

Introduction |

It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

(1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or

(2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964).

IN 1964 THE U.S. Congress enacted, and President Lyndon Johnson signed, the Civil Rights Act. Although it was not the first or the last legislative moment of the civil rights movement, it was a pivotal one. The act outlawed segregation and discrimination by race, ethnicity, and religion in public education, public accommodations, voting, and federal assistance. Title VII of the act extended the equal opportunity principle to employment and for the first time explicitly mentioned “sex” as a protected category. It is this extension of rights to equal opportunity in employment, freedom from discrimination in employment, and the erosion of race and gender employment segregation as a legitimate and expected practice that is at the heart of this book.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act is without question one of the most monumental achievements in the history of the United States, perhaps even the world. The act made clear for the first time at a national level that the use of racial and gender status distinctions in employment was illegitimate and illegal. The passage of a law, however, does not automatically produce societal change. How did employers respond to this legal challenge? How much progress has the United States made as a nation since the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Which groups benefited, and who lagged behind? These are the questions we grapple with throughout the book. We

answer them primarily with data on private-sector employment that were authorized by the Civil Rights Act to be collected by the then newly formed U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The data were to be used to monitor progress at both the workplace and societal levels. The EEOC has used these data as part of its enforcement activities, but no one has yet used them to systematically evaluate societal change. In this book, we utilize this remarkable historical record, analyzing the Employer Information Reports (EEO-1) that describe over 5 million workplaces from 1966 to 2005. We use our reading of the historical record and apply social science methods and theory to make sense of and organize our analyses of these remarkable workplace employment records.

Prior to this book, there have been almost no direct examinations of societal workplace desegregation since the Civil Rights Act. There is no shortage, however, of erroneous beliefs about what happened after the Civil Rights Act. One of the most common is that discrimination was eliminated or severely weakened by firms as they responded to the threat of discrimination lawsuits. We find this view naive in the extreme. Much research demonstrates that symbolic rather than real compliance was widespread and that contemporary discrimination lawsuits have very weak effects on firm behavior.

The extreme version of this belief is that equal opportunity policies somehow unfairly disadvantage white men, producing widespread reverse discrimination. In this somewhat amusing account, white men become the victims. Anecdotal evidence for this often comes in the form of stories about why a white man did not get a particular job but a racial minority or woman did. African American women have often been held up as particular beneficiaries of this reverse discrimination because they fulfill two "quotas" simultaneously. More objective evidence might be found in the decreased proportion of white men in the best jobs in the economy. In this book, we document that while white male advantages have been eroded, they remain the norm in nearly all workplaces. In stark contrast to the popular assumptions about black women's two-"quota" advantage in the labor market, our findings show that black women have benefited the least from equal opportunity policies. One remarkably stable finding in this book is that as firms hire a lower proportion of white men, white men are pushed up in organizational hierarchies. In other words, when racial minorities and women compete with white men for employment opportunities, white men's access to the best jobs increases. Ironically, perhaps as they become a smaller proportion of the labor force, white men are also more likely to work in integrated settings. Hence, even as white men's advantages grow, so too does the ability to tell a story about the racial minority or woman who got the good job.

Another widespread belief is that people are now less prejudiced, and so any remaining inequalities in racial or gender employment outcomes must represent racial or gender differences in the skills or preferences of individuals. The first problem with this story is that widespread cognitive and attitudinal bias associated with race and gender remains ubiquitous in the population. Another is that shifts in race and gender inequality in private-sector workplaces do not track closely the shifts in skills in the population. In fact, we find that white women, black men, and black women make the strongest progress into good-quality jobs in workplaces that screen for educational credentials. The more workplaces select on merit-linked criteria, the lower the racial and gender inequalities. The most fundamental problem with the individualist account is that organizational change is never simply a response to the individuals employed in a workplace. More than simply aggregations of people, organizations develop their own logics, routines, and goals. Moreover, they structure internal social relations and expectations in order to meet those goals and replicate those routines.

