22.

DILEMMAS OF BLACK FEMALES IN LEADERSHIP

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From the time they first set foot in the New World, black females have struggled courageously to contribute toward a better quality of life in black communities and in society at large. From 1619 to the present, their struggles have been waged from the lowest position among black and white Americans, and they have labored under the hardest conditions. While their contributions have been significant in the development of this Nation and in the continuing fight against the oppression of its black citizenry, black females have yet to enjoy the full benefits of their suffering and arduous labors. Obstructed by the dynamics of racism and sexism in the groups in which they live and work, the full leadership potential of black females throughout their history in this country has remained a relatively untapped—or at best, underutilized—resource, not only in predominantly white institutions and organizations, but also in black communities.

During slavery, organizations often were not permitted among the slaves. Among the free, black women had limited opportunities, if any, to head the significant organizations that existed in the north during slavery or those that developed around the country after the Civil War. Organizations that included black and white males and females were headed by white males. Women's groups that were racially mixed were headed by white women. Outside the family, which was headed by males, the black church was the first major social institution fully controlled by blacks. As the critical training ground for black leadership, the vast majority of black leaders, including the post-war politicians, got their start in the church. Despite the fact that women comprised 62.5% of the membership and their dues provided the bulk of the financial support, their roles were facilitative and supportive (Woodson, 1921). Men held the top leadership posts and the power. Just a couple of years ago, for the first time in history, two black women were appointed to high posts in a black church organization. Whatever access the black community had to the powerful leaders in the larger community was achieved through the church. Black preachers were able to exercise more influence than others in the black community. Prior to emancipation and for some four decades to follow, black men had greater access to education. The first college degrees in the black community were earned by males. In higher education, the first black woman earned a

Ph.D. degree forty-five years after the first such degree was awarded to a black male in the United States. That woman was Sadie T. Mossell (Alexander) who earned her degree in Economics at the University of Pennsylvania in 1921. Edward A. Bouchet was awarded the doctorate from Yale in 1876.

Historically, due to their executive positions and training in the church and their access to formal educational institutions, men have been the most powerful and the most celebrated leaders in black communities. During the Reconstruction in the South, there was a great emergence of black men who provided political leadership. Men held the franchise for their communities; twenty served in the U.S. House of Representatives and two in the Senate. Others served as lieutenant governor, sheriff, prosecuting attorney, recorder of deeds in their localities. One woman served as postmistress in Indianola, Mississippi. The vast majority of black women leaders were limited to projects for the social uplift of the community, and their main followers were other black women and youth. It was only during periods of extreme stress that the value of the black woman's leadership outside of her women's groups could be realized. Even then the women not only had to struggle on the boundary between blacks and whites, but they also had to find ways to endure the frustration and hardships posed by the lack of support from black males. Existing circumstances and prior experiences made it difficult, if not impossible, to transcend what I call the hydraulic system principle of male-female relationships. That principle stipulates that black males can rise only to the degree that black women are held down. Black females were unable to submit to their dissatisfactions when survival in a hostile and increasingly violent environment, and a sense of community and togetherness seemed so essential. Therefore, women with leadership abilities concentrated their efforts on relieving the suffering imposed by illiteracy, poverty, and disease. This situation was still very apparent as late as the sixties. Earlier black female leaders realized the need for the strength and mutual support that would come from group effort, and they began in 1892 to organize local black women's clubs and thus planted the seeds that ultimately grew into a national movement still existing today. Under the motto "Lifting as we climb," the National Association of Colored Women provided the model for what became the most significant resource available to black women, not only for mutual support and social uplift, but also as a training ground for black female leadership. During the sixties, many young females rejected many of the traditional organizations for ambitious black women as being too middle class. Although black women found a lot of meaning in the black protest and civil rights movements and seemed to have fewer social conformists among their ranks, they did not occupy prominent leadership positions. They were often caught up with black men in that hydraulic principle that forced them to take only those roles that would enable their men to go forward. Many black women with outstanding leadership abilities held their skills in abeyance lest they might undermine the security and threaten the masculinity of the black men. Bound by the fear of the strong, uppity, castrating black woman, the full range of the black female's leadership

was never fully exploited. There were, of course, exceptions. A small number of black women did not permit themselves to be bound by these dynamics all of the time.

