

Studi e interpretazioni/ Studies and Interpretations

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GENDER, RACE, AND ETHNICITY:
LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS
AND THE GLASS CEILING IN THE UNITED STATES.
AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

The general term “glass ceiling” refers to invisible barriers that hamper women and ethnic minorities’ access to top leadership occupations. According to some authors (Jackson and Callaghan 2009; Acker 2009; Proudford 2009; Davis and Maldonado 2015; Bloch et al. 2021), most social science research on the subject in the United States has focused on the analysis of gender or race inequalities and has paid little attention to the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, and class as a determining factor in the insertion into these occupations. This situation is alarming because these criteria of social differentiation feed into each other to determine the professional and economic advancement of particular groups. The intersection between gender and race or gender and ethnicity shows that Black women and Latin American immigrants are far from breaking through the invisible barrier of discrimination (Purcell *et al.* 2010).

The metaphor “glass ceiling” was employed by feminism before the 1980s to highlight the difficulties women experienced in reaching the high social and occupational ladder (Jackson and Callaghan 2009). It became popular after the article “The Glass Ceiling: Why Women Cannot Seem to Break the Invisible Barrier That Blocks Them from the Top Jobs” in the *Wall Street Journal* (Hymowitz and Schellhardt 1986). The authors

described the barriers that women face in gaining access to more senior occupations within U.S. companies. The glass ceiling effect also described the barriers experienced by ethnic minorities in accessing executive leadership positions (Jackson and Callaghan 2009).

After a thorough analysis conducted by The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) regarding the possibilities for women and ethnic minorities to enter managerial occupations in the United States, researchers pointed out that three artificial barriers hinder their advancement in the private sector of the labor market. The first is social: “supply barriers” related to educational opportunities and attainment, and “difference barriers” expressed in conscious or unconscious stereotypes and prejudices related to gender, race, and ethnicity. The second is generated by employers by developing forms of discrimination that privilege the hiring of some workers over others, favoring organizational climates that isolate or keep women and workers belonging to ethnic minorities down and limiting the possibilities of training and the possibility of pursuing careers through their employment, among others. Third, there are barriers related to lack of monitoring and enforcement, lack of specialized data sources that account for the employment situation of specific groups, and insufficient dissemination of information related to the glass ceiling. There have been different ways of approaching the empirical analysis of the concept. Some have focused on participation in levels of authority and others have looked at differences in income (Jackson and Callaghan 2011; Bartol et al. 2003; Le and Miller 2010; Price-Glynn Rakovski 2012; Tesfai and Thomas 2020).

For their part, Cotter et al. (2001) point out that the “glass ceiling effect” is a concept that allows us to observe gender and race inequalities and distinguishes it from other forms of employment discrimination. They describe four criteria that make it a specific form of discrimination: 1) The glass ceiling represents those gender and race characteristics that differences in human capital cannot explain. 2) The glass ceiling effect increases at higher occupational levels. 3) The glass ceiling also represents the impossibility of advancing to the high-

est levels in organizations. 4) The emphasis that gender and race inequalities grow throughout an individual's career.

This article analyzes the lack of insertion of Latin American immigrants, non-white Hispanics, and African Americans in managerial occupations in the United States. It establishes the extent to which the intersectionality of gender, race, and ethnicity can explain the unequal participation of workers in higher-level positions. In the analysis, I employ data from the American Community Survey (ACS 2019), from which I perform descriptive analyses and fit econometric models. I hypothesize that the lower participation of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in managerial occupations is due to their lower human capital relative to the non-Hispanic white population and the consequent effect generated by the intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity.

In terms of structure, this article comprises three sections besides the introduction and the conclusions. The first part comprises the conceptual definition, background, and description of the term “glass ceiling”, followed by theoretical explanations. This section emphasizes the advantages of incorporating an intersectional analysis in the labor market study regarding the specific contribution to understanding the invisible barriers that determine the insertion of certain groups in higher leadership and command positions. In the second section, I describe the methodology used; and in the third, I present the results of the descriptive analysis and the adjusted probabilistic models.

1. *Background*

According to the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission report (1995), in 1989, 97% of the nation's top corporate executives were white men. In 1992 the Fortune 1500 companies survey showed that most women in management occupations (95%) were non-Hispanic white. This commission also reported that most female and ethnic minority professionals and managers did not work in for-profit private sector occupations. This group is generally employed in non-governmental agencies in

the health, social welfare, education, legal services institutions, professional services, libraries, museums, arts organizations, and others (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission 1995).

To illustrate this disparity, Landau (1995) analyzed the relationship between race and gender and the potential promotion of workers in U.S. companies. An econometric analysis allowed him to show that both categories were significantly related to the promotion. Women had lower scores than men, and blacks and Asians had lower scores than whites.

Mintz and Krymkowski (2010) investigated whether changes in Equal Employment Opportunity Commission enforcement policies and sustained increases in women's educational attainment impacted occupational segregation by gender, race, and ethnicity. To verify this, they used data from the Current Population Survey (1983 and 2002). The authors found that, during this time, white men maintained their advantage in the occupational hierarchy and that white woman presented the greatest progress in their occupational insertion. The authors suggest that policy changes and budget cuts by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission affected African Americans more than white women in the observed period. In addition, they found that the continued increase in the educational attainment of African American women and men was reflected in the types of occupations they entered. Both groups moved into occupations that required high levels of education at disproportionate rates. However, white men predominated in the best occupations, and white women were better off than their African American and Hispanic counterparts.

Rosenblum et al. (2015), in a longitudinal study founded on data from the New Immigrant Survey, sought to establish the extent to which the market penalizes people phenotypically different from U.S. whites. The authors looked at the wages of immigrants from different regions of the world and determined that those immigrants with darker skin tones were penalized in their wages, which was especially noticeable among immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean.

Bennett (2020) notes that, overall, the share of immigrants in high-skilled non-mechanical jobs has increased in the

United States in recent decades, yet immigrants are less likely than U.S.-born workers to enter non-mechanical jobs. where non-mechanical skills predominate, that is, social, fundamental skills, analytical skills, or managerial skills. In a recent study on the occupational insertion of Black immigrants in the United States, Tesfai and Thomas (2019) found that African immigrants and Black (non-African) immigrants are overrepresented in occupations such as cab drivers, parking attendants, subway drivers, streetcar drivers, ambulance drivers, and transportation in general. In addition, they confirmed that African and Black Caribbean immigrants are not only occupationally segregated from white workers but experience a greater degree of segregation than African Americans.

In addition, a study conducted by Bloch et al. (2021) shows how gender and race play a role in access to middle- and upper-level managerial occupations in the United States. The authors used data from the 2015 U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEO-1) and observed that Black women and men are underrepresented in middle and upper management in private sector workplaces. The authors demonstrated that access to this sort of job varies according to the workers' worksite characteristics, race, and gender.

A recent Catalyst report (2022) points out that despite the significant number of female CEOs in the Fortune 500 in 2021, the vast majority of companies are run by men. this year white women accounted for 32.6% of all managerial positions. While only 4.3% of Latina women and black women held these positions. The percentage of Asian women in these occupations was 2.7%.

