
administrative occupations or in administrative channels. There
are very few SES women in what I call line management jobs,
meaning that they're at the head of a major organizational
mission type of a function.

: The other guys in the office, they were the same grade that I
was, but many times I'd end up getting the jobs that the boss
didn't want to give them to do.

: Most women, before they get positions of authority, . . .
have done all the dirty work for somebody. . . . You're
somebody's assistant, somebody's deputy, and somebody's staff
assistant. . . . You really are doing all the work the other
person is assigning . . . You go through years of your life . .
. . so by the time they give you the authority, . . . you really
know what you're doing.

: If there was a duty to be assigned to a group and it was more
mundane or detailed or whatever, . . .it went our way.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four

groups stated that men and women receive the same assignments.

: In terms of being offered assignments, I have not experienced
the kind of thing where I thought it mattered that I was a
female.

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: We don't have any children, so to me it's just like the good
old boys in terms of my assignments, just like what the guys do.
And I think that's because folks know I don't have children.

Women in six out of fifteen groups stated that assumptions are

made about what women want in their career.

: It was very difficult to get supervisory experience if you
were a woman. . . You could get advanced in staff jobs, but you
really were not in the running to be a unit manager of any type.
So that I experienced supervision for the first time with
considerable resentment when I was pushing 40 because I felt
that I should have had it before then.

: I think women aren't given as many challenges and
opportunities. . . . When you're a manager and you have a really
difficult assignment, . . . I tend to give it to somebody that I
have full confidence. . . . And because men haven't had much
experience with women professionals, many of them don't have
that kind of trust.

Females in two out of fifteen groups stated that both men and

women need consideration about assignments due to family

considerations. Women in two out of fifteen groups mentioned that

women may have an advantage in getting assignments.

With regard to parties, women in three out of fifteen groups

commented that women are usually asked to organize parties, while

women in two out of fifteen groups reported that men sometimes help

with parties. Individual comments by female participants include:

that some women refuse to organize parties, and that women may have

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their credibility undermined when they organize parties. Other individual comments include: that women must carefully choose their next jobs, and that women may be perceived as being better at details.

COMPETITION WITH PEERS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Compete. Women in five out of fifteen groups stated that men generally have a competitive advantage compared to women.

> : Once the male and female executives are in place, then the growth and advancement changes because of the assistance . . . of the males in the organization. . . . This is where the old boys network really revs up, where they begin to find opportunities, point out to them other options, and them move more rapidly . . . than women have a tendency to do.

> : It's . . . more difficult for women to make those KSAs because quite often men are lateral into positions that will qualify them for the jobs.

In contrast, women in three out of fifteen groups and men in three out of four groups mentioned that women compete equally with men.

> (Male): The person who replaced me in my last job is a woman, who came from the same job I came from, as a matter of fact.

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Women in three out of fifteen groups acknowledged that it is harder
for anyone to compete today, regardless of gender.

> : The higher you go up the harder it is. That may be because
> we are women and it may not be. . . . It's more competition as
> it narrows toward the top.

Individual comments by female focus group participants include: that
some positions are not competitive and already have someone slotted
for the positions, that requirements for positions should be broader,
and that those rating others should not compete for the same pot of
money.

ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn
from segments coded as Organizational Support. Women in eight out of
fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups discussed the
organizational support workers receive. Several comments by
participants mentioned that women tend to get less organizational
support than do men.

> : I have two children and . . . worked part-time . . . until
> about 5 years ago. . . . I found that my immediate supervisor
> was very sympathetic to it. I don't think it hurt my career at
> all. . . . However, in my same agency, there are other divisions
> where this could never take place, so I agree wholeheartedly
> with your statement that it really depends on where you work and
> who you work for.

: We're really doing ourselves a disservice. . . in terms of taking on more and doing more with less. When a man comes in. . . he gets more staff immediately, because he says, "I can't do this, I don't have the staff." But we say, "Oh, I can get this done."

: Our female [technical people] don't get the same level of financial support [as do men].

Women in five out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups referred to discussed organizational support for family needs. For example,

: I think now we're seeing some agencies have day care facilities here. . . . I think . . . maybe there's some more flexibility on the part of management.

REWARDS

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Awards, Credit, Money, and Reward. Women in five out of fifteen groups commented on how women get fewer awards than men and receive less recognition when they receive them.

: In my organization, when a woman receives a high ranking award, the guys will walk around and say, "Well, somebody must have pushed them with respect to EEO." Or, "I'm sure that they weren't any better, or not as good, as some of the white males around here."

: I got an [award] from the department a couple of years ago and we went to the awards ceremony. . . . But the time they gave out the first six medals, they'd run through all but one woman. And the rest of the program was an hour worth of men and the poor woman whose name started with "W.". . . Somebody made some comment about "Doesn't the department have any women that work here?"

Women in five out of fifteen groups discussed the issue of money and how it is divided among employees.

: When it comes to SES [money],. . . they say "Well, she doesn't really need the money. . . . She just works because she wants to, and she is such a dedicated, loyal, wonderful human being. But the men need the SES [money] because . . . look what they've done. And they have kids to put through college."

Individual comments made by female focus group participants include: that people bring energy to the job in proportion to the reward they expect, and that men may take credit for women's efforts.

PROMOTION/HIRING

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Advance, Hiring, Opportunity, Promotion and Success. Women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in two out of four groups stated that networks help men find opportunities.

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: In my experience, what happened is most of the men are going
to [hire] the men because men like men, and not . . . women.

(Male): In case of cohort that we represent, . . . being male
helps in two ways. One, it does help in having been selected to
enter this stream in the first place. . . . And it helps in
self-selection because we . . . internalize as values those
things that are valued by that system that help make us
successful.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four

groups discussed the problems women face because of stereotypes.

: In the last month I was in a meeting, . . . and a [high level
person] said . . . "I'm not going to hire that [person] . . .
because she just had a baby, and I just hired one of those and
she had to take a lot of time off from work with her pregnancy."
They all nodded, . . . crossed her off the list, and went on.

: My boss personally doesn't believe that mothers ought to hold
jobs, and that being a mother is a full time job. And so it
can't help, I think, but affect his decisions who he hires.

Women in six out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four

groups mentioned that women must have excellent credentials to

compete.

: You not only have to be better qualified, your credentials
have to be intact, you have to be superwoman to get the job.
Once you've got the job, you have to perform like a superwoman.

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: I have observed that men are promoted sooner than women, and even the women who are on my staff. . . . When I push for their promotion, I've really had to fight.

Women in five out of fifteen groups stated that assumptions were often made about women regarding their supposed lack of interest in advancement.

: If you're a married female. . . you don't need a promotion. There's some man at home taking care of you. . .

Women in three groups out of fifteen and men in three groups out of four stated that promotional opportunities are equivalent for men and women.

(Male): [Advancement] has to do with the individual and what the individual will do. Not the sex of the individual. . . . I don't think . . . it has to do with being a man or a woman.

Individual comments by female focus group participants include: that both men and women must be aggressive to advance, and that single women have more opportunity than married women. Male participants in one group out of four mentioned that luck plays a role in opportunity and success.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

The focus group responses described in this section were drawn from segments coded as Affirmative Action, Agency Performance, Decision, Discrimination, Policy, Political, and Representation.

With regard to affirmative action, women in seven out of fifteen groups stated that affirmative action has helped advance women, while one women stated that the numbers are not so great.

> : I've . . . benefited from being a woman in my career. . . .
> Having been spent [most of my career] in an era where
> affirmative action was emphasized and important . . . did work
> to my advantage at times. . . . I felt conscious at least that
> people who were in management positions above me were making an
> effort to select out women and minorities who had potential and
> could be helped along. And I think I benefited from that.

> : I think that a really qualified, terrifically competent woman
> 20 years ago, no way could move as she moves now. I don't mean
> it's perfect, but I think now there may even be an edge.

Women in seven out of fifteen groups stated that affirmative action is necessary to bring about change.

> : I really think that this atmosphere has changed in this
> agency. We had a [top level boss] for six years who was
> insistent on the subject of women and minorities. He did not
> gladly take no for an answer on anything. . . . One of the
> differences is, there are . . . . a whole lot more [women].

: I believe that since our present [boss] has been in business here in the [agency] there has been a marked effort to improve the status of both women and minorities.

Women in five out of fifteen groups stated that sometimes women are advanced so that the agency gets credit for affirmative action.

: The reason they [put a woman in the position] was so they could get an "Exceeds" in that EEO element, or whatever, standard. They didn't care whether it was going to work down the road. It was just so they could tell the boss, "Look what I've done for workforce diversity."

Women in four out of fifteen groups stated that people sometimes think women got a job because of affirmative action and not competence.

: I've heard so many of you say . . . "They were looking for a woman and they hired me." So when you get to that situation, you are perceived differently because you're immediately discounted that the only reason you got there is because you are a woman.

Women in three out of fifteen groups stated that affirmative action may cause harm if the wrong woman is put in a job.

Women in ten out of fifteen groups and men in one out of four groups stated that selection decisions are based on criteria favoring men.

: In my particular case, I got my current position because I filed an EEO complaint.

: People knew what [the unit head] thought about professional women. That they were not going to be advanced, and they weren't. He's no longer the head. . . and now there are women who are slowly moving.

: I got feedback from the way those . . . panels worked and about how men took votes about women who weren't going to get promoted. And I took it right where I needed to take it, to let them know this is not right and somebody ought to change it.

Women in six groups and men in one group stated that discrimination is not a problem or they have not experienced it.

: I happen not to have encountered any blatant discrimination and harassment anywhere in my career, even when it wasn't the law.

Women in three groups and men in one group stated that men are worried that they will face discrimination. Women in three groups and men in one groups stated that men and women both can face discrimination.

Miscellaneous comments include: that a female is more able to recognize discrimination after being sensitized to it, that trends may dictate who is discriminated against, that peer pressure may help

eliminate sexism, and that females in younger positions assume they will not be discriminated against.

SUMMARY

In sum, focus group participants described how they are treated differently in terms of career advancement. The broad categories were credentials, travel/mobility, power, supervisory-subordinate relationships, traditional male occupations, work assignments, competition with peers, organizational support, rewards, and advancement. When asked directly how microinequities affected their career success, the majority of participants stated that microinequities had no long term effects. The consensus was that if there were any effects at all, the effects were short term.

With regard to job qualifications, women in over half of the female groups reported that women must be better qualified than men to advance, and men's assumptions sometimes prevent women's career advancement. In contrast, women in nearly half of the female groups reported that men and women are promoted based upon their competence, not because of gender. Relative to training, women in over half the female focus groups stated that women have to ask for training and may not be selected as often as men; in contrast, women in nearly half of the female focus groups reported that training benefits both men and women in terms of advancement, and training is equally available to men and women.

Women in nearly half of the female groups mentioned that male subordinates have difficulties with female supervisors and that women have difficulty moving into traditional male fields. With regard to work assignment, women in two-thirds of the groups reported that women are often given less responsible assignments than men while women in six out of fifteen groups reported that assumptions are generally made about what women want in their career. In contrast, women in nearly half the groups stated that men and women receive the same assignments. Women in over half of the female groups reported that in some agencies, women get less organizational support than the men.

With regard to promotion and hiring, women in nearly half of the groups reported that networks help men find opportunities, that women face various problems because of stereotypes, and that women must have excellent credentials to compete with men. Relative to legal and political issues, women in two-thirds of the female groups mentioned that selection decisions are based on criteria favoring men. In contrast, women in nearly half of the female focus groups reported that affirmative action has helped women to advance and is necessary to bring about change, and that the women participants had not experienced discrimination.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study used focus groups to explore the nature and effects of microinequities on women in upper levels of the federal government. Each focus group was asked the following questions: (a) What is the nature of microinequities with regard to gender in the workplace? (b) How do microinequities affect one's self concept? (c) How do microinequities affect one's energy or productivity? (d) How do microinequities affect one's career success?

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

Microinequities

Microinequities in this study were categorized as follows: interpersonal relationships between men and women, attitudes, social support, family roles, and physical characteristics.

With regard to interpersonal relationships, some women reported that men feel more comfortable relating to men, and that women must make an effort to interact with their male colleagues. In contrast, other women reported that people are comfortable with those whom they share similar backgrounds, regardless of gender. Women in many

groups gave examples of how women are treated differently than men in meetings (e.g., women are ignored and interrupted, men take credit for women's ideas, and women are excluded from attending meetings). Other researchers have similarly found that men distance themselves from a woman partner (as compared to a man) by turning their faces or bodies away, by making negative comments, by not following advice, and by placing the task closer to themselves (Lott, 1987).

