

THE DIFFERENTIAL ROLE OF ETHNICITY ON WOMEN'S
WORKPLACE EXPERIENCES

by

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(Under the Direction of KECIA M. THOMAS)

ABSTRACT

As more and more women enter leadership positions in the workplace, it is imperative to study and understand the unique career experiences and obstacles that hinder their professional development. Although most women deal with similar barriers to success in organizations, women of color tend to deal with additional hurdles in the workplace due to their double minority status. This study examined the relationships among ethnicity, organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, well-being, and organizational attachment for professional women. The results of the path analysis revealed that women of color have more negative organizational experiences, perceive more discrimination, and are less attached to their organization than White women. Furthermore, women who have more negative organizational experiences have more negative career outcomes and well-being issues. Implications for women's career development research and supporting organizational practices are offered.

INDEX WORDS: Diversity, organizational experiences, organizational attachment, women leaders, workplace diversity

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Clifton Dobbs and Carol Wright Dobbs for all their support and love throughout the years. You both are wonderful people. I love you!

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Despite the great strides women have made entering the workforce, women continue to face multiple barriers to their career advancement (Catalyst, 1994, 2002; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Organizations have historically been designed to benefit males, specifically White heterosexual males (e.g., Maier, 1997; Ohlott, Ruderman, & McCauley, 1994) therefore, professional women are at a disadvantage when attempting to advance and develop their careers. While women are confronted by an invisible barrier to success often referred to as the *glass ceiling*, men are more likely to receive various leadership positions by way of the *glass escalator* (Maume, 1999; Williams, 1992). Although recent studies reveal that women are now beginning to break through the *glass ceiling*, entering jobs that have been traditionally held by men (Fields & Blum, 2003; Stroh, Langlands, & Simpson, 2004), women still continue to be underrepresented in positions of influential leadership and power.

Since the term *glass ceiling* was coined in 1986 by two Wall Street Journal reporters (Catalyst, 1994), researchers have been motivated to study women's experiences in the workplace, especially in regards to advancement and career development. Although more researchers have studied this topic, a major limitation to the research is that it has historically focused on educated White professional women who work in for-profit organizations. Focusing on such a narrow sample of women, excludes an important piece of the women's career development literature— women of color and women who may work in various contexts.

Women are not a monolithic group. Therefore, studying women's experiences in organizations without discussing race or ethnicity does not capture the full spectrum of issues concerning women's advancement and experiences in the workplace. Researchers are now beginning to study women of color's workplace experiences however, this research is also limited. Women of color are not a homogenous group either. Within the women of color population there are social, cultural, and historic differences based on race/ethnicity that can potentially affect each group's experiences. Consequently, in order to advance and expand women's career development literature and improve working conditions for all women, researchers must begin to consider racial/ethnic differences. The current research represents a comparative study that investigated ethnicity, organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, well-being, ethnic identity, and organizational attachment amongst women.

This paper begins with a literature and theoretical review to better understand women's workplace experiences. First, the paper will include an examination of the barriers that exist for women in the workforce and the additional barriers women of color face in the workplace. Social identity theory and the *outsider within* literature are used to further provide a theoretical framework for understanding why these obstacles exist for both women and women of color, respectively. In addition to the literature and theoretical review, each of the proposed relationships will be presented by defining the outcome variable first and the proposed relationship second. Figure 1 displays the proposed model that was examined in the study.

Women in the Workforce

Changes in roles and expectations for women over the past 15 years have led to the increased enrollment of women in colleges, universities, and professional programs at all levels (Bronstein, Black, Pfenning & White, 1987; National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES],

2002). According to the NCES, in 2001 women earned 57.3% of Bachelor's degrees, 58% of Master's degrees, 44.9% of Doctorate degrees, and 47.3% of Law degrees in the U.S. Women are also projected to earn 302,000 Master's degrees during the 2006-2007 school year, exceeding men by nearly 90,000 degrees (U.S. Department of Education). In today's society, more and more women are receiving graduate degrees and seeking entry level positions in academia and corporate America than in past years.

With the growing numbers of women obtaining post baccalaureate degrees and entering the workforce, there are an increasing number of women seeking leadership positions as a result of their expanded educational opportunities and greater participation in the labor force. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, more than 60% of women work outside of the home which is a major increase from previous years. More specifically, in 2002 women made up 46.5% of the U.S. labor market and 50.5% of management and professional positions (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2003). By 2010, the number of women in the U.S. labor force is projected to increase by almost 10 million (Fullerton & Toosi, 2001). Thus, the increasing presence of women in the workforce is not just a trend; it is a movement that is here to stay.

Despite the increase of highly educated women entering the workforce, Catalyst (2002) research reveals that women continue to hold only a small portion of influential leadership positions in organizations. To support this finding, in 2003 researchers discovered that women gained entry into business careers and consequently achieved equality with men in regards to entry and mid level positions, but the most powerful top positions in businesses were still primarily held by men (Giscombe & Mattis, 2003). Similarly, a 2002 study discovered that women held 13.6% of board seats and 15.7% of corporate officer positions in the Fortune 500 companies (Catalyst, 2003). Furthermore in 2003, women filled only 9.9% of the total line

positions, which are revenue generating or which include profit-and-loss responsibility held by corporate officers compared to men who filled 90.1% (Catalyst, 2003). An even more drastic finding is that there are only 7 female executives in the Fortune 500 companies (Jones, 2005). Therefore, although research reveals that there have been some accomplishments towards women's advancement in the workplace, there is still much more work that needs to be done.

Social Identity and Women's Experiences

There are many reasons why women have not advanced to significant leadership roles in the workplace. Exclusion from informal male dominated networks, gender stereotyping, work-family issues, lack of significant management experience, less access to line positions of authority, and difficulty forming mentoring relationships, have all been recognized as contributing factors to women's success or lack of success in the workplace (Catalyst, 2003; Catalyst, 2005; Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). In addition to these factors, social identity theory can also provide a basis for understanding how the demographic composition of the workplace can affect work experiences and outcomes for women.

According to social identity theory, individuals tend to classify themselves and others on the basis of overt demographic attributes such as gender and race (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Demographically similar individuals classify themselves as the in-group, while dissimilar individuals are classified as the out-group. People tend to show favoritism towards in-group members and show bias towards out-group members (e.g., Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Joshi, Liao, & Jackson, 2006; Tafel & Turner, 1986, etc.). The degree of in-group/out-group effects appears to be contingent on the relative sizes and implicit statuses of the involved groups (Joshi et al., 2006). Since White men have traditionally dominated work environments, especially leadership positions, they are placed in the majority (in-group) category, while women

are placed in the minority (out-group) category. Considering in-group members show favoritism towards similar individuals, and White men are members of the in-group, based on the social identity theory, White men tend to show favoritism towards other White men more so than to women and ethnic minorities in the workplace. These effects can be seen in various situations such as (1) “old-boys” networks, where women and ethnic minorities are often times excluded from informal networking activities (Catalyst, 2004), (2) access to resources, where out-group members often receive less resources in the workplace than in-group members (Tajfel, 1982), (3) performance evaluations, where ethnic minorities and women score lower on job performance evaluations than White men (Greenhaus, Pasarsuraman, & Wormely, 1990), and (4) mentoring relationships where women and minorities have more difficulties forming mentoring relationships than men (Thomas, Hu, Gewin, Bingham, & Yanchus, 2005; Ragins et al., 1998). All of these examples are barriers that women face in the workplace that may affect their work experiences and career advancement.

Thus, in order to expand the literature on women’s career development, it is important to understand how these barriers affect their overall workplace experiences. As previously stated, most research conducted on women’s experiences in the workplace has focused exclusively on White middle class women, disregarding differences based on racial and ethnic background. Although White women do experience similar barriers to advancement in the workplace, considering they are members of the dominant ethnic group they are still beneficiaries of White privilege. Peggy McIntosh (1993) defines White privilege as “an invisible weightless knapsack of special privileges” (p.31), where the invisibility of privilege strengthens and maintains the power of the advantaged group. The characteristics of the privileged group defines what is normal, therefore since Whites are viewed as the norm in society, White women benefit from

these unearned privileges simply because they are White. As one Black female executive reflects on her corporate work experience, "...White men generally rule, and they are going to feel more comfortable with White women, because in them they see reflections of their mothers, sisters, and daughters" (Golden, 2002, p. 192). This telling statement supports the concept that White women share a distinguishing similarity with White males therefore, the system as a whole works better for them than for women of color (Giscombe & Mattis, 2003).

Women of Color in the Workforce

Women of color have always played significant roles in the American workforce (Mays, 1995). In the past, women of color were often in positions (e.g., housekeeper, personal chef, etc.) that were not recognized as part of the professional labor market, however in today's society, women of color are entering America's private sector workforce in increasing numbers (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC], 2003). Presently, women of color make up 14.5% of the U.S. labor force (EEOC, 2003) and are projected to comprise of more than 15% of the labor market by 2010 (Fullerton & Toosi, 2001). Although women of color are increasingly becoming more visible in the workplace, they face many barriers that hinder their professional growth. In terms of managerial leadership, higher ranked positions tend to be segregated by race and gender such that there are very few women of color in influential leadership positions in organizations (Ibarra, 1993). While White women often refer to the *glass ceiling* blocking their career advancement, women of color often face a *concrete ceiling* which is an even harder and more challenging stumbling block to overcome (Catalyst, 2004). Thus, even though women of color are becoming more visible in organizations, they are still underrepresented at upper levels of corporate leadership (Giscombe & Mattis, 2003; Giscombe & Sims, 1998). For instance, in a study conducted by Catalyst that examined 415 of the Fortune 500 companies, women of color

held only 3% of the board seats (Catalyst, 2003). Similarly, a 2002 Catalyst study which analyzed 429 companies, found that only 1.6% of corporate officers were women of color; and in 2005, there was only 1 woman of color out of the 7 female executives in the Fortune 500 (Jones, 2005).

For those women of color who do achieve leadership status in their organization, their workplace experiences are quite different from their White female counterparts. Although women and ethnic minorities deal with similar issues in the workplace, women of color are forced to contend with additional barriers due to their double minority status. As found in Bell and Nkomo's (2001) research which focuses on the work experiences of Black and White women, the authors discovered that the obstacles to advancement perceived by Black women managers were different both in degree and kind from the obstacles perceived by White women managers. Women of color, because they are both a gender and ethnic minority, are subjected to a particular form of sexism shaped by racism and racial stereotyping (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Thus, in addition to having to deal with traditional gender stereotypes of women, women of color have to deal with racial/ethnic stereotypes, which put them at more of a disadvantage than professional White women. Oftentimes women of color are the first of their race/ethnicity or gender to hold an upper management position in an organization and since there are so few, they lack role models and the necessary support systems to succeed in the workplace (Bell, 1990). In a study which examined responses from women of color managers and professionals, researchers found that these women did not have an influential mentor and lacked informal networking opportunities, ethnic role models, and high visibility assignments (Catalyst, 2003). Women of color, specifically Black women, reported that their authority and credibility are frequently questioned and they are not supported by their peers and upper management (Catalyst, 2004). In

their research which focused on minorities in the workplace, Heilman and Block (1992) found that minorities and women who are in nontraditional roles (i.e., leadership positions) are perceived by their organization as being in that role as a result of affirmative action. Essentially, they are seen as being incompetent by their co-workers. Therefore, although women face similar barriers to advancement in the workplace, there are distinct differences in their experiences based on ethnic group membership.

Outsider Within and Women of Color's Experiences

Women of color's experiences in the workplace can be further understood by examining the *outsider within* literature. Although this body of literature mainly focuses on Black women's experiences in society, the term describes social locations occupied by groups of unequal power (Collins, 1999) and thus can be applied to all women of color.

Collins (1986) describes Black women as *outsiders within* because of their marginality in society and in the workplace. Although Black women work closely with mainstream societal members (i.e., White males) their interests, experiences, preferences, and concerns are often excluded from organizational activities (Proudford & Thomas, 1999). For instance, in a study which examined the work experiences of female firefighters, the researchers found that although White and Black women faced similar exclusionary experiences in the workplace such as insufficient instruction, silence, lack of support, stereotyping, hostility, and hyper-supervision, Black women faced these forms of exclusion at greater levels than their White female counterparts (Yoder & Berendsen, 2001). Therefore, this study suggests that being a member of multiple marginalized groups heightens one's *outsider within* experience.