The view that individual-level discrimination by employers and their agents is the core problem and is widespread suffers from its own problems. The commonsense notion of discrimination as arising from individual prejudice and bias does not help us understand the movement away from institutionalized inequality and probably not much about contemporary workplace variation. Change in organizational behavior requires change in practices, not preferences. In addition, most consequential decisions in even moderately large organizations are made by a set of interconnected actors, including coworkers, supervisors, management at one or more levels, and often human resource personnel. Even if racial or gender bias is declining or becoming rare, group-level decision-making makes the probability of some type of individual prejudice or bias being present in the group skyrocket. Thus, the prevention of bias is not about changing social psychology but about changing organizational behavior and practice.

One of the fundamental contributions of this book is to show that equal opportunity gains are reversible—progress is neither inevitable nor continuous. For instance, we find that, after 1990, white men's advantage strengthened in quite a few industries and their employment segregation from white women, black men, and black women actually increased. Changes in law may be necessary, but they are simply not sufficient to motivate change in organizational behavior. High-wage industries are the most likely to show patterns of resegregation after the waning of the political pressure generated by the civil rights and women's movements. Women and minority progress into equal-status contact with white men and into the most desirable jobs is now most likely to occur in low-paying workplaces.

What we discover in this book is that desegregation trajectories away from the near-total white male privilege observed prior to the 1964 Civil Rights Act have been responsive primarily to pressures for change from the environment and from internal constituencies. When these pressures are absent, so is progress. We document the important environmental pressures that came from the civil rights movement and federal legislation in the 1960s and from the women's movement, judicial rulings, and federal regulation in the 1980s. After 1980, the pace of change slowed considerably as racial employment inequality faded from the political discourse and gender-based politics slowly withered.

The first half of this book centers on these national trajectories away from institutionalized white male privilege and is organized by the historical eras that motivated either change or stability in workplace practices. We identify the period between 1960 and 1972 as particularly important in producing employment advancement for African Americans, particularly for black men. The period from 1972 to 1980 produced widespread equal opportunity progress for white women, black men, and black women. The post-1980 period was characterized by very limited aggregated gains for black men and black women, while gains for white women continued through about 2000.

As white males' institutionalized privilege began to weaken, organizational variation in inequality regimes emerged. Prior research has tended to ignore this organizational variation, preferring to ask questions about societal progress toward or away from equal opportunity. This tendency reflects the preference of much of social science for examining individuals and nations, not the set of social relations in which people are embedded. But it is those social relations that guide behavior and generate opportunities. In 1964, ignoring organizational variation in the discrimination or inequality associated with race or gender made perfect sense. It was normatively sanctioned and behaviorally ubiquitous.

In contemporary U.S. labor markets, it makes much more sense to look for local inequality regimes. The second half of the book does just this. Workplaces vary in their labor market, legal, political, and normative environments, and these produce contemporary variability in racial and gender hierarchies at work. Workplaces also vary in their human resource practices. We find stronger equal opportunity trajectories in more formalized workplaces that utilize merit-based screening and hold managers accountable for racialized and gendered employment outcomes. Contemporary workplaces can be expected to vary tremendously in their degree of inequality and bias.

Workplace-level studies of desegregation since the Civil Rights Act are rare, and none are framed as an analysis of historical change. This is at first

surprising, until we remember that, with the exception of the EEO-1 reports we analyze here, no systematic data on workplace segregation exist for the United States. The EEO-1 data have only recently become available to the research community, and this is the first book-length presentation of desegregation dynamics.

One of our central contributions is to reveal variation in the pace and direction of equal employment opportunity (EEO) change. Across this book, we contrast the desegregation trajectories of white men, white women, black men, and black women at different time points and in different spatial, industrial, and organizational contexts. As we do this, we discover that there were a multitude of desegregation and resegregation trajectories across time, geography, and organizational contexts, as well as for each demographic group. In effect, the question is not so much how well has the United States done, but which types of firms have responded to the moral and legal mandates of the Civil Rights Act and for whom?

