"REALLY, I AM QUALIFIED": THE ROLE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION STIGMA ON MINORITIES IN MANAGEMENT

by

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(Under the Direction of Kecia M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

Since its inception, affirmative action has been one of the most controversial of all employment practices. Many individuals oppose affirmative action, as they view it as a direct offense to equality of opportunity—one of the strongest threads in the fabric of America; while others have a distorted view of its purpose—believing it allows incompetent and unqualified minorities to be hired over more qualified majority group members (Thomas, Mack, & Montagliani, 2004). Thus, many "beneficiaries" of affirmative action are often stigmatized when hired or promoted to certain positions. While affirmative action stigma is not a new stream of research, this particular study reveals the influence of racial and gender identity, as well as, the impact of relational demography, tokenism, and the newly coined, "pioneerism," on perceptions of affirmative action stigma among ethnic and gender minorities in management. More specifically, this research sheds light upon the impact these variables have on the organizational attachment and personal well-being of these minority managers.

INDEX WORDS: Affirmative action, gender identity, organizational attachment, pioneerism, racial identity, relational demography, tokenism

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my amazing family! You all have been a constant source of encouragement during the many years of my education. I am truly grateful to all of you! Your guidance, support, and love have given me the desire to reach and achieve every goal I set for myself. I've always known how blessed I am to have a mother, father, and two brothers that are more than parents and siblings, but are actually my best friends. Thank you all so much for believing in me, for you all have made it easier for me to believe in myself!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Harry A. Blackmun, former U.S. Supreme Court Justice, once said, "…in order to treat some persons equally, we must treat them differently." While this sentiment may seem to be an oxymoron at first glance, when one contemplates the history of racial and gender injustice in America, Blackmun's assertion begins to make greater sense. This very statement exemplifies the meaning and purpose behind one of the most debated legal issues that faces America's workforce—affirmative action. Originally issued by President Johnson in 1964, known then as Executive Order 11246, affirmative action refers to "voluntary and mandatory efforts undertaken by federal, state, and local governments; private employers; and schools to combat discrimination and to promote equal opportunity in education and employment for all" (APA, 1996, p. 2). Therefore, the primary goal of affirmative action is to eradicate, or at the very least, lessen discriminatory experiences faced by women and ethnic minorities, and to rectify the effects of historical gender and racial prejudice experienced by women and people of color, respectively (Crosby, 1994; Harrison, Kravitz, & Mayer, 2006; Kravitz et al., 1997).

Despite being well-intentioned, affirmative action is commonly met with dissention. One prevailing argument against affirmative action is that it disrupts the American ideal of meritocracy (Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003). It is commonly believed that America is one of the few places in the world where people, regardless of common demographic characteristics (e.g., race, gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs), are treated as equals. As such,

everyone should have equal opportunity. Given the basic tenets of affirmative action discussed earlier, many find this ideal of "American equality" to be heavily jeopardized as they feel that certain groups are given an unfair advantage over others. In a similar vein, there are often those who oppose affirmative action making claim that lesser-qualified individuals (most often assumed to be a person of color, or a woman) are awarded opportunities that more-qualified others (most often assumed to be a White man) are not (Crosby et al., 2003). Thus, many contradictors of affirmative action not only feel that this guiding principle creates inequality, but also unfairly places incompetent minorities in places of employment.

National polls are continuing to show a decrease in the number of individuals who favor affirmative action policies. A 1991 poll found that 70% of Americans favored affirmative action (Harris, 1992). A separate poll conducted ten years later yielded results where only 56% of respondents thought that affirmative action policies were still needed to help women and ethnic minorities overcome discrimination; however, a mere 36% of participants in a 2000 poll wanted Supreme Court justices who would rule in favor of affirmative action (Crosby, 2004). One potential reason for the declining support of affirmative action is that as society becomes further and further removed from slavery, women's suffrage, and the Civil Rights Movement, people are more likely to believe that racial and gender equality has been achieved, and therefore question the need for a formalized course of action to ensure the hiring and promoting of women and minorities.

Another possible, and more likely explanation for the decline, is a general misunderstanding of what exactly affirmative action is as a policy. Despite the fact that the selection of candidates solely based on their race without regard to their merit was explicitly barred via the *Regents v. Bakke* (1978) U.S. Supreme Court decision, a number of individuals

still view affirmative action as a policy that allows one's minority status to be the sole deciding factor in selection decisions (Evans, 2003). Given that many lawmakers, themselves, now refer to affirmative action as a "preference program" (Crosby & Cordova, 1996), it is no surprise that many Americans misunderstand affirmative action and perceive it as being the catalyst that leads to Whites in today's job market losing jobs and/or promotions to less-qualified Blacks—regularly referred to as "reverse discrimination" (Taylor, 1994). It is interesting that while this particular term has become somewhat popularized since the inception of affirmative action, on the flip side, our society rarely "identifies the status quo as affirmative action for white males, even though demographic data show it to be just that" (Jacques, 1997, p. 93).

Nonetheless, the commonly shared opinion of affirmative action seems to be that gender and racial minorities are given jobs not because of their actual ability, but simply because of their being a woman or person of color (Northcraft & Martin, 1982). This widespread notion of incompetence has lead to a stream of research (Garcia, Erksine, Hawn, & Casmay, 1981; Heilman, 1994; Heilman & Alcott, 2001; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Kelley, 1972; Kelley & Michela, 1980; Steele, 1990) that looks at the potential stigmatizing affects of affirmative action on its supposed beneficiaries. In essence, this research suggests that working Americans are likely to doubt the competency, performance, and overall work ethic of women and people of color who are hired in organizations where affirmative action is used—ultimately suggesting that affirmative action may be harming the very individuals it was intended to aid (Evans, 2003).

What is Affirmative Action Exactly?

As stated earlier, affirmative action refers to policies and procedures that are intended to promote access to employment and/or education for social groups that have been historically

denied such access. In many ways, affirmative action began as a means of redressing discrimination of the past and the effects unequal treatment has had on racial and gender minorities in America. Additionally, affirmative action policies are intended to help colleges, universities, and many companies admit and hire students and employees that are fully representative of the U.S. population (Harrison, Kravitz, & Mayer, 2006). As previously mentioned, many individuals view these intentions in a negative light, and ultimately regard any policies or practices that are rooted out of affirmative action to be, in fact, discriminatory themselves (Crosby et al., 2003).

These types of mindsets have caused the need for a number of prominent court cases related to affirmative action—most of which illustrative of a White plaintiff making claim that they were denied admission or hiring/promoting, while an under-qualified minority was granted admittance or given the job/promotion for which they applied. The U.S. Supreme Court case of Bakke v. University of California-Davis (1978) is commonly regarded as the pinnacle of affirmative action lawsuits. In this particular case, Bakke, a White medical school applicant was not granted admission over a minority applicant who had a lower MCAT score. The University of California-Davis had set aside a certain number of openings that were solely for minorities in an attempt to meet affirmative action goals. Bakke won the suit because he was rejected while Blacks with lower MCAT scores were admitted (Feinberg, 1998), but more importantly because the Court held that specific quota systems were not acceptable.

Two similar cases involved The University of Michigan. *Grutter v. Bollinger* was a landmark case involving the admission policy of the University of Michigan's School of Law. The ultimate ruling of the case was in support of the University's usage of race in their admissions procedures (Bennett-Alexander & Hartman, 2007). Interestingly, an opposite ruling

was found for *Gratz v. Bollinger*. This case was filed against the University of Michigan's undergraduate admissions procedures, which were ultimately ruled to be unconstitutional. The varying decisions in each case were due to different admissions procedures. The undergraduate admissions office computed an index score for each applicant by assigning points for academic factors (e.g., high school grades, SAT scores, quality of high school) and also assigned points for nonacademic factors (e.g., being from Michigan, being the child of an alumnus, or being a member of an underrepresented minority group). Being a member of a minority group automatically gave an applicant 20 points towards their index score, and it was precisely this automatic awarding of points that was deemed to be an unconstitutional practice (Bennett-Alexander & Hartman, 2007).

An interesting commonality amongst most affirmative action cases is that they all tend to focus on the "unfair" hiring of ethnic minorities (particularly African Americans). The prominence of cases of this nature is most interesting because White women are actually the greatest beneficiaries of most affirmative action policies (Harrison, Kravitz, & Mayer, 2006). Despite this fact, these cases have had overwhelming effects on the perceptions Americans now have regarding the affirmative action policy. Due to media garnered from these cases, most Americans now have a distorted view that affirmative action serves no other purpose than giving under-qualified Blacks jobs over a more-qualified White applicant. It is commonly believed that most organizations who adhere to affirmative action policies, have quota systems (like that UC-Davis was using), and therefore, whenever a minority (particularly Black) applicant is hired, it is assumed that their selection is solely due to the need to "fill the quota." In other words, whenever an affirmative action policy is present in an organization, it is often assumed that an

ethnic or even gender minority hired (particularly to a position of power) was granted the opportunity solely because of affirmative action.

Affirmative Action Stigma & Theoretical Implications

Many theories exist that attempt to explain or rationalize the effects of affirmative action on its beneficiaries, and why many females and people of color still feel inadequate after being hired or promoted. One such theory is Charles Horton Cooley's (1902) "looking-glass-self." Cooley proclaims that individuals with whom one is in contact with on a regular basis metaphorically serve as a looking glass, and the way in which they view that particular individual has direct implications on the way in which that person will view themselves (Hensley, 1996). Further, one's self-conceptions are often ultimately the internalizations of others' conceptions of them (Yeung & Martin, 2003). Therefore, in relation to affirmative action stigma, if minority workers are assumed to be "affirmative action hires," and thus assumed to be incompetent, these feelings of incompetency could very well be internalized by the employees themselves eventually affecting their overall work performance and job satisfaction.

Similarly, minority employees are often "tokens" in their particular work units or departments. As defined by Kanter (1977), a token is any individual working in a social group where their race or gender represents less than 15% of the total group membership. As a result, oftentimes those who are tokens are hindered greatly in regards to their performance because of the increased level of visibility in which they have—ultimately becoming "spokespersons" for their respective gender or racial group (Morrison & Glinow, 1990; Neimann & Dovidio, 1998). Additionally, members of the dominant group are likely to exaggerate differences that may exists due to commonly held stereotypes about women and people of color (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986).

The idea of tokenism is especially prevalent among women and racial minorities who hold managerial positions. Terms like "glass ceiling" and "concrete ceiling" symbolize how difficult it continues to be for women and people of color to permeate themselves into positions of authority and higher pay. Many researchers (Dickens & Dickens, 1982; DiTomaso, Thompson, & Blake, 1988; Fernandez, 1991; Irons & Moore, 1985; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990) have argued that being excluded from necessary social networks explains this inability to pass through these ceilings of glass and concrete. Because of their gender and/or race, women and people of color are regularly excluded from informal networks, and are routinely overlooked for mentoring opportunities. Informal social relationships are more likely to develop between people who share racial and gender commonalities (Ibarra, 1992; Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989), and even if networks and mentors are found, research has illustrated that relationships that are cross-race (or cross-gender) tend to be weaker than same-race (or same-gender) ones (Thomas, 1990).

The strength, or lack thereof, of these relationships makes sense as empirical evidence has consistently shown that people are much more inclined to interact more often with members of their own social group (e.g., race and/or gender) (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Thomas, 1990). Theories around relational demography speak further about this phenomenon. In essence, relational demography proposes that people juxtapose their own demographical traits with that of others in their social units to ascertain how similar or dissimilar they are to the unit as a whole (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989). The level of equivalence between one's own personal characteristics and those of their social unit is proposed to affect the individual's conduct, actions, and overall attitude (Riordan & Shore, 1997). Therefore, a social unit—or for

purposes of this research, a work unit—is likely to appear more attractive to an employee if others in that group share a similar demographic profile as themselves (Tsui et al., 1992).

These theories of tokenism and relational demography may not seem to directly relate to affirmative action stigma at first glance, but the composition of a work unit undeniably has implications on perceptions of credibility, competence, and performance of minority workers. More and more organizations are beginning to see the value of having a diverse workforce. Many companies now pride themselves on being an "equal opportunity employer" or an organization that stands by its affirmative action policies. Thus, there are more gender and racial/ethnic minorities in employment in America than there ever has been. Despite these growing numbers, women and people of color continue to be the minority in white collar occupations, and are particularly underrepresented in management positions. As a result, the vast majority of these individuals do serve the role of a token, or are in work units/departments where the relational demography is one in which their demographic traits are not at all matched with the bulk of those in their cohort.

Therefore, while affirmative action may serve the purpose of getting more gender and racial minorities in the door and (somewhat) up the corporate ladder, what are the potential costs to these minority workers who are awarded these opportunities? Not only is their credibility questioned due to the presence of the affirmative action policy, but they are also highly visible due to their token status, and most likely organizationally unattached to their department and co-workers due to issues surrounding their unmatched relational demography. In turn, their job performance and level of execution may suffer, and ultimately seem to justify the claim of many who oppose affirmative action—that they were not fully qualified or competent to begin with. These assertions are not at all meant to illustrate the need for the elimination of affirmative

action, but instead, are intended to demonstrate the need for greater research on issues of affirmative action and affirmative action stigma.

Affirmative Action Research Limitations

As stated earlier, there has been research done that looks at issues surrounding affirmative action stigma (Garcia, Erksine, Hawn, & Casmay, 1981; Heilman, 1994; Heilman & Alcott, 2001; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Kelley, 1972; Kelley & Michela, 1980; Steele, 1990). One major limitation to past studies is that researchers failed to acknowledge the role one's gender and racial identity may play with regard to potential stigmatizing effects of affirmative action policies. Thus, the vast majority of affirmative actions stigma literature relies on the false assumption that all women, or all people of color, will respond similarly to the potential stigmatization of affirmative action policies—more specifically, how these policies affect the co-workers of racial and gender minorities. While much of this research has yielded poignant and insightful findings, research of any type that groups individuals together and assumes that all results can be explained due to gender or racial differences can be very misleading, and in many ways, substantiate the very stereotypes that are trying to be eradicated via the research to begin with. It is paramount that research of a comparative nature recognizes the possibility and potential for individual differences to exist. And, for purposes of this research, individual differences of identity levels (both racial and gender) could very well depict vast divergences of perceived affirmative action stigma as well as differences in reaction.

Another key limitation of affirmative action literature is that little research has investigated the role tokenism or relational demography may play in the power of the stigmatizing effects of affirmative action policies. Since many women and people of color often

serve as solos, or at the very least, have very few other women or people of color within their unit or department, issues around enhanced visibility, as well as diminished organizational attachment and well-being, may be especially prevalent amongst these workers, particularly when juxtaposed to their counterparts who are in workgroups whose demographical characteristics are more aligned. Perhaps differences in organizational attachment or well-being is not necessarily fully dependent on being male or female, White or a person of color, but rather, more dependent on how homogeneous or heterogenous one's co-workers are.

One final limitation of this branch of research is that few studies have looked at the potential enhanced stigmatizing effects of affirmative action when gender and racial minorities are placed in positions of power (e.g., management). While questions concerning the competency and credibility of a woman or person of color may arise at any position level in organizations where affirmative action policies are pronounced, these inquiries and interests are likely to be enhanced when that individual is placed (or promoted) into a managerial position—particularly if they are the first gender or racial minority to reach such rankings within the organization. Thus, affirmative action stigma may be even greater for these individuals.

