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RACE AND CLASS BIAS IN RESEARCH ON WOMEN:
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by

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ABSTRACT

For a variety of reasons, much research on women has been based on in-depth interviews with small samples of volunteer subjects (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Herman, 1981; Easton and Mills, 1981; Rubin, 1984). This work stands out in sharp relief against the typical sociological study which is based on secondary analysis of widely available large scale surveys, or the typical laboratory experiment in psychology.

Recently, gender research has been criticized for failing to incorporate race and class (e.g. Stimpson, 1984; Baca Zinn et al., 1986) explicitly into its analysis. Exploratory studies employing volunteer subjects are especially vulnerable to race and class bias. This paper illustrates how inattention to race and class as critical dimensions in women's lives can produce biased research samples and lead to false generalizations about "the woman's experience." Specifically, it analyzes the race and class of origin of women who volunteered to participate in an in-depth study of Black and white professional, managerial, and administrative women in the Memphis, Tennessee area. The study involved two to three hour focused life history interviews with 100 Black and 100 White women between the ages of 25 and 40. The instrument explored a variety of family, education, employment, and mental health issues. Despite a multiplicity of methods used to solicit subjects, White women raised in middle class homes were more than twice as likely to volunteer as all other groups.

To illustrate the impact of such biases, we examine family supports for making the transition from high school to college. The data reveal class differences in information and financial support, and both race and class differences in emotional supports provided by family members for this key life transition. The paper concludes with a discussion of how race, class, and gender can be incorporated into research designs to uncover the diversity of women's experiences.
INTRODUCTION

The field of women's studies and research on women has reached a critical juncture in recent years. In the late 1960's and the early 1970's, when the women's movement was in full swing, women's awareness of their exclusion from the centers of power extended to the realm of academe. This awareness coupled with the growing power of women in society fueled a tremendous fire to discover the women who had been left out of history and to incorporate the experiences of women into all social science research. Women became increasingly aware that entire fields of study had been built on the premise that women's experiences were irrelevant (c.f., Acker, 1973; Huber, 1973; Millman and Kanter, 1975). So they embarked on a period of discovery where the goal was to explore and identify women's roles in history and where they fit into social life. Centuries of being left out cannot be corrected in 15 or 20 years, so this period of discovery is likely to go on for many more years to come.

The process of discovering women's realities was accompanied by greater reliance on qualitative research methodologies (for discussions of feminist methodology see Cook and Fonow, 1986; Griffin, 1986; Stacey and Thorne, 1985; and Roberts, 1981; Ward and Grant, 1985).1 Much ground-breaking research on women has employed such qualitative methods as in-depth interviews and first-hand observations of small samples of relatively homogeneous groups of women. This qualitative research has paid off by generating entirely new ways of viewing social reality. It

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1Some scholars also document a preference for qualitative research methods among women regardless of the topic they are studying (Grant et al, 1987; Mackie, 1985).
has given us sweeping new insights into father-daughter incest (Herman, 1981), mothering (Chodorow, 1978), intimacy (Rubin, 1983), the politics of abortion (Luker, 1984), and women's moral development (Gilligan, 1982) to name a few. These studies stand in stark contrast to the "typical" sociological study of the day which relies on quantitative methods (Spector and Faulkner, 1980), especially secondary analyses of large scale surveys (c.f., Demos, 1986 for discussion of this trend in the study of Black families). Qualitative studies are equally out of line with the all too common psychological study of college sophomores both inside and outside of the laboratory.

Qualitative research methodologies are best suited to document and describe the experiences of women who had been excluded from the most basic building blocks of existing theories (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). Laboratory experiments and large scale surveys alike are more suited to testing and modifying existing theories, they are much less useful in the task of generating new theories when very little is known about the subject.

While in-depth qualitative studies can reveal much about the nature of social processes as they are experienced by women, like all research methods, they also have limitations. At this time, enough basic research has accumulated on women through the use of these methods that the limitations in the methods themselves may begin to have an impact on the growing body of knowledge about women. Later in this paper we present a case study to illustrate the potential impact of failing to incorporate race and class into the design of studies on women. But first, we summarize some characteristics of these research
methods and discuss how they may have contributed to the exclusionary nature of many of the major studies on women.

Labor Intensive Research. Research employing in-depth interviews or field observations tends to be more labor intensive than research resting on the analysis of existing surveys or on laboratory experiments (Miller, 1977). In order to derive empirical generalizations, qualitative studies typically require greater involvement by highly trained professionals. For example, more professional guidance and training of project staff may be required when the research employs complex instruments with open-ended questions rather than the carefully controlled and restricted instruments used in many surveys or laboratory experiments. In much survey and experimental research, project staff are frequently employed for relatively mechanical tasks (like conducting statistical analyses on the computer, coding data, running the laboratory experiment, etc.). At issue here is both the quality and quantity of creative and trained labor that is required to achieve a small return in theory generation or modification. This is not to say that quantitative methods used in explanatory research are not labor intensive, but to point out that in comparison with the qualitative methods more common in research on women, a much bigger investment of time is required before the researcher can begin to say much of anything about the subject. Primarily because of the labor intensity of the research methods, and the level of involvement of professional labor, these methods can also be quite expensive.

Since qualitative research frequently involves face-to-face contact with researcher and subject, open-ended rather than closed-ended questions, unstructured rather than structured interview
schedules etc., the samples for study are typically small. To generate theory, it is much more useful if the small samples under study are relatively homogeneous. When small groups of subjects are extremely diverse, the task of identifying common patterns becomes almost impossible.

Small Samples and Homogeneity. As women researchers began their mission of discovery to uncover the hidden truths about their lives, it was natural that they employ qualitative research methods (Stacey and Thorne, 1985). It was equally natural that they look first to study the women who were like themselves and most accessible -- White middle class women. Women of color and working class women of all races have frequently been excluded from the newly emerging scholarship on women. Feminist research in sociology and psychology is replete with caveats like that reported in a study which sampled white undergraduate students at a private university to identify "generational differences in women's attitudes toward the female role in society". Slevin and Wingrove (1983: 611) state:

"...selection of subjects this way avoided the complexities of analysis which would have been introduced by racial and regional differences."