Some women in the present study reported that men tend to communicate informally with each other, while women's communication with men is usually more formal. Other women in this study reported that male colleagues seemed to devalue women's communication style, an observation consistent with other research (Quina, Wingard, and Bates, 1987). Women in over two thirds of the female groups described that women are excluded from work related functions, such as meetings, social events, and informal networks. Other studies have also reported on the exclusion of women from male groups (Fernandez, 1988; Kanter, 1979; Schwartz, 1989; Wentling, 1992). In contrast, women in over half of the focus groups in this study reported that social activities are based on familiarity and interests, not gender.

With regard to attitudes, women in a majority of the female groups mentioned that men do not seem to take women seriously, and that women need to prove to their male colleagues that they are capable and serious about their careers. Research confirms that many

men still hold sexist views (Fernandez, 1988; Lott, 1985) and that societal attitudes value men more than women with regard to work (Stringer, Remick, Salisbury, and Ginorio, 1990). Some women in the current study reported that men view women in sexual terms, which is consistent with studies that have show when compared to women, men tend to perceive less friendliness and more sexuality in mixed gender social interactions (Saal, Johnson, and Weber, 1989; Johnson, Stockdale, and Saal, 1991). In addition, women in ten out of fifteen focus groups reported that women are perceived differently than men, even when their behaviors are the same, a finding made by other researchers as well (Bartol and Butterfield, 1976; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky, 1992).

With regard to social support, many women referred to work experiences in which they were the "only woman" or the "first woman." These reports are consistent with quantitative data that indicate the scarcity of women in the upper levels of management (Lewis, 1987; Kellough, 1989). Women in many of the focus groups described their high visibility, isolation from other women peers, and exclusion from male networks. These findings are congruent with Kanter's (1977a) work on tokens. In contrast, other women in this study reported that women are breaking into male networks, and that men as well as women may be excluded from some groups.

A number of women in the focus groups discussed mentors, mentioning that men tend to mentor men, and women are mentoring

women. This observation is consistent with the literature showing that male and female mentors prefer proteges who are similar to themselves (Colwill and Pollock, 1987). Some women in this study reported that women may resent other women who advance. This finding might be explained by Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, and Smith (1977) who found that women with formal education tended to have the most favorable attitudes toward women as managers, the implication being that some women have favorable attitudes about women and some do not.

With regard to family roles, women in eight groups out of fifteen reported that employers make assumptions about married women that may hurt their career. Similarly, Cox (1983) found that being married helps a male executive's career, while being divorced enhances a woman executive's professional image. In the current study, women in a majority of female groups reported that women traditionally assume much more responsibility than men for child-care and household chores, which is consistent with the literature (Biernat and Wortman, 1991; Vertz, 1985). In contrast, a number of women reported that anyone with family constraints, regardless of gender, may find their career affected by family responsibilities.

Finally, with regard to physical characteristics, women in over half of the focus groups reported that older men seem to be uncomfortable interacting with women at work, and safety concerns might prevent women from engaging in various activities.

For a complete summary of findings relative to microinequities, refer back to Tables 4, 7, 10, 13 and 16.

Self Concept

The research question regarding the effect of microinequities on self concept yielded a small number of responses and diverse views. On the one hand, women in ten out of fifteen groups reported that they experienced some self doubt when confronted with microinequities. One explanation for self doubt in women was proposed by Bailyn (1987), who suggested that there may be something in the way that technical work is experienced by women that diminishes their self esteem and increases ambivalence. Other researchers have found that preferential selection (e.g., affirmative action) negatively affects how women feel about themselves, and may promote negative self perceptions of competence by accentuating initial self doubts about work related ability (Heilman, Rivero, and Brett, 1991). Another possible reason for women's self doubt when confronted with microinequities may be that women tend to derogate themselves when working with males, but not when working with females (Heilman and Kram, 1978); when paired with a female as compared to a male, women subjects accepted more responsibility for success and less for failure, and reported greater confidence about their future performance (Heilman and Kram, 1978). Thus, co-workers may be one of

many variables that can affect a woman's self perception of competence (Heilman and Kram, 1978).

In contrast, women in eleven out of fifteen groups reported being confident of their abilities and having good self esteem, while women in seven groups reported that microinequities did not affect their self concept. Women who report that microinequities had no effect on self concept may score high in masculine traits; as reported by Long (1989), women who score high on masculinity, compared with low masculine women, reported higher levels of personal efficacy (Long, 1989).

Another possible explanation for the relatively low reporting of the effect of microinequities on self concept may be the choice of subjects for this study. In other words, the women interviewed for this study were those who had already reached the top--or nearly the top--of their careers. In order to have succeeded thus far, it is possible that the system had already "weeded out" those women for whom microinequities affected self concept. Thus, the women who are at SES and GS/GM 13-15 levels may have survived because of their strong self concept and by not letting microinequities affect their self concept. There is some evidence to support this view. For example, Vertz (1985) found that there were significant differences in self esteem and management personality between women in upper and lower level positions; thus, given Vertz's (1985) findings, it is reasonable to project that women in lower level positions might

experience microinequities more severely or frequently because of these differences. In addition, this projection would be consistent with the research showing that women at lower levels of the hierarchy are often subject to more frequent incidence of sexual harassment.

In sum, despite the small number of comments concerning the effect of microinequities on self concept, the fact remains that a minority of women participants expressed that microinequities had some effect on their self concept. For a complete summary of findings relative to self concept, refer back to Table 23.

Energy

The research question regarding the effect of microinequities on energy yielded a fairly substantial number of responses, but as with the previous question, the viewpoints tended to be diverse. On the one hand, some women reported that microinequities affected their energy level, with the most commonly described effects relating to stress, long hours, aggression, strategy, anger, superwoman tendencies, and coping with microinequities. The effects of microinequities described by focus group participants mirror to a certain degree the effects of sexual harassment: anxiety, increased stress (Jensen and Gutek, 1982); anger, humiliation (McIntyre and Renick, 1983); impaired work performance (McIntyre and Renick, 1983; U.S. MSPB, 1988); and lowered self confidence (Collins and Blodgett, 1981). In contrast, other women in the current study reported that

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microinequities did not affect their energy or productivity at work, and that both men and women experienced stress at work.

Women in over half of the female focus groups reported that women have more stress than men because of family obligations. Other researchers have also shown that compared to male managers, female managers have to cope with stressors emanating from their home lives in addition to work generated stressors (Chusmir and Durand, 1987; Davidson and Cooper, 1983, 1987). Furthermore, stressors generated within one domain can transfer or spill over in to the other domain (Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1987).

Some women in this study reported that women work longer hours and work harder than their male colleagues to prove they are competent. In contrast, other women reported that both men and women work hard to advance. Relative to women who report working harder than men, Cooper and Davidson (1983) found that to overcome feelings of insecurity and meet internal role expectations, many female managers report that they work harder, longer, and more thoroughly than their male counterparts, which in turn can create stress. Women in this study also reported suppressing their aggressive tendencies because aggression in women was perceived negatively.

With regard to coping strategies, women in fourteen out of fifteen female groups in this study reported that women must keep up a good attitude when faced with microinequities. In addition, women in twelve out of fifteen female groups reported that women must learn

how to interact with males and conform to male culture in order to be successful. This view is consistent with research showing that people in general describe a good manager as possessing masculine traits (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein, 1989; Heilman, Block, Martell, and Simon, 1989; Powell and Butterfield, 1989). Moreover, Fagenson (1986, 1988) and Baril, Elbert, Mahar-Potter, and Reavy (1989) found that upper level women scored higher on masculinity measures than unsuccessful female supervisors, which may indicate tendency of managers to conform. In contrast, women in twelve out of fifteen female groups reported that women should bring microinequities to the attention of their male colleagues.

Overall, the coping strategies described in this study mirror some of the strategies mentioned in the sexual harassment literature (Collins and Blodgett, 1981; U.S. MSPB, 1988). Some researchers (Pearlin and Schooler, 1978; Billings and Moos, 1981) found that women use "selective ignoring" and other avoidant strategies, while other researchers (Parasuraman and Cleek, 1984) found that female managers report greater use of adaptive coping strategies or seeking support from others (Folkman, Lazarus, Pimley, and Novacek, 1987) than do their male colleagues. Despite their success and ability to cope, women subjects in other studies have emphasized the extra energy it took to deal with many of the situations they faced because they were women (Kanter and Stein, 1979).

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Women in over half of the female groups reported feeling angry about microinequities, and also mentioned that women experience stress in interpersonal relations with male colleagues. In other studies, relationships with colleagues and superiors have been found to be serious causes of stress at work (Buunk and Verhoeven, 1991). For example, Vaden and Lynn (1979) found that women in local, state, and federal government report more negative feelings toward coworkers than their male counterparts.

In sum, despite the diverse comments concerning the effect of microinequities on energy, the fact remains that some women participants expressed that microinequities had some effect on their energy concept. For a complete summary of findings relative to energy, refer back to Table 23.

Career Success

With regard to the effect of microinequities on career success, a very small number of women actually responded to this question when it was asked. Overwhelmingly, women participants stated that microinequities had not had any impact on their career success. Of the few women who acknowledged that microinequities had an effect on their careers, most emphasized that the effects, if any, were short-term in nature. The most commonly described effects of microinequities on success were related to (a) credentials, (b) travel/mobility, (c) power, (d) supervisory-subordinate

relationships, (e) traditional male occupations, (f) work assignments, (g) competition with peers, (h) organizational support, (i) rewards, (j) promotion/hiring, and (k) legal and political issues.

With regard to supervisor-subordinate relationships, women in nearly half the female focus groups reported that male subordinates have difficulties with female supervisors. Similarly, Vertz (1985) found that men in advanced positions were more likely to prefer male supervisors. In related studies, other researchers reported that women who used autocratic leadership style were found to be significantly less influential than women who used a considerate, problem solving approach when they supervised males, rather than mixed sex subordinates (Watson, 1988).

With regard to work assignments, women in ten groups out of fifteen reported that they are often given less responsible assignments than their male colleagues. Similarly, Sherman, Ezell, and Odewahn (1987) found that women perceive that they are delegated less authority and have less influence in decisions than their male colleagues and Lewis (1986b) found that women in the federal government are less likely than white males at the same level to supervise employees and manage programs. Some women in the current study reported receiving fewer organizational rewards than men, consistent with other research that has found that women receive fewer organizational rewards for comparable performance ratings

(Drazin and Auster, 1987; Nieva and Gutek, 1981; Auster and Drazin, 1988).

Women in twelve out of fifteen groups reported that women must be better qualified than men to advance. In addition, women in nine out of fifteen female groups reported that men's assumptions sometimes prevent women's career advancement. Other researchers have also shown that hiring and promotion is related to sex stereotyping (Plake, Murphy-Berman, Derscheid, Gerber, Miller, Speth, and Tomes, 1987; Schein, 1978). In contrast, women in six out of fifteen female groups reported that men and women are promoted based upon competence, not because of gender, and that men and women receive the same assignments.

In sum, a number of women described the short term effects of microinequities on their career development. One possible reason why women might not perceive microinequities as having an effect on their long term careers may be participant selection. That is, the women in this study have already achieved a large measure of success in their careers. Thus, the effect of microinequities on their career success may be a moot point, since the women at SES and GS/GM 13-15 levels have obviously already reached the highest levels of government. For a complete summary of findings related to career development, refer back to Table 29.

DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS

Female Participants

The comments by female focus group participants represented a
wide range of diverse experiences. Although this study was not
designed to determine the prevalence of microinequities, female
participants in general reported experiencing a greater number of
microinequities than did male participants. This finding supports
Rowe's (1990) assertion that women and minorities tend to experience
microinequities more frequently than do white males. The finding
also parallels the sexual harassment literature that has found that
women are more likely than men to be sexually harassed (Collins and
Blodgett, 1981; Konrad and Gutek, 1986; U.S. MSPB, 1988).

The differences between men's and women's perceptions of
microinequities found in the current study are congruent with other
studies that claim that women's experiences are different than those
of men (Fine, Johnson, and Ryan, 1990; Rentsch, 1990; Tannen, 1990).
One possible reason why women in this study reported more examples of
microinequities than men may be the relative willingness of women to
disclose feelings and experiences, when compared with men (Hatch and
Leighton, 1986).

Although women were more likely than men to report having
experienced microinequities, the views among women were quite
diverse. Some women reported that they had experienced
microinequities; other women reported that men and women were treated

similarly in the workplace. These diverse opinions may reflect a phenomena reported in the sexual harassment literature. When a behavior is ambiguous or less extreme, people are more likely to disagree regarding whether it is offensive (Collins and Blodgett, 1981; U.S. MSPB, 1988).

There are a number of other possible explanations for the differing viewpoints among women regarding the nature and effect of microinequities. These possible explanations include: (a) personal characteristics; (b) organizational differences; and (c) focus group dynamics.