The current research study addressed all of the aforementioned current limitations of affirmative action stigma research. In essence, this study examined (1) the role of gender and racial identity on perceived affirmative action stigma, (2) the effects of relational demography and/or tokenism on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, (3) the consequences of being a "pioneer" (defined in the following chapter) in a particular managerial position as it relates to affirmative action stigma, and (4) how perceived affirmative action stigma, tokenism and/or relational demography, and "pioneerism" effect levels of organizational attachment and individual well-being for gender and racial minorities in management positions. In other words,

the present study combined the theories of racial and gender identity, relational demography, and tokenism to explain the differing implications of affirmative action stigma on gender and racial minorities in management positions. The amalgamation of these theories hopefully provides a more well-rounded view of affirmative action stigma—one that takes far more into consideration than simply an employee's race and/or gender.

CHAPTER 2

CURRENT STUDY

As Figures 1-5 depict, this research study looked at the direct and indirect effects of five different variables (race and gender, racial and gender identity level, perceived affirmative action stigma, relational demography/tokenism, and pioneerism) on an employee's level of organizational attachment (composed of turnover intentions, job satisfaction, and job commitment) and well-being (comprised of self-esteem, emotional exhaustion, and physical health). Past research (Barak & Levin, 2002) has illustrated the impact race and gender, as well as racial and gender identity levels, has on an individual's attachment level to their organization as well as their overall personal well-being. Other studies (Heilman, 1994; Heilman & Alcott, 2001; Heilman, Rivero & Brett, 1991) have looked at how affirmative action stigma may affect work performance. Very few studies, however, have examined the possible interconnection between levels of racial and gender identity and levels of perceived affirmative action threat—particularly as it relates to those who are in managerial positions. Additionally, there has been little research on how relational demography/tokenism and (what will be termed) pioneerism directly affects perceived affirmative action stigma, not too mention organizational attachment and well-being. Therefore, one of the goals of this study was to provide a more complete understanding of the causes and effects of affirmative action stigma on women and people of color in the workplace.

The Role of Race & Gender in the Workplace

Tragically, it seems to be common knowledge that discriminatory experiences are frequent occurrences in organizations—evidenced by the increasing number of cases reported to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Thus, the topic of racial and gender discrimination in the workplace is not a novel one by any means. While race and gender are not the only characteristics by which an individual may receive discriminatory treatment, they are the most prevalent, most likely because of their salience. In fact, the way in which someone thinks about race and gender is a key aspect of the typical American's worldview (Crosby & Franco, 2003). The importance of race and gender in America makes sense given the historical framework of equality, or a lack thereof, with regards to one's gender and/or skin color. And it is due to this longstanding history of discrimination and prejudice against women and people of color that affirmative action was deemed to be a necessary policy in America's workforce.

Despite being well-intentioned, affirmative action has not eradicated the issues of racial and gender discrimination in the workplace in any way. While there may be more women and people of color in corporations across America, they are not necessarily being given the same opportunities once hired. The access racial and gender minorities have to informal networks does not begin to match that of their white male counterparts (Thomas & Alderfer, 1989). Additionally, they are much more likely to be placed or tracked into positions and departments that do not allow for much upward mobility—further declining the likelihood of their advancement up the career ladder (Braddock & McPartland, 1987). As a result, women and employees of color tend to have deficits (e.g., leadership abilities, communication skills, networking, etc.) in their individual career development (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986), which in turn

makes them seem to be unsuited for advancement to higher levels within their respective organizations. They, therefore, oftentimes languish at lower levels within organizations, ultimately appearing to have reached a plateau in their careers (Veiga, 1981). Deficits in their perceived career development may also have detrimental affects on their performance evaluations—causing them to be rated lower, which yields yet another reason to impede any prospects for their advancement (Greenhaus et al., 1990).

Another area in which racial and gender minorities are disadvantaged in the workplace is the lack of mentoring relationships that are fostered amongst themselves and those in upper-level management positions. Research has shown mentoring relationships to serve a number of functions from providing valuable training, to revealing valuable inside information about the organization and its politics, to offering psychosocial support for the protégé, which has positive effects on their self-confidence (Hunt & Michael, 1983; Kram, 1983, 1985; Zey, 1984). Ultimately, mentoring connections provide employees with the support, resources, and visibility they need in order to appropriately advance within their organization (Ragins, 1989).

It is argued that racial and gender minorities are less likely to have mentoring relationships for two reasons. First, as suggested by Byrne's Similarity Attraction Theory (1971), individuals tend to feel more comfortable around others who are like themselves; thus, upper-level executives, who tend to be white males, are much more likely to choose other white males to mentor. Secondly, due to their token status (discussed in greater lengths later in this paper), women and people of color are highly visible in organizations; therefore, their failures are more likely to be observed and announced than those of their white male cohorts (Kanter, 1977). Given that the potential failure of a protégé is a direct reflection of the competency and effectiveness (or lack thereof) of their mentor, many white males are reluctant to embark on a

mentoring relationship with a gender or racial minority due to their heightened visibility (Dreher & Cox, 1996). Consequently, women and employees of color are forced to take the short end of the stick—where they must oftentimes find their own way in the organization in which they work.

Thus, it is no surprise that informal networks and mentoring relationships not only have significant implications on career development (Kram, 1983; Reich, 1985; Phillips-Jones, 1982) and career satisfaction (Riley & Wrench, 1985; Roche, 1979), but also on an employee's general well-being. While being denied access to these networks and connections may not be overtly pronounced, racial and gender minorities are likely to notice the covert form of discrimination that is present. Research has shown that blood pressure for Blacks is generally increased in situations where racial discrimination is experienced (Kreiger & Sidney, 1996), while other studies have illustrated that discrimination at the individual level serves the role of a stressor that has the potential to lead to a myriad of medical consequences from heart failure to alcohol abuse (Cocchiara & Quick, 2004).

Therefore, to illustrate the significant impact race and gender has on employees who are minorities in one or both respects, the following hypotheses were offered (see Figure 1):

> *Hypothesis 1:* There will be an interaction between participant's gender and/or race and level of organizational attachment (e.g., turnover intentions, job satisfaction, job commitment), where Black females will be the least attached due to their double minority status.
>
> *Hypothesis 2:* There will be a direct relationship between participant's gender and/or race and level of personal well-being (e.g., self-esteem, emotional

exhaustion, physical health), where Black females will have the lowest levels of well-being due to their double minority status.

Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Perceptions of unfair treatment and opportunities in the workplace are not solitary players in the detriment of an employee's attachment to their organization or well-being. The perceptions minority managers have of themselves play a major role as well. As stated earlier, there are a number of individuals who oppose affirmative action because they view it as a policy that replaces a race-neutral and gender-neutral status quo with a system where group membership is rewarded with the exclusion of actual merit (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994). In other words, it is believed that only a few minorities are truly qualified, while the vast majority is being given unfair opportunities due to the presence of affirmative action (Thomas & Asunka, 1995). Thus, the "benefactors" of affirmative action ultimately end up stigmatized as their performance tends to suffer due to negative beliefs concerning their actual competence and ability (Evans, 2003). Since many of these individuals are thought to be "affirmative action hires,"—meaning they received their jobs solely due to their gender or racial minority status, and not at all because of their actual credentials—they, themselves, may experience self-doubt about their ability to properly perform in their role (Blaine, Crocker & Major, 1995; Steele, 1990). In addition, the "nonbeneficiaries" feel as if they were overlooked as a result of "reverse discrimination," which may cause them to harbor negative sentiments about their minority co-workers (Heilman & Herlihy, 1984), particularly those who are hired into managerial positions who they must now report to.

Several research studies have yielded results that support the claim that when affirmative action is present, credibility is questioned. For instance, Heilman and colleagues (1992) found

that participants in a study were much more likely to hold qualifications as ineffective indicators in a hiring decision when affirmative action was present. Continuing, they found that those who were thought to be hired with the presence of an affirmative action policy were believed to be less qualified to handle the responsibilities of their jobs. Thus, the respondents in this study not only considered the experience and skills of those believed to be hired under affirmative action policies to be ignored during the hiring process, but they also considered these employees to be incompetent to begin with.

Women and people of color in management are not ignorant of these perceptions of their lack of capability. Therefore, while they may achieve a job or ranking of high status, it is often met with the underlying assumption that their actual ability had very little to do with their placement. As a result of affirmative action stigma, racial and gender minorities report lower job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Chacko, 1982). Additional research has shown that women in these stigmatized scenarios also tend to devalue their leadership capabilities (Heilman, Simon, & Repper, 1987), and purposely select work tasks that are less demanding (Heilman, Rivero, & Brett, 1991).

These findings are in alignment with Claude Steele's work around stereotype threat, which proposes that a person simply has to be aware that they are the target of a negative stereotype in order for it to have some type of effect on them, even if acts of prejudice and discrimination are not present (Crosby et al., 2003). While much of his work has centered around students and the effects of stereotypes on their performance on standardized test such as the SAT (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995), it is believed that stereotype threat may also operate in some work settings (Roberson & Block, 2001; Roberson, Deitch, Brief, & Block, 2003). Thus, as mentioned above, an employee who feels that their supervisor, co-workers, or

subordinates hold negative stereotypes about them, may be likely to undermine their very own competency and perform at levels well below their actual abilities.

On a related note, the well-being of these employees is affected due to their stigmatization and the potential presence of stereotype threat. Several social psychological theories posit that members of stigmatized groups are likely to have lower levels of self-esteem and a diminished self-concept. Cooley's "looking-glass-self perspective" (1902) speculates that the self-concept is developed via interactions with others, and more importantly, is a reflection of those others' appraisals of oneself. Thus, when the members of the stigmatized group are aware that they are regarded negatively by others, they are likely to incorporate those negative sentiments into their self-concept, ultimately lowering their self-esteem (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991).

Therefore, to show the potential negative effects of affirmative action stigma on believed beneficiaries, the following hypotheses were offered (see Figure 2):

> *Hypothesis 3:* There will be a direct relationship between perceived affirmative action stigma and organizational attachment, where those who perceive greater levels of stigma will have lower levels of organizational attachment.
>
> *Hypothesis 4:* There will be a direct relationship between perceived affirmative action stigma and personal well-being, where those who perceive greater levels of stigma will have lower levels of personal well-being.

The Role of Racial & Gender Identity

While this study postulated that heightened levels of perceived affirmative action stigma have negative effects on organizational attachment and individual well-being, it is important to acknowledge the potential for differing factors that may lead to differing levels of perceived

affirmative action stigma. It is within this one area that most past research studies on this topic lack insight. It is often assumed that all members of the stigmatized group feel similar levels of stigmatization because of their race and/or gender minority status. This grouping of the stigmatized, however, may not give a complete, or fully accurate, depiction of the way in which affirmative action stigma is perceived by every woman or person of color. Therefore, this study looked at the prospective role of one's racial and gender identity level on their perceptions of affirmative action stigma within their respective organization.

Having both been developed and highly-researched by Janet Helms, racial and women identity development both look at the sense of collective identity, or the degree to which an individual believes they share common beliefs and experiences with other members of their race or gender (1990; Ossana, Helms, & Leonard,1992). Further, both identity development theories focus on the psychological implications of group-based membership. This concept is important because it focuses on the ideas of self-concept, esteem, perspective, and behavior.

While the stages within each developmental model may differ in regards to being specified for a particular racial group or gender, they all share the similarity of being a process by which an individual moves from an externally defined self to being more internally defined with regard to their race and gender. The concept of identity, however, is a complex one shaped by various factors such as individual and familial characteristics, social and political power, societal influences and historical contexts. Each stage is representative of a collection of attitudes, ideas, beliefs, and values that affects the way each person processes information about their race or gender. Additionally, the stages have major influences on the way people perceive their environment, themselves as a group member of their race or gender, and others who are associated with their race or gender. As recommended by Helms (1992), the stages of identity

should be viewed as a type of growth model, where the more advanced stages represent greater sophistication of one's understanding of their own racial and gender characteristics as well as those of other racial groups and members of the opposite sex, respectively. Therefore, at any given time in an individuals' life, one stage may predominate, although characteristics from other stages may be present (Sciarra & Gushue, 2003).

Another common underlying assumption for both models is that each operates under the assumption that individuals internalize racism (or sexism) regardless if institutionalized racism (or sexism) works to their advantage or disadvantage. The internalization of prejudice and discrimination is illustrated throughout the beginning stages of both models, where both begin with an identity challenge where each individual is forced to question the status quo and have conflicting feelings of the importance of race and gender. Furthermore, both models reveal that one's membership in a racial and/or gender group is an important aspect of one's total, psychosocial identity. In addition, both models reveal that developing a healthy racial and gender identity is based on experience and maturity. It is a maturation process where the person understands the implications of external definitions and standards of race and gender and develops their own internal definitions and standards.

One final similarity is that both models are stage models where an individual can digress as easily as they can progress. Thus, taking into consideration the fluidity of both models, in a particular situation an individual may revert to a previous, less sophisticated stage of racial or gender identity development. For instance, if a person who has reached higher levels of their identity was forced to be in an environment where their identity level is not supported, there is the potential for the individual to relapse backwards in order to survive or cope in that particular environment. Therefore, the opportunity for recycling is present in both models, which makes it

even more difficult for individuals to reach the highest level of a healthy racial and gender identity.

Accordingly, at the core of both models is the relationship between identity level and perceived discrimination—where an individuals' perception of discrimination may be affected the progression of their ethnic identity development. While very few studies have investigated the correlation between one's ethnic identity level and responses to perceived discrimination in the workplace, studies depicting such a relationship do exist. One such study, conducted by Watts and Carter (1991), specifically focused on people of color where racial identity development was examined as a predictor of Blacks perceptions of racism and discrimination in a predominately White organization. They found that Blacks who were in early stages of development perceived less discrimination in the workplace compared to those who were higher in development. Thus, people who are higher in their identity development, but not at the highest level/stage, may be more likely to recognize acts of prejudice and discrimination (like affirmative action stigma), than those who are at lower levels who are more likely to choose the strategy of assimilating into dominant culture.

Because a healthy sense of racial or gender identity is linked with greater levels of self-concept and self-esteem, in addition to a greater likelihood of recognizing discrimination, the following hypothesis was offered (see Figure 3):

> *Hypothesis 5:* Racial/gender identity levels will serve as a moderator on the relationship between race/gender of subject and perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who extremely high will perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree than those whose identity levels are low.

The Role of Relational Demography/Tokenism

The environment in which one is immersed has major implications on their general well-being (as evidenced by non-supportive groups causing an individual to digress in their racial/gender identity development), not too mention affecting the likelihood of their not being committed or satisfied with their job or organization. Thus, the topic of relational demography and tokenism both play an integral role in perceptions of affirmative action stigma among racial and gender minorities in the workplace. Relational demography posits that a social unit will appear less attractive to an individual if the social group is comprised of individuals whose demographic characteristics are inconsistent with their own (Riordan & Shore, 1997). Additionally, research has shown that as the percentage of individuals who possess a particular demographical trait lessens, individuals who are among that minority group become increasingly aware of their social identity (Ethier & Deaux, 1994; McGuire, McGuire, Child & Fujioka, 1978; Mullen, 1983).

The strong connection between relational demography and social identity, particularly amongst racial and gender minorities, has major implications in the workplace. It has been found that those who are of minority standing with regard to their workgroup are more likely to exhibit such behaviors as absence (Rhodes & Steers, 1990), have thoughts of leaving (Rusbult, Farrell, Rogers, & Mainous, 1988), and show signs of reduced commitment (Mowday, Porter, & Steers, 1982). Thus, being in a workgroup where key demographical characteristics set you apart from others has dramatic affects on work-related attitudes and behaviors.