Nancy Chodorow's (1978) study, The Reproduction of Mothering has been criticized for:

"...trying to explain the perpetuation of a certain kind of mothering -- middle class, psychologically oriented, and achievement oriented (husbands and sons toward careers, mothers and daughters toward perfect children) -- in short, the hothouse tending of two or three offspring in an isolated nuclear family" (Lorber, 1981: 485).
The exclusion of other groups frequently takes place despite the fact that feminist researchers are aware of the importance of other dimensions of inequality. Having been excluded from male research for so long, women researchers are often acutely aware that the processes they study also vary by race, class, age and other dimensions of structured social inequality. Thus, many have felt compelled to comment on the exclusion of the diversity of women from their own intensive studies. In some cases, feminist researchers make politically informed decisions to exclude particular groups from research. In her powerful study, *Father Daughter Incest*, Judith Herman (1981) took account of dominant culture views of minority families and the potential for misuse of results in her decision to exclude minority women:

"All of the informants (40 women) were white. We made the decision to restrict the interviewing to white women in order to avoid even the possibility that the information gathered might be used to fuel idle speculation about racial differences " (p.68).

Each of those studies' findings would have been very different had they included women of different classes, races, ages, etc.. And the researchers are usually aware of the limits of their own research. But among other factors, the expense and large time commitment required in large scale qualitative studies may have made it impossible to expand these studies beyond the limits they set for themselves at the time.

Today, however, one problem facing scholars of women is the pervasiveness of such exclusionary practices and their cumulative impact on both the body of empirical generalizations which constitute the elements of feminist theory, and of course, the emerging theories
themselves (for a discussion see Baca Zinn et al., 1986). In the end, the prevailing literature which seems to identify particular "realities," of say "intimate relationships" (c.f., Rubin, 1983), merely reflects White and/or middle class relationships and the relationships of other groups (minorities, working classes, etc.) become relegated to side issues in the field (Baca Zinn et al, 1986). Shirley Harkess' (1985) review of research on women's occupational experiences reveals the extent of such exclusions in that arena. She finds that the most commonly studied group of women workers is still white collar workers, and that even among them, women working in male-dominated spheres receive most attention. This is despite the fact that the majority of women still work in female-dominated occupations (Reskin, 1984; Dill et al, 1987).

Especially troublesome at this time is that research on White middle class women cannot adequately depict the meaning of social inequality and oppression in women's lives. To understand gender oppression in America, we cannot ignore its relation to other dimensions of structured inequality such as race and class (Baca Zinn et al., 1986; Rollins, 1985). Now it is time to systematically explore the variations in our lives produced by race, class and gender oppression. One way is to structure our research designs so that even in-depth, exploratory and/or qualitative studies generate sound comparisons across each of these dimensions in the same study. In sum, race and class as well as gender should serve as our major theoretical constructs.

This Paper. This paper employs a case example to illustrate how inattention to race and class as critical dimensions in women's lives
can lead to biased research samples -- especially in in-depth qualitative studies relying on volunteer subjects -- and to false generalizations about the "woman's experience". To that end, the paper first examines the race and class background of women who volunteered for an in-depth study of professional, managerial and administrative women. Second, to demonstrate the potential impact on knowledge of the failure to control race and class, it examines race and class differences in the social support networks of women in the study when they made the transition from high school to college. In studies of educational and occupational attainment, it is recognized that information, emotional support, and financial aid are critical to make a successful transition from high school to college (c.f., Higginbotham, 1980). There are several sources from which women can procure these supports. They include (but are not limited to): family, educational and financial institutions, and peers. If women are able to rely on family for any or all of these supports, the transition may not depend so heavily on the development of major new skills and coping strategies. If they lack family resources, and if institutional supports are not available or are limited, then young women may be forced to make adult decisions and master an adult world alone. The long term implications of facing key life transitions with minimal social supports can be significant.

Finally, the study's research design provides an example of how to control race and class in qualitative, in-depth studies of professional and managerial women (i.e., one group on which much class- and race-biased research on women has been built).
RESEARCH METHODS

The data presented here are taken from an ongoing study of 200 Black and White women professionals, managers, and administrators in the Memphis, Tennessee metropolitan area. The overall aim of the study was to explore some of the ways that race, class, and gender inequality shape the general well-being and mental health of full time employed middle class women. Data were gathered through a focused life history structured personal interview which lasted 2 1/2 to 3 hours on average. The research instrument covered many areas including: early schooling and family experiences, perceived barriers to educational and occupational attainment, current work situation (including perceived job stress, location in the administrative hierarchy, job rewards, authority), personal life (including social support networks), the integration of work and family life, and general well-being and mental health.

Sample. As is the case with many studies of special categories of women, there was no way to randomly sample the population of women who fit the above study criteria. Most national or large scale surveys tend to include few Black women (e.g., a typical NORC General Social Survey or University of Michigan National Election Study contains between 1,000 and 1,800 total cases and only 50 to 150 Blacks). Likewise, many small scale qualitative studies on professional and managerial women exclude Black women altogether and take no account of social class background. Therefore, we employed a quota sample which was designed to enable systematic exploration into the differences and similarities in life experiences across three dimensions of inequality:
race, class background, and sex composition of the occupation. The variables were operationalized as race (Black, White), social class background (working class, middle class), and sex composition of the subject's occupation (predominantly male, predominantly female). Equal numbers of cases (N=25) were selected for each of the 8 cells of this 2 x 2 x 2 design so that cell sizes would be large enough to allow statistical estimates of the relationships of the three major independent variables with other variables in the study. To reduce variations in cells that might be produced by variables confounded with the three independent variables, several additional variables were controlled or proportionately represented in the sample. They are described below.

-- Figure 1 about here --

**Controls.** In addition to limiting the sample to Black and White professional, managerial, and administrative women, the following factors were held constant: age, direct route from high school to college, and full-time employment. All of the subjects were members of the "baby boom", born between 1945 and 1960 and were roughly between the ages of 25 and 40 at the time of the interview. This group was selected because of their recent heavy concentration in professional, managerial, and administrative ranks and because their formal education took place at a time when greater funds and opportunities were available for working class and Black women to attend college. Since we were interested in examining institutional supports for upward mobility through college attendance (e.g., the role of high school counselors, teachers, etc.), the study was restricted to women who were college
graduates and went directly to college or within two years of finishing high school. Since many women choose part-time work as a strategy to minimize the stress associated with demanding work and family responsibilities, only full-time employed women were included.2

Proportionate Representation. Subjects were also selected to represent a wide range of middle class occupations. The middle class is conceptualized herein as a class which evolved out of the historical struggle for control of their labor between the capitalist class and the working class (for a complete discussion of the origins and definition of the middle class see Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1979; Poulantzas, 1978; Vanneman and Cannon, 1987). The primary role of the middle class (also called the professional-managerial class) in the capitalist system of production is to control the lives and labor of the working class so as to maximize the extraction of profits from their labor and to preserve the current social order. The middle class wields one of three types of power over the working class: political power through direct supervisory authority over workers; economic power through self-employment or ownership of small businesses; or ideological power through the indirect control over labor that mental workers exert as they design the work of others (e.g., engineers) and

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2 Because we wanted to interview Black and White women who were raised in both middle class and working class families, we excluded nurses (a popular occupation for mobile women but rarely the choice of women from established middle class families) and likewise, we excluded physicians, given the fact that few working-class-raised women can secure the funds needed to cover the extensive years of schooling required of medical doctors. Furthermore, in this Southern metropolitan area, many white teachers are employed in the private sector while few Black teachers can secure employment in private primary and secondary schools; therefore, the sample of primary and secondary school teachers was limited to those employed in the public schools.
reproduce the ideology which rationalizes the current social order (e.g., teachers, lawyers, social workers etc.).