Personal characteristics may contribute to the variance in perceptions about microinequities. Personal characteristics that may affect perception and experience of microinequities and interact with gender are race, ethnicity, age, disabilities, and job status. With regard to age, a number of focus group participants reported that younger women may be more likely than older women to experience microinequities. This finding is consistent with the sexual harassment literature which found that women who are between the ages of 20 and 44 have the greatest chance of being sexually harassed (U.S. MSPB, 1988). On the other hand, women at higher occupational levels are more likely than those at lower levels to perceive sexual harassment (Reid, 1987; Vertz, 1985) or to report subtle sexist behaviors as harassment (McIntyre and Renick, 1982).

Some female participants in this research reported that race and ethnic background may intensify the effects of gender-related microinequities. However, the purpose of this study was to examine gender-related microinequities, thus the study was not designed to address these complex interactions.

Variation in organizational cultures may be another possible explanation for the diversity of experience with regard to microinequities. For example, less frequent experiences with microinequities may be reported by women at agencies or in divisions having a traditionally female culture, whereas women in traditional male cultures may experience microinequities more frequently and severely. This reasoning is consistent with the finding that women who have nontraditional jobs, work in a predominantly male environment or work for a male supervisor, have the greatest chance of being sexually harassed (U.S. MSPB, 1988).

Another possible explanation for the difference of opinions expressed among focus group participants is that the focus group dynamics may have influenced the types and frequencies of responses expressed in focus groups. For example, any of the following phenomena could have occurred: (a) "group think," in which group members may agree because they are following a strong leader or are afraid to express a differing opinion (Krueger, 1988; Morgan, 1988) (b) inconsistency or bias by the focus group facilitators, as in asking leading questions (Krueger, 1988; Stewart and Shamdasani,

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1990); (c) self monitoring by participants for a variety of reasons (e.g., not wanting to divulge negative experiences; wanting to please the researcher, fear of breach of confidentiality); and (d) group polarization, in which group members attempt to express opinions that are more extreme than those preceding them.

Male Participants

Overall, men made fewer comments than women about the nature and effects of microinequities. Specifically, comments made by male participants tended to reflect the perspective that women and men are treated equally in the workplace. When differential treatment was reported by male participants, men tended to attribute it to individual differences rather than gender. As noted before, differences in men's and women's perceptions are documented in the literature.

COMPARISON WITH THE U.S. MSPB STUDY

In addition to the literature already described, the results of the study "A Question of Equity," published by the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) in the fall of 1992, support many of the findings of this research. The comparison with the MSPB study is made separately because it highlights the validity of the current study.

In the fall of 1991, the MSPB administered a questionnaire to approximately 13,000 federal employees in grades GS/GM 9-15 and the SES. The questionnaire, in large part, was based upon "the observations made by focus group participants (MSPB, 1992, p. 6)." In addition, the transcripts from the focus group discussions were referred to throughout the MSPB report "to clarify and illustrate some of the patterns found in the survey data (MSPB, 1992, p. 13)."

Many of the results of the MSPB questionnaire corroborate the findings of the current study. For example, Figure 8 of the MSPB report (p. 31) depicts a bar graph comparing the perceptions of male and female survey respondents regarding several issues. The question reads: "In general, in my organization . . ." and four separate sentence completions are listed, about which survey respondents were asked to either agree or disagree. In response to the first statement, "In general, in my organization, a woman must perform better than a man to be promoted," 55 percent of all female respondents agreed with this statement, compared to only 9 percent of male respondents who agreed with it. In response to the second statement, "In general, in my organization, standards are higher for women than men," 45 percent of all female respondents agreed with this statement, compared to only 5 percent of male respondents who agreed with it. In response to the third statement, "In general, in my organization, the viewpoint of a woman is often not heard at a meeting until it is repeated by a man," 41 percent of female

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respondents agreed with the statement, compared to only 6 percent of male respondents who agreed with the statement. Finally, in response to the statement, "In general, in my organization, women and men are respected equally," 30 percent of female respondents agreed with the statement, compared to 51 percent of male respondents.

Two other examples of corroborating results from the MSPB study, excerpted from the Executive Summary (p. x) are listed below:

[T]here is evidence to suggest that women are often <u>perceived</u> [emphasis in original text] to be less committed to their jobs than men. Particularly susceptible to this misperception are women in the first 5 years of their careers and, throughout their careers, women with children. . . . (p. x)

A significant minority of women in grades GS 9 and above believe they often encounter stereotypes that cast doubts on their competence, and that attribute their advancement to factors other than their qualifications (p. x).

Although the qualitative portion of the data used for the MSPB study was the same as that used for the current study, and it would be expected that the results would be similar, it is important to note the following. The survey administered by the MSPB, subsequent to the focus groups, was developed and analyzed independently of the current study. Also, the interpretation of the focus group data by the MSPB was done independently from the interpretation of the focus group data done by this researcher.

GENERALIZABILITY OF THIS STUDY

The findings in this study are consistent with the literature, suggesting concurrent validity (i.e., similar findings in different populations). Thus, if microinequities affect the productivity, self concept, and short-term career development of women in the federal government, it is reasonable to conclude that women in other organizations, at other occupational levels, and in various occupations, may be affected by microinequities as well. For example, this study may be generalizable to faculty in higher education; in fact, the data derived from the pilot study mirrored many of the findings in the actual study.

Viewed from another perspective, the experiences related to gender microinequities may be generalizable with regard to race, ethnicity, or other "diversity" variables. However, the information gathered in this study about those variables is too limited to make definitive conclusions.

IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGERS

The current study has shown that microinequities in the workplace may affect one's productivity, self concept, and short-term career development. To attempt to legally regulate these subjective experiences would be an unwieldy, impossible and most likely frustrating experience. On the other hand, the phenomena experienced by women and others who are subject to microinequities are real and

legitimate concerns. Consequently, it is in the best interests of managers to learn how to manage microinequities that may detract from their employees' productivity, and eventually decrease organizational effectiveness.

The question then arises: What can managers do to enhance productivity and organizational effectiveness in the workplace? Other authors have suggested initiatives including special recruitment efforts, career development programs, and diversity awareness training (Copeland, 1988). Diversity training is currently being used by a number of private sector organizations (Caudron, 1990; Cox, 1991; Geber, 1990; Overman, 1991) and government agencies (Larkin, 1991).

Certainly, achieving an environment free from microinequities will take a collaborative effort by all parties involved. Based upon the most frequent responses made by women participants in this study, as shown in Table 33, the following is a list of recommendations to help managers enhance the effectiveness and productivity of their employees:

Finding 1. Women report that men do not take women seriously; women need to prove they are competent and serious about their careers; women are perceived differently than men when they behave similarly; and women must work harder than men to prove they are competent and to advance.

TABLE 33
SUMMARY OF MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES

The statements below should be interpreted as follows:
"Women in ___ groups reported that. . . ." or "Men in ___ groups reported that. . . ."
The numbers under the subheadings "Men" and "Women" refer to the number of focus groups
in which men or women made the statements listed.
There were a total of four Men's groups and fifteen Women's groups.
An asterisk (*) indicates that the comment refers to or implies that women are affected by
microinequities.
"Most Frequent Responses" are drawn from comments made by participants in ten or more Women's focus
groups.

	Men	Women
Theme: Nature of Microinequities		
* Men do not take women seriously.	1	13
* People network with those with whom they feel comfortable; women may be excluded.	3	12
* Women are excluded from and at meetings.	0	11
Women are mentoring or should be mentoring other women.	2	11
* Even when husbands share household responsibilities, women do the most.	3	11
* Women are excluded from social activities involving male colleagues.	1	10
* Women need to prove they are competent and serious about their careers.	2	10
* Women are perceived differently than men when they behave similarly.	0	10
* Individuals perceive microinequities in different ways.	4	10
Mentors give mentorees advice.	1	10
Men are now sharing more family responsibilities than in the past.	2	10
Theme: Self Concept		
Women feel confident about their abilities and have good self esteem.	0	11
Microinequities tend to not affect women's sense of self.	0	10
* Women experience some form of self doubt when confronted with microinequities.	0	10
Theme: Energy		
* Women must keep up a good attitude when faced with microinequities.	1	14
* Women must work harder than men to prove they are competent and to advance.	2	12
* Women must learn how to interact with males in order to succeed.	1	12
* Women must make their male colleagues aware of microinequities when they occur.	0	12
* Women must take the initiative to overcome microinequities resulting from interpersonal relationships with male colleagues.	0	10
Theme: Career Development		
* Women must be better qualified than men to advance.	0	12
* Women are often given less responsible assignments than men.	2	10
* Selection decisions are based on criteria favoring men.	1	10

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Recommendation 1. These findings involve the attitudes of others toward women, as perceived by women. To enhance self awareness, attend diversity training and encourage others at all levels to do so. To assess the perceptions of those in the workplace, conduct surveys, culture audits, or focus groups about microinequities-related concerns. Ask women on an individual basis how they experience the work environment.

Finding 2. Women report that women are excluded from and at meetings; women are excluded from social activities involving male colleagues; people network with those with whom they feel comfortable and women may be excluded; and even when husbands share household responsibilities, women do the most work.

Recommendation 2. These findings involve the exclusion of women. To help create an inclusive environment in the workplace, ensure that meetings are set at convenient times for all employees. To prevent potential scheduling conflicts for women, ask women employees about dates and times before plans are solidified. At business related social events, socialize with female employees and introduce them to others. Serve as a role model for inclusive behavior.

Finding 3. Women report that they experience some form of self doubt when confronted with microinequities.

Recommendation 3. These findings involve the effect of microinequities on women's self concept. To counteract the effects of microinequities, acknowledge contributions of employees at meetings and other occasions. Join women's groups and encourage women's participation in networks. When women are hired, promoted, or rewarded, make the reasons for the achievement publicly known (e.g., give background data and accomplishments that led to the achievement) through official memos or announcements, as well as through informal means.

Finding 4. Women report that women must take the initiative to overcome microinequities resulting from interpersonal relationships with male colleagues; women must keep up a good attitude when faced with microinequities; women must learn how to interact with males in order to succeed; and women must make their male colleagues aware of microinequities when they occur.

Recommendation 4. These findings involve the effect of microinequities on women's energy in the workplace. Because women have been historically disadvantaged, and because they still perceive inequitable treatment in the workplace, managers may need to take an advocacy role for women. Assume that women's concerns may be valid, and that those concerns may have serious effects on productivity and organizational effectiveness.

Finding 5. Women report that women must be better qualified than men to advance; selection decisions are based on criteria favoring men; and women are given less responsible assignments than men.

Recommendation 5. These findings involve the effects of microinequities on the career development of women. To ensure equitable evaluation and career advancement for all employees, periodically examine hiring and promotion criteria to ensure that men and women are evaluated equitably. Provide sufficient training and support for women, and ensure that women retain their power base in positions that were formerly held by men. Recognize the potential of women whose career paths may differ from those of men.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Because of the potential effect of microinequities on worker productivity, and ultimately organizational effectiveness, further research on this topic is warranted. In general, it would be beneficial to study the phenomena of microinequities in different settings and with different populations. The reasons for further study are many-fold, not the least of which is to ensure that the potential of every worker is realized. The following list suggests some areas in which additional research on microinequities is needed:

1. In both the public and private sectors, as well as in various industries and functional areas, microinequities need to be examined and compared with regard to the context of this study.

2. Individual studies within each of the agencies in the federal government, as well as within various divisions of the agencies, need to be conducted to ascertain the extent of the impact of gender-related microinequities in the federal government.

3. Studies involving factors other than gender need to be conducted regarding how different types of microinequities may affect productivity, self concept, and career success.

4. Organizations that effectively deal with microinequities should be studied so that other organizations may gain the knowledge of how to deal with such phenomena.

5. Finally, the effects of microinequities on employees at all levels within an organization should be studied.

CONCLUSION

In this study, microinequities were found to exist for women at the GS/GM 13-15 and SES levels of the federal government. A substantial number of women reported experiencing microinequities; on the other hand, many women also reported that they believed that women and men are treated equally in their work environment. A minority of women reported that microinequities affect their energy

or short-term career development, while an even fewer number reported any effect of microinequities on self concept.

Despite the low numbers of women self-reporting that microinequities affect productivity or self concept, the fact remains that some women are affected by such phenomena. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that women in lower grade levels than the participants in this study may be more likely to be affected by microinequities. In conclusion, managers can help ensure that their employees work at peak levels of productivity by making efforts to reduce the microinequities experienced by women that may in turn affect organizational effectiveness.

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APPENDIX A
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD AND VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE

U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD

AND THE

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

1991

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS
PROTECTION BOARD AND VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

Cooperative Agreement - MSPB and Virginia Polytechnic Institute

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APPENDIX A (CONTINUED)
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD AND VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT

1. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD OVERVIEW

The U. S. Merit Systems Protection Board is an independent, Quasi-judicial agency, charged by Congress with protecting the integrity of Federal merit systems against prohibited personnel practices, ensuring adequate protection for employees against abuses by agency management, and requiring Executive Branch agencies to make employment decisions based on individual merit. The Board has a statutory mandate to adjudicate appeals from personnel actions for the nation's largest employer. It has worldwide jurisdiction, wherever Federal civil service employees are found. Additionally, under the Hatch Political Activities Act, it exercises jurisdiction over state and local government employees in Federally funded positions.