On a related note, being a token can have similar negative effects on an employee. As stated previously, Kanter (1977) defines tokenism in terms of numbers—where an individual is of token status if there is less than 15% of the total social unit that is of the same group as

themselves. Similar to relational demography, being a token is likely to produce negative consequences for members of underrepresented and stigmatized groups due to increased feelings of distinctiveness, which in turn, increases the salience of any negative stereotypes that are present (Milliken & Martins, 1996; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). In America, however, particularly in white collar management positions, it is not uncommon for gender and racial minorities to be the *only* members of their racial or gender group sitting around the boardroom table.

It is important to note that the experience of being the only representative of a race or gender is significantly different than being a part of a minority. Minorities in workgroups where they are the sole minority are even more salient and visible (Crocker & McGraw, 1984; Heilman, 1980; Nasdale, Dharmalingam, & Kerr, 1987), which makes them more susceptible to the negative ramifications of tokenism. Further, women and people of color who are solos in their department or work unit are likely to be identified simply by their minority status rather than their occupational rank. Ultimately causing racial and gender minorities to be rendered representatives (or spokespersons) for their entire race or gender group (Kanter, 1977). The enhanced levels of distinctiveness are likely to cause individuals of solo or token status to be stereotyped at a greater level. Thus, in organizations where affirmative action is present, tokens are likely to be perceived negatively as an "affirmative action hire" rather than a credible and capable employee.

Past research on relational demography and tokenism illustrate a direct link between minority status in social units and decreased levels of self-esteem and organizational attachment; while negative stereotyping towards the individual is enhanced. Therefore, the following hypotheses for this study were offered (see Figure 4):

Hypothesis 6: Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will have greater levels of perceived affirmative stigma.

Hypothesis 7: Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on levels of organizational attachment, where participants who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will be less organizationally attached.

Hypothesis 8: Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on the personal well-being of participants, where individuals who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will have lower levels of personal well-being.

The Role of "Pioneerism"

This particular study differed from prior studies on affirmative action stigma in that the participants consisted only of individuals in managerial/supervisory roles. Because of this added caveat in this research, it was important to look at one other potential dimension that may affect perceptions of affirmative action stigma—"pioneerism." For purposes of this research, pioneerism was present in any institutional situation in which a woman or person of color was in a position or role within their organization that no other female or racial minority had held previously (e.g., being the first Black female to be vice president of marketing). Comparable to relational demography and tokenism, it is thought that pioneerism is likely to lead to enhanced visibility of the employee, which in turn can have negative implications on performance, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and not too mention, self-esteem.

A racial or gender minority who is a pioneer in America's workforce today may actually be in one of the worst positions possible. Not only are they likely to have all of the negative consequences of being a token (or solo) and member of a workgroup whose relational demography is not at all congruent with their own demographical characteristics, they have the added pressure of managing/supervising a group who is likely to hold negative stereotypes about them. Due to their minority status, most of their subordinates are likely to assume their placement is solely due to their race and/or gender and the presence of the company's affirmative action policy. The effectiveness of a supervisor or leader can only be hindered when they are overseeing a group that questions their competency and ability.

Additionally, because these women and people of color are the first of their gender and/or race to hold such an esteemed title, they are likely to carry the added of weight of feeling their success (or failure) in their role will serve as a catalyst for the ability (or inability) of any female or person of color to occupy that same position in the future. Thus, to ensure failure does not occur, these individuals are likely to overwork and over-perform in order to prove their placement, and to falsify any claims that someone of their race or gender is incapable of being a success in that particular position. While burning the midnight oil may get the job done, and potentially hush the discussions of incompetence, the minority manager who chooses this approach is doing nothing more than overtaxing themselves, which could lead to exhaustion and have other negative ramifications on their physical health. This particular phenomenon is commonly referred to as "John Henryism," which is formally defined as a style of strong coping behaviors and strategies that are used to deal with environmental and psychosocial factors (Haritatos, J., Mahalingam, R., & James, S. A., 2007), has actually been found to be most prominent among African American women (Thomas, 2006).

Charisse Jones and Kumea Shorter-Gooden speak of similar issues in their popular book *Shifting: The Double Lives of Black Women in America* (2004). Based on research from a study that specifically looked at Black women, *Shifting* focuses on the way in which they must "shift" their behaviors and attitudes in order to fit the myriad of roles they play on a day to day basis. From the book it is evident that Black women must seek out and find different coping strategies in order to be successful in their personal, and particularly, professional lives. Given the number of negative stereotypes that have historically defined them, Black women must often defy what some may perceive to be social norms in order to be promoted or even hired.

Similarly, all women are confronted by an invisible barrier to their career success that is often referred to as the *glass ceiling*. Although recent studies have suggested that women are now beginning to break through that glass, having the ability to enter jobs that have been traditionally held by men (Goodman, Fields, & Blum, 2003; Stroh, Langlands, & Simpson, 2004), women remain underrepresented in positions of power and influential leadership. Considering that most leadership and professional positions in organizations have historically been held by White males, White male behavior is unconsciously accepted as the norm in which all employees, particularly leaders, must attempt to emulate (Maier, 1997). Therefore, women (and men of color) must all participate in a type of "shifting" in order to be accepted and viewed as fully competent. This act of shifting is likely to be particularly the case when these individuals are the first of their race and/or gender to hold a certain role within an organization—as their ability to imitate their White male predecessor is especially scrutinized.

Therefore, given the aforementioned elements of pioneerism, the following hypotheses were offered as they relate to this study (see Figure 5):

Hypothesis 9: Pioneerism will have a direct effect on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who are pioneers will have greater levels of perceived affirmative stigma.

Hypothesis 10: Pioneerism will have a direct effect on levels of organizational attachment, where participants who are pioneers will be less organizationally attached.

Hypothesis 11: Pioneerism will have a direct effect on the personal well-being of participants, where individuals who are pioneers will have lower levels of personal well-being.

Summary

Thus, to recap, the primary purpose of this research study was to investigate the role, if any, of racial and gender identity level, relational demography/tokenism, and pioneerism on perceived affirmative action stigma. More specifically, this investigation sought to determine to what degree perceived affirmative action stigma was affected by these variables, and how it then had implications on the organizational attachment and well-being of a racial and/or gender minority manager or supervisor. Due to prior research on these theories, it was hypothesized that all of these variables would have a significant impact on perceived affirmative action stigma, which would in turn decrease the individual's attachment to their organization and cause their overall well-being to be worsened.

It was expected that perceived affirmative action stigma would be present for all minority groups participating in the study, but that Black women would be at the greatest disadvantage due to their double minority status. Therefore, an additional hypothesis was that the race and gender of the subject would have direct effects on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, as

well as levels of organizational attachment and well-being. A further conjecture was that relational demography/tokenism and pioneerism would also have direct effects on organizational attachment and well-being. In both of these settings, it was speculated that the presence of tokenism or pioneerism would lead to lower levels of attachment to the organization and personal well-being; thus, illustrating a continuance of negative effects for racial and gender minority managers who oversee homogenous majority-filled workgroups. For clarification, the proposed direct and moderating relationships of all variables are all depicted in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Participants

Participants of this study included 460 professionally working men and women who work full-time in a variety of sectors across the United States. Only 437 of those who completed the survey were ultimately used as 16 participants did not meet the study requirements as they were of an ethnicity other than Black or White, or did not indicate that they had a managerial or supervisory role. Another seven participants were eliminated from the study as they did not fully complete the survey. Ultimately, the subject pool included 100 Black males (22.9%), 106 Black females (24.3%), 104 White males (23.8%), and 127 White females (29.1%). The majority of the participants, 34.4%, were between the ages of 36-45, with another large group being between the ages of 26-35 (33.5%). Most (59.8%) of these working professionals were also married, and held Bachelor's degrees (34.7%). There was however, a large percentage (48.0%) of participants who held a Master's degree, Professional degree, or Doctoral degree. A myriad of work industries and sectors were represented in the sample with the greatest percentages being in Education (15.6%), Information Technology/Computers (9.7%), Human Resources/Recruiting (9.4%), Sales (9.4%), and Banking/Financial Services/Accounting/ Auditing (9.2%). Of those working in education, the majority (51.5%) were at the Administrative level, while 23.5% stated that they were college level professors. The majority (40.1%) of the participants who identified

as working in industry were Managers, with the next highest group distinguishing themselves as Directors (15.2%). Lastly, a little over 31% of the participants indicated that they make over $100,000 annually. For more information and further details regarding the demographics of the sample, please refer to Table 1.

Procedure

Participants in this study, who were targeted to participate via a snowball recruitment process, received an e-mail invitation asking for their participation in a comprehensive survey. This e-mail was disseminated specifically to professionals who held managerial or supervisory roles in a corporate work environment. The survey was accompanied by a cover letter which explained the study (see Appendix A). Upon completion of the survey, participants were encouraged to forward it on to other appropriate survey respondents. To show appreciation of individuals' participation in the study, each contributor was eligible to take part in a raffle where there were three opportunities to win a $50 cash prize.

Measures

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity was assessed using the modified 12-item, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM). Originally thought to include three aspects of ethnic identity, recent work reveals that the scale only captures two factors—affirmation/belonging/commitment and ethnic identity search. An example of an affirmation/belonging/commitment item is: "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me." An example of an ethnic identity search item is: "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs." For both factors, items were rated on a four-point Likert scale ranging from one (1) "Strongly Disagree" to four (4) "Strongly Agree." The items from both

subscales were averaged to yield the total MEIM score (α = .91), where higher scores were indicative of stronger ethnic identity.

Gender Identity

Gender identity was assessed using a scale developed from Helm's Womanist Identity Model. Helm's original model describes the development of women in regards to their gender identity. The scale used here was an operationalized version of that model—the 44-item Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale (WAIS) (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992), which has been shown to indicate positive relationships between reported higher identity and greater levels of self-esteem. Two examples of items from this scale are: "In general, I believe that members of the opposite sex are superior to those of my own gender," and "People, regardless of their gender, have strengths and limitations." Certain items from this scale were modified or reverse coded in order to suite the male participants of the study. For this particular scale, items were rated on a five (5)-point Likert scale ranging from one (1) "Strongly Disagree" to five (5) "Strongly Agree." Ultimately, seven items were removed from the scale, as their inclusion in the scale had negative effects on the overall reliability (these deleted items are asterisked in the survery, see Appendix B for all survey items). The remaining 37 items from this scale were totaled to create a WAIS score (α = .73), where similar to the MEIM score, a higher score indicated greater gender identity.

Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Perceptions of affirmative action stigma were self-reported by the participant. Participants were asked three questions: (1) "In my opinion, my co-workers (and/or subordinates) believe I was hired/promoted into my position because of my educational background and past work experience" (this item was reverse-coded), (2) "In my opinion, my co-

workers (and/or subordinates) believe I was hired/promoted into my position because of my gender and/or race," and (3) "In my opinion, my co-workers (and/or subordinates) question my competence and ability to properly perform my job." Each of these three questions were rated on a four (4)-point Likert scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to four (4) "Strongly Agree." The three items for this scaled were totaled to create a perceived affirmative action stigma (PAAS) score ($\alpha = .73$), where a higher score was indicative of a greater perception of affirmative action stigma.

Tokenism/Relational Demography

Tokenism and relational demography were assessed as defined by Kanter (1977) and self-identified, respectively. To assess tokenism, 10 questions from Karrasch's (2003) Perceived Tokenism scale were used. Examples of items in this scale include: "I receive a disproportionate amount of attention or scrutiny from my peers," and "I feel 'pegged' for certain duties that do not challenge my full capabilities." All 10 items for this scale were rated on a four (4)-point Likert scale ranging from (1) "Strongly Disagree" to (4) "Strongly Agree," and ultimately totaled to create a tokenism score ($\alpha = .89$), where a higher score represented someone who likely perceived themselves as a token. For relational demography, participants were asked to select a percentage approximation regarding the number of individuals working in their respective workgroup or department who are of the same gender and race as themselves. The choices given were: 0-10%, 10-20%, 20-30%, or greater than 30%. Participants who marked a percentage between 0-20 were grouped as being in a low relational demographic work unit, and those who indicated a percentage of 20-30+ were marked as being a high relational demographic work unit. Twenty percent or more was used as an indicator of high relational demography due to nearly 85% of participants who worked in work groups where they identified at least 20% of

their co-workers sharing the same gender and/or race as themselves, also indicated that they felt their work unit was diverse.

Pioneerism

Pioneerism was assessed on dimensions of both gender and race. The purpose of this measure was to ascertain whether or not the participant in the study was the first of their gender and/or race to serve in their current managerial/supervisory role. For gender (and racial) pioneerism, participants were asked (discounting themselves): "to [their] knowledge, how many females (and people of color) had held the position [they] currently hold within their organization?" Only those participants who selected "0" were classified as being a gender and/or racial pioneer.

Organizational Attachment

Participants responded to a series of items which focused specifically on three areas: career satisfaction, organizational commitment, and turnover intentions. These three areas have all been found to be directly related to an employee's level of attachment to their organization (Tsui, et al., 1992). For each of the 14 items, participants indicated their level of agreement with the posed statements on a five-point Likert, with responses ranging from one (1) "Strongly Disagree" to five (5) "Strongly Agree;" where lower scores indicated lower levels of agreement, and higher scores depicted higher levels of agreement. Each subscale was totaled and averaged with the others in order to obtain one composite score for organizational attachment ($\alpha = .89$).

Career Satisfaction. Career satisfaction was measured by using five items developed from the Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley (1990) study which examined the effects of race on career outcomes. An example of an item from this scale is: "I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards meeting my overall career goals."

Organizational Commitment. Organizational commitment was measured by a six item scale from the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ; Meyer & Allen, 1997). Considering affective commitment signifies a sense of belonging and emotional attachment to the organization, this subset was used to measure an employee's commitment to their organization. An example item is: "I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization."

Turnover Intentions. Turnover intentions were evaluated based on three items from a turnover intention scale (Walsh, Ashford, & Hill, 1985). This scale measures the likelihood of that an individual will soon choose to exit their current place of employment. An example item from this scale is: "I am seriously thinking about quitting my job."

Individual Well-Being

To acquire a full measure of the participants' individual well-being, three different scales were used to get specific measures of emotional exhaustion, physical health, and self-esteem.

Emotional Exhaustion. Participant's level of burnout was measured by using items from the emotional exhaustion subscale of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981). This scale has been determined to be a reliable and valid assessment of employee burnout. An example item from the emotional exhaustion subscale is: "I feel emotionally drained from my work." There are a total of nine items within this scale, all of which were rated on a six-point scale from zero (0) "Never" to six (6) "Everyday." A mean score was obtained from these items and was used to derive the total score ($\alpha = .88$). A high score from a respondent indicated higher levels of emotional exhaustion (see Appendix B).

Physical Health. The Physical Symptoms Inventory (PSI) developed by Spector & Jex (1998) was used to evaluate the participant's overall physical health. The PSI is a self-report

measure in which respondents are asked to indicate whether or not they have suffered from a list of 18 symptoms within the past 30 days, and whether or not they had sought care from a doctor. Three scores were computed—(1) the number of symptoms each participant reports, (2) the number of times the participant indicates they have sought medical care in response to the symptoms, and (3) the sum of the two previous numbers which yielded the total PSI score ($\alpha = .92$), where a higher PSI score indicated greater prevalence of symptoms. For the purposes of this study, each participant was asked to respond to the frequency of each symptom using a six-point Likert scale ranging from zero (0) "Never" to six (6) "Everyday." Some examples of the 18 symptoms in this scale include: backache, headache, trouble sleeping, and fatigue (see Appendix B).