There is a tension between the middle class, capitalists, and workers. On the one hand, the labor of the middle class is exploited by capitalists. They do not share fully in the profits their work extracts from labor. On the other, they receive more of society's rewards for the control functions they do perform including a degree of autonomy (e.g., professional self-governance), greater life chances (e.g., cleaner working conditions, health), and material resources (e.g., earnings).

Because we were interested in investigating how class background manifests itself in the lives of "middle class" women, we wanted to ensure that our sample included women in the full range of middle class positions (e.g., professionals, managers and administrators). Each of the three relations of control over the working class were to be represented: political (supervision), economic (ownership), and ideological (mental labor). This was necessary for the research to shed light on issues like the nature of social interactions across class lines: for example, teacher-student, lawyer-client, manager-subordinate, and owner-worker relations. The study sought to explore how these across-class contacts are managed by women of different races, class backgrounds, or by women with different support networks.

Furthermore, since professional networks tend to be homogeneous and insular (e.g., teachers know teachers, lawyers-lawyers, business managers-business managers, etc.), quotas were set for the distribution of the sample across the dimension of professionals vs. managers and administrators, and across specific occupational distributions within
each of those broad categories. The proportions were set to roughly match a category’s representation in the SMSA. Specifically, the design includes 60% professionals and 40% managers and administrators in the male-dominated occupations and 76% professionals and 24% managers and administrators in the female-dominated occupations (See Figure 1). Within each gender composition category, particular occupations were selected for inclusion in the sample based on their proportions among professionals, managers and administrators in the SMSA (e.g., more lawyers than chemists, more teachers than librarians).

Finally, subjects were selected so that their occupations were not confounded with race or class background. There is a growing body of evidence that in addition to sex-segregation in the labor force, there is substantial race segregation as well. One recent study (Dill et al, 1987) used 1980 national CPS data to estimate the extent of occupational segregation by race and sex. They report that 28% of employed Black women would have to change occupations in order to replicate the White women’s occupational distribution. There has been less extensive research on upward mobility and occupation, but some middle class occupations appear to be especially open to women from the working class (e.g., nursing), while others have been less open (e.g., medical doctors).

Given these structural relations between race, class-background and current occupation, it would be highly possible to draw a sample of raised-working class or Black women who are now middle class but concentrated in specific occupations (e.g., public school teachers, social work) which were more open to working class and Black women while their raised-middle class or White counterparts were concentrated
in other occupations (e.g., counselors, librarians). To avoid this confounding of race, class background and occupation, subjects were selected so that the different race and class background categories contain women from the same or closely related occupations. For example, in the category of male-dominated professionals there are equal numbers of lawyers who are Black and White, raised in working and middle class families).

Subjects were also sorted into 3 age groupings defined by birth cohort (1956-60, 1951-55, and 1945-50)\(^3\) to prevent overrepresentation of any age group in a race, class, gender, or specific occupational category. Every few weeks, volunteers who met all study parameters (i.e., 25-40 years of age; full-time employed professionals, managers, or administrators; and college graduates who went directly to college) were sorted according to all of the stratifying variables (i.e., race, class, sex composition of the occupation, professional vs. managers and administrators; specific occupation; and age category). Subjects to be interviewed were then randomly selected from each pool.\(^4\)

**Measurement: Independent Variables.** Race was divided into two categories, Black and White. Women from other racial groups were not included because of the small number of other race people in this

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\(^3\) Since we interviewed people over 17 months, subjects were selected by birth cohort rather than age. Thus, some women were 41 when they were interviewed but all were born between 1945 and 1960. For simplification, we will discuss the women as being between 25 and 40 years of age.

\(^4\) For a more detailed explanation of study parameters and sampling techniques see "Social Mobility, Race, and Women’s Mental Health," a proposal funded by NIMH grant No. MH38769-01, co-principal investigators Lynn Weber Cannon and Elizabeth Higginbotham, Center for Research on Women, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152.
Southern city. Since all of the women were currently working in professional, managerial, and administrative (i.e., middle class) positions,\(^5\) class was operationalized as middle or working class according to the class background of the subject. Women were classified as middle class if either their mother or father worked in a middle class occupation before the subject reached the age of thirteen. All other subjects were classified as having a working class background. Since all subjects are currently "middle class", their class background effectively identifies them as either "upwardly mobile" or "middle class stable".

The sex composition of the subject's occupation -- whether predominantly male or predominantly female -- measures one of the ways that gender oppression is structured and enables us to explore how a gender-based occupational structure shapes the experiences of women workers. Occupations were classified as female-dominated if over 50 percent of that occupation was female in the 1980 Census of the Population for the SMSA (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983).\(^6\)

\(^5\)The middle class is operationally defined as professionals, managers, and administrators. As mentioned above, they possess the ideological, economical and/or political power necessary to control the labor and lives of the working class in modern industrial capitalism. Because their primary role is to plan, manage, and monitor the work of others, mental laborers are commonly designated as middle class along with supervisors and the much smaller self-employed "old" middle class of storekeepers and independent farmers (Vanneman and Cannon, 1987; Braverman, 1974; Ehrenreich and Ehrenreich, 1979). Furthermore, Vanneman and Cannon (1987) provide recent evidence that the professional-managerial class division most closely reflects the middle class as it is perceived by both Black and White women today.

\(^6\)Since the U.S. labor market is strongly sex-segregated (Reskin, 1984; Dill et al, 1987), there were only 3 cases where the concentration of females in an occupation in the SMSA approximated 50 percent. They were accountants and auditors (51.4% female) and hospital administrators (50.3% female). Since the percentages in the local SMSA were so close, and the number of cases in these occupations was relatively small, the final determination of sex composition of the
Measurement: Dependent Variables. To measure financial, emotional, and informational supports for the transition from high school to college, subjects were asked to respond to the following question:

Some people think getting into college is a simple process, but research has shown that individuals need information and other supports to achieve educational goals. Who in your life helped you with the following issues:

1. gathering information about entrance examinations and colleges?
2. gathering specific information on admissions requirements and policies?
3. gathering information about financial aid and loans?
4. applying to specific colleges?
5. Who in your life helped you select the college you attended?
6. Who assured you about your ability to do college work?
7. Who paid your college tuition and fees?
8. Who provided emotional support for you to make the transition from high school to college?