The Board accomplishes this by:

- Hearing and deciding employee appeals from agency personnel actions;

- Hearing and deciding cases involving alleged abuses of the merit systems brought to the Office of Special Counsel;

- Conducting studies of the civil service and other merit systems in the Executive branch to determine whether they are free of prohibited personnel practices; and

- Reviewing regulations issued by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management to determine whether implementation would result in the commission of a prohibited personnel practice.

The Board Employs approximately 300 persons nationwide. It has 11 Regional offices and is headquartered in Washington, DC.

2. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Merit Systems Protection Board conducts several studies each year in support of its mandate to determine whether the Federal merit systems are free of prohibited personnel practices and whether the Office of Personnel Management's regulations and policies would result in the commission of a prohibited personnel practice.

3. PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Merit Systems Protection Board (Board) and the Virginia
Polytechnic Institute (University) are each conducting a study
(research) on the "glass ceiling". This cooperative agreement
allows the Board and the University to cooperate in the conduct
of this research and to share the results of that research.

4. COSTS

The Board and the University will individually assume all costs
associated with this agreement. There will be no funds
transferred from the University to the Board or from the Board
to the University.

5. RESPONSIBILITIES

The Merit Systems Protection Board and the University agree to
work together to conduct this research and share the results of
that research. This cooperation will include such things as,
but not necessarily be limited to:

1.   Identifying and contacting focus group members;

2.   Arranging for interview sessions, group and individual;

3.   Locating individuals and groups to be interviewed;

4.   Conducting focus group and other meetings;

5.   Analyzing data;

6.   Sharing research findings, including data files; and

7.   Such other tasks as may be necessary to facilitate this
      project.

6. TERM

This agreement will extend from May 01, 1991 through the
completion of the research. The agreement may be terminated by
either party upon 30 day notice to the other party.

7. LOBBYING

Section 1352 of Title 31, United States Code as implemented in
the Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) Part 3.8, does not
apply to this agreement because no appropriated funds will be

paid to or transferred to the University under this agreement. Accordingly, the declaration, consisting of both a certification and a disclosure, contained in the provision at FAR 52.203-11, Certification and Disclosure Regarding Payments to Influence Certain Federal Transactions, and the clause at 52.203-12, Limitation on Payments to Influence Certain Federal Transactions are not required to be submitted under this agreement.
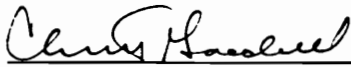
8. AUTHORITY

This agreement is entered into under:

- Title III of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968, as implemented by OMB Circular A-97;

- 31 U.S.C. 6301, et. seq., Using Procurement Contracts and Grants and Cooperative Agreements; and.

- 41 U.S.C. 201 et. seq., Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, as amended

9. APPROVALS

For Virginia Polytechnic Institute:

Signature   6/18/91
_____   _____
Director, Center for Public Administration   Date
  and Policy
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State
  University

For Merit Systems Protection Board:

_____   _____
Charles Roche   Date
Contracting Officer

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APPENDIX B
AGENCIES WITH TEN OR MORE SES WOMEN

	Women	Total SES	% Women
Agriculture	32	342	10%
Commerce	43	432	10%
Office of Secretary of Defense	43	491	9%
Air Force	12	193	6%
Army	16	338	5%
Navy	16	453	4%
Education	21	85	25%
Energy	35	448	8%
EPA	40	248	16%
EEOC	16	40	40%
FERC	13	51	25%
GSA	12	111	11%
HHS	119	613	19%
HUD	18	107	17%
Interior	27	273	10%
Justice	27	275	10%
Labor	38	173	22%
NASA	21	526	4%
NLRB	11	64	17%
NSF	15	100	15%
OMB	11	76	14%
OPM	15	56	27%
SEC	12	52	23%
SBA	11	49	22%
State	19	125	15%
Transportation	46	374	12%
Treasury	48	507	9%
VA	19	295	6%
Other agencies			
With women (29)	95	622	15%
Without women (19)	0	79	0%
Total government-wide	851	7589	11%

Source of data: Office of Personnel Management, Office of
Executive Personnel (January, 1991)

APPENDIX C
SAMPLE RECRUITMENT LETTER TO AGENCIES

U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD
Washington, D.C. 20419

May 22, 1991

Dear Mr. Slagle:

The Office of Policy and Evaluation of the Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) is conducting a special study of women in government. The study will examine opportunities for women in the executive branch and determine if barriers (i.e., a "glass ceiling") exist to occupational mobility and promotional opportunity for women.

To assist us in this effort, we would appreciate you designating someone on your staff (perhaps your Federal Women's Program Manager) to be a point of contact with our project manager. Our project manager will ask the point of contact to arrange individual or group interviews with men and women in your agency to discuss their work experiences.

The project manager is Katherine C. Naff, assisted by Edie Needleman, a doctoral candidate at Virginia Polytechnic State University. Ms. Naff or Ms. Needleman will follow up with your office within the next week or so to discuss arrangements for the interviews. If you have any questions, please contact Ms. Naff on (202) 653-7833.

Thank you again for your cooperation with this important study. As always, we look forward to working with you and the U.S. Department of Agriculture on this project.

Sincerely,

Evangeline W. Swift
Director, Policy and Evaluation

cc: Barbara Gary

Mr. Larry B. Slagle
Director of Personnel
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, DC 20250

The Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution 1787-1987

AGENCIES INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY

Department of Agriculture

Department of Commerce

Department of Defense

Environmental Protection Agency

Department of Health and Human Services

Department of the Interior

Internal Revenue Service[15]

Department of Justice

Department of Labor

National Science Foundation

Department of the Navy

Office of Personnel Management

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[15] The Internal Revenue Service was invited to participate per the suggestion of the MSPB, even though the IRS was not on the list of agencies with ten or more SES women.

SAMPLE MEMO TO AGENCY CONTACT PERSONS

·Memorandum to: Roslyn Hoover
                  Phone: 202-377-5691   FAX: 202-377-5375
From: Edie Needleman
                  Phone: 703-552-0336
RE: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board
                  Special Study on Women in the Federal Government

    Attached is a cover letter and information sheet entitled
"Special Study on Women in the Government: Information for Focus
Group Participants." We would like you to send copies of both the
cover letter and the information sheet to all of the people who have
agreed to participate. The cover letter will serve as a confirmation
of the date, time, and location of the focus group. (I will be
sending you a reproducible copy of the letter and information sheet
in the mail this week.)

    If you prefer to substitute the cover letter we've drafted with
one of your own, feel free to do so. However, please be sure to
include the two page information sheet with your cover letter.

    As we discussed over the telephone, the Department of Commerce
focus groups are tentatively scheduled for: Monday, July 1, 1991 or
Tuesday, July 9, 1991. I will call you on Friday to find out the
exact times and location of your focus groups.

    Just a few reminders about scheduling the focus groups:
1. Each group will meet for two hours.
2. The focus groups should be homogeneous with regard to gender.
3. We will need two focus groups for your agency:
    One group of women at the SES level (8-9 persons)
    One group of women at the GS/GM 13-15 levels (8-9 persons)
4. We are interested in a random selection of persons across
    diverse occupations. We also are interested in a diversity
    of racial/ethnic backgrounds.
5. Please make sure there are no supervisory relationships among
    participants.
6. Please schedule only one group in the morning and one group
    in the afternoon of any one day.
7. With regard to room location, please make sure that the room
    is quiet (to facilitate tape recording) and private (to
    ensure confidentiality).

    Many thanks for your help. If you have any questions, feel free
to call me.

APPENDIX F
MEMO AND INFORMATION SHEET TO PARTICIPANTS

U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD
Washington, D.C. 20419

MEMORANDUM TO: Focus Group Participants

FROM: Katherine C. Naff, Project Manager

RE: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board
Special Study on Women in the Federal Government

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Special Study on Women in the Federal Government being conducted by the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB).

You will be part of a discussion group focusing on your career and work experiences in the federal government.

The focus group discussion is scheduled for the following time and place:

Date:_____

Time:_____

Location:_____

The attached sheet provides details about the study that you will need to know prior to your participation. If you have any questions, feel free to call me at (202) 653-7833.

The Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution 1787-1987

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U.S. MERIT SYSTEMS PROTECTION BOARD
Washington, D.C. 20419

SPECIAL STUDY ON WOMEN IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

INFORMATION FOR FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

The U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB) is responsible for conducting special studies of the civil service to be reported to the President and Congress. These studies are also reviewed by a large secondary audience of federal agency officials, employee and public interest groups, labor unions, academicians, and individuals in other organizations with an interest in public personnel management.

The issues addressed in the Special Study on Women in the Federal Government are particularly critical and complex, so the MSPB wants to ensure that all issues relevant to career development are considered. Therefore, your participation in this study is appreciated.

Special Study on Women in the Federal Government--An Overview

Objectives:

-To describe the occupational and grade-level distribution of
     women in the Government.
-To project how long it will take, at current promotion rates,
     for women to be proportionally represented in management.
-To make recommendations as to additional ways to promote equal
     opportunity for women in Government.

Sources of information and methodology:

-Analysis of data from Central Personnel Data File (CPDF).
-Survey of men and women in government that will be distributed
     widely to Federal employees throughout the nation.
-Structured, focus group interviews with selected successful men
     and women in Government.

The Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution 1787-1987

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Focus Group Interviews

Participants:
-Each focus group will be comprised of eight or nine persons, all
     of the same gender and at similar grade levels within the
     organization.
-Seven agencies/departments have been selected to participate in
     the focus group portion of the study.
-Participation in the study is voluntary.

Time commitment:
-Each focus groups will last a MAXIMUM of two hours.
-It is important that focus group participants attend the full
     two hour session.

Focus Group Format:
-Within the two hour time frame, participants will complete a
     brief, demographic questionnaire that will take about 5
     minutes to complete. The MSPB is interested in collecting
     descriptive summary statistics from the questionnaire, as
     all the information discussed in the group will be
     confidential.
-Participants will engage in a structured discussion pertaining
     to their work experiences and career in the Federal
     government.

Confidentiality:
-All comments made during the group discussion will be completely
     confidential.
-The discussion will be tape recorded so that the MSPB can have
     an accurate account of what is said.
-Only FIRST NAMES of participants will be used. The MSPB does
     NOT wish to know full names.
-Names of persons, places, or any other identifiable information
     will be deleted from written summaries or reports in order
     to insure complete confidentiality.
-Information collected from the focus groups will be reported in
     the aggregate by combining the responses from participants
     across seven agencies/departments. The results will NOT be
     reported individually by agency/department.
-A report will be issued approximately September 1992.

Moderators:
-Katherine C. Naff, Project Manager for the Special Study on
     Women in the Government
-John C. Crum, Research Analyst, U.S. Merit Systems Protection
     Board
-Edith C. Needleman, Doctoral Candidate, Virginia Tech

For further information, call:
Katherine C. Naff (202) 653-7833
Edith C. Needleman (703) 552-0336

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APPENDIX G
PILOT STUDY RECRUITMENT CALL SCRIPT

Hi! My name is Edie Berkowitz. I'm a doctoral student in Public Administration here at Virginia Tech.

I'm conducting research for my dissertation on women's and men's careers and I'm doing my pilot study at Virginia Tech with faculty women and men. I'm calling to ask if you would be interested in being part of a discussion group on women's and men's careers.

Let me tell you a little more about what it would require. Your participation would require attending a one and one-half hour discussion group with approximately eight faculty women [men]. The discussion would focus on your work experiences and careers.

I will also ask you to complete a brief demographic questionnaire which will ask for information like age, marital status, and so on. I'm interested in collecting some summary statistics from this, as all information discussed in the group will be confidential. I am not interested in who says what, or what department someone's in.

I'll be moderating the group with an assistant moderator. All information will be completely confidential, but I will be tape recording the discussion. The reason is so that I can account for everything that's said. The tape will be in my possession only, and on any written summaries or other written materials, no names of persons, departments, or any other identifying information will be given since I'm not interested in that kind of information.

I've scheduled a group for [date and time]. Would you be able to help out?

If "no": Would you be willing to do an individual interview in the event I cannot get enough persons together for the group discussion? If this is necessary, I will get back to you in just a few days.

If "yes": Would you like me to send a reminder to you about the discussion group? I'd be glad to give you a telephone call or to send a note on PROFS.

Thank you very much!!!!!!!!!

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APPENDIX H
PILOT STUDY REMINDER TO FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS

The following message was either sent by electronic mail or left on phone mail. Reminders were sent only to those who requested them:

Professor _____:

I'm writing [calling] to remind you about the group discussion about men's and women's careers (which is part of my dissertation) scheduled for the following time and place:

Wednesday, May 29, 1991

1:30 to 3:00 p.m.