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY NARRATIVES

Most social science proceeds analytically either through examining the statistical linkages among variables or by documenting how events and emergent processes transform specific cases. Both of these analytic approaches can be powerful in revealing the structure and process that produce social states. Social life tends to evolve as a sequence of events that are not preordained in their outcome or content. Andrew Abbott (1992) refers to these sequences as “narratives” to highlight that, once strung together as a sequence, events form a story of what happened and why. In other words, a narrative is a causal explanation of how and why some social condition was achieved. Analytically, we organize this book to produce such a narrative approach to the study of employment desegregation.

Given the multitude of actors moving through history, we should not expect them to produce a single desegregation story. On the other hand, we do expect that when a social process is institutionalized, through a deep cultural or organizational embedding of action, there will be a limited number of narratives both potential and actual. The more a status distinction such as race or gender is taken for granted—that is, is institutionalized—the fewer the stories. In this book, we observe the movement away from a single story of white male privilege and toward multiple historically, spatially, and organizationally contingent narratives. No longer exhibiting a national inequality regime, the United States has shifted to multiple local inequality regimes.

Before the Civil Rights Act of 1964, both racial and gender employment segregation and inequality were deeply institutionalized in U.S. work-

places. That is, all or almost all people in all or almost all workplaces, unions, corporate headquarters, and other organizations that had an impact on workplace behavior assumed that white males would hold authority over others and that women of all races and nonwhites of all genders would tend to hold lower-rewarded and subordinate positions. This is not to say that class distinctions among white men did not exist, but rather that there would nearly always be status differences between white men and all others in face-to-face interaction. It makes sense to look for and observe a single inequality narrative in 1964, at least in terms of white male advantage, because of the deep institutionalization of racial and gender hierarchies in U.S. society at that time.¹

The Civil Rights Act concretized a set of bitter struggles against this deep-seated cultural constant. These struggles were born out of the civil rights movement for equal rights by and for African Americans but were extended to include formal equal rights based not only on race but also on gender, ethnicity, religion, and even national origin. In this way, the Civil Rights Act was an event that potentially destabilized the highly institutionalized and highly unequal status quo. Of course, the Civil Rights Act was one event in a sequence of events: the strategy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) of organizing unions across racial lines in the 1930s; the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s; the formation of the EEOC and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC, later the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, or OFCCP) in the mid-1960s; the emergence of a vibrant and aggressive women's movement in the early 1970s; the development of employment discrimination case law; and the institutionalization of equal opportunity and subsequently diversity in corporate human resource practices. Collectively, this sequence of events undermined the totalizing narrative of white men's employment dominance and opened the door for multiple new equal employment opportunity story lines to develop.

Across the twentieth century, presidential administrations, Congress, and the courts all displayed both support for and opposition to civil rights legislation and regulatory enforcement. African Americans' civil rights advancement received occasional support from the executive and judicial branches from the 1940s through the early 1960s, and then through legislative action in the 1960s and early 1970s. This support slowed dramatically in the decades that followed. For the women's movement, political influence was established in the late 1960s. Although most pronounced in the 1970s and 1980s, when the women's movement was most active and visible, public and political debate surrounding women and work continued into the 1990s. Moreover, specific issues kept women's rights dynamically evolving: pregnancy discrimination in the late 1970s and into the 1980s;

