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**Ethnic identity, gender and adult development as factors in  
the experiences of black professionals in predominantly white  
institutions**

**Grace, Cynthia Arnette, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1988**

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ETHNIC IDENTITY, GENDER AND ADULT DEVELOPMENT AS FACTORS  
IN THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS IN PREDOMINANTLY  
WHITE INSTITUTIONS

by

Cynthia Arnette Grace

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10/1/88  
Date

Laurence J. Gould  
Chair of Examining Committee

October 1, 1988  
Date

Herbert D. Saltzman  
Executive Officer

Anderson J. Franklin

Laurence J. Gould

Vera S. Paster

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

## Abstract

ETHNIC IDENTITY, GENDER AND ADULT  
DEVELOPMENT AS FACTORS IN THE  
EXPERIENCES OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS  
IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTIONS

by

Cynthia Arnette Grace

Advisor: Professor Laurence Gould

This study explored the role of ethnic identity, gender and adult development in the experiences of black managers in organizational settings. Ethnic identity appeared to play a major role in the managers' capacity to manage racism and was correlated with successful resolution of developmental crises. Managers with positive ethnic identity attitudes reported less anxiety over racial themes in the organization. Ethnic identity attitudes were moderately correlated with establishing a relationship with a mentor, but was not associated with perceived success at work.

The experiences of black male and black female managers were qualitatively different with both groups agreeing that black males were exposed to more overt racism. It is suggested that the setting

and population of the current study may have significantly influenced its outcome. On the whole, the participants in this study were fairly homogeneous in ethnic identity attitudes, and all were employed in the northeastern region of the country. Recommendations for future research include replication of the study with larger and more diverse samples of black managers. Consideration should be given to the changing nature of people's social and political attitudes.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

The increasing number of black men and women assuming managerial and administrative roles, in recent years, has resulted in a better opportunity for the study of both interracial dynamics in organizational settings, and individual personality development. We now have a fairly well developed, global view of the predominantly white organization from the point of view of the black professional. Yet, relatively little is known about how black managers and administrators negotiate intrapsychic and interpersonal pressures related to issues in the organizational context.

Over the years, observations of the experiences of many black professionals in predominantly white institutions have left us pondering the question "why do some succeed up the organizational ladder while others with comparable intelligence and motivation fail?" The data made available in the 1960's and 70's described the hardship experienced by black professionals due to racism and sexism at work. At a glance, many did succeed. Upon closer inspection, however, it is apparent that for a significant number, the price of success was high and not without a

loss of self respect and self esteem (Dickens and Dickens, 1980). Among those who were successful, there is variation which has seldom been examined.

If all of our efforts are aimed at removing the obvious barriers in the environment that block black professionals from utilizing their skills and creativity, we are addressing only part of the problem. There is a need also to attend to the contributions of black and white professionals' psychological barriers, both on the group and individual levels. As history has taught us, external pressures to adhere to established standards of behavior in the form of laws and other mandates, are extremely necessary and helpful. However, without true internal commitment, compliance results in efforts that are short lived, and little authentic and enduring change occurs.

There has been some success in raising black and white professionals' awarenesses of some of the dilemmas they face utilizing the information currently available. We can now capitalize on the insight and experiences of the first generation of black and white managers. From them we have access to information regarding the human problems that produce alienation and dissatisfaction in all workers; information that is beneficial to managers of all cultures.

There is a need to examine the unconscious, irrational aspects of organizational life as they pertain to racism and sexism. It is in this regard, however, that we are somewhat hampered by a lack of data and relevant information.

The scant literature that pertains to black life in predominantly white organizations is largely descriptive and non-psychological, and there is hardly any literature at all on the dynamics of black organizations. There are, nonetheless, enough bits and pieces of related knowledge to begin to weave together a more cohesive and dynamic picture of the vicissitudes of multicultural exchange in organizations. In doing so, we no longer have to be guilty of ignoring the uniqueness of subgroups of black peoples' experiences while attending to what they have in common.

The notion that significant amounts of our behavior can be explained by examining the groups to which we belong and aspire is not novel. Three decades ago, reference group theorists brought to our attention the importance of group identification (Lewin, 1948; Noel, 1946; Parker & Kleiner, 1964). From them, we came to understand that our culture, values and self perceptions are important determinants of the roles we engage in. The choice of roles, the people chosen to assume them, and how we actually take up those

roles are influenced both consciously and unconsciously by personal, group and societal needs.

This study addresses the impact of the interacting aspects of gender, adult development, and racial identity on the experiences of black professionals in predominantly white organizations. These variables surface consistently as the most salient and promising, with the subtleties and complexities of the demands of organizational life.

## Chapter II

This chapter presents a summary of relevant research highlighting the significance of gender, adult development and racial identity attitudes on the experiences of black managers in predominantly white institutions.

Fernandez (1981) provides a fairly comprehensive look at black managers' experiences with corporate life. He studied twelve large companies with a combined managerial force of over 125,000 people. These corporations represented all regions of the country. The 4,202 managers studied were comprised of five ethnic groups, were both male and female, and could be categorized according to several managerial levels. Among the most salient results of this study were the findings that some managerial needs and concerns are common to all managers regardless of age, race and sex; and there are significant race and sex differences in managers' perceptions of their experiences in the corporate environment. Of the five racial groups studied -- Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans and Whites -- Blacks, are by far the most critical of corporate life.

This finding is not surprising if one considers the fact that age, education, occupational status, job duration, and experience result in higher salaries for Whites than non-whites (Dickens and Dickens, 1980). More education and experience results in a disproportionately higher salary increase for white professionals, relative to their non-white peers. Education and experience counts least for black professionals.

Further documented by Fernandez (1981) is a notion that commonly held stereotypes continue to exert a major impact upon the experiences of black managers. When asked about the prevalence of negative racial attitudes in their corporations, only nine percent of white managers believed that they worked in an environment free of destructive racial attitudes. When questioned about their own beliefs regarding the personal qualities and qualifications of their black colleagues, many Whites and an astonishing number of Blacks agreed that the different cultural backgrounds of minority managers were a hindrance to success. Forty three percent of black men agreed with this statement.

A striking feature of the experiences of minority managers is the relative isolation that they face. A total of 36% of all managers surveyed believed that

black managers are excluded from informal work groups. The percentage of black managers who themselves feel excluded is much larger and increases with managerial level.

A perhaps equally distressing feature of black managers' experiences is the denial and undermining of their competence combined with the more rigorous demands and obstacles faced by them. A large percentage of minority managers (46%) reported that minority managers are made to feel that they got their jobs because of quotas rather than ability. There was a general feeling that minority managers are penalized more for their mistakes than their white peers are, that minority managers do not have the same power as white managers in similar positions, and that minority managers are placed in dead-end jobs where they are held because departments want to meet their equal opportunity goals. Another commonly held perception by black managers is that they must be better performers than white managers to get ahead. No matter how well they perform, many black professionals in industry feel that it is difficult to find mentors who are interested in helping them to advance in their careers. Fernandez concludes that, "... retreating into a self imposed ghetto may be the minorities' only

psychological defense against the unbearable pain perpetrated upon them by a racist society " (1981,p.64). Thus, opportunities to develop relationships with colleagues and mentors are often missed.

Recent research has documented important inter- and intragroup experiences of life in the corporation. It is only recently that we have available empirical data to understand the significance and impact of various responses to institutional racism from a psychological point of view. The corporate environment provides a wealth of knowledge which is useful not only in terms of understanding group dynamics, but aids in the understanding of individual personality development as well.

### The Impact of Gender

The Young (1985) study of black female managers provides invaluable insights into some of the differences in coping styles exhibited by black women in white corporations.

She offers hypotheses gleaned from her data which reflect how black female managers view themselves and take up their roles in their organizations. According to one hypothesis, the "Ascribed Status Hypothesis" these managers regard race as more salient than gender, and more problematic. Thus, black female managers perceive themselves as being relegated to inferior status and possibly as a result act in accordance with this perception.

Young (1985) refers to women assuming either of the two styles as "idealists" or "pragmatists", depending on the characteristics of their reactive behaviors to the corporate environment. Idealists feel victimized by the perceived racism in the environment. Whites are viewed as potential enemies and idealists feel powerless to change their situation. Typically they internalize the hostility directed at them. In response they withdraw, thus compounding the social isolation they already feel. Pragmatists on the other hand, view the institutional barriers as a challenge to their problem solving capabilities. White colleagues are seen as potential allies. Pragmatists unlike idealists, feel empowered to positively alter their situation. Pragmatists typically depersonalize hostility .

A side effect of what could be an adaptive coping style is mental and physical fatigue resulting from efforts to deny hurt and angry feelings.

To explain the differences in the adoption of a particular coping style, issues of racial identity, individual character and the corporate environment are cited. Most relevant to the current study is the notion that pragmatists may have to suppress racial identification and limit civil rights commitments, thus making these women more vulnerable to success guilt than idealists might be. The relationship of ethnic identity to coping style was not tested, neither was the significance of the different coping styles.

There are both between and within group differences in black women's experiences with corporate life. Black female managers, in order to cope with institutional pressures, may overachieve and overidentify with black colleagues and supervisors, according to Young (1985). It was also hypothesized that mentoring activity of black females who cope as idealists may be qualitatively different from those who cope as pragmatists. Because pragmatists struggle less than idealists and are possibly less passionate about mentoring, they may be more skilled as mentors.

