It's All About Relationships: African-American And European-American Women's Hotel Management Careers

by

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HOTEL MANAGEMENT CAREERS

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(ABSTRACT)

Among the 44000-plus general managers employed in United States' hotels in 1993, there were only 100 women, 15 African-Americans, and three African-American women. Additionally, less than 0.5 percent of corporate hospitality managers were women. Given this relative underrepresentation of European-American women and African-Americans, combined with the increasing diversity of hotel clientele and service providers, the purpose of this study is to broaden our understanding of the sources of inequitable occupational outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel management. Two research questions addressed are addressed (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered?; and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers different from those of European-American women who are managers?

A grounded hermeneutic research approach of joint collection, analysis, and contextualized interpretation of data was used. The data were collected using semi-structured interviews with ten African-American women and five European-American

women who are hotel managers. The constant comparative method of analysis yielded 58 critical difference defining incidents in which the women's race and gender influenced their career experiences. Further analysis of these incidents yielded four conceptual categories: career stages, relationships, power resources, and human resource management practices.

The women's careers were racialized and gendered through (1) their relationships to European-American men, which (2) provided the women with different resources at each stage of their careers and (3) influenced the way their superiors, who were predominantly European-American men, applied human resource practices. The differences in the career experiences of the women who participated in this study were largely a result of their different positions in relation to European-American men. These relationships to European-American men were significant as the women described these men as "having an inborn advantage in this industry" and as "running things."

In the final chapter, I suggest actions hospitality practitioners, educators, and researchers can take to address several factors identified as contributing to the creation of inequitable career outcomes.

DEDICATION

It is from this past that I come
surrounded by sisters in blood
and in spirit
it is this past
that I bequeath
a history of work and struggle

Each generation improves the world
for the next.
My grandparents willed me strength.
My parents will me pride.
I will to you rage.
I give you a world incomplete
a world
where
women still are property and chattel
where
color still
shuts doors
where sexual choice still
threatens
but I give you
a legacy
of doers
of people who take risks
to chisel the cracks wider.
Take the strength that you may
wage a long battle.
Take the pride that you can
never stand small.
Take the rage that you can never settle for less

Pat Parker, “legacy”
Jonestown and Other Madness: Poetry by Pat Parker

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First giving honor to God, …I also thank the members of my dissertation committee. Chairperson, Dr. Suzanne K. Murrmann, stood up for me when the GMAT and the graduate admissions committee said I'd never make it; then, she gave me enough freedom to go off and do what I needed to do, but not so much rope that I could actually hang myself. Toni Calasanti, sociologist, baker, mother, mentor, … extraordinaire shared so much with and put up with so much from me in my most frantic (Do I really have to make one more revision? Am I still an atheoretical boob?) states. Marcia Rafig, taught me much about hotels, prayed long and hard, saved me many times by coming up with "just one more name," and made it all worthwhile when she said, "It's so sad. You just told my story." Joyce Williams-Green, took a chance on *another* HTM student. I hope I didn't let you down. Thanks for asking those relentless questions that forced me to keep trying to "make it plain." Stella Nkomo wrote "the things I should have been able to read." Thank you for being so gracious about what is probably the worst piece of work you've read lately. I thank Dr. Roberta Minish for sharing her expertise in tying up loose ends.

Also, I owe special gratitude to Dr. Michael Olsen, who has yet to laugh at the fact that I did come back to graduate school. My colleagues at The Pennsylvania State University – especially Dr. Stuart Mann, Director of the School of Hotel, Restaurant, and Recreation Management, Vice Provosts Dr. James Stewart and Dr. Grace Hampton, who believed in me and proved it by saving my job – have given new meaning to the phrase

"community of scholars." To Pat Moreo, currently of New Mexico State, I will be eternally grateful (I think) for saving my life.

To all those who thought I wouldn't, couldn't or shouldn't, thanks for the inspiration.

Finally, Ray, thanks for everything.

Naturally, all the loose ends, not too plain words, and unanswered questions are solely the responsibility of the author.

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CHAPTER1: INTRODUCTION

Diversity and Inequality in Hotel Management

Occupation by industry statistics based on 1980 census data (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1984) reveal that African-American women comprised 1.7 percent (n=2535) of the 14,8534 executives, administrators and managers in the lodging segment of the hospitality industry. While the distribution of these managers across the various types of hotels, levels, and functional areas of management is not published, industry insiders estimate that, until recently only three of the nation's 44,000-plus hotel general managers were African-American women (Blalock, 1992; Campbell, 1993; Miller-Hatcher, 1992; O'Dwyer, 1992). Sokoloff's (1992) index of relative advantage offers a more revealing indicator of the inequitable distribution of race-gender groups among hotel managers. The index of relative advantage is a measure of how under- or overrepresented one race-gender group is relative to another race-gender group within a particular occupational category. A score of 0.91 to 1.10 indicates parity between race-gender groups in occupational representation. Scores less than 0.90 indicate underrepresentation and scores over 1.10 indicate overrepresentation. Table 1.1 below shows the indices of relative advantage for six race-gender groups calculated using data from the 1980 United States' census. These indices suggest that, among the ranks of hotel managers, European-American women are

overrepresented relative to African-American women and African-American men; however, European-American women are underrepresented relative to European-American men. By contrast, African-American women are underrepresented relative to all other race-gender groups. Additionally, the greatest inequities in managerial representation are between European-American men and both African-American men and African-American women.

Table 1: Index of Relative Advantage Between Race-Gender Groups of Hotel Managers

	European-American Men	European-American Women	African-American Men	African-American Women
European-American Men				
European-American Women	1.44702			
African-American Men	27.2632	14.7315		
African-American Women	31.3822	21.6876	1.151085	

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1984). 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 2, Subject Reports, Pt 7C, Table 1, pp. 1-2, 121-122, 148-149. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Traditional Explanations of Inequality

Several sociological and economic theories have been proposed to explain inequality in occupational outcomes, including attainment of management positions, wages, and mobility. Sokoloff (1992) and Coverman (1988) outline two broad categories of theoretical explanations for these differences in occupational

outcomes: individualist and structural. Individualist theories, such as status attainment theory (Blau & Duncan, 1967) and human capital theory (Mincer & Polachek, 1974), hold that occupational inequality is the result of differences in workers' human capital including education, experience, and productivity. However, research conducted to test these theories has found them to be inadequate; at best, "studies that consider only individual-level characteristics never explain more than 44 percent of the wage gap between the sexes, and most studies explain less than one-fifth of the gap" (Coverman, 1989, pp.103-104). Certainly, "human capital," such as level of education and job experience do matter; however, there is not a one-to-one correlation between human capital and labor market outcomes. Therefore, lack or possession of "appropriate skills" is only a partial explanation of labor force inequality. Indeed, recent studies by Higginbotham (1994) and MacGuire and Reskin (1994) have demonstrated that, contrary to human capital theory, African-American women, African-American men, and European-American women receive significantly lower returns to their investments in education and experience than do European-American men.

Two major structural theories that seek to explain occupational inequality are dual economy theory and dual labor market theory. Dual economy theory (Averitt, 1968) suggests that differences in occupational outcomes among race-gender groups are the result of workers being employed in a dual economy which consists of core industries and peripheral industries. Because of differences in unionization, productivity, and profit margins between the two industrial sectors,

workers in capital-intensive, core industries (e.g. steel, automotives, and oil) are paid higher wages and enjoy greater job security and promotion opportunities than do workers in labor-intensive peripheral industries (e.g. agriculture, retail trade, and services). While this theory may be useful for explaining race-gender groups' differential representation in manufacturing versus service industries, it cannot explain race-gender group differences in managerial representation within a particular industry.

Dual labor market theory (Doeringer & Piore, 1975) follows the same logic, using occupations rather than industries as the starting point for explaining differences in occupational outcomes. Doeringer and Piore (1975) propose that the United States' labor market consists of two sectors: primary and secondary. Upper-tier managerial and professional occupations form the primary labor market where workers have higher pay and status, fewer formal work rules, and greater variety and authority (Piore, 1975) than do workers in the secondary labor market. The secondary labor market includes such occupations as teacher, typist, janitor and laborer. However, dual labor market theory has been of limited use in explaining race- and/or gender- based occupational segregation because it fails to explain the process by which men and women, European-Americans and African-Americans become disproportionately represented among the primary and secondary labor markets, respectively (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Sokoloff, 1992; Treiman & Hartmann, 1981).

Justification of the study: Why is this inequality important to study?

Importance to the Hospitality Industry

The paucity of race-gender diversity among the ranks of hotel general managers is especially problematic given changes in labor and consumer markets. In their landmark report, Workforce 2000, Johnson and Packer (1987) predict that only "15 percent [net, or 31.6 percent] of the new entrants to the labor force over the next 13 years will be native white males, compared to 47 percent in that category today" (p. xiii. See also "Second Look at America's Workers", 1990). As the demand for hotel managers is predicted to increase at a faster-than-average rate (Brand, 1990), hotel organizations can ill-afford to under-utilize this growing segment of the workforce.

The African-American segment of the United States' travel market has noticed and taken action in response to the lack of African-American managers in the hospitality industry. When a predominantly African-American conference group discovered that no African-Americans were employed in front-of-the-house positions (e.g. visible customer service and management) at their hotel, the group refused to return to the hotel until more minority employees were hired (Carr, 1990). The predominantly African-American National Urban League, whose annual meeting requires 6,500 room nights, uses a survey that assesses a locality's African-American employment in hotels and convention and visitors' bureaus as part of its conference site selection process (Levin, 1988; Zetlin, 1988). In 1990 the African-American segment of the U.S. travel market was estimated to be $30

billion (Goeldner, 1990), with the average African-American conference attendee spending $750 per person versus $419 for European-Americans (Zetlin, 1988). Such market power combined with the willingness to patronize those locales and hotels which demonstrate a commitment to creating a more diverse workforce, make the low rate of African-American managerial employment in the lodging industry a human resource management issue that needs to be addressed.

Significance to Hospitality Literature

Previous studies of race, gender, and managerial careers have tended to focus on race and/or gender differences in career outcomes such as mobility, compensation, and managerial level. While such studies have been valuable in identifying race-gender differences, but not the causes in managers' career outcomes, they have provided organizations with few practical strategies for alleviating these inequities. Prior studies have most often conceptualized race and gender as either separate, parallel, or cumulative phenomena by focusing on the career experiences of either European-American women or African-American men.

Even though European-American women, African-American women, and African-American men represent a sizable and growing proportion of the hospitality industry's labor force, scholarship on their career experiences and outcomes has been limited. The research on human resources in the hospitality industry has generally not studied the career experiences and outcomes of race-gender minority groups who are employed in this industry. The few hospitality-specific studies which address race and gender are limited to such issues

as sexual harassment and discrimination (Eller, 1990; Fernsten, Lowry, Enghagen, & Hott, 1988; Gregg & Johnson, 1990; Laudadio, 1988) with particular attention given to the ways in which hospitality corporations can avoid civil rights litigation (e.g. Hamilton, 1990). More recently, scholars have begun to address broader gender issues including (European-American) women in leadership (Diaz & Umbreit, 1995), gender differences in career development (Brownell, 1994a, 1994b) and communication (Brownell, 1993). Race-related issues in the hospitality industry are even more under-studied.

Present research provides little theoretical foundation upon which to develop human resource management strategies for managing an increasingly diverse workforce. As the makeup of the hospitality workforce changes, theories and practices which fail to consider explicitly race and gender will become more limited in their usefulness and applicability. Therefore, an empirical study that begins to explain how race and gender impact hospitality organizations is needed. My study is designed to address this gap by generating an empirically- based, theoretically-informed view of African-American women and European-American women hotel managers' career experiences.

I will discuss further in Chapter 2, previous hospitality management research in general, and hospitality human resource management in particular, has either omitted race and/or gender as topics of study or has incorporated four fallacious assumptions in conducting such research: (1) European-Americans -- both men and women -- have no race (Alderfer & Thomas, 1988); (2) African-

Americans have only one gender, i.e. man, and women are only European-Americans (Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982); (3) race and gender are separate phenomena that do not interact in qualitatively different ways to create qualitatively different experiences for members of various race-gender groups; and (4) race and gender are fixed, concrete, and objective demographic variables; as such, they do not have socially constructed, politically contested, and historically specific meanings (Omi & Winant, 1986).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to broaden our understanding of the sources of inequitable occupational outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel management, and using this understanding to suggest organizational changes for making hotel management career outcomes more equitable. The results of the research will enable the development of human resource management strategies that make hospitality organizations more effective by creating and maintaining a climate for service (Schneider & Bowen, 1992): when employees are treated as valuable resources, the customers they serve report higher perceptions of the quality of service received (Schneider & Bowen, 1985).

Given the limited ability of traditional sociological and economic theories to explain why there is inequality between race-gender groups in career outcomes such as managerial representation, my research draws from more recent theoretical approaches, particularly Womanism, which suggest the following question: How are inequitable career outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel organizations

produced and reproduced, i.e. racialized and gendered? In other words, how do individuals and organizations use race and gender as (1) bases for constructing differences among people and (2) as bases for allocating resources, such as managerial positions, to individuals (Acker, 1992; Omi &Winant, 1986)? By studying African-American and European-American women's career experiences, this study strives to illuminate racialized and gendered career experiences that are taken for granted by those who are privileged, thereby providing a broader, more complete, more inclusive view of managerial careers in hotel organizations.

Womanism: An Alternative Conceptual Framework

The inadequate explanations of inequality offered by traditional theories and the exclusion of African-American women from the literature call for a different perspective. As Spelman (1988) points out, "If the terms of one's theory require that one is either Black or Female, clearly there is no room for someone who is both" (p. 120). One theoretical perspective that understands the importance of including these processes of both gendering and racialization in organizations is the Womanist Paradigm.

Womanism is a theoretical paradigm which seeks to uncover and eradicate the interlocking matrix of race, class, and gender inequality. That is, it examines structural and ideological bases of race, class, and gender oppression. The Womanist paradigm allows us to understand all people's experiences by broadening our view of social reality. Womanist scholarship explicitly considers the relationship between everyday life and social structure, in terms of my present

research, the relationship between career experiences and the gendering and racialization of hotel management careers. Within the Womanist framework, the researcher uses experienced reality as a "valid source of knowledge for critiquing sociological facts and theories, while sociological thought offers new ways of seeing that experienced reality" (Collins, 1986, p. S30. See also Smith, 1987). Unlike those who are privileged, those who are oppressed possess "double vision": to survive they must gain knowledge of the dominant view and experiences while having simultaneous knowledge of their own. Thus, Womanism employs standpoint theory (Collins, 1986; Harding, 1986, 1991; Harstock, 1983) which proposes that those of us who are socially located at the lower rungs of the social hierarchy because of our race, our gender, and/or our class have a more complete view of the empirical world. Thus, by understanding the experiences of those who are oppressed, we are better able to understand, dialectically, the experiences of those who are privileged. The Womanist paradigm and standpoint theory are more fully discussed in subsequent chapters.

Assumptions

The assumptions underpinning the study are derived from the Womanist framework.

(1) The extant social structure is neither inevitable nor unchanging; rather, it is constantly re/produced by individuals through interactions (Acker, 1990, 1992; Glenn, 1987; Lopata & Thorne, 1983).

(2) Social structure can be understood by looking to personal biography (individuals' perceptions of reality) and relating it to the broader social, historical, economic and political context (Collins, 1986; Mills, 1959; Smith, 1987).

(3) Race and gender are socially constructed categories. They have no "objective" meaning in and of themselves (Acker, 1990, 1992; Omi & Winant, 1986; Webster, 1992); yet, they serve as major (though not the only) influences in the allocation of resources, the social division of labor, and career experiences (Cox & Nkomo, 1991; DiTomaso & Thompson, 1988; Hearn & Parkin, 1983).

Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

This study examines how race and gender interactively combine to create inequitable managerial representation among race-gender groups in the hotel industry. The specific research questions to be addressed are (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered? and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers?

Overview

In Chapter 2, I will present four general areas of literature that are relevant to this study: economic and sociological theoretical explanations of race-gender inequality in the workplace; conceptualizations of race, gender, and careers; approaches to the study of African-American women and work; and barriers and opportunities in managerial careers. While much work has been conducted in

these three areas, none has adequately addressed the particular question which is the basis for this study: how do race and gender interactively combine to construct the career experiences of African-American and European-American women who are hotel managers? In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology of my study. Part one discusses the methodology associated with conducting research within the framework of a Womanist Paradigm. In part two, the specific method of joint collection, analysis, and interpretation of qualitative data, i.e., Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), is presented. In Chapter 4, the results of the interviews are presented as descriptive career stories, followed by analysis and interpretation of the data in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, I summarize my findings, and return to address the purpose of this research study, suggesting human resource management strategies for creating more equitable careers in hotel management.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In Chapter 2, I present four general areas of literature that are relevant to this study: economic and sociological theoretical explanations of race-gender inequality in the workplace; conceptualizations of race, gender, and careers; approaches to the study of African-American women and work; and barriers and opportunities in managerial careers. While much research has been conducted in these four areas, none has addressed the problem that is the focus of this study: how do race and gender interactively combine to create inequitable managerial representation among race-gender groups in the hotel industry? More specifically, how are hotel management careers racialized and gendered and how are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and / or different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers?

Traditional Explanations of Inequality

Several sociological and economic theories have been proposed to explain the causes of inequality in occupational outcomes, including attainment of management positions, wages, and mobility. Sokoloff (1992) and Coverman (1988) outline two broad categories of theoretical explanations for these differences in occupational outcomes: individualist and structural.

> Research on career barriers has stressed the commonalities among women, and the ways in which women can develop the personal and

> professional skills they need to demonstrate their commitment to the organization. However, this individualistic focus is not appropriate for dealing with the problem of combining career and family responsibilities. Our research focus must now turn to the commonalities among organizations, and the ways in which different organizational structures and cultures are more or less responsive to women (Cullen, 1990, p.353).

Individualist theories, such as status attainment theory (Blau & Duncan, 1967) and human capital theory (Mincer & Polachek, 1974), hold that occupational inequality is the result of differences in workers' personal characteristics including education, experience, and productivity. However, research conducted to test these theories has found them to be inadequate in explaining occupational inequality as "studies that consider only individual-level characteristics never explain more than 44 percent of the wage gap between the sexes, and most studies explain less than one-fifth of the gap" (Coverman, 1989, pp.103-104). Certainly, "human capital," such as level of education and job experience are crucial. However lack or possession of "appropriate skills" does not seem to explain labor force inequality. Indeed, recent studies by Higginbotham (1994) and MacGuire and Reskin (1994) have demonstrated that, contrary to human capital theory, African-American women, African-American men, and European-American women receive significantly lower returns to their investments in education and experience than do European-American men.

From the structuralist perspective, Walby (1988) describes occupational gender segregation as the most important cause of the wage gap between men and women in Western economies. Zalokar (1990) found that approximately half of

the historical earnings differences between African-American and European-American women has been attributable to differential allocations among occupations and industries. Sokoloff, (1992) proposes that jobs and labor markets in which women are employed are organized to their disadvantage and segregate women from men, to the women's occupational disadvantage. Because women perform different jobs and also work at lower levels in the organizational hierarchy, their career outcomes and experiences are different than those of men. The structural sources of this segregation are variously seen as the effects of past practices, remaining legal barriers, discrimination by employers, unions and coworkers, institituional personnel practices, and informal barriers in the workplace that make many jobs uncomfortable or impair women's job performance (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986).

Another group of structural theories that seeks to explain occupational inequality is the two-sector models, e.g. dual economy theory and dual labor market theory. Dual economy theory (Averitt, 1968) suggests that differences in occupational outcomes among race-gender groups are the result of workers being employed in a dual economy which consists of core industries and peripheral industries. Because of differences in unionization, productivity, and profit margins between the two industrial sectors, workers in capital-intensive core industries (e.g. steel, automotives, and oil) are paid higher wages and enjoy greater job security and promotion opportunities than do workers in labor-intensive peripheral industries (e.g. agriculture, retail trade, and services). While this theory may be

useful for explaining race-gender groups' differential representation in manufacturing versus service industries, it has limited usefulness in explaining race-gender group differences in managerial representation within a particular industry.

Dual labor market theory (Doeringer & Piore, 1975) follows the same logic, using occupations rather than industries as the starting point for explaining differences in occupational outcomes. Doeringer and Piore (1975) propose that the United States' labor market consists of two sectors: upper-tier managerial and professional occupations form the primary labor market where workers have higher pay and status, fewer formal work rules, and greater variety and authority (Piore, 1975) than do workers in the secondary labor market, which includes such occupations as teacher, typist, janitor and laborer. Several studies have criticized the limited usefulness of dual labor market theory in explaining race- and/or gender-based occupational segregation (Reskin & Hartmann, 1986; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Sokoloff, 1992; Treiman & Hartmann, 1981). Sokoloff (1992) critiques both structural and individualist theories as neither human capital nor occupational gender segregation theory adequately explains if and how this increase in race-gender minority group's participation in the professions means genuine progress for Black women and White women throughout the professional labor market.

At the organizational level of structural causes of race-gender inequality, one of the most often cited theories is that of Kanter (1977). In this case study of an anonymous industrial firm (Indsco), Kanter (1977) proposed that individuals'

(both men's and women's) behavior in organizations is the result of three interactive organizational structural barriers: opportunity, power, and proportions. That is, "Blocked opportunity, powerlessness, and tokenism tend to generate employees who, among other things, have low aspirations, lack commitment to the organization, become hostile to leaders, behave ineffectively in leadership roles themselves, take few risks, or become socially isolated and personally stressed" (Kanter, 1977, p. 266).

Kanter (1977) describes opportunity as an individual's expectations and future prospects for advancement, growth and challenge "as determined by such matters as promotion rates from particular jobs, ladder steps associated with a position, the range and length of career paths opening from it, access to challenge and increase in skills and rewards" (Kanter, 1977, p 246). Power, which is determined by both the formal characteristics of an individual's job and informal alliances, refers to the capacity to mobilize resources. The numerical distribution or proportion of men and women at various organizational levels in Indsco, led to heightened visibility, contrast, and assimilation of the few token (to use Kanter's term) women who were in the sales force or managerial positions. These perceptual tendencies generated, in turn, performance pressures, heightening of dominant culture boundaries, and role encapsulation for the token woman.

Kanter's work served as a majoring turning point for the study of women and minorities in management, as it shifted the focus from previous individual-level approaches which focused on the question of what individual characteristics serve

as barriers to entry into managerial and executive careers to the broader question of what organizational structure characteristics serve as a barrier to entry into managerial and executive careers. This later question has been the subject of several studies.

Glass Ceiling

Starting in the fall of 1989, the U.S. Department of Labor began a series of studies to determine if there were "artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991, p.1). Through a series of ninety-four Equal Employment Opportunity/Affirmative Action compliance reviews conducted by the Department's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and nine in-depth case studies, the Department found that these artificial barriers, which have come to be known collectively as the "glass ceiling" existed in all ninety-four companies studied. The nine case studies provided information as to the causes of the problem: recruitment practices, lack of opportunity to contribute and to participate in corporate development exercises, and lack of company-wide commitment to equal employment opportunity.

These findings were supported by a later three-stage study to examine the status of women in corporate management and the professions. The results of a mail survey and telephone interviews with Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) and human resource managers in Fortune 500 and Service 500 corporations revealed

that 79 percent of CEOs responding believe that women encounter corporate barriers such as stereotyping and preconceptions, managerial aversion to taking risks with women in line responsibility, and lack of careful career planning and planned job assignments for women (Catalyst, 1991).

The findings of the "Glass Ceiling Report" are theoretically important as they bring to light a need for research that does not take an individualistic approach to the study of managerial careers. Cullen (1990, p.353) characterizes the individualistic approach, prevalent in the women in management literature, as "focus[ing] on the behavior and struggle of the individual woman (albeit in large numbers in many organizations), rather than on the structure and nature of the organization in which she is struggling."

Perhaps our inability to understand the experiences of African-American women extends from the theories themselves. As Spelman (1988) points out, "If the terms of one's theory requires that one is either Black or a woman, clearly, there is no room for someone who is both." So to go beyond these shortcomings, I propose using an alternative perspective, one that focuses simultaneously on race and gender, on both the structures of organizations and how individuals create these inequitable organizational structures. First, however, I will review current discussions of race and gender in organizations.

Conceptualizations of Race, Gender, and Careers

> As the literature reads today, a woman in management appears out of nowhere, without a history, lacking significant relationships, without a racial identity, and whose only chance to succeed in the work environment

> depends on her ability to emulate the behaviors and attitudes of men to assimilate into pre-defined organizational realities (Bell & Nkomo, 1992, p.238).