2. The glass ceiling: particular explanations

According to Weyer (2007), the explanations regarding the invisible barriers that women face in accessing management positions can be grouped into three main categories: biological, socialization, and structural-cultural approaches. The advocates of the biological approach argue that the differences between men and women are based on genetic patterns. The explanations based on socialization strive to explain that the

construction of identity and gender differences occurs at different stages of the individual's development, such as in school and work life. The structural-social approach emphasizes that structures, cultural systems, and social arrangements are what construct and define gender differences and are responsible for the type of leadership attributed to men and women.

In addition, Weyer points out two critical theories within the structural-cultural approach: the "social role theory" and the "state of expectation theory". These theories suggest that the causes of the glass ceiling are to be found in the social structure. The former suggests that gender roles sway the behavior of men and women and that these influence leadership roles. Therefore, the evaluations and ideas held about women's leadership respond to stereotypes about the role of women. The second arises to explain that expectations regarding the future performance of individuals are created from the knowledge of the tasks or activities they carry out within the group to which they belong. This idea, in turn, determines how individuals themselves confirm and maintain the type of subsequent interaction related to the tasks that confirm the expectations (Berger *et al.* 1980). Inequalities between individuals are used to construct status characteristics, such as gender, race, or ethnicity. In fact, beliefs about gender status are some of the causes of the glass ceiling (Weyer 2007).

Eagly and Mladinic (1989) define the attitude toward a social group as a kind of cognitive response and uses it as a synonym for stereotype about the group. A stereotype is the set of characteristics that individuals attribute to a social group. Despite advances in the status of women, particularly in the workplace, gender typecasting persists (Anker 1997; Lueptow *et al.* 2001). It is believed that women are less willing to enter jobs that involve a close commitment to companies and interfere with their family responsibilities, whereas men are considered more capable and willing to perform jobs that involve control and command. Additionally, men are considered to have more experience making them more suitable for management positions (Agut and Martín 2007). This stereotypical view of the capabilities of men and women prevents the

promotion of women to higher-paying and more prestigious positions and contributes to maintaining gender segregation in occupations.

Furthermore, stereotypes are also constructed around ethnic minorities. Berger *et al.* (1980: 30) refer to the work carried out by Katz and Braly in 1933, in which they asked 100 college students to assign characteristics to a list of ethnic groups in the United States. The five typical character traits they attributed to blacks were: “superstitious”, “lazy”, “careless”, “ignorant” and “musical”; while whites were attributed: “industrious”, “intelligent”, “materialistic”, “ambitious” and “progressive”. Although the reference to this study may be outdated, social change has not gone hand in hand with the deconstruction of these imaginaries about certain groups (Reskin 2002). On the contrary, the socioeconomic gaps between groups remain. This circumstance makes it impossible today to objectively analyze the U.S. labor market without considering the role of racism and discrimination in structuring inequalities.

3. *Intersectionality and the glass ceiling*

Most of the studies related to gender, race, and class inequalities in the labor market have focused on one of these systems and have rarely studied them as complex processes that feed and reinforce each other (Acker 2006). For several decades now, African American feminist scholars have noted that much of the academic production has focused on observing the reality of white, middle-class women, ignoring that the category of gender is interrelated with class, race/ethnicity, and other criteria of social differentiation (Feimster 2012).

In 1989 Kimberle Crenshaw introduced the concept of intersectionality to show how race and gender interact to determine part of women's experiences in the U.S. labor market. She noted that Black women are often excluded from feminist theory and anti-racist policy discourse because both are based on a discrete set of experiences that generally do not accurately reflect race and gender differences. Nevertheless,

this gap is not resolved by simply including Black women in the established analytical structure because intersectional experience goes beyond the sum of racism and sexism. Therefore, research that does not consider intersectionality cannot comprehensively account for Black women's particular subordination (Crenshaw 1989).¹

To illustrate, Acker (2006) points out that focusing on analyzing one of these categories limits the understanding of reality. As far as the labor market is concerned, she adds that social practices and processes within organizations perpetuate inequalities. These inequalities reproduce what occurs in the society in which the organizations or companies exist. Acker has called these “inequality regimes”. Consequently, she claims that an analysis of the insertion and working conditions and the promotion processes of workers within companies in the United States, excluding an intersectional perspective, offers only a partial vision of market dynamics.

Unlike the concept of “gender regimes”, this “inequality regime” addresses the analysis of race, ethnicity, and class processes, recognizing that the gender system is intimately related to others, such as class and race. A clear example of the confluence of these systems is the overrepresentation of white men in managerial occupations, white men who also enjoy class privileges (Acker 2009). In light of the inequality regimes approach, it is possible to identify the practices developed by the organizations to perpetuate the glass ceiling.

Fort Collins (2015). The term intersectionality refers to the fact that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, abil-

¹ Davis (2016) shows how in the journey of struggles for the vindication of women's rights in the United States, the feminist movement was not connected to the reality of Black women. According to Schiller (2000), advanced the 20th century, African American women scholars began to question the role of sexism and racism in society at large and the civil rights movement. They made a series of criticisms of the white-dominated feminist movement for considering that all women experienced the same forms of oppression and inequality. African American academic women argued that black women experienced triple discrimination based on sex, race, and class. These scholars have gone against the views of white feminists and have even challenged the positions of some African American male scholars focused on the study of racial inequality without its interaction with gender.

ity, and age are reciprocally constructed and are not mutually exclusive units. The author defines it as a knowledge project whose interest focuses on analyzing power relations and social inequalities. In this sense, intersectionality is understood as a field located within the power relations it studies. It is a strategy for analyzing and explaining social phenomena and is a critical praxis that reports social justice projects. As a field of study, the author recognizes that its acceptance and growing use in academic research in recent times has allowed the generation of new knowledge around diverse inequalities. Regarding intersectionality as a form of critical praxis, she points out that the “praxis perspective does not separate scholarship from practice” and that academic reflection provides theoretical frameworks that people bring to practice, so they are linked since practice is constituted as a fundamental element for intersectional analysis.

Specifically, race and ethnicity are social constructs that highlight the hierarchical order in which society is organized and the labor force is distributed. In recent times, the use of the concept of race in research has been thoroughly discussed. Several decades ago, the human genome study demonstrated that the paradigm of human identity based on race is a social construct; therefore, its value in research must be reconsidered (Royal and Duston 2004). Biomedical research has questioned this approach after proving that the number of genes that describe appearance is minimal. Nonetheless, some researchers point out that there are legit racial and ethnic differences in the causes and prevalence of different diseases. Studying these differences is valuable for diagnosing and researching health care and treatments. Hence, eliminating these concepts and biological assumptions entails social costs and would increase the vulnerability of minority groups; however, it cannot be an argument to support the influence of the human genome on professional capacity (González *et al.* 2003).

Regarding the concept of race, Wade (2014) highlights its mutable nature over time, since it went from being in its origins (18th century) an idea based on culture and environment to a biological conception, *i.e.*, something that is seen through

the body to later be observed as something that is culturally constructed. For Hering (2007), the concept is an intellectual and social construction whose function is to differentiate, segregate and racialize social relations through biological determinism.