Dumas (1979) examines the experiences of black females managers utilizing a perspective that underscores the significance of history. She notes that gender and race interact in a manner which poses a particular dilemma for the black female leader. The image of the strong, powerful, castrating black matriarch-- which has its roots in the roles reserved for black women in slavery -- strongly influences the nature of organizational life for black women. Forces operate to seduce the ambitious black woman into the role of the black mammy which limits her capacity to perform in her formal role and consequently her power within the organization. If she resists the mammy role, she quickly becomes the angry, castrating, "Safire" in the eyes of co-workers and subordinates. Thus, what is expected of the black female manager is not unlike that which is expected of white female managers, it appears that the expectation of a nurturant leadership style is stronger for the black female.

Missing from the psychological literature on intra-group differences in experiences of corporate life are works examining the differences in black male intrapsychic pressures, and coping styles in the organizational context. However, works pertaining to black males and related issues will be reviewed subsequently.

## Identity Development

Identity development theory would predict that cohesiveness in core aspects of identity would provide protection against destructive pressures in organizations. However, the systematic investigation of this notion has not been attempted.

### General Theories

Little empirical or theoretical attention has been given to the course of the development of healthy narcissism in devalued groups. This is in stark contrast to the abundance of literature describing what has been referred to as a black self-hatred (Anderson & Cromwell, 1977, Asher, 1969, Banks, 1976: Butler, 1976). The literature pertaining to black self evaluation is repleat with inconsistencies and a less than positive view of black self concept. What needs to be addressed is what promotes positive racial identity, and how might positive racial identity enhance psychological well being.

General theories of identity development have evolved simultaneously with theories of ethnic identity. Erikson (1968) has made significant contributions to our understanding of human development and identity formation. He describes identity as "a sense of being at home in one's body, knowing where one is going and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count" (Erikson, 1968, p.165).

The consolidation of an identity is dependent upon a process of crisis followed by commitment. According to Erikson (1968), resolution has three possible outcomes; positive identity, negative identity which is an identity based on problematic identification, or identity diffusion. Where identifications are weakened or shaken up, confusion and possibly psychopathology may be a result. Erikson offers the following definition of positive identity: Identity is a "configuration gradually integrating constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles" (Erikson, 1968, p.163). Erikson (1959) suggested that people in an identity crisis experience a heightened awareness of their identities, undergoing what he referred to as a "transitory excessive identity consciousness".

This notion was supported and extended by authors like Simmons (1981) who postulated that changes in self image could lead to psychological disturbances like heightened self consciousness, self image instability, decreased self-esteem and depressive affect. Erikson and others aided in the establishment of the construct of identity as being among one of the important ingredients of psychological well-being.

Other theoretical notions pertaining to identity development such as Mead's (1934) concept of the generalized other and Cooley's looking glass theory (1902) might provide some insight into the identity development of people belonging to distinct social groups.

Cooley (1902), a symbolic interactionist, posited that the origin and development of the self is deeply rooted in relating to others. Our "self-feeling", according to Cooley, is determined by the attitude we hold toward what we assume others think about how we look, what we do, our self-worth and our needs. He referred to this "self-feeling" as the "looking glass self". This concept was intended to capture the idea that introjecting the perspectives of others leads to the incorporation of their self-relevant judgments into one's self.

Mead (1934) extended this idea by introducing the notion of the generalized other to account for people's tendency to utilize the perspectives of a particular reference or social group in the development of the self. Mead went a bit further in attempting to offer some understanding of the differences between people in the manner in which they utilized the generalized other.

He maintained that those who are less self-conscious and self-reflective, when it comes to self-assessment, are less concerned with others' judgements toward them.

Neither Cooley nor Mead developed in detail any notions regarding the implications for the numerous possibilities for incorporation that a given community has to offer.

More recent ego psychological concepts are potentially useful as tools in understanding group identity development. In applying this major theoretical perspective, we may assume that as parents are significant suppliers of internalizations for the developing infant, the larger culture offers numerous and specific opportunities for internalizations to members of its subgroups. However, such assumptions are highly speculative since virtually no empirical work exists that examines the application of these concepts to organizational life.

Nonetheless, concepts utilized to explain healthy and faulty self development like Kohut's (1977) notion of accurate mirroring and Kahn's (1974) concept of cumulative trauma appear quite suitable for application to group phenomena. According to Kohut (1977), significant others serve as a mirror reflecting the development person's strengths and limitations. It is through the accurate reflection of one's characteristics, that he or she develops a realistic, stable and cohesive sense of self. Furthermore, we continue to need self objects throughout development into adulthood. In the organization, the mentor serves as a crucial self object who exercises a significant impact upon development within the professional setting. Racist, stereotypical attitudes on the part of the mentor may result in impairment in the capacity to empathize with or evaluate the mentee toward whom the racism is directed. An environment full of unconscious racist perceptions is likely to serve as a bad self object incapable of accurately reflecting key aspects of the self at work. Thus, the process of healthy professional development is likely to be hindered. Institutional racism, whether overt or subtle,

inflicts a narcissistic injury on its target. Because the prevailing social norm , in many settings, is to condemn racism, it is likely to be insidious and covert. Those who become the targets of racism repeatedly experience something similar to what Kahn (1974) refers to as cumulative trauma where the assault is hardly perceived; almost subliminal, but with repetition, has debilitating potential. Because the trauma is localized, reasonable speculation might include the possibility that adequate development in other areas that contribute to core identity could provide some protection from such onslaughts.

In summary, most theories of identity seem to agree that identity is not static, it changes over time and is molded by developmental, environmental and social influences. Few researches have attempted to apply knowledge of individual psychological development to group issues. Furthermore, there has been a failure to adequately integrate available data in a way which would further knowledge.

Many studies have not adequately examined the unconscious aspects of identity formation.

Where this has been the case, efforts towards accounting for variations in behavior has been thwarted, and erroneous conclusions have been offered. Recent advances in ego-psychological theory offer the potential for filling some of the lacunae in the research on ethnic identity development. From key ego-psychological notions, we may infer that ethnic identity is a core element of global identity and the two develop in tandem.

### Black Identity

Models of black identity development are similar to some aspects of Erikson's description of identity development. For both, crisis precedes commitment or movement to another position with respect to identity status. Cross (1971) and Thomas (1970) made major contributions to the understanding of the dynamics of black ethnic group identification/"consciousness". They independently developed four stage models of black identity development reflecting differences in the degree to which black people acknowledge and are comfortable with their ethnicity.

Cross and Thomas share a common frame of reference but differ in their presentations of the early stages. Cross theorized that black people, as they move from a position of degrading blackness to a position of feeling secure in their blackness, progress through four identifiable stages: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-emersion and Internalization.

The attitudes of an individual in the Pre-encounter stage are heavily influenced by a tendency to devalue blackness. When an event challenges this mode of thinking, the individual moves into the Encounter stage and is receptive to new attitudes about black identity. The Immersion-emersion stage is characterized by a high sense of black pride and involvement in black activities, without true internalization of positive attitudes about being black. There is a tendency to denigrate whiteness while glorifying blackness. The final stage, Internalization, is characterized by a feeling of inner security and internalization of positive feelings about one's identity.

Others have supported Cross' notion of a positive relationship between healthy ethnic identity attitudes and desirable psychological outcomes. Comas-Dias (1983) and Gehrie (1979) have maintained that the cultural

sense of self contributes to the balance of the self esteem system. They relate greater positive ethnic identity to greater psychological health and productivity. She, unlike many other theorists, acknowledges that ethnic identity development has both conscious and unconscious dimensions.

Research has generally supported the notion, derived from the Cross (1971) and Thomas (1970) models, that a cohesive sense of self is dependent, in part, on a stable, positive ethnic identity, and that trauma to ethno-cultural identity can lead to a fragmentation of self (Comas-Diaz, 1983). The forced psychosocial definition, so often a product of organizational life, for many is traumatic and may lead to identity diffusion. During this process of acculturation, with its inherent culture shock, those undergoing a transformation may be subjected to changes in their self images and a resulting identity crisis, prededing an awareness, reevaluation and transformation of the sense of self (Adler, 1975).

It has been suggested that being thrust into a new environment with a different set of cultural norms, may be stressful because of the potential for losses of symbols of self and group. This is thought to reignite separation anxiety. Thus, the "culture change" is reacted to as though it were object loss (Stein, 1985). Stein is careful to note that it is not the change of environ-

ment itself that is necessarily disruptive, threatening or depressive, but rather what the change itself represents. If the change represents a threat to identity, then crisis ensues and defensiveness results. Where there are ambivalent ties to internal objects representing aspects of one's identity- which is likely to be the case for someone with ethnic identity conflicts- the potential for threat is greater. What appears to be suggested here is, as suggested by Cross (1971), and Thomas (1970), the more cohesive and positive one's ethnic identity is, the less likely it is that he or she will be made vulnerable to the disruption of identity.

Studies have been undertaken to test the construct validity of the Cross and Thomas models (Cross, 1971; Davidson, 1974; Hall, Cross and Freedle, 1977; Krate, Leventhal and Silverstine, 1974). From these studies, inventories have been generated (Harrison, 1974; Milliones, 1976; Williams, 1972). Williams (1972) suggests that results of the assessment of the development of positive black identification may be confounded by educational level. More highly educated individuals tend to espouse more internalization attitudes.

Before 1970, investigators had generally not ventured beyond describing manifestations of positive and negative racial identity attitudes in the direction of relating the construct to other variables. One of only a few

attempts was made by Noel (1964) to relate specific factors to ethnic group identification. Authoritarianism and frustration were two variables that manifested strong negative relationships to group identification. Results of his study suggested that those who identified positively with their own ethnic group also tended to hold favorable attitudes toward non-membership groups.