Self-Esteem. Rosenberg's Self Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess the participant's level of individual self-esteem. This measure is composed of 10 items where half are reverse-scored. Items were rated on a four-point Gutman-type scale ranging from one (1) "Strongly Agree" to four (4) "Strongly Disagree." Items were averaged, resulting in a scale range of one to four, with higher scores indicating lower levels of self-esteem ($\alpha = .88$). An example item of this scale is: "I feel that I have a number of good qualities" (see Appendix B).

Demographical Information

Participants were also asked to provide demographic information as it pertains to their race/ethnicity, gender, marital status, and educational level. In addition, participants were asked to respond to a series of questions related to their type of employment, work environment, job experience, and organizational, job, and position tenure.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary analysis was conducted to determine whether it would be appropriate to combine respondents for the investigation of significant differences amongst dependent variables. Demographic variables such as job title/organizational position, age, education level, etc. were examined for any possible confounding effects. Since it is highly possible that a number of the demographic variables may be highly correlated with a few of the dependent variables, a review of the correlations were examined first to ensure no confounding effects existed. The correlation analysis revealed that the relationship among the variables was similar across participants (based on the demographic variables outlined above); therefore, the data analysis was conducted as detailed below.

Path analysis (Wright, 1921) was used to determine whether or not the observed pattern of relationships among the variables was consistent with the causal model hypothesized (see Figures 1-5). Steps were taken to examine the possible violations of the key assumptions for the proper use of path analysis (Billings & Worten, 1978). Correlations among the variables were tested to ensure multicollinearity was not present (e.g., $r \geq .80$). Investigation of the correlations among the variables did not reveal any evidence of multicollinearity; therefore, each variable (and path) were shown to not be redundant with another. Additionally, the Durbin-Watson d-statistic was calculated for each dependent variable in the proposed model to test for the

correlations among the residuals of the dependent variables. The more the d-statistic approaches 2, the greater the evidence that the residuals are not correlated with each other (Dillon & Goldstein, 1984). The data from the current research yielded a mean of the d statistic of 1.72, with a range of 1.60 – 1.85, which indicates non-correlation amongst the residuals.

A series of hierarchical regression analyses were used to examine the potential moderating effects of gender and racial identity on perceptions of affirmative action stigma. Regression analysis and T-tests were performed to determine whether there were significant differences between race and/or gender in regards to organizational attachment and personal well-being (Hypotheses 1 and 2), in addition to testing the presence of direct effects amongst relational demography/tokenism and pioneerism on these dependent variables as well (Hypotheses 7, 8, 10 and 11) not to mention on perceptions of affirmative action stigma (Hypothesis 6 and 9). Table 2 illustrates the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables analyzed in the current study.

Organizational Attachment

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the interaction of the race and gender of the participant would have a direct effect on the participant's level of organizational attachment, where Black females were expected to have the lowest level of attachment compared to Black males, as well as White males and females, due to their double minority status. In order to fully investigate this prediction, organizational attachment was regressed on participant's race and gender. Results from the regression yielded an R^2 of .023 and β of .152 ($F = 10.282$, $p \leq .001$), thereby supporting the hypothesis that the race and gender of the participant would have a direct effect on the level of organizational attachment. To test whether or not Black females actually had the lowest levels of attachment to their respective organizations, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was

performed to compare means. As illustrated in Table 3, Black females did not report the lowest levels of organizational attachment as their mean of 3.40 was slightly higher than the reported mean of 3.34 from the Black male participants. The post-hoc Bonferroni test (depicted in Table 4) illustrated that this result was significant due to the mean differences between Black males and White males, as well as Black females and White males, where White males reported the highest level of organizational attachment (M = 3.71). White females did not differ significantly from any of the other three groups.

Health & Well-Being

The primary conjecture from Hypothesis 2 was that there would be a direct relationship between the participant's race/gender and their level of personal well-being (e.g., overall feelings of self-esteem, emotional exhaustion, physical health), where, again, Black females were expected to report the lowest levels of well-being due to being both a racial and gender minority. Regression was used to test this hypothesis, where health/well-being was regressed on participant's race/gender. Unlike organizational attachment, this test did not yield significant results ($F = .884$, $p = ns$).

Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Hypotheses 3 and 4 predicted that affirmative action stigma would have direct effects on organizational attachment and personal well-being, respectively; where those who perceived greater levels of stigma would have lower levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being. To test the existence of a direct relationship between affirmative action stigma and organizational attachment, organizational attachment was regressed on perceived affirmative action stigma. The results supported the hypothesis with an R^2 value of .056 and β weight of -.236 ($F = 25.186$, $p \leq .001$). Thus, indicating that higher levels of perceived affirmative action

stigma are associated with lower levels of organizational attachment (see Table 5). Further support of the original hypothesis was also found when personal well-being was regressed on perceived affirmative action stigma with an R^2 value of .012 and β weight of .110 ($F = 4.703$, $p \leq .05$). Therefore, higher levels of perceived affirmative action stigma also seem to be indicative of lower levels of personal well-being (see Table 6).

Racial & Gender Identity as Moderators

Assertions from Hypothesis 5 presumed that racial and gender identity levels would serve as a moderator in the relationship between the race/gender of the participant and their levels of perceived affirmative action stigma, where individuals with high identity levels would report greater perceptions of affirmative action stigma. Table 7 depicts the series of hierarchical regression equations that were used to test for moderation. The first step included regressing perceived affirmative action stigma on the race and gender of the subject. The findings for this step yielded results of an R^2 value of .222 and β weights of -.464 and -.070 for race and gender, respectively ($F = 55.725$, $p \leq .001$). For this step, the beta weight for race was significant, while that for gender was not. Regression continued by including racial and gender identity into the equation. This equation was also found to be significant—the $R^2\Delta$ was .028 ($F\Delta = 7.274$, $p \leq .01$). Lastly, affirmative action perceptions were regressed on the interaction between race and racial identity and gender and gender identity. This results for this final test were not significant ($F\Delta = 1.760$, p = ns).

Given that beta weights were significant for both racial and gender identity at the second level of the analysis described above, an exploratory follow-up was performed where race and gender were analyzed separately. First, for race, perceived affirmative action stigma was regressed on the race of the subject. The findings for this step yielded results of an R^2 value of

.207 and β weight of -.455 ($F = 111.106$, $p \leq .001$). Next, racial identity was added into the equation. This equation was also found to be significant—the $R^2\Delta$ was .008 ($F\Delta = 4.292$, $p \leq .05$). Lastly, affirmative action perceptions were regressed on the interaction between race and racial identity yielding significant results with an $R^2\Delta$ of .008 ($F\Delta = 4.331$, $p \leq .05$). This significant finding is graphically represented in Figure 7, where it appears that Blacks with lower racial identity levels perceived affirmative action stigma to a greater degree than those with higher racial identity levels, with the opposite being the case for Whites.

For gender, perceived affirmative action stigma was regressed on the gender of the subject. For this step, findings were not significant ($F = 2.536$, $p = ns$). Given that the interaction test first performed had found significance with the inclusion of gender identity, the next test was still performed where perceived affirmative action stigma was regressed on gender identity, which resulted in a significant finding of an $R^2\Delta$ of .010 ($F\Delta = 3.934$, $p \leq .05$). Lastly, affirmative action perceptions were regressed on the interaction between gender and gender identity yielding non-significant results ($F\Delta = 1.322$, $p = ns$). Tables 8 & 9 depict the series of hierarchical regression equations that were used to individually test for moderation among race and racial identity and gender and gender identity, respectively, as it relates to perceived affirmative action stigma.

Relational Demography & Tokenism

Hypotheses 6, 7, and 8 predicted direct relationships between relational demography and tokenism on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment, and personal well-being, respectively. It was hypothesized that lower levels of relational demography (defined by an employee who works in a work unit where they are surrounded by few employees of the same race/gender as themselves) and being a token would enhance perceptions of

affirmative action stigma, while causing lower levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being. Six regression analyses were performed to test the existence of a direct relationship between these variables.

First, perceived affirmative action stigma was regressed on relational demography. The results supported the hypothesis with an R^2 value of .123 and β weight of -.351 ($F = 59.455$, $p \leq .001$). Thus, indicating that lower levels of relational demography is in fact associated with higher perceptions of affirmative action stigma. The second test involved regressing organizational attachment on relational demography. This test was found to be significant as well, where $R^2 = .018$ and $\beta = .135$ ($F = 8.064$, $p \leq .01$). Therefore, when someone works in a workgroup where there are few members similar to them in regards to race and gender, they are likely to be less organizationally attached. Third, personal well-being was regressed on relational demography, yielding non-significant results with an R^2 value of .000 ($F = .026$, $p =$ ns).

The fourth analysis looked at the role of tokenism when regressed on perceptions of affirmative action stigma. Similar to relational demography, results were significant with an R^2 value of .446 and β weight of .668 ($F = 333.918$, $p \leq .001$); thereby indicating that individuals who considered themselves to be tokens were likely to perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree. The fifth regression computed involved regressing organizational attachment on tokenism. This result, too, was significant where $R^2 = .126$ and $\beta = -.355$ ($F = 60.849$, $p \leq .001$). The sixth and final analysis of this group of variables required that individual well-being be regressed on tokenism. Unlike relational demography, this relationship was significant with a reported R^2 value of .044 and β weight of .210 ($F = 17.547$, $p \leq .001$).

Relational Demography & Tokenism Result Summary. It was found that both tokenism and relational demography have a direct effect on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants of token status (or who work in a work unit with others who differ from themselves in regards to their race and/or gender) reported higher levels of perceived affirmative action stigma. Similarly, both relational demography and tokenism were found to have direct effects on organizational attachment, where those working in low relational demographic work units (or who were of token status) reported being less organizationally attached. Lastly, tokenism was found to have a direct effect on personal well-being, whereas this direct relationship was not found with relational demography. A summary of all of the findings for relational demography and tokenism are illustrated in Tables 10 and 11, respectively.

Pioneerism

The final set of hypotheses (9, 10, and 11) all related to the newly coined "pioneerism," where it was hypothesized that being a pioneer (or the first of your gender and/or race to occupy your current managerial/supervisory position) would directly affect perceptions of affirmative action stigma, as well as levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being. Similar to relational demography, six regression analyses were performed to test the existence of a direct relationship between pioneerism and perceived affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment, and personal well-being.

Pioneerism - Gender

The first test involved regressing affirmative action stigma on all participants who indicated they were gender pioneers. The results did not support the proposed hypothesis ($F = .202$, $p = ns$). Therefore, being a gender pioneer was not necessarily indicative of having higher perceptions of affirmative action stigma. Secondly, organizational attachment was regressed on

gender pioneers. Again, the data did not support significant results with this test ($F = 1.48$, $p =$ ns). Thus, being the first female to hold a particular position does not necessarily indicate that you are likely to be less organizationally attached. Third, personal well-being was regressed on gender pioneer status, yielding yet another non-significant result ($F = .073$, $p =$ ns). The results from this analysis seem to suggest that gender pioneerism does not necessarily affect one's personal well-being.

Pioneerism - Race

The fourth analysis looked at the effect of perceptions of affirmative action stigma when regressed on racial pioneers. Unlike gender pioneers, results were significant with an R^2 value of .107 and β weight of .327 ($F = 24.009$, $p \leq .001$); thereby indicating that individuals who were the first Black to hold their position were more likely to perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree. The fifth regression calculated involved regressing organizational attachment on racial pioneerism. Differing from perceived affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment was not found to be significant ($F = .387$, $p =$ ns). The final analysis related to racial pioneerism required that individual well-being be regressed on racial pioneerism. This relationship was found to be significant with a reported R^2 value of .029 and β weight of .170 ($F = 5.282$, $p \leq .05$).

Though not hypothesized, analyses were performed to look at how those who indicated that they were both racial and gender pioneers ("double pioneers") (N=70) differed from those who were pioneers only in one demographic dimension (race or gender). Similar to the other test, perceptions of affirmative action stigma were regressed on "double pioneers." Results were significant, with an R^2 value of .168 and β weight of .410 ($F = 40.281$, $p \leq .001$). Organizational attachment was regressed on "double pioneers," yielding results that were non-significant—($F =$

1.333, p = ns). Lastly, personal well-being was regressed on "double pioneers," producing significant results—R^2 value of .054 and β weight of .232 ($F = 10.110$, $p \leq .05$).

Pioneerism Results Summary. For gender pioneers, there was no support found for direct relationships between pioneer status and perceived affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment, or personal well-being. For racial pioneers, however, evidence for direct effects was found for affirmative action stigma as well as person well-being. Similar to gender pioneerism, there was no support for a direct effect on organizational attachment. And the analyses for "double pioneers" mirrored that of racial pioneers—where support of a relationship was found between pioneer status and perceived affirmative action stigma and personal well-being. A summary of all of the findings for gender, racial, and "double" pioneerism are illustrated in Tables 12, 13, and 14 respectively.

Table 15 provides a summary of all of the results and indicates the degree to which all of the original hypotheses were or were not supported.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to expand upon the current literature as it relates to perceived affirmative action stigma. Specifically, this study investigated the role of racial and gender identity, relational demography and tokenism, as well as pioneerism on perceptions of affirmative action stigma among Black and White managers and supervisors across America. Further, this study not only sought to ascertain the degree to which perceived affirmative action stigma is effected by these variables, but also how it, and the prior-mentioned variables, affect levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being. Prior research studies (Garcia, et al., 1981; Heilman, Block & Lucas, 1992 Kelley, 1972; Kelley & Michela, 1980; Steele, 1990) in this area did not look at the potential significant role many of these variables could potentially play in affirmative action stigma, not to mention, individual and cumulative effects on personal health and organizational attachment. The results provided lend partial support to the hypothesized direct effects, and moderating effect (specifically for racial identity) outlined in the path models (see Figures 1-6).

Overview of Findings

Overall, this research study presents several important and valuable new findings as it relates to affirmative action stigma. First, the results from this study illustrated some of the organizational and individual implications of affirmative action stigma. Participants who perceived affirmative action stigma to a greater degree are not only likely to be less

organizationally attached, but also have lower levels of person well-being. Secondly, this is one of the first studies that has looked at the role racial and gender identity plays in perceived affirmative action stigma.

Additionally, the relational demography and potential token status of racial and gender minority employees should be considered not only when investigating perceptions of affirmative action stigma, but also when exploring issues surrounding organizational attachment (e.g., turnover intentions, job satisfaction, job commitment) and personal well-being (e.g., self-esteem, emotional exhaustion, physical health). The results suggests that perceptions of affirmative action stigma are heightened when individuals work in units where very few individuals share their same race and/or gender, with the same being true of workers who feel they are tokens in their work departments. Similarly, these individuals are less organizationally attached, and may therefore be less satisfied and committed to their work, and more likely to be seeking employment elsewhere.

As it relates to health, the findings from this study indicate that those who feel they are tokens are likely to be worse off in regards to their overall physical well-being.

The research findings for the role of racial pioneerism mirrored these results as well. The data from this investigation showed that 98 of the racial minority participants of this study not only indicated that they are the first person of color to hold their current position, but that their pioneer status likely causes them to feel a greater level of stigmatization as it relates to affirmative action. In addition, their pioneer status has detrimental effects on their health and personal well-being. Thus, while affirmative action may have aided in the placement of a number of managers and supervisors across America who are of color, what has been the cost? Given the heightened level of perceived affirmative action stigma found among these racial

pioneers, it suggests that many of these individuals likely feel their placement and credibility is regularly questioned; therefore, causing them to overwork, and ultimately overburden themselves in order to prove they are indeed credible, capable, and competent.