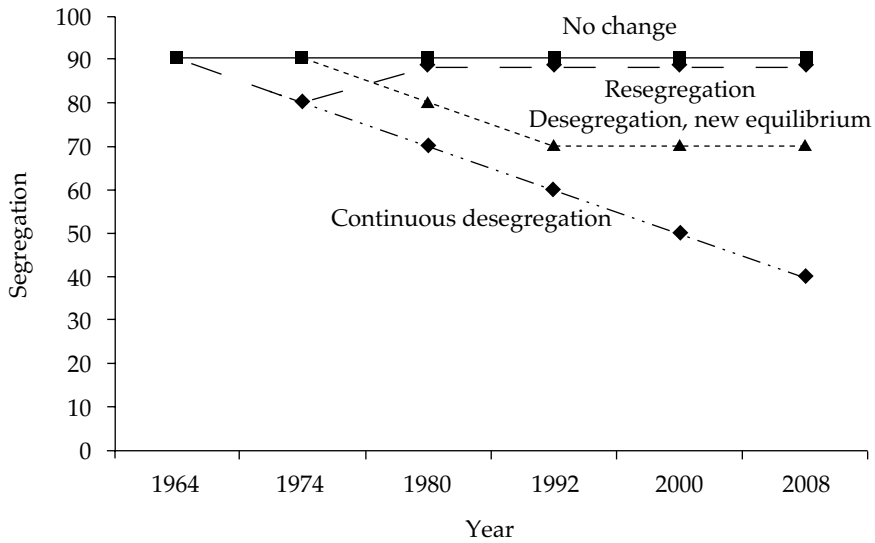
comparable worth policies in the 1980s; sexual harassment in the 1980s and 1990s; and “sex-neutral” family leave policies throughout the 1990s.

As the firmly institutionalized character of racial and gender inequality fragmented in the face of political, legal, and organizational challenges, the historical trajectory of equal and unequal employment opportunity became uncertain. That is, numerous possible stories were unleashed. At one extreme might have been a simple re-creation of white males’ privileged position, as occurred in the 1890s when Jim Crow segregation reinstated black subordination after a brief period of movement toward equal rights for African Americans following the Civil War. At the other extreme, the story might have been race and gender disappearing altogether as status distinctions, eclipsed perhaps by meritocratic distinctions based on individual workers’ talents and abilities and the acquisition of education and job skills. Although such a story may seem far-fetched, it did in fact happen to both Jewish and Irish immigrants during the twentieth century—both immigrant groups were thought of as “not-white” when they were incorporated into U.S. society but have since become socially very much “white.” By documenting the paths of employment desegregation and the emergence of a more equal, but yet still segregated and incomplete, set of employment practices, this book reveals which of the many potential narratives about the period since the passage of the Civil Rights Act came to fruition.

In the absence of an institutionalized status order, the array of potential trajectories of change after the Civil Rights Act could have been vast, and in this book we document multiple trajectories for different groups, labor markets, industries, and firms. But of course, the Civil Rights Act and other events associated with the goal of equal employment opportunity took place within still-institutionalized racial and gendered orders (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Martin 2004). Even as racial and gender hierarchies were challenged, weakened, or blurred, social actors continued to recognize these status distinctions as consequential, and organizations have preserved and sometimes extended preexisting racialized and gendered divisions of labor. The closer we are in time to the Civil Rights Act, of course, the more durable the initial condition of near-total status hierarchy across workplaces, labor markets, and firms. As we move forward in time we find more diversity, but we also still expect to find a limited number of narratives constrained and enabled by the emerging sequence of consequential actors, events, and social relations. Figure I.1 displays several hypothetical trajectories that might have taken place after the Civil Rights Act outlawed employment segregation and discrimination.

A period of sharp desegregation followed by resegregation is exactly what happened to African Americans between the end of the U.S. Civil

Figure I.1 Hypothetical Employment Segregation Trajectories



Source: Authors' compilation.

War in 1865 and the installation of Jim Crow segregation in the 1890s. The pattern of continuous desegregation happened to the Irish and Jews across the twentieth century. In this book, we observe all of the patterns (and more) suggested in figure I.1.

Key Actors and Mechanisms

Which events, actors, and social relations matter? If the potential set of stories is indefinite, perhaps the consequential events, actors, and social relations are as well. This is certainly true at the most abstract level, but concretely both history and social theory give us ample guidance as to where we might expect to find powerful social forces for both stability and change in employment-linked inequalities.