The relationship between ethnic identification among black people, status position, and mobility was investigated by Parker and Kleiner (1964). They examined aspects of Frazier's (1957) hypothesis, particularly the notion that middle class Blacks are apt to internalize negative attitudes toward the black masses and be resentful of their inability to disassociate themselves from their ethnic group. They used a large sample of psychiatric patients (N=1,423) and a sample of Philadelphia's black community (N=1,489) to test the hypothesis that ethnic identification would decline with increasing socioeconomic status position and upward mobility. Some trends in the expected direction were evident, however, the data did not provide overwhelming support for their predictions.

More recent research in the area of racial identity attitudes has added to the confusion surrounding the definition of the construct and its related variables. As pointed out by Cross (1980), researchers have

frequently confused reference group orientation and personal identity in describing racial identity attitudes. Many have erroneously treated the two as interchangeable. In studying personal identity exclusive of reference group orientation, and vice versa, they have failed to recognize the full complexity of ethnic identity. Where this appears most evident is in attempts to establish either a consistent relationship or no relationship between racial identity and self esteem.

Studies of the relationship between racial identity and self esteem are grossly contradictory. McAdoo (1971) found no significant correlation between scores on measures of self esteem and racial attitudes when she conducted a longitudinal study of children ages 4 - 5, and 9 - 10. Similarly, Storm (1971) did not find an association between racial attitudes and self concept in a study involving black and white first graders. Slade (1977) examined the relationship between racial identity and self esteem in black high school and college students. She failed to establish a positive linear relationship between group identity and self esteem in these samples.

Other studies contradict the above findings. Porter (1971) examined the self concept/personal identity, and group identity of 400 black and white preschoolers ages 4 - 5. One group of students with high self esteem were categorized as pro-black. One

year later, Ward and Braun (1972) reported the results of their study of the self concept and reference group orientation relationship among 60 black boys and girls between the ages of seven and eight. Higher scores of black color preferences were found to be positively associated with self concept. In a similar study of a larger sample, Foucher-Austin (1976) administered a self esteem scale and a race awareness scale to 392 black tenth grade students across six test cities. She reported a significantly high correlation for all subjects.

In summary, what is known about black ethnic group identification is based on considerable speculation. Studies indicate that racial identity attitudes may be correlated to only a few variables; however, findings are, for the most part, inconsistent. Early investigators of the construct highlighted negative attitudes and identifications. They appeared to view ethnic group identification as a single monofaceted event.

More recently, researchers have questioned the emphasis placed upon such notions as self hatred and disillusionment with racial group membership. They stress the need to consider the impact of the civil rights movement on the identifications and attitudes of black people. Moreover, current thinking veers in the direction of viewing ethnic group identification as a multifaceted process with identifiable stages

having implications for attitudes and behavior.

### Ethnic Identity and Adult Development

In studies of the adult development of black professionals, ethnic identity has emerged as a significant factor in the negotiation of developmental tasks. Ruffin (1985), in a study of adult development in black professional women, found that ethnicity occupied such a central place in these womens' experiences, that it was necessary to formulate a new developmental task to allow for the examination of racial self esteem over the life span. The participants in her study employed distinct coping styles in dealing with racial situations. The choice of a particular coping style related to the manner in which racial self esteem issues had been negotiated during the course of development. This provides support to the hypothesis offered by Young (1985) concerning a link between the coping styles of black female managers and racial identity attitudes.

The task for black people, according to Ruffin (1985) is "to develop a relationship to race that facilitates a recognition of racism as a social fact and to develop positive racial self esteem". Several of

the participants in her study adaptively relied on projection as a coping mechanism. This has previously been described as "healthy paranoia" by Grier and Cobbs (1964). Among the most important findings of the Ruffin (1985) study is that the midlife period represented a crucial period for these participants' developmental work on racial identity.

There is very little in the literature which helps to elucidate the process of adult development in black males, and its relationship to their professional lives. The small number of works on the topic are consistent, however, in drawing attention to the impact of racial dynamics on adult psychosocial development. Levinson (1977) was among the first to address this. From data obtained from a very small number of black male interviewees who participated in his pioneering study of male adult development, he concluded:

"The struggle to be true to his dream is never easy for a Black man with heroic aspirations-literary, political, scientific, or whatever draws upon himself with increasing intensity at all the destructive forces of individual and institutional racism. These forces must be a part of the understanding of the adult development of Black men".p. 89

Herbert (1985) in an attempt to expand Levinson's

theory, examined the adult development of ten black male entrepreneurs. He provides further support for the centrality of ethnicity in the adult development of black men. Perhaps the most marked manifestation of the impact of racial issues in these participants' experiences was the lack of mentoring relationships. None were able to engage a mentor in their organizations.

Herbert, like Ruffin (1985), suggested the need for some elaboration and modification of the Levinsonian theory of adult development to take more fully into account the impact of racial dynamics and racism on adult psychosocial development. He proposed two new developmental tasks; to form an individual racial identity that both acknowledges and frees the individual of racism and prejudices, and secondly, to form an individual self-concept dedicated to the eradication and abolition of racial discrimination, racial prejudice, and racism from society.

Gilkes (1982) outlines some of the racial identity issues encountered by black people during the course of professional life. She maintains that all professionals must deal with the expectations of their professional group. This necessitates a continuous adjustment. She supports Jacobson (1964) who suggests that the maintenance of one's identity involves a constant struggle. Also, participation in many professional

groups, requires commitment to the norms and values of the dominant, white middle class culture. This is especially true of the corporate culture. Experiences of black professionals are modified by social class and other variables but black people, regardless of occupational level or success, will in some way be reminded of the negative value placed upon their skin color by the dominant society. Thus, according to Gilkes (1982) "the black professional is caught in a possibly conflicting web of expectations which are far more complex than those of simply being a professional or being black". For many, the professional socialization process clashes with ideals that stem from being black and politically conscious. Though she acknowledges that how this conflict is dealt with will depend on the status of the individual's development, Gilkes (1982) does not address the exact interplay between racial identity attitudes and behavioral correlates in the organizational context.

### Summary

The works presented in this review seem to suggest that racial identity, adult development, and gender, are significant variables in the experiences of black professionals in predominantly white organizations. For example, the attainment of positive racial self esteem is a crucial developmental task for black people, and may have profound impact upon behavior and attainment of

both personal and occupational identity. Little is known, however, about the factors which influence this line of development. The organizational environment allows for the mobilization of these issues and provides an opportunity for the study of their behavioral correlates. There is a need for more systematic study of this complex psychological phenomenon. This would include the incorporation of neglected, potentially promising variables into research efforts. It is to this need that the present study will address itself. Racial identity and gender have been singled out as potentially significant variables in aiding our understanding of the course of adult development in black people, and in predicting their attitudes, preferences and behavior in organizations. The present study examined the role of gender, adult development, and racial identity in determining the quality of the experiences of black professionals at work.

### Rationale for the Study

The present study has potential for both theoretical and practical significance. It contributes needed information in the areas of minority mental health and ethnic issues in organizational development. In addition, it addresses the need to consider adult development issues as key factors in ethnic identity, and ethnic identity as a key factor in the adult development of black persons. Recent research suggests that ethnic identity is an important variable in the study of adult development of black people (Herbert, 1984). Further investigation of the role of ethnic identity in adult development is necessary to further efforts toward increasing the generalizability of key theoretical notions in this area. It is hoped that this study provides useful information for clinical and organizational interventions as well as for social policy.

### Problem Statement

The study examines the significance of gender and adult development issues on the evolution of racial identity attitudes, and the impact of these variables on interpersonal dynamics in organizations. Specifically, it explores how these variables relate to the manner in

which black managers and administrators cope with racial issues within their largely white or largely black organizations.

### Definition of Terms

Within the context of this study, the terms racial identity attitudes (used interchangeably with ethnic identity), manager, predominantly white organization, predominantly black organization, and adult development are the major variables. They are defined or operationalized as follows:

**RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES:** As described by Cross (1971) and Milliones (1976), racial identity attitudes refers to the degree to which one identifies with and has positive attitudes about his or her racial group membership. With respect to black identity, an important factor is the extent to which one identifies with being black. Those who fall into the category of high identifiers are those whose attitudes correspond to the Immersion and Internalization stages of the Cross (1971) model. Low identifiers expressed attitudes which correspond to the Pre-encounter and Encounter stages of the Cross (1971) model of black identity development. Low identifiers denigrate black ethnic group membership

and experience increased conflict as they acquire more positive attitudes about black people. High identifiers have positive attitudes toward group membership and experience less conflict as they progress to the last stage of ethnic identification (see Appendix A for a more detailed description of the stages).

**MANAGERS:** Managers are individuals who are responsible for the supervision of personnel, services or products.

**PREDOMINANTLY BLACK ORGANIZATIONS:** Where eighty percent or more of the executive or administrative staff is black, the organizations were considered predominantly black.

**PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ORGANIZATIONS:** Organizations whose executive or administrative staff is less than twenty percent black-with whites constituting the largest group among this pool-were considered predominantly white.

**ADULT DEVELOPMENT (PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT):** The Eriksonian psychosocial stages and the developmental tasks, as described by Levinson (1978), were used to assess the adult development status of the sample (See Appendix B for descriptions of these stages). The stages reached were determined by stage and full scale scores on the Inventory of Psychosocial Development

(described in Chapter III).

Research Questions: Do racial identity attitudes relate to style of coping with racial themes in organizations? How do aspects of adult development interface with black managers' experiences in organizations? Are black female managers' experiences qualitatively different from those of black male managers? What are some of the factors that impact upon the development of racial identity attitudes? Do racial identity attitudes impact upon the attainment of other key developmental tasks? Do racial identity attitudes effect the establishment of a relationship with a mentor?