Effects of Participant Race & Gender

While it was hypothesized that the race and gender of the participant would have a direct effect on the level of organizational attachment, in addition to personal well-being, the findings did not fully support this conjecture. Not surprisingly, a direct relationship was found in regards to participant's race and gender as it relates to organizational attachment. These results are consistent with past studies (Braddock & McPartland, 1987; Riley & Wrench, 1985; Roche, 1979) that have found that racial and gender minorities are likely to be less organizationally attached than their white male counterparts likely due to issues around a lack of mentoring, lack of access to informal networks, and racial and gender discrimination. In regards to participant race/gender and organizational attachment, the only significant differences arose when the means of White males were compared to that of Black men and Black women, which is a reasonable conclusion based upon differences in access to power and privilege that is directly tied to gender and skin color.

Unlike organizational attachment, a direct relationship was not found between participant race/gender and personal health/well-being. The "lack of evidence" may have been the case for this particular relationship due to the manager/supervisory status of all participants. Past research findings that has found bleaker health conditions among African American workers (Cocchiara & Quick, 2004; Kreiger & Sidney, 1996), have not necessarily focused solely on those in managerial positions. A likely explanation of this finding is that those racial and gender minorities who have reached a managerial level have greater access to more health resources

(e.g., routine check ups, psychological help, etc.). Additionally, the general discrimination they receive on a daily basis due to their minority status may make them more resilient, and therefore, less susceptible to having heightened stress simply due to their job. In other words, the stressors from their job do not become compartmentalized and instead end up simply being a part of life's stressors in general.

Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

While it was found that racial and gender minorities may not necessarily differ in levels of personal well-being from White males, support was found for the hypothesis that those who have higher levels of perceived affirmative action stigma do in fact differ, where greater levels of perceived stigma is correlated with lower levels of personal well-being. As explained in Chapter 2, this finding supports Cooley's "looking-glass-self perspective" (1902), which states that one's self-concept is highly contingent upon the interactions one has with others, and more importantly, ends up being a reflection of how others sees oneself. Therefore, those individuals who perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree (e.g., as indicated in the survey that they feel others believe their education or past work experience had nothing to do with their being hired or promoted, that others believe their racial/gender minority status contributed greatly their current job placement, and that their co-workers or subordinates question their competence) are likely to incorporate these negative sentiments into their own self-concept, which could ultimately lower their self-esteem (Crocker, et al., 1991).

Similarly, organizational attachment levels were found to be lower in participants who had greater perceptions of affirmative action stigma. Because many racial and gender minorities are commonly referred to as "affirmative action hires," co-workers of these individuals consistently question the ability and credibility of racial and gender minorities (Heilman, et al.,

1992). Their work peers may often project these negative beliefs onto them causing minorities to have greater levels of self-doubt about their own ability to perform suitably in their job role (Thomas, et al., 2004). These findings of affirmative action stigma, therefore, illustrate the irony behind racial and gender minorities being coined "benefactors" of affirmative action, as it seems that this policy that is meant to give equal opportunity to *qualified* racial and gender minorities, may in essence be harming the very individuals it is meant to be helping.

Racial & Gender Identity

The above-mentioned findings of affirmative action stigma provide continuing support to prior research on the issue. As stated earlier, this study has differed from previous research via its inclusion of the potential moderating effects of racial and gender identity on perceived affirmative action stigma. However, when these two variables were tested simultaneously, the results from did not fully support the hypothesis that stated that racial and gender identity levels would serve as moderators between the race/gender of participants, where those who were high in their identity development would perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree than those who had a low identity level. On the other hand, when these tests were done separately, significant findings were found only for racial identity. A potential explanation of this singular finding for racial identity (and not gender identity) could be indicative of race being perceived as a much more salient trait amongst human beings. Though you can have minority status based upon both race and gender, perhaps being a racial minority does in fact matter to a greater extent, particularly in regards to being stigmatized as it relates to affirmative action perceptions.

An additional explanation of why significance was found only when these tests were separated is potentially linked to a lack of statistical power. A larger sample size would have likely enabled a significant interpretable finding while looking at all six variables

simultaneously. Nonetheless, the significant findings attached to racial identity still did not fully support the original hypothesis, as the race of the participant seemed to determine whether or not higher levels of racial identity would be linked with greater perceptions of affirmative action stigma. More specifically, for Blacks, it was actually lower levels of racial identity that were indicative of higher levels of perceived affirmative action stigma (in opposition of the original hypothesis), with the opposite being true for Whites (in support of the original hypothesis).

Relational Demography & Tokenism

Beyond including the potential moderating effects of racial and gender identity on perceived affirmative action stigma, this particular study differed from past research also because of its inclusion of relational demography and tokenism. It was hypothesized that both would have direct effects on perceived affirmative action stigma, levels of organizational attachment, as well as personal well-being. More specifically, it was conjectured that participants who worked in low relational demographic work units, or who were of token status, would have greater levels of perceived affirmative action stigma, while having lower levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being.

For relational demography, two of the three hypotheses were supported. Participants working with a greater number of individuals who differed from themselves in regards to their race and gender, reported greater levels of affirmative action stigma as well as lower levels of organizational attachment. Thus, it was supported that social units do appear less attractive to individuals when their demographic characteristics are inconsistent with those of the majority of the social group (Riordan & Shore, 1997). Additionally, as past research has found, when the ratio of individuals who possess similar traits (e.g., same race and/or gender) diminishes, those who are in the minority begin to become even more aware of their social identity (Ethier &

Deaux, 1994; McGuire, et al., 1978; Mullen, 1983). Therefore, as results showed, those in work units of this nature are likely to be less organizationally attached as the organization appears less attractive to them, and are also more likely to perceive affirmative action stigma, as their own minority status is heightened.

Despite the existing relationship between relational demography and these two variables, the participants in this study did not show a similar pattern in regards to personal health/well-being. The fact that no evidence was found to support this relationship could again potentially be explained by the ranking status of the participants—where a higher job ranking could be indicative of a greater ability to cope with stress. Another possible explanation could be that many individuals who do work in work environments where very few co-workers or subordinates share their minority status are very much accustomed to being in such environments. In many ways, being a minority is an aspect of their daily life that they have not necessarily accepted, but have had to become somewhat acclimatized to. An additional explanation to the lack of well-being findings could be related to the nature of the measure, as the majority of the questions related to physical health, rather than mental and overall feelings of self-worth. Lastly, well-being findings could have been limited simply due to the presence of a well-adjusted, healthy sample.

Tokenism differed from relational demography in that its direct relationships were supported with all three variables (perceived affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment, and personal health/well-being). In support to Kanter's (1977) tokenism research, it appears that feelings of being a token can bear even greater detriment to an employee than relational demography. It many ways this makes sense, as tokens tend to be in work units where not only is the relational demography extremely low, but also tend to feel that their racial and/or

gender minority status puts them in a position where they are rendered as representatives for their entire race or gender (Kanter, 1977). This is likely to be the case in this particular study as it looked solely at individuals in management positions. Sadly, in America, it is not uncommon for racial and gender minorities to be the *only* members of their race or gender to reach a certain level on the organizational chart. Thus, it becomes clear how these individuals do, in many ways, become spokespersons; where this added responsibility easily leads to greater perceptions of affirmative action stigma—as tokens tend to have enhanced distinctiveness, where any work situations (positive or negative) involving them are noticed and discussed to a much greater degree. This heightened visibility of tokens, therefore, also leads to lower levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being; where one could see how having every move judged and talked about could easily generate unnecessary stress for someone, and cause them to seek employment elsewhere.

Pioneerism

While many of these women and managers/supervisors of color are one of few (if not solos) within their work units or departments, there are also many who are pioneers in their position—meaning they are the first of their gender or race to hold the position they currently occupy. Comparable to relational demography and tokenism, it was hypothesized that pioneer status would likely lead to enhanced visibility, which would in turn cause greater levels of perceived affirmative action stigma coupled with lower levels of organizational attachment and personal well-being. As it relates to gender pioneers, no hypotheses were supported. These results seem to suggest that if you are a woman, and the first to hold your position, it does not necessarily effect your perceptions of affirmative action stigma, how attached you are to your organization, or your personal health/well-being. It is important to state, however, that this

relationship strictly looks at the role of pioneer status, and ultimately compares perceptions of the other variables among those who are the first, second, or greater to hold their current position. Therefore, the results do not necessarily mean that gender status has no bearing on perceived affirmative action stigma, organizational attachment, or well-being, as the lack of support for this relationship could actually show that being a gender minority is somewhat detrimental regardless of your pioneer status.

The results of this particular study, however, do show that pioneer status, as it relates to race does matter, as the data confirmed that there were relationships between pioneer status and perceived affirmative action stigma and personal well-being. Thus, participants in this study who indicated they were the first Black to hold their current position, had significantly higher levels of perceived affirmative action stigma and significantly lower levels of personal well-being. Both of these findings seem somewhat intuitive. Many people of color who are the first to hold a particular managerial position hold two burdens. First, oftentimes they likely manage/supervise a group who look very different from themselves, and may be comprised of a number of individuals who hold unrecognized negative stereotypes about their racial group. Because of their minority status, many of their subordinates are likely to assume their placement is solely due to their race and the presence of the company's affirmative action policy. Secondly, many of these individuals carry the extra weight of feeling that their success (or failure) in the position will greatly affect the likelihood (or unlikelihood) of another person of color occupying that same position in the future. Therefore, they may feel the need to overwork in order to not only prove their placement, but ensure that other people of color can and will be considered for the same position in the years to come. Both of these burdens clearly have significant effects on how one perceives affirmative action stigma as well as one's health and well-being.

The fact that there was no support in regards to organizational attachment and racial pioneerism being linked is not terribly surprising. Given the results of the first hypothesis, where racial minorities had much lower levels or organizational attachment than their white counterparts, it appears that pioneer status does not necessarily affect how attached a Black manager/supervisor is to their organization. As stated earlier, literature suggests that they are less likely to have mentoring relationships with members of upper-level management, in addition to being commonly excluded from informal networking opportunities, a racial minority is much less likely to feel a sense of connection with their organization whether they are a racial pioneer or not (Kram, 1983; Reich, 1985; Phillips-Jones, 1982).

Limitations and Future Research

While this study provides insight on new, unexplored issues around the topic of affirmative action stigma, there were some limitations to the research. One major limitation of the present study was the lack of ethnic diversity amongst the participant pool. Affirmative action is a policy that is supposed to target inclusion amongst all underrepresented groups, which therefore means other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Asian Americans, Latino Americans, etc.) benefit from its practice as well. While affirmative action stigma does tend to be more prevalent amongst African Americans (Heilman & Alcott, 2001; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Steele, 1990), which is why this minority group was of particular focus for this study, in the future, researchers should also include members of other underrepresented groups in order to fully understand their perceptions of affirmative action stigma, and how it may impact their organizational attachment and personal well-being. Extending the research to other demographic groups will help expand this area of diversity workplace literature.

Moreover, future research could be expanded in regards to what elements are included in the definition of organizational attachment. This particular study focused on turnover intentions, job satisfaction, and job commitment, but these could easily be extended to include a myriad of other attachment issues such as engagement and peer support—many of which are likely to be evaluated differently depending on participant race/gender, perceptions of affirmative action stigma, relational demography and tokenism, as well as pioneer status. Additionally, performing a qualitative analysis of this research would likely open the dialogue for the discussion of many of the aforementioned attachment issues. Focus groups and one-on-one interviews could enhance future research studies by providing researchers with additional information that could potentially give greater insight into how these various variables interact and intersect with one another.

This research could also likely be enhanced by focusing on specific work groups and industries. While this particular study did cover a relatively broad range of industries, it did have a large representative sample working in education—this alone may explain why none of the gender pioneer hypotheses were supported as education is not necessarily a female-dominated sector, but does have a very different gender perception than some of the other industries (e.g., manufacturing). Focusing on particular industries and work groups may lend greater support for relational demography and tokenism, where those industries and departments that are more heterogeneous in regards to race and gender will likely show very different survey results than a sector or work unit that is more homogenous.

Lastly, there are methodological/procedural shortcomings that are common with most quantitative research. First, given that the participants self-reported on all measures, one cannot know for certain if the measures can be equally compared to one another, as perceptions are very

much individualized (e.g., feeling like a token in a work unit could mean very different things to different people). On a related note, there is the probable presence of common method bias—particularly, since this was a single-method study (via web survey). Some of the sources of common method bias that may have arisen include: ambiguous items, choice of scale anchors, negative/reverse coded items, and of course, social desirability. Though each of these may have been present in the study, they are commonly found in most social scientific research, and some researchers have even argued that their negative effects on data analysis are oftentimes over-rated (Spector, 2006).

Implications and Practice

Organizational Strategies

Despite the limitations of this study, the findings revealed several implications for organizations as well as racial and gender minority managers and supervisors. First, given that this study has shown significant differences on a number of factors as it relates to minority status and organizational attachment and perceptions of affirmative action stigma, organizations must realize that they have a major responsibility to the women and people of color who work as managers and supervisors in their corporations. Specifically, these organizations should be focused on not only creating an inclusive and supporting working environment for these executives, but also ensuring that the nature of their affirmative action policy is fully understood by every employee. Meaning that, unless legally enforced, their affirmative action policy should not be quota-based, and every employee within the company should be made aware of that—doing so, should decrease the questioning of competence around racial and gender minorities who are hired or promoted into upper-level rankings, as persisting stereotypes are often hard to extinguish.

An additional strategy that could help organizations is the development of mentoring programs. Considering that this study found that Black males and females reported significantly lower levels of organizational attachment, which indicates they are less attached to their workplace, mentoring programs and minority employee networks could be incredibly beneficial for these racial minorities. By implementing formal mentoring programs and networks, organizations can illustrate to all employees, regardless of their race and gender, that they are committed to the full development and assistance of everyone, and therefore encourage and support an open, inclusive, and truly diverse workforce. With the presence of programs that focus on racial and gender minorities, these could not only aid in retaining these women and people of color, but could also help immensely in the recruitment of other female and ethnic minority job candidates (Ibarra, 1992; Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990). Another potential, and somewhat unorthodox, mentoring approach organizations could take is reverse-mentoring where more junior colleagues mentor those at a senior level (Cohen, 2003). Mentoring of this nature could potentially be most beneficial if the junior colleague was a racial or gender minority and the senior colleague was a White male. This dyadic mentoring relationship would allow for these influential White male leaders to gain a better understanding and perspective of the experiences racial and gender minorities face on a daily basis, which would have the potential to not only enhance the awareness of senior leaders, but also generate greater buy-in in regards to the importance and need to lower perceptions of workplace discrimination.

Since most organizations do have affirmative action policies in place, they should become more cognizant of the advancement opportunities they offer to women and people of color. Oftentimes, these individuals are pigeonholed into positions that allow for very little vertical mobility, or are placed in work units or departments that are not necessarily viewed as

being strategically aligned with the bottom-line of the company (e.g., marketing, human resources) (Thomas & Ely, 1996). It is important that companies who take pride in being an equal opportunity employer take as much pride in dispelling myths about minority workers. They can do so by hiring and promoting racial and gender minorities to positions such as the chief information officer (CIO), chief financial officer (CFO), or even chief executive officer (CEO), for that matter. A policy and a practice are two very different things, and it is only when an organization shows a true, dedicated commitment to employing a diverse workforce (at all levels) will all employees truly feel valued, appreciated, and included.