Occupation for these two occupations was made on the basis of the Census for the U.S. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984). Accountants and auditors are only 38.1% female nationally and so were classified as male-dominated, and hospital administrators were 50.7% female nationally and so were classified as female-dominated.
9. Who helped you plan your first year in college (courses, work plans, etc.)?

10. Who, if anyone, encouraged you to think about a career?

Question 7 was intended as an indicator of "financial" support, questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9 as indicators of informational support, and items 6, 8, and 10 as indicators of emotional support. Subjects' responses to these open-ended questions were originally coded according to the following classification scheme: family, peers, teachers/school officials, other, and self (includes the response "no one helped"). All sources of support mentioned by the subject were recorded for each item. For example, if the subject mentioned that her father and her best friend helped her select the college she attended, "family" and "peers" were coded for that item. Since the aim of this paper is merely to illustrate the importance of both class and race to our understanding of issues in the area of educational attainment, we do not analyze all the responses to these items. Instead, the analysis is restricted to the level of "family" supports for each of the above items. Specifically, we examine whether or not the subject mentions family in the specified area regardless of whether she may have also received support from other sources. As will be seen, these responses sufficiently demonstrate the need to control race and class in future research on women.

**Selecting a Sample.** For each study volunteer we recorded information (i.e., race, parents' occupations and education, and subject's occupation) that enabled operationalizations of all key
independent variables as well as the parameters held constant (i.e., age, employment status, etc.). These data allowed us to estimate race, class background, and gender (sex composition of the occupation) bias in the total pool of study volunteers. In the remainder of the paper, these data are used in conjunction with detailed information taken from the 200 actual study participants to consider: bias in volunteering for this population; the types of recruitment strategies and labor required to develop a race- and class-balanced sample; and some implications of ignoring race and class in studies of professional, managerial, and administrative women. To do so, data are presented on three different samples: 1) the first 100 Black and 100 White volunteers; 2) the total number of volunteers after nine months of outreach (N = 400); and 3) the 200 subjects who were selected and interviewed for the study.

RECRUITMENT OF SUBJECTS

Preliminary Outreach Strategies: Less Labor Intensive: The first recruitment strategies which were used can be described as less labor intensive. These strategies, quite common in sociological and psychological research, consisted mainly of two types of activities: letters to organizations and individuals known to fit the study criteria (as described above), and announcements appearing in the local media (e.g., radio programs, daily newspaper, a local business weekly magazine, etc.) generally describing the study and asking for volunteers.
Letters giving a general description of the project were mailed to a variety of women's organizations in the metropolitan area in mid-May of 1985.7 The letters were sent to all women's organizations (both professional organizations like the American Society of Certified Public Accountants and social organizations like the National Council of Negro Women) that were listed in the public library's most recent list of women's organizations and were likely to contain members eligible for the study (N=46). The letters asked organizations to inform their members of the study, and offered to send study team members to speak to their groups if they so desired. People who desired to participate in the study were provided a cover letter containing a general description of the study and describing the criteria for inclusion in it (i.e., age range, college education, employment status, etc.).8 Volunteers were asked to complete a one-page subject information form and return it to the Memphis State University Center for Research on Women. The form contained all the information necessary to determine if the subject fit the study criteria. Since they had been made aware of the general criteria for

7 The study began in mid-May, 1985. Pre-testing the instrument was completed by mid-July and the first study interviews were completed in August, 1985. The two-hundredth and final interview was completed in December, 1986. Although subjects were interviewed over a period of 17 months, there were no apparent events during this time which would likely alter the life circumstances for professional, managerial, and administrative women generally. So the time span for completing the interviews is not likely to have affected the results.

8 Regarding the major independent variables in the study, the letter mentioned that we were interested in interviewing a variety of women including Black and White women, and women in male and female dominated occupations. The letter did not mention the class origins of the women, however, we did suggest that we were interested in studying their life histories.
the study, almost all of the women who volunteered for the study were eligible to participate in it.

**Secondary Outreach Strategies: More Labor Intensive.** After we began to receive volunteers from these solicitations and to observe their characteristics, we began more labor intensive strategies designed to reach other categories of women. Those strategies included: personal presentations to women's organizations' meetings, snowball techniques of calling individuals to recommend others for the study, obtaining specific occupational mailing lists (e.g., local chapter of the National Association of Social Workers), and identifying special newsletters to receive advertisements. Table 1 summarizes these outreach strategies and the number of Black and White women who volunteered through each of the methods.

--- Table 1 about here ---

The data show that after nine months of subject recruitment activities, 400 women employed as professionals, managers, and administrators had volunteered to participate in the study: 134 or 33.5% were Black and 266 or 66.5% were White. According to the 1980 census, Black women constituted 25.3% of the women employed as professionals, managers or administrators in the Memphis SMSA (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1983). Since no major increase in Black female concentrations in the middle class took place in the period from 1980 to 1985 (Higginbotham, 1987), these data suggest that Black women volunteered at a rate consistent with -- and perhaps slightly higher than -- their representation in the population under study.
Although the Black and White women volunteered at rates consistent with their presence in the population under study, there were significant differences in the methods required to recruit the Black and White women. The data indicate that the White subjects were much more easily reached by the less labor intensive strategies (e.g., the media, 22.9% of the Whites and 3.7% of the Blacks; and letters to occupational groups, 31.2% of the Whites and 13.4% of the Blacks). In fact, 74.1% of White women volunteers were reached by these strategies while only 38.8% of the Black women volunteers were reached through them. Black women however, were overwhelmingly (61.2%) recruited through more labor intensive strategies such as presentations at meetings and most significantly through word of mouth, snowball techniques. Over half, 56%, of the Black volunteers were recruited through direct contact by project staff or by other Black women professionals who either participated in the study themselves (and recommended other names to their interviewer) or worked with the project staff from the beginning of the study to recruit volunteers.