The following hypotheses will be tested:

1. Internalization attitudes will be positively associated with the successful negotiation of other developmental tasks.
2. Internalization attitudes will be negatively associated with anxiety about racial themes in the organization.
3. Internalization attitudes will be positively associated with perceived success.

4. Internalization attitudes will be positively associated with a mentoring relationship either in the current institution or outside for junior and middle level managers.
  
5. Black male and female managers will report qualitatively different experiences in the predominantly white organization.

## Chapter III

### METHOD

The subjects who participated in this study were given a three part questionnaire to complete and return. Twelve of those subjects were interviewed. This chapter describes the subjects, the instruments, and procedures used to conduct this study.

#### Sample

The subjects were 57 black male and 69 black female managers employed in predominantly white and black institutions. They represented a variety of age cohorts and levels of experience as managers. Seventy-four percent of the subjects were employed in a predominantly white organizational setting with 20 percent reporting that they were employed in a predominantly black setting. A total of seven or 6% indicated that they were employed in a well integrated setting where the percentages of whites and non-whites were roughly equal. One percent of the subjects were under the age of 25. Thirty three percent were between 25 and 34. Twenty-two percent were between 35 and 39, and 31 percent were 40 and over. Thirteen percent of the subjects did not indicate their ages. Thirty two percent were married, 50% were single

Table I

Characteristics of All Respondents

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Gender</u>		
Female	69	55
Male	57	45
<u>Age</u>		
20-24	1	1
25-34	42	33
35-39	27	22
40 and over	39	31
Unreported	17	13
<u>Managerial Level</u>		
Junior	16	13
Middle	76	60
Senior	34	27
<u>Marital Status</u>		
Single	63	50
female	48	69
male	15	26
Married	41	32
female	11	15
male	30	52
Divorced	22	17
female	10	14
male	12	21
<u>Organizational Setting</u>		
Black	26	20
White	93	74
Integrated	7	6

and 18% were divorced. More than twice as many men as women indicated that they were or had been married.

Most were middle managers. Sixty percent indicated that they were middle managers. Thirteen percent reported that they were junior managers, and the remaining 27 percent indicated that they were senior managers (see Table I).

### Instruments

#### RACIAL IDENTITY SCALE (RIS)

Cross (1971) used a Q sort method of measuring the extent to which a black person is comfortable identifying him or herself as black, and has a positive view of black people in general. From this he developed a scale which was revised by Parham and Helms (1981). They reworded items that contained any obvious social desirability factors and complicated terms. The result was a 30 item attitude scale requiring that respondents indicate their agreement on a five point scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. Eight of the 30 items correspond to the Pre-encounter stage, 6 to the Encounter stage, 10 to the Immersion-emersion stage and 6 to the Internalization stage.

The items were standardized using 54 rural college students. Their total scores for a subscale were corrected for item overlap and were subsequently

correlated with each of the items in the scale. The authors found that reliabilities ranged from .66 to .72 and scale intercorrelations ranged from .46 to .64 (see Appendix C).

#### RACIAL INDENTITY INTERVIEWS (RII)

A structured interview was developed for the purposes of this study. It assesses past and present ethnic identity attitudes and conflicts in six domains: occupation, politics, reference groups, personal identity and intimate relationships. Subjects were asked to elaborate on items selected from existing scales of black racial identity as well as items developed for the purposes of this study.

The interview items were pilot tested on volunteers for their construct validity, and clarity. Items were also submitted to authorities in the areas of Organizational Psychology and Social/Cross-cultural Psychology. Two were psychologists and two were black managers. See Appendix D

#### INVENTORY OF PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Inventory of Psychosocial Development (IPD)

is a 60 item rating scale designed to measure the successful and unsuccessful negotiation of Ericksonian psychosocial stages of development. Six scales reflect successful resolution of the stages and are paired with six scales which reflect unsuccessful resolution of these stages. Each scale contains five items.

Subjects are instructed to circle a number from seven to one, thereby describing how characteristic or uncharacteristic the item is for him or her. A determination of each subject's location on each of the stages is derived by calculating the differences between the successful and unsuccessful total scores for the stage. To avoid negative values, 20 is added to the total score for each stage.

In a study conducted by Constantinople (1969), test-retest reliabilities ranged from .45 on identity diffusion to .81 on intimacy. A median  $r$  of .70 was obtained with an  $N$  of 150 (Appendix E).

#### SOCIAL DESIRABILITY QUESTIONNAIRE

The abridged Ford Social Desirability Questionnaire will be used to test the genuineness of the subjects' responses.

It has been previously reported that social desirability accounts for some of the variance on the Inventory of

Psychosocial Development (Orlofsky, 1978).

This is a 20 item forced choice measure requiring that subjects choose one of two statements, the one which most reflects their behavior or attitudes. Scores are determined by summing items which indicate socially desirable responses (Appendix F). A score of 6 or more fell into the category of high social desirability.

#### PERSONAL INFORMATION BLANK (PIB)

This 28 item questionnaire -also developed for the purposes of this study- was used to obtain demographic data and information pertaining to the subjects' experiences in the corporate environment. Eighteen of the remaining items tap perceived success, the presence or absence of a mentoring relationship, and style of coping with racial tensions within the work environment (Appendix G).

These instruments were used to test hypotheses about the factors related to the development of particular identity attitudes and experiences in institutions. A total of fifty-six items were generated initially and pilot tested on a volunteer sample of nine managers for content validity and clarity. Those items found to be vague or irrelevant were

eliminated.

#### PROCEDURE

Participants were referred by personal and professional contacts of the investigator or obtained in response to letters sent to organizations and institutions requesting volunteers (see Appendix H). The examiner explained to volunteer the purpose and time requirements of the study and the confidentiality of the results. This information was also given to them in written form and they were asked to sign a consent form and to retain a duplicate for their information (see Appendix I).

Twelve subjects from the total pool were interviewed. Half the subjects were asked to complete questionnaires prior to the interview and half were asked to complete them after the interview to counter-balance for order effects. All data were collected by the same examiner; a black female.

#### STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The participants were divided into two groups on the basis of racial composition of their organization's managerial/administrative staff. Those subjects employed in predominantly black institutions constituted the comparison group. The content of the racial identity

observe consistencies in experiences related to the quality and determinants of racial identity attitudes, and anxiety due to racial themes in organizations.

Transcripts were examined for the purpose of identifying repeated themes to characterize the experiences of black managers. A content code was devised and an array of categories was delineated. Where it did not seem possible to fit unique experiences into any particular grouping, they were described in a category entitled "other".

#### DEVELOPMENT OF CODING CATEGORIES

The categories to be coded were developed following the guidelines of Gay (1981), Klippendorff (1980), and Rosengren (1981). The data were studied very carefully by the author who listened to audiotapes and constructed a list of possible categories. Two volunteer judges were asked to study the categories and to comment on clarity. In addition, the judges assisted in testing validity of the categories by reviewing the content of selected taped interviews. The final categories were then placed on coding sheets which were used to categorize responses.

#### Coding the Responses

Responses were coded directly from the audiotapes

by the author. The procedure for coding was as follows:

1. The coder listened to one question at a time and entered each response on the coding sheet
2. The list of categories corresponding to the particular question was reviewed and a check mark (✓) was placed next to the matching response
3. The same procedure was followed for the next question and all subsequent questions
4. A second coding was conducted by the author for selected portions of the audiotape for indication of reliability in responding to the content and coding categories. An average percent agreement of 96% was obtained between the two scorings.

## Chapter IV

### Results

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the interview and questionnaire data. These results provide a beginning framework for understanding the experiences of black managers in predominantly white institutions.

Interview data and questionnaire data, in some respects, served different purposes. The data obtained through the structured interviews were utilized to examine the origin of ethnic identity attitudes and more indepth information concerning the interviewees experiences at work. The combined interview and survey data explored the relationship between ethnic identity and other variables; style of coping with racial issues, the presence or absence of mentoring relationships, preceived career success, and mastery of developmental tasks.

Several statistical analyses were performed to determine the relationship between variables. First, frequency distributions were generated of subjects' demographic characteristics, stage scores on items measuring style of coping with racial issues, and responses to the racial identity scale. Correlation coefficients were computed for the relationship of racial identity subscale scores to scale scores on the Inventory of Personal Development.

The Chi Square and the Cramer's V statistics were used to explore the relationship between gender and style of coping with racial themes; mentoring relationships and gender; mentoring relationships and ethnic identity; mentoring relationships and adult development; and perceived success and adult development. Group differences were further explored using analysis of variance and discriminant analysis. To account for the contribution of social desirability to observed variance, social desirability served as a control variable in partial correlations, and a covariate in analysis of variance procedures. The content of the racial identity interview was analyzed to determine racial identity stage and the origin of racial identity attitudes.

#### The Interviewees

Twelve managers were interviewed; five men and seven women. Two classified themselves as junior managers. Three indicated that they were middle level managers, and the remaining seven reported that they were senior managers. Seven were employed in predominantly white organizations and five in predominantly black organizational settings (See Table 2).