Although the concept today has raised questions and issues, and even if in some places it is unsuitable to use it to refer to phenotypic difference (Hering 2007; Wade 2014), this transformation remains theoretical and does not imply the disappearance of racist practices and the consequences for those subjected to them. We can use other social classifiers but dropping the concept of race does not resolve the structural inequality evident in the labor market.

Pierre (2004: 144) contends that in the social sciences, and more specifically in the United States, there has been an extensive use of the “ethnicity” concept to refer to immigrant groups. In the author’s words, the current discourse of “ethnic distinction” perpetuates a form of racism under a theory that denies the relevance of race while continually recoding biological notions of race as culture. According to Pierre, in the United States, the race is a fundamental element of social relations; hence it cannot be subordinated by categories such as ethnicity, as they are considered more encompassing.

In the United States, unemployment, poverty, violence, and other social problems are closely related to race. One of the results of the civil movement for the integration of the Black population was the incorporation of categories such as “African American” and “Hispanic” to monitor the progress of affirmative actions (Oboler 2006). Currently, the U.S. Census Bureau collects race and Hispanic origin through its censuses and surveys. Sociodemographic research based on these sources has shown that these concepts do not constitute a simple statistical classification and that, on the contrary, they allow us to observe deep-seated social inequalities.

Racism is one of the structural factors operating in the market that relegates certain workers to certain occupations. Bonilla-Silva (1997) points out that a critical point to understanding racism resides in the assumption that it is a psychological or ideological phenomenon, as it has been commonly

observed. In other words, it is not exclusively a matter of the biased attitude of some individuals. According to the author, assuming this definition prevents us from understanding that racism has a strong structural basis. To this end, he proposes the concept of “racialized social systems” that refer to societies in which the economic, political, social, and ideological levels are structured on the location of individuals in racial categories. According to the author, racialization proceeds from the labor needs of the European powers in the 15th century. Since that time, race, gender, and class have been articulated to form “the matrix of the social system” that functions to benefit the dominant race.

The author argues that, in all racialized social systems, the location of people in racial categories implies some form of hierarchy that produces very defined social relations between races. People at the top of this hierarchical order tend to be located in the most socially valued occupations, in the best economic income levels, and, in general, have more significant opportunities in the labor market. This group also has a privileged position in the political system. They receive the highest social esteem because they are considered more intelligent, capable, and attractive, among other valuable attributes. In addition, they have the power to discriminate and segregate people belonging to other races (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

Undoubtedly, the intersection of gender, race, and class are permanent features when dealing with immigration. Saéñz and Manges (2015) have emphasized that since their arrival to the United States, immigrants are inserted into the described prevailing racial system; therefore, the study of race must be present in immigration research. Neglecting race or considering it a simple variable to show differences in income, occupational insertion, or health equals to assume that racism is marginal to American society. It also entails those racist acts are isolated actions resulting from individual behaviors. Like Bonilla-Silva (1997), Saéñz and Manges (2015) argue that race has been crucial in constructing United States' social institutions. They argue that the racialized context in which immigrants arrive and how this inception defines their lives in the recipient country because the study of immigration continues

conducted under the paradigm of assimilation, firmly based on the experiences of European immigrants. Although the Immigration Act of 1965 finally eliminated the racist quota system that had prevailed since 1924, the immigration procedural obstacles set for people from Latin America and the Caribbean have increased undocumented immigration. They also assert that the racialization of immigrants, especially Mexicans, Central Americans, and other Latin Americans, has intensified over the last half-century.

Looking at the U.S. labor market from the intersectionality approach allows us to understand how the categories of gender, race, and ethnicity complement each other to give rise to hierarchies of power and relations of domination and subordination. According to Browne and Misra (2005), sociological research on the intersection of class, race, and gender has been based primarily on feminist gender theories, Black feminist theories, and multiracial theories. These studies state that these are ubiquitous social constructs, and the result of their intersection is the numerous disadvantages experienced by specific groups. Multiracial feminist theorists emphasize that those are not categories that can be added together, nor are they attributes of individuals that must be looked at separately when studying a social issue (Browne and Misra 2003).

According to the authors, the use of an intersectional perspective when analyzing the labor market makes it possible to understand how the social constructs of gender, race, ethnicity, and class benefit some groups to the detriment of others. They underline that the labor experiences of Latin American immigrant women in the United States «reflect social constructions of gender that are racialized and social constructions of race that are gendered to create a particular experience» (Browne and Misra 2003: 490). In addition, according to the authors, there is a relational aspect related to their work experiences in connection with the experiences of white women. For example, this latter group is more likely to be viewed as professional workers than Latin American immigrants, consequently benefiting from the privilege granted by this perception. Likewise, many white families in high-paying professional jobs rely on immigrant women workers to relieve them

of their domestic and caregiving duties (Browne and Misra 2003).

In short, the treatment individuals receive in the labor market is determined by the social category to which they belong. This categorization is generally accompanied by stereotypes, attributes, and biased evaluations of others. According to Reskin (2000), introducing gender, race, and ethnic prejudices into our perceptions, interpretations, and assessments of others involves established cognitive biases of decision-makers and their conscious desire to favor or disfavor other people. Some of the results of these standard cognitive processes are race and gender discrimination.

In fact, the glass ceiling is a clear expression of how race, gender, ethnicity, and class interact to prevent the advancement of certain groups to the highest leadership positions and, consequently, to the best incomes. An analysis of the labor market that lacks an intersectional analytical perspective can lead to erroneous generalizations since by ignoring race and ethnicity - immigrants - to focus on gender, we may end up describing the experiences of white women, and by ignoring gender and focusing on race and ethnicity, we may make imputations or generalizations about the experiences of men and immigrants (Browne and Misra 2003).

4. *Methodology*

The methodological strategy involves quantitative analysis centered on comparisons between men and women, ethnic groups - countries of origin - and racial groups. To observe some aspects that influence the glass ceiling, I perform descriptive analyses and adjust probability models. These are binary regressions featuring dummy dependent variables with values 0 and 1. The model specification is as follows: $Po(y=1/x) = Po(Y^* > 0) = F(Xi \beta)$.

Data comes from the 2019 American Community Survey (ACS). This survey provides socioeconomic and demographic information on the U.S. population and its level of representativeness in national, regional, state, and other geographic subdivisions of the country. In 2019 the sample size was

3,239,553 people and the total population was 328,239,523 (ACS 2019).

The study target comprises non-Hispanic, white population, African Americans, Puerto Ricans-not born in the United States, Mexicans, Central Americans from Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Cubans, Dominicans, Haiti, Jamaicans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, and, Peruvians. Except for Haitians and Jamaicans, the immigrants were subdivided into three groups according to racial affiliation: “whites” and “Blacks and other races”. The latter includes those who declare themselves Black and other races collected by the census. These countries were selected because they are the fastest-growing immigrant population in the last five decades in the United States. It is important to note that there are essential differences in racial composition. For example, in the Mexican case, the weight of the Black or Afro-descendant population is lower than in groups such as Cubans and Dominicans.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the American Community Survey questionnaire includes racial categories representing the social definition of race recognized in the country and not biological, anthropological, or genetic. In this definition, the race may contain racial and national or sociocultural origin groups, and each person may declare more than one race for racial self-definition (ACS 2019). These classifications conform to the October 30th, 1997, Federal Register notice entitled Revisions to the Standards for Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity issued by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). The OMB suggests using at least five racial categories: White, Black, or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and native Hawaiian or another Pacific Islander. The “Some other race” category is added to the ACS questionnaire. When the respondent does not provide racial information for themselves and their household, the race is imputed from information collected from the household unit. If no racial information is available for any member of the household group, the race(s) of the head of a previously processed household is assumed (ACS 2019: 113).