Furthermore, having an *outsider within* status can also be stressful and at times lonely. For instance, according to Collins (1986), the *outsider within* status for Black women scholars

can be a source of frustration. She explains that in an attempt to minimize the differences between the African American culture and the expectations of social institutions, some Black women balance these two entities by dichotomizing their behavior, becoming two different people. Over time, balancing these two lives can become stressful. Some Black women may reject their African American culture and work against their own best interests by enforcing the dominant group's thought. This can be further explained by Bell's (1990) research on the bicultural experiences of Black women. In her study, Bell (1990) identified how Black women use compartmentalization to navigate their bicultural life experiences where they maintain their connectedness to their cultural roots without totally assimilating into the White culture, allowing them to enter White society. Although this may sound like a positive way to balance both lives, compartmentalization can increase the differences between Black and White culture which may force some Black women to choose one of the cultures over the other, resulting in increased psychological strain and loneliness. Even though the *outsider within* position can be a source of creativity and does not always serve as a disadvantage (Collins, 1990; Thomas, Mack, Williams, & Perkins, 1999), there are obvious negative consequences to its status. Hence, the *outsider within* literature provides a basis for understanding the experiences of women of color in the workplace.

Women's Career Development Research Limitations

Although research focused on women's careers and experiences has increased, there are several significant limitations to the current literature. One major limitation to past studies is that researchers tend to focus on the differences between women and men in regards to the workplace without analyzing the differences between ethnic groups of women. Thus, women's career development literature relies on the assumption that the experiences of White women represent

the experiences of all women. Nkomo (1992) calls this error the *faulty generalization error*, where the majority group is viewed as the norm or the ideal and as a result, their experiences are generalized to all people. The major concern with this error is that the professional and personal profiles of White women are extremely different from that of women of color, thus researchers need to be cognizant of these differences and begin to take race/ethnicity into account when examining women's career development and experiences.

Another key limitation to women's career development literature is that most research that has considered racial differences has focused mainly on comparisons between White and Black women. Since Black women have more positions in corporate America than other women of color, they are studied more in the organizational fields (Giscombe & Mattis, 2003). However, this limited comparison does research a disservice for two reasons (1) career development literature on other women of color groups are being disregarded and (2) racial and ethnic groups are usually always compared to Whites, which reinforces Whites as dominant. Researchers must move beyond the traditional Black/White comparisons and look at the experiences of all women to create a more holistic and realistic perception of women's organizational experiences.

Lastly, researchers must begin examining not just racial/ethnic differences, but differences within an ethnic group. Ethnic identity is rarely examined in the workplace and it is important for researchers to take into account one's ethnic identity development in regards to their experiences in the workplace (Thomas, Phillips, & Brown, 1998). Not all members of an ethnic group have the same experience; individual differences do exist. Consequently, in order to improve working conditions for all women, researchers must investigate how these factors affect women's experiences and development in the workplace.

For this reason, the current research will address the previously mentioned limitations in women's career development literature by investigating (1) ethnic differences amongst women and (2) ethnic identity development differences amongst women of the same ethnic group as it relates to their work experiences and career outcomes. The present study will combine the social identity theory and *outsider within* literature to explain women's experiences in the workplace. The combination of these two bodies of literature will hopefully provide a better understanding of women's unique experiences in the workplace.

CHAPTER 2

CURRENT STUDY

Organizational Experiences

The first relationship shown in Figure 1 describes an association between ethnicity and a series of organizational experiences (i.e., mentorship, supervisory support, and job discretion). Research has shown that these experiences are important factors in the success of women in organizations (Catalyst, 2001) and are important in predicting the relationship between race/ethnicity and organizational experiences (Greenhaus et al., 1990). Although past studies have analyzed the relationship between organizational experiences and race (e.g., Greenhaus et al., 1990; Igbaria & Wormley, 1992), very few studies have examined this relationship amongst women exclusively. Furthermore, most studies have only examined one organizational experience in its relation to race (e.g., mentoring and race, supervisory support, and race, etc.) instead of analyzing a combination of organizational experiences that have been shown to affect women's success in the workplace. Therefore, one of the goals of this study was to provide a more complete understanding of the effects of ethnicity on women's organizational experiences.

Ethnicity and Organizational Experiences

Mentoring has been traditionally defined as the interpersonal exchange between a senior experienced colleague (mentor) and a less experienced junior colleague (protégé) in which the mentor provides the protégé with support, direction, guidance, and feedback regarding career plans, advancement, and development (Allen et al., 1997). The importance of mentoring has been documented in many studies (Dreher & Cox, 1996; Ragins et al., 1998) showing that a

positive mentoring relationship may provide many forms of career and psychological support for the protégé (Kram, 1985) such as higher career and job satisfaction, lower intentions to quit, greater compensation, and increased organizational commitment (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, & Lima, 2004; Dreher & Ash, 1990; Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000).

While mentors are important for everyone, they are extremely important for women and ethnic minorities who are attempting to break through systemic organizational barriers (Ragins et al., 1998). Having an influential male mentor, specifically a White male mentor who is established in organizational networks, can sponsor their female protégés into senior management, male dominated environments (Dreher & Cox, 1996). Although having an influential mentor is an important factor in the advancement of one's career, women have a more difficult time finding a mentor than men for various reasons which include (1) the potential for the relationship between the male mentor and female protégé to be misinterpreted as an intimate relationship (Ragins et al., 1998), (2) women's lack of access to informal networks which could limit their potential for initiating mentoring relationships, and (3) a lessened payback potential (Cox, 1994) for women due to child rearing pressure, perceived incompetence, or less commitment to the organization (Thomas, 2005).

Even though finding a mentor can be difficult for White women, it can be even more difficult for women of color due to their double minority status. People tend to mentor individuals who are similar to themselves, which puts women of color at a disadvantage when seeking influential mentors (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). According to the social identity theory of in-groups and out-groups, mentorship theory suggests that greater benefits are apt to be realized within same gender vs. cross gender mentor relationships; the same can be held for race (Ragins & McFarlin, 1990). Considering the fact that in most organizations influential leaders

are usually White males, and mentors are more likely to select protégés that are similar to themselves (Thomas, 1990), White women are likely to have more access to influential mentors than women of color. Considering, one of the top four career barriers for women of color in the workplace is not having an influential mentor or sponsor (Catalyst, 2001) it may be even more difficult for them, especially Black women, to form mentoring relationships with White men because of the racial taboos surrounding the association (Thomas, 1990). Namely, the shared history between White men as slave master engaging in consensual and oftentimes non-consensual sex with their Black female slaves, still effects present day relations between these two groups. Therefore, Black women and White men continue to be apprehensive about entering mentoring relationships with each other because of how it may be perceived by others.

In addition to mentoring relationships, individuals' careers may be enriched by supervisory support. Executives and top leaders that visibly support diversity initiatives such as the development of women may in fact help professional women advance in organizations. Support such as guidance, information, performance feedback, and challenging work assignments can promote career development (Greenhaus et al., 1990). In regards to ethnicity, there has been some evidence revealing that ethnicity may play a factor in the level of support given to an individual. For instance, as previously stated in the review of social identity theory, access to resources is affected by in-group/out-group status. Supervisors can provide or withhold access to resources that could potentially promote or hinder the performance of their subordinates (Murray, 1998). They can also influence the performance of subordinates through work assignments, giving high visibility assignments to some and not to others. In support of this theory, Catalyst (2001) researchers found that an additional barrier of success for women of color was lack of high visibility assignments. Since supervisors can intentionally and

unintentionally give support to in-group members and women of color usually hold dual out-group status, their ethnic and gender membership may affect their level of supervisory support.

Lastly, within the management research literature, there is evidence which suggests that women are placed in leadership positions that are quite different from their male counterparts (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). For instance, women professionals tend to be over-represented in “support” positions in human resource development, training, personnel, and marketing rather than positions in critical operations that could impact the organization (Vinnicombe, 2000). Often times when women are put in leadership positions, their titles come with little power or vertical mobility; opposite of the clout positions which Catalyst defines as positions with job discretion and high visibility. Kanter (1979) identified the amount of discretion a job occupant possessed was a critical indicator of their potential to have power in an organization and proposed that power differentials are one aspect of institutional racism in organizations. Based on the social identity theory, ethnic minorities may in fact have less job discretion due to their out-group status with their supervisors. For instance, studies have shown that Black professionals have experienced less job discretion and autonomy in their organizations than White professionals (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Igbaria & Wormely, 1992). Since most positions of power in organizations are occupied by Whites, as a result, women of color may be at a disadvantage when it comes to obtaining power positions. Consequently, taking into account the research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and organizational experiences, the following hypothesis was offered:

Hypothesis 1: There will be a direct relationship between participant’s ethnicity/race and organizational experiences, where women of color will

experience more negative organizational experiences (i.e., less mentorship, supervisory support, and job discretion) than White women.

Perceived Discrimination

Figure 1 also proposed a relationship between ethnicity and perceived discrimination, with ethnic identity moderating the relationship. For the purpose of this study, the perceived discrimination variable included an examination of perceived organizational barriers, stereotypes, lack of credibility, exclusionary practices, and lack of fit to the organization. Although past studies have investigated the relationship between race and perceived discrimination, most studies have examined Black/White differences (Bowman, 1991), majority/minority differences (Major et al., 2002), or gender differences (Gutek, Cohen, & Tsui, 1996), very few studies have examined the effects of specific ethnic group membership and ethnic identity in relation to perceived discrimination amongst women. This research is one of the first studies to investigate ethnic identity and racial group differences of women's perceptions of discrimination in the workplace.

Ethnicity and Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination is a pervasive phenomenon in the lives of many women and ethnic minorities. It can take the form of blatant and/or subtle behaviors that permeate the daily lives of individuals. Aspects of discrimination such as stereotypes, questioning of authority, exclusionary practices, and lack of fit in the workplace are important in regards to women's organizational experiences. As stated previously, organizations were designed to benefit White males (Maier, 1997; Ohlott, Ruderman, & McCauley, 1994) therefore women, especially women of color, are constantly forced to cross-over and breakdown barriers to achieve success in the workplace. Considering, most leadership and professional positions in organizations have been held by

White males, White male behavior is unconsciously accepted as the norm in which all employees especially leaders aspire to (Maier, 1997). Therefore, many people, women included, may hold expectations about the “appropriateness” of different occupational roles for women. Thus, gender stereotypes are one of the barriers women have to overcome in order to advance in the workplace.

In addition to gender stereotypes, women of color also face negative racial/ethnic stereotypes that hamper their professional goals, relationships, and experiences. Ethnic stereotypes, which stem from a historical context, as well as various contemporary media arenas, highly influence peoples’ perceptions of women of color. These misconceptions and misperceptions can negatively affect women of color’s relationships with others in the workplace, potentially impacting their work experiences and outcomes.

Furthermore, once women enter organizations, they are given less challenging assignments and are less often offered positions that will put them on the fast track. Women usually get jobs that are less secure, less intrinsically rewarding, and frequently below their skill and knowledge level (Thomas, 2004; Ragins et al., 1998). Even in high-ranking positions, women are given less supplies, money, access, resources needed to meet their goals, authority to make decisions, and support in their decisions (Lyness & Thompson, 1997). Therefore, this research suggests that even when women are highly educated and capable of their positions their credibility and authority is still questioned by others. Because of their dual minority status, women of color face these same barriers at a greater degree than their White counterparts (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Oftentimes, women of color are perceived as unqualified affirmative action hires and thus their authority and credibility are often questioned by their peers (Myers, 2002).