Table 2

Characteristics of Managers Interviewed

	Pseudonym	Length of Interview	Marital Status	Present Position	Length of Time in Position	Managerial Level	Age
Predominantly White Organizations	Al	2½ hours	married	Manager, bank	9 years	middle	42
	Ted	2 hours	married	Manager, bank	4 years	middle	42
	Sam	2 hours	married	Mgr. City	1 year	junior	32
	Cathy	4 hours	single	Mgr. finance	2½ years	junior	30
	Jan	3 hours	single	Mgr. prod.	10 years	middle	33
	Sue	2 hours	single	Director	1 year	senior	37
	Jane	3 hours	single	Administrator	3 years	junior	29
Predominantly Black Organizations	Carl	2 hours	married	Senior V.P.	2 years	senior	36
	Ed	2 hours	single	Administrator	2 years	senior	33
	Lee	3 hours	married	Director	10 years	senior	40+
	Ann	1½ hours	married	Corporate V.P.	14 years	senior	39
	Pam	2 hours	single	Administrator	1 year	middle	36

Table 3

Comparison of Interviewee Racial Identity Interview and Racial Identity Scale Results

<u>Pseudonym</u>	<u>Racial Identity Interview</u>	<u>Racial Identity Scale</u>
Al	Encounter	Encounter
Ann	Internalization	Internalization
Carl	Internalization	Internalization
Cathy	Encounter	Internalization*
Ed	Internalization	Internalization
Jan	Encounter	Internalization*
Jane	Internalization	Internalization
Lee	Encounter	(not returned)
Pam	Internalization	Internalization
Sam	Encounter	Encounter
Sue	Internalization	Internalization
Ted	Encounter	Encounter

\*discrepancy between assessments

The ethnic identity attitudes most frequently endorsed by the interviews were those reflecting the Internationalization stage of the Cross (1971) model. On the Racial Identity Scale, three of the eleven (one did not return a completed questionnaire) responded in a direction consistent with the Encounter Stage while the remaining eight expressed attitudes consistent with the Internalization stage. None of the interviewees fit the response pattern for either the Pre-encounter or the Immersion-emersion stages. (See Table 3)

In general, there was consistency between the interview assessment of racial identity attitudes and the results of the Racial Identity Scale. In only two cases did the interview and the survey suggest different stages; Internalizational on the paper and pencil measure and Encounter in the interviews for both. The interview appeared to tap more of the unconscious attitudes which were consistent with the Encounter stage. Of those surveyed, 75% responded in a manner consistent with the Internalization stage. Another 24% expressed attitudes consistent with the Encounter stage. Only two subjects fell into the Immersion-emersion category, and none could be categorized as Pre-encounter (Table 4)

It is interesting to note that for all of the stages, except stage three, on the Inventory of Personal Development, the mean stage score for the Internalization group was higher than the mean stage for the Encounter group.

Table 4

## Racial Identity Stage of Subjects Surveyed by Gender

N=126

Racial Identity Stage	Male		Female	
	(N=57)	%	(N=69)	%
Pre-encounter	0	0	0	0
Encounter	7	12	23	33
Immersion-emersion	1	1	1	1
Internalization	49	83	45	66

Hypothesis #1: There will be a positive relationship between Internalization attitudes and the presence of a mentoring relationship.

The results of a Chi Square analysis did not confirm this hypothesis; however the data did suggest a trend in the expected direction. Most of the respondents indicated that there was at least one individual who had guided them in their careers in a significant way. Eighteen percent of the Encounter group and only one percent of the Internalization group reported the absence of a mentoring relationship (Table 5). The interviewees reported that they tended to look outside their places of employment for mentorship; to parents or role models in the community. Only four of the twelve interviewees indicated that they found someone in their places of employment who functioned as mentors. All four espoused Internalization attitudes. Three of them were employed in a predominantly white setting.

Combined interview and questionnaire data revealed that racial composition of managerial staff was not a predictor of whether or not a mentor was utilized in the work environment (Table 6). Managers employed in predominantly black settings were no more likely to have formed a relationship with a mentor at work than managers in predominantly white settings. A discriminant analysis did suggest that of all the

Table 5

Frequency Distribution of Managers Reporting  
a Relationship with at Least one Mentor  
Racial Identity Stage

	Encounter		Immersion		Internalization	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	19	65	2	100	92	98
No	6	18	0	0	1	1
Uncertain	5	17	0	0	1	1
Total=	30	100	2	100	94	100

$$\chi^2_{4df}=3.99, p > .05$$

Table 6

Frequency Distribution of Managers Reporting  
a Relationship with a Mentor by Racial Com-  
position of Organization

	White		Black		Integrated	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	81	84	25	99	7	100
No	7	8	1	1		
Uncertain	7	8				
Total =	95	100	26	100	7	100

$$\chi^2_{4df}=2.58, p > .05$$

Table 7

Frequency Distribution of Managers Reporting a  
Relationship with at Least One Mentor by Gender

N=126

	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	52	92	61	89
No	3	5	2	3
Uncertain	2	3	6	8
Total =	57	100	69	100

$$\chi^2_{2 \text{ df}} = 0.10, p > .05$$

independent variables under study, managers employed in predominantly black and predominantly white settings were most different in their reports of experiences with mentors. The difference, though, was unremarkable (Table 8). Table 9 further supports a lack of strong male, female differences in experiences with mentors.

Hypothesis #2: There will be a negative relationship between Internalization attitudes and anxiety over racial themes in the organization

The Chi Square statistic was also used to test the hypothesis of a negative relationship between Internalization attitudes and anxiety in reaction to racial tensions. The hypothesis was confirmed. A comparison of the difference in the frequency with which Encounter and Internalization subjects reported that they were anxious about racial tension in the work environment revealed that Encounter respondents more frequently reported distress in reaction to racial tensions at work (Table 10). This was true for subjects employed in both predominantly white and black settings. Managers in well integrated settings, however, expressed less anxiety than did managers in predominantly white settings. The results of an analysis of variance indicate that overall, expressing the least anxiety over racial themes in the organization were Internalization respondents employed in predominantly black settings (Table 11).

Table 8

Summary Table: Discriminant Analysis of Variables by Racial Composition of the organization

<u>Action Step</u> <u>entered removed</u>	<u>Vars</u> <u>M</u>	<u>Wilks'</u> <u>Lambda</u>	<u>Equiv F</u>	<u>Sig</u>	<u>Label</u>
1. Mentor- General Experience	1	.91094	12.123	.0007	has had at least one mentor
2. Anxiety	2	.84501	11.280	.0000	experiences anxiety in reaction to racial tension
3. Mentor-currently	3	.82546	8.598	.0000	Currently has a mentor
4. Personal Development <sup>4</sup> Full Scale		.81136	7.033	.0000	Full Scale Personal Development Inventory
5. Success	5	.80151	5.943	.0001	Perceives Self as successful

Table 9

Summary Table: Discriminant Analysis of Variables by Gender

<u>Action Step</u> <u>entered removed</u>	<u>Vars</u> <u>M</u>	<u>Wilks</u> <u>Lambda</u>	<u>Equiv F</u>	<u>Sig</u>	<u>Label</u>
Racial Identity	1	.94039	7.860	.0059	Racial Identity Stage
Personal Development Full Scale	2	.92558	4.945	.0086	Full Scale Personal Development Inventory
Mentor-Currently	3	.91459	3.797	.0121	Currently has a mentor
Mentor-General Experience	4	.90162	3.300	.0132	Has had at least one mentor

Table 10

Frequency Distribution of Managers Reporting Anxiety  
in Reaction to Racial Tension at Work by Racial  
Identity Stage

N=124

	Encounter		Immersion		Internalization	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	14	46	0	0	22	23
No	13	45	2	100	65	70
Uncertain	3	1	0	0	7	7
Total	= 30		2 *		94	

$$\chi^2_{2 \text{ df}} = 9.51, p < .05$$

\* Immersion subjects were excluded from this analysis because their small representation did not permit analysis

Table 11

Analysis of Variance Anxiety by Racial Identity, Race of Organization and Gender  
Covaried with Social Desirability

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Significance of F
<b>Main Effects</b>	<b>31.165</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5.194</b>	<b>3.285</b>	<b>0.005</b>
Racial Identity	6.556	2	3.278	2.074	0.130
Race of Organization	23.821	2	11.910	7.534	0.001
Gender	3.187	1	3.187	2.016	0.158
Social Desirability (covar)	0.018	1	0.018	0.012	0.915
<b>Explained</b>	<b>31.165</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5.194</b>	<b>3.285</b>	<b>0.005</b>
<b>Residual</b>	<b>188.136</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>1.581</b>		
<b>Total</b>	<b>219.302</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>1.754</b>		

Hypothesis # 3: There will be a positive relationship between Internalization attitudes and perceived success

The hypothesis that Internalization subjects' would report that they have been successful in their career pursuits significantly more often than other respondents was not confirmed. Very few of the respondents seemed to feel that they had not been successful in their career pursuits. A perceived lack of success in career pursuits was reported by six percent of the Encounter subjects and fourteen percent of the subjects in the Internalization group (Table 12).

Hypothesis # 4: Internalization attitudes will be positively associated with the successful negotiation of other developmental tasks

As indicated by Table 13, there was a positive relationship between Internalization attitudes and psychosocial development. The mean full scale score on the Inventory of Personal Development for the Internalization group, was in fact, higher than that of the Encounter group. There was close to a ten point difference between the mean scores of the Encounter and Internalization groups. There was a high positive point biserial correlation of  $r=72$  ( $P < .05$ ) between racial identity attitudes and full scale scores on the Inventory of Personal Development.