The response options to the racial affiliation question are White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native -- Print name of the enrolled or principal tribe, Asian Indian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, Other Asian -- Print race, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Other Pacific Islander -- Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on, Some other race.

As mentioned before, ethnicity is also socially constructed and refers to a community or population defined by racial, linguistic, and cultural similarities. For this study, immigrants are considered an ethnic group.

5. Results

Sociodemographic characteristics

Table 1 presents the sociodemographic characteristics of the population under study. Cubans are the oldest population, with an average age of 52 years for white people and 50 years for blacks and other races. Central Americans are the youngest, the average age of whites is 40 years, and that of blacks and other races is 39. The other immigrants have similar average ages, while among non-Hispanic whites and African Americans, there is a difference of 8 years between the average ages, the former being the oldest (42 and 36, respectively). Regarding the distribution by gender -men and women-, the percentages of women are shown in the table. It can be observed that, in almost all groups, women make up the majority. The Colombian and Dominican cases are particularly noteworthy, where 56.1% of white Colombians and 56.8% of blacks and other races are women, and 54.8% and 55.5% of white Dominicans and blacks and other races are women, respectively.

The marital status of the population was divided into three categories: united (married or in a domestic partnership), once united (divorced, separated, and widowed), and single or never united people. Table 1 presents the percentages of married persons aged 16 years and over, with the highest percentages

found among Mexicans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians of all races. In contrast, the lowest percentages are found among African Americans and Puerto Ricans of black and other races (27.4% and 36.5%, respectively). The population's educational attainment was clustered into two categories: less than high school and high school and above. The percentages of the population in the second category are presented. We can observe that non-Hispanic white have the highest percentage (90.7%), followed by white Peruvians (89.6%), Black Peruvians and other races (89.4%), white Colombians (88.3%), Black Colombians and other races (83.6%) and African Americans (84.3%).

Table 1
Selected features of the selected U.S.A., Latin American and Caribbean population, United States, 2019

| Origin | Age | Gender | Marital Status | Schooling | English Proficiency | LFP | Class of Worker |
|--|-------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|--|--------------------------|------------------|
| | Average | Women | Married | High School and above | Speak English well, very well, or speak only English | Labor Participation Rate | Salaried workers |
| Percentages | | | | | | | |
| U.S.A. | | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic whites | 42 | 50.6 | 52.2 | 90.7 | 99.9 | 62.0 | 89.6 |
| African Americans | 36 | 52.3 | 27.4 | 84.3 | 99.9 | 61.3 | 95.0 |
| Immigrants | | | | | | | |
| White Puerto Ricans ¹ | 46 | 52.0 | 45.6 | 77.0 | 81.6 | 55.1 | 93.7 |
| Black Puerto Ricans and other races ¹ | 46 | 51.5 | 36.5 | 69.0 | 77.7 | 53.6 | 93.4 |
| White Mexicans | 45 | 49.5 | 61.1 | 50.2 | 58.3 | 67.7 | 87.6 |
| Black Mexicans and other races | 44 | 47.9 | 58.7 | 48.1 | 58.0 | 71.0 | 88.6 |
| White Central Americans and other races | 40 | 48.8 | 50.8 | 52.8 | 55.4 | 72.7 | 86.7 |
| Black Central Americans and other races | 39 | 47.3 | 48.7 | 48.6 | 51.4 | 73.9 | 87.4 |
| White Cubans | 52 | 50.9 | 49.6 | 76.3 | 58.5 | 60.3 | 85.8 |
| Black Cubans and other races | 50 | 44.9 | 44.0 | 75.8 | 54.4 | 63.4 | 91.7 |
| White Dominicans | 44 | 54.8 | 49.8 | 73.5 | 65.5 | 65.2 | 91.8 |
| Black Dominicans and other races | 43 | 55.5 | 45.2 | 66.3 | 55.7 | 69.1 | 91.6 |
| Jamaicans and Haitians | 46 | 52.3 | 48.1 | 78.6 | 81.0 | 71.6 | 94.6 |
| White Colombians | 47 | 56.1 | 57.6 | 88.3 | 75.1 | 71.4 | 84.4 |
| Black Colombians and other races | 44 | 56.8 | 50.9 | 83.6 | 72.9 | 70.5 | 87.9 |
| White Ecuadorians | 47 | 49.7 | 56.8 | 80.3 | 69.8 | 70.6 | 88.9 |
| Black Ecuadorians and other races | 43 | 47.8 | 54.5 | 69.6 | 64.7 | 76.8 | 85.6 |
| White Peruvians | 49 | 54.8 | 55.8 | 89.6 | 77.8 | 70.4 | 87.3 |
| Black Peruvians and other races | 46 | 52.0 | 54.8 | 89.4 | 76.2 | 73.7 | 88.1 |
| n= | 2,529,669 | | | | | | |
| N= | 246,374,305 | | | | | | |
| Pearson $\chi^2(18) = 5.7e+03$ Pr = 0.000 | | | | | | | |

Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019. ¹All Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens born outside the U.S.A.

Regarding the degree of English language proficiency, two categories were constructed: people who do not speak the language or do not speak it well and those who speak it well, very well, or only speak English. Logically, almost all of the population, whites, and blacks, fall in the second category. Among immigrants, there are significant differences: white Puerto Ricans and Haitians, and Jamaicans are the ones who report the highest levels of English proficiency (81.6% and 81.0%, respectively). If Jamaicans were separated, the percentage would change since English is their native language. Central Americans, Cubans, Mexicans, and Dominicans of all races have the lowest percentages of people with high English proficiency. The economic participation rate of the population 16 years of age and older is also shown. It is noteworthy that, although Puerto Ricans have a high level of English and are not among the groups with the lowest levels of education, they have a minor activity rate, whites 55.1%, and blacks and other races 53.6%. The rest of the immigrants -except Cubans- have economic participation rates at a higher level than that of the non-Hispanic white population, 62.0%.

Information is provided on the type of workers. The variable was divided into self-employed, unpaid, and salaried categories. As is well known, the vast majority of workers in the United States are salaried. In the United States, self-employment has been characteristic of older people, generally white men with high levels of education. In recent times, the participation of foreigners has grown, particularly in the construction and extraction industries (Hipple 2016). White Cubans and Black Ecuadorians, and Ecuadorians of other races have the highest participation in self-employment. The overall participation for the country in 2019 was 10.3%, unpaid workers are meager (0.3%), whereas salaried workers constitute the vast majority (89.4%).