Since research has shown that women perceive more discrimination against their group than men perceive against their group (Gutek et al., 1996) and ethnic minorities, because of socio-economic disparities in contrast to Whites, report perceiving more ethnic and racial discrimination than Whites (Major et al., 2002), one would assume that women of color would perceive more discrimination than both men and White women. There are few studies that have specifically investigated the impact of being both an ethnic and gender minority on an individual's perception of discrimination in the workplace. One line of research that does examine this dual identity is the double jeopardy theory.

The double jeopardy theory along with the *outsider within*, literature suggests that women of color would perceive the greatest amount of discrimination compared to White women, White men, and men of color, due to their double minority status. Since they belong to two lower status groups, they would be targets of both gender and ethnic discrimination, which would ultimately put them at a greater disadvantage than individuals who are members of only one stigmatized group (Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002). The double jeopardy theory and *outsider within* literature assumes that perceptions of ethnic and gender discrimination each make a significant contribution to an individual's expectation or perception of discrimination, especially regarding the workplace. To support this hypothesis, Berdahl & Moore (2006) conducted the first reported comparative study to investigate individuals experience with harassment in the workplace. The results of their study showed that women of color experienced more harassment in the workplace compared to minority/majority men and majority women, supporting the double jeopardy theory. Although this study is a great beginning to women's career development research, it ignores the differences amongst women of color. By including all women of color in one category assumes that they all have the same experience with

discrimination however, depending on their ethnic group membership, this may not be the case. Further research needs to be conducted to examine differences among women of color.

Additionally, according to the ethnic-prominence hypothesis (Levin et al., 2002), women of color may in fact focus more on their ethnicity than on their gender when perceiving unjust treatment due to the role of ethnicity as a historical and contemporary basis of discrimination in America (Levin, et al., 2002). Since women are a numerical majority and ethnic minorities represent a smaller portion of the total population, cognitive theorists have reported that people tend to think of themselves in terms of social group memberships that are numerical minorities rather than majorities (McGuire & McGuire, 1988). Thus, the ethnic-prominence hypothesis suggests that, women of color are more connected to their ethnic group membership than their gender group membership and when thinking about discrimination will focus more on race and ethnicity rather than gender discrimination. Therefore, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypothesis 2: There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity/race and perceived discrimination, where women of color will perceive more discrimination in the workplace than White women.

Hypothesis 3: Women of color will report perceiving more discrimination based on ethnicity/race, while White women will report perceiving more discrimination based on gender.

Moderation Effects of Ethnic Identity. As defined by Rotheram and Phinney (1987), ethnic identity refers to “one’s sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one’s thinking, perception, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership” (p.13). More specifically, ethnic identity development focuses on the extent an individual explores the meaning of race and ethnicity and the degree of commitment one has towards his or her

particular ethnic group. Ethnic identity development consists of an individual's movement toward a highly developed, conscious, and healthy identification with their own cultural values and beliefs (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). In her research on ethnic identity, Phinney (1990) proposes that most ethnic groups must resolve two basic conflicts as a result of their membership in a non-dominant group. First, ethnic minority group members must resolve stereotypes and prejudicial treatment of the White population toward ethnic minorities that could potentially threaten their self-concept (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). Second, ethnic minorities must resolve the clash of values between the non-dominant and dominant groups and the manner in which ethnic minorities manage their bicultural value system and identity (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). As stated before, ethnic minorities have to constantly balance both their ethnic identity and their White identity which sometimes causes conflict in their lives. Trying to remain connected to one's ethnic community, which is rooted in a more collective ideology while navigating White society which tends to have more individualistic goals, can be difficult for some people of color, especially those who may be at lower stages of their ethnic identity development. Therefore, being able to positively manage both worlds is an important factor to achieving a healthy ethnic identity.

In order to assess one's ethnic identity level, Phinney (1993, 1996), developed a three stage model that includes the unexamined ethnic identity, the search or moratorium status, and the achieved ethnic identity. The unexamined ethnic identity has been characterized as a stage in which one's ethnicity is unimportant to the individual. During the search or moratorium stage, the individual becomes deeply interested in learning about one's ethnic group including customs, traditions, and beliefs (Chae, Kelly, Brown, & Bolden, 2004). Once an individual enters the final stage, the achieved ethnic identity, the individual feels secure and confident about being a

member of his or her ethnic group. As stated by Phinney (1993), individuals who develop a healthy ethnic identity may feel comfortable with their identity and are proud to be a member of their ethnic group. Individuals who are at higher levels of their development have more advanced abilities to understand their context in regards to race/ethnicity and are essentially better able to understand their own situation and development as well as others.

Focusing on the relationship between ethnicity and perceived discrimination, an individuals' perception of discrimination may be affected by their ethnic identity development. For instance, some people of color may be negatively affected by perceived discrimination, whereas others may be buffered from these consequences because of their beliefs regarding the significance of race/ethnicity (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Although very few studies have investigated an individual's ethnic identity development level and their response to perceived discrimination in the workplace, some studies have found a relationship between one's racial identity development level and perceived discrimination. For instance, in regards to people of color, Watts and Carter (1991) conducted a study where they examined racial identity development as a predictor of Blacks perceptions of racism and discrimination in a predominately White organization. The researchers found that Blacks who were in their early stages of development, perceived less discrimination in the workplace compared to Blacks who were at higher stages of development. This study suggests that racial identity may account for people of color, specifically women of color's perceptions of discrimination in their organization. People who are higher in their racial identity development may tend to recognize discrimination more than those who are essentially assimilating into dominant culture and are at lower stages of their racial identity development. Considering most organizations have been historically dominated by Whites, ethnic identity development level may not affect White women's

perceptions of discrimination in the workplace because (1) Whites view their beliefs as normative (Akintunde, 1999) hence, they may fail to identify Whiteness as a racial/ethnic identity (Lucal, 1996) and (2) Whites benefit from White privilege thus, ethnic identity development may not be as salient to them as to people of color. Considering the research conducted on ethnic/racial identity development and discrimination, the following hypothesis was offered:

Hypothesis 4: Ethnic identity will moderate the relationship between ethnicity/race and perceived discrimination. Specifically, the linear relationship will be stronger for women of color than for White women who will remain unaffected across ethnic identity levels (See Figure 2).

Well-Being: Emotional Exhaustion, Self Esteem, and Physical Health

Since people spend the majority of their time at work, an individual's work environment is an extremely important factor to their physical, mental, and emotional health. The workplace can present many opportunities to experience stress and burnout (Thomas, 2005) and considering stress has been linked to serious illnesses, it is important to evaluate how women's organizational experiences affect their physical, psychological, and emotional well-being. The following section will first define well-being (i.e., emotional exhaustion, self-esteem, and physical health) as it relates to the study. Well-being will then be analyzed in regards to its relationship with organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, race, and ethnic identity.

Well-being

Emotional Exhaustion. Many people often face burnout from their jobs. Burnout refers to a prolonged response to chronic and interpersonal stressors on the job that are characterized by three distinct dimensions: *emotional exhaustion*, *depersonalization*, and *reduced personal*

accomplishment (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). *Emotional exhaustion* is the core of the burnout process and is characterized by a severe lack of energy and feeling that one's emotional resources are "used up" (Thoresen, Kaplan, Barsky, Warren, & de Chermont, 2003). People who experience job burnout may have hostile interactions with others and have feelings of being irritable, frustrated, and simply "worn out" (Maslach & Jackson, 1984).

Self-Esteem. As defined by Rosenberg (1965), self-esteem refers to feelings of general worth and self-confidence. Specifically, self-esteem is described as a favorable or unfavorable attitude toward the self. It is generally considered the evaluative component of the self-concept, a broader representation of the self that includes cognitive and behavioral aspects as well as evaluative ones (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991). There has been a well established relationship between self-esteem and psychological well-being such as depression, stress, social anxiety, and loneliness (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991) where an individual who has lower self-esteem may have increased stress, depressive symptoms, social anxiety, and feelings of loneliness.

Physical Health. Professional working women, especially those in high management positions, are more likely to fall victim to a variety of physical diseases and disorders such as ulcers, headaches, stomach disorders, and high blood pressure (Nelson & Quick, 1985). Although the exact mechanisms are not clearly understood, the negative emotional and cognitive effects of stress and emotional exhaustion may alter the immune response and increase susceptibility to disease (Cohen & Herbert, 1996; Cohen, Tyrrell, & Smith, 1991). Furthermore, stress and emotional exhaustion may prompt changes in health behavior (e.g., increase smoking, eating, and/or alcohol consumption, etc.) that could increase one's risk of serious disease such as coronary heart disease (Cooper & Marshall, 1976). One study conducted by the National Public Health Survey, found that high work stress in women was associated with significantly high odds

of a new diagnosis of chronic bronchitis, emphysema, ulcers, back problems, and arthritis. Moreover, self-esteem can also affect one's anxiety and stress level which can have negative effects on cardiac health issues (Crocker & Park, 2004).

Organizational Experiences and Well-Being

Factors such as social support, supervisor's support, and job discretion have all been linked to increased burnout, stress, feelings of depression, and decreased self-esteem amongst individuals (Burke, Shearer, & Deszca, 1984; Davis-Sacks, Jayartne, & Chess, 1985; Ganster, Schaubroeck, Sime, & Mayes, 1990). Although these studies have examined the relationship between organizational experiences and well-being, there are very few studies that have examined organizational factors such as mentorship, supervisory support, and job discretion as it relates to emotional exhaustion, self esteem, and physical health. Most studies that do examine the relationship between organizational experiences and well-being investigate certain work group occupations (e.g., social workers, mental health workers, etc.) instead of examining gender or racial/ethnic group differences. For instance, a study conducted by Gilbreath and Benson (2004) found that a supervisor's behavior made significant contributions to the prediction of employee burnout, where employees who had more supportive supervisors experienced less burnout. In addition, research has shown that positive mentoring relationships and job autonomy can help increase an individual's self-esteem in the workplace (Kram, 1985). Therefore, considering organizational experiences effect burnout, and stress is associated with one's physical health, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypotheses 5A-C: There will be a direct relationship between organizational experiences and well-being, where women who experience more positive organizational experiences (i.e., more mentorship, supervisory support, and

job discretion) will report having higher levels of self-esteem, lower feelings of emotional exhaustion, and better physical health.

Perceived Discrimination and Well-Being

A woman's perception of discrimination may have a severe impact on her psychological, emotional, and physical well-being. In addition to normal job stress that both men and women experience in the workplace, professional working women, especially those who compete in male-dominated environments, experience more stress than men due to unique sources of stress which include discrimination, stereotyping and isolation (Nelson & Quick, 1985). As noted earlier, women face gender discrimination in several aspects such as career advancement, exclusionary practices, and salary earnings (Catalyst, 2000; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, & Wilkins, 1995; Rubin, 1984). In addition to gender discrimination, women of color also face racial discrimination due to being a member of both a racial/ethnic and gender minority group. In regards to well-being, one study found that women and ethnic minorities' perception of inclusion was the most significant variable in predicting well-being (Barak & Levin, 2002) and studies have shown that the experience of discrimination serves as a stressor for members of the stigmatized group (Cassidy, Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002). Moreover, research has revealed that perceived discrimination is related to high levels of psychological distress such as lower levels of self esteem and higher levels of stress (e.g., Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Corning, 2002; Landrine, Klonoff, Gibbs, Manning, & Lund, 1995).

Additionally, women are forced to deal with gender stereotypes, while women of color deal with both racial and gender stereotypes. These stereotypes may affect how women are viewed in the workplace by others and could potentially create stressors in the workplace since

women have to constantly overcome these barriers when attempting to advance in the workplace. Furthermore, due to stereotypes and discrimination, women's credibility and authority is often questioned when in leadership roles even when they are overqualified (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). One study which examined the relationship between perceived over-qualification and psychological well-being in women found that the more a woman felt or believed she was over qualified for a position; the greater psychological distress was experienced by the individual (Johnson & Johnson, 1996). Thus, considering stress and psychological distress can affect other areas of well-being (i.e., physical health and self-esteem) perceived discrimination may severely impact a woman's overall well-being. Considering these reasons, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypotheses 6A-C: There will be a direct relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being, where women who experience less perceived discrimination will have lower feelings of emotional exhaustion, higher levels of self-esteem, and better physical health.