The use of such terms as “women in management” and “race in organizations” is indicative of the current state of human resource management literature on race and gender in managerial careers. That human resource management and organizational behavior scholars must qualify the study of race and gender within their disciplines is an example of what has been termed by Acker (1988) as the male bias. By male bias, Acker (1988) is referring to the basic assumption in the social sciences that men are the “norm”, the subject of study. Nkomo (1992) adds that the bias is, additionally, a White male one. Another shortcoming of this literature is that when race and gender are considered in studies of employment, they are generally studied as mutually exclusive, acontextual, demographic variables.

In her critical analysis of the relevant, Nkomo (1992, p. 489) describes how the study of race in organizations "reflect[s] particular historical and social meanings of race, specifically a racial ideology embedded in a Eurocentric view of the world" by either a) excluding race, b) being theoretically and methodologically oriented by the "ethnicity paradigm" (p. 491), and/or c) ignoring the complex nature of race in United States' society. These omissions and distortions have several implications for HRM/OB theory and for the practice of management. By excluding race, theorists limit the generalizability of their findings and reinforce the hegemony of White male bias.

The ethnicity paradigm dates back to the works of Park (1950) on the race relations cycle and Gordon's (1964) work on assimilation. Based on this paradigm the questions addressed in race in organizations research have tended to ask, implicitly and explicitly, "What obstructs [the] assimilation [of organizational members who are not European-American]?" rather than the more relevant question: "How does racial identity affect organizational experiences?" (Nkomo, 1992, p.506, Table 1: Silenced Research Questions from Alternative Paradigms). Nkomo (1992) points out several problems with the ethnicity paradigm, including its predominant focus on micro-level remedies which are unlikely to affect existing social and power relations, its ahistorical and decontextualized nature, and its tendency toward an individualistic, "blame-the-victim" explanation for differences in career experiences. She suggests that these flaws in HRM/OB research can be overcome by recognizing that organizations are not race-neutral entities and by understanding the political and historical meaning of race (Omi & Winant, 1986). Unfortunately, the discussion of how race and gender interactively work to structure the organizational experiences of African-American women is left as a challenging question to be addressed in the future. Nevertheless, this work represents a major stride forward in making HRM/OB theory and research more reflective of multiple organizational realities.

By the same token, the strength of Acker's (1990) "Theory of Gendered Organizations" rests in her uncovering the male-biased assumptions upon which organizational processes and our knowledge of them are based. This work

represents a landmark explication of the ways in which organizations are gendered, that is “advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine” (Acker, 1992, p.251). Additionally, Acker (1992) describes these gendered processes as being “open and overt,....[they] may be deeply hidden in organizational processes and decisions that appear to have nothing to do with gender” (pp.251-252).

This conceptualization provides a contextualized description of gender which goes far beyond the limited explanatory power of gender as only a demographic variable. Again, Acker's (1990) analysis is limited by choosing to focus on one basis for the determination of social location, gender, to the exclusion of all others. As seems to be the norm in the mutually exclusive literature on race and gender in organizations, Acker (1990) relegates those more inclusive questions to the conclusion as challenges for future researchers: “Is the abstract worker white as well as male? Are white-male dominated organizations also built on underlying assumptions about the proper place of people with different skin colors? Are racial differences produced by organizational practices as gender differences are?” (p. 213).

By focusing only on either race or gender, theorists have continually and consistently omitted African-American women, giving the appearance that *All the women are white, all the blacks are men*....(Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982). Only recently have HRM/OB scholars begun to recognize this omission of

African-American women. Betters-Moore and Reed (1992a and 1992b) label this omission of African-American women from both management theory and practice the whitewash dilemma, "which has primarily evolved from an Anglo-American perspective" (1992a, p. 31).

Gender and Race

> Feminist thinkers now commonly recognize the importance of class and race as well as gender and argue that these are all interconnected. However, although many theorists now accept the need for one theory incorporating both gender and class, in practice we keep on talking about class and gender (and race) as separate (Acker, 1989, pp. 74-75).

Several authors (Deaux, 1984; Essed, 1991; Glenn, 1992; Goldberg, 1992; Omi & Winant, 1986; Scott, 1986; Unger, 1979; Webster, 1992; West & Zimmerman, 1991) have discussed the ways in which the terms race and gender are conceptualized in the literature. Scott (1986) describes three uses of the term gender in academic discourse. First, the term gender is often used as a synonym for women without "the necessary statement about inequality or power [and without] nam[ing] the aggrieved (and hitherto invisible) party" (p.1056). The second use of gender in academic discourse is as a designation of the social origins of a social category (man/woman) imposed on a sexed body (male/female) without regard to why these relationships are constructed as they are, how they work, or how they change (Scott, 1986. See also Deaux, 1984). This conceptualization of gender as a social category includes the use of gender as a variable (Deaux, 1984; Unger, 1979) and in terms of the "add women and stir" (Harding, 1987, p.3) approach common in early feminist writing and prevalent in current managerial

studies.

Scott (1986) advocates a third usage of the term gender, that is, as an analytical category for understanding the "complex connections among various forms of human interaction" (p.1070. See also Lober & Ferrell, 1991; Lopata & Thorne, 1983; West & Zimmerman, 1991). Scott (1986) argues that using gender as an analytical category overcomes the weaknesses of using gender as either a synonym for women or as a designation of social category. Using gender as a synonym for women implies that only women "have" gender and denies the social, economic, political, and historical contexts in which gender is constructed and enacted. Using gender as a designation of social category lacks explanatory power and assumes that the extant social structure is inevitable, unchanging and unchangeable (Glenn, 1987; Lopata & Thorne, 1983). Each of these three uses of the term gender can be found in the literature on gender (most often women) and work. The use of gender as a social category is especially prevalent in the sex-/gender-role socialization literature (West & Zimmerman, 1991) and in the HRM/OB literature on "women in management" (Calas & Smircich, 1992).

Omi and Winant (1986) use race as an analytical category by defining it as "an unstable and decentered complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle" (p.68). This description parallels Scott's (1986) description of gender as a social phenomenon "that seems fixed yet whose meaning is contested and in flux....as problematic rather than known, as something contextually defined, repeatedly constructed" (p.1074). Nkomo (1992) posits that

the use of race as an analytical category for understanding organizations "suggests a view of organizations as made up of race relations played out in power struggles, which includes the realization that 'race' is not a stable category" (p.507).

Based on interviews with thirty White women, Frankenberg (1993) delineates three discourses which have been used in discussions of race in the United States. The first discourse, "essentialist racism, [emphasizes] race difference understood in hierarchical terms of essential, biological inequality" (Frankenberg, 1993, p.14). Secondly, when the White women Frankenberg (1993) interviewed spoke about race, they tended, most often to invoke a discourse of essential sameness or color-blindness, which Frankberg terms "color evasiveness and power evasiveness". The third discourse Frankenberg (1993) found was race cognizance, which she describes as a recognition of the autonomy and value of the cultures of people of color as defined by people of color. These conceptualizations of race and gender suggest that both race and gender are social constructions.

To describe the concepts of race and gender as social constructions means that they come to have meaning through interaction among individuals and groups within a social, political, economic, and historical context (Figueroa, 1986). Race and gender as "objective" facts do not exist. They cannot be empirically verified without the application of socially agreed upon rules. Sex, the biological signifier of gender, is based on biological criteria (e.g. genetic make-up, genitalia, concentration of sex hormones) which are not always unambiguous (Andersen, 1993; Fausto-Sterling, 1985; West & Zimmerman, 1991). The biological criteria

for determining an individual's race are even more ambiguous (Collins 1990; Patterson, 1982; Outlaw, 1990). It is the meaning attached to race and gender through human interactions in a social, economic, political and historical context, that makes them "real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). Race and gender are, therefore, social constructions. In the proposed research the terms race and gender are defined as socially constructed categories for differentiating among people on the basis of physical and/or cultural characteristics (Acker, 1990, 1992; Nkomo, 1992; Omi & Winant, 1986; Webster, 1992).

Careers

As the system linking the individual manager to an organization over time, the career is the most holistic unit of analysis through which to view the influences of race and gender in organizations. Furthermore, the concept of organizational career allows us to look at a person's experiences in a particular organization, industry, and / or occupation over time. There are several definitions of the concept of career. Adams (1991) outlines four broad uses of the term career: as advancement, as being tied to a profession, as a life-long sequence of jobs, and as a lifelong sequence of role-related experiences. The latter definition is more inclusive, as it allows us to view a career as a life-long process which "represents a person's movement through a social structure over time" (Hall, 1987, p. 302).

However, Feldberg and Glenn (1979) have pointed out that the prevailing definitions of career and the research grounded in these definitions are gendered. The assumptions underlying the concept of career differ, both in the literature and

in organizational practice, for men and women. These gendered differences in the assumptions underlying the concept of career are outlined below in Table 2.

Table 2: The Job and Gender Models of Careers

Assumptions	Job Model	Gender Model
Basic social relationships determined by:	Work	Family
Family structure is:	Male-headed, nuclear	Male-headed, nuclear
Connection to family is as:	Economic provider/worker	Wife/mother
Social position determined by:	Work	Family
Sociopolitical behavior and attitudes derived from:	Occupational socialization, class/status of occupation, social relations of work	Gender role socialization, family roles, activities and relationships of household
Central life interest is in:	Employment +/Earnings	Family

Note: From "Male and Female: Job Versus Gender Models in the Sociology of Work" by R.L. Feldberg and E.N. Glenn 1979, *Social Problems, 26*(5) p.527.

Feldberg and Glenn (1979) suggest that a more holistic model for the study of careers would take into account the interaction between an individual's job, the formal structure and informal processes (including gendered organizational processes and structures) of the organization in which paid work is performed, and the unpaid labor the individual performs outside his/her employing organization. Such a model of careers would guide researchers to consider work as located within the context of an individual's whole life (Cook, 1993). Only from a holistic

work-life perspective can the ways in which race and gender contribute to the differential experiences of African-American women managers in the hotel industry be explicated.

Again, Feldberg and Glenn (1979) and Cook (1993) only consider gender as having an influence on career theory and experiences. What of the interaction of race and gender in managerial careers?

Approaches to the Study of African-American Women and Work

Theorists and researchers from a variety of disciplines --economics, history, management, psychology and sociology--have generally employed three theoretical perspectives when attempting to overcome the whitewash dilemma and the White male bias in the literature. Based on a review of the sociological, economic, and management literature which discusses the work experiences and employment outcomes of African-American women, Nkomo (1988) identifies these perspectives which describe how race and gender combine to produce differential career experiences for African-American women: parallel processes, cumulative effect, and matrix of interactive oppressions.

Parallel processes

> "Women are the Blacks of the human race." Can they tell us then what or who are Black Women? The Blacks of the Blacks of the human race?
>
> You would think that Black women did not exist. In fact, they find themselves denied, in this way, by the very women who claim to be fighting for the liberation of all women (Thiam, 1986 quoted in Hudson-Weems, 1993, p.1).

The parallel process perspective purports that racism and sexism are independent, parallel processes. The most oft-cited conceptualization of this approach to the study of women is Hacker (1951/1979). Researchers who employ such a perspective generally base their claims on comparisons of the processes of stereotyping, prejudice, and institutional discrimination as well as the psychological (group self-hatred), sociological (intra-group socialization and separate subculture), and economic (occupational segregation, unequal pay, promotion, and responsibility) consequences of such processes (Smith and Stewart, 1983; Linville and Jones, 1980; Yarkin, et al, 1982).

hooks (1981), who locates the origins of the analogical treatment of race and gender in the early women's suffrage movement, rejects the parallel process perspective, depicting it as an example of sexist-racist attitudes prevalent at the time.

> ...for white women to acknowledge the overlap between the terms "blacks" and "women" (that is the existence of black women) would render this analogy unnecessary. By continuously making this analogy, they unwittingly suggest that to them the term "woman" is synonymous with "white women" and the term "black" synonymous with "black men" (hooks, 1981, p. 8).

While focusing on the common experiences of "women and Negroes," Hacker (1979) does state that there are "...differences which impose qualifications on the comparison of the two groups" (p. 513). These qualifications include, among others, the influence of marriage as a social elevator for women, the greater importance of women to the dominant group, and the incomparability of

women's social distance to the social segregation of the "Negro" (Ibid.). Additionally Hacker states that "...Negroes suffer far greater discrimination than women, but since the latter's problems are rooted in a biological reality less susceptible to cultural manipulation, they prove more lasting" (Hacker, 1979, pp. 514-515).

Not only do the assumptions underpinning the parallel process model deny that African-American women are both "Negroes" and women, they also deny the qualitatively different nature of the discrimination experienced by African-American women and men and European-American women as well as the diverse nature of their resistance to discrimination (Smith & Stewart, 1983).

Cumulative effect: Double/ multiple advantage and disadvantage

> For them [successful African-American women] the effect of status sets with two immutable negatively evaluated statuses -- the sex status of female and the race status of black -- did not result in negative consequences but formed a positive matrix for a meaningful career (Fuchs Epstein, 1973, p. 913).

> As blacks they [African-American women] suffer all the burdens of prejudice and mistreatment that fall on anyone with dark skin. As women they bear the additional burden of having to cope with white and black men (Chafe, 1977, p.52).

Cumulative effect models posit that Black women are either doubly advantaged or doubly disadvantaged because of their race and gender. The notion of multiple jeopardy adds class and other socially constructed dimensions of difference (e.g. class, physical ability, sexual/affectional orientation, etc.) to race and gender. While empirical research on the question of whether

African-American women are doubly/multiply advantaged or disadvantaged is relatively new, this question has a long and contradictory history, starting with the First Wave of feminism during the suffrage movement and continuing through the Second Wave of the Women's Rights movement (Cf. Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981; and King 1977/1988 for discussions of this history.)

A much-cited example of a study which posits the double-advantage model is Fuchs Epstein's (1973) "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women." Fuchs Epstein uses interviews with 31 African-America women who are lawyers to arrive at the conclusion that their two negative statuses, i.e., being African-American and being a woman, lead to a positive outcome, i.e. attaining the occupational status of being a lawyer. She attributes this success to three major patterns. First, the negative effect of one negatively valued status is canceled by the negative effect of the other (i.e. two negatives equal a positive). For example, stereotypes which are generally applied to White professional women (e.g., that they are in the labor market in search of a husband) are not "easily transferable to black women" (p.917). Second, because of the uniqueness of being an African-American woman and a lawyer, these women have a better bargaining position vis-a-vis their employers. While Fuchs Epstein attributes this better bargaining position to employers' inability to "price" a unique commodity, Nelson (1985) and Malveaux (1981) point out that the popular press has perpetuated the myth that African-American are "twofers" (Weathers, 1981). That is, in terms of Equal Employment Opportunity / Affirmative Action

compliance, African-American women represent “two minorities for the price of one.” Third, the women’s “alternative life-styles” (p.914) strengthen their ambition and motivation while insulating them from ghetto culture. Aspects of these “alternative lifestyles” include being from families of origin which espouse “middle class values;” having access to higher education; placing limited importance on marriage, and family; and having had strong influence from working women as their role models.

Several authors have subsequently criticized Fuchs-Epstein’s work on methodological and theoretical grounds. Critiques of Fuchs-Epstein’s methodology include the limited sample size of 31 and the inclusion of a significant number (one-third of the sample) of West-Indian immigrants whose particular career experiences may limit the generalizability of the findings to the general population of professional women of African descent who work in the United States (Kemp, 1981 cited in Hesse-Biber, 1986). Additionally, Malveaux and Wallace (1987) point out that Fuchs Epstein’s analysis is limited in importance as only one percent of employed African-American women are lawyers.

The important theoretical critiques focus on the assumptions underlying Fuchs-Epstein's assertion that there are positive effects of the multiple negatives. Sokoloff (1992) summarizes various critiques of Fuchs-Epstein’s study by pointing out that this finding is based upon assumptions

> that black women experience less discrimination than black men, that black women benefit professionally due to an educational advantage over black men, that black women are somehow better prepared to cope with white

> male employers and white-controlled bureaucracies, that black women derive unusual motivational strength and ambition from their dual status, and that black women have an easier time finding jobs than black men do (Sokoloff, 1992, p.21).

Many of Fuchs-Epstein's (1973) assumptions and themes are remarkably similar to two earlier studies of African-American women. In 1966 Jessie Bernard stated that, on the basis of differences in the male to female sex ratio, educational attainment, contacts with the White world, and access to employment, African-American women enjoy an "unnatural superiority" over their African-American men counterparts. Similarly, with specific regard to African-American professional men and women, Bock (1969) hypothesized that,

> Negro women have a greater chance of entering professional occupations designated as open to women than Negro men have of entering professions open to men.... and concomitantly,...Negro men have a greater chance of entering professional occupations open to women than they have of entering professions open to men (p. 124).

This assertion is based on the "farmer's daughter effect," i.e. that African-American parents invest in and sacrifice more for the education of young African-American women than for young African-American males.

Lewis (1977) describes the socio-historical context, considerations of which are absent from the work of Bernard (1966), Bock (1969), and Fuchs-Epstein (1973), which contributed to this phenomenon. While African-American men were trained to be farmers or skilled trades-persons, "Black women,...were offered higher education so they could become schoolteachers in the segregated school systems of the South and thereby get 'out of the white folk's

kitchen,' the only other job possibility for black females" (Lewis, 1977, p. 51). Furthermore, Bock (1969) fails to acknowledge what Collins (1990, p. 59) describes as a "classic pattern of exploitation, differentiated by gender .... [and characterized by] higher-paying yet less secure work for Black men as contrasted with lower-paying, more plentiful work for Black women. Thus, race and gender constructed the work experiences and outcomes of African-American men and women in interdependent and interactive ways, within a socio-historical context marked by a racially segregated and gendered occupational structure.

Since its publication, numerous empirical studies have implicitly and explicitly tested the Fuchs-Epstein (1973) double advantage hypothesis and its assumptions. For the most part, these studies have provided contradictory answers to the question of whether African-American women are doubly/multiply advantaged or disadvantaged in the their labor market experiences and outcomes. In the following section, some of these studies are summarized briefly.

Research on Barriers and Opportunities in African-American Women's Managerial Careers

In a study of African-American professional women, Leggon (1980) found that while these women perceive a hierarchy of race over gender, especially in the upper echelons of their professions, it is often difficult for them to distinguish between the influences of race and gender on their career experiences. On the basis of her findings, Leggon hypothesizes that the effects of race and gender in the organizations studied are greater than the sum of race and gender; rather, race and

gender result in qualitatively different experiences, contrary to the cumulative effect model. Gonsal (1991) conducted focused interviews with fifteen African-American women managers and professionals in five industries. She concluded that African-American professional and managerial women carry the "dual stigma of being both Black and female in a society that devalues both" (Gonsal, 1991, p. 171). Therefore, she posits that the women studied face external barriers which limit or impede their occupational achievements.

In comparing White women and African-American women who are managers, Fulbright (1985a, 1985b) found that, relative to their White female counterparts, (1) African-American female managers lacked early exposure to the culture of business management by a parent employed in executive, administrative, or managerial occupations; (2) in terms of mobility, African-American women were not advantaged given their longer organizational tenure and other organizational factors such as size and growth rate; and (3) the dual statuses of being African-American and female made these women vulnerable to both racism and sexism. Further, as Malveaux and Wallace (1987) and Sokoloff (1992) point out, comparing African-American women and White women, who are both potential victims of discrimination in employment, may obscure the larger gap between minority women and White men. Clearly, the findings of these studies suggests that race and gender combine in qualitatively different ways to influence the experiences of managerial careers.

Several comparative studies of race and gender in careers have been conducted. Hitt, Zikmund, and Pickens (1982) found that being an African-American female did not increase the number of positive responses (with positive being defined as invitations to interviews) to job applicant resumes sent to personnel directors of 200 firms across the United States. In a series of studies of more than 5000 managers from ten race-gender groups (White, African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and Native American males and females, with the latter three racial-ethnic groups being combined as "Other" in reporting his findings) Fernandez (1975, 1981, 1987) found African-American women more likely than any other race-gender group to state that there is a great deal of both racism and sexism within their corporations. In discussing his findings, Fernandez (1981) states that African-American women are

> ...stigmatized twice -- once for race and once for sex. As perceived discrimination against race groups varies, so does the perception of sex discrimination. Black women are more sensitive to sexism because of the racial discrimination they suffer and more sensitive to racism because of the sexual discrimination to which they are subjected (Fernandez, 1981, p. 73).

Xu and Leffler (1992) found differences in the rankings of occupational prestige, segregation, and earnings among and between eight race-gender groups (European-American, African-American, Asian-American, and Hispanic men and women). Specifically, the race effect was found to be statistically significantly greater than the gender effect on occupational prestige. Xu and Leffler also found a race-gender interaction effect as gender differences were greater within some racial-ethnic groups (namely Asian-Americans and African Americans) than others.

For occupational segregation and earnings, gender was more important in determining the differences than was race.

Despite the statistical significance of race and gender effects in this study, one could argue that theoretically and practically the findings lack validity. It is practically meaningless to assume that people walk around attributing x percent of the disparity in occupational prestige, segregation, and earnings they experience to their race and the other x percent to gender. The differences in race and gender main effects and race-gender interations suggest that a simple, additive model does not validly capture the complex interaction of race and gender in affecting the work experiences and outcomes of African-American professional women. Such contradictory findings lead Xu and Leffler (1992) to suggest that "...race and gender differentially affect somewhat different characteristics of the occupations examined" (p. 387).

While this research may also be criticized for not controlling for differences in education, time in the labor force, organizational size, sector of employment, and other factors which have been found to impact occupational prestige, occupational segregation, and earnings, that such patterns in race-gender differences emerge, even using such conservative and incomplete analyses, indicates that the cumulative approach, whether double jeopardy or advantage, is perhaps inadequate for explaining the labor force experiences and outcomes of African-American women. Several authors (Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Smith & Stewart, 1983) have pointed out that the majority of research in this area suffers

badly from atheoretical explanations when race and/or gender differences are found.

> Black executives, whether men or women, walk a tightrope in corporate America, where they're expected to blend with a culture that never quite accepts them. But while black women face the double burden of sex discrimination, black men face some of the same violence as minority men in the inner city. (Rigdon & Hymowitz, 1992, p. B1)

Smith and Stewart (1983) and Sokoloff (1992) discuss the theoretical and practical perils involved in employing either the parallel process or cumulative models of race-gender to the study of people's lives. While parallelism excludes African-American women, it also masks differences in the career experiences of men and women of all races. This is also a criticism which has been leveled against cumulative approaches:

> An additive analysis treats the oppression of a Black woman in a society that is racist as well as sexist as if it were a further burden when, in fact, it is a different burden....to ignore the difference is to deny the particular reality of the Black women's experience (Spelman, 1988, p. 122).

Additionally, cumulative models imply that one race-gender group is progressing at the expense of other groups (Carroll, 1973; Irons & Moore, 1985; Simmons, 1980), thereby exacerbating adversarial race-gender intergroup relations when coalition-building may be more useful in creating equitable career experiences for all managers.

To summarize the preceding discussion of the related literature, the extant human resource management/ organizational behavior (HRM/OB) literature is limited in the following six ways:

- omission of race and gender as valid subjects for study;
- White male bias when race and gender are studied;
- the Whitewash dilemma, i.e. studying only White women, when studying women in management;
- considering race and gender as mutually exclusive phenomena;
- lack of grounding in theory. As Cox and Nkomo (1990) note based upon an extensive review of the HRM/OB literature, "While the major objective was ostensibly to explicate race effects, the failure in many studies, to offer clear, *a priori*, explanations of why the results were expected raises the suspicion that this type of research is often little more than a demographic split of a data set."; and
- problematic theoretical perspectives, when one is used, including the job and gender models of careers and the parallel and cumulative effect models of race and gender.

In order to address these shortcomings, this study employs a Womanist perspective that views race and gender (among other dimensions of diversity) as interlocking oppressions.