Table 12

## Perceived Success by Racial Identity Stage

N=126

Racial Identity Stage	Successful		Unsuccessful		Uncertain	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Pre-encounter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Encounter	26	86	2	7	2	7
Immersion	1	50	1	50	0	0
Internalization	76	88	13	7	5	5
Total =	103		16		7	

 $\chi^2_{6} df=.0014, p \leq .05$

Table 13

Comparison of Internalization and Encounter Mean  
and Full Scale Scores on the IPD

<u>IPD</u> <u>Stage</u>	<u>Encounter</u>	<u>Immerison</u>	<u>Internalization</u>	<u>D</u>
1	13.0	17.0	14.1	1.1
2	8.1	16.0	9.6	1.5
3	16.8	20.0	15.4	-1.4
4	17.9	20.0	18.2	0.3
5	11.5	16.0	12.4	0.9
6	14.2	14.0	15.1	0.9
Full Scale	78.9	101.5	87.5	

Interview Results: Black Managers Experiences in  
Predominantly White Corporations

The interview data provided more indepth information about the exact nature of the experiences of black managers in the predominantly white organization. In particular, the interviews pinpointed the manner in which gender, adult development, and racial identity attitudes interacted to determine the quality of the experiences of the black managers interviewed.

The managers in predominantly white corporations were quite consistent in their accounts of the experiences of black managers in their own and similar settings. The majority of both the interviewees and questionnaire respondents agreed that, where black managers are concerned, the predominantly white setting is far from a meritocracy. Most seemed to believe that there was an uneven balance of power in the organization favoring whites. Though able to locate more senior colleagues who were willing to guide them in their careers, most of the respondents indicated that they felt more alone and isolated than their counterparts employed in predominantly black settings (Table 14).

Table 14

Frequency Distribution of Reports of various experiences  
of Black Managers in Predominantly White Organizations

Response	<u>M</u> <u>%</u>	<u>F</u> <u>%</u>
1. More power is afforded the White Managers	100	100
2. Black Managers are more isolated in the White Corporate Environment	100	75
3. Black Managers are pressured to over achieve	100	50
4. Black Managers must suppress black cultural values and behaviors	66	75
5. Need to approach interracial relat- ionships with a degree of suspicion	33	25
6. No different than that of a White Manager	33	0
7. Challenging	66	25
8. Has experienced racial discrimi- nation at work	100	100

### Black male/female differences

Despite the perception of harsher treatment of black male managers on the part of both the men and women interviewed, overall, the black male managers seemed less passionate about the racism in their places of employment than did their black female counterparts. In discussing the prevalence of racism in their work environment, their presentations seemed to suggest that they were less personally affected by it. All seemed to believe that if they were women, they might not be subjected to as much overt discrimination because in many ways, they would be seen as less of a power threat. The females tended to agree with this observation. All felt that black women, on the surface, were less exposed to overt hostility though more respect was generally given to black males. Where black women felt more discriminated against was in salary. They seemed keenly aware that black men earned more than black women in comparable managerial positions. Overall, the black males interviewed were concerned with lack of advancement due to discrimination, while the female managers seemed to center on unpleasant interpersonal dynamics (Table 15). The reports of the female interviewees were consistent with those of the questionnaire respondents; significantly more reported that they were distressed by racially

Table 15

Frequency Distribution of Manager's Preception of differences in the experiences of males and females

<u>Response</u>	<u>M</u>		<u>F</u>	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
1. Men are more of a power threat	100	75		
2. Women experience less covert discrimination	66	100		
3. Black males are more respected	100	75		
4. Black men earn more money	33	100		
5. It is harder for a black man to advance	100	75		

motivated hostility in their organizations.

According to the interviewees, the white corporate environment posed four primary challenges to the black managers' capacity to retain a sense of self as an individual and self esteem as a black person. No matter how successful the black manager was at reaching adulthood with a positive sense of self, those interviewed believed that their racial group membership would interact with their work role in characteristic ways. The following themes were prevalent in the reports of all those interviewed.

#### The anti-black pseudoself

The black manager frequently must contend with a very subtle message that his or her very existence in the organization is heavily dependent upon conforming to a norm that devalues non-white status. One interviewee captured the experience well in the following statement:

"It's very schitzy to look at a job in terms of what kind of façade do I have to put up now. [It's] not about can I do this job, but can I look this job, can I act this job. You can't be talking about revolutionizing. your whole attitude about who you are and how you look and

who you're with just for a job;  
 but there's that schizophrenia  
 that says that who you are is  
 somehow not sufficient to move  
 into that kind of slot"

This pressure to erect a pseudoself -that was experienced as inconsistent with being black- was egoalien for these black professional men and women. For the most part, it was viewed as a betrayal of one's self and one's community. Common reactions included depression, guilt, and an experience of the self as lacking in genuineness.

#### Supercompetent but non-threatening

Both male and female interviewees reported considerable performance pressure accompanied by a subtly communicated message that too much initiative or competence would be met with resistance. This was echoed more strongly by the female managers and may be one manifestation of how race and gender interact to determine the quality of managers' experiences. One female manager, in commenting on the experiences of black managers in general, offered the following opinion:

"We always have to be twice as smart or hardworking, maybe now, three times as much to be given half the consideration. Their [Whites] reaction is almost as if it is life threatening that their values, what they were told, what they assumed; that minority people

were less than, less attractive than, less capable than, less personable, less logical, less able than, was true. When confronted with someone that is on their par, it is almost like a desperate kind of lashing out like no, you must fit what I believe you to be, and if you won't, I'm going to make you, find the button to push to make you break out of what I know must be some artificial casting."

The need to present an image of being overqualified and supercompetent, while underemphasizing competency, was viewed as a major source of strain. It engendered paranoia and created confusion concerning the display of appropriate self assertion.

#### Unequal authority

The black manager's authority was often not perceived as comparable to that of white managers at equal levels by white colleagues and subordinates. Nearly all the managers interviewed reported experiences which suggested that both black and white subordinates did not follow directives as readily as they might have, had the managers been white. Five out of seven of the managers employed in predominantly white settings; all three of the females and two of the males, described hostile encounters with subordinates, which they believed were motivated

by their subordinates' difficulties taking orders from a black person in authority. They seemed to believe that they had less authority in their positions than Whites would have. This was expressed more frequently by the younger interviewees than the older ones, and more by females than males. Of the five interviewees employed in a predominately black setting, only one; a male, indicated that he believed that his black subordinates resented his authority.

The interviewees described characteristic ways in which their authority was denied. Subordinates would locate authority in white managers of lesser, higher or comparable managerial rank, they would fail to complete assignments according to the specifications of their supervisors, and seemed less concerned about the consequences of their actions. Some reportedly openly resented directives from the black managers who supervised them.

#### Alienation and Lack of Support

From the reports of the interviewees, a degree of marginality appeared to be inherent in the experiences of both male and female black managers. In addition to having fewer black managers and mentors with whom to interact, some interviewee expressed concern about

limited opportunities for satisfactory contact with white colleagues in their predominantly white organizations. Six out of the seven managers employed in predominantly white settings indicated that subordinates and colleagues experienced considerable anxiety in reaction to dealing with a manager who did not fit common negative black stereotypes. They were thought to employ avoidance in coping with this anxiety; thus, compounding the alienation experienced by black managers.

Three of the interviewees; two males and one female, volunteered the observation that coworkers treat them with a degree of suspicion, and that black males in particular are given less opportunity to serve as a representative of the organization to the public. It is therefore, the black male who they perceive to be the most alienated.

The majority of those interviewed appeared quite adept at managing the potential negative effects of racial discrimination in their organizations. They appeared to acknowledge racism as a fact, were flexible enough in their appraisals of others and themselves to identify genuine strengths and weaknesses of subordinates, and to identify black and white colleagues with whom they could engage for mutual support, feedback and information sharing. Most seemed to stress

the importance of linkages with external support networks such as black professional organizations, and involvement in cultural activities that reaffirm an ethnic sense of self and allow for an education about the realities of racism. A key factor in offsetting the ill effects of racism appeared to be the capacity to create an extra-organizational support network or an intrapsychic mechanism for coping, that allows for conscious awareness of the realities of racism.

In only two cases did the interviews present any indication that racial conflicts, or the perceived potential for conflict, precipitate more than mild psychological unrest. One of the two; a female manager, described a brief period of moderate to strong symptoms of anxiety and depression following an incident which she believed involved racial discrimination. It is significant that this woman spoke of having come to fruition as a black person relatively late in life. She suggested that a growing sense of ethnic pride and involvement in black community affairs have provided her with a sort of protective shield against racism. She believes that, as a consequence, she is no longer thrown into psychological disequilibrium in the face of racial discrimination.

The other individual, a black male manager employed in a predominantly black setting, avoids contact with

Whites in an attempt to protect himself against racism. He consciously limits potential opportunity for positive exchange through avoidant behavior. In the interview, he evidenced more rigidity in his perceptions of both black and white people. Of all those interviewed, he expressed the highest percentage of ambivalent statements about black people.

#### Black Managers Experiences in Predominantly Black Settings

In contrast to the managers employed in predominantly white settings, those employed in predominantly black organizations generally reported positive experiences. A consistent theme among these managers was that their work afforded them the opportunity to make a contribution toward a better life for black people.