Ethnicity and Well-Being

Although researchers have investigated well-being as it relates to women, most studies have not focused on ethnic differences amongst women in regards to well-being and the workplace. Since studies have shown that professional working women experience more stress and depression than men (Hall & Hall, 1980; Haynes & Feinleib, 1980) and ethnic minorities tend to experience additional stressors because of their racial/ethnic background (Jackson et al., 1996; James, Lovato, & Khoo, 1994; Salgado de Snyder, 1987), it is assumed that women of color would experience more stress and depressive symptoms than White women. Additionally, women of color are forced to balance both their ethnic and White professional identity in the

workplace (i.e., bicultural identity); this balancing act alone can serve as a unique source of stress for women of color (Bell, 1990; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Although most research that has investigated the effects of race on self-esteem have used adolescent populations and have found mixed results on whether race directly effects one's level of self-esteem (Twenge & Crocker, 2002), it is still important to examine whether a woman's ethnic group membership effects self-esteem in the workplace. Since women of color are often times isolated in the workplace and are perceived as lacking credibility by their peers (Bell & Nkomo, 2001) it is assumed that they may experience lower levels of self-esteem than White women. Considering the fact that women of color are also ethnic minority members they encounter a unique source of stress from being members of two marginalized groups, experiencing both racism and sexism.

A small but growing body of literature suggests that there is a relationship between one's race/ethnicity and physical well-being (Contrada, et al., 2000). Most of the research has focused on Black Americans whose rates of physical disease exceed those of White Americans (Williams, Spencer, & Jackson, 1999). One study conducted by Krieger and Sydney (1996) found that higher blood pressure among Black Americans compared to Whites could be partially explained by their experience with discrimination and their coping responses to mistreatment. Considering stress, especially unique stressors from being a member of an ethnic minority group, affects one's physical health, being a woman of color may directly affect one's well-being. Therefore, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypotheses 7A-C: There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity/race and well-being, where women of color will experience higher feelings of emotional exhaustion, lower levels of self-esteem, and worse physical health than White women.

Moderating Effect of Ethnic Identity. There have been several studies that have shown that people of color's racial or ethnic identity developmental level affects their psychological and emotional well-being. Since White women are members of the dominant ethnic group and often times do not see themselves as members of an ethnic group (Lucal, 1996), their ethnic identity development may not strongly affect their well-being. However in regards to people of color, some authors have suggested that Blacks who have healthy and highly developed racial identities are better able to recognize racism and mistreatment and as a result, will be better able to cope with psychological and emotional stressors than Blacks who are at lower levels of their racial identity (Butler, 1975; Pyant & Yanico, 1991; Smith, 1985). In support of this theory, a study conducted by Parham and Helms (1985a, 1985b), found that earlier stages of racial identity development were negatively related to self-esteem and self-actualization and positively related to feelings of inferiority and anxiety (Parham & Helms, 1985b). Moreover, as previously stated, a strong identification with one's racial or ethnic group may in fact serve as a buffer against perceived discrimination, prejudice, and racism which ultimately affect's ones well-being (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Therefore, these studies suggest that positive ethnic identity may in fact be associated with positive psychological health outcomes and since psychological health is associated with one's physical health, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypothesis 8A-C: Ethnic identity will moderate the relationship between ethnicity/race and well-being. Specifically, the linear relationship will be stronger for women of color than for White women who will remain unaffected across ethnic identity levels (See Figure 3).

Organizational Experiences and Perceived Discrimination as Mediators. Although ethnicity may have a direct effect on an individual's well-being, it may also have an indirect

effect on well-being through organizational experiences and perceived discrimination. For instance, studies have shown that supervisory support in the workplace can reduce the symptoms of burnout and increase one's emotional well-being (Gilbreath & Benson, 2004) however, women of color experience less support in the workplace than their White counterparts (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Furthermore, researchers have documented that mentoring can in fact help increase a protégé's self-esteem in the workplace (Kram, 1985), but considering women of color have a more difficult time developing mentoring relationships in the workplace (Catalyst, 2001; Thomas, 1990), they may in fact experience lower self-esteem due to their double minority status. Lastly, ethnic minorities tend to experience less discretion in their jobs (Greenhaus et al., 1990) which may negatively impact their stress and self-esteem levels.

Furthermore, perceptions of discrimination may also mediate the relationship between ethnicity and well-being. Perceived prejudice and discrimination in the workplace has been found to be a unique stressor for minority workers (James et al., 1994) and has been associated with deleterious mental and psychological health outcomes (Allison, 1998; Clark et al., 1999). Consistent with these findings, African Americans and Hispanics experiences with discrimination are associated with feelings of depression, sadness, and anger (Jackson et al., 1996; Salgado de Snyder, 1987). Discrimination has also been recognized as a psychological stressor and a possible risk factor for physical illness (Contrada et al., 2000). Thus, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypotheses 9A-C: Organizational experiences will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity/race and well-being.

Hypotheses 10A-C: Perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity/race and well-being.

Organizational Attachment

As defined by Tsui, Egan & O'Reilly (1992), organizational attachment “is an individual’s psychological and behavioral involvement in a social group or unit in which he or she is a member” (p. 554). The present research examines organizational attachment, which consist of job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and organizational commitment. Job satisfaction can be defined as the degree to which employees have positive or pleasurable affective orientations toward their employment (Barak & Levin, 2002; Thoresen et al., 2003). Turnover intentions, refers to an employee’s desire or willingness to leave an organization (Thoresen et al., 2003). Lastly, the term organizational commitment has been defined in many ways and in terms of multiple dimensions such as affective, normative, and continuance commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). However, for the purpose of this study, organizational commitment is defined as affective commitment which is an “employee’s emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization” (Meyer & Allen, 1991, p. 67). These three outcomes, which make up the variable organizational attachment, will be analyzed in regards to their relationship with well-being, organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and ethnicity.

Well-Being and Organizational Attachment

Research focusing on career outcomes has found that there is a relationship between well-being and organizational attachment (i.e., job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and organizational commitment). In regards to job satisfaction, studies have found that job satisfaction is a direct outcome of burnout, where people who experience more burnout or occupational stress are more dissatisfied in their jobs (DeFrank & Ivancevich, 1998; Dejong & Schaufeli, 1998; Low, Cravens, Grant, & Moncrief, 2001; Spear et al., 2004). Furthermore, since

stress has been recognized as a predictor of one's well-being (Barak & Levin, 2002) it is assumed that an individual's well-being could potentially affect one's level of job satisfaction.

Empirical evidence regarding the relationship between burnout, organizational commitment, and turnover intentions is also abundant (Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003; Huang, Chuang, & Lin, 2003; Lee & Ashforth, 1996). Studies have shown that employees who report having higher levels of burnout are more likely to have higher intentions of quitting their jobs (Jackson, Schwab, Schuler, 1986; Jackson & Maslach, 1982; Leiter & Maslach, 1988). For instance, in a meta-analytic review, researchers discovered that emotional exhaustion and turnover intentions were correlated at .44 (Lee & Ashforth, 1996), suggesting that an individual who is emotionally exhausted is more likely to have intentions of quitting their jobs compared to someone who has lower levels of emotional exhaustion. Furthermore, Wright and Cropanzano (1998) found that emotional exhaustion was directly related to actual turnover in organizations and lower levels of organizational commitment. Considering the fact that emotional exhaustion and stress is related to self-esteem and physical health (Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991; Crocker & Park, 2004), if an individual is facing emotional exhaustion in their jobs and emotional exhaustion affects job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and organizational commitment, it is assumed that one's self-esteem and physical health would also affect an individual's attachment to their organization. Therefore, the following hypotheses were offered:

Hypothesis 11A-C: There will be a direct relationship between well-being and organizational attachment, where women who have more positive well-being (i.e., lower levels of burnout, higher levels of self esteem, and better physical health) will have increased levels of organizational

attachment (i.e., increase job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and lower turnover intentions).

Organizational Experiences and Organizational Attachment

In addition to well-being, organizational experiences may also affect one's organizational attachment. Focusing on job satisfaction, positive and effective mentoring relationships have been related to job satisfaction and success (Collins, Kamya & Tourse, 1997). The theory and research on job satisfaction clearly reveals that less rewarding work conditions and lack of support from supervisors and co-workers generate dissatisfied employees (Barak & Levin, 2002; Mueller & Wallace, 1996). Research examining job discretion has shown that women who were in the minority in their work department or who had less job discretion in their position were less likely to be satisfied in their careers than men (Long, 1998; Tsui, Egan, & Xin, 1995). These studies suggest that less supervisory support, job discretion, and positive mentoring relationships produce employees who are dissatisfied with their jobs.

Organizational experiences have also been associated with organizational commitment and employee turnover. Researchers have reported that positive and effective mentoring relationships were positively related to affective organizational commitment and negatively related to turnover intentions (Blancero & Del Campo, 2005; Payne & Huffman, 2005). Furthermore, one study conducted by Kidd and Smewing (2001), which investigated the relationship between supervisory support activities and employee's career and organizational commitment, found that employees who perceived their supervisors to engage in feedback and goal setting reported feeling more committed to their organization. Moreover, research has shown that perceived organizational support, resulting from perceived supervisory support, strengthened employees' obligation to help the organization. Employees willingness to help their

organization, led to increasing their commitment to the organization and decreasing employee turnover intentions (Eisenberger, Armeli, Rexwinkel, Lynch, & Rhoades, 2001; Shore & Shore, 1995). Lastly on the topic of job discretion, one study found that employees who believed that their supervisors gave them more authority to do their jobs were more committed to the organization than employees who felt they had less job discretion (Kidd & Smewing, 2001). As stated before, the majority of research studies, although they do provide a basis for understanding the relationship between organizational experiences and organizational attachment, do not thoroughly examine the role gender and/or race plays in the proposed relationship. Therefore, this study aimed to address those issues with the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 12: There will be a direct relationship between organizational experiences and organizational attachment, where women who have more positive organizational experiences (i.e., more mentorship, supervisory support, and job discretion) will have increased levels of organizational attachment (i.e., increase job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and lower turnover intentions).

Perceived Discrimination and Organizational Attachment

Perceived discrimination including, lack of fit and racial/gender stereotypes, have all been studied in regards to its association with one's job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and commitment. Although researchers have investigated certain aspects of perceived discrimination, they have not fully analyzed a comprehensive list of factors that may affect organizational attachment as it relates to women specifically. Therefore, considering the fact that women and minorities do face discrimination and prejudice in the workplace because of their group

membership(s), it is important to investigate how their perceptions affect their feelings of organizational attachment.

Job satisfaction, turnover intentions, and organizational commitment are critical components of employee attitudes that are likely to be affected by perceived discrimination. Sanchez and Brock (1996) examined the effects of perceived discrimination on work outcomes among Latino employees and found that perceived discrimination contributed to increased work tension, and decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Similarly, a study conducted by Ensher, Grant-Vallone, and Donaldson (2001), found that perceived supervisor discrimination was a significant predictor of women and minorities level of organizational commitment and job satisfaction. Specifically, participants who reported perceiving higher levels of organizational discrimination reported less organizational commitment and less job satisfaction. Although there have been few studies that have examined the direct relationship between perceived discrimination and employee's turnover intentions, one study found that the majority of participants who were dissatisfied with their jobs because of perceptions of discrimination did not intend to remain in their jobs (Moyes, Williams, & Quigley, 2000). Furthermore, due to the fact that women, especially those who work in male dominated workforces, are forced to contend with discriminatory customs (e.g., stereotypes, exclusion, etc.) those practices may in fact affect their job attitudes towards their career and organization. Therefore, the following hypothesis was offered:

Hypothesis 13: There will be a direct relationship between perceived discrimination and organizational attachment, where women who perceive more discrimination will have lower levels of organizational attachment

(i.e., lower levels of career satisfaction, organizational commitment, and higher turnover intentions).