Matrix of Interlocking Oppressions

The matrix of interlocking oppressions approach seeks to overcome both the exclusion of African-American women (and women of other races) which is prevalent in the parallel approach, and the zero-sum game (Thurow, 1980) implicit in the cumulative approach. Based on the contradictory findings,

exclusion, racialized and gendered assumptions, and practical implications of both the parallel processes and cumulative effect approaches, the matrix of interlocking oppressions approach seems to hold the most promise for being able to explicate the influence of race and gender in managerial careers. For the purposes of the proposed study, the matrix of interlocking oppressions is defined as the array of the socially constructed categories for differentiating among people (race and gender, in the context of the proposed study) which combine interactively to result in qualitatively different career experiences in a given person's or group of person's lives. These qualitatively different experiences are (1) produced and reproduced systematically through various processes and practices; (2) embedded in a social, political, economic, and historical context; (3) often hidden deep in the practices, processes and structures of all levels of society -- individual, institutional, and organizational; and (4) sustained through changing forms of ideology (Dill, 1983, 1988; Hill Collins, 1990; King, 1988; Lewis, 1977/88; Nkomo, 1988; Smith & Stewart,1983; Spelman, 1988).

The Womanist Paradigm is a theoretical paradigm which seeks to uncover and eradicate the interlocking matrix of race, class, and gender inequality. That is, it examines structural and ideological bases of race, class, and gender oppression. The Womanist paradigm allows us to understand all people’s experiences by employing a Womanist standpoint to explicate the relationship between everyday life and social structure, in terms of my present research, the relationship between career experiences and the gendering and racialization of hotel management

careers. Within the Womanist framework, the researcher uses experienced reality as a "valid source of knowledge for critiquing sociological facts and theories, while sociological thought offers new ways of seeing that experienced reality" (Collins, 1986, p. S30. See also Smith, 1987). Unlike those who are privileged, those who are oppressed possess "double vision": to survive they must gain knowledge of the dominant view and experiences while having simultaneous knowledge of their own. In this regard, Womanism employs standpoint theory (Collins, 1986; Harding, 1986, 1991; Harstock, 1983) which proposes that those of us who are socially located at the lower rungs of the social hierarchy because of our race, our gender, and/or our class have a more complete view of the empirical world. Thus, by understanding the experiences of those who are oppressed, we are better able to understand, dialectically, the experiences of those who are privileged. By studying African-American and European-American women's experiences, this study strives to illuminate racialized and gendered career experiences that are taken for granted by those who are privileged, thereby providing a broader, more complete, more inclusive view of managerial careers in hotel organizations.

Given the practical and theoretical limitations of the literature, this study addresses two specific research questions: (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered? and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers?

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study flows from the nature of the research problem, the research questions, and the conceptual framework. It is also informed by the methodological shortcomings of extant literature discussed in the previous chapter.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to broaden our understanding of the sources of inequitable occupational outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel management, and using this understanding to suggest organizational changes for making hotel management career outcomes more equitable.

Research Questions

This study examines how race and gender interactively combine to create inequitable managerial representation among race-gender groups in the hotel industry. The specific research questions to be addressed are (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered? and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers?

Conceptual Framework: Womanist Perspective

Womanism, in its most inclusive sense (hooks, 1989; Williams, 1990), is

·an ideology (Hudson-Weems, 1993),

·a model of theorizing and scholarship (hooks, 1989),

·a philosophy (Ogunyemi, 1985, p.72), and

·a paradigm for praxis aimed at positive social change (Collins, 1990; Radford-Hill, 1985).

In all four of these purposes, the Womanist Paradigm considers the qualitatively different experiences of those who are differentially located in the social structure on the basis of race, class, gender, sexual/affectional orientation, age, etc. While, in the current study, race and gender are the primary foci of study, the data will be analyzed and interpreted with openness to these other "dimensions of diversity" (Loden & Rosener, 1991).

This study employs six major guidelines of Black feminist theorizing as outlined by Brewer (1993):

1. critiquing dichotomous oppositional thinking by employing both/and rather than either/or categorizations;
2. allowing for the simultaneity of oppression and struggle, thus
3. eschewing additive analyses: race+class+gender
4. which leads to an understanding of the embeddedness and relationality of race, class and gender,
5. reconstructing the lived experiences, historical positioning, cultural perceptions and social construction of Black women who are enmeshed in and whose ideas emerge out of that experience, and
6. developing a feminism rooted in class, culture, gender and race in interaction as its organizing principle.

   Importantly, the theorizing about race, class and gender is historicized and contextualized (p.16).

Overview

This discussion of methodology proceeds with a description of qualitative research methods in general, and the specific qualitative method employed in the study, i.e. the grounded theory approach to the joint collection, analysis and interpretation of semi-structured interview data.

Qualitative Methods

The nature of the research problem and research questions approached from the Womanist Paradigm require the use of research methods which allow the researcher to

·approach a particular problem from a concerned, involved standpoint,

·immerse [herself] in the participant's world,

·analyze human actions as situated within a cultural and historical context;

·offer a narrative account of how a problem developed and is maintained; and

·offer directions for positive change (Addison, 1992, p.113).

This "grounded hermeneutic approach" as described by Addison (1992) is congruent with the Womanist Paradigm which informs the study. This paradigm provides the rationale for the particular research methods described below.

The research employs qualitative methods and the grounded theory approach to the simultaneous and iterative collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. Van Maanen (1983) defines the label qualitative methods as

> an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (p. 9).

Qualitative research is generally characterized as being descriptive and concerned with process and meaning rather than simply with outcomes or products. Several scholars of organization studies (Eisenhardt, 1989, 1991; Weick, 1989; Morgan & Smirchich, 1980) have noted that qualitative methods are appropriate when: the purpose of the research is to generate new theory rather than to verify existing theory, when conducting research on new topic areas, or in new fields. When using qualitative methods the researcher is the key data collection instrument, and she tends to collect data in natural settings and to analyze the data inductively (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, pp. 29-33).

Grounded Theory

The grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Strauss & Corbin, 1990) to the simultaneous and iterative collection, analysis, and interpretation of data is the method employed in the study. This specific research method was chosen because it (1) enables the researcher to "produce theoretical accounts which are understandable to those in the area studied and which are useful in giving them a superior understanding of the nature of their own situations" and (2) because of its "ability to facilitate understanding and to identify desirable improvments in work contexts" (Martin & Turner, 1986, pp.141, 148). Glaser (1992) describes the grounded theory approach to the analysis of qualitative data as

> a general methodology of analysis linked with data collection that uses a systematically applied set of methods to generate an inductive theory about a substantive area. The research product constitutes a theoretical formulation or integrated set of conceptual hypotheses about the substantive area under study. That is all, the yield is just hypotheses! (p. 16).

The grounded theory approach to the joint collection, analysis, and interpretation of qualitative data consists of four interrelated procedures: (1) data collection using theoretical sampling until theoretical saturation is reached, (2) organizing the data, (3)analyzing and interpreting the data using constant comparative coding to develop conceptual categories which form the basis of the theory, (4) memoing to facilitate the written or verbal presentation of the inductively derived theory, and (5) writing the research report. Each of these procedures is discussed below.

Sampling Procedures

While these research methods for the study may seem non-traditional, they are the most trustworthy (Guba, 1981; Lincoln, 1990) given the silence and controversy surrounding issues of race and gender in managerial careers. Sutton and Schurman (1988 cited in Cox, 1990) caution that "Studying hot topics may require abandoning the standard rules of the research game derived from the traditional scientific method" (p.11). Cox (1990) discusses several methodological issues which must be considered in conducting research on race. Two of these issues -- sample size and access to the field -- are briefly discussed in conjunction with the research strategies employed in the study to overcome them.

The sample for the study included five European-American and ten African-American women. The small number of African-American women among the managerial ranks of many organizations generally results in small-sized samples (Cox, 1990). As a qualitative study which seeks not to quantify, but to understand and explain the nature of race and gender in managerial careers, the size of the sample (ten African-American

women and five European-American women who are hotel managers) was used.

The logic of the grounded theory approach rests upon theoretical, not random, sampling. Theoretical sampling is the process of deciding what or who to sample next, after initial data collection and analysis, on the basis of the emergent theory (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Therefore, "an analyst who uses theoretical sampling cannot know in advance precisely what to sample for and where it will lead him [sic]" (Glaser, 1978, p.37).

Additionally, Chenitz and Swanson (1986) suggest that the optimal number of participants in a grounded theory study is between twenty and fifty. They suggest that theoretical saturation is reached within this range. Theoretical saturation is the point at which more data provide minimal additional variation, integration, density, and conceptual clarity of the emergent theory.

Throughout the simultaneous process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting the data, theoretical sampling is used to check, to verify, and to strengthen the emergent theory while using the emergent theory as a guide for further sampling. Of the initial sampling decision Glaser (1992, p.103) reminds us that grounded theory is a research method which "...starts in a site, without knowing what the research question or main concern is until it emerges, and where the analyst has no questions, but just listens and seeds the talk and goes from there." Eisenhardt (1989, p.536) concurs by stating that "theory-building research is begun as close as possible to the ideal of no theory under consideration and no hypotheses to test."

The criteria for inclusion of managers were (1) African-American or European-American woman with (2) five or more years of experience in hospitality management, (3) one or more years in an executive-level management position (including directors of sales and marketing, human resources, housekeeping, as well as assistant general managers, resident managers, general managers, and corporate vice-presidents) and (4) willingness to participate in the study.

The occupations of the participants ranged from corporate vice-president to unit directors of marketing and public relations. One of the participants owned and managed a small inn. All of the European-American women held a bachelor's degree in hospitality management. The African-American women's educational level ranged from two years of college to master's degrees. The participants ranged in age from thirty-five to fifty three, and had an average of fifteen years experience in the hospitality industry.

I gained access to the European-American participants by attending a conference for women who are managers in the hospitality industry. In the winter of 1993, I was invited to participate in the first annual conference of the National Association of Women in Hospitality Management[1]. The goal of the conference was "to provide a forum for discussion which will further understanding, communication, and facilitate change for women in the hospitality industry" (Conference brochure). At the time I knew that the general area of interest for the study was race, gender and managerial careers in the hospitality industry. Therefore, I decided to combine the traditional feminist research

[1]The name of the association, and the names and employers of the participants have been changed to protect their identities.

technique of “using the situation at hand” (Fonow & Cook, 1991) with the grounded theory principle of “learn[ing] not to know” (Glaser, 1992, p.24). I entered the field open to the possibilities that lay in the data available to me.

I gained access to the the African-American women through introductions and referrals by the key informant of this study. She is an African-American woman, who was formerly a hotel general manager. Her participation in this research also helped to address the second methodological issue pertinent to conducting research on race in organizations -- access to the field. Several of the African-American interviewed in phase two of the research were introduced to the researcher by this key informant.

Data Collection

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988) with European-American and African-American women who are currently employed as executive level managers in hotels were the primary source of data. The interviews provided information, from the standpoint of African-American and European-American women who are hotel managers, on their career experiences.

The interviews lasted from one to six hours. Depending upon the participants wishes, the interviews were either tape-recorded or the data was captured in field notes written immediately after each interview. All of the interviews with European-American women and seven of the interviews with African-American women were conducted in person. The remaining three interviews were conducted via telephone.

In order to focus the interview on the topic at hand, each interview began with a grand tour question (McCracken, 1988; Spradley, 1979). The grand tour question for

each interview was designed to provide the participants the opportunity to "tell their own story in their own terms" (McCracken, 1988, p.34), while providing enough structure to facilitate the collection of data relevant to the research problem and questions. Throughout each interview, prompts (McCracken, 1988) were used to encourage the participants to discuss topics and issues which were relevant to the research topic and questions, but which do not readily come to mind when responding to the grand tour question. These prompts were developed from the Review of the Related Literature and from the subsequent analysis data from early interviews. The grand tour questions and planned prompts for each interview are outlined in Table 2 presented below. The goal of these semi-structured interviews was to gather empirical data that described how race and gender constructed the participant's career experiences as a hotel manager.

Table 3: Interview Guide

Grand Tour Question ·Tell me about your career.
Prompts Career Path ·Tell me how you arrived at your current position. ·Tell me about your route to this company and this industry. Race and Gender in Career Experiences ·What have been the greatest barriers and opportunities in your career? ·What advice would you give to a recent college graduate who is about to begin her career in hospitality management? ·Describe specific incidents in your hospitality career when you felt that race and gender made a difference.

The prompts outlined in the Interview Guide (Table 3) were developed to allow participants the opportunity to more fully describe the concept of career within the context

of the Womanist Paradigm. In addition, the interview guide was designed to be as open-ended as possible, thereby giving the participants the opportunity to give their own voice to their experiences. In keeping with the grounded theory method, the interview guide follows Glaser's (1992) admonition regarding data collection for grounded theory through interviews:

> ...the researcher never, never asks the question directly in interviews as this would preconceive the emergence of data. Interview questions have to relate directly to what the interview is about empirically, so the researcher maximizes the acquisition of non-forced data. These specific questions are in the thoughts and the analysis of the research, to be reviewed later. Think theory, talk everyday common sense English (p.25).

Because of its reliance on the job model of careers (discussed in Chapter 2), prior research on managerial careers has been limited in its applicability to African-American women's career experiences. Therefore, this study seeks to develop a more holistic Womanist model of career, which views the career as being located within the context of an individual's whole life (Cook, 1993).

Data Analysis

Organizing the Data

The interviews with European-American women yielded three ninety-minute tapes of recorded interviews and one ninety minute tape of field notes. The subsequent ten interviews with African-American women were conducted either during face-to-face or telephone semi-structured interviews. The data for these interviews were recorded using a combination of field notes and tape recordings. One group interview was conducted with five African-American women participating. I transcribed verbatim each interview and tape and all field notes. I then checked each transcript against each tape for transcription

accuracy by reading each transcript while listening to the tape of each interview, making sure to include interviewer comments (e.g.context of the interview, participant body language, etc.) in the transcript. I then read each transcript in order to get a feel for the data as a whole.

Because sortability and flexibility are the most important considerations in designing an organizing system for grounded theory analysis of qualitative data (Glaser, 1978), I used a qualtitive data analysis program, The Ethnograph, version 3 (Seidel, Kjolseth, & Seymour, 1988). I chose this particular program because its flexible design works well with unstructured qualitative data. Tesch (1990) notes that The Ethnograph is especially useful for theory generation because it allows for both segment coding and grouping of incidents by user-defined conceptual codes.

Following the grounded theory method, I coded each transcript in three stages using the constant comparative method to develop conceptual categories (Glaser, 1992; Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I describe each step of this three-stage process of open, selective, and theoretical coding in the following sections.

Conceptual Coding and the Constant Comparative Method

In the first stage of data analysis, open coding, the researcher constantly compares each incident in the transcript to each other incident to form higher level abstractions, i.e. conceptual categories. The researcher proceeds with open coding by "running the data open" and "coding it every way possible" (Glaser, 1978, p.60) with the understanding that each incident in the data is an indicator of an underlying higher level concept. While reading the transcript, I coded each incident with a conceptual code.

These codes were sorted and resorted until patterns began to emerge. These patterns were the basis for naming the conceptual categories. By continually asking "What category or property of a category does this incident indicate?" (Glaser, 1992, p.39) and "How are these incidents similar or different?," I reduced the mass of empirical data to no more than ten to fifteen higher level abstractions, i.e. conceptual categories, which collectively captured the underlying patterns in the data. These conceptual categories form the "link between the theory and the data" (Glaser, 1978, p.55). This first stage of data analysis, open coding, was finished when data analysis yielded a core category that explains a large amount of the variation among the incidents and between the conceptual categories in the data (Glaser, 1978).

Once the core category emerged from the data, I started selectively coding the data around the core category. The main task during selective coding was to operationally define each category by identifying its properties (Glaser, 1978). At this point, the researcher may realize that she does not have enough information to answer these critical questions. She, therefore, returns to the field to theoretically sample participants whose experiences can shed light on gaps in the emergent theory. For example, in interviews with several African-American women, initial assignments to the housekeeping department early in their careers was a recurrent theme. Therefore, one of my theoretical sampling decisions was to include an executive housekeeper in the sample.

The purpose of the last stage of the coding process, theoretical coding, is to specifiy the linkages between the core category and the subcategories. In this stage, the researcher constantly asks how the subcategories relate to the core category: Are they

antecedents or consequences of it? Are they dimensions or properties of it? Are they temporally related to it? After answering these questions the researcher develops the hypotheses that form the grounded theory.

Throughout the analysis and interpretation process, the researcher records conceptual and theoretical questions and observations related to the conceptual categories and the emergent theory in coding and theoretical memos. Since the purpose of grounded theory research is theorizing, rather than description, these memos prompt the researcher to keep "raising the description [contained in the data] to a theoretical level" (Glaser, 1978, p.84). As I proceeded through the three stages of coding, I constantly stopped coding to write (or type) a memo. Sorting the memos, by code during open coding and later by conceptual category facilitated the development of the theory. When writing the grounded theory research results (see Chapter 4), I referred to the memos, which contained much of the substance of the grounded theory as it emerged. Figure 3.2, is an excerpt from a theoretical memo I wrote during data analysis.

Title:	Memo 98
Subject:	Staff v. Line
Data Reference:	Just a thought for now
Date:	December 6, 1994

I just got off the phone with Audrey Jackson. Marcia told me she was a Director of Housekeeping, but she answered the phone as "Guest Services." The thought that came to me, it goes something like this: it appears at this point in the data collection that African-American women managers in hotels are most likely to end up in one of two places: staff positions, generally human resources or sales and marketing to minority markets or operations -- generally housekeeping. Neither of these positions is on the career ladder for general manager. Check CHRIE directory, etc. on this one. What is the relationship between line and staff in terms of span of authority/control? e.g. budget, employee decisions. Again, go back to the article on gender differences in power. This is the conundrum: we don't want the dirty jobs that give us managerial practice; we can't get the jobs on the straight ladder; but the desk jobs don't get us to the top of the organization. But remember Bertha said she didn't want to go to the top at least not in that sense.

Figure 1: Theoretical Memo

Except for the two women whose entire career stories appear in chapter 4, summary profiles of the remaining four European-American women and the remaining nine African-American women are presented below. Additional information from their career stories is presented in the analysis and interpretation of the results.

Participant Profiles: African-American Women

Mavis Rayford

The youngest participant in the study is thirty-year old Mavis Rayford. Mavis is currently the national sales manager for the minority social, military, educational, religious, and fraternal (SMERFs) market at Carson hotels. She graduated from Alabama A & M, in 1986 with a degree in business administration. Her first job was with Wellington Hotels as a secretary in the food and beverage department with catering and conventions. After a

year and a half, Mavis spent two years as a corporate meetings salesperson with the Dallas Convention and Visitors Bureau. Her first sales challenge was in association sales for the Atlanta Convention and Visitors Bureau office in Dallas.

Bertha Spenser

Bertha Spenser, is currently reservations manager at a 1000--plus room Carson Hotel. She quit college after two years of majoring in business administration because she got pregnant and got married. Now 44, Bertha got into this industry 21 years ago by accident. Since then her career has taken a circuitous route from bartender, to union leader, to secretary, and finally to management. She has one daughter and a granddaughter. She raised her second husband's three daughters. Currently she is single, "and loving it." Even though Bertha is very active in the local subgroup for reservation managers of the local American Hotel and Motel Association, she does not plan to stay in hotel management.

Audrey Jackson

Audrey Jackson started her hospitality career in 1981 at a year-old Townsend hotel in Boston doing turn-downs, cleaning the lobby, and cleaning rooms in the afternoon. During the day, she worked as a teacher's aide at two federally-funded schools for the learning disabled. In 1984, she became assistant housekeeper, followed by a promotion to assistant executive housekeeper in 1986. After eleven and a half years in that position, Audrey left Townsend to work at Chelsea Corporation as director of housekeeping services at a residential-only property. One year later, because of a management layoff, Audrey took a $10,000 pay cut to work as a assistant director of environmental services at

a small nursing home. Two years ago Audrey accepted an offer to return to Townsend Top of the Hill, a corporate property, as director of housekeeping. Audrey is currently taking college courses part-time and she has one son, who will be entering college this fall.

Wilson Hotels

In the Fall of 1994, what began as a one-on-one interview with Evelyn Jones, finished as a three-hour group interview with five African-American women, all corporate managers for Wilson Hotels.

Evelyn Jones

Evelyn, the self-described "baby of the group" has been a Wilson Hotels' corporate manager for four and a half years ("the longest I've ever stayed in one location and I'm getting antsy"). When the company downsized, she made a lateral, job-saving move from director of government and industry sales for suite properties to director of leisure group sales for the same division of Wilson Hotels. After graduating from Florida A&M with a degree in business administration, Evelyn's first job was with a government contractor who was working on the CETA project until the Reagan Budget cuts eliminated the program. She then worked as an office equipment salesperson. While working as office manager for a real estate that managed hotels and commercial property's, Evelyn started working in hotel sales. She is the not quite divorced mother of a six year old daughter.

Viola Berger

Viola Berger is a human resource systems analyst, and she has been with Wilson Hotels for 12 years "so long that I really know what a job is and what its skills are worth

and how much people should get paid for it. I've been here so long I know how the whole compensation system works." Viola pointed out that until her company started its new "diversity kick" being an African-American woman hadn't made a difference in her career. But now that our company is on this diversity kick, being a Black woman is an opportunity."

Fourteen years ago, when Victoria Gilbert was hired by Wilson Hotels as a corporate accounting manager, she "found out later that the woman I replaced, who didn't even have a college degree was making more than I was. She may have had more experience, she may not have. But I was doing twice the work and a much better job at that." Victoria is rather skeptical about the new diversity kick and the company's motivation for instituting it, "you know the sad thing about it is that they aren't even doing it because they are such warm and wonderful people who think it's the right thing to do. They're doing it because the company found out that it was losing a lot of business from Black groups."

Vashti Freeman

Vashti Freeman, an African-American woman, is the corporate merchandising manager. Since graduating from Florida A&M with a degree in fashion merchandising in the same year that Evelyn did, Vashti has worked in several Wilson Hotel gift shops before coming to corporate as the merchandising manager.

Elizabeth Merritt

Elizabeth Merritt started her hotel management career 13 years ago as secretary to the director of human resources in a Wilson Hotel property in downtown Gary. For the

last three years she has been on one of Wilson's opening teams, a task force that is responsible for opening hotels of 90 to 900 rooms. As part of this task force, she is responsible for hiring team members (the company's title for employees), setting up employment centers, recruiting, and any other human resource activity necessary to get the hotel's human resource department up and running. For two months in 1987, Elizabeth was a human resource management trainee at the Milwaukee Wilson. In November 1987, she opened the Boston Wilson as Human Resource Director and continued on to open Dekalb, Illinois in February 1989, Portland, Oregon in March 1990, and Fort Myers, Florida in June 1992.

Elizabeth has been human resource director at the Baltimore Wilson since August, 1994. She is approximately 20 hours short of her college degree, because she realized, years ago, that she could stay in the business without one. However, she wants to make it clear that in that respect, "I am not the example."

Elizabeth, whose mother lives with her, has a 12 year old daughter. In thinking about her next career move, Elizabeth is interested in the position of human resource director for the international region, which includes all Wilson properties outside the United States.

Darcus Wray

The only participant in this study who is a general manager, Darcus Wray came to the Wilson Hotels' corporate office of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) via the Michigan Commission on Human Rights. While reviewing a discrimination claim against Wilson, Darcus was asked if she would be interested in coming to work for the company.

Eleven years later, she is the General Manager of a limited service Wilson hotel in Milwaukee. Originally from the Midwest, Darcus was married six months before graduating from Tuskegee College (now University) with a degree in social work. She spent two years in Hawaii, where her military husband was stationed, before returning to Detroit, where she became a community activist. After five years, Darcus and her husband divorced, after which she became the the single parent of a conscious decision fourteen year old daughter. Darcus first worked as clerical assistant for a research company, then she attended graduate school and received a master's degree in social work from Wayne State University.

Summary Profiles: European-American Women

Marijuka and Iris

Marijuka and Iris, are hotel managers from Sweden. They had just come to the United States to study for masters degrees in hotel management. Because she believes that issues of women in the Swedish workforce are public, not individual issues, Marijuka critiqued the conference as focusing too much on "individual issues such as sexual harassment, instead of on policy issues like equal pay."

Lucy Madison

Lucy Madison is the owner and general manager of a family inn in Maine. She has six children, only one of whom (a daughter) is interested in continuing the family business. Lucy graduated from Commonwealth University in the early 1950's with a degree in hotel, restaurant, and institutional management.

Sara Gibson

Sara Gibson, the vice president of human resources for Johnson Travel Group. She belongs to the organization, Professional Women of Wisconsin, which is a mentoring program of and for professional and business women.