It is significant to repeat that while white males were being trained for leadership of both sexes, and some few black males were sometimes provided opportunities for leadership in racially mixed groups, black females were limited to the leadership of other black females. Furthermore, when they dared to turn their attention from service-oriented programs to the political arena, they had to struggle against strong opposition in both the white and black communities. Despite these obstacles, many black women have cleverly combined political, civic, social goals and strategies, and some gains have been visible in each generation. But there is still a long way to go. Despite the outstanding achievements of some black women in many fields of endeavor, the mass of black women in America are still at the bottom of the heap, among this country's underdogs. Although increasing numbers of black women are beginning to occupy important positions of authority and prestige in organizations within and outside black communities, there are forces at work today, as in the past, that tax the physical and emotional stamina of these women. Their authority is undermined, their competence is compromised and the power they might conceivably exercise is united thus limiting their opportunities for rewards and mobility in the organization. I contend that this problem has its roots in myths about the privileged position and role of black women in slavery. The mythical image of the strong, powerful, castrating black matriarch pervades contemporary organizations and poses a critical dilemma for black females that makes competition for, and competent performance in, leadership positions at best a costly endeavor. There are increasing efforts to resurrect the Black Mammy in today's ambitious black women who aspire to move up the socioeconomic ladder or into political arenas. There are negative consequences for those who succumb as well as for those who dare to resist. The remainder of this paper is devoted to an elaboration of this thesis. In preparing the following section, I have utilized data compiled for a more extensive study of this topic. Many historical sources were utilized, most of which are the works of secondary authorities, but narratives of slaves and witnesses and black autobiographies were examined.

Very little of the literature is addressed to the problems of black women leaders, or to those of women in general. Therefore, I have utilized my own experiences as an appointed city official, an associate professor and department head of a professional training program in a prestigious Ivy League university, a Federal executive and a member of a consultant staff for group relations training in the Tavistock tradition. I have relied more heavily upon the experiences of numerous other black women leaders around the country. Some of them described their dilemmas during informal discussions at social gatherings or during professional meetings, others (totaling over 500 during the period of data gathering) while participating in institutes, workshops, or group relations training conferences. I have supplemented these sources with descriptions in the literature, particularly, biographies and autobiographies of black women. These were valuable

although sparse resources. The most telling autobiographies were those of Ida B. Wells Barnett (Dusier, 1970) and Mary Church Terrell (1940).

The data derived from these experiences are naturally less structured and more casual than those that come from a more rigorously designed approach. Nevertheless, there are advantages in the intimacy of detail and the breadth of exposure that this approach permits, especially at such a rudimentary stage of inquiry. Keeping in mind then that the data are soft, I hope that the observations and thoughts presented here will at least stimulate the commitment toward a more intensive approach to this very critical area of study.

The presence of black women in leadership positions takes on highly significant meanings in organizational life. Myths of the superiority of black women over white women and black men emphasize their tremendous power and strength, and their unique capacity for warm, soothing inter-personal relationships. These myths prompt others to press black women into symbolic roles that circumscribe the nature and scope of their functions and limit their options and power in the organizations in which they live and work.

The black woman leader is often torn between the expectations and demands born of her mythical image and those that are inherent in her official status and tasks in the formal organization. The pressures to conform to the roles of her earlier predecessors are often irresistible. Whether she likes it or not, the black woman has come to represent the kind of person, a style of life, a set of attitudes and behaviors through which individuals and groups seek to fulfill their own socio-emotional needs in organizations. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is a great deal more interest in the *personal* qualities of black women administrators than in their skill and competence for formal leadership roles.

There is general resistance to having black women perform competently in formal, high-status positions. Rather, the preference is to have the black woman assume a variety of functions that resemble those described for the black mammy during the plantation era. In performing these functions, however, the power of the black woman leader is as illusory as was Mammy's. It is derived from her relationship in the *informal* system, her willingness to put her *person* at the disposal of those around her. It can be maintained only as long as she is willing or able to provide what is demanded of her.

The demands very often go beyond the responsibilities of her formal position. For example, the black woman in leadership is expected to comfort the weary and oppressed, intercede on behalf of those who feel abused, champion the cause for equality and justice—often as a lone crusader. She is expected to compensate for the deficits of other members of her group, speaking up for those who are unable or unwilling to speak for themselves, making demands on behalf of the weak or frightened, doing more than her share of the work to make up for people who dawdle or fail to complete their assigned tasks. Expected to be mother confessor, she counsels and advises her superiors and peers as well as her subordinates, often on matters unrelated to the tasks at hand. She is called upon to fill in for her boss in

dealing with problems of sex and race, to mediate in situations of conflict, quiet the "natives," curb the aggression of black males, dampen the impact of other aggressive black women, and to maintain stability or restore order in the organization or one of its sectors.