6. Insertion in managerial and executive occupations by gender, race, and ethnicity

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of employed persons aged 16 and over by the type of occupation, ethnic group, and race. Occupations are presented in two major categories: “executive and managerial” -E&M- and “other”. E&M. includes the set of top leadership and command occupations - management, business, science, arts, and financial occupations- within all industries in the United States. In 2019, 11.5% of the employed population was inserted in these positions. The second category brings together the remaining occupations - skilled and unskilled - in which the vast majority of the country's workers are inserted (88.5%). 12.5% of the non-Hispanic white population is inserted in E&M occupations, followed by white Colombian immigrants (12.3%), white Ecuadorians (9.6%), and white Peruvians (9.2%). The situation of African Americans and Puerto Ricans who, while being citizens, have significantly lower percentages than those of non-Hispanic whites (7.1% for the former and 7.8% for White Puerto Ricans) is striking. What are the reasons for these differences?

On the one hand, the human capital differential between groups could explain them. On the other hand, the theory of linear assimilation suggests that once on U.S. soil, immigrants begin a gradual process of assimilation (Gordon 1964), in which the socioeconomic differences between groups disappear. However, reality shows that this is not a general rule. For instance, the second generation of Mexicans have achieved a better situation in the labor market, but never similar to that of the non-Hispanic White population. (Portes y Rumbaut 2001; Farley y Alba 2002) Continue to be at a disadvantage compared to whites. Some authors have proved that being a citizen favors labor market insertion and income (Bratsberg et al. 2002), but this is not necessarily true for Latin American and Caribbean immigrants. In addition to structural inequalities that limit the qualifications of ethnic minorities, discrimination plays a fundamental role (Oaxaca 1973; Reimers 1983; Oaxaca and Ransom 1994).

The differences within each group are certainly more striking: in all cases, white immigrants have greater participation in E&M occupations than blacks and other races; this is particularly noticeable among Cubans, where 7.7% of whites and 1.7% of blacks and other races are inserted in these types of occupations; likewise, 12.3% of white Colombians and 7.2% of blacks and other races are inserted in this type of employment. Regarding differences by gender, it can be seen that, in most groups, men participate more than women in these jobs. Central Americans, Mexicans, and Ecuadorians of all races and white Colombians stand out. It is noteworthy that Puerto Rican Black women and other races, African Americans and Cuban Black women, participate more in these occupations than their counterparts (57.0%, 55.0%, and 52.7%, respectively).

Table 2
Percentage of employees, by occupation, country of origin, race, ethnicity, and gender, U.S.A. 2019

| <i>Ethnic groups</i> | <i>Employment</i> | | | <i>Gender</i> | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| | Executive and managerial occupations | Others | Total | Executive and managerial occupations | | |
| | | | | Men | Women | Total |
| U.S.A. | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic whites | 12.5 | 87.5 | 100 | 59.3 | 40.7 | 100 |
| African Americans | 7.1 | 93.0 | 100 | 45.0 | 55.0 | 100 |
| Immigrants | | | | | | |
| White Puerto Ricans* | 7.8 | 92.2 | 100 | 56.2 | 43.8 | 100 |
| Black Puerto Ricans and other races* | 6.4 | 93.7 | 100 | 43.0 | 57.0 | 100 |
| White Mexicans | 5.6 | 94.4 | 100 | 63.4 | 36.6 | 100 |
| Black Mexicans and other races | 4.5 | 95.5 | 100 | 65.6 | 34.4 | 100 |
| White Central Americans | 5.2 | 94.8 | 100 | 70.3 | 29.7 | 100 |
| Black Central Americans and other races | 4.2 | 95.8 | 100 | 65.5 | 34.5 | 100 |
| White Cubans | 7.7 | 92.3 | 100 | 60.6 | 39.4 | 100 |
| Black Cubans and other races | 1.7 | 98.3 | 100 | 47.3 | 52.7 | 100 |
| White Dominicans | 6.7 | 93.3 | 100 | 49.6 | 50.4 | 100 |
| Black Dominicans and other races | 4.7 | 95.3 | 100 | 51.9 | 48.1 | 100 |
| Jamaicans and Haitians | 4.2 | 95.8 | 100 | 51.1 | 49.0 | 100 |
| White Colombians | 12.3 | 87.7 | 100 | 60.0 | 40.0 | 100 |
| Black Colombians and other races | 7.2 | 92.8 | 100 | 51.2 | 48.8 | 100 |
| White Ecuadorians | 9.6 | 90.4 | 100 | 63.6 | 36.4 | 100 |
| Black Ecuadorians and other races | 8.0 | 92.0 | 100 | 65.3 | 34.7 | 100 |
| White Peruvians | 9.2 | 90.8 | 100 | 56.6 | 43.4 | 100 |
| Black Peruvians and other races | 7.1 | 92.9 | 100 | 56.6 | 43.4 | 100 |
| Total | 11.0 | 89.0 | 100 | 58.3 | 41.7 | 100 |
| n= | 76,599 | 53,885 | 130,484 | | | |
| N= | 7,350,173 | 5,264,870 | 12,615,043 | | | |
| Pearson chi2(18) = 779.7534 Pr = 0.000 | | | | | | |

Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019. *All Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens born outside the U.S.A.

In Table 3 we present the percentage distribution of E&M workers according to the industry sector in which they work, country of origin, race, and ethnicity. We have grouped the branches of activity into six large categories: the first includes production services, which are those that provide information and support to increase the productivity and efficiency of companies, and include activities related to the financial sector: such as banking, insurance, real estate, accounting engineering, legal services, and others. In the second, transformation activities are located, which have to do with the manufacture of different materials and construction. The third, distribution services include the full range of activities related to trade, communications, and transportation. In the fourth, we group social services and personal services, the former is related to health services, hospitalization, education, etc. and the latter has to do with employment in food and beverage establishments, and entertainment services, among others. In the fifth category are public administration activities, and the sixth corresponds to extraction and agriculture, related to agricultural, mining, and other activities.

In table 3 all groups have considerable participation in production services. The cases of Black Cubans (62.1%), White Colombians (39.6%), and White Peruvians (38.4%) stand out. While White, Black, and other Mexicans are the ones with the lowest participation in this sector of the economy (19.5% and 17.6%, respectively). In the transformation activities, the participation of black Central Americans and other races (36.9%) and Black Ecuadorians and other races (34.2%) stands out. Groups such as Black and other Cubans, African Americans, Jamaicans, and Haitians have the smallest participation in this sector of the economy (9.5%, 11.0%, and 12.0%, respectively). In distribution services, the participation of all groups is much lower, the case of Black Cubans and other races stands out, where only 5.4% of managers and executives are inserted in this economic sector. In social and personal services, White Dominicans (50.0%), Afro-Americans (44.3%), and Jamaicans and Haitians (44.0%) stand out. In public administration, although participation is low for all groups, Afro-Americans (7.8%) and Black Cubans and other

racers (7.0%) stand out. While in the agricultural sector, the participation of white Mexicans (6.2%), Blacks and other races (7.6%), and non-Hispanic whites (4.8%) stands out.