Ethnicity and Organizational Attachment

Many studies have shown that race has a direct effect on career outcomes (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Powell & Butterfield, 1997). Researchers have revealed how one's racial/ethnic group membership can work as a disadvantage in the workplace if the individual is a member of a minority group. For instance, in the Greenhaus et al. (1990) study, researchers found that race had direct effects on career plateau status and career satisfaction, where the Black participants were more likely to have plateaued in their careers and were more dissatisfied with their careers than Whites. Similarly, in a study which examined the career experiences of recent MBA graduates, Cox and Nkomo (1991) found that race effected career satisfaction and job involvement, where Black MBAs had more negative career outcomes than Whites. Although both of these studies focus on racial differences in regards to organizational attachment, they do not examine how being a member of both a racial/ethnic and gender minority group affects the relationship. By just examining Blacks or women of color as one group assumes that they all have the same experiences, when in fact women of color may have very different experiences in regards to organizational attachment because of their dual minority status.

In addition, there have also been studies that have examined race in group composition (e.g., supervisor-employee dyad, work teams, etc.) and it's effects on employees' turnover intentions and job satisfaction (e.g., Jones & Harter, 2005; Tsui et al., 1992; Zatzick, Elvira, & Cohen, 2003). However, there have been very few studies that have examined the direct relationship between one's race/ethnicity and their intent to leave their position and even less studies that have examined one's dual minority status and turnover intentions. Considering, there

is a positive relationship between job satisfaction and intent to stay in an organization (Koch & Steers, 1978; Mobley, 1977) and ethnic minorities and women tend to be less satisfied in their jobs compared to Whites, it is assumed that one's race would also directly affect their intent to quit. In one study that examined race effects on employees' turnover intentions in the IT workforce, the researchers found that turnover intentions of underrepresented minorities was significantly higher than Whites and Asian Americans (Hoonakker, Carayon, & Schoepke, 2005). One reason there were no differences found between Whites and Asian Americans is because in the IT fields, Asian Americans are over-represented, which gives them majority (in-group) status in this particular area. The study also found that although underrepresented minorities reported having higher turnover intentions, the best predictor of turnover intentions was job satisfaction (Hoonakker et al., 2005).

Lastly focusing on commitment, there have been several studies that have shown mixed results concerning the effects of race/ethnicity on organizational attachment and commitment (e.g., Kashefi, 2004; Sommers & Birnbaum, 2001). Even though there are mixed results, a number of research studies have shown a positive relationship between employee's organizational commitment and turnover intentions (e.g., Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Scaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Therefore, taking into account that ethnic minorities are usually less satisfied with their jobs and job satisfaction positively affects one's intentions to stay in a job, one may assume that race may also directly affect one's organizational commitment or attachment to their job or career however, this may not always be the case. For instance, if a Black woman worked in a predominately Black organization or work group, she may not feel some of the negative effects of her race/ethnicity that she may experience in a predominately White organization or workgroup. She may even feel more committed and attached to the organization if it was

predominantly Black or diverse. However, for the purpose of this study, the relationship between ethnicity and organizational attachment will be analyzed with women who work in predominately White organizations. Therefore, the following hypothesis was offered:

Hypothesis 14: There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity and organizational attachment, where women of color will have lower levels of organizational attachment (i.e., lower levels of satisfaction, higher intentions of turnover, and lower levels of organizational commitment).

Organizational Experiences, Well-Being, and Perceived Discrimination as Mediators.

The predicted relationships in this study represent linkages in a causal model that can explain ethnic differences amongst women in regards to organizational attachment. Each relationship leading to organizational attachment is mediated by the previously described variables. Although ethnicity/race has been shown to have direct effects on organizational attachment such as career satisfaction (Greenhaus et al., 1990) and turnover intentions (Hoonakker, Carayon, & Schoepke, 2005), ethnicity/race may also have an indirect effect on organizational attachment through organizational experiences, well-being, and perceived discrimination. As stated previously, one's ethnicity has been shown to have effects on organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and well-being and in turn those variables have been shown to have effects on organizational attachment. Therefore, it can be assumed that the relationship between ethnicity and organizational attachment can be affected by these three variables such that, if a woman has less positive organizational experiences, perceives more discrimination, and has lower levels of well-being she may feel less attached to her organization (i.e., lower career satisfaction, organizational commitment, and higher intentions to quit) Hence, the following hypotheses are offered:

Hypotheses 15: Organizational experiences will mediate the relationships between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.

Hypotheses 16A-C: Well-being will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.

Hypothesis 17: Perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.

Hypotheses 18: Organizational experiences and well-being will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and attachment.

Hypotheses 19: Well-being and perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.

Exploratory Proposition: Who has it worse?

White women, although they do face discrimination in the workplace, are more advantaged in the workforce than women of color due to White privilege (see McIntosh 1993). One example of White women's advantage over women of color can be seen in the pay discrimination literature. In a recent study conducted by Cocchiara, Bell, & Berry (2006) which analyzed Latinas and Black women's experiences in the workforce, researchers found that Latinas and Black women started at lower salary levels than men and White women in all levels of education and this disparity continued through the highest level of educational attainment. Therefore, even when education was held constant, Black women and Latinas were more disadvantaged in the workplace than White women. Furthermore, White women continue to hold more positions of power in organizations (Catalyst, 2000), supporting the ideal that they are more advantaged in the workplace than women of color.

Although all women face certain barriers in the workplace, women of color tend to combat additional obstacles due to their double minority status. Being both a member of a gender and racial minority group places them in an interesting position in organizations, which may affect their career experiences. Although researchers have examined racial/ethnic differences between majority and non-majority members, very few studies have examined differences between non-majority members. Most studies analyze non-majority members as one group as if they have the same experience which serves as a major limitation in the literature. Therefore, the current study addresses this limitation by proposing the general question: *Are work experiences different for women of color based on specific ethnic group membership?*

When studying women of color's experiences in the workplace, it is important to understand that they are not a homogeneous group. Of course women of color have similar work experiences and barriers to overcome on the road to advancement however, differences may exist based on racial/ethnic group membership. Therefore, the more specific question that will be addressed in this study is: *If there are differences amongst women of color, who is more advantaged in the workplace?* For instance, are Asian American women more at an advantage compared to other women of color because they are viewed as the model minority (Kawai, 2005)? Are Latina women more at a disadvantage in advancing in the workplace because they are stereotyped as being too emotional (Cocchiara et al., 2006)? Are Black women more at a disadvantage in the workplace because they are viewed as being too aggressive (Cocchiara et al., 2006)?

Based on management and social science literature, it appears that Latinas and Black women would be the most disadvantaged in the workplace compared to Asian American women. First, when discussing images or perceptions of Asian American women, Asian Americans have

been viewed as the model minority; the minority group that has achieved success in America. Although there are some negative stereotypes of Asian American women such as them being passive and lacking adequate leadership abilities (Woo & Khoo, 2006), the model minority stereotype is the most pervasive and influential myth of Asian Americans (Kawai, 2005). This perception of Asian Americans being intelligent, hard-working, and diligent, places them at an advantage over other ethnic minority groups in the workplace. For instance, out of the 7 female executive of the Fortune 500 companies, the one woman of color is an Asian American woman (Jones, 2005). Furthermore, when reviewing the pay discrimination literature on hourly wages of women and ethnic minorities, research shows that for both men and women, White and Asian American workers earn more than Black and Latino workers with Blacks earning slightly higher wages than Latino workers (Kim, 2006). One reason this disparity may exist is because Asian American women are more likely to have a college degree than Black women and Latinas (Kim, 2006) however, even when education is held constant, Asian American women may still have an advantage over other women of color because of their model minority status.

Although Black women may have a slight advantage over Latinas in the workplace, both groups face negative ethnic stereotypes and perceptions such as Latinas being unintelligent and emotional (Fernandez, 1991) and Black women being aggressive and unreliable (Cocchiara et al., 2006). Even though they both battle these negative perceptions in the workplace from their co-workers and employers, Black women may still have different experiences from those of Latinas and Asian American women because of their unique history in this country (Catalyst, 2001). The institution of slavery shaped the relationship of Blacks and Whites in America and the effects of slavery can still be seen in today's society. Therefore, the strained relationship between Blacks and Whites in America is one reason Black women may face additional barriers to advancement

than Latinas and Asian American women in the workplace. To support this theory, one study found that Latino and Asian American managers reported that they were less likely than Blacks to be excluded from informal networks (Bell & Nkomo, 1994). Moreover, according to a Catalyst report (2004), Black women believed they faced significant barriers to their career advancement that included dealing with other's negative contemporary and historical stereotypes of Black women, challenges to authority, questioning of their credibility, and continual questions of fit. Furthermore, in regards to relationships with White women, Black women perceive that their relationships with White women in the workplace are conflicted, which is a finding that is not as frequently reported by Latinas and Asian American women (Catalyst, 2004). Lastly, a concept that is rarely discussed in the occupational literature, colorism (for an exception; see Harrison & Thomas, 2006) may also place Black women at more of a disadvantage than other women of color. The concept of colorism centers on the preference for lighter skin tones over darker skin tones that are less desirable (Harrison & Thomas, 2006). Considering the skin color White is viewed as the societal norm (McIntosh, 1993) and the majority of people in power in organizations are White, Black women may be less desirable candidates for advancement positions because they physically look different from the societal norm of Whiteness. Whereas Asian American women and Latinas are fairer in skin tone and appear closer to the workplace norm, Black women, especially darker skin Black women, may be at a disadvantage in the workplace because of their lack of proximity to the societal norm.

All women of color face discrimination in the workplace however, based on past research and their history in America, it is assumed that Black women would have the most negative experiences in the workplace compared to Asian American women and Latinas. However, considering this is one of the first comparative studies to examine specific women of color

groups in regards to the workplace, it is important for researchers to fully examine how women's racial/ethnic group membership affect their workplace experiences. Therefore, this study will examine several themes which include (1) the differences between White women and women of color's experiences in the workplace (2) the differences between Asian American women, Black women, and Latinas experiences in the workplace, and (3) the moderating effect of ethnic identity on the relationships between ethnicity and perceived discrimination and well-being.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Procedure

An invitation to participate in a comprehensive survey was distributed to professional working women through e-mail correspondence. Participation in the study was voluntary and each participant's responses were treated as confidential. The survey was accompanied by a cover letter explaining the study which stated that each participant was selected to participate in the *Reaching the Top! Workplace Experience Survey* (Appendix A). In addition, participants were encouraged to complete the survey and forward it to other women who would be appropriate candidates. In appreciation of individuals' participation in the study, each participant was able to take part in a raffle where there were four opportunities to win a \$50.00 gift certificate to either Barnes & Nobles Bookstore or a spa in their location.

Sample

Participants of this study were 660 professional working women who worked full time in a variety of sectors with the majority of women working in education, healthcare, human resources, and retail industries. Although this was a nationwide survey, representing 34 states, the majority of respondents were from the southeast and west coast areas of the United States. Of the 660 participants, 495 of the women worked in predominately White organizations and work environments. For the purpose of this study, only women who worked in predominately White organizations and environments were examined. Participants self reported their racial/ethnic backgrounds which resulted in 42.8 percent (n = 212) White, 42 percent (n = 208) Black/African

American, 8.5 percent ($n = 42$) Asian American, 5.1 percent ($n = 25$) Latina American, .4% ($n = 2$) Native American, .2% ($n = 1$) Middle Eastern American, and .6% ($n = 3$) other. Considering Black and White women professionals made up over 80% of the research pool ($n = 420$), these two groups were analyzed for the study. Focusing on the 420 participants, their mean age was 41.26 years ($s.d. = 10.01$) and the majority of the women reported that their highest level of education was either a Bachelor's degree (37.9 percent) or Master's degree (35.7 percent). Furthermore, the majority of women (26.7 percent) reported earning \$40,000 - \$60,000 annually. For more information regarding demographics of the sample please review Table 1.

Measures

Organizational Experiences

Participants responded to a series of items which focused on mentoring, supervisory support, and job discretion. For each of the 14 items, participants indicated their level of agreement with the statements on a 5-point Likert-type scale, with responses ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Lower scores indicated lower levels of agreement and higher scores displayed higher levels of agreement. The total scores from each of the subscales, were averaged to obtain one composite score for organizational experiences ($\alpha = .93$). Higher composite scores indicated more positive organizational experiences while lower scores indicated more negative organizational experiences (see Appendix B for organizational experience items). A description of each of the organizational experiences subscales are provided below.