Black women who are pressed into such positions are faced with problems that challenge their own identity and threaten their inner security. For example, they are often caught in the struggles between the boss and subordinates, blacks and whites, men and women, between units in the organization, and between the organization and the community in which it is located. Sometimes they are unclear who or what they are representing and find themselves trying to manage certain organizational boundaries without adequate authority and hence without appropriate backing and support. They are subject to high levels of tension as they become the repository of the problems, conflicts, and secrets of individuals and groups on both sides of the boundary.

Because of the myths about the strength and courage of their predecessors, black women today are also expected to have unlimited internal resources to cope with any problem that conceivably might confront them. Consequently, people around them are likely to be insensitive to their needs for socio-psychological support, reassurance, or some relief from the heavy demands on their time and energy.

Many of them work long hours in activities related to these symbolic roles, leaving less time and energy available for task performance. Consequently, doubts may be raised as to their competence for the positions they hold. Some black women in this predicament come to doubt their own ability and are disillusioned with their newly acquired status and prestige. Unfortunately, efforts to alter these situations are met with strong resistance from people who value their performance in the informal network of relationships. Such people are likely to subvert the leader's attempts to effect a more realistic distribution of time and effort between the informal and formal roles. If they persist, such situations not only undermine the upward mobility of the black woman, but also have important implications for her physical and emotional health. She takes the risk of being "used up" or "burnt out" rapidly. The trouble with symbolic leaders is that they often cannot tell where their personal lives end and where their organizational roles begin. They are treated as if they belong to the people around them, and they feel as though they do. Black women who succumb to these symbolic roles do not actually lead; they offer themselves to be used. Hence the danger of overcommitment to activities of this nature.

Case 1

> Dr. A. holds an executive position in a large and prestigious organization in the Mid-West. Her academic and professional credentials are impressive. In her present position she is the person on whom everybody depends. She is overworked because the people in her department believe they can't do without her, and she behaves as if they really can't.

She is the one who sees that visitors and clients are properly entertained. Most of the luncheon or dinner parties are held at her apartment, and it is she who makes the necessary preparations. At her office she has an open-door policy and people drop in at all hours during the day to seek her counsel and guidance or just to sit and talk. She is called upon to support the causes of the low-status groups in the organization and sometimes works with them after office hours to plan strategies and aid them in presenting their grievances to top management. She is called by local and national groups to recommend blacks to serve on special committees and boards of directors. In discussing these requests, she is often talked into serving on the boards or committees. In addition, she is assigned to several inter-organizational committees and task forces to represent her department. She is given the tiresome travel assignments that others do not wish to take. She is frequently called at the last minute to cover commitments that another member of the staff is unable to keep, including those of her boss. Her boss continues to redefine her job to take up slack created by staff attrition. In all of this, the responsibilities that comprise the job for which she was hired are compromised and she is beginning to receive criticism. Her clients are complaining that she does not return their telephone calls or follow through on commitments. Her colleagues are complaining that she does not provide feedback from the meetings she attends. The fact is that she frequently arrives at those meetings late and leaves early, so she neither gets much information from them, nor does she seem to contribute very much either. However, the people don't seem to mind. They comment on what a warm and pleasant person she is and how much they enjoy having her there for however long she is able to stay. Her friends and colleagues outside her organization have observed a downward trend in her communications and performance at professional meetings. She appears to be tired; her presentations are superficial and often confused. She touches on a variety of topics but never seems to get into any one in depth. Her family complains that she does not spend enough time at home. When she is not traveling, she works late at her office. Her friends in the community complain that she makes no social overtures, and they have begun to limit their contacts. Dr. A. complains bitterly that she never seems to get to those tasks that she is supposed to do because of all the interruptions and the extra responsibilities that are forced on her. Her boss doesn't seem to understand the pressures that she is working under. He is not satisfied with her performance in the role for which she was hired and has refused to recommend her for promotion.