McBryde 558 (Computer Science Conference Room)

I look forward to seeing you then!!

Sincerely,

Edie Berkowitz

Doctoral Student, Public Administration

APPENDIX I
PILOT STUDY FOCUS GROUP INTRODUCTION

Hi!! Welcome to our session this afternoon. We want to thank you for taking the time to participate in this discussion on women's work experiences and careers. My name is Edie Berkowitz and I'm a doctoral student in public administration at Virginia Tech. Assisting me is Cynthia Lease, a doctoral student in clinical psychology at Virginia Tech. We are attempting to gain information about women's and men's work experiences and careers. We've invited women faculty at Virginia Tech to this session to share their perceptions and ideas about this topic.

You were selected because you have certain things in common that are of particular interest to us. You are all faculty at Virginia Tech and you are all women. We are particularly interested in your views because you have achieved a certain measure of success in your careers and can talk first hand about your work and career experiences.

This afternoon we'll be discussing your work and career experiences and what energizes you at work. There are no right or wrong answers, but rather differing points of view. Please feel free to share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said.

Before we begin, let me remind you of some ground rules. This is strictly a research project for my dissertation. It's actually the pilot study. Please speak up--only one person should talk at a time. We're tape recording the session because we don't want to miss any of your comments. If several are talking at the same time, the tape will get garbled and we'll miss your comments. We will be on a first name basis this afternoon, and in our later reports there will not be any names attached to the comments. You may be assured of complete confidentiality. Keep in mind that we're interested in all points of view--positive, negative, and otherwise--and all comments will be helpful to this research.

Our session will last about an hour and a half, and we won't be taking a formal break. Feel free to help yourself to the refreshments. Also, feel free to leave the table if necessary, but please do so quietly. Well, let's begin. We've placed name cards on the table in front of you to help us remember each other's names. Let's get right into our discussion.

Adapted from: Krueger, Richard. 1987. <u>Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research</u>. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

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PILOT STUDY QUESTIONING ROUTE

This study's questions:

1. Are men and women fundamentally different than each other with respect to their skills and interests in the workplace?

2. Do men and women behave differently?

3. Are men and women treated differently?

4. Do you feel you've been treated any differently than the men you work with because you're a woman? How?

5. How have these differences, if any, affected your work or your career?

6. How does being treated differently than the men you work with make you feel about yourself, your job, or those you work with?

7. When you find that you're being treated differently because you're a woman, how do you behave?

8. Women are often treated differently than men in the workplace because of stereotypes or societal norms. Has this ever happened to any of you?

MSPB's questions:

1. Are promotional opportunities different for men and women? How are they different?

2. Are work orientations or expectations different for men and women? In what way?

3. Does balancing work and family responsibilities affect men differently than women? In what way?

4. How has mentoring worked in your experience? Is it different for men than women? In what way?

5. What role has formal training played in your career progression? Does it differ for men and women? How?

6. Based on your experiences, are men and women treated differently at work? In what way?

APPENDIX K
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

**SPECIAL STUDY ON WOMEN IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
QUESTIONNAIRE**

Please do **NOT** put your name on this questionnaire.

1. **What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
Mark one response.**

____Bachelor's degree   ____Professional degree (JD, MD, etc.)
____Master's degree   ____Other_____
____Doctoral degree

2. **What is your age?**

____Under 25   ____35 - 40   ____50 - 55   ____Over 65
____25 - 30   ____40 - 45   ____55 - 60
____30 - 35   ____45 - 50   ____60 - 65

3. **What is your race/ethnic origin?**

____American Indian or Alaskan native
____Asian or Pacific Islander
____Black (not of Hispanic origin)
____Hispanic
____White (not of Hispanic origin)
____Other_____

4. **What is your sex?**   ____Male   ____Female

5. **What is your marital status?**

____Single   ____Divorced or separated
____Unmarried partner   ____Widowed
____Married   ____Other_____

6. **How many dependent children and other dependents (example:
elderly parents) do you have?**

___0   ___1   ___2   ___3   ___4   ___5   ___6   ___7 and over

7.**If you have children, what are their ages? Mark all that apply.**

___Not applicable   ___5 - 10 years   ___Over 20 years
___0 - 1 year   ___10 - 15 years
___1 - 5 years   ___15 - 20 years

(CONTINUED ON OTHER SIDE)

Page 2 (Questionnaire Continued)

8. What is your pay category and grade? Mark one response.

____GS 13   ____GM 13   ____ES 1 - 4
____GS 14   ____GM 14   ____ES 5 - 6
____GS 15   ____GM 15   ____Other_____

9. How long have you been in your current position?

____Less than 6 months   ____1 to 5 years   ____10 to 15 years
____6 months to 1 year   ____5 to 10 years   ____Over 15 years

10. How long have you been a federal employee?

____Less than 1 year   ____10 to 15 years   ____25 to 30 years
____1 to 5 years   ____15 to 20 years   ____Over 30 years
____5 to 10 years   ____20 to 25 years

11. Is your immediate supervisor: ____Male   ____Female

12. Are the people you work with during a normal work day:

____All men   ____More women than men
____More men than women   ____All women
____Equal numbers of men and women

13. Do you, or did you, have a mentor during your professional career?

___Yes   ____No

14. If yes to question 14, is (was) your mentor:

____Male   ____Female   ____I've had male and female mentors

15. In your opinion, compared to other social issues, how would you rank the importance of women's issues? Mark one response.

____Much more important than other social issues
____More important than other social issues
____Of equal importance as other social issues
____Less important than other social issues   ·
____Much less important than other social issues

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION!!!!

My name is Edie Needleman and I am a doctoral candidate at
Virginia Tech. On behalf of the Merit Systems Protection Board, I
want to thank you very much for taking the time out of your busy
schedules to come today.

We are conducting this focus group as part of an MSPB study on
women in government. As one of its special studies this year, MSPB
is trying to understand the process of career development in the
federal government and what aids or impedes advancement. Our report,
which will be addressed to the President and Congress, will also be
distributed to a wide secondary audience of personnelists, academics,
unions, professional associations, and so forth.

We are talking to small groups of successful men and women at
several agencies about their work experiences and careers. This is
one piece of a comprehensive study which will include an analysis of
data from OPM's central personnel data file and a governmentwide
survey. But your comments are an integral part of the study as we
want to make sure we look at all the issues which affect career
advancement. Even though these groups are small, none of your
comments will be identifiable as coming from you.

These are the ground rules for your discussion this morning
[afternoon]. You were selected randomly by one of the staff in your
personnel office to participate in this study. We don't know who you
are or where you work in the department [agency]. We are only
interested in getting the views of a number of members of the SES
[middle managers]. We are interested in all points of view--positive
and negative. Your comments will not be reported in any way that can
identify you or where you work.

We are taping this session so that we don't miss anything you
say. No one will have access to those tapes except us. But because
we are taping, we need to ask you to please speak up, and one at a
time. We will end no later than XX:00. If you need to take a break
or leave before then, please do so quietly. We want to keep this
informal, so we will be on a first name basis. And please help
yourself to refreshments. Unless there are questions, let's begin!

Adapted from: Krueger, Richard. 1987. Focus groups: A practical
guide for applied research. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

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QUESTIONING ROUTE: FIRST HOUR (MSPB)

1. Are promotional opportunities different for men and women?

   a. How are they different?

   b. Why are they different?

   c. How have you found out about opportunities for advancement in your career?

2. Are work orientations or expectations different for men and women?

   a. For example, does balancing work and family responsibilities have a different impact on women than men?

   b. If there are differences, what do these differences mean for their careers?

3. How has mentoring worked in your experience?

   a. Is it different for men and women?

   b. In what way is it different?

4. What role has formal training played in your career progression?

   a. Are opportunities for formal training different for men and women? How so?

5. Based on your experiences, are men and women treated differently at work?

   a. In what ways are they treated differently?

   b. What makes you think these differences are due to gender?

   c. What does this mean down the road for men and women?

(Try to keep discussion to one hour, then turn moderator role over to Edie)

APPENDIX N
QUESTIONING ROUTE (FEMALES): SECOND HOUR (THIS STUDY)

1. We've been talking about areas in which policies have been effective in helping to reduce the differential treatment of men and women in the workplace. At this stage, however, women report that there are a host of subtle differences in the ways men and women relate to each other in the workplace. (Some have come up already.)

    As a woman, do you experience subtle differences in the way you see men treat you and other women vs. the way you see men treat each other?

    a. In interpersonal relations in the workplace, do you experience differences in the way you see men and women relate to each other?

    b. Do you experience or observe differences in the interpersonal behavior of men and women at meetings?

2. As a professional woman, are there constraints on the places you go, hours you work, or your activities as a professional that your male colleagues would not have to encounter or be concerned about?

3. How do these subtle differences or constraints, related to your gender, affect you in terms of your sense of yourself as an effective part of the organization?

4. How do these subtle differences or constraints, related to your gender, impact on your productivity or your available personal energy at work?

    a. Do the subtle differences interfere with your productivity or energy at work?

    b. How have these subtle differences affected you in terms of frustration, stress, fatigue, or burnout on the job?

5. How do these subtle differences or constraints affect you in terms of your ability to be successful on the job?

Closing: We have five minutes left before XX:00 when this session ends. Before we close, does anyone wish to add any brief comment that has not been addressed already and that is relevant to the discussion? If there are no more comments, we'd like to say thank you very much for your cooperation.

1. We've been talking about areas in which policies have been effective in helping to reduce the differential treatment of men and women in the workplace. At this stage, however, women report that there are a host of subtle differences in the ways men and women relate to each other in the workplace. (Some have come up already.)

    As a man, do you experience subtle differences in the way you see men treat each other vs. the way you see men treat women?

    a. In interpersonal relations in the workplace, do you experience differences in the way you see men and women relate to each other?

    b. Do you experience or observe differences in the interpersonal behavior of men and women at meetings?

2. As a professional man, are there constraints on the places you go, hours you work, or your activities as a professional that your female colleagues would not have to encounter or be concerned about?

3. How do these subtle differences or constraints, related to your gender, affect you in terms of your sense of yourself as an effective part of the organization?

4. How do these subtle differences or constraints, related to your gender, impact on your productivity or your available personal energy at work?

    a. Do the subtle differences interfere with your productivity or energy at work?

    b. How have these subtle differences affected you in terms of frustration, stress, fatigue, or burnout on the job?

5. How do these subtle differences or constraints affect you in terms of your ability to be successful on the job?

Closing: We have five minutes left before XX:00 when this session ends. Before we close, does anyone wish to add any brief comment that has not been addressed already and that is relevant to the discussion? If there are no more comments, we'd like to say thank you very much for your cooperation.

ADVANCE   - "advancement"; advancement in the workplace; career
               advancement
ADVICE   - refers to the giving of advice
AFF ACTION - "affirmative action"; refers to a plan and commitment to
               achieving EEO goals
AGE   - refers to any comment regarding age
AGGRESSIVE - refers to comments about aggression, assertiveness,
               passivity, holding back, etc.
AGNCY PERF - "agency performance"; refers to how well an agency does
               in terms of measurable criteria
ANGER   - refers to comments about anger, frustration
ASK OTHERS - refers to comments in which the interviewees suggest
               that the study should question other groups of people
ASSIGNMENT - refers to work assignments
ASSUMPTION - assumptions made based on sex, cultural traditions, etc.
ATTITUDE   - refers to attitudes about women
AWARDS   - awards given in the workplace
AWARENESS   - awareness of issues related to gender

CAREER PTH - "career path"; refers to the various steps in one's
               career
CHANGE   - refers to changes over time regarding a particular
               situation, attitude, etc.
CLERICAL   - refers to support staff
COMFORT   - refers to comfort level in interpersonal relations
COMMITMENT - refers to commitment to one's job or career
COMMUNICAT - "communication"; refers to any means of
               communication
COMPETE   - refers to competition for jobs, assignments, etc.
COMPETENT   - refers to one's ability to do the job
COMPLIMENT - refers to one person complimenting another on
               physical appearance or other qualities
CONFIDE   - refers to confiding in colleagues or peers; having
               the support of peers in the workplace
CONFLICT   - refers to conflict among persons; also includes
               resentment and other negative feelings
CONFORM   - conformity or going along with the mainstream
CONSTRAINT - refers to any type of limit or constraint on one's
               activity, behavior, potential, etc.
COPING   - refers to how one copes with a situation, often a
               problem
COST   - refers to personal or organizational cost
CREDENTIAL - credentials including job experience, level of
               education, training, etc.