Marti Taylor

A vice-president of human resources for Wilson hotels, Marti is the mother of two teen-aged daughters. She was hired by Wilson twenty years ago from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The results of the interviews are presented following Wolcott's (1994) three-stage approach to transforming qualitative data: description, analysis, and interpretation. First, in Chapter 4, I present two women's career stories, largely in their own words. One story of an African-American woman and another of a European-American woman. I have chosen these two particular women's stories as they exemplify career experiences that are common to most of the women in their respective race-gender groups. For the remaining women who participated in the study I present brief summary profiles. In Chapter 5, Analysis and Interpretation, I outline the conceptual categories derived during data analysis and the interpretation of these results.

Description: African-American Women

Florence Johnson

> I started in 1981 as a management trainee for Townsend Hotels. I actually have a degree in business administration from Swarthmore and I had thought that I was going to be a hospital administrator. When I got out of college, I decided that it would take me too long and that I really didn't like working in a hospital. I thought about how it works, because working in a city hospital I knew that I would start as a sub-department head I figured it would take me 20 years to get where I wanted to go and I wasn't prepared to do that. If you think about it hotels and hospitals are

kind of similar. What I was really looking at was starting out as maybe, I don't know, an assistant room service manager, something really first line. So I thought about getting into the service business and just by accident, here I am.

I went to Philadelphia, interviewed, and Townsend offered me an opportunity to either join the general management training program in Sarasota or the personnel training program at corporate headquarters. I chose the general management training program because I wasn't quite sure. I hadn't gone to hotel school, so I didn't know what was ahead of me. I figured if I still wanted to go into personnel, which is what I thought I wanted to do, I could still chose that at the end. So I started in Sarasota as a management trainee.

One of the hardest things to do is to go into somebody's department and say, "Hi, I'm here to learn." They look at you like, "Are you crazy?" because first of all, they're not really prepared to give up any information. Secondly, because you're only going to be there for a hot second, so you're a major waste of time, but you get them talking about themselves and about the wonderful things they do, about all the things they've done. Then they feel good and suddenly, you start asking more questions and you seem really interested and they're like, "Wow, you know, she's pretty serious." And then boom, you've got all kinds of information.

I also learned how important it is to have integrity. Often times, we are asked to do things or we might have a difference of opinion, and there's nothing wrong with stating that you differ in opinions, but if you feel something doesn't feel right, you have to speak about and you have to do something about it. I've been in a couple of situations where I just felt they weren't right and sometimes they got me into serious trouble. I chose, I decided that that's what I stood for and that's what I did.

I remember as a trainee, I heard the food and beverage manager call the chef a nigger. I went crazy. I tried to be diplomatic and I told my director of human resources. She was a jerk and told the chef. He never allowed me in his kitchen again. So you have to be really diplomatic. Diplomacy is important. It's really important. If I had to handle a situation like that, looking back on it and knowing what I know now, I probably would have gone to the chef instead of going to the human resource director.

After 13 months, I was offered an opportunity to go to Baton Rouge as assistant housekeeping manager. That was kind of strange because I never mentioned housekeeping. I had told them at the end of my training program that I wanted to go into the front office. They offered me assistant director of human resources, and then they offered me assistant housekeeping manager. You can figure out why! When they made the offer, I remember hysterically crying because I was fearful that I

was going to be left in housekeeping for the rest of my life. I was just upset that here I am with a college degree and all they think I can be is a housekeeper? I went through all kinds of stuff with that, and so did my family. My father was funny. When I was a management trainee, he'd tell everybody, "Oh my daughter, she's a management trainee for the Townsend Corporation. She's in management training." Oh, he'd tell everybody. Then when I was assistant housekeeping manager, he said, "Oh my daughter, she works for the Townsend Corporation." No title.

When I was in Baton Rouge, I was so happy because the hotel had a predominantly Black staff and I saw tall, young, handsome college students, as doormen and bellmen. These kids were working their way through college, making big bucks. I was so happy and so proud I didn't know what to do. I was only 23 at the time, but they didn't know what to do with me there. I was wearing pearls and heels and silk blouses and they were like, "Wait a minute." You know, the regular line staff had never seen anything like me come through, and they were like, "No, no, no, no, no." They couldn't figure me, and a lot of them tried to sidetrack me. People will always do that, regardless of what position you're in. I actually saw this when my boss went into the hospital. You know we always try to think that everything is personal. It's not really personal. You know people will just do stuff just because they will, and that's just the way it is. Although I like to believe that people are basically good, sometimes that's

not always the case.

I stayed in housekeeping at the Baton Rouge Townsend for nine months, because I constantly told everyone that I didn't want to stay there, that I wanted to go back to the front office, and thank God I had a terrific general manager who really heard me loud and clear. He called and had me come back to the 685-room Sarasota Townsend, where I had been a management trainee, as assistant front office manager.

Front office was fine because I had good people there, good support. I stayed there for a year and a half and then I had the opportunity to go to Ottawa as assistant front office manager. That was neat because I was going to a property that was 1400 rooms. It was computerized, compared to the manual one in Sarasota, so there was a whole lot to learn. That was great. I stayed there for only one year, almost one year to the day and I was offered an opportunity to go to the Townsend Golf Resort in Palm Springs as front office manager. I went there, was the live in manager, no less at 26, and stayed there for a year and a half.

Next I transferred to Chicago as front office manager at a much smaller, 150-room luxury property, and it was just fabulous. I just loved that. It was probably one of my favorites, because of the type of service we provided. And you know, we really got to know our guests and it was like a little doll house. It was really special. My favorite part of my job is chatting with guests. Just absolutely getting to know who's staying here

and why. Being able to find out that Mr. Hogan is coming in tonight and he had a big deal that went through and just being able to send up something to his room, just saying congratulations. Just doing little intricate things that make a difference. I'm a firm believer in that old saying, "little things mean a lot." So I love that kind of stuff.

All of the properties were different. I enjoyed most of them. The only one I really-- it was just a real hard lesson for me to learn -- I guess was in Palm Springs. That was the first time I had really been confronted with racism blatantly in my whole experience. I'd had little bouts of it, but that was a work. I had the staff tell me they weren't going to do nigger work. My employees got together and went and told the personnel department that I was difficult to work with. They called me down and put me on 30-day probation and all kinds of craziness. I mean here I am, a star, literally. I don't usually say that about myself, but I was a star for five years with the company. I'd been sent to Philadelphia as a role model trainee and the whole nine yards. I got to sit at the table with the president of the company as a trainee. I was always invited to all the major events that Townsend had, and suddenly I'm on a 30-day probation.

I don't understand. They never really did tell me what, specifically, I had done that made me difficult to work with. What they did tell me was that I should hold little departmental meetings and that I should be prepared because I might hear some very difficult things. And I did it and I

tried to make them very upbeat and whatever. All I heard was -- this is all I can remember, but you know we do have selective hearing -- but all I remember was stuff about supplies and just silly things. Nothing really, I mean I thought they were going to attack me personally. And I was prepared for that, but they didn't. They just had a hard time with me coming in because I was the new front office manager. The person they had was there pre-opening. It was a new hotel. He had been there for five years. They loved him and they were all close and whatever and I came in and I was different and they... it just didn't work with them. It was just crazy, but I got through the craziness with my mother's help.

This is when you have a good mother. She heard me crying. I used to call and cry every day. Every day. And she couldn't stand it. So through my relationship with Townsend, and I had some very, very, very good mentors and some wonderful general managers and just people to really, just really take an interest in my career. When you're with a company and they make an investment in you like Townsend, there are many people watching over you. One of them was Janet, the area director of human resources when I was in Ottawa. When she had an opportunity to move to Chicago and she knew that I was from Chicago. She trusted me, which was great. It was a big secret, but she was moving to Chicago and she needed help finding a place for her kids to go to school. I had her talk to my mom. She and my mother struck up this relationship. Well, don't

you know my mother got on the phone and called this woman. I mean I'm shocked to this day, but she did. So she called Janet up, Janet called me up, and said, "Hi, Florence. How are you doing?"

"OK."

"No, no. No. Really how are you doing?"

So then I broke down and started telling her everything. She was on a plane the next day. She went down there, wanting to see my file. She told them that if they weren't careful that I could sue them for racism and all this stuff. She went off on them. Then suddenly I wasn't on probation. Then they say, "Florence, you're not on probation. There's nothing in your file." "Oh really? Well, I didn't make that up." So it was amazing. Janet told me that she could take me out of there or I could stay and work some of these things out. Because I mean, the truth be told, I was not as confident as I had been in other places and so they probably read into that and I probably wasn't the best I could be, but I didn't feel like I had the support I needed. So it was just a real growing thing. Six months later, I got transferred to Chicago, where I stayed for a year and a half. It was much better. I stayed there and I actually left the company because my family had a business, I left to pursue that, to help them open up a second location.

I think that was one of the mistakes I made in my career. I think I probably should have stayed in Ottawa and not taken the job in Palm

Springs. Although I learned many things, I clearly was not ready to accept the position as department head. I just wasn't ready for it. I went to a place where I had no support and when I say no support I don't mean to say that my general manager wasn't a good guy. I mean I had great friends. Thank God my friends were near by. They were in Riverside, but I felt very Black there. I mean really. I was single. I didn't have a car. I mean I personally, I just didn't have the things that I wanted to do, I like to do. I didn't have them available to me. I was miserable, just really miserable. So I'll never do that again. I know what's important to me. I know that I need a major city. I know that I need to have jazz. I love jazz. I just love live music. So, you know I love to go out to dinner. I love to be able to flag a cab. Being back in Chicago is great because there's all this 24-hour shopping. You can go to the store at two o'clock in the morning and all that. I mean I've adjusted being in the other places, but that's what makes me happiest. Being able to get to work quickly, around the corner. That's the kind of stuff, so not forgetting what's most important to you.

After nine months of that, I get a call from a headhunter, offering me the opportunity to work for Carson at their 1100 room Atlanta property. So I was there for two and a half years as the executive assistant manager in charge of the rooms division. Again, a great learning experience. It was wild. It was interesting because Carson is a totally different company from Townsend, with the good-old-boy network. I had

already proven my stripes, the way I figured, and I didn't mind coming to a new company and proving it, but I had a discussion with my general manager at Townsend, and when he said, "Well I can see you here for another four years." That was all I needed to hear so in my mind I was ready to go.

As the Lord has it, I got a phone call from David Friedman himself, who is the president of Patrician Corporation. It was wonderful. He had gotten my name through another head hunter. I came up to Chicago, interviewed, and here I am. I've been here for a little over two years. I started here in June 1992 as assistant general manager. Here it's a little different cause we don't have a resident manager. That's why I chose to take this position, because in Atlanta, I had a resident manager in between me and the general manager and my goal is to be a general manager, so I need to be as close to the general manager as possible. So it gave me the opportunity that I had hoped for, the opportunity to get into some other departments and things here, which is not really the case but, but I think the people who can make it happen have other ideas than I do. I don't know yet. It's interesting because review is coming up and so I'm gonna sit down and talk to my boss.

That's another thing you need to ask your students to do when they become managers. You need to tell other people when you're talking to them, you need to ask people to be honest with them and to be ready to

accept honest feedback like the face thing, right? You've got to be willing, if you really want something, then you've got to really be able to hear what someone is telling you. Now they may not be telling you in the right way, and it may sound like the stupidest thing, but sit with it for a while and listen to it. The reason I say that is because I've now been assistant general manager for four ... ... well gosh, five years. And so I wish somebody would say, would have said to me, "Florence, we want you to be an assistant manager for X amount of years," and then I would have known that was what I had to do. But see, the one mistake that I often commit, is that I compare myself to the other people and so we have to remember that sometimes that's not quite right.

I'm just really trying to figure out whether I'm ready for all that responsibility. That's the reality we really have to face, because there's nothing like being offered an opportunity and not being ready. I've already done that. When I went to Palm Springs, I wasn't ready. This time I should know when I'm ready and when I'm not ready. If it' s the right hotel; if it's the right city, if the right support mechanisms are in place, then yes, I'm always ready to go for the right money. I don't really know how long I am willing to sit and see if it's going to happen, because what's most important to me is that I'm learning new things every single day. When I find out I'm not learning something and I'm not getting closer to what I think is the goal then I'm ready to leave. I have come to realize

that I would love to retire and become the owner of a spa somewhere.

As a management trainee, I learned that the key to being good at this business is just knowing people. It's just getting them to talk. It's the relationships you create with people. I've always tried to go in and be a negotiator, a peacemaker, someone who concentrates on getting the job done and fixing the problem, as opposed to creating them and pushing people away. Some people come in with their own agenda, and forget that there's a team involved. Get people talking. Find out what's most important to them. For example, when I went to Ottawa, I got there and all I heard about was Dorothy Ferguson. I'll never forget her name. She was the executive housekeeper, and she was the bully of bullies. I thought about it, I went in and I said, "Dorothy," and I called her Dorothy, which they all freaked out about because everybody called her Ms. Ferguson. I said

> Dorothy, look, I've been in housekeeping. I am not saying that I know everything about it, but I know what you go through. I know what it's like when you've got 10 girls calling in and one saying my husband beat me up and my kids are out and who knows ... I mean I know all of that and so I understand all that you go through trying to get these rooms cleaned, but the fact is that we're putting people in dirty rooms. We need your help.

People never really went down and talked to her like that and suddenly, now she has an opportunity to look like a star. We had a great relationship. The other managers would always say, "Florence, can you go

down there and talk to Dorothy?" because everybody was so afraid of her that they never really went to talk to her, to find out what her problems were, and so what I did was try to fix what we were doing wrong first and then I went and said, "Now I need this." I've found that to be pretty effective.

Getting people to buy into what you're doing is definitely more difficult, but if you get them to think it's their idea or if you get them to see the, as they say, win-win, that is the win in it for them, they're more apt to come up with the solutions and certainly maintain the standard you're trying to attain. My least favorite part of the job is trying to get people to understand that you're on their team. When you have people who are not on your team, it's really just difficult and you find out that -- I call them traitors -- you've got people who just aren't buying into your philosophy and it's very difficult. You have to spend a lot of time documenting their behavior and chatting with them and going back and forth. I have no problem firing people, but it's the process of getting there. I just hope that they'll see the light at the end of the tunnel. When they don't we have to do something about it and I have no problem doing something about it. It's just difficult when your message may be taken a different way. That's why listening is probably the most important skill a manager needs to master. They have to be able to listen, they have to be able to listen objectively. Often times, what I'm finding today is you're talking to people

and they're already coming up with their rebuttal. I'm not asking for a rebuttal. Listen to me. That's what the guest is saying, "Just listen to me. I just got off the plane. I am tired. I want a room now." Or "I'm in Chicago and I don't know where I'm going can somebody help me. Can somebody see that in my eye?" so listening is really really important.

I spend a lot of my time teaching, coaching and counseling. I love that part of it too. I really do. I used to do a lot of training. I loved it, getting people pumped up and motivated. Being able to go upstairs and chat with the housekeepers or some employees and have them say, "Ms. Johnson, come look at this," and just to see the pride in the jobs that they do and them wanting to share that. That's really exciting too. Being really honest and not being afraid of getting your hands dirty in there working with the staff are important too. I mean when I was in Baton Rouge, we used to, oh my God, we had groups coming in left and right. The bellmen used to say to me, "Ms. Johnson, we've never seen anybody sling bags like you." Yeah, I can sling bags like the best of them. Making up rooms, doing whatever I have to do. It's important, but I try to do less of that now because I find that I get so focused on one department that one of the seven others I'm responsible for (doormen, front desk, reservations, operators, housekeeping, health club, or concierge level) suffers.

You know, it's got to be about learning and sharing and having a good time. Having fun. I have had fun all along the way. I love what I

do. I get a kick out of what I do. I get excited. I mean it's like the adrenaline starts flowing. Everyday. I mean, I may not come in with it. But you know, somewhere along the line, I run into something and it gets me pumped, and I'm like "yes, this is why I'm in the game." If you don't have that, then you're not gonna be successful, and that's not just in hospitality, that's just in anything. So trying to step up to the plate and not having a bat or the right gear or the right uniform, you're not going to be able to even think about swinging. So there are many ways to look at that, but I think that people need to first be able to say "I am able to and I too can learn," because it's all about what we can learn. No matter what they teach you in school, you're going to learn everything on the job. The commitment you're willing to make. You know, it's being able to see the big picture as opposed to the little picture. I always saw myself as a general manager.

I don't think my advice would be different for anybody, Black or White. Again, it's all about what you believe in, what you believe is right. It really is, because what you believe in and what you stand for, and if you're doing the right things and you're trying to get ahead, I tell everybody the same thing. What we have to do as Black people or minorities is realize that it's -- don't always go for, "It's because of who I am." That seems to want to come up for us, and that's not always the reason, so we need to really put that to the side and make a note of it and

that's all. Because there is some blatant racism out here. I'm not crazy. But, if you want to go anywhere in this business, calling people racist, calling them on the carpet every time something happens, you're not going to get anywhere. You're going to get blackballed immediately, so that's not the smartest thing to do.

I hope that race and racism is not an issue. It can't be forgotten, but we have to REALLY be careful about when we address it, who we address it with, and how we address it. We can't always be so quick to throw that out as a reason why we haven't been given an opportunity, a reason why I wasn't serviced like somebody else. We can stay there and fight it or we can walk away. Pick and choose your battles. If I thought that it was getting in the way of me getting what I wanted, and that usually was moving up the ladder, then I would address it, but very carefully, because remember, most times as you're moving up the ladder, you're not in a position to do anything about it other than to let people know. You don't want to offend those people or have them think that you're going to scream racism. You have to remember people are very scared about this. People are being sued about this every single day, so let's not forget that it's kind of a weapon we tend to use when we're not right.

If it's blatant, and I've had some blatant stuff happen to me, we need to remember that things happen. I've had guests grab my butt and I've had a sales manager throw me into the wall and kiss me and all this

crap, so stuff happens. I can't say it happened to me because I'm a Black woman. It's harassment. It's what happens on the job. How can you handle those kind of things? I won't say I handled all of them the right way, but you learn. I know today, that I would handle them differently, but again, when I was in certain positions I chose not to address certain things. I either did it with the person or just you know, made a mental note. Sometimes you can just tell one person about it, but again, it's having those people on the inside. Being able to talk to people about those situations is probably the best thing that I can say that. It depends on how much heart we have, and whether or not, as the kids say, whether or not you've got enough juice. And somebody said that to me the other day. "Well maybe you just might be the type to just sit there and listen to all this stuff and not address that." I crossed my legs, I crossed my arms. I uncrossed 'em. I said E ... X...C...U...S..E. ME!! You don't know you ... and so somebody else said, "Brother you don't know who you're talking to, you just don't know." I don't sit up here. I am not window dressing, not by any stretch of the imagination. No way. And this is a black man saying this to me, but you know, that's the way it goes.

You've got to get yourself to a position where you can do something about it, and that's where I am today. You've got to be in position to say certain things. You can say it anywhere, but will people listen is the big difference. If I want to do something, I go straight to the

person. This whole racism thing is just so entangled and complicated because as much as we think maybe there's racism from White to Black or Black to White, there's a lot of Black on Black racism too. Hispanic on Black or Indian on White; you name it, it's there. So, as much as I believe that I have a multicultural staff, and I'm very proud of that. Because the general manager, the directors of marketing, catering, and front office are all women, as is one of the company's executive vice-presidents, some people say we've gone overboard. I'm not convinced that people don't have their own prejudices.

I've had people say things like, "You know that your bartender treated me like a hooker" or I've gone to many places and been treated like a hooker. People have certain ideas about certain people, and it doesn't matter. I can walk into any hotel, and if I'm in my sneakers and my jeans or whatever, and a baseball cap, they're gonna think I'm a nobody. It's just the way it is, but it could be that about some young blonde thing too. It really can be. It really depends on the person behind the desk, whoever's taking care of you and what kind of preconceived notions they have about who you are based on what you look like. We're pretty casual hotel, so you can't really make that determination. Just because a guy comes in a pair of jeans, you can't assume he's not the vice president of some company. You can't do that.

I got a call the other day from the meeting planner of a major black organization. He said his people were here and they weren't being treated right. and I just took great offense to that. However, I told everybody that was the feeling that was created here and that we had a serious problem and that we need to make sure that our inefficiency, because that's what I believed it was, was being perceived as racism. That's all it is; it's people being inefficient. It's them not delivering the service they should. So what you do? You just go back and you find out what happened. I took every time, I took every situation. One incident was when one person was asked for $50, while another was asked for 150 dollars at check-in for a guarantee because he didn't have a credit card. Well, the guest was being obstinate because he had a credit card, he just didn't t want to give it. It was a test and we didn't pass it. Because the desk clerk felt that the person didn't want to give it to her she said, "Fine," and she didn't make him leave the $150. We hoped that people can make those kinds of decisions. It wasn't a big deal. It was fine, because he was only going to make phone calls and all his other stuff was being picked up. So it's either you follow the rules or you don't.

Some people from this same group said they sat in the restaurant an hour and a half and nobody waited on them. I said to myself, "now, really. How did a waiter, and that's how he makes his money, not serve four people for an hour and a half?" This just didn't make sense to me, but I

talked about it enough with all my department heads, and what I said in the staff meeting was that we have to be very sensitive to the fact that we have different kinds of people and certain gestures, certain words, everything. We have to be very careful about how we do things because it may be different for me than it is for you. And we just have to be knowledgeable that we have to be as courteous as possible and to follow the procedures that we have in place, because we do have standards of service, and that's what we need to follow. If we greet people with a smile, if we say thank you and please, most times even though we might not have done it right, that will get us over.

My biggest barrier? I'd always say me. That's because I take personal responsibility for everything, for me, for where I go, for how I get there. It's all about maturity. It's all about how you're able to communicate with people, so I take 50 percent of that. You know, I get in my way. When you're not able to communicate so that people understand you, you're not able to get what you need done. So when I've learned the players --different department heads, the general manager, you know the corporate structure, all that -- then I've been able to get what I want.

See, the one thing that I think I've been successful at is being kept in the inside track and that's the one thing that most of us don't understand. You know, we talk about not getting opportunities, but you have to get inside to understand what's going on. You've got to be a real

diplomat and you've got to be able to make them feel at ease so that they just tell you everything. You must get them to understand that you are serious about your career, that you're committed, that you're willing to do whatever it takes to get the job done. I've been a hard worker. They know I'm a workaholic. You know I'm there, so you know my commitment is there. I think because people understand that and know that and I've proven that time and time again there's a trust factor that builds up.

I'm sure my race and gender have often times made some difference in my career. The fact is, I am a Black woman, so often times a company can fulfill their quota. That's just a fact. I don't look at it that way. I look at it as this is what I have to do for me. And if we weren't Black women, we'd be Russian women and we'd have a language barrier to get through. There's always something, so I choose not to look at it that way. It is a choice in how we look at things. Before, when I told the story about my time at Palm Springs, you would have heard the victim. You would have heard, "Oh they did this to me and da da da da." You have still heard that certain things happened, but I take personal responsibility for what happened there.

I think if we are determined about getting to where we want and what we want, and if we find that something gets in our way of getting what we want, we will then realize that we must change the behavior. For

example, my boss said to me the other day, “Florence, when you sit in meetings, you make all of kind of faces.” You know I did not like that when she said it to me. You’re talking about something that’s very personal. You are talking about how I react to things and I like being expressive. So I told this story I don’t know how many times, to how many people, and I had people buying into my stuff, “You know, you need to tell her that you’re actively listening and that you’re doing this and whatever whatever whatever.” But then I grew. I talked to one person and she said to me, “Florence, did you ever look in the mirror and see what your face looks like when you made those faces?” “No.” So I did. I was sitting there getting my nails done or something so I thought about something somebody had said to me and I made the face in the mirror. I thought, “My God, that really was pretty horrible.” More importantly, I thought that if this is so much of a problem for the people I’m in the room with, if it makes them that uncomfortable, it takes away from what I’m trying to say and what I want heard. Therefore, I’m not getting what I want. Now, I can be conscious of my faces. I’m not saying I can change them, because half the time it’s really automatic, but I am more conscious of it now so I’m working on it.

The fact that I’m a woman has helped me in some cases because people just haven’t given me a hard time for whatever reasons. A man will go up to another man and be yelling and screaming at him but he’s not

going to do that to me because I'm a woman. Employees will come in here differently because you're a woman or they'll -- well it's funny. It's just the way men and women are. I have always gotten along with women so working with women has always been a real positive experience for me, but that s just probably my orientation and the way I've grown up. I've never seen that as a problem. I've never seen other women as a threat to me.