Mentoring. Access to a mentoring relationship was measured by defining the concept and asking respondents whether they have experienced a mentoring relationship in their careers to date. A mentoring relationship was defined as:

an influential individual in your work environment who holds a position senior to yours and who is committed to developing your career and providing upward mobility and support to your advancement. Although it is possible for an immediate supervisor to serve as a mentor, the standard subordinate/supervisor relationship is not necessarily a mentoring relationship.

This definition was based from literature which describes mentoring relationships (Baugh & Scandura, 1999; Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Dreher & Cox, 1996; Kram, 1985). Participants responded to two questions pertaining to mentoring relationships ($\alpha = .78$, $r = .64$, $p \leq .01$). An example question was “In my company there is a person who will serve as a mentor to me by creating opportunities for career advancement.”

Supervisory Support. Participant’s perceptions of supervisory support was measured by using 9 items from a prior research study which analyzed individual’s perceptions of support from their immediate supervisor (Greenhaus et al., 1990). These items assessed participants’ perceptions of how much support their supervisor gives them in regards to their career development and advancement. The cronbach alpha for the scale was .93. An example item was “My supervisor cares about whether or not I achieve my career goals.”

Job Discretion. In order to measure perceived job discretion, participants indicated their agreement with 3 questions concerning their opportunities to exercise influential decision making skills in projects and tasks ($\alpha = .80$). The items were taken from a survey questionnaire developed by Bell and Nkomo which focused on women’s experiences in the workplace (2001). An example item is “I have considerable decision-making power in my position.”

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination was assessed by using 9 items from two racial discrimination scales (James, Lovato, & Cropanzano, 1994; Mena, Padilla, & Maldonado, 1987). Each of the 9 items were duplicated to include the word “gender” or “woman” in order to capture perceived gender discrimination in the workplace, resulting in a total of eighteen items ($\alpha = .95$). An example item is “At work ethnic minority employees receive fewer opportunities.” Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Higher scores indicated greater perceived workplace discrimination.

Well-Being

Self Esteem. Rosenberg’s Self Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965) was used to assess participant’s individual self-esteem. The measure was comprised of 10 items with half being reversed scored ($\alpha = .86$). An example item is “I feel that I have a number of good qualities.” Items were rated on a 4-point Gutman-type scale ranging from (1) Strongly Agree to (4) Strongly Disagree. Items were averaged resulting in a scale range of 1 to 4, with higher scores indicating higher levels of self-esteem (see Appendix B).

Emotional Exhaustion. Participant’s level of burnout was assessed by using the *Emotional Exhaustion* sub-scale items from the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981a). The scale has been found to be a reliable and valid assessment of burnout. An example item from the subscale is “I feel emotionally drained from my work.” The 9 items were rated on a 6-point scale from Never (0) to Everyday (6) and the mean score of the items was used to derive the total score ($\alpha = .91$). The higher the respondents score, the higher their levels of emotional exhaustion (see Appendix B).

Physical Health. The Physical Symptoms Inventory (PSI) (Spector & Jex, 1998) was used to assess participant's physical health. The PSI is a self-report measure in which respondents are asked to indicate whether or not in the past 30 days they had suffered any of the 18 symptoms and whether they had not seen a doctor. Three scores are computed, the number of symptoms each participant reported, the number of times the participant visited the doctor in response to the symptoms, and the sum of both provides the Total PSI score. For the purposes of this study, each participant will be asked to respond to the frequency of each symptom using a 6 point Likert scale ranging from "Never" (0) to "Everyday" (6). Some examples of the symptoms included in the scale are, headache, fatigue, trouble sleeping, and backache. The reliability of the scale for this study was ($\alpha = .86$; See Appendix B)¹.

Organizational Attachment

Participants responded to a series of items which focused on career satisfaction, turnover intentions, and organizational commitment. For each of the 14 items participants indicated their level of agreement with the statements on a 5-point Likert- type scale, with responses ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Lower scores indicated lower levels of agreement and higher scores displayed higher levels of agreement. The total scores from each of the subscales were averaged to obtain one composite score for organizational attachment ($\alpha = .92$; see Appendix B for organizational attachment items).

Career Satisfaction. Career satisfaction was measured by using 5 items developed for the Greenhaus et al. (1990) study which examined the effects of race on career outcomes. The cronbach alpha for the subscale was .89. An example of an item was "I am satisfied with the progress I have made towards meeting my overall career goals."

¹ Spector and Jex (1998) state that a measure of the scales reliability would be meaningless due to the fact that the scale is a causal indicator rather than a measure of construct.

Turnover Intentions. Turnover intentions was evaluated by using 3 items from a turnover intention scale (Walsh, Ashford, & Hill, 1985). The cronbach alpha for the subscale was .90. An example item was, “I am seriously thinking about quitting my job.”

Organizational Commitment. Organizational commitment was measured by using 6 items from the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (OCQ; Meyer & Allen, 1997). Considering affective commitment denotes a sense of belonging and emotional attachment to the organization, this subset was used to measure one’s commitment to their organization ($\alpha = .89$). An example item is, “I would be very happy to spend the rest of my career with this organization.”

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity will be assessed by using the modified 12 item, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) which had an alpha of .92. Originally this scale was thought to include three aspects of ethnic identity however recent work reveals that the scale truly captures two factors, ethnic identity search and affirmation, belonging and commitment. 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.” An example of an affirmation, belonging and commitment item is, “I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.” Items were rated on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (4) Strongly Agree. The items from both subscales were averaged resulting in a total MEIM score, where higher scores indicated a stronger ethnic identity (see Appendix B).

Demographic Background

Participants were asked to provide demographic information regarding their race/ethnicity, marital/ family status, and education level. In regards to participant’s race/ethnicity, race was dummy coded 0 for White and 1 for Black. In addition, participants were

asked to respond to a series of questions ($n = 20$) pertaining to their employment, work experience, work environment, organizational tenure, job tenure, and position.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Preliminary analysis was conducted to determine whether the respondents could be combined for investigation purposes. Demographic variables such as employees' organizational position, age, education level, and work industry were examined for possible confounding effects. Since a portion of the demographic items may be highly correlated with some of the dependent variables, a review of the correlations between variables was examined to determine if confounding effects existed. The correlation analysis revealed that the relationships among the variables were similar across women. Therefore, all subsequent analyses were conducted on the participants.

Path analysis (Wright, 1921) was used to determine whether the observed pattern of relationships among the variables was consistent with the causal model presented in Figure 1. Additional steps were taken to examine possible violations of the assumptions underlying path analysis (Billings & Wroten, 1978). Investigation of the correlations among the variables did not reveal any evidence of extreme multicollinearity (i.e., $r \geq .80$). In addition, the Durbin-Watson d-statistics was calculated for each dependent variable in the proposed model to test for correlations among the residuals of the dependent variables. The closer d statistic is to 2, the stronger evidence that the residuals are not correlated (Dillon & Goldstein, 1984). In the current research the mean for the d statistic was 1.95 with a range of 1.75 – 2.06, which indicates that the residuals were not correlated. A series of hierarchical regression analyses was used to examine the moderating effect of ethnic identity in both the participant's ethnicity – perceived

discrimination and participant's ethnicity – well-being relationships, as well as organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and well-being as potential mediators. Finally, a t-test was used to determine whether women of color reported perceiving more discrimination based on ethnicity/race than gender (Hypothesis 3). Table 2 presents the means, standard deviations, and correlations of the variables analyzed in the current study.

Organizational Experiences

Hypothesis 1 predicted that participant race/ethnicity would have a direct effect on women's organizational experiences, where women of color would experience more negative organizational experiences than White women. In order to investigate this prediction, organizational experiences was regressed on participant's race. The R^2 was .047 ($F = 20.836$, $p \leq .001$). Consistent with Hypothesis 1, Black women reported having more negative organizational experiences (i.e., less mentoring, less, supervisory support, and less job discretion) than White women ($\beta = -.223$, $p \leq .001$; see Table 3).

Perceived Discrimination

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participant race/ethnicity would have a direct effect on women's perceived discrimination, where women of color would experience more perceived discrimination in the workplace than White women. In order to examine this hypothesis, perceived discrimination was regressed on participant's race. The R^2 was .144 ($F = 66.456$, $p \leq .001$). In support of Hypothesis 2, Black women reported perceiving more discrimination than White women ($\beta = .383$, $p \leq .001$; see Table 4).

Hypothesis 3 predicted that women of color would experience more discrimination based on race/ethnicity, while White women would experience more discrimination based on gender. A t-test was performed to compare White women's and Black women's responses to both subscales

of discrimination (i.e., gender discrimination and racial discrimination) to analyze this prediction. The results of the t-test were in partial support of this hypothesis. Results revealed that Black women's responses were significantly different in regards to racial discrimination than White women, revealing that they perceived more discrimination based on race (mean difference, -1.07, $p \leq .001$). Contrastingly, the results revealed that White women's responses were not significantly different in regards to gender discrimination from Black women. Table 5 illustrates the comparison of means.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that the relationship between participant's race and perceived discrimination would be moderated by ethnic identity. In order to explore this prediction, perceived discrimination was first regressed on race. The R^2 was .148 ($F = 65.039$, $p \leq .001$). There was a significant linear effect for race on perceived discrimination ($\beta = .387$, $p \leq .001$). At the second step, ethnic identity was included in the equation. The $R^2\Delta$ was .000 ($F\Delta = .174$, $p = ns$). Since the change in F was non-significant, step 3 was not conducted. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was rejected.

Well-Being

Hypotheses 5A-C, 6A-C, and 7A-C predicted that there would be a direct relationship between organizational experiences (H5), perceived discrimination (H6), and participant's ethnicity (H7), on well-being. In order to test these hypotheses, each well-being variable (i.e., self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]) was regressed on each predictor variable individually. For the first equation, self-esteem was regressed on organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and participant's ethnicity. The R^2 was .073 ($F = 10.510$, $p \leq .001$). In support of Hypothesis 5A, there was a significant linear effect for organizational experiences on self-esteem ($\beta = .183$, $p \leq .001$) where women who

reported having more positive organizational experiences reported having higher levels of self-esteem. Perceived discrimination did not have a significant effect on predicting self-esteem; therefore Hypothesis 6A was not supported. Furthermore, opposite of the proposed Hypothesis 7A which stated that women of color would experience lower levels of self-esteem than White women, women of color actually reported having higher levels of self-esteem than their White counterparts ($\beta = .250, p \leq .001$; see Table 7).

For the second equation, emotional exhaustion was regressed on organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and participant's ethnicity. The R^2 was .167 ($F = 25.714, p \leq .001$). In support of Hypothesis 5B, there was a significant linear effect for organizational experiences on emotional exhaustion ($\beta = -.377, p \leq .001$) where women who reported having more positive organizational experiences had lower levels of emotional exhaustion. In addition, there was a significant linear effect for perceived discrimination on emotional exhaustion ($\beta = .110, p \leq .05$) where women who perceived more discrimination reported having higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Thus, Hypothesis 6B was supported. Participant's race did not have a significant effect on predicting emotional exhaustion, therefore Hypothesis 7B was not supported (see Table 7).

Lastly, physical health was regressed on organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and participant's ethnicity. The R^2 was .044 ($F = 6.267, p \leq .001$). In support of Hypothesis 5C, there was a significant linear effect for organizational experiences on physical health ($\beta = -.211, p \leq .001$) where women who reported having more negative organizational experiences had worse physical health. Participant's race and perceived discrimination did not significantly predict physical health therefore; Hypotheses 6C and 7C were not supported (see Table 7).