Lastly, organizations should make diversity initiatives a part of their overall business strategy (Richard, 2000; Thomas & Ely, 1996, 2002). In other words, organizations must begin moving from an access/legitimacy diversity model to one that is more learning/effectiveness. As described by Thomas & Ely (2002), past diversity models concentrated more on increasing the number of individuals who were of minority status, but very little was done in regards to the development and advancement of these individuals after being hired. New diversity models, however, suggest that organizations begin to show a support of meaningful diversity initiatives from its senior leaders. When diversity programs and practices are fully supported by members of upper-management, the acceptance typically trickles down to the other levels of the organization—thereby helping to alleviate and diminish many of the common discriminatory thoughts and perceptions that may exist (particularly those surrounding affirmative action policies). Also, if diversity is seen as a part of the business strategy, it is likely that there would be very few homogeneous workgroups present in the organization, which would increase the overall relational demography for the organization, and in doing so, lessen the number of individuals who would feel like tokens. Doing both would likely help diminish perceptions of

affirmative action stigma among minority workers, while at the same time increasing their levels of organizational commitment and personal well-being.

Individual Strategies

While it is important that organizations make strides in helping to ensure that their minority employees are being properly developed and routinely included in corporate initiatives, it is just as important that individual employees be resourceful and proactive in the future growth and advancement of their own careers. Tragically, many organizations will not necessarily follow the guidelines as outlined above—until legally required to do so—thus, racial and gender minorities must often make a concerted and individualized effort to control their own development as it relates to their careers. For example, if a mentoring program is not in place, a woman or person of color may have to take it upon themselves to form a relationship with a senior executive. Some researchers even suggest that these individuals seek such relationships with individuals outside of their company. In both situations, minorities must attempt to refrain from a same gender/same race dyadic mentoring relationship. While these relationships may be more comfortable, a White male mentor is more likely to be able to expose them to the opportunities and networks that they are in the greatest need to be a part of—as limiting themselves to a female or Black mentor may also ultimately limit their career advancement opportunities (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Thomas, 1990). If racial and gender minorities take a more proactive approach to their person career development, ultimately, it is likely to have a positive impact on their level of organizational attachment (Greenhaus et al., 1990).

Given the many findings in this study that related to lower levels of health and well-being is also important that minority workers find strategies to cope with the many barriers they face in the workplace on a daily basis. As evidenced by this study, the workplace can generate

additional levels of stress and exhaustion; thus, women and people of color should seek out support from family and other social groups outside of their work environment. These individuals can potentially provide guidance, advice, and differing perspectives on how to deal and cope with their current working environment. Further, sharing work experiences with others who may be experiencing the exact same thing, may help many of these individuals realize that they are not alone, and that their negative work experiences are not necessarily a direct reflection on who they are as a person or as an employee, but rather are commonly-shared experiences amongst others who share their minority status. This greater level of understanding could immensely help their overall personal well-being and become beneficial with their ability to cope with other work-related issues.

Conclusion

The results of this research study make it clear that the policy of affirmative action, though well-intentioned, has major implications on its "beneficiaries." It is apparent that racial and gender identity, relational demography and tokenism, and being a racial pioneer all have considerable implications on perceived affirmative action stigma. Hopefully, the results from this study will generate the need for future, comparable studies, which, with any luck, will increase organizations' desires to be more proactive in their diversity efforts. Organizations must be able to look beyond the surface of having an affirmative action policy in place, and delve into the potential and probable implications of its presence. They must find it necessary to appropriately educate their entire workforce and falsify many of the inaccurate, though common, misperceptions surrounding affirmative action and the consequences of its presence. Idealistically, organizations should come to understand and appreciate the benefits of having a

truly diverse workforce—if this were to happen, affirmative action policies would no longer be questioned, as they would no longer be needed or necessary.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 437)

Demographic Trait		N	%
Race/Gender	Black Male	100	22.9
	Black Female	106	24.3
	White Male	104	23.8
	White Female	**127**	**29.1**
Age	18-25	14	3.2
	26-35	146	33.5
	36-45	**150**	**34.4**
	46-55	92	21.1
	56-64	30	6.9
	65+	4	.9
Marital Status	Single (Never Married)	113	26.0
	Married	**260**	**59.8**
	Divorced/Separated	59	13.6
	Widowed	3	.7
Educational Attainment	High School Diploma	22	5.2
	Technical Degree	18	4.2
	Associate's Degree	34	8.0
	Bachelor's Degree	**148**	**34.7**
	Master's Degree	123	28.8
	Professional Degree	18	4.2
	Doctoral Degree	64	14.4
Industry	Advertising/Marketing/PR	14	3.6
	Arts/Entertainment/Media	5	1.3
	Banking/Financial Svcs./Accounting	36	9.2
	Consulting Services	35	8.9
	Education	**61**	**15.6**
	Engineering	13	3.3
	Government and Policy	18	4.6
	Medical/Healthcare	21	5.4
	Human Resources/Recruiting	37	9.4
	Information Technology/Computers	38	9.7
	Internet/e-Commerce	2	.5
	Legal	11	2.8
	Non-profit	18	4.6
	Publishing	4	1.0
	Real Estate	3	.8
	Retail/Wholesale	20	5.1
	Sales	37	9.4
	Science/Biotechnology/Pharmaceuticals	15	3.8
	Telecommunications	4	1.0
Yearly Individual Salary	$10,000-20,000	4	1.0
	$20,000-40,000	62	14.9
	$40,000-60,000	90	21.6
	$60,000-80,000	71	17.0
	$80,000-100,000	60	14.4
	$100,000+	**130**	**31.2**
Pioneers	Gender	48	11.0
	Racial	98	22.4

Table 2

Correlation of Variables (N = 437)[a]

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Race/Gender[b]	3.59	1.132	1									
2. Racial ID Level	1.75	.643	-.416**	1								
3. Gender ID Level	2.91	.289	-.020	.088	1							
4. Relational Dem.	3.28	.787	.484**	-.278**	.064	1						
5. Tokenism	2.12	.561	-.363**	.076	-.125*	-.373**	1					
6. Perceived AAS	1.82	.691	-.439**	.158**	-.107*	-.351**	.668*	1				
7. Gender Pioneerism	1.87	1.220	.002	-.018	-.072	.146*	-.138*	-.030	1			
8. Racial Pioneerism	1.01	1.157	.055	.133	-.037	.154*	-.464**	-.327**	.567**	1		
9. Org. Attachment	3.52	.754	.152**	-.094**	.155**	.135*	-.355**	-.236**	-.080	.044	1	
10. Health/Well-Being	2.85	.559	.048	.084	-.061	-.008	.210**	.110*	-.019	-.170*	-.386**	1

[a] Due to pairwise deletion of missing data, N ranged from 180 to 437
[b] 1 = Black Male, 2 = Black Female, 3 = White Male, 4 = White Female
** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)
* Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 3

Mean Values of Organizational Attachment by Race/Gender

RACE/GENDER	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Black Male	3.34	.793	100
Black Female	3.40	.708	106
White Male	3.71	.785	104
White Female	3.59	.707	127

Table 4

Bonferroni Mean Comparisons of Organizational Attachment by Race/Gender

(I) RACE/GENDER	(J) RACE/GENDER	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Black Male	Black Female	-.0538	.10410	1.000
	White Male	-.3715*	.10458	.003
	White Female	-.2484	.09983	.079
Black Female	Black Male	.0538	.10410	1.000
	White Male	-.3177*	.10306	.013
	White Female	-.1946	.09824	.290
White Male	Black Male	.3715*	.10458	.003
	Black Female	.3177*	.10306	.013
	White Female	.1231	.09875	1.000
White Female	Black Male	.2484	.09983	.079
	Black Female	.1946	.09824	.290
	White Male	-.1231	.09875	1.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Organizational Attachment

Variable	**Beta**	**R^2**	**Adjusted R^2**	**F**
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	-.236**	.056	.054	25.186**

** Significant at the .001 level

Table 6

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Personal Well-Being

Variable	Beta	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	.110*	.012	.010	4.703*

* Significant at the .05 level

Table 7

Ethnic and Gender Identity Moderation Effects on Race and Gender & Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Step/Variables	Adjusted R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	Beta
STEP 1:	.218	.222	55.725**		
Race					-.439**
Gender					-.070
STEP 2:	.242	.028	32.394**	7.274	
Race					-.506**
Gender					-.064
Ethnic Identity					-.040
Gender Identity					-.159**
STEP 3:	.245	.007	22.267	1.760	
Race					-.889**
Gender					.571
Ethnic Identity					-.191
Gender Identity					-.037
Race x Ethnic Identity					.342
Gender x Gender Identity					-.649

** Significant at the .001 level

Table 8

Ethnic Identity Moderation Effects on Race & Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Step/Variables	Adjusted R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	Beta
STEP 1:	.205	.207	111.106**		
Race					-.455**
STEP 2:	.211	.008	58.083**	4.292*	
Race					-.504**
Ethnic Identity					-.102*
STEP 3:	.217	.008	40.469**	4.331*	
Race					-.995**
Ethnic Identity					-.291*
Race x Ethnic Identity					.440*

** Significant at the .001 level
* Significant at the .05 level

Table 9

Gender Identity Moderation Effects on Gender & Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma

Step/Variables	Adjusted R^2	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	Beta
STEP 1:	.004	.006	2.536		
Gender					-.080
STEP 2:	.011	.010	3.245*	3.934*	
Gender					-.078
Gender Identity					-.100*
STEP 3:	.012	.020	2.606	1.322	
Gender					.875
Gender Identity					.080
Gender x Gender Identity					-.975

** Significant at the .001 level

Table 10

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Effects of Relational Demography

Variable	Beta	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	-.351**	.123	.121	59.455**
Organizational Attachment	.135*	.018	.016	8.064*
Health/Well-Being	-.008	.000	-.003	.026

** Significant at the .001 level
* Significant at the .05 level

Table 11

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Effects of Tokenism

Variable	Beta	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	.668**	.446	.445	333.918**
Organizational Attachment	-.355**	.126	.124	60.849**
Health/Well-Being	.210**	.044	.042	17.547**

** Significant at the .001 level

Table 12

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Effects of Gender Pioneerism

Variable	**Beta**	**R^2**	**Adjusted R^2**	**F**
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	.030	.001	-.004	.202
Organizational Attachment	-.080	.006	.002	1.480
Health/Well-Being	.019	.000	-.005	.073

Table 13

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Effects of Racial Pioneerism

Variable	Beta	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	.327**	.107	.102	24.009**
Organizational Attachment	.044	.002	-.003	.387
Health/Well-Being	.170*	.029	.023	5.282*

** Significant at the .001 level
* Significant at the .05 level

Table 14

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Effects of Double Pioneerism

Variable	Beta	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	.410**	.168	.164	40.281**
Organizational Attachment	.081	.007	.002	1.333
Health/Well-Being	.232*	.054	.049	10.110*

** Significant at the .001 level
* Significant at the .05 level

Table 15

Summary of Results

		Hypothesis	Result
Race/Gender of Subject	1	There will be a direct relationship between participant's gender and race and level of organizational attachment, where Black females will be the least attached due to their double minority status.	Partially Supported
	2	There will be a direct relationship between participant's gender and race and level of personal well-being, where Black females will have the lowest levels of well-being due to their double minority status.	Not Supported
Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma	3	There will be a direct relationship between perceived affirmative action stigma and organizational attachment, where those who perceive greater levels of stigma will have lower levels of organizational attachment.	Supported
	4	There will be a direct relationship between perceived affirmative action stigma and personal well-being, where those who perceive greater levels of stigma will have lower levels of personal well-being.	Supported
Racial & Gender Identity	5	Racial & gender identity levels will serve as moderators between race/gender and perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who are high in regards to their racial/gender identity development will perceive affirmative action stigma to a greater degree than those whose identity levels are low.	Partially Supported
Relational Demography & Tokenism	6	Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will have greater levels of perceived affirmative action stigma.	RD – Supported T – Supported
	7	Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on levels of organizational attachment, where participants who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will be less organizationally attached.	RD – Supported T – Supported
	8	Relational demography and tokenism will have a direct effect on the personal well being of participants, where individuals who are of token status (or have a low relational demographic work unit) will have lower levels of personal well-being.	RD – Not Supported T – Supported
Pioneerism	9	Pioneerism will have a direct effect on perceptions of affirmative action stigma, where participants who are pioneers will have greater levels of perceived affirmative action stigma.	RP – Supported GP – Not Supported
	10	Pioneerism will have a direct effect on levels of organizational attachment, where participants who are pioneers will be less organizationally attached.	RP & GP – Not Supported
	11	Pioneerism will have a direct effect on the personal well-being of participants, where individuals who are pioneers will have lower levels of personal well-being.	RP – Supported GP – Not Supported

*Differing sample sizes does not really allow for meaningful comparisons between groups

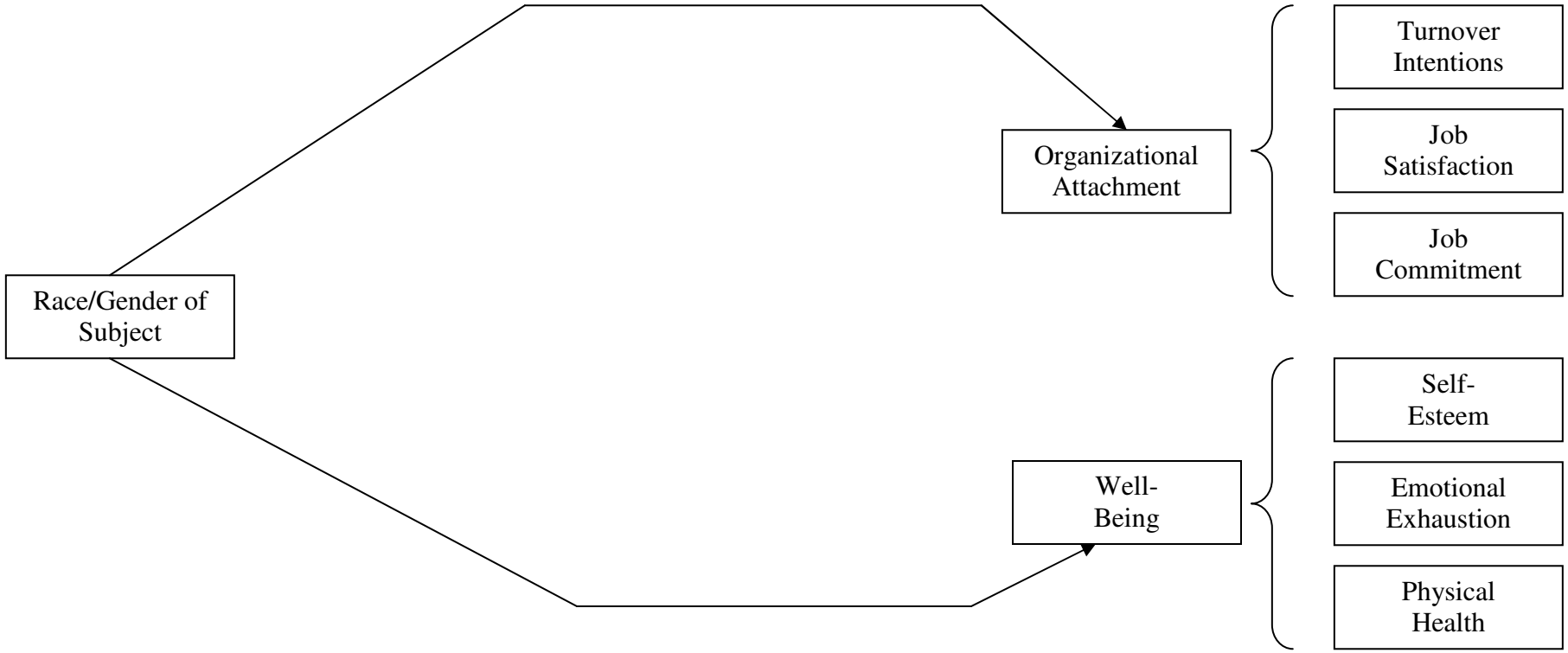

Figure 1. **Proposed Direct Relationship Between Race/Gender & Organizational Attachment and Well-Being**