> She is growing more disillusioned with her job and plans to retire earlier than she anticipated. The popularity she once enjoyed is diminishing; she is not able to deliver all that people expect of her, and she still is unable to say no. She has much less influence than she had during the first year or so on the job. She has been in her current position for a little over three years and is looking forward to getting out within a couple of years.

Realizing this vulnerability, some black women refuse to assume symbolic roles. They try hard to focus exclusively on formal tasks and become rigid in their avoidance of personal involvement with their colleagues. They are likely to interpret invitations to participate in informal relationships as bids to behave according to stereotypes of earlier black women. Intent on avoiding that image, they isolate themselves, which makes them unavailable for those informal contacts that might well enhance their executive effectiveness. The more impersonal they are, the more curious people are to know them better, and the more they will challenge the boundary that the leader endeavors to maintain between her person and her role. Of course, the more this boundary is challenged the more rigid it becomes, which unfortunately leads to the image of a cold, inflexible authority. Thus, in the effort to avoid becoming the symbol of the good and willing resource for the satisfaction of the needs of people in the organization, these leaders develop an image that can be equally destructive. By their aloofness they are distinguished from the symbolic benevolent black mammy, but they become instead the wicked malevolent mammy. The negative consequences of this image are no less injurious than those endured by the executives who assume the caring, nurturing, protective roles.

In his analysis of the archetype of the Great Mother, Erich Neumann (1972) calls attention to the fantastic and chimerical images elicited by the symbolism of the Terrible Mother:

> In the myths and tales of all peoples, ages, and countries— and even in the nightmares of our own nights—witches and vampires, ghouls and specters assail us, all terrifyingly alike. The dark half of the black-and-white cosmic egg representing the Archetypal Feminine engenders terrible figures that manifest the black, abysmal side of life and the human psyche. Just as world, life, nature, and soul have been experienced as a generative and nourishing, protecting and warming Femininity, so their opposites are also perceived in the image of the Feminine; death and destruction, danger and distress, hunger and nakedness, appears as helplessness in the presence of the Dark and Terrible Mother.

Although males in authority may be symbolized as good or bad mothers, the implications are more severe for females. Feminine authority cast against a black background thus becomes the most haunting of all symbolic

mothers. Bad mothers who are white seem to be more easily tolerated than bad mothers who are black; bad mothers who are black and female border on the intolerable. Indeed the rich imagery evoked by black women comes as close to the Great Mother as one might imagine. When the black woman leader fails to give people what they believe they need, she is perceived to be deliberately depriving and rejecting, and therefore, hostile and potentially destructive. Just as she is believed to be capable of providing generative, nourishing, protective Femininity of the most powerful order, she is also imagined to have the capacity to withhold or destroy resources necessary to life and safety in the organization's symbolic world. The forceful exercise of her authority thus arouses intense irrationality and creates one crisis after another with which she must deal.

The black woman leader who is perceived as a bad mother, bad black mammy, must deal with the dependency, fear, and rage that often are expressed covertly and undermine the effectiveness of all involved. Stubborn resistance to work is a frequent manifestation of anger in such situations. The leader finds herself deluged by requests for clarification of procedures or special instructions for the most simple tasks. Indeed, those who feel deprived by her will frequently relinquish their authority and behave as if only she has the knowledge and skill required for a particular task. This type of dependency leads many executives to take on themselves the responsibilities that should be delegated or shared by others.

Sometimes the anger and hostility find as targets people who are close to or supportive of the black woman in question. In these and other ways, the black woman in such situations is kept busy mediating staff conflicts, dealing with hostile confrontations, having to rush to meet deadlines for work that should have been completed long before and having to persist against covert resistance to get information she needs to do her job well. The following case illustrates this point.

Case 2

> Dr. B. has recently resigned from her position as dean of a professional school in a large private university. She held the position for three years. When she took the position her faculty, all white women, seemed very happy to have her, and wanted to get to know her better. She spent a great deal of time with them in social gatherings and orientation meetings.
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> However, when the time came to turn her attention to work, she began to have problems. The faculty that seemed so eager to work with her and who appeared from the academic and professional credentials to be well qualified for their jobs began to appear more and more insecure and immature. The dean found herself giving more direction than she believed was warranted by the nature of their tasks, and had to be careful lest she arouse their anxiety. Her time was often spent in individual conferences to discuss plans

or to check completed work. In general most of the faculty seemed reluctant to work independently of her guidance and approval.