Hypotheses 8A-C predicted that ethnic identity would moderate the relationship between ethnicity and well-being (i.e., self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]). Specifically, the linear relationship would be stronger for women of color than for White women who would remain unaffected across ethnic identity levels. Table 8 reveals the series of hierarchical regression equations to test for moderation. In step 1 self-esteem, emotional exhaustion, and physical health was regressed on participant's race separately. For emotional exhaustion and physical health the step 1 equations were not significant, therefore steps 2 and 3 were not conducted and ethnic identity did not moderate the relationships between race and emotional exhaustion and physical health. In regards to self-esteem, the step 1 equation was significant and the R^2 was .027 ($F = 11.693$, $p \leq .001$). There was a significant linear effect for race on self-esteem ($\beta = .173$, $p \leq .001$). At the second step, ethnic identity was included in the equation. This equation was also significant. The $R^2\Delta$ was .059 ($F\Delta = 24.770$, $p \leq .001$). The β for participant race was $-.057$ ($p = ns$) and the β for ethnic identity was $.335$ ($p \leq .001$). In the final step the interaction term ethnic identity x participant race was entered in the equation. The $R^2\Delta$ was .003 ($F\Delta = 1.353$, $p = ns$). The inclusion of the interaction term did not significantly contribute to the prediction of self-esteem ($\beta = .497$, $p = ns$), therefore Hypotheses 8A-C were rejected.

Organizational Attachment

Hypotheses 11A-C, 12, 13, and 14 predicted that there would be a direct relationship between well-being, organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, ethnicity, and organizational attachment. In order to test these hypotheses, organizational attachment was regressed on each predictor variable. The equation with all 6 predictors entered was significant. The R^2 was .561 ($F = 69.701$, $p \leq .001$). In regards to well-being, Hypothesis 11A, which

proposed that women who reported having lower levels of emotional exhaustion would have increased levels of organizational attachment, was supported ($\beta = -.219, p \leq .001$). Furthermore, Hypothesis 11B, which predicted that women who reported having higher levels of self-esteem would have increased levels of organizational attachment, was also supported ($\beta = .130, p \leq .001$). Hypothesis 11C, which stated that women who reported having better physical health would have increased levels of organizational attachment, was not supported. Hypothesis 12 predicted that women who reported having more positive organizational experiences would report feeling more attached to their organization, was supported ($\beta = .467, p \leq .001$). Additionally, Hypothesis 13, which predicted that women who reported perceiving more discrimination would have lower levels of organizational attachment was supported ($\beta = -.147, p \leq .001$). Lastly, participant's ethnicity also significantly predicted organizational attachment, therefore Hypothesis 14 was supported ($\beta = -.105, p \leq .05$). Table 9 illustrates the results from the regression equation.

Tests for Mediation

The predicted relationships in the current research represent linkages in the causal model that reveal racial differences in organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, well-being and organizational attachment. Thus, a test of the model indicates whether organizational experiences and perceived discrimination mediate the relationship between participant's race and well-being. Furthermore, a test of the model indicates whether organizational experiences, perceived discrimination and well-being mediate the relationship between participants' race and organizational attachment. In order to test for mediation of the variables, Baron and Kenny (1986) outlined four steps to determine the existence of mediation effects. In the first step, the independent variable must significantly predict the dependent variable. In the second step, the

independent variable must significantly predict the mediator. In the third step, the mediator must significantly predict the dependent variable. It is not sufficient to just correlate the mediator with the dependent variable because the mediator and the dependent variable may be correlated due to the fact that they are both caused by the independent variable; therefore in step 3, both the independent variable and mediator should be entered in the equation. For step 4, in order to determine mediation effects, when the independent variable and the mediator are both entered in the same regression equation, the mediator must have a significant effect on the dependent variable. Moreover, the independent variable must have a smaller effect on the dependent variable when the mediator is entered in the equation. Steps 3 and 4 are estimated in the same equation. Full mediation occurs when the independent variable does not have a significant effect on the dependent variable in the fourth step. Partial mediation takes place when the independent variable still has a significant effect on the dependent variable in the fourth step.

Mediation Effects for the Race – Well-Being Relationship

Hypotheses 9A-C predicted that organizational experiences would mediate the relationships between participant's race and well-being (i.e., self esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]). Table 10 reveals the series of hierarchical regression equations to test for mediation. For Hypothesis 9A, in step 1 self-esteem was regressed on participant's race. The R^2 was .023 ($F = 10.469$, $p \leq .001$). There was a significant linear effect for race on self-esteem ($\beta = .160$, $p \leq .001$). At the second step, organizational experiences was regressed on participant's race and this equation was also significant (please see the results for Hypothesis 1). At the third step both participant race and organizational experiences were entered in the equation. This equation was also significant with an R^2 of .070 ($F = 15.405$, $p \leq .001$). Both organizational experiences ($\beta = .228$, $p \leq .001$) and participant race ($\beta = .211$, p

$\leq .001$) significantly contributed to the prediction of self-esteem. Since the strength of the prediction increased between participant race and self-esteem when the mediator was entered in the equation, the mediator variable served as a suppressor. As defined by Mackinnon, Krull, and Lockwood (2000) suppression is defined as a variable which increases the predictive validity of another variable when entered into the regression equation. Thus, the inclusion of the mediating variable increases the relationship between race and self-esteem. After reviewing the correlation table, organizational experiences is negatively correlated with race ($r = -.223, p \leq .001$) and positively correlated with self-esteem ($r = .179, p \leq .001$), therefore this is also evidence that organizational experiences suppresses the relationship between race and self-esteem. Therefore, Hypothesis 9A was not supported. For Hypotheses 9B and 9C, emotional exhaustion and physical health was regressed on participant race respectively. These equations were not significant therefore, the following steps were not conducted and Hypotheses 9B and 9C were not supported (see Table 10).

Hypotheses 10A-C predicted that perceived discrimination would mediate the relationship between participant's race and well-being (self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]). Considering the results of Hypotheses 9B and 9C, it is concluded that perceived discrimination does not mediate the participant's race – emotional exhaustion (Hypothesis 10B) and participant's race – physical health relationships (Hypothesis 10C) because step 1 was not significant (See Table 10). Focusing on Hypothesis 10A, results of Hypothesis 9A revealed that step 1 was significant; race had a direct effect on self-esteem. At step 2, perceived discrimination was regressed on participant race and that equation was also significant. The R^2 was .144 ($F = 66.456, p \leq .001$). There was also a significant linear effect for race on discrimination (see results from Hypothesis 2). At step 3 participant race and perceived

discrimination were entered in the equation. This equation was also significant with an R^2 of .049 ($F = 10.793, p \leq .001$). Both participant race ($\beta = .239, p \leq .001$) and perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.163, p \leq .001$) were significant. Once again, the inclusion of the mediator increased the predictive validity between race and self-esteem, therefore perceived discrimination served as a suppressor variable and Hypothesis 10A was rejected. Table 10 provides the results for the regression analyses of perceived discrimination on the participant race – self-esteem relationship.

Mediation effects for the Race – Organizational Attachment Relationship

Hypothesis 15 predicted that organizational experiences would mediate the relationship between participant race and organizational attachment. Table 11 illustrates the mediation analyses for organizational attachment. Since steps 1 and 2 were conducted in previous hypotheses and were found to be significant, step 3 was conducted. At step 3, participant race and organizational experiences were entered in the equation. This equation was significant with an R^2 of .472 ($F = 169.078, p \leq .001$). Both participant race ($\beta = -.096, p \leq .05$) and organizational experiences ($\beta = -.661, p \leq .001$) were significant however, once again organizational experiences increased the predictive validity between race and organizational attachment therefore, organizational experiences served as a suppressor variable and Hypothesis 15 was not supported.

Hypotheses 16A-C predicted that well-being (i.e., self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]) would mediate the relationship between participant race and organizational attachment. Considering the fact that participant race did not significantly predict emotional exhaustion and physical health (see Table 10) steps 2 and 3 were not conducted for those variables. Therefore, Hypotheses 16B and 16C were not supported. In regards to self-esteem (Hypothesis 16A), steps 1 and 2 were also conducted in previous hypotheses and were

found to be significant therefore, step 3 was conducted. At step 3, participant race and self-esteem were entered in the equation. This equation was significant with an R^2 of .163 ($F = 37.190, p \leq .001$). Both participant race ($\beta = -.318, p \leq .001$) and self-esteem ($\beta = .317, p \leq .001$) were significant. Since the size of the direct effect between race and organizational attachment decreased with the presence of the mediator, self-esteem partially mediated the relationship between race and organizational attachment (see Table 11 for results).

Hypothesis 17 predicted that perceived discrimination would mediate the relationship between participant race and organizational attachment. Since steps 1 and 2 were conducted in previous hypotheses, step 3 was conducted to test for mediation effects (see Table 11). At step 3, perceived discrimination and participant race were entered in the equation. The R^2 was .183 ($F = 42.194, p \leq .001$). Once the mediator variable, perceived discrimination was entered in the equation ($\beta = -.393, p \leq .001$), participant race became non-significant ($\beta = -.084, p = ns$). Thus, perceived discrimination fully mediated the relationship between participant's race and organizational attachment.

Hypotheses 18A-C predicted that organizational experiences and well-being (i.e., self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]) would mediate the relationship between participant's race and organizational attachment. Hypotheses 18B (emotional exhaustion) and 18C (physical health) were rejected because step 1 was not significant (see Table 10). In regards to Hypothesis 18A, since step 1 and step 2 were significant based on past results (see Table 11) step 3 was conducted. At step 3, participant race, organizational experiences, and self-esteem were entered in the equation. The equation was significant with an R^2 of .504 ($F = 124.238, p \leq .001$). Organizational experiences ($\beta = .164, p \leq .001$), self-esteem ($\beta = .187, p \leq .001$), and participant race ($\beta = -.155, p \leq .001$), were all significant however, the

inclusion of the mediator variables increased the predictive validity between race and organizational attachment therefore, the proposed mediators served as suppressor variables and Hypotheses 18A was not supported.

Hypotheses 19A-C predicted that perceived discrimination and well-being (i.e., self-esteem [A], emotional exhaustion [B], and physical health [C]) would mediate the relationship between participant's race and organizational attachment. Hypotheses 19B (emotional exhaustion) and 19C (physical health) were rejected because step 1 was not significant (see Table 10). In regards to Hypothesis 19A, steps 1 and 2 were significant (see Table 11) therefore step 3 was conducted. In step 3, participant's race, perceived discrimination, and self-esteem were regressed on organizational attachment. The R^2 was .257 ($F = 42.435$, $p \leq .001$). Perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.354$, $p \leq .001$), self-esteem ($\beta = .262$, $p \leq .001$), and participant race ($\beta = -.168$, $p \leq .001$), were all significant however, the mediator variables increased the prediction between participant race and organizational attachment thus, the proposed mediator variables served as suppressor variables and Hypothesis 19A was not supported.

Post Hoc Mediation

After analyzing the results of the moderation analysis of ethnic identity, it appeared that ethnic identity may have served as a mediator of the relationship between participant race and self-esteem. In order to test this post hoc analysis, in step 1 participant self-esteem was regressed on race. As stated previously, this relationship was significant ($R^2 = .027$, $F = 11.693$, $p \leq .001$) and race significantly predicted self-esteem ($\beta = .173$, $p \leq .001$). In step 2, ethnic identity was regressed on race and this equation was also significant with an R^2 of .474 ($F = 357.716$, $p \leq .001$). The results revealed that race significantly predicted ethnic identity ($\beta = .689$, $p \leq .001$). In step 3, self-esteem was regressed on both race and ethnic-identity. This equation was also

significant with an R^2 of .084 ($F = 18.596$, $p \leq .001$). Once ethnic identity was entered in the equation ($\beta = .335$, $p \leq .001$), participant race became non significant ($\beta = -.057$, $p = ns$). Thus, ethnic identity fully mediated the relationship between participant's race and self-esteem (see Table 12). Table 13 provides a summary of the proposed research results.