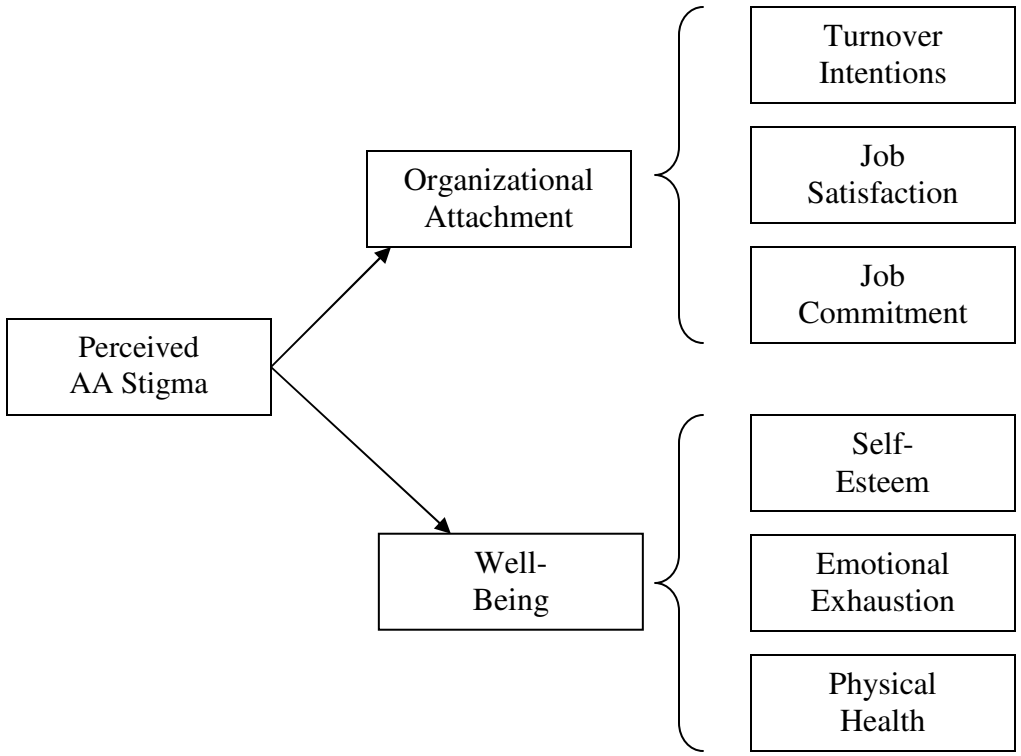

Figure 2. **Proposed Direct Relationship Between Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma & Organizational Attachment and Well-Being**

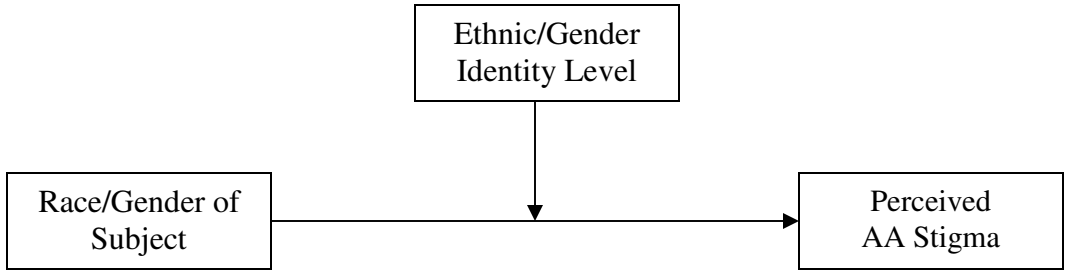

Figure 3. **Proposed Moderating Relationship of Ethnic/Gender Identity on Race/Gender and Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma**

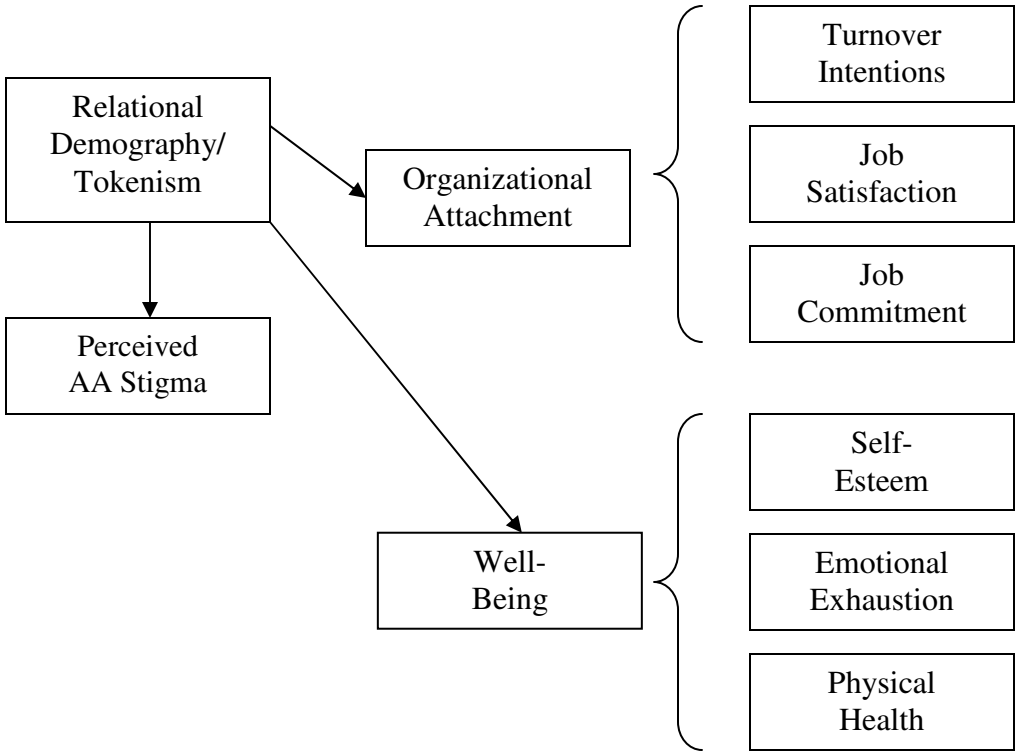

Figure 4. **Proposed Direct Relationship Between Relational Demography/Tokenism & Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma, Organizational Attachment, and Well-Being**

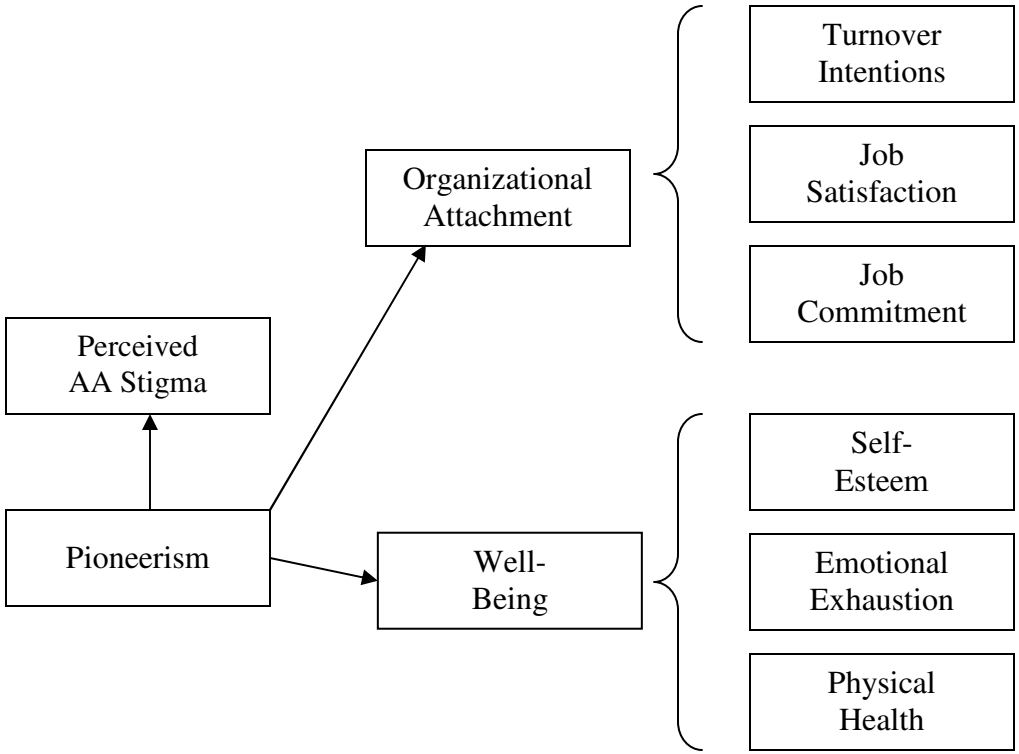

Figure 5. **Proposed Direct Relationship Between Pioneerism & Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma, Organizational Attachment, and Well-Being**

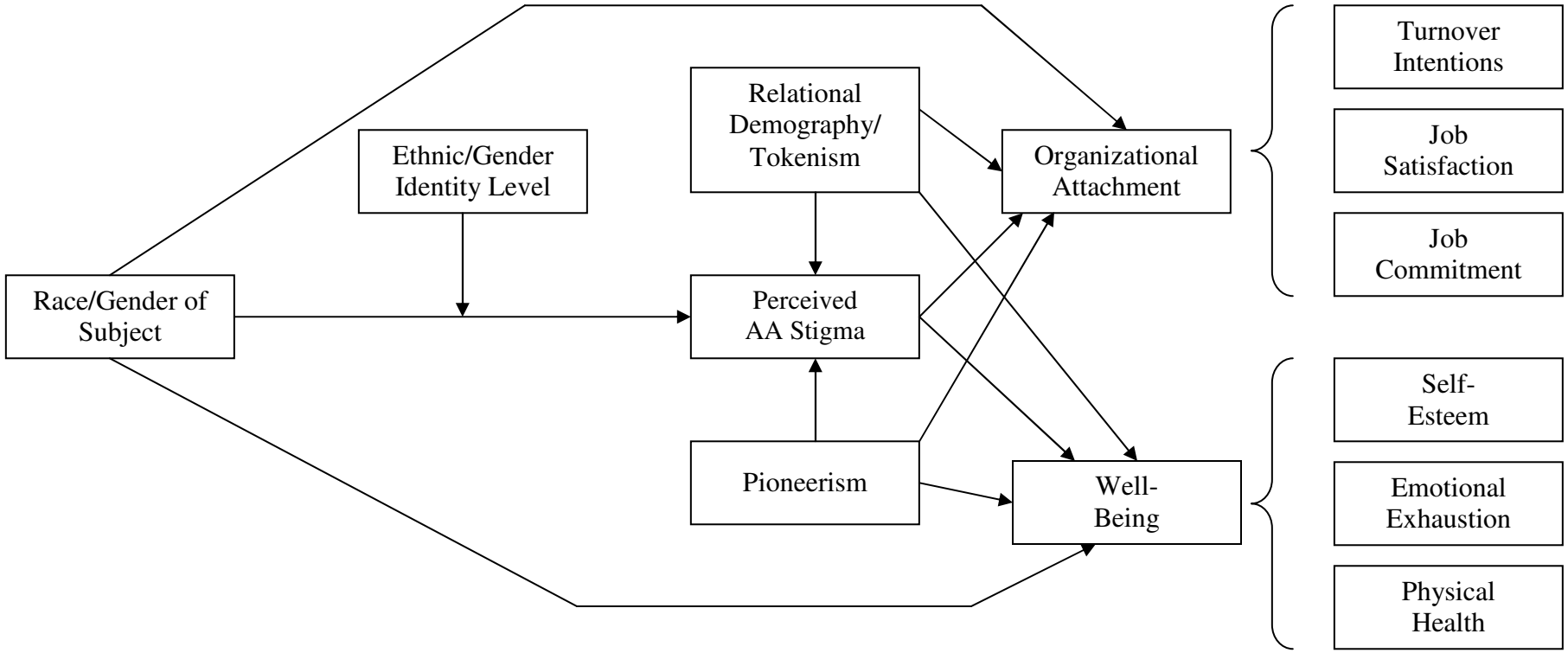

Figure 6. **Full Proposed Relationship Model**

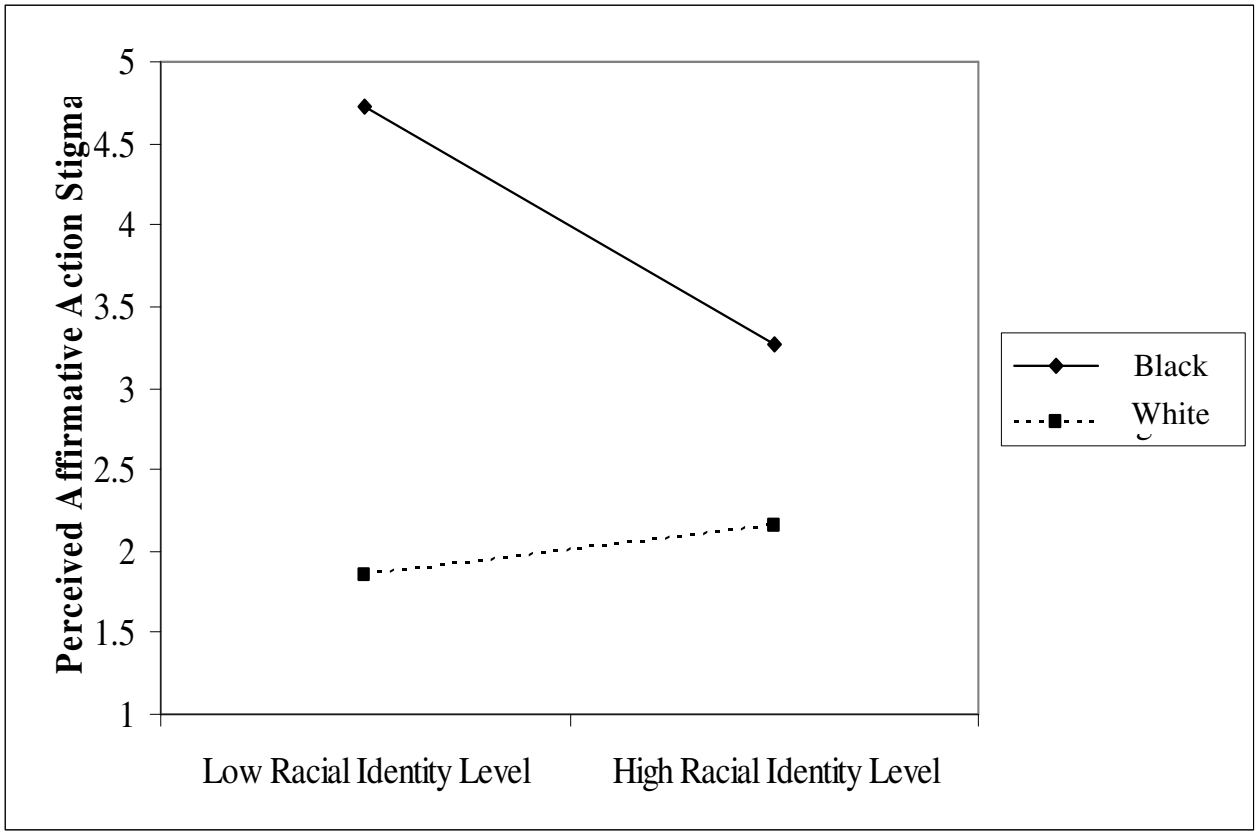

Figure 7. **Interaction of Ethnic Identity as a Moderator Between Race and Perceived Affirmative Action Stigma**

Appendix A
SOLICITATION E-MAIL LETTER

Dear Prospective Participant:
I am a doctoral candidate working under the direction of Dr. Kecia M. Thomas in the Department of Psychology at the University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study which focuses on workplace experiences of employees in management positions. The purpose of the current study is to learn more about how various workplace factors affect these individual's work attitudes, especially those in regards to organizational attachment and well-being.