In sum, the less labor intensive and more common strategies for subject recruitment in studies on women like media solicitations and targeted mailings were much more likely to produce White volunteers. To recruit Black professional and managerial women required more labor intensive activities on the part of the researchers. Below we will examine some possible explanations for these racial differences in volunteering, but first we will examine the class origins of the volunteers.
Table 2 reveals that after nine months of outreach 42.5% (N=170) of all volunteers had working class families of origin and 57.5% (N=230) had middle class origins. However, the class origins of these professional and managerial women were significantly different for Blacks and Whites. Almost two-thirds of the Black women volunteers were raised in working class families while two-thirds of the White women were raised in middle class families. These proportions held for the first 100 volunteers (63% Black raised working class and 64% Whites raised middle class) as well as the final 400 volunteers 62.7% (N=84) Blacks raised working class, and 67.7% (N=180) Whites raised middle class).

Finally, the data in Table 2 also reveal overall patterns of volunteering for all race and class background groups. Of all 400 volunteers, 180 or 45.0% were White and raised middle class, 86 or 21.5% were White raised working class, 84 or 21.0% were Black raised working class, and 50 or 12.5% were Black raised middle class. In sum, the data in Table 2 support two basic observations:

1. Black women raised working class were twice as likely to volunteer as Black women raised in the middle class whereas the reverse was true among Whites. White women raised in the middle class were twice as likely to volunteer as White women from the working class; and

2. White women raised middle class were more than twice as likely to volunteer as either White or Black women raised in the working class and almost four times as likely to volunteer as Black women raised in the middle class.
Although our data do not permit a thorough examination of the issue, we suggest that several factors are likely to have produced a pool of volunteers that was heavily weighted to White women raised in the middle class, and among Black women, to upwardly mobiles. Two potential factors will be discussed below: the race and class background of middle class full-time employed women in the population; and factors which inhibit Black women's participation in social research of this nature.

Race, Mobility, and the Middle Class. Since this is not a random sample of the population, the different proportions of Black and White women from working class origins cannot be taken as estimates of the population parameters of these variables. However, some literature on the topic, and a trend in these data, combine to suggest that these proportions are quite plausible in the population. The extent of mobility in the U.S. has been a subject of debate for quite some time in sociology, many scholars agree that the extent of intra-class mobility from the working class to the professional-managerial class is limited (c.f., Ryan and Sackrey, 1984; Vanneman and Cannon, 1987). For example, Coleman and Rainwater (1978) based on their study of Boston and Kansas City in the 1970's, report that substantial mobility from the working class to the professional-managerial class occurred in only about 7% of the cases. But scholars also seem to be in agreement that since the 1960's and the breakdown of the formal legal racial barriers, the rates of mobility among the Black population have increased (c.f., Wilson, 1978). Furthermore, Coleman and Rainwater (1978:244) note that in contrast to a general pessimism about future chances for mobility among the Whites in their sample, Blacks expected that the
future would be "...brighter, the standard of living much higher on the average than what their parents had experienced, and mobility up from the bottom strata easier." One of their Black respondents stated: "I can't speak for the white people, whether it's going to be harder for them to change class or not, but we have greater opportunities today than when my parents were growing up....The racial barriers are down, or coming down" (Coleman and Rainwater, 1978:244).

A trend in the data for this study also tends to support the conclusion that Black middle class women are much more likely to be upwardly mobile than are White middle class women. Specifically, as Table 2 revealed, the proportions of Black and White upwardly mobiles was almost identical from the first volunteers to those who volunteered nine months later. The consistency of these proportions suggests that the type of subject recruitment strategy—which changed and became more labor intensive over time—did not change the likelihood of recruiting women from working or middle class origins. Independent evidence supporting this conclusion is presented in Table 3.

--Table 3 about here--

Those data suggest that within both racial categories every recruitment strategy produced roughly equal proportions of working class as middle class raised volunteers.9 As the data in columns 3 and 6 reveal, there are strong racial differences in the success of

---9The one perhaps notable exception is the 11.8% greater likelihood of White middle class as opposed to White working class volunteers being reached through "Occupational Mailing" lists. We suspect that such a difference may relate to the class backgrounds of the women in those specific occupations.
various recruitment strategies, but no significant class background differences once race was controlled. In sum, two-thirds of the Black women were upwardly mobiles while two-thirds of the White women were middle class stables. These proportions held throughout the nine months of recruitment and across the variety of subject recruitment strategies.

Race, Women and Social Research. A second group of factors which influence volunteering for social research is the willingness and the ability of individuals to participate. Racial group membership is a factor likely to influence both the willingness and the ability of women to participate in social research. Dominant group women have less reason to suspect that they or members of their group will be exploited in research on women. Members of minority communities have greater reason to do so (c.f., Baca Zinn, 1979). White women in this study were more than twice as likely to respond to letters or media solicitations while personal contact was typically required to recruit Black subjects. The contact enabled Black women to gain the assurances they needed that neither they nor others would be exploited by the research process or its products. We suspect that the Black women may have had special concerns since the request for participation came from researchers at a predominantly white educational institution. In addition, since many of these Black middle class women are highly "visible" in the community as, for example, the "only" or one of a few bank vice presidents, newscasters, university administrators, or judges, they had legitimate concerns about how their anonymity would be protected.
It may also be true that Black women in the middle class have less free time to devote to activities like participation in social research. During the course of the data gathering phase of the study, it became apparent that it was more difficult to schedule and complete interviews with Black volunteers than with White ones. They appeared to have less free time to devote to the project; were more often unable to complete the interview in one sitting; and were more likely to cancel scheduled interviews because unforeseen circumstances arose. We did not interpret these actions as reflecting resistance to the project or the process because they continued to verbally express an interest in participation and almost all did in fact complete the interview. Instead, the Black middle class women simply appeared to have less free-time and to have more obligations which impinged on that time.  

**Occupational Sex-segregation and Participation.** In addition, to the above systematic differences in volunteering across race and class background, we also observed differences among women working in male and female-dominated professions or managerial and administrative occupations. The 1980 census of the Memphis SMSA (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983) reveals that 55% of the women employed full-time as professionals, managers, and administrators work in female-dominated occupations.

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10 The constraints on their time were either due to family commitments or work or community obligations. In the final sample, even though there were no racial differences in marital status, 65% of Black women had children and 65% of White women had no children. Also, Black parents have little flexibility with regard to child care. And finally, we noted strong commitments among many of the Black women to working for racial uplift. They were involved in many civic and church activities. This extra "community work" among many middle class Black women has long historical precedent and has recently been detailed by such writers as Giddings (1984) and Gilkes (1980; 1982).
occupations while 45% work in male-dominated occupations. However, those who volunteered to participate in the study were predominantly working in male-dominated occupations. Fifty-seven percent of the Black (N=76) and 56% (148) of the White women volunteers worked in male-dominated occupations.