Dr. B. described the behavior of her faculty as a desire to be spoon fed by her, which she finally decided would not be in her best interest or theirs. So she challenged them to take more responsibility for their own assignments and to exercise the authority that had been delegated to them in their respective roles. She suggested that they might use each other to check out ideas and work through problems; she would continue to meet with them periodically but was unable to continue to give them the time they demanded. Later she found herself having to deal with a number of conflicts among the faculty and between faculty and students. It seemed that simple problems escalated rapidly into crises. It was difficult for her to get away from her school to attend to issues critical to its survival and its relationship with other parts of the university. The faculty complained when she was away and invariable some mishap would occur in her absence. With one exception, the faculty were becoming more and more dissatisfied with their jobs and were generally uncooperative. At a time when it was doubtful that she could recruit replacements, several of them gave notice of their intention to resign at the end of that academic year.

The only faculty member who seemed to work independently and on whom the dean had to rely very heavily became the target for hostility from her colleagues. The crowning blow to her and to the dean was a cruel joke: a C.O.D. package that contained an Afro wig.

These are but a few examples of the difficulties that Dean B. reported that no doubt figured significantly in her decision to resign the deanship.

The black woman executive, perceived to be either good or bad, becomes a kind of superstar among some individuals or groups in the organization. People love her when she gives what is desired and hate her when she fails to perform as expected. In either case people are moved by an image they have constructed of the black person in the leadership role—how they imagine her life style, attitudes, values, and what they symbolize for the beholder. When she is good, she becomes their heroine. When she is not good, she becomes their villain, but always an object for them to identify with, positively or negatively.

The leader who objects to being Mammy may not be subject to all the honors bestowed on her benevolent counterpart. Nevertheless, she does not suffer from want of attention from the people around her who seem to enjoy the experience of hating her. They want their friends and family to witness the bad person, especially in situations where she will be em-

barrassed, made into a fool, symbolically "killed off." So she is given invitations that set the stage for the kill. If she is not careful she may even do the job for them. Other blacks are often recruited for the dirty work in predominantly white organizations, or other women in predominantly male-oriented situations.

For example, the first black woman superintendent of public schools in a middle-sized urban community had held the position less than three years when she became involved in a series of angry disagreements with the Board of Education. From the reports of their conflicts in the public news, I was impressed by the fact that the one board member who consistently led the confrontation was also a black woman. No other voices on the board seemed to equal hers in opposition to the superintendent's handling of the business of public education or in support of her leadership.

I suspect that the board member who levied the harsh criticisms was doing so on behalf of at least the majority of the board. She was delegated to set the stage for the embarrassment of the superintendent, and for even more drastic action in the future. I am proposing that it was not by accident that the leadership for the opposition was assumed by a black female.

This situation reminds me of an incident that occurred after I refused to recommend reappointment of a member of the faculty in a program I administered. It was not my decision alone that determined the action; the committee voted unanimously to deny reappointment, although people behaved as if I had forced the committee to that action. I was challenged by the woman in question and several individuals and groups advocated that I change my recommendation, which they felt would lead the committee to reverse the decision. I refused to change my recommendation. However, the committee was persuaded to review the decision and a second vote was taken because some members felt that I had exerted an overwhelming influence on their votes, and they wanted an opportunity to reopen the case. This was done and the decision of the committee again was to deny reappointment, although the vote was not unanimous. The aggrieved applicant elicited the support of blacks in the community who led several angry protest marches into the school and the clinical agency where she and I held joint appointments. I found myself on the boundary between the school and the angry black leaders who yelled obscenities at me for allowing myself to be taken in by "the system" that was "kicking out" the only member of the faculty who cared anything about the black community. The one other black faculty member was on leave of absence; therefore I was the only black faculty member around at that time, and I felt totally alone. I became the target for a great deal of hostility over a period of several months. I must admit that I discovered in retrospect how much I had participated in my election to the post of "flak-catcher." People had treated me as if I were so powerful that I single-handedly forced the committee to deny reappointment; as if even those who might have protected the unfortunate woman's job were helpless against my wishes. I felt confident in my reasons for refusing to recommend her appointment. However, I came to believe that in exercising my responsibility to maintain the level of quality in the program that the faculty and I had agreed upon,

I had pushed the school into a terrible crisis. While I was not willing to change my vote, I did feel unusually responsible for the disturbance. Unwittingly, I was behaving as if I really did have all that power. And no one in the school objected to my taking the front line between them and the malcontents from outside. The dean was relieved to have me perform that role for her and for the school. The director of the clinical agency refused to have me assume that position in his organization. One might speculate about his reasons: being a white male and a good admin-istrator, he was not about to relinquish his authority to me. Being a col-league and a friend, he wanted to protect me. Being a male chauvinist pig, he *had* to protect me. Regardless of the real motivations at the time, I have come to appreciate the soundness of the organizational principles that he later espoused as the major determinants for his position during that series of tense and stressful episodes.