Being Black, on the other hand, is sometimes startling to people. I see people step back, and I'm talking our people too. My staff has told me that when they came in for their interviews, they heard they would be meeting with Ms. Johnson, then when they walked in my office, they saw me. One girl just shook my hand and shook my hand and ... she wouldn't let it go. She was "thrilled, thrilled," that I was in this position. Then, after we hired him, one of our Black security guards came up to the office and told me, "When I walked in the office and saw you, one you were a Sister. Two, you were in the position that you are and three, you were attractive. I couldn't stand it. I couldn't believe it. I couldn't speak!

I think some people get mad when they realize who I am. They're like, "Oh, well then give me the real manager!" I can't possibly be the real manager. Professionally, I haven't had people step back and really doubt my abilities or anything like that. I've found amongst my colleagues that I get a lot of support amongst the people here in Chicago. From customers,

I've gotten a lot of support just because they know I'm here. They say, "We've got a Sister there, so we've got to go. We've got to support her" even if they just have a drink here. Then I've got people who just want to take advantage of the situation. I belong to this little social organization that raises money for minority children to go to private grammar schools. It's a wonderful thing. That's why I'm involved, but these women are just something else. They're all very powerful women here in Chicago. The woman who's in charge of it is a homegrown millionaire, she's a colored girl, and it's terrible. So here we are in a meeting and she says, "We want some wine and we want it free. We don't want to pay." She could buy cases of champagne if she wanted to. It's ridiculous.

You get put in positions like that. So you know being Black has it's advantages; it has it's disadvantages, but I never really focus on that. I try to as much as I can not to have people focus on that. When it is an issue I make it an issue, when it's not, you know. When I find it's a threat for people I try to take it away. It's not just about being Black, it's about people treating people the right way, with respect, dignity, and courtesy, because they're either paying or just because they deserve to work in an environment that allows them to do the best job they can possibly do. That's my true belief, and that's what I try to tell people.

That's all the professional stuff. On the personal side, there's not a whole lot there, other than my cat. I have friends all over the country, as

you might imagine. I used to do a lot more travelling. This year is a little strange because my boss had cervical cancer, so I had to be around a lot more. I try to get away and visit friends as much as I can -- in DC or Chicago or wherever they are. It's really important for us to be in touch with our family and those things that are really important and not to forget them or put them second. We have to not stand so steadfast on letting it get in our way either. I've heard people say, "I'm not moving because of my husband/ my wife / or whatever." That's fine, but realize that we have choices in life. We can make the choice, and then we need to always remember that with the choice there is usually a consequence or some kind of action, a reaction to the action that we're taking. As long as we are prepared to accept that then we're fine. But to play the victim and to start crying "Oh poor me and they did this to me," I think that is very very weak and we need to step out of that.

We need a lot of support. We need to keep talking to people. We need to stay in touch with one another. We need to be supportive of one another. We need to pull each others' coattails when we can. I do that all the time. I don't know whether people resent it or whether they like it, but I do it anyhow, because I think it's my personal responsibility to do so. I take that responsibility whether they're kids or adults, all my minorities. I will say this to anybody. I will tell them anytime I think I see them doing something wrong, because I'm not sure anybody else did.

I have a wonderful wonderful, wonderful supportive family. My mom and dad are just the best they could possibly be. They get mad at me because I don't spend enough time with them, even though they're right here in Chicago. They really feel put aside some times by the commitment I've made here. I've been away from them for so long that sometimes I forget they're here, which is terrible. This weekend was different. It was my Mom's birthday. I made a big to-do of it and we all took her out. Spending quality time with my family. When I do we have a really good times. Whether it's just me going over to my mom's house and just getting in bed and talking to her. She knows how tired I am and how busy I am, so they don't call me at work, and they know when we call each other at work it's, "Say what you've gotta say and get off the phone."

I purposely joined organizations last year and I'm actually on a couple of boards for, obviously, exposure and for my own personal development. I'm on the board of an adoption foster care agency. It's wonderful, because the hotel started out just donating space so they could have a function here. We gave toys at Christmas and we donate cookies for their party. Just little things like that. We've taken their kids to the museum and to the circus. Patrician Corporation is very big on being a good corporate citizen, whatever city or neighborhood they're in. They're very serious about that. They've won awards for that. I take it very seriously too.

You know, for once, in my career I'm able to actually become a part of the community. I travel and I move so fast that I don't really get to know what's going on, I never really could, never chose to make the time. Now, I just get out and actually work as hard at those as I do at my job. I was the chairperson of a symposium on adoption this year.

I mentor a lot of high school and college students. I go to high schools and I do speaking to sell the industry. I want people to really know this is a wonderful business to be in. I have a great time doing this, and I think it's wonderful. It's not one of those businesses, and I don't mean to say this taking away from who I am as a person or anybody else that's in this, but it doesn't take a brain scientist to figure it out. It's something we can go in, learn, and take away skills and maybe do something on our own at somebody else's expense. I think I can get kids interested in the business because they can see what and who I am, what I'm doing, and that I'm not burger flipping. I'm the best message there is. Seeing is believing. I tell them about all the other people I work with, that the opportunity is there, and that they're able to do it. I think the exposure and the fact that somebody tells you that you're able and that they're willing to help you by saying either to call me and to come by and show your personal interest. I just want to bring hope to people, especially to help them get around some of the secrets of corporate America, because fortunately somewhere along the line, I believed I was

supposed to have whatever I have. It's just a mind set, and some of us don't have that attitude. "I do belong, absolutely. Yes I am here. Different? and how so?" It's being able to have the right, but you have to have the right with the right stuff. You get that because you are intelligent, you are outgoing, you are hardworking.

I strongly support mentoring one another. It's what has made me successful today having had strong people with serious positions and power behind me. I don't make a conscious effort to go out and say, "This person is going to be my mentor." It's just through your experiences. When you get in a company you can't just take one person and have them be your mentor or your godmother or godfather, because we all know they can go tomorrow, so you have to have many people supporting you. Fortunately, that's what I had in Townsend, and because I moved around in so many different companies, there are a lot of people who know me. When you widen your spectrum on anything, it's helpful.

And that's why I try to encourage the kids to get involved -- whether it's community involvement or professional organizations like the National Society of Minority Hoteliers. Last year, one of my interns was someone I met at the conference. She worked with me for the summer and she wanted to work here after graduation, but I said no, because she's like a little sister to me. For many reasons we had gotten really close and I would always be watching over her. It wouldn't be fair to her. I was in

her business every which way. She was doing her own thing, but I just was concerned about her. I would tell her, "LaVerne, you can't do that and you have to do this." I mean I was on her, and I let her make some mistakes too. There are certain things that you can't do and I told her this. You cannot date the package room guy. You just can't. Any Joe Blow could, but if you want to be a general manager, you just can't do that kind of thing.

Before we went to the Christmas party, I said to her, "Let me tell you about Christmas parties." I talked to her about an hour and a half about the doggone Christmas party. The things we will do and the things we won't do. The things people have done and the repercussions they have reaped because of that. I kind of walked her through the whole thing, all my experiences at Christmas parties. I gave her the whole schabang. People don't tell us that kind of stuff.

I have no problem sharing what I know. I want more people that I think that are on my side, no matter who they are and what they look like. As long as we all share the same flying carpet, if you will, that's fine. But we can't be afraid to share information. I have people at three other hotel companies I've worked for who will offer me stuff and give me information, send me business, do all kinds of stuff, because of who I am, not because of the company I work for. It's because they're my Sisters or my Brothers and we're helping one another out.

It's just so much easier when somebody tells you something, and you hear it, and you go "Yeah." That was the another thing as a trainee I heard these people telling me stuff and I said, "Well, why am I going to be stupid, try to go out there, try to do the same darned thing they did. It made sense to me. Being able to be in a position where we have intelligent, mentors who are not being self-centered, who will not grandstand and do all this stuff for whatever reason because it makes them feel good.

It's all in what you want to do, where you want to go, and what you're willing to sacrifice to get there, and I've sacrificed a lot. For example, on the relationship side, I have just definitely hacked out certain people nope, nope, nope, nope, nope, nope for one reason or another--they didn't speak well enough, they just didn't carry the right image, they weren't in the right department, they weren't in the right position, whatever. You have to do that anyway, and part of that is my own personal preference, but part of that is really because I thought the company would not, whatever company I was working for, would not approve. I went through the do I date interracially? Do I not? I remember coming up through the ranks thinking, "Oh God, I could never do such a thing." And now, I'm almost like please just give me a good man no matter what it is. That's having confidence in yourself and who you are and what you're able to do. I really did think at one point in time that would not be the socially acceptable thing to do in a corporate

environment, because when you see, when you hear, when you sit down and watch people and they're drinking and they're talking about folks, you hear and see all the things that they don't approve of, and so obviously, we need to do as few of those things as possible. I am a very loyal person and because of that, I have tended to err to the side of the company more so to myself. When there might have been times I really need to do things for me, I'd stay at work.

I've never been married. Probably of all the things, I really would love to be in a wonderful relationship just like everybody else, be married. I mean that's the one thing I have not attained that I really wanted to do and have accomplished by the time I was 35, and that's how old I am now. I have no children. I do have a cat. He counts. I don't have a car. That's why it made it very easy. I could always move and be there within two weeks. I'm like the cheapest, easiest thing to move, which makes me quite attractive. But it's all going to be worth it, right? I mean, I was really happy about all of these choices I've made, even the ones where I've learned some really hard lessons. They've been excellent choices, because I wouldn't have learned and gone through the experiences, had I not done it, so I value everything that I've gone through because it's gotten me to where I am today and who I am. I'm a firm believer that if you sit on the sideline, and you don't play the game, you're never going to learn it.

Summary Profiles

Mavis Rayford

The youngest participant in the study is thirty-year old Mavis Rayford. Mavis is currently the national sales manager for the minority social, military, educational, religious, and fraternal (SMERFs) market at Carson hotels. She graduated from Alabama A & M, in 1986 with a degree in business administration. Her first job was with Wellington Hotels as a secretary in the food and beverage department with catering and conventions. After a year and a half, Mavis spent two years as a corporate meetings salesperson with the Dallas Convention and Visitors Bureau. Her first sales challenge was in association sales for the Atlanta Convention and Visitors Bureau office in Dallas.

Bertha Spenser

Bertha Spenser, is currently reservations manager at a 1000--plus room Carson Hotel. She quit college after two years of majoring in business administration because she got pregnant and got married. Now 44, Bertha got into this industry 21 years ago by accident. Since then her career has taken a circuitous route from bartender, to union leader, to secretary, and finally to management. She has one daughter and a granddaughter. She raised her second husband's three daughters. Currently she is single, "and loving it." Even though Bertha is very active in the local subgroup for reservation managers of the local American Hotel and Motel Association, she does not plan to stay in hotel management.

Audrey Jackson

Audrey Jackson started her hospitality career in 1981 at a year-old Townsend hotel in Boston doing turn-downs, cleaning the lobby, and cleaning rooms in the afternoon. During the day, she worked as a teacher's aide at two federally-funded schools for the learning disabled. In 1984, she became assistant housekeeper, followed by a promotion to assistant executive housekeeper in 1986. After eleven and a half years in that position, Audrey left Townsend to work at Chelsea Corporation as director of housekeeping services at a residential-only property. One year later, because of a management layoff, Audrey took a $10,000 pay cut to work as a assistant director of environmental services at a small nursing home. Two years ago Audrey accepted an offer to return to Townsend Top of the Hill, a corporate property, as director of housekeeping. Audrey is currently taking college courses part-time and she has one son, who will be entering college this fall.

Wilson Hotels

In the Fall of 1994, what began as a one-on-one interview with Evelyn Jones, finished as a three-hour group interview with five African-American women, all corporate managers for Wilson Hotels. Evelyn, the self-described "baby of the group" has been a Wilson Hotels' corporate manager for four and a half years ("the longest I've ever stayed in one location and I'm getting antsy"). When the company downsized, she made a lateral, job-saving move from director of government and industry sales for suite properties to director of leisure group

sales for the same division of Wilson Hotels. After graduating from Florida A&M with a degree in business administration, Evelyn‘s first job was with a government contractor who was working on the CETA project until the Reagan Budget cuts eliminated the program. She then worked as an office equipment salesperson. While working as office manager for a real estate that managed hotels and commercial property’s, Evelyn started working in hotel sales. She is the not quite divorced mother of a six year old daughter.

Viola Berger is a human resource systems analyst, and she has been with Wilson Hotels for 12 years “so long that I really know what a job is and what its skills are worth and how much people should get paid for it. I’ve been here so long I know how the whole compensation system works.” Viola pointed out that until her company started its new “diversity kick” being an African-American woman hadn’t made a difference in her career. But now that our company is on this diversity kick, being a Black woman is an opportunity.”

Fourteen years ago, when Victoria Gilbert was hired by Wilson Hotels as a corporate accounting manager, she “found out later that the woman I replaced, who didn’t even have a college degree was making more than I was. She may have had more experience, she may not have. But I was doing twice the work and a much better job at that.” Victoria is rather skeptical about the new diversity kick and the company’s motivation for instituting it, “you know the sad thing about it is that they aren’t even doing it because they are such warm and wonderful people who think it’s the right thing to do. They’re doing it because the company

found out that it was losing a lot of business from Black groups."

Vashti Freeman

Vashti Freeman, an African-American woman, is the corporate merchandising manager. Since graduating from Florida A&M with a degree in fashion merchandising in the same year that Evelyn did, Vashti has worked in several Wilson Hotel gift shops before coming to corporate as the merchandising manager.

Elizabeth Merritt

Elizabeth Merritt started her hotel management career 13 years ago as secretary to the director of human resources in a Wilson Hotel property in downtown Gary. For the last three years she has been on one of Wilson's opening teams, a task force that is responsible

for opening hotels of 90 to 900 rooms. As part of this task force, she is responsible for hiring team members (the company's title for employees), setting up employment centers, recruiting, and any other human resource activity necessary to get the hotel's human resource department up and running. For two months in 1987, Elizabeth was a human resource management trainee at the Milwaukee Wilson. In November 1987, she opened the Boston Wilson as Human Resource Director and continued on to open Dekalb, Illinois in February 1989, Portland, Oregon in March 1990, and Fort Myers, Florida in June 1992.

Elizabeth has been human resource director at the Baltimore Wilson since August, 1994. She is approximately 20 hours short of her college degree, because

she realized, years ago, that she could stay in the business without one. However, she wants to make it clear that in that respect, "I am not the example."

Elizabeth, whose mother lives with her, has a 12 year old daughter. In thinking about her next career move, Elizabeth is interested in the position of human resource director for the international region, which includes all Wilson properties outside the United States.

Darcus Wray

The only participant in this study who is a general manager, Darcus Wray came to the Wilson Hotels' corporate office of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) via the Michigan Commission on Human Rights. While reviewing a discrimination claim against Wilson, Darcus was asked if she would be interested in coming to work for the company. Eleven years later, she is the General Manager of a limited service Wilson hotel in Milwaukee. Originally from the Midwest, Darcus was married six months before graduating from Tuskegee College (now University) with a degree in social work. She spent two years in Hawaii, where her military husband was stationed, before returning to Detroit, where she became a community activist. After five years, Darcus and her husband divorced, after which she became the the single parent of a conscious decision fourteen year old daughter. Darcus first worked as clerical assistant for a research company, then she attended graduate school and received a master's degree in social work from Wayne State University.

Description: European-American Women

Marijuka and Iris, are hotel managers from Sweden. They had just come to the United States to study for masters degrees in hotel management. We had met previously during breaks, which the women came to call "Smokers Unite" sessions, in the hectic conference schedule. Because she believes that issues of women in the Swedish workforce are public, not individual issues, Marijuka critiqued the conference as focusing too much on "individual issues such as sexual harassment, instead of on policy issues like equal pay." However, one of the critical incidents she shared seemed to contradict the generality of this statement.

> I heard this woman, a front office manager in Sweden, we were talking about this similar thing, and that she worked for the same chain as I do. They had these meetings only for men and she's really good looking, so she was admitted to one of the meetings because she was good looking, and that was the only qualification that they could recognize -- that was her look and not her ... so she was suitable on the basis of her beauty.

Emily Dixon

At this point, Emily joins the conversation by introducing herself.

> I'm Emily Dixon, Director of Marketing at the Tahoe Tennis Club. I attended Commonwealth University from 1974 through 1978 and graduated with a B.S. in hotel management. My background is really in food and beverage. While I was a student here, most of the people who were in the hotel program with me were older, they had been in the

industry and then they came back to school. I, on the other hand, had gotten straight out of high school and come to Commonwealth University. Ever since I was in the tenth grade and people asked me what I was going do when I grew up, I told them "I'm going to go to Commonwealth University. I'm going to major in hotel management, and I'm going to run hotels."

When I was in school, I was a student manager at the Campus Inn and I was an assistant to the program director, and my approach is not normal. I mean I don't like to go about things in a normal way like the majority of people would. What I like to do is to, in a unique way, I decided the way to meet all the influential people in the industry was to organize and manage the director's VIP dinners. It was either that or be a bartender in the cocktail lounge. Because everyone after, you know, all the functions when they came up to school, would all congregate in the lounge. Well, I didn't want to do that. I wanted more exclusivity. So, what I did was, I did all the VIP dinners for the director. He and April, his wife, were very very social. We umm actually admired her and respected her so much. She's very well thought of in the industry. No, she didn't work in the industry, but she has done so much. Together, as a team, they entertained the leaders in the hospitality industry. Anyway, so that's what I did. I was in charge of all the VIP dinners. I had accessibility to all these people while I was a student, while the majority of the students didn't

have that accessibility and it worked. Surprising to say, it worked, but I was like Darlene.

Emily was referring to Darlene, a character in one of the scenarios we had discussed earlier in the conference. Darlene, a first year management trainee, knew she wanted to be a restaurant manager until she found out the type of hours -- double and sometimes triple shifts -- restaurant managers work. Darlene learned that sales managers, on the other hand, have a certain amount of control over their own calendars, and less frequently work the 12-15 hour shifts common among restaurant and other operations managers. In the scenario, Darlene had to make a choice. She could pursue a career in food and beverage, an operations department that is considered a necessary stop on the fast track to upper management in the hotel business, or a career in sales, where she would be much less likely get on, but also to fall off or burn out on, the fast track. After graduating with her degree in hotel management, Emily found herself facing the same type of dilemma.

> You know, after I graduated I made a concession with my ex-husband, we had dated all through college. He was in hotel management too, and he was going to go work for Global Alliance as a traveling hotel consultant because he had lived in Europe for many many years and wanted to get back into international hotels. I was supposed to go work at the Grande Damme in New York as a food and beverage trainee. And, well, you know it's just one of those things. I passed it up. I'm always kicking myself for doing this. It was a valuable learning

experience. You know, I conceded. He conceded and he decided to go to Dallas. You know, negotiation. Somewhere between Europe and New York, there's Dallas. But what I did was I went to work for Wilson Hotels and spent three years with them. Started out and did the management development training.

Well, [then] the short and sweet of it was I kept winning all these sports awards, right? And I was in, I was the only female, and then they were all males and I usually thrive and excel in that environment. You see my parents always told me, "if you work hard and do everything right , everything will turn out okay." My father was a comptroller for Corning Glass. I had two older brothers, so I learned to play with the boys because that was all I had. I learned to beat them at the games, at boys' games, by playing by their rules. That really influenced how I do my career. I'm from a small town in southern New York, a company town, big money. The president of Corning Glass sponsored my family for the country club. My life was so easy, so sheltered, I think that's probably one of the things that made me have such a painful life in the past.

So, at the Wilson in Dallas, I handled the NFL players when they would come into town and I built the amateur sports market up. It all started as a bet, a challenge from my director of marketing. He says to me, "You can't sell out the hotel on the fourth of July." I said to him, "put your money where your mouth is. I'll sell 200 room nights and if I do I'm

going to New Orleans for three days, stay and do a competitive study, and I will be back. Well, we sold 450 room nights out of it. Sold out the hotel during the fourth of July, and he kept his part of the bargain.

However, my regional vice president of sales, who was very very very anti-women, and when he told me that I had no career with Wilson, when there were, at that point in time, in Dallas there were five Wilsons in the city, I looked at him and I said, "Are you sure?" And he says, "Yes." I don't know why he said it. Probably stupidity. He's just, he told me that because my husband was in the same career that I was in that I couldn't be transferred, and I didn't agree with him obviously. Then, King's Quarters came and they were starting their new luxury venture in Texas, and they approached me. The money was much much more substantial. There was no comparison. There was like a 40 percent increase and so, I waited until I cashed in all my chips. You see, I had to wait. I accepted the job and then they had to wait for me for three and a half weeks because I had my anniversary date coming up and I was also on a business trip and I wanted to make sure that I got paid my expenses that I was making on this business trip. So I got all these checks in and waited.

The day after my anniversary date was when I put a nice little confidential letter on my director of marketing's desk and waited and waited, and I heard this "Emily, get in here!!" And I go walking in and I say, "Yes." I never wrote in the letter who I was going to work for. I

left it on a very positive note that I appreciated all the help within the Wilson system and at this time in my life I felt that I had another opportunity that better suited my needs and I enjoyed working with you. Thanks very much. Good-bye. And his response was "Are you sure you wanna do this? You mean you're going to work for King's Quarters?" I said, "Yes." Well sure enough, I'm going to a rival, a competitor. So he paid me my two weeks severance and I was out the door in a couple of hours.

But I thoroughly enjoyed working for King's Quarters, I got to meet a lot of interesting people and talk on a one-on-one basis. I mean, I met Howard Mann, the chairman and founder of King's Quarters. It just happened. At King's Quarters, I kind of did everything. I was, even though, I was a sales manager, I handled Tony Dorsett's Celebrity Golf Tournament and I threw the first Royal Ball party, which back then for King's Quarters, was part of standard operating procedure. So every three months, we would recognize and celebrate some king or queen or other royalty. So I handled that and that was for approximately 700 people. I enjoyed it quite substantially. I enjoyed working with King's Quarters because they also let me go down to Houston to help with the opening of The Palais Royale, which was currently under construction. This was in about 1982. It was an absolute dream. It really was, because I had helped with some of the Wilson openings, so I could take that knowledge and take

it a step further. I went up to corporate headquarters, which is in Quebec, and I did a presentation for the reservation agents about the Dallas properties and about the properties under construction in Houston. Once, I got a letter from my boss, one of those "congratulations you're doing a wonderful job and we're very happy that you're working here" kind of letters and I walked into his office and said, "Now put your money where your mouth is. I'm going to this conference and I want you to pay for it." And he did!! Did a lot of networking within the organization, and that's when I got pregnant for the first, and only, time.

I left on maternity leave and it was understood that they could not keep that position open for me. They would not keep that position open for me. I had pretty much guestimated I would be out for two months, and my director of marketing, he had said to me, "I don't want any commitment right now of when you're going to come back. You know, this is a first time experience being a mother and you may decide to stay home on a permanent basis." And so it happened that right about that time my ex-husband changed careers too. At this point, we had been married for about five years when my husband became very ill. I didn't find out how ill he was until I was in the delivery room. I had delivered my son and my husband wasn't there. He had been hospitalized. After that, he took positions out of Dallas and I stayed there with the baby, and they did not work out for him.

So we determined, that he would come back to Dallas and I decided that it was important to go to work because he was sick, he was ill. I went back to King's Quarters and I said, "Okay, I'm ready to come back," and they said, "well it's gonna take time." He was very very ill, so we, we didn't have any income coming in and I didn't have time. That was the problem. I showed my resume to somebody and they told me it sucked, and I decided that I was not going to let this man put me in a box. I told him that "in your point of view, it sucks. In my point of view, I've got such a variety of experience and while most people walk through their work experiences with blinders on I have learned from my mistakes." All of the things that I've learned have given me such power and the great thing about my power is that people don't know that I've got it and that's when it really really works, because it kind of sneaks up on em.

So, I went to my competitor which was Eastern Star at the Market Center, and they hired me the same day. Albert Franklin, he's a real nice guy, he graduated from Commonwealth University the same year I did and has been kind of like a brother to me. I explained the situation, how Jack had been very very ill and I didn't have the time to wait and get a job. I needed it like yesterday. He says, "Great, you can start tomorrow morning. You're going to be catering sales."