As was the case among the Black women, many women in female-dominated occupations like teaching appeared to have less control over their time and less free time. So scheduling and completing interviews with women teachers was more difficult than with, say, lawyers who could block out time even during the work day and have secretaries hold their calls. The extensive media and social science attention to women in traditionally male occupations (c.f., Harkess, 1985) may have also discouraged women in traditionally female occupations from seeing themselves as the focus of research on "professional women".11

FAMILY SUPPORTS FOR COLLEGE ATTENDANCE

Failing to attend to race and class in gender research has profound implications. The remainder of this paper reports race and class background differences in the social supports for these women to make the transition from high school to college. In so doing, we illustrate the drastic differences in conclusions that would have been drawn had either or both of these factors been ignored.

To successfully make it from high school to college, women need information, emotional, and financial support. Despite the many racial

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11 To counter this possible misperception, all notices about the study contained lists of occupations that included both traditionally female and traditionally male occupations.
and class barriers to attaining a college education (c.f., Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Higginbotham, forthcoming; Lightfoot, 1983; Oakes, 1985; Schafer and Olexa, 1971), all the women in this study had successfully scaled them. But they did not all make the transition in the same way. This research explored the different supports these women were able to marshal during that critical juncture in life. An additional concern was to identify any long term differences between women who faced key life transitions with family and/or institutional supports, and women who had to rely almost solely on their inner/individual resources and ingenuity. If the families cannot serve as resources for key life transitions, then they will be more difficult and the women will need to develop different coping skills.

Table 4 reports the responses of the 200 women to ten questions assessing informational, emotional, and financial supports for the transition from high school to college. Frequencies for each question represent the number of women who reported that "family" had helped them in each of the specified areas. For example, 11 or 22% of the Black working class-raised women mentioned that "family" members had helped them gather information about entrance exams, and the remaining 39 or 78% of this group did not receive family help in this area. The data reveal that there are both class and racial differences in the information, emotional, and financial resources provided to these women by their families.

**Procuring Information.** First, middle class families--both Black and White--were far more help to these women in obtaining the information they needed about entrance exams, admissions requirements, application procedures, and ultimately in selecting a particular
college. Many popular as well as social science (e.g., Fussell, 1983) conceptions of class in America emphasize the financial, life style, and material status differences between the middle class and the working class. They often fail to attend to key nonmaterial resources which accompany the material comforts of the middle class. Some other conceptions incorporate educational attainment into a definition of the middle class or high "SES" individuals without explicating what it is about education that puts a person at an advantage in society.

In Schooling in Capitalist America, Bowles and Gintis (1976) and more recently Collins in The Credential Society (1979) document the role of higher education in preparing middle class youth for assuming roles as professionals, managers, and administrators and providing them with the credentials necessary to ensure their entry into those positions. Middle class parents have access to information about middle class institutions which is invaluable in facilitating their children's transition into and through them (Higginbotham forthcoming). Our data suggest that the basic information necessary to gain admission to college is distributed unevenly across middle class and working class women's families. Both Black and White working class women were simply unable to rely on their families to help them identify the steps necessary to go to college while women from the middle class received much more help from family.\(^{12}\)

Funding For College. The second, most visible, and perhaps best understood resource required to attend college is financial. A common

\(^{12}\)Since schools are themselves class-differentiated institutions (and even within comprehensive high schools there are class differences in the academic tracks) it is also likely that the schools were much more helpful to the middle class girls. A separate analysis by Yvonne Newsome (1986) of the Blacks in this study examined this issue.
explanation for not attending college is "I can't afford it". Economic resources to attend college were obviously procured by all of the women in this study. This fact should not obscure the reality that most Black and working class-raised women do not attend or complete college. Our subjects are among the small elite who did successfully scale the major economic barrier to college attendance. However, they did not obtain their funding from the same sources; there were significant class differences. Fifty-eight percent (N=28) of the working class and 88% (N=44) of the middle class-raised women said family members paid their college tuition and fees. That over one-half, or 58%, of the working class women were able to count on family for some financial support towards a college education suggests that these "successful" working class women came from solidly working class families--families who because of structural features (e.g., single child), and a commitment to make sacrifices, were able to provide surplus funds for this purpose. It means that most did not come from poor families even though they were working class.

Despite the relatively high level of family financial support for the working class women, it pales in comparison to the 88% of the middle class women, both Black and White, who recieved family financial aid. Even more strongly than the difference in information, this economic gap suggests that the working class women would have to identify and procure funds from different sources and are likely to have developed different skills in the process. Furthermore, merely noting the varied sources of funds only hints at the different college experiences these funding sources are likely to have meant--even for women at the same or very similar institutions.
The working class women are likely to have worked more, and thereby had their "social life" circumscribed or to have been on scholarship which proscribes a special status. Such special statuses are often accompanied by obligations and negative as well as positive treatment. Or they may have procured loans which were to be repaid upon graduation—a prospect which colors one’s future plans and goals. In sum, the different sources of funding women are able to procure at that critical mobility juncture influence: the likelihood that they will enter and complete college, the quality of their social and intellectual life while there, and their vision of the future and post graduation plans.

Emotional Support. The emotional support for making the transition from high school to college was examined in three questions assessing: reassurance about their abilities to do college work, emotional support, and encouragement to think about a career. These three aspects of support and encouragement varied by both race and class. Reassurance about their abilities to do college work was most forthcoming from the middle class families. Having direct knowledge of what college is actually like (even though it changes over time), they could more confidently and specifically reassure their children that they have the skills and knowledge, that is, the ability to perform as college students. Even without verbalizing their reassurance, the mere presence of college educated parents in a family makes a strong statement about the ability to get a college degree. Whereas, in working class families where the girls are the first generation (and for many the first in the family) to attend college, there may be great
uncertainty about whether or not this work can be done by members of this family.\textsuperscript{13}

Among the middle class respondents, reassurance about their ability to do college work was conveyed by 78\% (N=39) of the White middle class families and only 60\% (N=30) of the Black middle class families. The White middle class parents could reassure their daughters about what college work would be like even in specific ways. This process was more complex for Black middle class parents—even those with college degrees. If they held college degrees, they were likely to have been from historically Black colleges and universities, while their daughters were more likely to have attended integrated or predominantly White elementary and high schools and to be entering White colleges.\textsuperscript{14}

The responses to questions about emotional support for the transition from high school to college also reveal class differences. More middle class girls indicated that their families provided emotional support for the transition than working class girls. The "foreign" or unknown nature of college to working class parents may also make it less possible to provide emotional support to their daughters. It is also apparent that Black families—both middle class and working class—provide more emotional support for their daughters' college attendance than White families. Throughout this century,

\textsuperscript{13}Since the working class women are also more likely to have attended schools where the peer group is not "college bound", they may have also lacked models among their peers.