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CREDIBILTY   - refers to one's credibility in terms of performing a
               specific job
CREDIT   - refers to receiving recognition for one's efforts
CULTURE   - refers to any set of habits, behaviors, mores, or
               traditions that shape individual behavior within a
               society, an organization, or any other group

DECISION   - decisions made relative to one's job or career
DEFRENTIAL   - "deferential behavior"; also refers to respecting others
DISABILITY   - refers to physical disabilities of individuals
DISCOUNT   - refers to the discounting or putting down of one's
               abilities; seeing someone else as inferior; includes
               seeing someone as not taking their career seriously
DISCRIMNTN   - "discrimination"; refers to discrimination in the
               workplace based on gender, race, or other illegal
               categorizations

EDUCATION   - refers to formal education such as graduate school
               or other special training
EFFORT   - refers to energy expended
EGO   - refers to an attitude of self importance and superiority
ENERGY   - refers to one's productivity in the workplace; may also
               include references to depression, feeling overwhelmed
EQUALITY   - equality of treatment and opportunity in the workplace
EXCLUDE   - excluding individuals from particular situations or
               opportunities; also refers to inclusion
EXIT GOVT   - "exit government"; refers to leaving the government or
               leaving one's job
EXPERIENCE   - refers to work experience
EXTRA CURR   - "extra curricular"; refers to activities outside of the
               workplace and not directly related to work

FAMILY   - refers to family responsibilities and children
FEEDBACK   - feedback in relation to one's job performance
FELLOWS   - refers to being included as one of a group
FOREIGN   - refers to persons born outside of the U.S.A.
FUTURE   - refers to future events

GEOGRAPHCL   - "geographical"; refers to coming from a certain part of
               the country
GOVT JOBS   - "government jobs"; refers to government jobs as opposed
               to the private sector
GYM   - refers to any gym, athletic facility

HARASSMENT - refers to sexual harassment and sexism
HIRING   - refers to any actions related to the hiring process
HOUSEWORK - refers to household responsibilities such as cleaning,
             cooking, etc.

INDIV DIFF - "individual differences"; refers to the idea that
             something is not gender based but is based on individual
             differences among people
IGNORE   - refers to ignoring individuals, situations, or ideas
INITIATIVE - refers to taking initiative
INTERPERS - "interpersonal relations"; refers to verbal or non
             verbal behavior between individuals
INTERRUPT - refers to interrupting someone in conversation
ISOLATION - refers to feelings of isolation, loneliness, or physical
             isolation

JOB QUALS - "job qualifications"; refers to job criteria often in
             relation to hiring or promotion

LEADERSHIP - refers to the highest level employees in an organization
LEGACY   - refers to making things different for future generations
LEISURE   - refers to non-work activities
LONG HOURS - refers to the number of hours worked

MALE BOND - "male bonding"; refers to bonding between members of the
             same sex; may include female bonding
MALE OCCUP - "male occupations"; refers to occupations that have been
             traditionally male
MARITAL   - refers to marital status, for example married, single,
             divorced, separated
MEETINGS   - refers to any work related meetings
MENTOR   - refers to a mentor or person who helps another in one's
             career
MILITARY   - refers to any branch of the military or the military in
             general
MOBILITY   - refers to geographical mobility in terms of moving for a
             job
MONEY   - refers to salary or money related to work

NETWORK   - refers to a group of people who communicate on a regular
             basis or meet informally
NUMBER WMN - "number of women"; refers to the number of women in a
             specific organization or department

NURTURING   - refers to a characteristic in which one acts as a
caretaker of others

OPPORTUNTY - "opportunity"; refers to career opportunities or any
other opportunity related to one's job, training, etc.

OPTIONS   - refers to one's options or choices relative to careers,
jobs, or other life decisions

ORG SUPPRT - "organizational support"; refers to any support given to
an individual by the organization such as financial,
staff support, etc.; refers to willingness of
supervisors to accommodate worker needs, such as
pregnancy

OUTSD GOVT - "outside government"; refers to non-governmental
activities

PARTIES   - refers to any work related parties or celebrations

PAST SIT   - "past situation"; refers to any situation that is no
longer true or relevant to the topic under discussion

PARTTIME   - refers to parttime employment

PERCEPTION - refers to the way individual's or groups perceive the
behaviors, attitudes, or characteristics of others

PERSPECTIV - "perspective"; refers to one's point of view

PHYSICAL   - refers to any physical attributes or anything regarding
one's appearance

POLICY   - refers to formal policies, rules, or procedures;
includes written and verbal

POLITICAL   - refers to comments about political appointees

POWER   - refers to individual or organizational power or
authority

PREGNANCY - refers to anything concerning pregnancy, maternity
leave, paternity leave, etc.

PRIDE   - refers to pride or a sense of accomplishment
regarding one's work

PRODUCTIVE - refers to one's productivity at work

PROMOTION - refers to any aspect of promotion

PROTECT   - refers to attitudes and behaviors related to the
protecting of others; includes paternalistic attitudes

QUESTION   - refers to not accepting something at face value

QUES AUTH - "questioning authority"; refers to not accepting the
orders of one's supervisors at face value

RACE   - refers to racial characteristics or specific races such
as African American, Hispanic, etc.; refers also to
comments made about minorities in general

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RECOMMEND   - "recommendations"; refers to specific recommendations
                made by the interviewees
RELATNSHIP - "relationship"; refers to the interpersonal dynamics
                between two or more people
REPRESENT   - "representation"; refers to representation on selecting
                boards or other work related committees that make career
                decisions
RESPNSBLTY - "responsibility"; refers to job assignments
REWARD   - refers to rewards related to work performance

SAFETY   - refers to personal, physical safety or security
SEATING   - refers to who sits where at a meeting
SELF DOUBT - refers to the act of doubting oneself, wondering, etc.;
                includes confidence, self assurance, etc.
SENSE SELF - "sense of self"; refers to one's feelings of self
                esteem, security/insecurity, etc.
SENSITIVE   - refers to one's sensitivity toward gender issues
SES STATUS - refers to being a member of the Senior Executive Service
SHARE   - refers to sharing household and family responsibilities
SLF ESTEEM - "self esteem"; refers to feelings of self worth
SOCIAL   - refers to activities that may or may not be related to
                work but are of a social nature; includes lunches,
                dinners, sporting events, etc.
SPORTS   - refers to all types of sports including football,
                running, basketball, fishing, hunting, etc.
STANDARDS   - refers to evaluating a person's performance, behavior,
                or characteristics relative to a job
STEAL IDEA - refers to taking another person's idea as if it were
                one's own; getting credit for work done by someone else
STEREOTYPE - refers to attitudes that attribute certain
                characteristics to a specific group or individual
STRATEGY   - refers to a plan made in advance to help bring about
                success
STRESS   - refers to stress, including emotional and physical; may
                include feelings such as frustration, etc.
SUBORDNATE - "subordinate"; refers to comments made about one's
                subordinates
SUBTLE DIF - "subtle differences"; refers to differences in the
                treatment or relationships between genders that are
                based on gender
SUCCESS   - refers to career success
SUPERVISOR - refers to comments made about one's supervisors

SUPERWOMAN - refers to a woman who has a job, numerous other
activities, and manages to do them all well

SWEARING - refers to using foul language; also refers to telling
jokes that are in poor taste, sexist or racist comments

TEAMPLAYER - refers to someone who is regarded as a member of a team

TECHNICAL - refers to jobs requiring technical skills

THREAT   - refers to feeling threatened

TOUCHING - refers to touching another person

TRAD ROLES - "traditional roles"; refers to traditional roles of men
and women as dictated by society, culture, values,
norms; may be related to the workplace or one's non-work
life

TRAINING - refers to anything related to training; includes formal
training such as management seminars, Federal Executive
Institute, or informal training such as on the job

TRAVEL   - refers to work assignments away from the office

TRUST   - refers to an attitude in which an individual is seen as
trustworthy

UNIQUE   - refers to being one of a kind

UPSET   - refers to a feeling of uneasiness or being upset

VISIBILITY - refers to the visibility that one has when one is the
only person of a certain gender, race, or other
characteristic; also refers to a high position

WMN VS WMN - "women versus women"; refers to an attitude whereby
women do not choose to help other women, or openly
denounce other women

WORK HABIT - refers to work characteristics that are repeated over a
period of time

WORRY   - refers to worrying about something

YOUR PROB - "your problem"; refers to an attitude of some
individuals to disassociate themselves from the
problems of others; also refers to individuals who
refuse to help others by claiming it is not their
problem

CODES AND THEIR EQUIVALENCIES

Note: "Thematic codes" are in capital letters. "Codes," are in upper and lower case letters. "Thematic codes" and "codes" followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent. A thematic code is considered equivalent to all the codes listed underneath it.

Theme: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Thematic Codes: INTERPERSONAL (SUBTLE DIFFERENCES)
        Codes: Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows)
                  Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing)
                  Constraint
                  Exclude (Ignore)
                  Feedback
                  Meetings (Seating)
                  Social
                  Sports (Gym)
                  Teamplayer
                  Trust (Relationship)
                  Touching

Theme: ATTITUDES

Thematic Codes: ATTITUDE (ASSUMPTION, PERCEPTION, PERSPECTIVE,
                  STEREOTYPE)
        Codes: Ask Others (Your Problem)
                  Awareness (Sensitive)
                  Commitment
                  Credibility
                  Culture
                  Deferential
                  Discount
                  Harassment
                  Protect
                  Question Authority (Question)

Theme: SOCIAL SUPPORT

Thematic Codes: NUMBER WOMEN
        Codes: Confide
                  Isolation
                  Mentor (Advice)
                  Network
                  Visibility
                  Women vs. Women

Theme: FAMILY ROLES

Thematic codes: FAMILY
         Codes: Housework
                 Marital
                 Nurturing
                 Pregnancy
                 Share

Theme: PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Thematic Codes: PHYSICAL
         Codes: Age
                 Compliment
                 Disability
                 Geographical
                 Race (Foreign)
                 Safety

Theme: INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Thematic Codes: INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES
         Codes: Equality
                 Options
                 Unique

Theme: CHANGE

Thematic Codes: CHANGE
         Codes: Future (Legacy)
                 Past Situation
                 Recommendations

Theme: **SELF CONCEPT**

Thematic Codes: SENSE SELF (SELF ESTEEM)
        Codes: Ego
                Pride
                Self Doubt/Self Confidence
                Threat
                Upset
                Worry

Theme: **ENERGY**

Thematic Codes: ENERGY (EFFORT)
        Codes: Aggression
                Anger
                Conflict
                Cost
                Initiative
                Leisure (Extracurricular)
                Long Hours
                Productivity
                Strategy
                Stress
                Superwoman
                Work Habit

Thematic Codes: COPING
        Codes: Conform
                Exit Government

Theme: **CAREER DEVELOPMENT**

Thematic Codes: **ADVANCE (HIRING, OPPORTUNITY, PROMOTION, SUCCESS)**
      Codes: Assignment (Responsibility)
             Awards (Credit, Money, Reward)
             Career Path
             Clerical
             Compete
             Credential (Competent, Education, Experience, Job
               Qualifications, Military, Standards, Training)
             Government Jobs
             Male Occupation (Technical)
             Mobility (Travel)
             Organizational Support
             Outside Government
             Parties
             Part-time
             Power (Leadership, SES Status)
             Supervisor (Subordinate)
             Traditional Roles

Theme: **LEGAL/POLITICAL**

Thematic Codes: **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**
      Codes: Agency Performance
             Decision
             Discrimination
             Policy
             Political
             Representation

APPENDIX R
A PRIORI RULES FOR DETERMINING INTERCODER/INTRACODER RELIABILITY

Notes: The researcher and the other coder coded the same segments of the transcript.
"A" refers to coding done by the researcher.
"B" refers to coding done by the other coder and also refers to a second round of coding done by the researcher. See Appendix Q for specific information about codes, their equivalencies, and their relative themes.

Codes will be considered an AGREEMENT under the following conditions:

1. Within the same speaker sections in "A" and "B," thematic codes on "A" that are the same or equivalent to the thematic codes on "B" (and vice versa) are in AGREEMENT. Also, codes on "A" that are the same or equivalent to the codes on "B" (and vice versa) are in AGREEMENT.

Example 1:   AGREEMENT between thematic codes
           "A" - ADVANCE
           "B" - SUCCESS

	"A" Researcher	"B" Other Coder
: No. It just means the next promotion that comes around you're going to be twice as qualified in order to get it. And then it will impact because then you will get the job.	ADVANCE, Credential	SUCCESS

Example 2:   AGREEMENT between codes
           "A" - Education
           "B" - Credential

	"A" Researcher	"B" Other Coder
: But when it comes to women, those elusive things, our qualifications shift. I mean, in the case [name] talks about, spoke, addressed the education issue. Well, education is important if you don't have it, and it's unimportant if you do. (Loud laughter.)	Credential, Education	Credential

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2. Within the same speaker sections on both "A" and "B," a thematic
code on "A" that is part of a specific theme, and a code on "B" that
is part of that same theme (and vice versa) are an AGREEMENT.