Eventually, my husband and I went through a nasty divorce. I had given him every opportunity to heal himself. A year later he had married

somebody else and had another child. You see I value security and longevity, and I think that's one of the reasons I stayed with him in such a bad marriage for so long, because I didn't want to give up the security. I married this man, of course, with the expectation that I was going to be married to him for the rest of my life. After I got back on my feet, I realized that money is irrelevant. There are a whole lot more important things in life. Money can be replaced, but other things can't. For about five and a half years after my ex-husband and I got divorced, around 1987, I went into the desert, wandering around and I had this dream. I saw Howard Mann, the chairman and founder King's Quarters, who I had formerly worked for. I saw the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles, which is where a conference was going on that I was planning to attend. It was a working conference and I was going to do business, and in the dream, I died. So, of course, I didn't want to go, but I knew I had to go. It was like this was the start of my mission.

So I go to Los Angeles. I get on an elevator, the doors open, and it's Howard. I grab him and we hug and we talk on the elevator. I was all dressed up in a gorgeous ball gown, in these pearls and I'm all done up, four-inch heels, the whole nine yards. I had been out and I was coming back to the hotel alone, and this guy, tries to grab my bag. Not only does he try to grab my bag, he has a knife, and he tries to slit the straps on my Gucci bag. You know, if the guy had just come up to me and said, from

the front, and said “hand me your purse,” I would have given it to him. No problem. But the sucker, snuck up from behind and tried to cut my purse. When I felt him coming up behind me, I started fighting. I’m tussling around on the ground with this guy and my pearls are flying all over the street. Of course, they were real pearls. Then the doorman finally comes out and it seems like it’s been five days but it was only probably about three minutes, and the doorman comes out and he runs back in and he calls the cops. The cops, got there in record time. So, you know, the cops grab this guy and they take me into the hotel. They get a statement from me and they bring the guy in and they said “Ma’am we need you to identify him. Is this the guy?” The guy is standing there with my purse. And of course, I say that this is the guy. And so one of the police officers says “Ma’am could you please go upstairs and take off your dress, because we want to use that for evidence. My dress is ripped. I’ve got scars all over my knees. I go upstairs and take my dress off.

For the next couple of days while I’m in Los Angeles, the district attorney (DA) calls me and tells me that this guy is wanted in four states: Nevada, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and now he’s wanted in California. So the DA says “Ma’am, would you come back in October for the hearing?” Even though it’s four months away and across the country, of course I say, “Damned right, I’ll come back. If it will mean that nobody else will have to go through what I went through, and this keeps this man

off the streets, I will come back." I didn't have to come back. The guy is now in Alcatraz for four years. Yeah, only four years because everybody else wants to extradite him, so he's going to have to serve time in five states probably.

Yeah I know, everybody who I've told this story to thinks I'm totally crazy and I must be losing my mind. After I got mugged, everybody was telling me, "You know Emily, you just ought to go home," and I knew that I had to stick with it. I had to carry this through because I knew that if I went home I'd never come back to Los Angeles, even though I loved it. I loved California. I loved the people. I loved everything about it and a lot of my business was there and I had to overcome this. I had to make it through and finish my mission.

You want to know what my mission is? I have had so many experiences in this industry, that were probably much shittier than anything that any of those four women on that panel about "Work and Family Conflict" have ever experienced, and if one woman learns something from hearing about my failures and my successes and my barriers and how I overcame them then I'd think that my trip to this conference was worth everything that I had to go through.

When I heard about the conference, I knew I had to come. I didn't really want to come. It was very painful for me to come because this is where I met my ex-husband and I had some of the best times in my life at

Commonwealth University with my ex-husband. When I heard about the conference I made 12 phone calls to get information about it and to make some suggestions. My calls were never returned. As a marketer that was death to me, because if somebody calls you, you call them back in 24 hours. So, I'm getting really pissed now, and so I call Bart, one of the male faculty members, who is a friend of mine, and I told him, "I just want you to know that this conference is very important and that we need to market it right. This is just the beginning. These are baby steps." That's why the research you're doing is so important.

As soon as I got the flyer about the conference, I got on the phone and called all the women in the business I know, and I told them about it. I asked if they were going to go, and they no. So I told them "you really need to get your ass over there." I was the only one who could tell them that because I know them. One thing that really pissed me off about the whole situation was that every time I made that phone call, the women kept asking, "What am I going to get out of it?" My reply to them was generally something along the lines of, "You ought to be asking what you can give because we need to go tell these young girls that it's a great industry and yeah, it's got it's problems, but that that if you get enough of us in here, raising enough hell that we can do this."

You see I really believe in equality for women, but I wouldn't call myself a feminist. I just believe in equality for people. You see, this

business is all about building relationships, and women are really suited to the hospitality industry because my strength as a marketer is that I can anticipate people's needs, that I know what people want a lot of times before they even know what they want. Too often, people in the business do the minimum for people that they can do instead of anticipating their needs and delivering on them before they even know that they're needs. That's what makes good hoteliers. That's what separates the good hoteliers from the average ones. A lot of times, when I get asked to come speak, one of the things that people always ask me is, "What was your favorite hotel to work at?" because I've worked at so many. I've opened like 25 hotels. My answer is "You know, hotels are like children, every hotel has a different personality. I love them all and I love them all for different reasons. And I learned something at every hotel."

Now we have to do what the president said to us in her luncheon speech. We need to go out and tell people about it. Next year everybody will be here, but this year it was really good, that the numbers were small so we could talk about the important issues so that we could quote unquote find ourselves.

So in addition to coming to this place full of memories, the other sacrifice I had to make to come to this conference was leaving my son for a weekend, because weekends are our quiet time. He's nine years old going on twenty-nine, and he's a Christmas baby. Before I left, I sat him down

and I explained to him that, “Mommy’s gonna have to go work that weekend and I won’t be able to do the things with you that you want to do.” His reply was, “Well Mommy, go have a great time!” I was so relieved that he said that to me. A friend of mine, Bart pulled me into his office one day and we were talking about my son. Bart told me, “when he gets about 14, you’re gonna start wondering who this creature is. Just live through it. Roll with the punches and he’ll turn out okay.”

Another one of those shitty industry experiences was in New York, working for Takashi, a Japanese electric products company that bought the old Bonaventure Hotel. I was director of sales and marketing there. My regional vice-president at that time was this Austrian, very European male jerk. The Japanese company had decided to shut the hotel down for six months under the pretense of doing a ten million dollar renovation of the property. The whole purpose of the shutdown was to bust the union. My son and I lived on the twenty-third floor of this hotel, in the governor's suite while the hotel was undergoing renovations. The owners wanted to just shut the entire hotel down during the renovations. I tried to explain to them, and of course I succeeded, in convincing them that you can’t just shut a property down for six months. So I, as director of sales and marketing, suggested that we use the property for television show location shoots.

So the property was used in a film. They shot three episodes of the television show NYPD Blue there. My son had a bit part in a movie, and this was basically all my idea. I got a lot of credit for that, but of course, not from this jerky man vice president. There was a final incident that happened after this vice president kept bringing in incompetent people he could control, people who were totally incompetent and it was all about power. He brought in this general manager who had never been a general manager. He also brought in an executive assistant who had never been an executive assistant, and he just kept passing me over. So when they fired me for allegedly being "uncooperative," I was devastated.

A friend of mine in the industry called me after she heard about what had happened and I just balled my eyes out on the phone to her. She had heard about my story from the president of Twentieth Century Fox. After that, I ended up going to Tahoe, where my mother and father had retired. That's when I started working at the Tennis Club, where I'm now director of sales and marketing. We have quite a few famous members. The Nixons were members there, the Williams of Sherwin-Williams paint are members there.

If I were to give one of your students advice I would tell her -- yes, the advice would be different for a woman because in this industry men have an inborn advantage. I would tell them, to trust their gut. I have been screwed so many times when I relied on my managerial logic instead

of relying on my gut feeling. I am a very emotional person, and I tried to overcompensate for that and it screwed me every time. I would also tell them they've got to be indirect, not direct, when they are confronting people with these things. We also need to tell the women coming up behind us that it's okay to speak up. We have to be indirect sometimes, but you also have to make people hear you.

One way Emily makes sure she is heard, is by being active in several industry associations, most notably her hotel school alumni association, the Commonwealth University Society of Hotelmen (CUSH).

Before, Eve Johnson, the first woman to graduate from our hotel school died, we had talked about changing the name of the the Society of Hotelmen (CUSH). One of Eve's points was that we should never change the name. My reaction was less than agreeable. I couldn't understand why Eve was saying that. I had to go home and think about it. I'm a little slow when it comes to stuff like that. I have to mull things over and think about them a lot, and eventually it will dawn on me. What dawned on me was I thought about when I got married and then got divorced and I changed my from Emily Dixon to Emily Epstein then back to Emily Dixon and what a hassle it was. I thought about all the hotels that I've changed over and that changing the name of a hotel is a really big hassle. I started to understand what Eve was saying, and that was really insightful for me to hear that from her.

In addition to Eve Johnson, Emily's career was influenced by another person she met in college, the African-American instructor, Andrew Lockett.

> The industry had such respect for him. He bought millions of dollars into this school. Often, he reached into his own deep pockets and supported students to get them through school. We used to go over to his house and he'd sit in his big recliner, and he'd say, "'I'll pour your first drink, but after that you're on your own." In class he'd say things like "you all talk about you're here because you want, you like people." Then he would pull out his wallet and say, "You're not here because you like people, you're here because you like this." I loved him for his directness. If you walked by him and you were fucking up in his class he would not even acknowledge your presence. He wouldn't even speak to you. You could talk to him and he'd just walk by you like you weren't there.
>
> Last year, I hosted the national CUSH meeting at the Tahoe Tennis Club. We were at a session and someone asked, "what have you done for women lately?" The director turned the question around and looked at me, so I rolled off a list of things that had happened at CUSH since the days when I was a woman student there. Later on I took the direct approach during quiet time. I cornered him, and I talked to him about what they had and had not done for women at the university, what they had and had not done for women in the industry, and that we had a long way to go.

Because of their difference in age, Emily Dixon and Lucy Madison had different views on how far the industry and the university have progressed.

Summary Profiles

Lucy Madison

Lucy Madison is the owner and general manager of a family inn in Maine. She has six children, only one of whom (a daughter) is interested in continuing the family business. Lucy graduated from Commonwealth University in the early 1950's with a degree in hotel, restaurant, and institutional management.

Sara Gibson

Sara Gibson, the vice president of human resources for Johnson Travel Group. She belongs to the organization, Professional Women of Wisconsin, which is a mentoring program of and for professional and business women.

Marti Taylor

A vice-president of human resources for Wilson hotels, Marti is the mother of two teen-aged daughters. She was hired by Wilson twenty years ago from the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP).

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

It's All About Relationships: African-American Women's and European-American Women's Hotel Management Careers

The two research questions addressed in this study were (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered? and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers? The hotel management careers of the women who participated in this study were racialized and gendered through (1) their relationships to European-American men, which (2) provided the women with different power resources at each stage of their careers and (3) influenced the way their superiors, who were predominantly European-American men, applied human resource practices. The differences in the career experiences of the African-American women and European-American women who participated in this study were largely a result of their different positions in relation to European-American men (See Table 4). These relationships to European-American men are significant as the women described these men as "having an inborn advantage in this industry" and as "running things." The relational differences contributed to variations in the number, order and content of multi-stage, career processes, or "games" played by both groups of women.

In this chapter I discuss the impact of the relationships the women have with European-American men on the number, order and content of the multi-stage, career-long processes or "games" both groups of women play. In the second portion of this chapter, I discuss the specific career experiences that are played out in each stage of the game.

Relationships and the Game

The African-American women's careers progressed in five stages: recognizing there is a difference, building a team, learning the rules, deciding whether or not to play, and going through changes. In each stage, the intersection of the African-American woman's race and gender presented challenges in building relationships with their predominantly European-American men superiors and co-workers, as well as their employees and guests. The relationships with their European-American men superiors and co-workers progressed from being an unknown commodity, a social and cultural outsider, then a battle chooser, and finally an empowered and empowering manager.

Table 4: Comparison of Career Stages and Relationships			
African-American Women		European-American Women	
Career Stage	Relationship to European-American Men	Career Stage	Relationships to European-American Men
Recognizing there is a game	Unknown Commodity	Building a team and Learning the rules	Sister and schoolmate
Building a team	Social Outsider	Recognizing there is a game	Wife and Mother
Learning the rules	Cultural Outsider		
Deciding whether or not to play	Battle Chooser	Deciding whether or not to play	Missionary
Going through changes	Empowered and Empowering minorities	Going through changes	Empowered and Empowering women

Upon entering their first hospitality industry jobs or upon changing companies and/or properties, the African-American women experienced race- and gender- based differences in the application of human resource management practices. These critical difference defining incidents caused the women to recognize that their race and gender made a difference in their careers. During this career stage, when she had few power resources, an African-American woman was more likely to define her difference as being her problem. Power resources, as described by the women in this study, were critical in advancing their careers and ultimately in fighting their battles. Power resources included support, knowledge,

experience, and organizational authority. Support refers to professional and personal assistance that enabled the women to overcome the relative lack of authority and support and the loneliness of being an African-American woman in corporate America by maintaining a sense of balance and reality.

European-American men co-workers, superiors, and employees related to the African-American women largely as unknown commodities, therefore they started with little organizational authority and support. Because of their relatively strong comfort level with people of similar race and gender, their European-American male co-workers, "the Golden Boys," often received more support and more "fast-track" opportunities from the European-American "Old Boys." This exclusion from the Boys Club left the women outside the social network crucial for success in corporate America. Predominantly European-American guests were often disbelieving and startled that an African-American woman could be a hotel manager. Her predominantly African-American staff were, in some instances, pleasantly surprised while on other occasions they challenged her authority as much as her European-American staff members did.

To overcome this outsider status, the African-American women built networks both inside and outside the organization. The women began the process of developing relationships with European-American men by diffusing threat, proving commitment and competence, building trust, and gaining support by building a team. Ironically, the higher a woman went in the corporate hierarchy, the greater the perceived threat she had to diffuse. These networks, along with

mentors, provided support and helped the women to learn the unwritten, and often unspoken rules that govern the corporate game. The network also helped them negotiate the difference game. The African-American women's family, friends, and Spirit also provided support but by giving them a place -- a safe haven wherein their competence, identity and personhood were not constantly challenged. While European-American women and men also need such havens, the difference is they are more likely to find it, and relatively easily within the confines of their predominantly European-American organizations.

Since none of the African-American women in the study majored in hotel management in college, they all began their careers by learning the technical aspects of the business. However, it was the interpersonal and cultural skills, the heart of the service industry, that posed the greatest challenge for the women. The issue was not that the women did not know, for example, how to communicate and how to dress. The lessons to be learned were how to deal in an organizational environment that is based on a cultural style that is not one's own. Thus, her relationships to her predominantly European-American male co-workers and superiors slowly progressed from that of being a social outsider with no support or authority and a cultural outsider with a somewhat different set of cultural knowledge to working her way onto the "inside track."

With increased cultural knowledge, the African-American woman was able to decide whether or not she wanted to play the game by the rules she had learned. She makes this decision based on who she is and what she stands for. This identity

question is not only one of personal identity, but also one of cultural group identity. In deciding what rules to accept, which to discard, and later when she has more power resources, which ones to change, most of the African-American women described their personal aspirations and values as being intimately linked to those of minorities in general, and African-Americans in particular. For some, this sense of responsibility to the race seemed to be the only thing keeping them in hotel management, especially given all the personal changes they had to go through in order to make changes in the industry that would make it more inclusive of and conducive to others like themselves. The major personal changes the African-American women made focused on changing some aspects of their communication style, such as writing and speaking.

European-American women's careers were also processual, but the order and content of the stages were different. The stages were building a team and learning the rules, recognizing there is a game, deciding whether or not to play, and going through changes. In contrast to the African-American women, each of the European-American women in the study described learning the rules early from their fathers and brothers. Later, as hotel schoolmates of their future co-workers and superiors, each of the European-American women had the opportunity to build a supportive team that could provide them assistance in their hotel management careers. This head-start, relative to the African-American women, changed as the European-American women who participated in this study experienced critical difference defining incidents. Predominantly, their differences became apparent to

them on the basis of their being married or being pregnant. Their predominantly European-American men superiors and co-workers could only relate to them as wives and mothers; therefore, the women's support and authority as a manager decreased in this stage. For the women interviewed, deciding whether or not to play was based on what the women feel their mission is. The mission was most often changing the industry for the benefit of other women. The major personal changes the women chose to make for the greater good of changing the industry all centered on making themselves less threatening to their men co-workers and superiors. Ironically, making these changes made the women more powerful and more able to help other women in the industry.

Playing the Game

African-American Women: Career Stages and Experiences

The career experiences of the African-American women who participated in this study can be characterized as "learning to play the game" in someone else's environment, when the other team has the home field advantage. For these women, playing the game is an iterative five-stage career-long process of recognizing there is a game, building a team, learning the secret rules of corporate America, deciding whether or not to play the game, and going through changes. Each of these five stages is discussed below.

Recognizing There Is a Game

As Evelyn and Victoria, corporate managers for Wilson Hotels pointed out, "less than 20 years ago they said this company would never have a Black

general manager, but there are still games to know and play." In most cases, the recognition that there is a game came after a critical incident in the woman's career caused her to realize that her difference makes a difference in corporate America. The women's definitions of difference ranged from Darcus' "Different. So what?" to Florence's "Different? How so?" In each woman's career, "critical difference defining incidents" ranged from what the women described as blatant racism and sexism to little bouts of racism and sexism. Below, I discuss the two ways difference was experienced and defined, followed by analysis of critical difference defining incidents the women shared with me in our conversations.

Experiencing and defining difference

Both the "Different. So what?" and the "Different? How so?" experiences reveal how cultural identity group differences such as race, ethnicity, gender, class, and the interaction of these differences impact the women's careers. At the same time, the distinction between the two types of experiences points to strategies the women used to resist being problematized. The Different. So what? experience ascribes difference as being someone else's (e.g. co-workers, employees, superiors) problem, and sometimes, as the woman's strength. The problem can be overcome with changes in other people's perceptions, attitudes, and actions. By contrast, the Different? How so? definition sees the woman and her difference as the problem with the woman being solely responsible for changing to rectify the problem.

What is critical about these constructions of difference is that (1) they are constructions European-American women and men don't have to make, and (2) they must be constructed in ways that render the incident that gave rise to the definition solvable -- which means learning when / how to define the difference as: my problem; your problem; my strength.

Determining which definition applies is situational and reveals two things: the racialized and gendered nature of organizations and the importance of specific characteristics in various organizational contexts that essentially give privilege on one dimension that can be used to counteract lack on another. In situations where the woman has greater power resources relative to other players, she is more likely to apply the Different. So what? definition. In other situations, because of her organizational position combined with her age, experience, and functional area the woman tends to apply the Different? How so? definition. The amount of support also contribute to a woman's application of difference definitions. The more support a woman has, the more likely she is to apply the Different. So what? definition. The support may be from allies, mentors, and godfathers / godmothers or from family, friends, the minority community-at-large, and spirituality.

DIFFERENT. SO WHAT?

In these situations, the women define difference as either someone else's problem, which creates a career barrier they can and must overcome, or as a strength that helps them get their job done.

> You are different; that doesn't mean you are subservient. Difference is not bad; it's very much okay to be different. If your differences make someone else uncomfortable, it's their problem. Never take on someone else's problem, because if you let them, they will take the monkey off their back and put it on yours. Don't take it. You have to be responsible for your own actions, problems, and perceptions.

Darcus, the only general manager in the study, is an African-American single mother, who started her hotel management career as a human resource manager. She defined her differences in race, gender, functional area, and parental status as someone else's problem, if they chose to perceive it as problematic. She described other people's attitudes as one of her greatest hurdles. For example, when Darcus attempted to move from being an human resource director to being a general manager, her regional director felt that "human resource people are touchy-feely types, not operational at all." When she was a human resource director, after having been a corporate manager, a European-American male sales manager accused Darcus of being prejudiced. Darcus confronted his problematic view of her race: "Now I see why you and I are always butting heads. You have a problem with me being Black."

Two power bases enabled Darcus to successfully attribute her difference as being someone else's problem: knowledge and support. Having been hired by Wilson Hotels corporate offices as a director of Equal Employment Opportunity, Darcus' knowledge of employment discrimination law shielded her from blatant

acts of racism, while the networks she had established with managers throughout the country while working in the corporate office provided professional support.

Elizabeth, a human resource director, described her race, age and gender differences as strengths which have contributed to her performance in the various managerial assignments she has had: “Being Black, being a woman, and being over 40, I bring balance to the team. Our team members are mostly minorities; therefore, they relate very well to me.” Bertha described women managers as being “good for the hospitality industry because we think ahead. We look ahead to see how our decision may play out down the road or how it may affect other people. Men just want to do without thinking.” Several women also discussed their gender as a personal career advantage, especially relative to African-American men, in the workplace. They described African-American men as having to work harder because they threaten European-American men who are managers more than African-American women do and, as Mavis Rayford put it, “at least we can smile and get by.” Additionally, Florence Johnson said

> The fact that I’m a woman has helped me in some cases because people just haven’t given me a hard time for whatever reasons. A man will go up to another man and be yelling and screaming at him but he’s not going to do that to me because I’m a woman. Employees will come in here differently because you’re a woman.

One of these differences in employee relations, described by several women, was that their employees are more likely to come to them with their

problems. While this difference may be helpful in building relationships with employees, it is a different type of work than that expected of and done by their male co-workers.

DIFFERENT? HOW SO?

"I do belong, absolutely. Yes I am here. You know. Different? and how so?"

The most poignant example of a Different? How so? situation was Florence's experience at the Palm Springs Golf Resort when her employees told her they were not going to do "nigger work." As a 26 year-old front office manager, Florence replaced a European-American male manager, in a predominantly European-American setting, "He had been there for five years, and they loved him and they were all close and whatever and I came in and I was different and they... it just didn't work with them." In retrospect, Florence attributed the racism she encountered in Palm Springs to her own lack of knowledge and support.

> I think that was one of the mistakes I made in my career. I think I probably should have stayed in Ottawa and not taken the job in Palm Springs. Although I learned many things, I clearly was not ready to accept the position as department head. I just wasn't ready for it. I went to a place where I had no support, and when I say no support I don't mean to say that my general manager wasn't a good guy. I mean I had great friends. Thank God my friends were near by. They were in Riverside, but

> I felt very Black there. I mean really. I was single. I didn't have a car. I mean I personally, I just didn't have the things that I wanted to do, I like to do. I didn't have them available to me. I was miserable, just really miserable. So I'll never do that again.

Critical difference defining incidents

Each of the constructions described above represents a response to a critical difference-defining incident in the woman's career. These incidents range from blatant acts to little bouts of racism and sexism. In most cases, as Elizabeth pointed out, "race, not gender, is the issue." Therefore, the women spoke more often and much more explicitly of experiencing little bouts of explicit racism. While they spoke more about race, as this dimension was often more explicitly an issue, it was also apparent that their experiences of racism were simultaneously gendered. For example, several of the African-American women reported having to spend longer times in housekeeping than any other race-gender group of management trainees. Housekeeping is an example of a racially gendered occupation, which is considered "appropriate" for African-American women.

Blatant racism was experienced explicitly and directly. Little bouts, on the other hand, were implicit, indirect, and often left one wondering if, but in retrospect concluding that, a particular incident happened because of one's difference, in most instances race. (See Table 5.2.) Each incident was classified as blatant or a little bout on the basis of the language the participant used in describing it and the context in which the incident was described. For example, in

Darcus' confrontation with her general manager, whom she described as "this Turkish, racist, sexist guy," she very clearly characterizes the incident as blatantly sexist and racist:

> He said, "You have a chip on your shoulder. You are a Black female in a high-level management job." I went back to my office, wrote a memo. I told him his words were reflective of a typical corporate WASP who is intimidated by a Black woman. I told him that his remarks were sexist and inappropriate.

The term "little bouts" is an in vivo code. Florence used the term to describe regularly- occuring race- and gender-based incidents she, and other African-American women had experienced that were the opposite of individual, uncommon, "blatant" racism, e.g. being called a nigger. An example of a little bout is "with a college degree all they think I can be is a housekeeper," based on the industry-wide race-gender stereotype of who is appropriate for housekeeping work.