Some choices are simple. The central assumption of the book is that the primary actors in the process of employment desegregation are within workplaces. Without question, many other actors are likewise important in shaping the contours of the narrative we describe. Indeed, social movements, EEO advocates in political positions, political parties exploiting white racial fear, and the human resource profession all played prominent

roles in the trends we document. Our primary focus throughout most of this book is on the response of organizations to these actors and to the pressures in their environments.

Employment desegregation is about employers changing the status composition of their employees in various jobs and occupations. The influential work of James Baron and William Bielby (1980) made this point directly: they argued that workplaces are central to both the allocation of social and economic resources and the preservation of group-linked stratification. We know from decades of research and theory that workplaces, like other organizations, tend not to change unless some set of pressures encourages change. We also know that organizational decision-makers hire, fire, pay, promote, supervise, and manage—that is, they create the distribution of people across jobs and the rewards associated with employment. Workplaces are the fields on which equal or unequal employment opportunity struggles are waged.

Organizational theory helps identify the conditions under which workplace inertia and change are likely to occur. The key insight is that organizations are purposively created to regulate and stabilize behavior. Organizations, by design, resist change. For organizational actors to change their employment practices, both motivation (spurred by either leadership or coercion) and an alternative model of behavior and practice are typically required. We highlight the *environmental uncertainty* associated with social movement and political pressure, the *institutionalization* of models of equal opportunity compliance and regulatory oversight, and *pressure from workplace constituencies* as catalysts for organizational stability and change in race and gender workplace inequality.

The Civil Rights Act altered the relationship between private-sector firms and the federal government. In so doing, the federal government changed how employers could use race and gender distinctions to match workers to jobs. Suddenly, racial minorities and women as both job applicants and employees could aspire to better jobs; workers and lawyers could mobilize the law to challenge employment discrimination; and the purview of personnel managers expanded from staffing and administering benefits to responsibility for equal employment opportunity.

After the Civil Rights Act, one might say that the game was no longer fixed to ensure white male dominance, but it would be naive to say that the rules were suddenly made fair. Rather, the rules were suddenly up for negotiation. Institutionalized racism and sexism were no longer simply assumed to be legitimate, but the practices that might lead to different distributions of opportunity were yet to be invented. Our historical and theoretical account is primarily about the resources that various actors have available to negotiate and challenge the assumption of white male

employment prerogatives as well as the role of organizational inertia and resilient status hierarchies in preserving them.

From the abundant history of equal employment opportunity efforts we can, with fair precision, document the events and actors that drove changes in the rules of the game. We know that equal employment legislation preceded a series of historical events, mostly across the 1960s and 1970s. We also know that regulatory enforcement of these laws by the U.S. federal government emerged primarily in the 1970s and waned across the 1980s and that corporate human resource management (HRM) practices that reacted to these regulatory efforts defined the practical limits of legal and administrative regulation. We also know that effective pressure from the civil rights movement on both legislators and employers faded after 1980, while the women's movement continued to have an impact on legislation and human resource managers well into the 1990s. In 1964 it looked as if the civil rights movement had won equal employment opportunity only for black men; just a few decades later it would appear that its primary beneficiaries were white women.

THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

This book is organized into two parts. The first part examines the organizational change that results from historical shifts in the political and legal environments of workplaces. Our core argument is that the effectiveness of equal opportunity law, its interpretation, and its regulation are jointly contingent on the ebb and flow of political pressures for change and uncertainty as to what will eventually be endorsed as a legitimate, good-faith managerial response by regulators and the jurisprudence established by the courts. In the second part, we turn our attention to more proximate contexts affecting racial and gender workplace segregation. In particular we explore local labor markets, industries, and organizational dynamics.

The two parts of the book complement each other. Part I charts the shift from a monolithically race- and gender-segregated labor market to one with significant variability across labor markets, industries, and workplaces. This part focuses on macroprocesses of societal change. The second part of the book focuses on the emergent variation in racial and gender hierarchies across local labor markets, industries, and workplaces. These chapters uncover the contemporary mechanisms that encourage desegregation as well as those that obstruct progress.