You have been selected to participate in this study because you have been identified as a professional who works in a managerial/supervisory position. For the purpose of this study, a professional in a management position is defined as anyone who works full-time and is paid on a yearly, **not hourly, salary**, who has a job title or position of supervisor or manager. If you do meet the professional and managerial/supervisory criterion, please disregard this request; however, please forward this survey on to others that you know who would meet these conditions. If you do meet the criteria, we ask that you take 15-20 minutes to complete our survey at [web address link] and ask that you forward this survey to others. Participation in our study, and learning the results of it, will be one way that we can understand the work experiences and some of the challenges that may hinder the organizational attachment and well-being of managers and supervisors. It can also help us develop and support organizational practices that improve the work lives of these individuals.

By completing the web survey, you are making this important project possible. As a participant of the study you will not only gain an enhanced understanding of your own career experiences and development, you will also be eligible for a $50.00 cash prize if you provide your contact information at the completion of the survey. You must email me your email address after you complete the survey to be eligible for the gift certificate to ensure your responses to the survey will not be connected to your contact information.

Please be assured that your participation in this study will remain confidential. Any answers that you provide **will not** be traced back to you, and data collected on this website will be kept in a secured site. Although the site is secure, should you prefer an alternative means of completing the survey, you may print a copy of the survey from the website and mail the completed survey to the principle investigator: Matthew S. Harrison, Department of Psychology, The University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602-3013.

This web survey is voluntary, however, you may refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without penalty. By completing the web survey you are agreeing to participate in this research***. Please complete this web survey as soon as possible, but no later than two weeks from today*** in order to ensure that your response is included in this study. A follow-up e-mail message will be sent in one week as a reminder of this deadline. No discomfort or risks are foreseen in participating in this study.

We realize that your time is very valuable and thank you in advance for your help with this important study. If you have any questions or comments about this study, now or in the future, or if you would like to receive a copy of the survey results, please feel free to contact the principle investigator, Matthew S. Harrison, Department of Psychology, The University of Georgia, at 706-542-2174 or msharris@uga.edu. For questions or problems about your rights as a research participant please call or write: Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, The University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602-7411. Telephone (706) 542-6514; e-mail address: IRB@uga.edu.

Sincerely,

Matthew S. Harrison, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
The University of Georgia

Kecia M. Thomas, Ph.D.
Professor & Senior Advisor to the Dean
The University of Georgia

Appendix B
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION STIGMA SURVEY

ORGANIZATIONAL ATTACHMENT

This first section will ask you about your feelings of attachment and commitment to your organization. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

2. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goals.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

3. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for income.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

4. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for advancement.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

5. I am satisfied with the progress I have made toward meeting my goals for the development of new skills.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

6. As soon as I can find a better job I will leave this organization.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

7. I am actively looking for a job at another company.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

8. I am seriously thinking about quitting my job.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

9. I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this department.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

10. I really feel as if this organization's problems are my own.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

11. I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my organization.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

12. I do not feel emotionally attached to this organization.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

13. I do not feel like part of the family at my organization.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

14. This department has a great deal of personal meaning for me.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Neither Disagree/Agree
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

This second section will ask you about your physical and emotional well-being. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions.

The first set of questions focuses on your self-esteem. For the following set of questions, please indicate your level of agreement.

15. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

16. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

17. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

18. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

19. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

20. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

21. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

22. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

23. I certainly feel useless at times.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

24. At times I think I am no good at all.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

This second set of questions focuses on your feelings of burnout from your job. For the following set of questions, please state how often you feel that the following statements apply to you:

25. I feel emotionally drained from my work.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

26. I feel used up at the end of the day.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

27. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

28. Working with people all day is a strain for me.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

29. I feel burned-out from my work.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

30. I feel frustrated by my job.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

31. I feel I'm working too hard on my job.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

32. Working with people directly puts too much stress on me.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

33. I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

This third set of questions focuses on your physical health. For the following set of questions, please state how often you experience the following symptoms.

34. An upset stomach or nausea
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

35. A backache
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

36. Trouble sleeping
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

37. A skin rash
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

38. Shortness of breath
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

39. Chest pain
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

40. Headache
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

41. Fever
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

42. Acid indigestion or heartburn
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

43. Eye strain
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

44. Diarrhea
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

45. Stomach cramps [except during your menstrual period]
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

46. Constipation
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

47. Heart pounding when not exercising
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

48. An infection (e.g., yeast infection)
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

49. Loss of appetite [or didn't feel like eating]
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

50. Dizziness
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

51. Tiredness or fatigue [or being tired all the time]
    a. Never
    b. A few times a year or less
    c. Once a month or less
    d. A few times a month
    e. Once a week
    f. A few times a week
    g. Everyday

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

This third section will ask you about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions in regards to your ethnic group membership. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

52. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

53. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

54. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

55. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

56. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

57. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

58. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

59. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

60. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

61. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

62. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

63. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

GENDER ATTITUDES INVENTORY

This fourth section will ask you about your gender group and how you feel about it, or react to it, in relation to the opposite sex. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions in regards to your gender group membership. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

64. In general, I believe that the opposite sex is superior to my gender group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

65. Members of the opposite sex blame my gender group too much for their problems.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*66. Members of the opposite sex should not blame those of my gender group for all of their problems in society.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*67. I feel more comfortable being around members of the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

68. I am comfortable wherever I am.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*69. Maybe I can learn something from my gender group.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*70. Sometimes I think men are superior and sometimes I think they are inferior to women.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

71. In general, the opposite sex has not contributed much to American society.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

* Item not included in data analysis

72. When I think about how members of the opposite sex have treated those of my gender, I feel an overwhelming sense of anger.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

73. People, regardless of their gender, have strengths and limitations.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

74. I am determined to find out more about my gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

75. Being a member of my gender is a source of pride to me.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*76. Thinking about my values and beliefs takes up a lot of my time.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

77. I do not think I should feel positively about people just because they belong to the same gender group as I do.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

78. I would have accomplished more in this life had I been born the opposite gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

* Item not included in data analysis

79. Most members of the opposite sex are insensitive.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

80. Women and men have much to learn from each other.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

81. I am not sure how I feel about myself.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

82. Sometimes I wonder how much of myself I should give up for the sake of helping other minorities.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

[*]83. Members of the opposite sex are more attractive.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

84. I reject all values of the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

85. The opposite sex has some customs that I enjoy.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

[*] Item not included in data analysis

86. Members of the opposite sex are difficult to understand.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

87. I wonder if I should feel a kinship with all minority group people.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

88. Those of the opposite sex should learn to think and act like my gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

89. My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

90. I enjoy being around people regardless of their gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

91. I feel myself replacing old friends with new ones who share my beliefs about those of the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

92. The burden of living up to society's expectations of my gender is sometimes more than I can bear.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

93. I limit myself to activities that are more likely to be done by the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

94. Both genders have some good people and some bad people.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

95. I feel anxious about some of the things I feel about the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

96. I feel like I am betraying my sex when I take advantage of the opportunities available to me in this world.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

97. I want to know more about my gender's culture.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

98. I think women and men differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

99. I think I function better when I am able to view members of the opposite sex as individuals.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

100. I limit myself to activities involving others of my gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

101. Most members of the opposite sex are untrustworthy.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

102. American society would be better off it were based on the cultural values of those of my gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

103. I believe that being a member of my gender group has caused me to have many strengths.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

*104. I do not know whether being my gender is positive or negative.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

105. I feel unable to involve myself in experiences of the opposite sex, and I am increasing my involvement in experiences involving members of my own gender.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

106. Sometimes I am proud of belonging to my gender and sometimes I am ashamed of it.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

107. Sometimes, I wish I had been born the opposite sex.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Uncertain
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree

WORKGROUP COMPOSITION & POSITION HISTORY

This fifth section will ask you about the composition of your workgroup and the history of the position you currently occupy. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions. For the following questions, please indicate the answer that is most accurate.

108. Of those in my workgroup (or department), _____ is of the same gender as myself.
    a. 0-10%
    b. 10-20%
    c. 20-30%
    d. Greater than 30%

* Item not included in data analysis

109. Of those in my workgroup (or department), _____ is of the same race/ethnicity as myself.
    a. 0-10%
    b. 10-20%
    c. 20-30%
    d. Greater than 30%

110. In terms of gender, I feel my workgroup (or department) is diverse.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

111. In terms of race/ethnicity, I feel my workgroup (or department) is diverse.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

112. To your knowledge, how many females have held the position you currently hold within your organization (do **not** count yourself if you are female).
    a. 0
    b. 1
    c. 2
    d. 3 or greater

113. To your knowledge, how many people of color have held the position you currently hold within your organization (do **not** count yourself if you are a person of color).
    a. 0
    b. 1
    c. 2
    d. 3 or greater

For the following set of questions, please indicate your level of agreement.

114. I receive a disproportionate amount of attention or scrutiny from my peers.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

115. I receive a disproportionate amount of attention or scrutiny from my boss/supervisor.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

116. I feel that my boss/supervisor or peers take special note of my mistakes.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

117. I feel that I do not fit or belong with my peers.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

118. I discuss general topics such as politics or current events with my boss/supervisor.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

119. I discuss general topics such as politics or current events with my peers.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

120. I feel that I lack peer acceptance.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

121. I feel that differences between employees at my level and myself are exaggerated or made a big deal of.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

122. The people I work with utilize my input and skills effectively.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

123. I feel “pegged” for certain duties that do not challenge my full capabilities.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

PERCEPTIONS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTIOIN RELATIVE TO POSITION

This sixth section will ask you about the affirmative action policy at your employer, and your perceptions of others’ perceptions of your current placement. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions. For the following questions, please indicate the answer that is most accurate.

124. Is your employer an equal opportunity employer?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Unsure

125. Is there an affirmative action policy in place at the organization where you work?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Unsure

126. It is widely known that there is an affirmative action policy at my organization
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

127. In my opinion, my co-workers (and/or subordinates) believe I was hired/promoted into my position because of my educational background and past work experience.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

128. In my opinion, my co-workers (and/or subordinates) believe I was hired/promoted into my position because of my gender and/or race.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

129. In my opinion, my co-workers (and/or subordinates) question my competence and ability to properly perform my job.
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Agree
    d. Strongly Agree

130. If asked, how would you define affirmative action?

131. What are your feelings toward affirmative action? Is it still necessary today?

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

This is the last section of the survey, and we'd like you to tell us more about yourself. Please make sure to answer each question.

132. What is your race/ethnicity?
    a. African American / Black
    b. Asian American
    c. Caucasian / White
    d. Indian American/South Asian American
    e. Latino American / Hispanic (Non-White)
    f. Middle Eastern American
    g. Native American
    h. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
    i. Other (please specify) _____

133. What is your gender?
    a. Female
    b. Male

134. What is your age?
    a. 18-25
    b. 26-35
    c. 36-45
    d. 46-55
    e. 56-64
    e. 65+

135. What is marital status?
    a. Single (Never Married)
    b. Married
    c. Divorced or Separated
    d. Widowed

136. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?
    a. Elementary/Middle School (grades 1-8)
    b. High school or GED (General Equivalency Diploma)
    c. Technical training or apprenticeship
    d. Associate's degree
    e. Bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.S.)
    f. Master's degree (e.g., M.S., M.Ed., M.A.)
    g. Professional degree (e.g., J.D., M.Div., D.V.M.)
    h. Doctoral degree (e.g., Ph.D., Ed.D.)

137. What state do you live in? (If you live outside the United States, please select "International" from the menu below.)
    a. _____

138. What industry do you work in?
    a. Advertising/Marketing/Public Relations
    b. Arts/Entertainment/Media
    c. Banking/Financial Services/Accounting/Auditing
    d. Consulting Services
    e. Education
    f. Engineering
    g. Government and Policy
    h. Medical/Healthcare
    i. Human Resources/Recruiting
    j. Information Technology/Computers
    k. Internet/e-Commerce
    l. Legal
    m. Non-profit
    n. Publishing
    o. Real Estate
    p. Retail/Wholesale
    q. Sales
    r. Science/Biotechnology/Pharmaceuticals
    s. Telecommunications
    t. Other (please specify below)_____

139. If you work in a business/corporate environment please indicate the level of your position.
    a. Administrative/Support
    b. Technical
    c. Supervisor
    d. Manager
    e. Director
    f. Senior Director
    g. Vice President
    h. Senior/Executive Vice President
    i. CEO/Executive
    j. N/A
    k. Other (please specify)

140. If you work in education, please indicate the level of your position.
    a. Administrative/Support
    b. College Level Professor (Asst, Assoc, Full)
    c. Grade School Teacher (Elem, Middle, High)
    d. Grade School Director (Principal, Vice Principal, Assist. Principal)
    e. College Level Faculty/Administration (Dean, Assist. Dean, Vice President)
    f. Other

141. How many people work in your organization? Please estimate the approximate number of employees. _____

142. How many years have you been in your current position? _____

143. How many years have you been with your organization? _____

144. Please indicate your years of experience in your current field. _____

145. What is your yearly individual salary (not household combined income)?
    a. 10,000-20,000
    b. 20,000-40,000
    c. 40,000-60,000
    d. 60,000-80,000
    e. 80,000-100,000
    f. 100,000+

146. Which racial/ethnic group makes up the majority of your organizational leadership (e.g., Executive board, Corporate Officers, Directors, etc.)?
    a. African American / Black
    b. Asian American/ Pacific Islander
    c. Caucasian / White
    d. Latino American / Hispanic (Non-White)
    e. Native American
    f. Other (please specify) _____

147. Which gender group makes up the majority of your organizational leadership team (e.g., Executive board, Corporate Officers, Directors etc.)?
    a. Male
    b. Female

148. How did you hear about this survey?
    a. Friend
    b. Family
    c. Website
    d. Co-worker
    e. National Organization Listserv
    f. Other (please specify)_____

You're not done yet! Please press the "Done" button below to send us your answers.
Thank you for completing the survey. If you would like to be included in the drawing to win a $50.00 cash prize, please send your email address to me at: msharris@uga.edu. Please put "Climbing the Ladder" in the subject header of the e-mail. A drawing will be held at the completion of the study.

Thank you once again for your participation and **please** feel free to forward this survey on to other professional managers and supervisors. **THANKS!**