Example 3:   AGREEMENT between thematic codes and codes:
             "A" - Credential
             "B" - SUCCESS

	"A" Researcher	"B" Other Coder
: No. It just means the next promotion that comes around you're going to be twice as qualified in order to get it. And then it will impact because then you will get the job.	ADVANCE, Credential	success

APPENDIX S
QUALITATIVE COMPARISON OF INTERCODER RELIABILITY

The following is excerpted verbatim from the first four pages of the total ten pages that were used for intercoder reliability.

The researcher and the other coder independently read the same section of the text and designated a portion of that text as a segment, by drawing a vertical line along its length. Each coder then assigned a code name to the segment. In the example illustrated below, the vertical lines were omitted due to space limitations in the margins of the manuscript. Thus, the example below indicates only where each coded segment begins.

See Appendix Q for specific information about codes, their equivalencies, and their relative themes.

	Researcher	Other Coder
: In my case, if you're not,	ENERGY,	ENERGY,
if you're not very careful to,	SENSE SELF,	Self Doubt
recognize it up front, I mean, first	Self Doubt	
of all, you go home exhausted. And then		
you go home wondering, well, wait a		
minute. What is wrong with me? And		
the prime example is when I first	Network	
started going out on training sessions.		
And again, you're dealing with the old		Network
boy network. And you're the wrong		
everything. And you're standing up and		
you're talking to people about		
something that is, it's scientific		
principle. So I know that I got my		
answers. I mean, I did my [technical		
figuring]. I know my [technical areas],	COPING	
so that it comes out right. And		
they're sitting in the room looking		
blank. And so you begin to wonder,		
what is it? Is there something wrong		
with me? What am I doing wrong?		
(Voice--Yeah, yes.) And then I		
finally, then something clicked on. It		
finally (laughter), the light came on.		
And that's when I started going into		
the room. And I'd walk in, and when		
I could see, in some cases, I'd have		
someone who's working with me who		
would go out and tell them, "Hey, okay		
fellas, [name] is, this is what you		
need to expect. You know. Get ready		

	Researcher	Other Coder

for [name]." In fact, there were letters **ENERGY, Equality**
at [name of unit] when I first went on **SENSE SELF,**
board there that said, "Get ready for **Self Doubt**
[name]." And I found them in the file.
And naive enough, I went back to my **COPING**
supervisor and said, "What is this?" He
sort of smiled and said, "Well, what do **ATTITUDE**
you think it is?" Yeah, they literally
had to get ready. But now I go, the **Race**
way I handle that, because in some
cases I literally walk in the door and
say, "This is my ethnic heritage. This
is where I went to school. This is what
I do and I'm not, I do know what
I'm doing, you know. So once you get
over that, then listen up, you know.
And if you don't, it's all on paper." So
that they can take it home. "So you can
take it home and listen to it once you
get past it." But it's, you go through **ENERGY, ENERGY**
wondering. It's your self esteem. **EFFORT,**
You do begin to, and then you've been **SELF**
there again. There's that energy **ESTEEM**
again, you are using negatively or
trying to overcome some negative
entities that you really,
unfortunately. . . Yeah, we do work
harder. (Voice- Yes.) Because we've **SELF ESTEEM**
go to deal with a lot of things.
We've got to deal with self esteem
problems or self esteem issues that
could become problems if we're not
astute enought to recognize it, or
somebody, somewhere along the line
does not say, "Hey, what you're dealing
with here is not you. It's a function
of some external factors that you were
obviously not prepared to deal with."

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	Researcher	Other Coder

: Going back to the beginning,
one of the statements that was made,
I also reiterated. That you not
only have to be better qualified, your
credentials have to be intact. You
have to be superwoman to get the job.
Once you've got the job, you have to
perform like a superwoman. You're
expected, meaning, you ought to be
twice as good as anybody else in order
to be heard. So definitely, that
means you work harder. You work from
7 to 7 and it is expected. And you're
just going to do a better job. Or
you're going to perform more than
your counterparts, male counterparts.

Moderator: Do you feel this has
impacted on your success at all at work?

: No. It just means the next
promotion that comes around you're
going to be twice as qualified in
order to get it. And then it will
impact because then you will get the
job.

: But when it comes to women,
those elusive things, our
qualifications shift. I mean, in the
case [name] talks about, spoke,
addressed the education issue. Well,
education is important if you don't
have it, and it's unimportant if you
do. (Loud laughter.) And it's sort
of like, you know, you go back and you
get that other master's degree. Well
then, all of a sudden they'll say,
"Well, you didn't need it. Look at
[man's name]. Look, [name of man] got
there without it. He didn't need it.

Researcher column:
ENERGY, EFFORT
Superwoman

Credential,
Hiring

Long Hours

ADVANCE,
Credential

Credential,
Education

Other Coder column:
Credential,
Superwoman

Effort

Long Hours

SUCCESS

Credential

	Researcher	Other Coder

You know, that doesn't make you any
more qualified." You know, it's like
you're always, almost, just almost
there, you know. Because you do tend
to find that a lot of, well . . . I don't
know, the data does not support me. I
have seen the data and federal women
are not as well educated as federal
men, but my experience in the
professional world is that they tend
to be more educated than their
counterparts. I don't know if it's
here. I don't know if it's just
you've got a lot of women in clerical
positions. I don't know where this
average data comes from. Because most
women who are in higher level
positions, their qualifications far
exceed (Voices - Yeah, um hmm)
their male counterparts academically.

Researcher: Credential, Education
Other Coder: Credential

: The other thing, I just
didn't want to forget it here, is if
you're a married female, okay, the
questions about what your husband does
for a living, okay. You don't need a
promotion, there's some man at home
taking care of you, so. . . .

Researcher: PROMOTION, Marital
Other Coder: Marital

: That's exactly what my point
was earlier! (Voices - Yeah, um hmm)

: You have a diamond on your
ring and all these things draping
around you neck. And you look like
you're fed well and you're dressed
well. So you find yourself keeping
very quiet [her voice lowers] about
home, and family, and certainly what
hubby does for a living. And that's
to some extent. . . .

Researcher: PROMOTION, Marital
Other Coder: Marital

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	Researcher	Other Coder

: I've never felt that way. I
don't know. You know, everybody's
experience is unique to them. I do
think women work harder. I don't
think we necessarily have to work from
7 to 7. I think some of that comes
down to personal decisions about what
you want to do individually. I can
look at some of my male supervisors or
people in SES positions. I'm a [grade
level], and I think they put in longer
hours than I do. But I wouldn't want
to do that. I mean, that's a personal
decision I've made.

Researcher	Other Coder
EFFORT	Marital
INDIVIDUAL DIFF.	EFFORT, Long Hours
	Options
	SES

Moderator: But do they put that in
because they're men, or do they do
that because of the individual?

: I think it's a lot of the
function of the particiular job, not
necessarily because they're men. I
think women in those positions also
put that in. Yeah. But I think that
women work harder. But I think that
you come to a point in your life where
you make choices. And for each of us,
that stage is different. I guess why
I've never been hesitant about my
husband is that we have a non-
traditional puzzle. My husband was
with [name of agency], was a [name of
position], which to some people was
not a real job anyhow. Cushy life as
far as they're concerned. And then he
was, had been retired a year, and we
had our first and only child. I was
[in my thirties] when I had my
[child]. My husband is the primary
care giver. He chose to be a
[position title]. He's the one who

Researcher	Other Coder
EFFORT, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES, Long Hours	SES
	EFFORT
	Options
FAMILY, Trad. Roles	Marital, IND. DIFFER., Trad. Roles

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	Researcher	Other Coder
has the flexible schedule. I get up and come to work at 6 o'clock in the morning. I'm here at 6, you know. That's the difference, but that's a personal choice and I share that because I would like to encourage other people that you don't always have to have, what someone has thought of as the traditional pattern, whatever that is.	FAMILY, Traditional Roles, IND. DIFF.	Marital, Traditional Roles, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

STATISTICAL COMPUTATION OF INTERCODER RELIABILITY

<u>Step 1</u>:

Reliability = $\dfrac{\text{Number of agreements}}{\text{Total number of agreements plus disagreements}}$

Number of agreements   =   70 + 60   =   130
Number of disagreements =   21 + 22   =   43
Total agreements + disagreements   =   173

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{130}{173} = 75\%$$

<u>Step 2</u>:

n = total number of agreements plus disagreements
p = proportion of correct codes = reliability

For a 95% confidence level of reliability, use this equation:

$$2\ \frac{p\ (1-p)}{n} = 2\ \frac{.75\ (1-.75)}{173} = 6.6\%$$

Therefore, with a 95% confidence level,
Reliability = 75% ± 6.6% = 68.4% to 81.6%

Summary: I am 95% confident that the reliability is within
          the 68.4% to 81.6% range.

APPENDIX U
CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
INTERPERSONAL THEME OCCURRED

	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	

Codes:

INTERPERSONAL (SUBTLE DIFFERENCES)

Male	16	8	44	7	19	8	3
Female SES	51	32	46	20	19	9	10
Female 13-15	80	39	36	14	19	13	1

Comfort (Male Bonding, Fellows)

Male	4	0	14	0	8	1	2
Female SES	12	11	12	3	0	2	4
Female 13-15	13	7	10	3	1	6	1

Communicate (Interrupt, Steal Idea, Swearing)

Male	1	0	6	2	4	1	0
Female SES	7	7	7	2	0	1	1
Female 13-15	4	8	7	5	11	1	0

Constraint

Male	25	5	7	0	5	2	3
Female SES	29	7	41	9	1	4	1
Female 13-15	28	4	43	2	4	3	6

Exclude (Ignore)

Male	0	0	7	1	2	1	0
Female SES	7	7	15	2	2	4	0
Female 13-15	22	11	15	1	2	3	3

Feedback

Male	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Female SES	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	4	0	0	0	5	0	0

Meetings (Seating)

Male	0	0	8	0	2	1	1
Female SES	3	5	24	4	5	5	0
Female 13-15	7	11	13	3	5	2	0

Social

Male	2	0	16	1	3	3	0
Female SES	2	8	11	1	0	1	3
Female 13-15	16	5	16	0	4	6	1

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
INTERPERSONAL THEME OCCURRED

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
Sports (Gym)							
Male	1	1	5	0	1	0	0
Female SES	0	2	10	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	2	2	7	4	0	2	0
Teamplayer							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Female 13-15	4	1	0	1	0	0	0
Trust (Relationship)							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	4	2	6	1	0	0	2
Female 13-15	2	0	3	0	1	0	0
Touching							
Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Female SES	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	348	186	433	86	124	81	43

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
ATTITUDES THEME OCCURRED

	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	

Codes:

ATTITUDE (ASSUMPTION, PERCEPTION, PERSPECTIVE, STEREOTYPE)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	25	6	19	4	10	6	1
Female SES	53	29	42	30	1	7	3
Female 13-15	58	36	31	7	7	9	5

Ask Others (Your Problem)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	3	1	3	0	1	0	4
Female SES	1	0	0	3	1	4	3
Female 13-15	0	1	2	1	2	0	0

Awareness (Sensitive)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	3	1	3	0	2	0	3
Female SES	6	0	0	6	1	0	1
Female 13-15	7	5	3	2	0	0	2

Commitment

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	7	0	0	0	2	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Credibility

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Female SES	6	2	4	5	0	1	1
Female 13-15	3	0	0	0	1	1	0

Culture

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	1	4	0	0	1	4	1
Female SES	7	4	3	4	2	4	3
Female 13-15	14	2	9	7	2	1	6

Deferential

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	2	0	0	0	0

Discount

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	0	2	1	0	0	1	0
Female SES	11	10	10	6	5	2	0
Female 13-15	11	10	5	5	4	2	0

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
ATTITUDES THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
Harassment							
Male	0	0	2	0	3	0	0
Female SES	0	1	2	10	2	1	0
Female 13-15	1	9	2	4	0	0	0
Protect							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Female SES	4	4	1	1	0	1	0
Female 13-15	0	4	1	1	0	0	0
Question Authority (Question)							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	2	2	4	1	0	0
TOTAL ATTITUDES	221	134	150	100	49	45	34

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
SOCIAL SUPPORT THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
NUMBER WOMEN							
Male	18	11	1	1	2	2	4
Female SES	20	13	10	14	1	6	10
Female 13-15	27	8	12	9	16	2	12
Confide							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	1	0	0	6	0	1
Female 13-15	3	2	1	0	9	0	1
Isolation							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	7	1	3	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	1	0	0	0	6	0	0
Mentor (Advice)							
Male	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	20	0	5	2	0	2	5
Female 13-15	36	1	7	0	6	2	0
Network							
Male	12	1	3	1	5	1	1
Female SES	17	5	13	0	0	1	2
Female 13-15	31	4	10	3	11	7	2
Visibility							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Female SES	2	0	1	0	0	6	2
Female 13-15	4	1	3	4	1	2	7
Women vs. Women							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	5	6	2	3	0	1	0
Female 13-15	4	1	3	0	0	1	1
TOTAL SOCIAL SUPPORT	222	55	74	37	63	34	48