Table 5: Critical Difference Defining Incidents		
Person	Blatant	Little Bouts
Audrey		■ 22 year-old director said part of her job was to clean vacuum cleaners ■ "out of 35 managers in training session, I was the only African-American at my level" ■ employee told her she did not know anything about needing a trash bag to get to the train station ■ accused by an employee of selling drugs
Bertha	■ co-worker called Vietnamese client Charlie	■ pigeon-holed into minority markets ■ tour and travel sales were easier because most of her customers were overseas, they worked by fax, so they never saw her ■ sent to the dumping ground in the "tenderloin" district ■ sales manager didn't appreciate her walk ■ blamed for unrealistic forecasts ■ didn't receive promised computer system training ■ conference salesperson did an end run to central reservations system ■ predecessor's assistant was having a hard time working for her

Darcus	■ chip on shoulder	■ human resource people can't be general managers ■ being asked stupid questions ■ wearing sexuality denying dress at corporate ■ employees accused her of being racist when promoting African-Americans ■ co-worker accused her of being prejudiced ■ told she had to make a lateral move and a pay cut to get to general manager position ■ African-American employees disrespect her and her position ■ told to change training and writing styles ■ general manager didn't discipline drunk manager
Elizabeth		■ looking for a country that would take minority female ■ as single parent can't take certain jobs ■ explaining to White male co-workers that we are not "girls and boys" ■ has learned to be "succinct" instead of telling a story when communicating
Evelyn		■ given government accounts her director didn't think she could sell ■ given rural territory that included marketing to Klan members ■ "the Black guy is always the first one to die in the movies"

Florence	■ employees told her they were not going to do "nigger work" ■ heard chef called "nigger" during management training ■ butt grabbed, thrown against the wall and kissed	■ "with a college degree all they think I can be is a housekeeper" ■ employees tried to sidetrack her, a 23 year old manager wearing silk and pearls ■ employee told her she had no "juice" ■ lack of honest feedback regarding promotion opportunities ■ lack of training necessary to become a general manager
Mavis	■ sexually harassed	■ pigeon-holed into minority markets ■ getting MPI certification
Vashti		■ placed in housekeeping 2 weeks instead of 2 days ■ passed over for promotion for the third time when poor Tammy needed to be close to her sick mother ■ placed in Vermont instead of requested South
Victoria		■ unequal pay from predecessor
Viola		■ poor performance appraisal because of dress

Most of the acts of blatant racism the women reported were verbal. While she was a management trainee, Florence Johnson heard a food and beverage director call a chef a nigger. Later in her career, several European-American employees told her they were not going to do "nigger work." Interestingly, under their previous manager, a European-American man, many of the same employees had no problem performing essentially the same job tasks. Bertha Spenser's co-

workers called one of her Vietnamese clients Charlie, without knowing that Bertha herself is of Vietnamese descent. Finally, Darcus' general manager accused her of having a chip on her shoulder because she is " a Black female in a high-level management job." The last incident incorporated blatant racism, blatant sexism, and a little bout of class (a high-level management job). As Florence pointed out, "this racism thing is just so entangled and complicated."

The acts of blatant sexism were not so clearly recognized and named. For example, Mavis and Florence reported incidents of blatant sexism, both sexual harassment, however neither of them called it sexism. Mavis "had to deal with men, with sexual harassment." Florence recounted having a guest grab her butt and a co-worker throw her against a wall and kissing her. Florence, however, described both of these events as "what happens on the job. I can't say that it happened to me because I'm a Black woman. It's like harassment, it's what happens on the job."

The Gendering and Racialization of Hotel Management Careers

Several incidents exemplify how race and gender based differences in the application of human resource management practices can create "little bouts" of racism and sexism throughout the employment process including placement and promotions, compensation, performance management, discipline, training, and development. Understanding these incidents is crucial to addressing the question of how hotel management careers are racialized and gendered. It is by scrutinizing the little bouts of racism and sexism the women identified that we can make visible

the “hidden” aspects of policies, practices, and interactions that contribute to the racialization and gendering of hotel management careers.

Human Resource Practices

The little bouts of racism and sexism the African-American women reported were most often the result of inequitably formulated and/or applied human resource management practices. Audrey’s 22 year-old director told her that part of her job as assistant director was to clean vacuum cleaners. This incident is implicit, as the director mentions neither Audrey’s race nor her gender, both of which differentiate the African-American women in the study from their Golden Boy and Old Boy superiors. It represents the inequitable application of human resource practices, in this instance task assignment, on the basis of Audrey’s race and gender, without regard for her knowledge, authority, and experience, as the job duties of assistant directors of housekeeping do not generally include cleaning vacuum cleaners.

Placements and Promotions

The most often mentioned bouts created by inequitably applied human resource practices were related to placements -- both functional and geographic. Even though she had never expressed an interest in housekeeping, after her management training period, Florence’s first placement was in housekeeping. After three years at corporate headquarters, Darcus reminded the vice-president of human resources that she “didn’t want to stay in EEO because so often Black folks get locked into it. I didn’t want to be stigmatized.” Because she is an African-

American woman and a single parent, Elizabeth Merritt understood there are some jobs she cannot take and if she wants to go into international human resource management it will probably be in a country that would "take a minority female." Bertha was placed in a difficult-to-sell inner-city hotel after a European-American woman turned down the job saying,

> "My husband doesn't want me walking through that area at night." I asked her if she thought my husband wanted me walking in that area at night. I don't think she even got what I was saying. I took the job. The thing about that hotel was that it was like a dumping ground, the end of the road for managers who the company didn't know what else to do with. The director of food and beverage, the Rooms Executive, the Executive Housekeeper, and one other manager at that property were Black."

Because of their race, two of the African-American salespersons, Bertha Spenser and Mavis Rayford, were pigeon-holed into one of the toughest markets to sell, the minority SMERFs market. Later, Bertha learned that tour and travel sales were easier for her because most of her customers were overseas, they worked by fax, so they never saw that she was an African-American woman. One of Evelyn's most difficult placements was in a was in a rural territory where she feared she would be calling on quite a few Ku Klux Klan members. On another occasion, what appeared to be an unfortunate placement worked out in Evelyn's favor: "my regional director set a quota of 40 solid calls per week. But he told me not to be too disappointed because I would be calling mostly on government

accounts. All I could do was laugh, because we're [African-Americans] all there is in government." Vashti " started at a Wilson Hotel property in Vermont, even though I requested a Southern location. It was a test for them to send me where I didn't want to go, with all those White folks." As a single African-American woman alone at the Townsend Golf Resort in Palm Springs, Bertha felt "very Black."

Three critical difference defining incidents are related to different criteria and different paths for promotion. Vashti was passed over for "poor Tammy, whose mother was sick." After writing several letters, including one to her lawyer, another position "became" available. When Darcus expressed an interest in becoming a general manager, "The regional director of human resources kept telling me that I would have to make a lateral move and take a pay cut to get where I wanted to be -- a general manager-- while all of these White boys were doing it the other way." After that, Darcus was told that human resource people could not be general managers.

Training and Development

Training and development issues also created several little bouts. During her management training, Vashti spent two weeks in housekeeping, while the Golden Boys spent two days there. Promises made and broken were a recurring bout. Most often these promises concerning the amount and type of training were made when the woman was being recruited. One reason Florence accepted her current position with Patrician was because it provided her the opportunity to gain

experience that would help her reach her goal of becoming a hotel general manager. She has yet to receive the training she was promised. Darcus' general manager kept putting off the training he had promised her by saying that the hotel was too busy. Darcus eventually got the training from three other general managers in the same city by helping with their human resource management activities, a task well beyond the scope of her job. When she was recruited, Bertha was promised hotel-specific training on Carson's computerized reservations system. After she made several mistakes and a superior attempted to discipline her for them, Bertha's careful documentation showed she had not gotten the training necessary to avoid the errors. Eventually, Bertha got the training she had been promised.

Discipline

On another occasion, Bertha's supervisor, one of the Old Boys tried to blame her for an overly cautious, inflated forecast that had been developed by a group of Golden Boys. When she defended herself with a witness present, the general manager responded, "Yeah Bertha, I know what happened too. I just wanted them to admit it." Bertha was not the only woman who was unfairly disciplined. When Florence's employees filed a complaint with the human resource department alleging that she was "difficult to work with," she was placed on a 30-day probation. The probation disappeared from her file after Janet, the regional human resource director and a friend of Florence's mother, "went off on" the human resource department. As human resource director, Darcus found herself on

the other side of an unfair disciplinary action. After two employees came to her to report they had just seen one of the hotel's European-American men managers very drunk in the hotel's bar, Darcus began an investigation and recommended the general manager take disciplinary action against him. The drunken manager did not receive so much as a written warning.

Performance Management

In addition to discipline, navigating the performance management system presented several bouts for the women. During her time at Patrician, Florence has received little honest, developmental feedback regarding her performance and promotion opportunities. Victoria received a poor performance appraisal because her purple hose and blonde-dyed hair did not project the "professional" image her supervisor expected. Likewise, while she worked at the Wilson's corporate headquarters, Darcus refused to dress "like a man" in the paisley and pinstriped sexuality denying corporate uniform. However, she did, at her supervisor's request, change her training and writing styles. When she first came to Wilson Hotel's corporate offices, Victoria was paid less than her predecessor, a European-American woman who had more experience, less education, and fewer responsibilities.

Building a Team

During everyday interactions (See Table 5.2) with employees, co-workers, and superiors, the women begin building a team. Building a team is the process of developing relationships with others by diffusing threat, proving commitment and

competence, building trust, and gaining support. The team may include networks, mentors, family, friends, and the Spirit. Team members may be of any race or from either gender. The team supports the woman by serving as a sounding board, sharing information, "pulling her coattails" (offering feedback), patronizing her business, and helping her learn the "secrets of corporate America," the unwritten, and often unspoken, rules that govern the corporate game. In the following section, I describe how interactions the women experienced with employees, co-workers, and superiors helped or hindered their team-building efforts. I also describe the tasks involved in team-building and the roles of the various teammembers.

Everyday Interactions

The interactions with the employees reveal an interesting pattern. Of the eight everyday interactions involving employees, five interactions were between the African-American woman manager and African-American employees. These incidents included being accused of drug dealing, being sidetracked by employees who "just didn't know what to do" with a young African-American woman managing in silk and pearls, being disrespected and being told one has no "juice." One intra-race, cross-class interaction occurred as I was interviewing Audrey. One of the housekeepers came into the office looking for a trash bag to use in an unexpected downpour. "You wouldn't know anything about needing a trash bag to get to the train station with the least soaking because you drive up in your nice car every day and park in the hotel garage." Audrey handed each woman a trash bag

and continued talking. The women I interviewed discussed no everyday interactions between themselves and African-American co-workers.

There were three incidents involving the African-American women and European-American employees. In Lansing, Darcus was accused of being racist when she promoted African-Americans. When Bertha went to Atlanta as Reservations Manager, her predecessor's assistant was "having trouble working for me. I think it was because she didn't want to work under a..." Bertha's managerial authority was also challenged by a conference salesperson, who contacted the corporate central reservations system rather than asking Bertha, her indirect superior, for assistance.

While the majority of everyday interactions were between the African-American women managers and their predominantly African-American employees, the opposite was true of the interactions with co-workers: all of these were between the women and their predominantly European-American co-workers. Not surprisingly, these women were often the only or one of a few: at a corporate training session Audrey found that " out of 35 managers in the training session, I was the only African-American at my level." The women also described having to educate their European-American co-workers about African-American culture either by "being asked stupid questions like 'Why do Black people wear those Malcolm X t-shirts or that African garb? This is America.' or 'Why did so and so say this?'" or "explaining that we are not boys and girls and don't make that mistake again." Elizabeth learned to be succinct when communicating with her

European-American co-workers who just wanted the information, not the story. Once again, Darcus was accused of being prejudiced, but this time by another manager.

Only three interactions were reported involving superiors. Two of the superiors were European-American (one woman, one man) and one was an African-American man. Bertha's sales manager, a European-American woman, didn't appreciate the way Bertha walked. The only interaction with a European-American man superior occurred when several of the Wilson Hotel managers went to a Christmas party at their vice-president's house. They did not appreciate his observation that in the movies, "the Black guy is the first to die." John, the only African-American man superior who interacted with one of the women did so to warn Audrey that she had been lied to regarding the job she was about to take. The relatively small number of interactions with superiors suggests that women seldom interact with superiors and / or their critical difference defining incidents with superiors tend to occur in the form of human resource practices. That there is only one interaction with an African-American man superior (and none with African-American women) corroborates Victoria's observation that "White men run the place and there aren't enough Black men to talk about."

The Golden Boys

When John, an African-American manager, was warning Audrey about a job she was considering, his words were, "This industry is dominated by Caucasian men." One group of everyday interactions demonstrates the interaction of race

and gender, as well as age, experience, and organizational position -- interactions between the African-American women interviewed and the "Golden Boys." Bertha Spenser, reservations manager at Carson, used the term "Golden Boys" to describe

> young guys who are green and clueless and don't want to listen to anyone. They think they know everything and don't want anyone to help them or teach them.... I think he [the front office manager], and a lot of folks like him, are afraid to do their jobs because they have a mortgage to pay. He's one of the Golden Boys who's been fast-tracked and will be taken care of so he thinks his shit don't stink.

Audrey Jackson, for example, met her "Golden Boy" after 13 years in the industry, including time as the executive assistant housekeeper for one of the largest hotels in Boston. As healthcare assistant director of environmental services at a nursing home, Audrey's director was an unorganized 22 year old, who not only was reflecting badly on her, he told her that part of her job was to clean vacuum cleaners. As corporate director of leisure group sales, Evelyn was surprised that a Golden Boy salesperson could get away with not knowing the basic statistics of the property he was supposed to be selling.

Often, the "Golden Boys" were helped in their careers by the "old boys' network," who insisted that the African-American women make lateral job moves, stay in positions longer, and accept positions that were less beneficial to their careers than those offered to the Golden Boys. In their interactions with the

Golden Boys and the Old Boys, the pay your dues rule of the hospitality game, did not apply. The African-American women in the study were not the only outsiders in the political alliance between the "old boys" and the Golden boys; European-American women were also affected. Bertha described how when she arrived at Carson "there were two women on the executive council, the Director of Sales and the Rooms Executive. Now they're both gone and there's nothing but men at the top of this hotel. That's their loss."

Team-building Tasks

The two women who are currently at the highest managerial level were the only ones who explicitly described having to diffuse the threat they have presented for European-Americans. Darcus, the only African-American woman who is a general manager, described the nature of this threat: "You can't threaten White folks, and a Black woman who is competent, takes initiative... is threatening." She then went on to describe specific strategies for diffusing the threat.

> I've always been direct. I've been in some of the most confrontational situations. I never back down. I'm diplomatic. I pull no punches. I'm looking for the win-win. You must present yourself in a non-threatening way. It's not about making a point, but about reaching a goal. You know, White men feel threatened more by Black men than by Black women. I've seen myself progress where a lot of brothers haven't. [And] I have this technique of raising the question: let me understand; are

you aware that?; is that what you meant?; when you say this, I feel that.

Florence, an assistant general manager, diffused the threat by trying to take the focus off her difference.

> ...being Black has its advantages; it has its disadvantages, but I never really focus on that. I try to as much as I can to not have people focus on that. When it is an issue I make it an issue, when it's not, you know. When I find it's a threat for people I try to take it away.

Another team-building task the women engaged in was proving their commitment and their competence. In her first management position after being promoted from a secretarial position, Bertha took a position she did not want in a neglected property in order to prove to her superiors that they "had [not] beaten" her. After proving her stripes at Townsend, working with the "good old boy network," Florence did not mind having to prove herself again when she left to work at Carson. However, when the general manager at Carson said she would have to stay at that property as assistant executive general manager in charge of rooms for at least four years, Florence decided she had already proven herself, so it was time to move on to Patrician. For Mavis the struggle to prove herself continues.

> One of the things I think I have against me is my age and continually having to prove myself and to make a name for myself. Remember, I had no experience in the industry when I started, but

somehow I keep proving myself. For example, the fall conference I planned for [an association] had the highest attendance in their history. Yet sometimes, I'm still trying to prove to myself that I'm a good sales person.

Not only must the women prove their managerial competence, they must also prove their commitment to their careers. Once they had proven themselves to be competent and committed, the women were able to build their teams by gaining trust despite their differences. Florence described the proving and trust-gaining tasks of the team-building process.

See, the one thing that I think I've been successful at is being kept in the inside track and that's the one thing that most of us don't understand. You know, we talk about not getting opportunities, but you have to get inside to understand what's going on. You've got to be a real diplomat and you've got to be able to make them feel at ease so that they just tell you everything. You must get them to understand that you are serious about your career, that you're committed, that you're willing to do whatever it takes to get the job done. I've been a hard worker. They know I'm a workaholic. You know I'm there, so you know my commitment is there. I think because people understand that and know that and I've proven that time and time again you know there's a trust factor that builds up.

Sometimes “whatever it takes” includes

> err[ing] to the side of the company moreso to myself. Whereas there might have been times where I really need to do things for me, I did, I’d stay at work, so that’s that. My family they really feel put aside some times, by the commitment that I have made here.

Support

With her team in place, the woman could gain the support she needed to do her job. Support could make the difference between staying and leaving a position, between succeeding and failing.

> I was not as confident as I had been in other places and so they probably read into that and I probably wasn’t the best I could be but I didn’t feel like I had the support I needed.

One aspect of support was the feeling of not having a sense of place, a safe haven wherein their competence, identity and personhood were not constantly challenged. Having a sense of belonging, of being able to develop a home field advantage in a place where you are confident because you know the territory was also an important source of support. All of the women I interviewed were managing in hotels in top-tier cities, an environment where opportunities for support are greater because there is greater social and cultural diversity. Florence, who grew up in Chicago described the changes she went through, early in her career, when she was transferred to a less cosmopolitan, more socially and culturally homogeneous locale.

> I went to a place where I had no support and when I say no support I don't mean to say that my general manager wasn't a good guy and whatever. I mean I had great friends. Thank God my friends were near by. They were in Riverside and uh you know, but I felt very Black there. I mean really. You know and I was single. I didn't have a car. I mean I personally, I just didn't have the things that I wanted to do, I like to do. I didn't have them available to me. I was miserable, just really miserable. So I'll never do that again. I know what's important to me. I know that I need a major city. I know that I need to have jazz. I love jazz. I just love live music. So, you know I love to go out to dinner. I love to be able to flag a cab. Being back in Chicago is great because there's all this 24 hour shopping. You can go to the store at two o'clock in the morning and all that. I mean I've adjusted being in the other places, but that's what makes me happiest. Being able to get to work quickly, around the corner. That's the kind of stuff, so not forgetting what's most important to you.

Support is professional and personal assistance that enables the women to overcome the lack of home field advantage and the loneliness of being an African-American woman in corporate America by maintaining a sense of balance and reality. The women discussed five types of players on their supporting teams: networks, mentors, friends and family, and the Spirit. Networks are loose associations of industry-related colleagues who provide and receive professional assistance by offering business leads which expand market opportunities, by

sharing information on everything from competitive rates to unposted job openings, and by "putting in a good word" when the woman felt her requests (especially for transfers and/or promotions) were not being heard. These networks also served as a intra- and interorganizational forums for discussing race-related corporate and industry issues and for gaining professional exposure through community and industry involvement. In return, the women also provided similar support for others in the networks. For example, Audrey Jackson used her position as executive housekeeper to generate business for several African-American entrepreneurs.

> At a Multicultural Affairs Council Meeting recently, I met a Black woman entrepreneur, a linen distributor. Even though the property has a corporate contract, I help her do what I can. I introduce her to people who can make some money for her. We'll buy shower curtains and some other things that aren't contracted yet. That's the power of networking. I'm trying to share the wealth. The decorations and flowers in the public areas are done by a Black man. He does a good job and when he doesn't, I pull him aside and let him know. That's between me and him and he straightens it out. I also use a Black dry-cleaner for about $7,000 worth of business.

These networks can also be inter-racial and/or cross-gender. After receiving a phone call from two European-American women managers who felt they were being passed over at another property, Darcus told them to "give me a call. If they need, help I'm here."

Mentors, also referred to as godmothers and godfathers, were another source of professional support. The women described a mentor as an individual with whom she had something in common, someone who takes a personal interest in the woman's career and supports her professional development by listening to ideas and concerns, giving truthful advice and constructive feedback. A mentor is "someone who knows the company better ... Position doesn't matter, they need to have longer tenure, so that they have a bigger focus." All of the women interviewed discussed having several mentors because of the high mobility of hospitality managers and to provide a wider spectrum of opinions.

Friends and family also provided helpful opinions. In addition, they kept the women on track, grounded, and reminded them what was important. Darcus described a friend as "someone with whom you have something in common; [European-American] co-workers do not fill that bill." Because of this she advised future hospitality managers who are African-American to "Get support. It's lonely in corporate America. You need to have good friends on the outside who you can bounce ideas off of and get some unbiased opinions from." Perhaps Darcus adhered to this definition of friends because of the limited number of African-American managers with whom she interacted on a regular basis. Evelyn, a corporate manager at Wilson, who I interviewed in the company of four other African-American women who were corporate managers at Wilson, said she would call her co-workers friends. Florence described how one of her friends, a former hotel manager, helps her to survive.

> And she has just been so wonderful to me and sharing and caring and supportive and you know "you can do it" and "I've been there" and you know, when you're able to talk to somebody who's gone through what you've gone through and can tell you and can see the mistakes that you're making before you make them you can't ask for anything more than that. And then when I'm feeling kind of sad or I'm getting some crazy feedback from people I work around, I call my other buddies up that I used to work with like years ago and they still remember me that way and so they give me a boost. They're so good for my ego.

Friends and family also support the women by showing pride in their professional accomplishments. When she was a management trainee for the Townsend Corporation, Florence's father would tell everybody. "Oh my daughter, she's a management trainee for the Townsend corporation." Darcus' 13 year old daughter is equally proud of her mother.

> The way my daughter walks around the hotel, all proud, you would think she was the general manager. The associates love her. She's told me how proud she is in her own way. I told her I wouldn't move until she graduates. That's five years. I wasn't planning on it, but I bought a house and everything. One day she asked me what I would do if I got a promotion. I reminded her of my promise. She said it would be okay if we moved. Family and friends have made it work because they help out a lot.

Friends and family also provided instrumental support. Darcus and Elizabeth, both mothers of school aged children, say their families have made being a single mother work by helping with childcare. Early in Florence's career, her mother intervened by asking the area director of human resources, who had become a family friend, to check on her daughter's probation.

Finally, the Spirit served as a source of support.

> I really think it's very very very important that we, one stay grounded .... and I hate to go this way but to have some kind of spiritual connection, it really, it's really important to have a spiritual connection. It's really important for us to be in touch with our family and those things that are really important and not to forget them or put them second.

Vashti kept a copy of Black Pearls: Daily affirmations, and inspirations for African-Americans on her desk because, "Child, around here you need all the help you can get." Darcus believed that "God has a master plan for me." When she was trying to transfer from a corporate staff position to a line management position in Lansing, Darcus posited "With all these changes, I figure God must be sharpening my skills for almost anything." During our discussions the women expressed thanks for such blessings as good friends, a "terrific General manager who heard me and got me out of that first housekeeping assignment," a phone call from "the owner of Patrician hotels himself." The women described practicing their spiritual beliefs mostly through prayer, but also through reading, journaling, and meditating.

Learning the Rules

In addition to providing support, one of the team's major functions was to help the women learn the "secrets of corporate America," the unwritten, and often unspoken, rules that govern the corporate game. Elizabeth described learning the rules by advising potential hospitality managers of any race or either gender that their

> business is learning the business. Don't get caught in the office. Find out what the game is, who the players are, their philosophies, the way they do business. Emulate and develop a style based on what they want. Ask yourself, "Can I live with this and how do I get through this while learning and staying focused?" Don't get mad.

Elizabeth asserted that learning the rules is especially important for African-American managers, both women and men, because, "we African-Americans can't be White. We can't emulate them. We have to learn to deal with their environment." While all managers, regardless of race and/or gender, need to learn the rules of the game, for African-American women the rules are secrets, because, as Florence states: "people don't tell us that kind of stuff."

All of the women stressed the importance of learning throughout their careers. For Audrey, one of her mottoes has been "If there's something to learn, learn it," to that effect, "everything I did, I did as a learning experience." At this point in her career, the most important thing to Florence is "that I'm learning new things every single day. And when I find out that I'm not learning something and

I'm not getting closer to what I think is the goal then I pick, then I'm ready to leave." Elizabeth particularly enjoyed learning about and working with people from diverse cultures. Bertha, who described herself as "a laid back manager," asked that her employees "show up to work on time and do their job well while learning to do it better." The women learned from their teams, from their own and other's mistakes, from every opportunity they experienced. Later as role models, they shared what they have learned with others.