Table 3
Insertion of employees, by industry, country of origin, race, ethnicity, and gender, U.S.A. 2019

| | Financial services, professional, managerial and administrative services | Construction and manufacturing | Distribution services | Social services | Public Administration | Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting and mining | Total |
|---|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|--|-------|
| Non-Hispanic White | 25.9 | 23.4 | 13.0 | 28.8 | 4.0 | 4.8 | 100 |
| African Americans | 24.5 | 11.0 | 11.7 | 44.3 | 7.9 | 0.6 | 100 |
| White Puerto Ricans | 26.6 | 18.4 | 12.2 | 37.9 | 3.4 | 1.6 | 100 |
| Black Puerto Ricans and other races | 31.1 | 14.9 | 11.1 | 37.3 | 5.0 | 0.5 | 100 |
| White Mexicans | 19.5 | 32.6 | 10.1 | 30.5 | 1.2 | 6.2 | 100 |
| Black Mexicans and other races | 17.6 | 26.6 | 8.8 | 37.7 | 1.7 | 7.6 | 100 |
| White Central Americans | 23.0 | 30.9 | 13.7 | 28.5 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 100 |
| Black Central Americans and other races | 22.7 | 36.9 | 10.1 | 25.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 100 |
| White Cubans | 23.5 | 25.3 | 11.5 | 35.5 | 3.4 | 0.8 | 100 |
| Black Cubans and other races | 62.1 | 9.5 | 5.4 | 16.1 | 7.0 | 0.0 | 100 |
| White Dominicans | 21.7 | 13.9 | 8.9 | 50.0 | 5.5 | 0.0 | 100 |
| Black Dominicans and other races | 30.2 | 12.9 | 11.1 | 42.3 | 2.5 | 1.0 | 100 |
| Jamaicans and Haitians | 27.3 | 12.0 | 11.3 | 44.0 | 3.5 | 1.9 | 100 |
| White Colombians | 39.6 | 23.1 | 12.6 | 20.0 | 2.6 | 2.1 | 100 |
| Black Colombians and other races | 32.9 | 14.7 | 14.5 | 36.5 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 100 |
| White Ecuadorians | 24.7 | 21.5 | 20.7 | 29.0 | 3.3 | 0.9 | 100 |
| Black Ecuadorians and other races | 26.3 | 34.2 | 13.2 | 22.0 | 4.4 | 0.0 | 100 |
| White Peruvians | 38.4 | 15.6 | 15.6 | 24.5 | 3.2 | 2.7 | 100 |
| Black Peruvians and other races | 26.5 | 12.1 | 20.9 | 37.6 | 2.5 | 0.5 | 100 |
| Total | 25.7 | 22.6 | 12.8 | 30.4 | 4.2 | 4.4 | 100 |

Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019. *All Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens born outside the U.S.A.

7. Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and the Glass Ceiling

This section presents the results of two probit models. Both models used the dependent variable “occupation” -described above- with two categories: “executive and managerial occupations” and “other” occupations. The information shows the contribution of gender, race, and ethnicity in the generation of invisible barriers that impede certain workers from accessing top leadership occupations in public or private organizations in the United States,

Age was introduced as a continuous explanatory variable because it is closely related to the type of labor market insertion, and age2 was introduced to avoid the possible linearity of age in its relationship with the dependent variable.

The following dummy variables included are gender, with the categories of male and female; marital status, with the categories united, ever united, and never united. This latter category is included under the hypothesis that united people have more significant pressures to enter better income jobs. The human capital variable “education” was introduced with the categories “less than high school” and “high school and above”. It is essential to clarify that this division into large categories does not further divide the samples, which among immigrants are small.

The variable “level of English” with the categories “does not speak English or does not speak it well” and “speaks English well, very well or only speaks English. “Although work experience is related to the type of labor insertion and income, it was impossible to construct the variable due to limitations imposed by the data source. In addition, the variable “class of worker” was incorporated with the categories “self-employed”, “private salaried”, and “public salaried” (that includes federal, state, and local). The variable “Industry” was introduced with the six categories described in the previous section.

The last explanatory variable ethnicity and race has the following 19 categories: non-Hispanic whites, African Americans, White Puerto Ricans, Black Puerto Ricans and other races, White Mexicans, Black Mexicans and other races, White Central Americans, Black Central Americans and other races, White Cubans White Black Cubans and other races, White Dominicans, Black Dominicans and other races, Jamaicans and Haitians, White Colombians, Black Colombians and other races, White Ecuadorians, Black Ecuadorians and other races, Peruvians, Black Peruvians and other races. In all dummy variables, the first category is the reference.

Chart 3 presents the marginal effects of the probit 1 regression models. For the average characteristics of the sample woman, the probability of becoming a director or manager decreases by 1.8 percentage points (pp), as opposed to the probabilities of a man with similar characteristics. For someone with the same characteristics but separated, widowed, or divorced, acquiring a similar occupation is reduced by 2.7 percentage points (pp) compared to unmarried people with the

same characteristics. The reduction is more significant (3.1 pp) for a single individual.

Concerning education, as expected, the probability of entering the indicated occupations increases by 6.0 pp for an individual with a high school diploma or more - with the average characteristics of the sample - concerning someone with less than high school education. A similar situation is observed in individuals with a considerable level of English proficiency, whose probability increases by 5.8 pp compared to those who do not speak the language or do not speak it well. Being a salaried private or public sector worker implies reductions of 3.2 and 5.7 pp, respectively, compared to being self-employed.

Regarding the industry, for an individual in the construction industry with the characteristics of the sample, the probability of becoming an executive or manager is reduced by 1.3 pp compared to someone in the production services branch. In the cases of distribution services, social and personal services, and public administration, the reductions are 6.4 pp, 3.9 pp, and 1.2 pp, respectively. While in the extraction and agriculture branch, the probability increases by 13.3 pp compared to the reference category.

Table 4
Marginal effects of the probit model of insertion into managerial and managerial occupations,
The United States, 2019 (continued)

| Probit (1) Intersection of race and ethnicity | | Probit (2) Intersection of gender, race and ethnicity | |
|---|--|---|--|
| Dependent variable: occupations: executive and managerial =1 Others = 0 | | | |
| Explanatory variables | Coefficients, significance and standard errors | Explanatory variables | Coefficients, significance and standard errors |
| Age | 0.013*** (0.000) | Age | 0.014*** (0.000) |
| Age 2 | -0.000*** (0.000) | Age 2 | -0.000*** (0.000) |
| Women | -0.018*** (0.001) | Separated, widowed, or divorced | -0.028*** (0.001) |
| Separated, widowed, or divorced | -0.027*** (0.001) | Singles | -0.031*** (0.001) |
| Singles | -0.031*** (0.001) | High school and above | 0.060*** (0.001) |
| High school and above | 0.060*** (0.001) | Speaks good, very good or only English | 0.059*** (0.002) |
| Speaks good, very good or only English | 0.058*** (0.002) | Private salaried employees | -0.032*** (0.001) |
| Private salaried employees | -0.032*** (0.001) | Public salaried employees | -0.057*** (0.001) |
| Public salaried employees | -0.057*** (0.001) | Construction and manufacturing | -0.014*** (0.001) |
| Construction and manufacturing | -0.013*** | Distribution services | -0.064*** |