Social movement and federal political pressure are shown to be important for generating EEO progress in the early period following the Civil Rights Act. Part I proceeds historically and shows that the pressure of na-

tional equal opportunity politics on private-sector racial progress had dissipated by 1980. Gender progress continued, but by the beginning of this century seemed to have reached a new status quo.

Part II focuses on contextual variation in equal opportunity trajectories, emphasizing that the important factors shaping equal opportunity narratives have shifted from national to more local contexts. This part pays particular attention to labor supply and competition in local labor markets, to industry as a normative field producing segregation and desegregation, and to the organizational processes that maintain and erode segregation.

Outline of the Chapters

In chapter 1, we outline our analytic tools. First and foremost, this chapter introduces an organizational approach to employment dynamics. We begin by discussing why workplaces tend to resist change and then highlight the crucial role of organizational environments in encouraging experimentation with new work arrangements, human resource practices, and leadership goals. External pressures stemming from social movements, politics, and fear of legal intervention and federal regulation produce not only laws, like the Civil Right Act, but also uncertainty as to reasonable human resource practices. We distinguish between the coercive pressures for equal opportunity associated with lawsuits and federal regulation and the institutionalization of new human resource practices tied to organizational fields. The potential importance of the responses of internal constituencies—including both white males' resistance to equal opportunity in their workplaces and other groups' pressure to expand opportunities—is discussed as well. This chapter outlines other potential influences on employment desegregation, such as competitive markets, and our analytic strategy for disentangling the various narrative streams we are trying to isolate.

Chapter 2 begins in 1941, the year President Franklin Roosevelt issued executive order 8802, which prohibited racial discrimination in the federal government and among federal contractors and created the Fair Employment Practices Commission. We outline the pre-Civil Rights Act history of federal and state antidiscrimination statutes, a history primarily concerned with racial inequality and the international embarrassment of U.S. racial apartheid in the postcolonial cold war era. We begin our data analysis in this chapter with 1966, the year the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began collecting data on the race-gender-occupational composition of private-sector workplaces. We document the near-total monopoly of white males in the most desirable jobs in the private sector at that time

and the near-total segregation in roles between white men and others. We also document marginally lower racial inequality in states that had adopted their own fair employment practice laws prior to 1964.

In chapter 3, we outline the key historical events and actors of the early post-Civil Right Act period. The key lesson from this history is that the period from 1964 to around 1972 was characterized by a great deal of social movement and legislative pressure for equal opportunity, but almost no regulatory, legal, or even human resource capacity to monitor or coerce change. We refer to this as the “period of uncertainty” and go on to describe the national patterns of employment stability and change. We find that black men in particular made rapid gains during this period, especially in federal contractor firms. Women, both white and black, did not.

Chapter 4 continues the historical narrative, focusing on what we call the “short regulatory decade” from 1973 to 1980. This is an era of relatively strong federal regulatory oversight, increased legislative, judicial, and regulatory emphasis on women’s employment rights, effective legal challenges to employer discrimination, and the institutionalization of equal opportunity human resource practices. The central findings for this period are that there were strong gains in access to professional and managerial jobs among white women as well as continued although weaker gains in those jobs among black men, who also saw gains in craft production jobs. We find that federal contractors, who were required to have affirmative action plans on file, became particularly good contexts for the employment gains of black men and white women. The extremely limited post-Civil Rights Act gains of black women in the large-firm private sector become evident during this period. In fact, we find that black and white women were already experiencing an increase in employment segregation by 1980 as white women made strong gains in managerial and professional roles once dominated by white men.