Most seemed to feel that there is a greater sense of belonging in the black organization. The environment was generally described as more supportive than in many predominantly white settings, and communication within the predominantly black organization was viewed as more effective. Another frequently reported observation

was that because the majority of staff tends to be black in the organization, race is less salient and managers feel freer to focus on their management responsibilities. As one middle level manager put it: "In a black institution, you don't have the contrast. At a higher level, people assume you must know a lot...whether in a black institution or a white one, people will try to scapegoat you. The black manager will be tested both by white people and Blacks without good self concepts"

#### Origin of Ethnic Identity Attitudes

Parents appeared to be the most significant among the factors shaping ethnic identity attitudes in both positive and negative directions. All of the interviewees who espoused Internalization attitudes stated that they had acquired positive images of black people and positive means of coping with racism through their parents. Stereotyped attitudes and anxiety with regard to racial issues appeared to be associated with having heard parents make derogatory statements about black people, or being told by parents either directly or indirectly that racial issues were not to be discussed. Two of the interviewees who disclosed many stereotypical or conflictual attitudes about black people reported having had contact with black people which left them feeling rejected or in some way inadequate. One of the inter-

viewees, though raised in a middle class environment, indicated that she felt uncomfortable around upper middle class black people. Her lack of comfort was related to their perceived contempt of her, a message from her parents that racial issues should be denied, and that intragroup relationships can be hurtful. Her father "wasn't into talking about racial issues, he was about personal excellence more than anything else." Her mother, on the other hand, frequently warned her about the "blue veined society of well to do black people who are light skinned and contemptuous of darker skinned black people with fewer financial resources."

Almost all of the black managers in both predominantly black and predominantly white organizational settings, who had the opportunity to have contact with black role models and positive symbols of success, consistently reported positive ethnic identity attitudes and more positive experiences in the work environment. This was most true of those employed in predominantly black environments, and evident for all but two of those interviewed. The factors which seemed most salient for these two individuals; one of whom was employed in a predominantly black setting, were having internalized negative attitudes toward black people, and coming from home environments where race was not discussed.

In summary, the results of the data analysis suggest that racial identity, adult development, and gender are important factors in the experiences of black professionals in predominantly white organizations. For example, while it may be more difficult for black managers to locate mentors, the results of this study suggest that the capacity to successfully utilize a mentor may be related to racial identity attitudes. The internalization of positive, more realistic attitudes about one's ethnic group may facilitate the establishment of a relationship with a mentor.

More realistic and positive racial identity attitudes was also related to less distress over racial themes in the organization. There was an interaction between expressed anxiety, and the racial composition of the organization. Based on interview results, it seems that Internalization respondents employed in predominantly black settings expressed the least anxiety in response to racial tension in their organizations.

Internalization attitudes were also associated with the successful negotiation of other developmental tasks. Internalization subjects generally scored higher in psychosocial development.

Racial identity attitudes were not positively associated with seeing one's self as successful in career pursuits. Contrary to expectations, a higher

percentage of Encounter subjects judged themselves to be successful than did Internalization subjects.

In the interviews, black managers expressed concern over (1) pressure to erect a pseudo-self that was experienced as inconsistent with being black and politically conscious, (2) a need to present an image of being overqualified and supercompetent, while underemphasizing competency in actual work behaviors so as not to appear threatening, (3) not being given authority comparable to whites by colleagues and subordinates, (4) coping with a lack of support and feelings of alienation.

Black males and females were thought to be treated differently. According to the interviewees, black females were subjected less to overt hostility, but respected less by coworkers and subordinates than black males. Black females were more likely to report distress over racially motivated hostility than were the black male respondents.

The black managers appeared to rely on positive ethnic self-concepts, an awareness of the realities of racism, and support networks in coping with racism in their organizations. They learned to take the initiative in obtaining feedback about their job performances, and found value in informing themselves about the realities of racism.

Finally, parental attitudes was the most significant factor in shaping ethnic identity attitudes in both positive and negative directions.

## DISCUSSION

The results of the current study suggest that ethnic identity, gender and adult development status do, in fact, impact upon the experiences of black professionals in predominantly white institutions. Specifically, black professionals' experiences in predominantly white organizations are likely to be an interactive function of personal characteristics, personalized values toward black culture, and characteristics of the organization. For example, there were apparent gender differences in the perceived experiences of black professional men and women. Women were thought to be less exposed to overt hostility though most believed that authority was clearly located in black males. Black males were thought by both groups to be the most alienated of the two at work. This supports other observations that in comparing the work roles that black males and females have assumed throughout history, black females have generally been given greater opportunity for cross cultural exchange. Objective data indicating that black women are lower wage earners and are employed in lower status occupations when compared to black males, support the managers' perceptions that greater authority is located in black males. In the current

study, black females outnumbered black males at all levels except the senior managerial level.

The centrality of ethnic identity was demonstrated by a trend in the data indicating that respondents with fewer racial identity conflicts were more likely to have developed a relationship with a mentor than respondents who endorsed attitude statements reflecting conflict. This was most strongly supported by the interview data. The survey data indicated a non-significant trend in this direction. It appears that inner security and internalization of positive feelings about one's cultural identity allows for the type of interaction needed to develop a relationship with a mentor, of the same or of another ethnic group, without excessive anxiety or mistrust. It is possible that conflictual ethnic identity attitudes could lead to an avoidance of relationships. Avoidance would result from a projection of contradictory feelings about one's ethnic identity, or a heightened sense of vulnerability due to the absence of the protection provided by an informed and realistic awareness of the manifestations and effects of racism.

Dickens and Dickens (1980), suggest that two primary behaviors that occur in reaction to racism are "fit in" and avoidance behaviors. This is consistent

with the findings of this study which suggest that differing racial identity attitudes may account for why some choose these dysfunctional responses.

In the current study, Internalization attitudes were associated with fewer unresolved conflicts in stages of psychosocial development. This finding supports Ruffin's (1985) hypothesis that an important task of adult development for black people is the crystallization of a positive black identity. It appears that injury to ethnic self concept may impede development in other areas. The individual comes to view the environment as hostile either consciously or unconsciously, while at the same time, feeling that he or she does not have the personal resources to cope. This impacts negatively upon sense of personal efficacy and choice. Consequently, behaviors may center more on repairing damage and protecting self esteem than on task performance.

It has been suggested that the internalization of non-conflictual ethnic identity attitudes would be associated with more positive self evaluations and a greater sense of competence (Cross, 1971; Thomas, 1970). This study, however, failed to demonstrate a positive relationship between Internalization attitudes and perceived success. This probably reflects the lack of a linear relationship between these two variables.

The greater percentage of Encounter subjects rating themselves as successful, when compared to Internalization respondents, possibly reflects different response tendencies. Perhaps the Encounter respondents have a need to see themselves as successful while Internalization subjects are more realistic in their self appraisals. The greater percentage of Encounter subjects rating themselves as successful could also suggest that attaining success is a way of coping with conflict. An over-evaluation of one's achievements might mask an under-general sense of inadequacy. It is also possible that what this reflects is that, in some instances, there is not a linear positive correlation between mental health and success. For some, conflict may provide the fuel for activity leading to successful outcomes.

The lack of a positive relationship between racial identity attitudes and perceived success might signal a need to be more specific about the nature or type of career success being examined. Derr (1986) describes five definitions of career success which have implications for varying aspects of one's occupational and familial experiences. It is possible that differences in the conceptualization of career success may have affected subjects' responses and confounded findings in this area.

Studies have suggested that positive racial identity attitudes are not correlated with good psychological outcomes. For example, it has been argued that positive racial identity is not necessarily associated with high self esteem (McAdoo, 1976,; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1971; Spencer, 1977; Williams, 1975). Furthermore, Cross (1980) in an analysis of the literature pertaining to racial identity attitudes, asserts that having a group to identify with is important, but that group does not necessarily have to be the one with which the individual is publicly associated. It was therefore concluded that it may not be accurate to assume that black people will necessarily choose a black reference group orientation and in doing so, will manifest positive psychological outcomes. The interview data of the current study, however, suggest that although the competent black manager may perform well in the predominantly white environment without strong positive ethnic identity attitudes, he or she would possibly function better, and with less subjective distress, in the absence of conflict. Ethnic identity conflict seems to drain the manager of the psychological resources needed to combat the deleterious effects of racism and to perform optimally. This supports the findings of a limited number of works like that of Carter (1983), which utilizes a psychodynamic perspective in examining the implications of

internalizing varying attitudes toward one's ethnic group membership.

That parents are the primary factors in the quality of the ethnic identity attitudes developed is not surprising. Parents are the primary sources for the internalization of many of the characteristics that their children take on. Griffin and Korchin (1980) and Valentin (1983) found that more competent black adolescents had the opportunity to identify with parents who allowed them to reinforce a particular socio-cultural orientation. These adolescents were able to cross ethnic group boundaries more easily (possibly due to higher levels of self esteem and confidence) than less competent black adolescents.

The results of the current study suggest that where the parents' own experiences and feelings about racial issues are not integrated, restrictions of varying types are placed upon the attention and the flow of information with respect to racism. This appeared to be reflected in the quality of the reports of the different interviewees. Those with fewer expressed ethnic identity conflicts seemed to speak more clearly and definitely about their experiences with racism in their organizations. There appeared to be much more integration of the experiences into the understanding of the overall meaning and impact of the realities of racism for

their individual and collective lives. The restrictions that had been internalized by some appeared in their speech in the form of incoherencies. Those with more secure racial identities appeared more coherent in discussing their encounters with racism and its influence on their lives.

Bowlby (1969, 1973) posits that in the course of developing, an important task is to construct an "internal working model" or a mental representation of an aspect of the world, other, self or relationships to others that is of special relevance to one's self. Applied to the situation of black people and black professionals in particular, the task is to construct an internal working model of racism and race relations. This would consist of conscious and unconscious rules for the organization of information relevant to racism and for obtaining or limiting access to that information. These internal working models will be reflected in behaviors, feelings, attention, memory and cognition. They are not merely passive introjections of the objects of past experience. Rather, they are constructions and can be reconstructed in response to changes in concrete experience. Change, however, is difficult because these internal working models of racism operate outside conscious awareness and thus resist dramatic change.