Table 4
Marginal effects of the probit model of insertion into managerial and managerial occupations,
The United States, 2019 (continued)

| Probit (1) Intersection of race and ethnicity | | Probit (2) Intersection of gender, race and ethnicity | |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Dependent variable: occupations: executive and managerial =1 Others = 0 | | | |
| | (0.001) | | (0.001) |
| Distribution services | -0.064*** (0.001) | Social services | -0.039*** (0.001) |
| Social and personal services | -0.039*** (0.001) | Public administration | -0.012*** (0.002) |
| Public administration | -0.012*** (0.002) | Extraction and agriculture | 0.132*** (0.003) |
| Extraction and agriculture | 0.133*** (0.003) | Non-Hispanic white women | -0.021*** (0.001) |
| African Americans | -0.031*** (0.001) | African American men | -0.042*** (0.001) |
| White Puerto Ricans | -0.020*** (0.004) | African American women | -0.036*** (0.001) |
| Black Puerto Ricans and other races | -0.040*** (0.005) | White Puerto Rican men | -0.025*** (0.005) |
| White Mexicans | -0.043*** (0.002) | Black Puerto Rican men and other races | -0.054*** (0.006) |

Table 4
Marginal effects of the probit model of insertion into managerial and managerial occupations,
United States, 2019 (continued)

| Probit (1) Intersection race and ethnicity | | Probit (2) Intersection gender, race and ethnicity | |
|---|----------------------|---|----------------------|
| Dependent variable: occupations: executive and managerial =1 Others = 0 | | | |
| Black Mexicans and other races | -0.049*** (0.002) | White Puerto Rican women | -0.032*** (0.006) |
| White Central Americans | -0.036*** (0.003) | Puerto Rican black women and other races | -0.037*** (0.008) |
| Black Central Americans and other races | -0.046*** (0.003) | Jamaican and Haitian men | -0.054*** (0.004) |
| White Cubans | -0.019*** (0.004) | Jamaican and Haitian women | -0.055*** (0.003) |
| Black Cubans and other races | -0.067*** (0.008) | White Latin American men | -0.038*** (0.002) |
| White Dominicans | -0.024*** (0.007) | Black Latin American men and other races | -0.050*** (0.002) |
| Black Dominicans and other races | -0.038*** (0.005) | White Latin American women | -0.042*** (0.002) |

Table 4
Marginal effects of the probit model of insertion into managerial and managerial occupations,
United States, 2019

| Probit (1) Intersection race and ethnicity | | Probit (2) Intersection of gender, race and ethnicity | |
|--|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| Variable dependiente: ocupaciones: directivas y gerenciales =1 Otras = 0 | | | |
| Jamaican and Haitians | -0.048*** (0.003) | Black Latin American women and other races | -0.053*** (0.002) |
| White Colombians | -0.001 (0.005) | Observations | 1,110,014 |
| Black Colombians and other races | -0.030*** (0.008) | Loglik | -52538.08 |
| White Ecuadorians | -0.009* (0.009) | LR chi2(21) = -375397 Prob >chi2 = 0.0000 Pseudo R2 = 0.0654 | |
| Black Ecuadorians and other races | -0.025*** (0.009) | Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10 | |
| White Peruvians | -0.013** (0.007) | | |
| Black Peruvians and other races | -0.043*** (0.008) | | |
| Observations = 1110014 Loglik = -375436 LR chi2(27) = 51563.54 Prob >chi2 = 0.0000 Pseudo R2 = 0.0642 Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10 | | | |

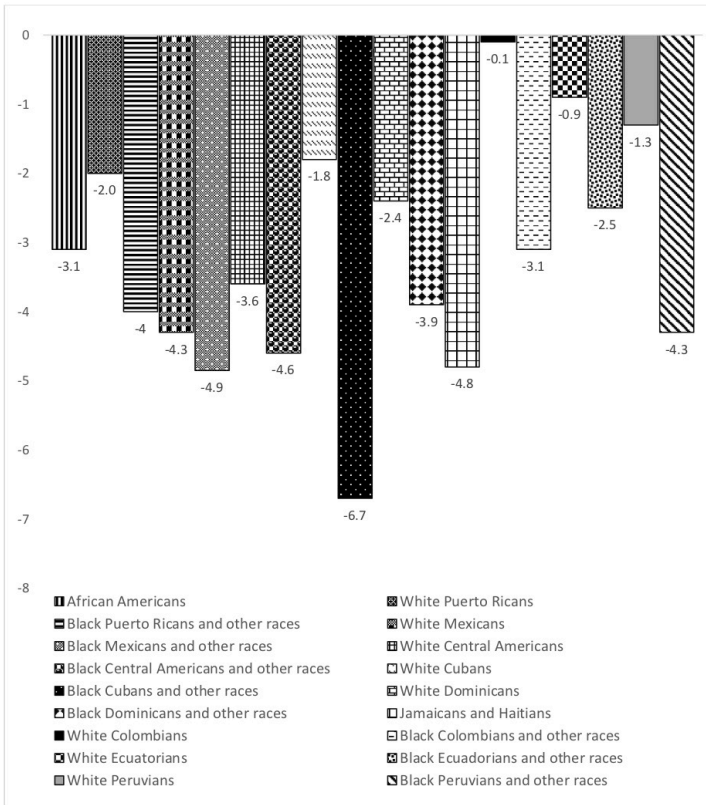
Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019.

The marginal effects of the variable ethnicity and race account for the intersectionality I have mentioned previously. Being an immigrant, Black, or of a race other than white non-Hispanic and having the average characteristics of the sample has a critical reduction in the probability of working as a director or manager in a private or public company. There are clear differences when ethnicity is involved. The probability of entering such an occupation for a Black or non-White Cuban, with average sample characteristics, is reduced by 6.7 pp compared to a non-Hispanic White. In contrast, the probability is reduced only by 1.9 pp for white Cubans. Black Cubans, Jamaicans, and Haitians have the lowest probability of entering these occupations. White Colombians represent another significant case. For Black Colombians and those immigrants of other races different than White, the probability is reduced by 3.0 pp. For a White Peruvian individual with the average characteristics of the sample, the probability of insertion in these occupations is reduced by only 1.3 pp, whereas the value for a Black or other race of the same nationality group is 4.3 pp. The values among Ecuadorians are similar: 0.9 pp for White and 2.5 pp for Black or other races.

The probability of holding a top leadership position is reduced for White Dominicans and a Black or other race by 2.4 pp and 3.8 pp, respectively. Among Puerto Ricans, the values are 2.0 pp in the case of a White individual and 4.0 pp for a Black or other race. Among Mexicans, the reductions are as follows: for a White person with the average characteristics of the sample is 4.3 pp, and 4.9 pp for a Black or other race individual from the same country.

Among Central Americans, the reductions are 3.6 pp for a white individual and 4.6 pp for Black or other races. Finally, for an African American with average sample characteristics, the probability of working as a director or manager is reduced by 3.1 pp compared to the probabilities for a non-Hispanic white (Graph 1).

Graph 1.
Marginal effects of the probit model variable race and ethnicity, United States, 2019



Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019.