Chapter 5 takes up the story after Ronald Reagan was elected president of the United States and the federal commitment to equal employment opportunity was dramatically reduced. During this period, the women’s and civil right movements diverge, and we see a marked decline in civil rights movement activity even as women’s movement organizations continue to grow in both size and influence. We tie this to the Republican electoral strategy of using racial politics to lure voters away from the Democratic Party, while simultaneously trying to distance itself from civil rights claims and struggles. We see in the 1980s and 1990s continued legislative and legal gains by actors trying to expand women’s rights in the workplace. During the same period, the human resource profession became a white women’s profession and HR practices shifted away from race-based affirmative action to a focus on race-neutral celebrations of diversity. Black

employment desegregation stalled, and white women's gains in the workplace continued on a positive, if not as rapid, trajectory. In the 1980s, being a government contractor—and thus required to have an affirmative action plan—benefited only white women in terms of further advances into good jobs and employment integration with white men.

Although this final section of the historical narrative spans the relatively long period from 1981 to 2005, there is very little variation in the pattern across presidential eras in this period: neither party aggressively supported the agenda of civil rights advocates, and both parties, in a passive play for white women's votes, quietly supported "family-friendly" workplace legislation. Rather, the period since 1981 can be characterized as "neoliberal" in the sense that the government no longer played a vigorous regulatory role in promoting equal opportunity in employment.

In the second part of the book, we turn to the local contexts that shape equal opportunity trajectories. Chapter 6 focuses on local labor market desegregation and the influence of changes in labor supply on segregation trajectories. We show that regional differences in segregation, especially racial segregation, eroded quickly following the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were replaced by local labor market processes of ethnic competition and queuing. We find that white men have benefited from both processes and that their access to good-quality jobs rises when other groups make up a larger proportion of the local labor market. We do not find distinct queues for good-quality jobs among white women, black men, and black women, nor among the growing Hispanic and Asian labor forces. We do find that the growth of both the Hispanic and the Asian labor forces is associated with increased black-white employment segregation.

Chapter 7 explores the effects of industrial shifts on desegregation trends, highlighting three core processes—industrial employment growth, social closure from desirable jobs, and meritocratic selection processes. We highlight which industries display patterns of continued desegregation, resegregation, and stabilization into a new segregation equilibrium. Since 1964, there have been large shifts in the composition of the economy. Growth itself does not produce desegregation or increased opportunity. The gains that did happen tended to be in industries with low wages, suggesting that white male defense of these jobs was correspondingly weaker. We also find that education-based screening encourages equal opportunity gains.

Chapter 8 explores the organizational dynamics associated with desegregation trajectories. We show through the literature and with our own analyses that shifts in race and gender segregation patterns are often not the result of direct regulatory or lawsuit pressure, but instead reflect the reaction of firms to the behavior of other firms in their immediate environ-

ment. Thus, lawsuits, EEOC fines, and OFCCP reporting all seem primarily to operate indirectly through their influence on normative expectations in organizational fields.

In this chapter, we also use the EEO-1 reports to highlight the influence of the race and gender composition of both the firm and the local labor force on internal organizational practices. We find that large, visible firms have more positive equal opportunity outcomes. However, we also reveal that while white males are still commonly found in managerial roles supervising all groups, white women increasingly occupy segregated managerial roles supervising other women. Black men typically manage black men, and black women typically manage black women. Both black men and black women are the least likely to be found in managerial roles supervising white men or white women. We also show that increased managerial diversity leads to female and minority employment gains. One of the most important findings in this chapter is that in the current period equal opportunity progress is unlikely in the absence of managerial accountability. In fact, in the absence of accountability, backlash and resegregation are common and a new, still-high inequality equilibrium becomes the norm.

Our efforts conclude in chapter 9. The United States is no longer on a path to equal employment opportunity. Even for white women, in the absence of new political and social pressure we predict that a new inequality equilibrium with white males will be—perhaps already has been—established. We explore a set of possible futures for U.S. equal employment opportunity efforts, focusing in particular on the role of the contemporary ethnic complexity associated with Hispanic and Asian immigration, human resource practices, regulatory opportunities, and political leadership. We emphasize the crucial role of political uncertainty and managerial accountability if there are to be future equal opportunity gains. In their absence, or in the absence of new social movement pressure, the future is most likely to hold a new inequality inertia or even resegregation.