\textsuperscript{14}See Higginbotham (forthcoming) for a detailed discussion of the different issues confronting Black middle and working class girls who entered predominantly White colleges depending on the racial composition and type of high school (e.g., comprehensive, elite private, etc.) they attended.
scholarship on the Black community has consistently documented the high priority placed on education as a vehicle for success within the society (e.g., Blackwell, 1985; Newman et al, 1978; Willie, 1976). Education is hailed as a way of improving the lot of the race and of preparing oneself to serve the Black community in professional services (e.g., doctor, lawyer, teacher, nurse, minister) and as leaders of the future (e.g., for a discussion of the development of Civil Rights leaders, see: Morris, 1986). So the encouragement that Black girls receive is not only encouragement to self-improvement but also gives their mobility meaning in relation to the community needs of a racially oppressed group.

Finally, there appears to be a weak relationship \( (X^2 = 2.88, p < .10) \) between race and encouragement to think about a career. More Black women received family encouragement to think about a career than White women. This is consistent with findings that Black women receive encouragement for educational attainment with the aim of securing employment (c.f., Allen, 1979; Higginbotham, forthcoming). High unemployment rates among Black men, coupled with low wage work for both Black women and men have meant that adult Black women will more likely be supporting themselves alone, and even those who are married will be expected to make a major contribution to the family income. In light of these realities, Black girls are typically socialized to think of themselves as personally responsible for their social class position (Giddings, 1984).

The group which differs most from the others on this issue is White working class-raised women, who seem to receive the least encouragement from family (40%, N=20) to think about a career. This
likely reflects emphasis in the White working class homes on marriage as a primary goal and mobility mechanism for daughters (see Joslin, 1979). Furthermore, "careers" are frequently thought of as middle class work whereas "jobs" are the label more often assigned to working class work. Middle class families are more likely to have used the "career" label while working class families may have been more likely to have encouraged their daughters to think about future "work" or "jobs".

In conclusion, the data on family supports for the transition from high school to college reveals strong class differences in both information and financial resources, and both race and class differences in emotional encouragement and support. Had this study failed to systematically address the race and class background of the professional and managerial women in both study design and analysis, we would have drawn a very different picture about the role of families in supporting women as they move from high school to college.

For example, recall that the typical Black woman volunteer was raised in a working class family while the typical White volunteer was raised in a middle class family. Had we not attended to the class background of the women as well as their race, we would have concluded that Black women receive far less support in all areas than White women—a conclusion which could have fueled a "cultural deficit" interpretation of the process. Such a conclusion would represent a gross distortion of the process since it is indeed working class women—both Black and White—who receive less family support. Failing to incorporate class background into studies of professional-managerial class women especially distorts the realities of two groups of middle
class women—Black women raised in the middle class and White women raised in the working class. Black women raised in the middle class and White women raised—working class represent smaller but significant segments of professional-managerial class women. Failing to recognize their experiences could greatly distort our conclusions.

**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

Race, class, and gender are major dimensions of social inequality in America today. Research which ignores any one of these dimensions risks trivializing and distorting the role of each of them in social life. Although it is not feasible, practical, or even desirable to incorporate all possible race, class, and gender comparisons in every study, none of these dimensions should be ignored in any study. Instead, because of the pervasive social structural significance of all of these dimensions, their impacts are far-reaching and so can be incorporated into research in many ways.

Race, gender, and class structures can be systematically investigated even in studies that examine only women or Blacks or Latinas or the middle class, etc. For example, in our study of professional-managerial class women, we explored the role of gender in shaping women's lives by examining the gender composition of their occupations. We examined the role of race by comparing the experiences of Black and White women, but we could also identify the different experiences of Black women who attended segregated, integrated, or predominantly White schools. And we documented the role of class in
the lives of middle class women by exploring differences resulting from their class origins.

To fully explore the meaning of race, class, and gender in the lives of women today requires that we attend to a second important dimension which is often ignored in sociological and psychological research: personal and social history. As our data reveal, social class origins may be a hidden dimension which confounds results in many studies of a single class group, especially the middle class or professional-managerial class. The different class backgrounds of Black and White professional-managerial class women also suggest that studies which make racial comparisons within the middle class must be especially attentive to class origins or risk attributing to race and culture what is a class-based phenomenon.

We should also recognize the ways that the racial stratification system has changed over time, and look for variations among women of color in the ways that their lives have been shaped by different historical manifestations of racial oppression. For example, the racial restrictions and assaults that women of color confront on a daily basis may take significantly different forms in segregated or integrated school systems. The nature of gender stratification has also changed over time. For example, White women in the 1950's faced major obstacles to working outside the home, now few women have the option to remain in the home. As the social structure changes, so does the shape of class, race and gender oppression in people's lives.

In research designed with race, class, and gender as core organizing principals, awareness of these systems of inequality must infuse every aspect of the research process. The research presented
herein also revealed class and race differences in volunteering. White women raised in middle class families who were working in male-dominated professions were far more likely to volunteer than their counterparts. While this group does not even represent the majority of professional-managerial class women in America, they are probably the group most studied, and based on our observations, the group most likely to continue to be studied unless researchers design their studies to do otherwise.

Addressing race, class, and gender in our research does introduce new levels of complexity and requires that we rethink and restructure even our methods of subject recruitment. For example, Black women may be less likely to participate in studies of professional-managerial class women for a variety of reasons including: their smaller numbers (and accompanying greater "visibility" in the community), concerns about exploitation in the research process, amount of free time, etc. So researchers cannot design studies and recruit subjects without attending to these issues and expect to have women of color appear in their samples. A glaring example of this problem appears in Rosanna Hertz' recent book More Equal than Others: Women and Men in Dual-Career Marriages. She states,

"Although this was not a deliberate sampling strategy, all respondents were Caucasian." (Hertz, 1986:217)

Our study also revealed that more labor intensive subject recruitment strategies were required to overcome the obstacles to participation for Black women (although there were no differences in
volunteering by class origins). Face-to-face contact with Black women researchers or other Black women working with the research team was typically required to recruit Black subjects. And greater persistence was required to see interviews through to completion. But our experience also suggested that when Black women were assured that the purpose of the research was worthwhile, they volunteered in equal if not greater proportions than Whites.