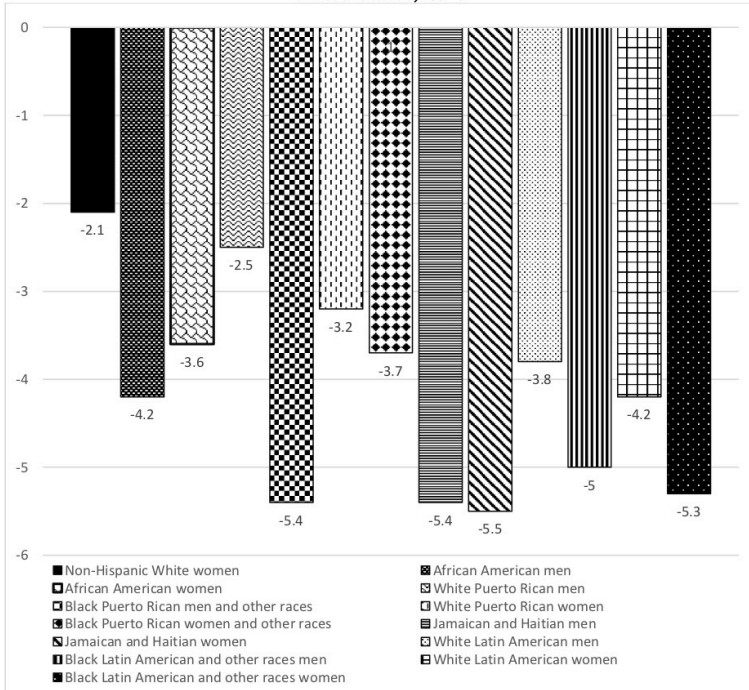
A second model (probit 2) was fitted with the same dependent and explanatory variables -except for gender- and the variable ethnicity-and- the race was replaced by gender- race- and ethnicity. The marginal effects of the sociodemographic variables present a trend similar to that observed in the first model. Therefore, we will concentrate on the effects of the gender-race-ethnicity variable. This variable was constructed with 14 categories: non-Hispanic white men, non-Hispanic

white women, African American men, African American women, white Puerto Rican men, Black Puerto Rican men, and other races, white Puerto Rican women, Black Puerto Rican women, and other races, Jamaican and Haitian men, Jamaican and Haitian women, white Latin American men, Black Latin American men and other races, white Latin American women, Black Latin American women, and other races. It should be noted that the Latin Americans are from the countries of origin noted in Table 1. The first category is the reference. Results indicate the weight of these social constructs on the likelihood of working as an executive or manager in a public or private organization in the United States.

There are cases such as African Americans, Jamaicans, and Haitians where women's situation is similar to that of men. For example, among Haitians and Jamaicans -who have the highest values- the probability that a man or woman with the average characteristics of the sample will enter these occupations is reduced by 5.4 pp compared to a non-Hispanic White male. This result conveys that the opportunities for holding leadership positions are more constrained and without differences between men and women. The reduction is 4.2 for a man and 3.6 pp for a woman among African Americans. In the case of Puerto Ricans, the differences are obvious: the probability of a White man occupying one of these positions is reduced by 2.5 pp, and for a Black man or a man of other races, the reduction is 5.4 pp. For a White woman who belongs to this ethnic group, the reduction is 3.2 pp, and for a Black or other race, 3.7 pp. For a White Latin American male, the probability is reduced by 3.8 pp, whereas for a Black or other race, the reduction is 5.0 pp. Among Black or other-race Latin American women, the situation is worse. For white women with the average characteristics of the sample, the probability of working as managers is reduced by 4.2. In contrast, for Black or other race women, the probability is reduced by 5.3 pp. After their male counterparts, white women are the most likely to enter these positions (Graph 2).

In sum, being a woman, Black, and immigrant significantly limits the possibility of assuming such a leadership position in most groups under analysis.

Graph 2.
Marginal effects of the probit model variable gender, race, and ethnicity,
United States, 2019



Source: Own elaboration, based on IPUMS, American Community Survey, 2019.

Conclusions

In this article, I analyzed the insertion of Non-Hispanic Whites and African Americans and Latin American immigrant men and women in managerial occupations in the United States. Based on the quantitative analysis conducted, I was able to identify the weight of the intersection of gender, race, and ethnicity in the unequal distribution of workers in leadership positions (or C-suite positions). I confirmed that the lower participation of African Americans and immigrants from Latin

America and the Caribbean in managerial occupations is due to their lower human capital and the effect generated by the intersection of these social constructs. Being a white woman in the United States implies disadvantages in the labor market compared to white men. Nonetheless, these disadvantages are far from equal to those experienced by many Latin American and Caribbean immigrants of Black and other races - especially women.

Weyer (2007) points out that it is necessary to change these social structures and that this would be achieved by assigning women greater social importance and general competitiveness. This article verified that race and ethnicity as status characteristics severely affect opportunities for insertion into managerial occupations. Being a woman, an immigrant, and Black or of other races ostensibly reduces the likelihood of holding top leadership positions in the United States.

It is imperative to adopt an intersectional approach when studying the labor market to understand better that gender is not the only factor that imposes unequal labor relations. This inequality is complemented by other criteria of social differentiation that act simultaneously on individuals deepening socio-economic disadvantages. This pervasive inequality forces us to accept that a racialized social system sustains American society. As pointed out by the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission (1995), inequality contradicts the ethical pillar based on individual value and responsibility, where education, training, dedication, and effort are the path to achieving a better standard of living.

Reducing the differences in status and power between men and women, between races and ethnic groups within organizations must involve the deconstruction of the imaginaries and expectations about what the other should be in society. In addition, it is also required the development of awareness of the predominant racialized social system that operates in the United States. In this system, racial hierarchies prevail. Individuals at the top of the hierarchy wield different economic and political power forms. This clear disadvantage places them in a pervasive higher position, hardly achievable by other racial groups. This predominant race also has the power to

discriminate, segregate and exclude other ethnic-racial groups, depriving them of the benefits and privileges of their group (Bonilla-Silva 1997).

Generating academic knowledge regarding professional and labor disparities allows us to understand how the invisible barriers affect individuals' working lives, an essential part of constructing fairer societies.

Finally, it is necessary to promote the design and implementation of public policies aimed at reducing gender, ethnic and racial gaps in the labor market in general and, in particular, in the highest leadership occupations. Concrete actions such as gender, and racial and ethnic quotas are aspects that would help break the glass ceiling.

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Abstract

GENDER, RACE AND ETHNICITY: LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN IMMIGRANTS AND THE GLASS CEILING IN THE UNITED STATES. AN INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS

Keywords: Glass ceiling, Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Intersectionality, Labor market.

In this article I analyze the insertion of Latin American Non-Hispanic Whites and African Americans and immigrant men and women in managerial occupations in the United States and establish the extent to which the intersectionality of gender, race, and ethnicity can explain the unequal participation of workers in these occupations. In the analysis I make use of data from the American Community Survey (ACS 2019), from which I conduct descriptive analyses and fit econometric models. The results confirm that the lower participation of African Americans and immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean in managerial occupations is in many cases due to their lower human capital, but also to the effect generated by the intersection of the social constructs of gender, race and ethnicity.

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