Indeed these types of incidents are not limited to black women leaders. Nevertheless, blacks are particularly vulnerable, and black males are spared more often than black females.

The die seems to have been cast by the group of historians and other writers who chose from among all the black women in history the roles of the black mammy, Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman as exemplary models. Descriptions of Harriet Tubman are particularly pertinent to this discussion. Note the following:

> There were many who in the years prior to 1860 undertook the Mosaic mission and appealed to the plantation owners to abandon the system of chattel slavery. There were those too who, tiring of the apparent fruitlessness of these dip-lomatic missions, took up the mantle of the deliverer. Some of these were notably unsuccessful (Nat Turner and John Brown, for example), while others, relying upon more de-vious means, were notably successful. Among these latter none was more daring or individually successful than Harriet Tubman   .   Harriet Tubman was not only an illiterate, highly visible runaway slave but   she was engaged in an illegal activity   And though the results of her unex-ampled heroism were not to free a whole nation of bond-men and bond-women, yet this object was as much the desire of her heart as it was the great leader of Israel. Her cry to the slave-holders was ever like his to Pharoah, ''Let my people go,'' and not even he imperiled life and limb more willingly than did our courageous and self-sacrificing friend   .   Her name deserves to be handed down to posterity, side-by-side with the names of Jeanne d'Arc, Grace Darling, and Florence Nightingale, for not one of these women, noble and brave as they were, has shown more courage and more power of endurance, in facing danger and death to relieve human suffering, than this black woman   After her almost superhuman efforts in making her own escape from

> slavery, and then returning . . . nine times, and bringing
> . away   . over three hundred fugitives .   . her shrewd-
> ness . . . her courage in every emergency, and her willing-
> ness to endure hardship and face any danger for the sake
> of her poor followers was phenomenal   She had often
> risked her own life for her people, and she thought nothing
> of that (Bradford, 1974).

I know firsthand the tremendous hardships and anguish inherent in at-
tempts to live up to this model in the symbolism of contemporary organ-
izations that represent in microcosm the society at large. I have felt the
pangs of guilt evoked by those who would lead me to believe that to protect
myself and promote my general welfare is to let my people down. I am
now beginning to see how it is possible to let my people down by *failing*
to protect myself and my interests and to seek fulfillment of my own needs.
Indeed in modern organizations, racism and sexism dictate that I AM MY
PEOPLE. I AM BLACK. I AM WOMAN.

Numerous other black women executives know the pain and anguish to
which I refer. Some of them are discovering, as I am, when and how *not*
to be Mammy, Miss Truth, Miss Tubman, and still survive. This does not
mean that they will be able to avoid becoming symbols in the organizations.
It does mean that they are trying to have some part in the development of
their symbolic images. It means that they are finding ways to balance the
caring, nurturing, protective functions and those that are task-directed.
There is at least one writer who argues that it is not possible for the same
persons to fulfill the socio-emotional and task needs in organizations si-
multaneously. Perhaps the success of black women executives lies in their
ability to move back and forth between socio-emotional and task-directed
functions. The pendulum rarely stays in the center, and when it moves too
far to either extreme there is trouble. But even the most successful black
woman executive finds her life hectic at best and pays a high price for
competent performance. Yet, her struggles yield greater and more lasting
achievements and satisfaction than those of her black sisters who are locked
into symbolic roles most of the time.

It is often difficult to separate the influence of race from that of sex;
there is no doubt in my mind that the *combination* levies a heavy toll on
the black woman who exercises authority and responsibility in groups and
organizations. Herein lies the most significant challenge to black women
executives, to those who claim an interest in promoting the upward social
mobility of minority groups and women in America, and to all who are
concerned with the development of social and psychological theories of
organizational leadership.