In addition to learning the technical skills all hospitality managers have to learn, e.g. computerized front office systems, scheduling, and cost control, the women described two areas that were particularly necessary for them to learn: interpersonal skills and organizational culture. Interpersonal skills the women discussed learning on the job were how to get information, how to be kept on the inside track, how to be "vocal, not opinionated," and how to be a "negotiator, a peacemaker, someone who concentrates on getting the job done and fixing the problem, as opposed to creating them and pushing people away." Getting people talking and finding out what is most important to them were tactics Florence used when information was otherwise not forthcoming.

> As a management trainee, I learned that the key to being good at this business is just knowing people. It's just getting them to talk. It's the relationships you create with people. I've always tried to go in and be a negotiator, a peacemaker, someone who concentrates on getting the job done and fixing the problem, as opposed to creating them and pushing

people away. Some people come in with their own agenda, and forget that there's a team involved. Get people talking. Find out what's most important to them.

One of the more difficult lessons the women faced was learning the nature of and how to address blatant as well as little bouts of racism in corporate America.

> The only one I really-- it was just a real hard lesson for me to learn -- I guess was in Palm Springs. That was the first time I had really been confronted with racism blatantly in my whole experience.... How can you handle those kind of things? I won't say I handled all of them the right way, but you learn.

When she was placed in SMERF marketing to minority customers, Mavis learned that "the company had this attitude that 'you're Black so the Black customers will come."

The most difficult lesson the women had to learn was how to "deal with their environment." While learning general organizational information such as "the players -- different department heads, the general manager, you know the corporate structure, all that" took some time and team-building, learning "their philosophies and the way they do business" was the big secret.

Learning "their philosophies" refers to understanding corporate attitudes toward what is and what is not socially acceptable, both in and beyond the corporate environment. One such issue, which Florence encountered, was

interracial dating.

> I really did think at one point in time that interracial dating would not be the socially acceptable thing to do in a corporate environment. That was in my thought. See because you know when you see, when you hear, when you sit down and you watch people and they're drinking and they're talking about folks. You hear and see all the things that they don't approve of, and so obviously we need to do as few of those things as possible. Dating employees, even those in other departments, was also off limits.
>
> I always saw myself as a general manager, and so there are certain things that you can't do and I told her [one of my African-American management interns] this. You cannot date the package room guy. You just can't. Now any other Joe Blow could. I don't really care. I had my general manager laughing at me, but they do some crazy stuff. My food and beverage director is and was in fact he's engaged now to the restaurant manager. Now we all know that is a major major no no. So I've been watching this go on for like two years. I said, so I can date a bellman anytime now, huh? .... the fact of the matter is I'm sure I would have gotten called aside many a day, and asked "Florence, what are you doing?" But then again, she's only gonna be a restaurant manager, and I'm trying to be a general manager. So it's all in what you want to do, where you want to go.

> I've sacrificed a lot, certainly on the relationship side. I mean I have just definitely just hacked out certain people nope, nope, nope, nope, nope, nope for one reason or another, you know -- they didn't speak well enough but I mean you know if you have to do that anyway but, you know what I mean? They just didn't carry the right image or whatever. They weren't in the right department, they weren't in the right position and again, part of that is my own personal preference, but part of that is really because I thought the company would not, whatever company I was working for would not approve.

Another issue several women brought up was after-hours socializing with their co-workers. The women were divided into two schools of thought on this issue. Viola advised students that "it's important to learn to network in spite of thinking you don t have something in common with your white co-workers. When your boss invites you to his house for a Christmas party, go." Darcus, on the other hand, not only thought it was unnecessary, but it interfered with the "balanced life" she worked so diligently to protect.

> My human resources vice president asked, "Don't you want to have friends you work with?" I asked him which one of these folks would ever have something socially in common with me. When you're talking about friends, you're talking about something in common and I don't have anything in common with them. Which one of them would invite me to their house? All I want is business courtesy and respect. They don't even

have to like me, just respect me. There are some politically correct social functions at corporate, for example going out for drinks after work and I wouldn't go. People would tell me that it helps to go. I asked helps what? Is that going to be on my evaluation? I didn't know that was part of my job. I have responsibilities to my daughter.

When the women did socialize with their co-workers, they were very cognizant of the impact their behavior may have had on their careers. Florence described giving advice to a management intern.

Before we went to the Christmas party, I said to her, let me tell you about Christmas parties, and I talked to her about an hour and a half about the doggone Christmas party. The things we will do and the things we won't do and the things that people have done and the repercussions they have reaped because of that. I mean I kind of walked her through the whole thing, you know, all my experiences at Christmas parties. I gave her the whole schabang. You know, I mean people don't tell us that kind of stuff.

Dress also proved to be another area where companies, particularly Wilson, had some stringent unwritten rules, that problematized the women's difference.

...don't deny the fact that I'm an African-American woman. For example, at corporate the clothes -- paisley, pinstripe, grey suit, white shirt, red tie, black wing tips. It's a little better now, but when I was there, women tried to deny their sexuality and dress like men. I never did that.

Viola learned explicitly that dressing the Wilson way was crucial when "on one of my early performance evaluations, my supervisor marked me way down on professionalism because I had dyed my hair blonde and I wore purple hose." The rules also affected one of Evelyn's co-workers, an African-American man who "shaved off his beard after coming to corporate because it wasn't the rights look because in foodservice people are supposed to be clean shaven. It's an image thing."

Even at this point in their careers, some of the women found themselves still learning the rules of communication in corporate America. Elizabeth only recently discovered that her style of communicating often frustrated her co-workers. "For example, and I'm guilty of this one, Black folks have this habit of telling a story to get a point across. White people say, ' just give me the information.' So I've learned to be succinct when I'm speaking." When Florence learned that some people, one of them her general manager, found her facial expressions to be distracting, Florence made an effort to be more conscious of and to control them.

Another secret the women had to learn was "the way they do business." Evelyn found the extremely cautious way her co-workers made decisions to be very frustrating.

> Now see this politically correct stuff just really kills me, but I know I've got to play their game. For example, I'm sitting in staff meeting and these folks spend 45 minutes trying to figure out why that bus is sitting at

> that property instead of ours. They're saying, "Well we should analyze the problem and do some market research...." when I know that out in the real world my boss would just look at me and say, "Go down the street and find out why the hell that bus is over there instead of over here and find out what we have to do to get them here."

Florence described, trying to play the game without learning and following at least some of the rules to be as difficult as "trying to step up to the plate and not having a bat or the right gear or the right uniform, you're not going to be able to even think about swinging."

Deciding Whether to Play and Going Through Changes

The final two stages of the game are deciding whether to play (or to continue playing) and going through changes. If the woman decided to play or to continue playing the game, she must continually change herself to fit the rules or, once she was in a position to do so, change the rules of the game. These changes were based on the rules the women had learned and the decisions they had made. In making their decisions, the women asked themselves two key questions: who am I? and in Elizabeth's words, "can I live with this and how do I get through this while learning and staying focused?"

In asking "who am I?" the woman recognized and came to understand her strengths and her limitations, as well as her aspirations, motivations, and priorities. Darcus described how her self-knowledge helped her to decide to change her writing and training styles, but not her dress and having her family as a life priority.

> know yourself and have confidence. Don't change because someone told you to change. Change only if it will get you what you want. Know what you can and cannot do, choose what you want to improve....For people of color and women it is more important to know yourself and to know your values. Never be ashamed of your ethnicity or of your sex. You are different; that doesn't mean you are subservient. Difference is not bad; it's very much okay to be different.

Florence referred to the decision-making process as "picking battles." When, as a management trainee, she heard the European-American man who was food and beverage director call the African-American man who was chef a nigger, Florence decided to report the incident to the human resource director. In retrospect she described her decision as being based on what she stood for and what she wanted.

> Often times you know, we are asked to do things or we might have a difference of opinion and there's nothing wrong with stating that you differ in opinions, but if you feel that something doesn't feel right, you have to speak about and you have to do something about it. I've often ... I've been in a couple of situations where I just felt they weren't right and sometimes they got me into serious trouble. And I chose and decided that that's what I stood for, and that's what I did.

In addition to being based on what one stands for, the women also described considering their position in the organization when picking their battles.

"You've got to get yourself to a position where you can do something about it....

> We can stay there and fight it or we can walk away. Pick and choose your battles. If I thought that it was getting in the way of me getting what I wanted, and that usually was moving up the ladder, then I would address it, but very carefully, because remember, most times as you're moving up the ladder, you're not in a position to do anything about it other than to let people know. You don't want to offend those people or have them think that you're going to scream racism.

Bertha decided not to change her walk because she felt it was an important part of her identity. Audrey left Health Care contractors, in part, because her 22 year old director respected neither her position nor her experience. Viola changed her dress because image was crucial to performance appraisal in Wilson's corporate headquarters. Several women pointed out that one way to "get through this" period of change, was not to take it personally. "It's just business. It's more about money than position."

Finally, once they were in position, the women worked to create positive change for minorities, especially for African-Americans in the hospitality industry. In addition to changing themselves to fit the corporate rules, these women used their positions as managers, members of professional associations, mentors, and community workers to change other players in the game and in some cases to change the rules of the game. They promoted change by building professional alliances, by hiring culturally diverse work forces, by serving as cultural bridges

between the corporate culture of their individual companies, the hotel industry at large and the African-American community. Several of the women expressed feeling a sense of personal responsibility to use their positions to further the interests of the African-American community. For example, Elizabeth described "being able to influence people's careers and to sell the hospitality industry" and "investing time in other minorities" as the most rewarding part of her job. As a meeting planner, Mavis was active in the Miami boycotts. Audrey "share[s] the wealth" by helping African-American entrepreneurs to secure contracts with her hotel. They worked to overcome widely held misbeliefs on both sides of the cultural chasm. They often served as cultural interpreters between their managerial co-workers and the largely African-American staffs. They strived, by example to show that African-Americans are more than capable of being successful managers in the hotel industry. To the African-American community, they promoted hotel management as a viable career option through which an individual with little experience and lots of hard work can make a living, while gaining important skills that could lead to entrepreneurship in an industry that

> "we just gave away to other people. We just gave it away. We had the good jobs. We were making good money. You know, people look down on being banquet waiters, banquet captains, and directors of catering. Those people are making some serious cash. My bellman probably makes as much as I do, if not more. So you know, we need to be careful about what we turn our noses up to. Especially when we're trying

to get to a certain point.”

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I summarize the findings of my research in relation to my original research questions and I discuss the contribution of this study to the related literature reviewed in Chapter Two. Based on the findings of the study, I offer suggestions for both hotel industry practitioners and for hospitality educators. For industry practitioners, I recommend both organizational changes in the formulation and individual changes in the application of human resource practices. The results of this study indicate that the recommended changes may contribute to creating more equitable hotel management career outcomes for African-American women and European-American women. To hospitality educators I offer information they can share as they teach and advise future hotel managers. Lastly, I present the limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings

The two research questions addressed in this study were (1) How are hotel management careers racialized and gendered? and (2) How are the career experiences of African-American women who are hotel managers similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are hotel managers? The hotel management careers of the women who participated in this study were racialized and gendered through their relationships to European-American men, which provided the women with different power resources at each

stage of their careers and influenced the way their superiors, who were predominantly European-American men, formulated and applied human resource practices.

The differences in the career experiences of the African-American women and European-American women who participated in this study were, therefore, largely a result of their different positions in relation to European-American men (See Table 5.1). These relationships to European-American men were significant as the women described these men as "having an inborn advantage in this industry" and as "running things." In essence, while contemporary European-American men may not have created gendered and racialized organizations, because of their positions they mediate career processes. Thus, hotel management careers are racialized and gendered through relationships, especially relationships to European-American men and the differing power resources that results from these relationships. The relational differences contributed to variations in the number, order and content of multi-stage, career processes, or "games" played by both groups of women.

Contribution of the Study

The major contribution of this study to the related literature reviewed in Chapter Two, is in specifying four interrelated concepts that add to our understanding of how race and gender interactively combine to create inequitable managerial representation among race-gender groups in the hotel industry. While the current study cannot account for a quantifiable amount of Coverman's (1989)

unexplained 56 percent of variance in the gender wage gap, it does suggest ways in which this wage gap may be produced. Likewise, the current study sheds light on some factors that produce occupational gender and race segregation which dual labor market theory inadequately outlines. That is, race-gender differences in returns on human capital and occupational segregation may be created in part through race-gender group differences in relationships, career processes, power resources, and the formulation and application of human resource practices.

The findings of the current study seem to conflict with Kanter's (1977) conclusion that "Blocked opportunity, powerlessness, and tokenism tend to generate employees who, among other things, have low aspirations, lack commitment to the organization, become hostile to leaders, behave ineffectively in leadership roles themselves, take few risks, or become socially isolated and personally stressed" (p. 266). However, more recent research testing Kanter's findings suggest that the results of the current study may more appropriately explain race-gender differences in career outcomes. For example, even though Kanter's theory is based mainly on observations of European-American women who were sales people, Kanter allows that while tokens in organizations experience visibility, contrast, and assimilation "regardless of the category from which the tokens come," the ultimate individual consequences of tokenism -- performance pressures, heightened dominant group cultural boundaries and role encapsulation, differ depending on "the specific kinds of people and their history of relationships with dominants" (op. cit., p.212). Therefore, the current study

describes how the low aspirations, lack of commitment, etc. that Kanter suggests are the result of tokenism may also be mediated by the women's racialized and gendered relationships to European-American men.

To address some of these issues, Izreali (1983) established a need to distinguish between numerical dominance, i.e. tokenism, and institutionalized dominance, i.e. power to define the organizational culture. Similarly, the current study was able to overcome Acker's (1990) and Zimmer's (1988) critiques of Kanter's focus on organizational structure and the omission of studying gender relations, by focusing simultaneously on both the structures of organizations and the process through which individuals create these inequitable organizational structures.

The present study found answers to all three questions posed by Acker (1990). Several of the human resource practices that contributed to the gendering and racialization of the women's careers were based on an implicit assumption that the "abstract worker" around whose experience organizational reality is defined is "white as well as male." For example, fearing for one's personal safety based on one's race and gender when assigned to market in Ku Klux Klan territory are issues unique to African-American women. Organizations dominated by European-American men are also built on underlying assumptions about the proper place of people with different skin colors. Because the African-American women had started their hotel management careers as unknown commodities and socio-cultural outsiders, they had to adopt certain European-American cultural styles

such as dress and communications. The European-American women, by contrast, started from a shared socio-cultural standpoint with European-American men. Based on these two findings, the answer to Acker's (1990) third questions appears to be yes; racial differences are produced by organizational practices as gender differences are.

The women who participated in this study described race- and gender-based differences in their relationships with European-American men and the application of human resource management practices beyond initial entry into hotel management as the major barriers they faced. This combination of relational, structural, and cultural aspects produced incidents the women described as "little bouts," regularly-occurring race- and gender-based incidents the women experienced that were the opposite of individual, uncommon, "blatant" racism and sexism, e.g. being called a nigger or being told one had no future in the business because your husband worked in the same industry. These critical difference defining incidents and the differences between the African-American and European-American women's experiences seem to be the outcome of what Essed termed everyday racism: "a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meanings that make practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implications become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relationships are actualized and reinforced through these routine or familiar practices in everyday situations" (p.52).

The current findings add to Essed's findings by beginning to specify how differences in relationships to European-American men differently impact the career experiences of African-American and European-American women. For example, several of the African-American women who participated in the current study discussed starting their management training period in housekeeping and spending more time in that particular department than did their managerial counterparts of any other race-gender group. The most common experience among the European-American women in this study was having European-American men co-workers and supervisors not know "what to do with" a pregnant European-American woman. These differing experiences are classic examples of racialized differences in gendered work experiences. Both groups of women were placed in jobs that entail reproductive labor, "the array of activities and relationships involved in maintaining people both on a daily basis and intergenerationally" (Higginbothom, 1992, p.1). In the home, these activities include maintaining furnishings, purchasing and preparing food, socializing children, providing care and emotional support for adults and maintaining kin and community ties. In the workplace, public reproductive labor includes such activities as housekeeping and human resource management.

While both groups of women were more likely than men to be in jobs that entailed public reproductive labor, the particular nature of the labor varied by race. African-American women were often "ghettoized" (Benjamin, 1991) in staff positions such as human resource management, where they managed

predominantly African-American staffs or in marketing where they sold to predominantly African-American clientele. The European-American women, by contrast, tended to be managers in areas, such as director of marketing, which require more social contact with the predominantly European-American public (Higginbothom, 1992).

Suggestions For Practitioners

The purpose of the study was to broaden our understanding of the sources of inequitable occupational outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel management, and using this understanding to suggest organizational changes for making hotel management career outcomes more equitable. Drawing from the results of the current study, I make specific suggestions for hotel organizations to consider in addressing the race- and gender-based differences in relationships, power resources, career stages and human resources practices that contribute to inequitable career outcomes for the African-American women and European-American women who participated in this study.

There are no quick fixes for the two broad categories of issues -- preventing blatant racism and sexism and addressing little bouts caused by institutional racism and sexism -- raised in this research. Addressing these problems will require that organizations and individuals commit to change in the following areas: questioning assumptions that racialize and gender careers through differences in relationships, access to power resources, career stages, and human resource practices.

Organizations must begin the process of creating more equitable career outcomes for all race-gender groups by eliminating blatant racism and sexism, which still occur in the organizations in which the women I interviewed were employed. Creating a climate where persons who have been discriminated against feel safe in coming forward is the first step in creating more equitable career outcomes for the women who were interviewed for this study. What would have happened if, instead of leaving for another company, Emily had filed a complaint against the vice-president who said she didn't have a future with the company? In a corporation where sexism is not tolerated, the vice-president would have been disciplined, and perhaps, if the nondiscrimination mandate were strong enough, the company would not have lost such a productive manager.

One organization that employed several of the women who participated in this study, had recently begun organization-wide changes in human resource practices. By training and rewarding corporate and property managers who volunteer to mentor European-American and African-American women (among other people of color) the organization is beginning to provide power resources, e.g. support and knowledge, that were not equally accessible to all the women who participated in this study.

Such changes, however, do not address the issue that seems to be the foundation of the incidents experienced by the women who participated in this study: the racialized and gendered assumptions upon which the concept of being a good hotel manager is built. For example, what is the impact of having a policy

stating that managers can stay in a particular property or city for no more than two years? Why is this policy necessary? Who does this policy benefit and who does it harm? If support is important for women, and if in certain stages of the game, the majority of their support comes from those outside the organization, how does this paradox of mobility create a no-win situation for many? Also, why are hotel managers expected to work 60-plus hour weeks? What impact does this have on their personal and professional lives? Is this the most productive use of human resources?

Men have much to learn from these women, who are going through changes to redefine the game. Instead of the "the use 'em up, burn 'em out" philosophy Bertha described as being the normative approach to human resource management in hotels, the women interviewed described a management style in which they, while not afraid to discipline employees when necessary, focused the majority of their human resource management efforts on motivating, understanding, and eliciting cooperation by "trying to get people to understand you're on their team." Florence exemplified this managerial style when she describes her job as being "to educate, to empower, to get them to take ownership for their jobs." Ironically, the same attributes women see as their managerial strengths, e.g. being a parent, a motivator, a counselor to employees, and being able to anticipate their guests needs, are based on the very "differences" that are often seen by their superiors and co-workers as making them less suited to be managers. Additionally, these reproductive skills are neither acknowledged nor

rewarded as part of the women's managerial work. Making men aware of the positive effects of the ways in which women manage may not only improve women's work experiences, but it could also increase men's effectiveness in a business that is built on relationships.

Suggestions for Hospitality Educators

As teachers and advisers of future managers, I believe it is our responsibility to prepare both women and minorities for the gendered and racialized realities of working in the hospitality industry, while at the same time, preparing European-American men to exercise their "inborn advantage" in this industry to create positive change. We must tell our students that racism and sexism exist in hospitality. We should advise them, as the women in this study counsel, not to take discrimination personally as an indication of some personal character flaw. Informing women about the career stages and relationships they may experience as hotel managers and equipping them with the tools for gaining support, knowledge, experience, and authority in each stage of their careers would be a of service to both our students and to the industry.

Informing the women's future co-workers and superiors of the negative impacts of their actions could help to deter the behaviors that cause many women to decide not to stay in the hotel industry. Information, however, is not enough. We must instill in them the critical thinking and political skills necessary to question, to challenge, and to change the gendered and racialized assumptions upon which organizations and organizational life are built.

Limitations

This study was just a beginning in broadening our understanding of the sources of inequitable occupational outcomes among race-gender groups in hotel management. Even though it was a grounded theory study using theoretical, not random sampling, resource limitations prevented me from additional sampling, which would have yielded a more complete description and possibly, theoretical elaboration. Additionally, the sample of African-American women was twice as large as the sample of European-American women. Even though several concepts seemed to have reached theoretical saturation at this point, recruiting an equal number of participants from each race-gender group may have been more prudent. Recruiting study participants who varied more widely in education within each group, for example, would help to clarify the role of education in ameliorating African-American women's relationships to European-American men as socio-cultural outsiders. Additional questions raised, but not answered, by this study are discussed in the following section.

Suggestions for Further Research

> ...the "conclusion" will have to be written by all of us, a community of scholars, in deciding in whose "times," "races," and "voices," we will be inscribing women in organizational research and theory in years to come (Calas, 1993, p. 221).

As I stated in Chapter One, the hospitality management literature has been relatively slow in looking at gender in hotel management, and it has totally ignored race. The assumptions raised above for organizations should also provide a starting point for hospitality research. For example, why do researchers seldom, if

ever, identify the race of subjects included in study samples? Who benefits from race- and gender-blind research? Perhaps by starting from the point of questioning our assumptions about race and gender, research in hospitality can avoid many of the limitations in other literatures (reviewed in Chapter 2): omission of race and gender as valid subjects for study; White male bias when race and gender are studied; the Whitewash dilemma, i.e. studying only White women, when studying women in management; considering race and gender as mutually exclusive phenomena; lack of grounding in theory; and problematic theoretical perspectives, when one is used, including the job and gender models of careers and the parallel and cumulative effect models of race and gender.

The theoretical perspective and the methodology used in this research should be useful for other research in hospitality management. As the current study has exemplified, research conducted from the standpoint of African-American women employed in the hospitality industry, can illuminate not only the career experiences of African-American, but also of other groups, while also clarifying organizational structures and practices which may otherwise remain invisible. Using grounded theory methodology is useful for developing concepts in an area, such as race and gender in hotel management careers, where little or no research has been conducted.

More specifically, additional research is needed to address the following questions:

·How does marital status affect women's relationships to male co-workers and superiors?

Since all the African-American women who participated in this study were single at the time of the interview and only two of the European-American women were, the question of whether or not the commitment of African-American women who are married would be questioned as highly as it was for European-American women who are married could not be explored.

·How does a woman's point of entry into hotel management impact her career outcomes?

Is there a difference in the career outcomes of women who enter the industry as employees, rather than as managers? and similarly,

·How important is a hospitality education and hospitality-specific experience to career mobility in the hotel industry?

None of the African-American women and all of the European-American women were graduates of hotel schools. As African-American student enrollment in hospitality programs increases, will the career outcomes of African-American managers improve? Two of the highest-ranking women in the study, a European-American corporate manager and an African-American general manager, were recruited into corporate positions from industries other than hospitality.

·Why are there so few women in hotel food and beverage management?

While theoretically sampling on functional area, one of the most difficult types of participants to find was a woman who was employed as a food and

beverage manager.

·What organizational characteristics have the greatest impact on the career experiences and outcomes of various race-gender groups?

Since the formulation and application of human resource management practices proved to be a key factor influencing the women's career experiences, the characteristics of their employing organizations may help to explain some of the differences found in the current study. For example, even though Wilson hotels has instituted a corporate "diversity" program, there seem to be variations between corporate properties and franchised properties in the implementation of this program.

·What are the differences between women who decide to stay in hotel management and those who choose not to stay?

·How are the career experiences of African-American women hotel employees similar to and different from the career experiences of European-American women who are employees in the hotel industry?

Finally, since the problem to be addressed was how do race and gender interactively combine to create inequitable managerial representation among race-gender groups in the hotel industry, research with participants from several other race-gender groups is needed to fully address this question.

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VITA

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While a graduate student, developed and taught a new course, Multicultural Management for the Hospitality Industry. She was also an advisor in the University Academic Advising Center and an Upward Bound instructor. Her hospitality industry experience includes working for the Marriott Corporation as a contract foodservice manager at Southside Regional Medical Center in Petersburg, Virginia, and the Medical College of Virginia Hospitals in Richmond.

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