Finally, this study examined family supports for the transition from high school to college to illustrate the potential impact on conclusions of failing to consider race, class, and gender. We found both class and race differences in the support that families provided these women in this key life transition. Middle class women—both Black and White—received more family support in obtaining needed information and funds for attending college. Middle class women—especially White middle class women—received greater assurance about their abilities to do college work. Black women received greater encouragement to think about a career, and middle class women—especially Black middle class women—received more emotional support for going to college. Although it is outside the scope of this paper, we believe there are long range effects of facing key life transitions with different levels of family support. They include developing: different coping skills, different definitions of the meaning of work, and different relations with family of origin.

Future research on women—especially research that relies on small samples of volunteer subjects—should make class and race an explicit part of the research design and allow them to permeate the whole research process. This will certainly add to the complexity of
studies, but it is time for gender research to become more complex. We can no longer afford to forget to incorporate race and class or to use the complexity as an excuse to avoid the issues. When they are integrated fully into research, the building blocks of feminist social and psychological theory will begin to incorporate the diversity of women’s experiences. When that happens, working class women and women of color no longer will be viewed as adjuncts, afterthoughts, or interesting deviations from an existing theoretical model (Baca Zinn et al., 1986).
Figure 1. Sampling Design

Race

Class Background

Sex Composition of Occupation

Occupation (Professional-Managers/Administrators)

1 Professional (M):
- Attorney
- College Professor
- Engineer
- Psychotherapist

2 Managers/Administrators (M):
- Bank Vice-President
- Manager Car Dealership
- Account Executive-Comm. Co.
- College Administrator

3 Professional (F):
- Public School Teacher
- Social Worker
- Counselor
- Librarian

4 Managers/Administrators (F):
- Elementary School Principal
- Director - Day Care Center
- Director - Youth Agency
- Library Department Head
Table 1. Success of Outreach Strategies by Race.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF STRATEGY</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>66.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=134)</td>
<td>(N=266)</td>
<td>(N=400)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less Labor Intensive:

1. Mass Media  
   (e.g., local newspaper, local magazine, radio)  
   3.7%  
   (5)  
   22.9%  
   (61)  
   16.5%  
   (66)

2. Specific Occupational Mailing Lists:  
   (e.g., Targeted mailings to Social Workers, Public Library employees)  
   13.4%  
   (18)  
   31.2%  
   (83)  
   25.3%  
   (101)

3. Other Mailings  
   (e.g., Center for Research on Women's mailing list, letters to presidents of organizations)  
   21.7%  
   (29)  
   19.9%  
   (53)  
   20.5%  
   (82)

   SUBTOTAL:  
   38.8%  
   (52)  
   74.0%  
   (197)  
   62.3%  
   (249)

More Labor Intensive:

1. Organizational Presentations:  
   (Personal presentations at organizational meetings, e.g., Coalition of 100 Black Women, Republican Career Women)  
   5.2%  
   (7)  
   3.0%  
   (8)  
   3.8%  
   (15)

2. Snowball Technique  
   (e.g., word-of-mouth)  
   56.0%  
   (75)  
   22.9%  
   (61)  
   34.0%  
   (136)

   SUBTOTAL:  
   61.2%  
   (82)  
   25.9%  
   (69)  
   37.8%  
   (151)

TOTAL  
100%  
(134)  
100%  
(266)  
100%  
(400)
Table 2. First 400 Volunteers by Race and Class Origins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Origins:</th>
<th>BLACK VOLUNTEERS</th>
<th>WHITE VOLUNTEERS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FIRST 100</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>FIRST 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Class</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = (84)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>(170)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Class</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = (50)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(180)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total %</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N =</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(134)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3. Success of Outreach Strategies by Race and Class Origins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF STRATEGY</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WORKING CLASS</td>
<td>MIDDLE CLASS</td>
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<td>(N=50)</td>
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<td>Less Labor Intensive:</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mass Media</td>
<td>6.0% (5)</td>
<td>— (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Specific Occupational</td>
<td>14.2% (12)</td>
<td>12.0% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailing Lists:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Other Mailings</td>
<td>20.2% (17)</td>
<td>24.0% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUBTOTAL:   40.4% (34)</td>
<td>36.0% (18)</td>
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<tr>
<td>More Labor Intensive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Organizational</td>
<td>6.0% (5)</td>
<td>4.0% (2)</td>
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<td>Presentations:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Snowball Technique</td>
<td>53.6% (45)</td>
<td>60.0% (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SUBTOTAL:   59.6% (50)</td>
<td>64.0% (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100% (84)</td>
<td>100% (50)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 4. Race and Class Origin Differences in Percent Reporting Family Support for the Transition from High School to College.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF SUPPORT</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>CLASS X²</th>
<th>RACE X²</th>
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<td>MC</td>
<td>WC</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance exams and colleges</td>
<td>22.0b</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Admissions requirements</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial aid and loans</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application procedures</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selecting college</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan first year</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paid tuition and fees</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assured about abilities</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional support</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>69.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encouragement for career</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a WC = Working Class; MC = Middle Class.
b N's are parenthesized below the percentages for each group. N's represent the number of subjects indicating family support in the listed domain.

* p ≤.10, X² = 2.71, df = 1.
**p ≤.05, X² = 3.64, df = 1.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Research and Education Institute of the Congregational Caucus for Women's Issues.


Appendix Table 1. Success of Outreach Strategies by Class.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF STRATEGY</th>
<th>WORKING CLASS (N=169)</th>
<th>MIDDLE CLASS (N=231)</th>
<th>TOTAL (N=400)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less Labor Intensive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mass Media (e.g., local newspaper, local magazine, radio)</td>
<td>17.2% (29)</td>
<td>16.0% (37)</td>
<td>16.5% (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Specific Occupational Mailing Lists: (e.g., Targeted mailings to Social Workers, Public Library employees)</td>
<td>19.0% (32)</td>
<td>29.9% (69)</td>
<td>25.3% (101)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other Mailings (e.g., Center for Research on Women's mailing list, letters to presidents of organizations)</td>
<td>19.5% (33)</td>
<td>21.2% (49)</td>
<td>20.5% (82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>55.7% (94)</td>
<td>67.1% (155)</td>
<td>62.3% (249)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Labor Intensive:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Organizational Presentations: (Personal presentations at organizational meetings, e.g., Coalition of 100 Black Women, Republican Career Women)</td>
<td>4.7% (8)</td>
<td>3.0% (7)</td>
<td>3.8% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Snowball Technique (e.g., word-of-mouth)</td>
<td>39.6% (67)</td>
<td>29.9% (69)</td>
<td>34.0% (136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>44.3% (75)</td>
<td>32.9% (76)</td>
<td>37.8% (151)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100% (169)</td>
<td>100% (231)</td>
<td>100% (400)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>