The concept of the internal working model provides insight into the role of racial identity in the experiences of black professionals and may account, partially, for some of the reported intra-group differences. Some internal working models may be more effective than others when it comes to coping with racism; they serve as a sort of protective shield against it.

Racism is a significant psychosocial stressor and a primary source of stress for many of the participants in the present study. They seem to suggest that a positive ethnic self concept is an important internal mediator for decreasing the negative affects of racial discrimination. What appears to be most consistently and strongly suggested by the present study is that training for effective functioning in a multicultural context begins long before the future professional has an occupational, ethnic or even personal identity. Until racial discrimination is abolished, it is important that black parents make every effort to ensure that their children have an opportunity to learn about the realities of racism and to internalize positive attitudes about their ethnic group membership. For adults who are underdeveloped in this regard and who seek psychological assistance, mental health service providers who are able to guide them in identifying these concerns are greatly needed.

Perhaps one outcome of developing internalization attitudes is better preparedness for multicultural management. Having internalized a cohesive, integrated and positive ethnic sense of self might afford a manager the ability to effectively interact with people of varying cultural backgrounds and to make judgments that are free of ethnically based biases. This has important implications for the training of managers. Black and white managers could be guided through activities designed to help them acquire Internalization attitudes. This is particularly important for contemporary managers who must contend with the neoracism which can undermine the black manager's sense of self worth in the work place.

### Limitations

The study should be replicated with larger populations of black managers to increase the possibility of generalizability. Since the subjects of the current study were employed in the northeastern region of the United States, future studies should be sensitive to the possibility of regional differences. In addition, the subjects of this study were self selected, It is therefore, likely that the overrepresentation of Internalization subjects is reflective of the fact that Preencounter, some Encounter, and many Immersion subjects declined participation in this study by not

volunteering to be interviewed, because of their conflicts. For someone who has ambivalent or ego dystonic attitudes associated with membership in a group, answering questions about group membership might cause anxiety or some other form of discomfort. A likely response would be avoidance. Improved sampling procedures to insure a wider representation of ethnic identity and other key attributes in managers should be attempted.

Interviews were conducted by a black female interviewer at the managers' places of employment. It is possible that other experimental conditions would yeild different results. White male or female, and black male interviewers might elicit different themes.

The interviews, in part, called for retrospective data about the subjects' lives. Some distortion is inevitable and this should be taken into account in considering the outcome of the study.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is a need for more research on specific occupational groups to learn more about the interaction between environmental and personal pressures that contribute to group members' experiences of work

related stress. This would include devoting attention to (1) the impact of other peoples' projections of relevant stereotypes onto the occupational groups and (2) the group as a carrier of society's unresolved anxiety surrounding specific issues.

There is a strong need for empirical research using large normative samples aimed at closely delineating sources of intracultural variability. Because none of the participants were measured as being at the Preencounter stage of racial identity, this stage could not be used in the data analysis. Future research might identify ways of locating and obtaining the participation of individuals with preencounter attitudes. This would necessitate removing the threat of exploring the conflictual attitudes which they may be attempting to avoid by not consenting to participate in such a study. Of course, it is possible that this particular stage is now rare in the black population as a result of a changed norm which was the outcome of the black pride movement of the sixties.

Also, it would be important to consider the limitations of using the Racial Identity Scale to assess intracultural variability. The scale, although validated, may not be a sensitive enough measure to detect intracultural variability among

groups of black individuals. The racial identity interview appears to be more effective in this regard and holds promise as a tool for future research.

## APPENDIX A

## Descriptions of Stages of Racial Identity

Stage

1. Pre-encounter: unequivocal preference for dominant cultural values over those of their own culture. Tendency to denigrate black cultural values and group membership. Minority group membership is viewed with disdain or repressed from consciousness.
2. Encounter: conflict between self-depreciating and self-appreciating attitudes. Alternating feelings of shame and pride. A growing sense of discomfort with negative attitudes toward group membership. Receptivity to new attitudes about black identity.
3. Immersion-emersion: high sense of pride and involvement in black cultural and political activities without true internalization of positive attitudes about being black. A tendency to devalue European culture while glorifying African culture.
4. Internalization: inner security and internalization of positive feelings about black cultural values. Strong sense of self-worth, self-confidence and autonomy. Selective appreciation for members of other cultural groups.

## APPENDIX B

## Descriptions of Stages of Psychosocial Development

<u>Basic Trust</u>	vs.	<u>Mistrust</u>
Result of affection and gratification of needs, mutual recognition. The ability to trust another.		Result of consistent abuse, neglect, deprivation of love; too early or harsh weaning, autistic isolation. The inability to trust.
<u>Autonomy</u>	vs.	<u>Shame and Doubt</u>
Child views self as person in his own right apart from parents but still dependent.		Feels inadequate, doubts self, curtails learning basic skills like walking, talking, wants to "hide" inadequacies.
<u>Initiative</u>	vs.	<u>Guilt</u>
Lively imagination, vigorous reality testing, anticipates roles.		Lacks spontaneity, infantile jealousy, "castration complex", suspicious, evasive, role inhibition.
<u>Industry</u>	vs.	<u>Inferiority</u>
Has sense of duty and accomplishment, develops scholastic and social competencies, undertakes real tasks, puts fantasies and play in better perspective, learns world of tools, task identification.		Poor work habits, avoids strong competition, feels doomed to mediocrity; lull before the storms of puberty, may conform as slavish behavior, sense of futility.

## Stages of Psychosocial Development (Con't)

Ego Identity

vs.

Role Confusion

Temporal perspective,  
self-certain, role  
experimenter, apprentice-  
ship, ideological com-  
mitment.

Time confusion, self-  
conscious, role fixa-  
tion, work paralysis.

Intimacy

Capacity to commit self  
to others, "true genita-  
bility" now possible.

Isolation

Avoids intimacy,  
"character problems,"  
promiscuous behavior;  
repudiates, isolates,  
destroys seemingly  
dangerous forces.

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**These consist of pages:**

92-95, Racial Identity Scale

96-97, Content of the Racial Identity Interview

98-100, Inventory of Psychosocial Development

101-103, Social Desirability Questionnaire

**U·M·I**

## Appendix G

## PERSONAL INFORMATION BLANK

Demographic Data

1. Last four digits of your social security number \_\_\_\_\_
2. Ethnic background: please check ( )
  - a. Afro-American \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. West Indian \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. African \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Hispanic (black) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e. Other (please specify \_\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_
3. a. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_  
Your parents? \_\_\_\_\_  
b. Your mother? \_\_\_\_\_  
c. Your father? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Where were you raised? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Your gender? Please check ( )
  - a. male \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. female \_\_\_\_\_
7. Marital status: please check ( )
  - a. single \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. married \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. divorced \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. widowed \_\_\_\_\_
8. Job title \_\_\_\_\_
9. Number of years employed in current position \_\_\_\_\_
10. Occupational level: please check ( )
 

Are you considered a junior administrator/manager \_\_\_\_\_;  
middle level administrator/manager \_\_\_\_\_; senior  
administrator/manager \_\_\_\_\_.

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements using the scale provided below.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_ 1. There is a great deal of racial tension in the organization where I am employed.
- \_\_\_ 2. Blacks are given equal access to informal networks within my organization (clubs, social gatherings, etc.).
- \_\_\_ 3. Most blacks in my organization/institution/company obtained their jobs through affirmative action.
- \_\_\_ 4. In my organization, blacks have higher performance demands placed upon them than whites do.
- \_\_\_ 5. In my organization, it seems that blacks are more quickly held accountable for mistakes than whites are.
- \_\_\_ 6. The majority of Black managers, administrators and executives in my organization are equally as competent as whites with the same jobs.
- \_\_\_ 7. Those at the higher levels of the administration/management are interested in seeing blacks get ahead.
- \_\_\_ 8. There is an uneven balance of power in my organization favoring whites.
- \_\_\_ 9. During the course of my career, I have profited by relationships with at least one senior person in my work environment who seemed interested in my professional development.
- \_\_\_ 10. I presently work with someone who guides me professionally in a helpful way.
- \_\_\_ 11. Being black has hindered my success in my current work environment.
- \_\_\_ 12. I generally view the whites in my work setting as potential allies.

- \_\_\_ 13. I am distressed by the racially motivated hostility in my organization.
- \_\_\_ 14. In general, I do not personalize the hostility directed toward me by whites.
- \_\_\_ 15. I generally view institutional barriers as a challenge to my problem solving capabilities.
- \_\_\_ 16. I feel powerlessness to change the racial pressures within my organization.
- \_\_\_ 17. Overall, I have been successful in my career pursuits.
- \_\_\_ 18. I feel socially isolated at work.

## Appendix H

## Letter to Organizations and Prospective Participants

Dear Colleague:

I am presently conducting a study which will hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the experiences of black managers and administrators in the work environment.

Please take the time to complete the attached questionnaire. You are not asked to provide your name or any other highly identifying data. The questionnaire is anonymous and confidential. Those who participate generally find the process interesting and illuminating.

For your convenience, I have provided a stamped self addressed envelope. Please return your completed questionnaire to me as soon as possible. Thank you for your time and attention.

Sincerely,

Cynthia Grace

## Appendix I

## Consent Form

I \_\_\_\_\_ (please print) agree to participate in the current study on black managers. The nature and purpose of the study have been explained to me to my satisfaction. I am aware that the study will require approximately 1½ -2 hours of my time, that all material is strictly confidential and that I may withdraw from participation at any time.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

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