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other"
refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
FAMILY ROLES THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
FAMILY							
Male	18	1	0	1	7	0	2
Female SES	43	4	9	2	4	6	3
Female 13-15	39	2	3	1	10	2	0
Housework							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Female 13-15	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Marital							
Male	1	0	1	0	2	1	0
Female SES	5	1	3	4	0	0	0
Female 13-15	8	1	7	2	0	2	0
Nurturing							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pregnancy							
Male	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	5	1	3	0	0	3	0
Female 13-15	1	0	2	1	0	0	1
Share							
Male	2	0	0	0	1	0	0
Female SES	6	0	0	0	1	0	1
Female 13-15	9	0	2	0	3	0	0
TOTAL FAMILY	149	10	32	11	31	14	7

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other"
refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
PHYSICAL							
Male	0	1	2	0	2	0	0
Female SES	0	2	10	0	1	3	0
Female 13-15	0	7	12	2	1	0	0
Age							
Male	0	1	2	3	0	0	1
Female SES	7	4	1	7	1	0	2
Female 13-15	7	3	10	4	2	3	2
Compliment							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	4	2	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Disability							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Geographical							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Race (Foreign)							
Male	0	1	2	0	1	2	1
Female SES	2	0	0	1	0	3	2
Female 13-15	3	5	9	2	0	4	1
Safety							
Male	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	14	0	0	0	0
TOTAL PHYSICAL DIFFERENCES	20	28	78	21	8	15	9

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other"
refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

APPENDIX Z
CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES THEME OCCURRED

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES							
Male	38	6	18	3	16	8	5
Female SES	36	4	14	9	9	7	4
Female 13-15	40	5	21	9	21	7	6
Equality							
Male	7	2	0	1	0	1	3
Female SES	5	2	0	3	0	1	3
Female 13-15	4	1	3	2	2	0	0
Options							
Male	9	0	0	1	4	0	0
Female SES	6	2	0	0	2	2	3
Female 13-15	3	0	0	2	2	3	0
Unique							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES	149	22	57	30	56	29	24

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

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CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
CHANGE THEME OCCURRED

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
CHANGE							
Male	21	7	4	2	3	1	3
Female SES	19	6	4	7	3	7	9
Female 13-15	22	4	18	7	9	1	2
Future (Legacy)							
Male	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	5	1	2	8	1	7	8
Female 13-15	4	0	1	0	2	0	0
Past Situation							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	6	0	2	3	1	1	1
Female 13-15	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Recommendations							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	2	2	0	0	0	0	7
Female 13-15	1	0	15	0	1	0	0
TOTAL CHANGE	80	24	47	28	20	17	31

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
SELF CONCEPT THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
SENSE OF SELF (SELF ESTEEM)							
Male	0	0	3	4	1	1	1
Female SES	8	7	3	20	6	3	3
Female 13-15	7	9	5	13	13	4	0
Ego							
Male	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	1	2	1	2	1
Female 13-15	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Pride							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Self Doubt/Self Confidence							
Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Female SES	1	1	3	3	3	0	0
Female 13-15	2	0	3	6	4	1	0
Threat							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	3	7	2	0	0	1	0
Female 13-15	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Upset							
Male	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Female SES	1	0	0	3	1	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worry							
Male	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	1	1	1	1	2	0
Female 13-15	0	3	3	2	0	1	0
TOTAL	24	29	29	56	31	17	6

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that codes are
equivalent in meaning; thus, the tallies include equivalent codes.
"Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
ENERGY (EFFORT)							
Male	2	1	1	0	9	3	3
Female SES	26	9	10	5	29	5	6
Female 13-15	20	26	7	17	32	5	0
Aggression							
Male	0	2	1	1	2	1	1
Female SES	9	0	1	3	2	2	0
Female 13-15	4	11	3	5	12	3	1
Anger							
Male	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	4	7	0	4	7	1	0
Female 13-15	2	6	1	0	1	⁻1	0
Conflict							
Male	3	0	0	0	0	3	1
Female SES	2	0	5	0	1	1	0
Female 13-15	0	2	2	1	1	0	0
Cost							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Female SES	0	3	0	0	1	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Initiative							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Female SES	4	0	0	0	0	1	1
Female 13-15	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Leisure (Extracurricular)							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	2	5	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

TABLE CC (CONTINUED)
CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
ENERGY THEME OCCURRED

	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
Code words:							
Long Hours							
Male	11	0	0	0	3	0	0
Female SES	9	0	3	0	3	0	0
Female 13-15	6	0	1	4	8	2	1
Productivity							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strategy							
Male	2	0	1	0	3	0	0
Female SES	9	2	0	1	4	3	1
Female 13-15	5	6	4	2	8	2	0
Stress							
Male	1	0	1	0	6	0	3
Female SES	14	0	3	1	25	2	2
Female 13-15	5	2	4	2	27	1	0
Superwoman							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	4	0	2	0	2	0	0
Female 13-15	1	0	1	1	6	0	0
Work Habit							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL ENERGY (WITHOUT COPING)	150	78	54	49	199	37	22

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TABLE CC (CONTINUED)
CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
ENERGY THEME OCCURRED

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
COPING							
Male	13	0	3	0	2	1	1
Female SES	9	14	12	17	23	5	4
Female 13-15	20	12	20	18	10	6	0
Conform							
Male	2	1	4	2	1	0	0
Female SES	16	1	4	0	4	2	0
Female 13-15	4	2	1	1	0	1	1
Exit Government							
Male	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Female 13-15	2	1	0	0	2	0	0
TOTAL COPING	67	32	44	38	43	15	6
TOTAL ENERGY (WITH COPING)	217	110	98	87	242	52	28

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other" refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
CAREER DEVELOPMENT THEME OCCURRED

Code words:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	

ADVANCE (HIRING, OPPORTUNITY, PROMOTION, SUCCESS)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	58	22	4	3	9	10	9
Female SES	72	20	5	7	12	24	10
Female 13-15	101	14	25	9	34	12	10

Assignment (Responsibility)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	5	7	6	4	0	2	2
Female 13-15	10	4	2	1	10	1	3

Awards (Credit, Money, Reward)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	1	0	0	0	2	0	0
Female SES	6	2	7	1	0	0	2
Female 13-15	9	2	0	7	0	0	1

Career Path

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	3	4	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	3	2	1	0	0	0	0

Clerical

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Female 13-15	2	0	1	0	3	0	0

Compete

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	5	1	0	1	0	0	1
Female SES	2	0	1	0	1	0	2
Female 13-15	4	2	2	1	2	0	3

Credential (Competent, Education, Experience, Job Qualifications, Military, Standards, Training)

	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	Other
Male	22	20	0	1	4	6	8
Female SES	45	3	23	4	3	14	6
Female 13-15	57	17	19	8	24	10	14

	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	

Code words:

Government Jobs

Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	2

Male Occupation (Technical)

Male	5	2	1	0	0	1	4
Female SES	5	3	0	1	0	0	0
Female 13-15	10	2	9	2	2	0	1

Mobility (Travel)

Male	15	2	1	0	1	0	2
Female SES	20	2	7	0	0	0	3
Female 13-15	13	0	12	0	1	0	1

Organizational Support

Male	7	0	0	0	0	0	1
Female SES	9	2	0	1	0	3	2
Female 13-15	11	2	2	0	3	0	0

Outside Government

Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Parties

Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Female 13-15	5	0	9	0	1	0	0

Part-time

Male	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	15	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
Code words:							
Power (Leadership, SES Status)							
Male	8	3	4	0	1	0	0
Female SES	18	6	8	9	3	3	0
Female 13-15	13	1	7	3	14	3	3
Supervisor (Subordinate)							
Male	10	2	4	1	2	1	0
Female SES	10	2	6	7	4	7	1
Female 13-15	20	11	10	4	5	7	1
Traditional Roles							
Male	3	1	1	1	3	4	0
Female SES	2	7	4	1	2	4	3
Female 13-15	8	3	13	2	7	3	0
TOTAL CAREER DEVELOPMENT	628	181	194	83	154	115	95

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other"
refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

CONTEXT IN WHICH SEGMENTS RELATED TO
LEGAL/POLITICAL THEME OCCURRED

Codes:	MSPB's Questions		This Study's Questions				Other
	1-4	5	1-2	3	4	5	
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION							
Male	4	1	0	0	0	0	4
Female SES	13	2	3	7	2	9	4
Female 13-15	8	1	2	2	1	2	0
Agency Performance							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decision							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	1	1	2	2	0	1	0
Female 13-15	4	0	1	0	1	1	0
Discrimination							
Male	6	4	0	2	1	0	4
Female SES	9	2	4	2	2	5	1
Female 13-15	12	12	5	2	3	0	2
Policy							
Male	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female SES	6	3	1	3	1	1	0
Female 13-15	4	1	3	0	0	1	0
Political							
Male	2	2	0	0	1	0	0
Female SES	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Representation							
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Female SES	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Female 13-15	2	1	4	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	80	30	26	20	13	20	16
LEGAL/POLITICAL							

Note: Codes followed by parentheses indicate that the codes are
equivalent in meaning and were combined in these tallies. "Other"
refers to comments made after all questions had been asked.

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EDUCATION

Ph.D. Candidate, Public Administration and Policy, Virginia
     Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1988-Present.
     Dissertation: Achieving Organizational Excellence Through
     Managing Diversity: Enhancing Productivity, Self Concept,
     and Career Development. Chairman: Orion F. White, Jr., Ph.D.
M.S., 1984, Higher Education Administration, State University of New
     York at Albany, 1983-84.
B.S., 1980, Business Administration/Management, Cum Laude. State
     University of New York at Albany, 1976-80.

EMPLOYMENT

Nov 1992-   Assistant Director, Career Development and Placement
Present   Wharton Graduate Division, University of Pennsylvania,
            Philadelphia, PA
            * Provide counseling for MBA students on career issues
              including self-assessment, career exploration, resume
              writing, interviewing, job search strategy, negotiation.
            * Teach career management course to 180 MBA students (Fall
              1993).
            * Conduct workshops on topics such as Myers-Briggs Type
              Indicator, Strong Interest Inventory, job search.
            * Plan and implement career-related events; write and edit
              career resource guides; provide support for on-campus
              recruiting services; liaison to corporate recruiters and
              professional clubs; member of diversity committee.

Nov 1987-   Director of Development, College of Engineering
Jun 1991   Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
            Blacksburg, VA
            * Created and implemented fundraising program for 30,000
              alumni. Obtained corporate and individual gifts of
              $1,000 to $1.2 million.
            Achievement highlights: Increased annual unrestricted
              alumni gifts from $25,000 to $290,000 and alumni
              participation from 2% to 14%.

Dec 1985-   Associate Director of Development, Olin School of Business
Nov 1987   Washington University, St. Louis, MO.
            * Planned/implemented fundraising for 8,000 alumni.

Achievement highlights: Assisted in increasing gifts by 38%, $1,000 donors by 20%.

Jul 1981– Director of Alumni Programs, Union College, Schenectady,
Nov 1985 NY.
* Developed and implemented all aspects of programs for 20,000 alumni. Responsibilities included volunteer management, program development, marketing, staffing, strategic planning, budgeting.
* Established programs in cooperation with career development, continuing education, admissions. Career programs included alumni network, alumni career survey, internship program; administered mock interviews.
Achievement highlights: Expanded alumni chapter network from 22 to 40 regions; increased chapter meetings from 45 to 90 per year. Increased reunion and homecoming participation by 75%.

Jul 1980– Selling Manager/Assistant Buyer
Jun 1981 Sibley, Lindsey, and Curr Company, Rochester, NY.
* Responsible for profitability of selling area in large department store. Managed/trained sales staff of 30.

ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT CONSULTING

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Cooperative Extension, Jan–Apr 1991.
Fairfax County Department of Human Development, Jan–Mar 1990.
New River Valley Hospice, Oct–Nov 1989.
Newman Library, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Aug 1989–Jan 1990.
* Conducted action research; facilitated organizational change.
* Conducted workshops on MBTI, SDI, team building, group facilitation, communication, leadership, strategic planning.
* Provided training on Total Quality Management techniques; formed and facilitated process improvement teams.

RELATED EXPERIENCE

Researcher, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University/
U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (MSPB), Jun–Aug 1991.
* Collaborated with MSPB on "glass ceiling" study; conducted focus group interviews about work experiences/careers with 144 federal executives in eight agencies.

Career Assistant, State University of New York at Albany, Sep 1978–
May 1980.
* Counseled undergraduates and conducted training on career skills including resume writing, interviewing, graduate school search, job search strategies, career exploration.