Exploratory Proposition

The exploratory proposition investigated the differences amongst women of color groups (i.e., Asian American, African American, and Latina) in regards to organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, well-being, and organizational attachment. Since there were not an equal number of women of color groups (i.e., African Americans [$n = 208$], Asian Americans [$n = 42$], and Latinas [$n = 25$]) statistical tests of mean differences were not conducted however, a review of the means was used to make conclusions about the propositions. However conclusions concerning group differences should be interpreted with caution. Table 14 illustrates the group means for the dependent variables amongst women of color. First, in regards to perceived discrimination, an investigation of the means showed that Black women reported perceiving more discrimination based on race (mean = 3.00) and gender (mean = 2.65) compared to Latinas (racial mean = 2.36; gender mean = 2.28) and Asian Americans (racial mean = 2.17; gender mean = 2.30). Thus, Black women reported perceiving more discrimination than other women of color in the study (see Figure 3). Similarly, Latinas reported perceiving more racial discrimination compared to Asian Americans. Reviewing the well-being variables, it appears that Asian American women reported feeling more emotionally exhausted (mean = 2.52) than Black women (mean = 2.20) and Latinas (mean = 1.78). Women of color tended to respond similarly to the remaining two well-being variables, self-esteem, and physical health (see Figure 4). Furthermore, the table reveals Latinas reported feeling more attached to the organization (mean =

3.63) compared to Asian American women (mean = 3.47) and Black women (mean = 3.18) who felt the least attached (see Figure 5). Lastly, Asian American women reported having the most positive organizational experiences (mean = 3.80) compared to Latinas (mean = 3.55) and Black women (mean = 3.18) who had the least positive organizational experiences (see Figure 6). Therefore, amongst women of color, it appears that Black women reported perceiving more discrimination, less organizational attachment, and more negative organizational experiences than Latinas and Asian American women. Secondly, Asian American women reported having higher levels of emotional exhaustion and more positive organizational experiences compared to their women of color counterparts. Lastly, Latinas reported being the least emotionally exhausted and the most attached to their organizations.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships among race/ethnicity, perceived discrimination, organizational experiences, well-being, and organizational attachment. Specifically, this research investigated whether organizational experiences and perceived discrimination mediated the relationship between race and well-being and whether organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, and well-being mediated the relationship between race and organizational attachment. Furthermore, this research examined whether participant's ethnic identity level moderated the relationships between race and perceived discrimination and race and well-being. The results provided partial support for the proposed direct effects in the model and limited support for mediation effects.

Effects of Participant Race

Participant's race had direct effects on organizational experiences, where Black women reported having more negative organizational experiences (i.e., less mentoring experiences, less supervisory support, and less job discretion) than their White female counterparts. These results are consistent with past research studies which have found that people of color tend to have difficulty finding influential mentors (Catalyst, 2003), receive less support from their immediate supervisors (Catalyst, 2004), and have less autonomy in their jobs (Greenhaus, et al, 1990; Igbaria & Wormely, 1992). Although many past research studies which have examined organizational experiences investigated only ethnic differences amongst Blacks and Whites disregarding gender (for the exception see Catalyst research and Bell Nkomo, 2002), these

results reveal that even amongst women, Black women tend to have more negative experiences than White women. Consistent with the double jeopardy theory, since Black women are members of two stigmatized groups (i.e., gender and ethnicity) they tend to face more barriers in the workplace than White women who are members of one stigmatized group.

Although all women of color are members of two minority groups, when analyzing the differences amongst women of color, it appears that Asian American women tend to have the most positive organizational experiences followed by Latinas and Black women respectively. These results are consistent with management and social science literature, which has found that Asian American workers receive higher wages than their Black and Latino counterparts (Kim, 2006). Furthermore, since Asian Americans are viewed as the model minority (e.g., hardworking, diligent, intelligent, etc.) this positive stereotype may place Asian American women at more of an advantage in the workplace than other women of color. Considering the history of Blacks and Whites in this country, it is no surprise that Black women would report having the least positive organizational experiences working in predominately White work environments.

In addition to organizational experiences, race had direct effects on perceived discrimination. Black women tended to perceive more discrimination than White women in the workplace. This result was also consistent with past research which has found that people of color tend to perceive more discrimination in the workplace than their White co-workers (Major, 2002). Furthermore, this result is consistent with the double jeopardy theory and outsider within literature which suggests that women of color perceive the greatest amount of discrimination in the workplace because of their double minority status. Since they are members of two stigmatized groups, they oftentimes endure both gender and racial discrimination while White women only face gender discrimination (Levin, et al., 2002). This study supports one of the first

reported comparative studies which examined individual's experiences with harassment and found that women of color reported experiencing more harassment in the workplace than majority/minority men and majority women (Berhdal & Moore, 2006). Additionally, although it was proposed that Black women would perceive more discrimination based on race than gender and White women would perceive more discrimination based on gender than race, this hypothesis was only partially supported. Black women did perceive more discrimination based on race than gender, however there were no significant differences between White and Black women regarding gender discrimination. This result supported the ethnic-prominence hypothesis (Levin et al., 2002) which suggests that women of color focus more on their ethnicity than on their gender when perceiving unjust treatment because of the history of discrimination in America. Amongst women of color, Black women reported perceiving the most discrimination based on race and gender compared to Latinas and Asian American women. As stated previously, considering the history of Blacks and Whites in America and the very negative stereotypes of Black women, it is understandable that they would report perceiving more racial discrimination in the workplace than other women of color.

Often times Black women are perceived as being aggressive, hard to work with, and lazy thus, individuals in the workplace may react to these stereotypes and essentially discriminate against Black women based on these misperceptions. Further, it is interesting that Black women perceived more gender discrimination than other women of color which is consistent with the Berdahl and Moore (2006) study which found that Black women perceived more gender harassment than other women in the workplace. Although ethnic identity did not moderate the relationship between participant race and perceived discrimination, it may be that women of color, specifically Black women because they are physically identified as an ethnic minority may

experience and perceive discrimination in the workplace from co-workers regardless of their ethnic identity level. Thus, Black women's ethnicity is so prominent and significant that ethnic identity level would not moderate the relationship.

Centering on well-being, although participant race did not significantly effect emotional exhaustion and physical health, it did have direct effects on self-esteem. Opposite of what was proposed, Black women reported having higher levels of self-esteem than White women. After post hoc analyses, it appears that ethnic identity level mediated instead of moderated the relationship between participant race and self-esteem and since Blacks reported having higher ethnic identity levels than Whites, it is a logical conclusion that they would report having higher levels of self-esteem. Considering research has shown that Whites do not consider themselves ethnic because they are part of the dominant culture (Lucal, 1996), they may have lower levels of ethnic identity development than people of color. Furthermore, studies have revealed a relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity, where individuals with higher ethnic identity levels reported having higher levels of self-esteem (Parham & Helms, 1985b). Therefore, this study is consistent with past studies which have analyzed the relationship between self-esteem and ethnic identity. The results of this study, although opposite of what was proposed, is quite promising for women of color specifically Black women, because despite the obstacles and negative experiences they may face in the workplace, they still for the most part are reporting being physically, emotionally, and psychologically healthy.

When examining women of color specifically, this study revealed that Asian American women reported having higher levels of emotional exhaustion than Black women and Latinas. Considering the model minority stereotype, Asian American women may experience more stress and burnout in the workplace in efforts to live up to this almost unreachable status. Since Asian

Americans are viewed as being smart and diligent and Asian American women, additionally are viewed as being timid and passive, they may experience more exhaustion because they are trying to succeed in the workplace and fulfill peoples' positive and unrealistic expectations, while not voicing their complaints or frustrations. This type of conflict can be very exhausting and damaging for individuals, especially if they fall short of these expectations. To support this theory, research conducted on Asian American women and the model minority stereotype have found that Asian American women between the ages of 15 to 24 had the highest rate of suicide among all U.S. women in 2003 and had the second highest rate of suicide in every other age group (Amusa, 2006). Researcher Eliza Noh feels that the pressures of having to succeed have detrimental affects for Asian American women (Amusa, 2006). Even though Asian American women report having more positive organizational experiences they continue to battle additional obstacles that differ from their other women of color counterparts.

Moreover, participant race also had direct effects on organizational attachment. Black women reported being less attached to their organization (i.e., less committed, less satisfied, and higher turnover intentions) than White women. This finding is consistent with past research that has found that Blacks and people of color report being less satisfied with their jobs and careers compared to Whites (Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Greenhaus, et al., 1990, Powell & Butterfield, 1997). Although many past research studies have not specifically examined the direct effects of ethnicity amongst women in regards to turnover intentions and organizational commitment, this study suggests that Black women tend to have higher turnover intentions and are less committed to their jobs than White women. Since Black women perceive more discrimination in the workplace and have more negative organizational experiences than White women it is understandable that they may feel less attached to their organization.

Focusing on women of color, Latinas and Asian American women reported feeling more attached to their organization than Black women. This result is consistent with past research which suggests that Black women tend to have the most negative organizational experiences compared to other women of color because of their unique history with Whites in America (Catalyst, 2003) and the constant negative stereotypes that they face in the workplace (Catalyst 2004).

Effects of Perceived Discrimination

In addition to the direct effects of race, perceived discrimination also had direct effects on organizational attachment and emotional exhaustion. Focusing on organizational attachment, women who reported perceiving more discrimination in the workplace also reported feeling less attached to their organization. This result was consistent with past research which found that women and minorities who perceived more discrimination from their supervisors and experienced more organizational discrimination, were less committed and less satisfied with their jobs than individuals who perceived less discrimination (Ensher, et al., 2001). Moreover, perceived discrimination fully mediated the relationship between participant race and organizational attachment. Therefore, Black women felt less attached to their organizations because of their perceptions of discrimination. Thus, perceptions of discrimination and mistreatment in the workplace are significant factors in women's feelings towards their organization.

Furthermore, perceived discrimination had direct effects on emotional exhaustion. Specifically women who perceived more discrimination also reported having higher levels of emotional exhaustion. This result also supported some past research studies which discovered that perceptions and experiences with discrimination served as a stressor for members of the

stigmatized group (Cassidy et al., 2004; Clark, et al., 1999; Major et al., 2002). This study revealed that overall, women who perceived more discrimination, also had increased levels of emotional exhaustion. One positive aspect of this analysis was that perceptions of discrimination did not directly affect individuals' self-esteem assessments and physical health.

Effects of Organizational Experiences

Organizational experiences also directly affected organizational attachment, emotional exhaustion, and self-esteem. In regards to organizational attachment, women who reported having more positive organizational experiences also reported having higher levels of organizational attachment. This result is consistent with past research studies which have found that individuals who have more positive mentoring relationships, supervisory support, and job discretion have more positive organizational and career outcomes (e.g., Barak & Levin, 2002; Blancero & Del Campo, 2005; Collins et al., 1997, etc.). Thus, one's organizational experiences directly affect one's organizational commitment, turnover intentions, and career satisfaction.

Additionally, women who reported having more positive organizational experiences had lower levels of emotional exhaustion, higher levels of self-esteem, and better physical health than women who reported having more negative organizational experiences. This finding reveals that positive work environments consisting of mentorship, supervisory support, and job discretion positively affect women's emotional, physical, and psychological well-being. Therefore, women who have more negative workplace experiences tend to have increased levels of stress, worse physical health, and lower levels self-esteem. These results also support past research that has linked organizational factors with burnout, stress and decreased levels of self-esteem (e.g., Burke et al., 1984; Davis-Sacks et al., 1985; Ganster et al., 1990, etc.). Interestingly, past research has not directly examined the relationship between organizational experiences and

physical health amongst women however this finding supports research that has investigated the role that stress plays on one's physical health. These findings suggest that organizational experiences are important factors in women's overall health.

Effects of Well-Being

The research revealed that both emotional exhaustion and self-esteem had direct effects on women's feelings of attachment towards their organization. The study showed that women who had lower levels of emotional exhaustion and higher levels of self-esteem reported feeling more attached to their organization than women who had more negative well-being symptoms. These results are consistent with past studies which have shown that higher levels of emotional exhaustion result in less job satisfaction, less organizational commitment, and higher turnover intentions (Cropanzano, et al., 2003; DeFrank & Ivancevich, 1998, Wright & Cropanzano, 1998). In regards to self-esteem, this is one of the first studies which have analyzed the direct relationship between self-esteem and organizational attachment and the findings suggest that self-esteem is a significant factor in examining women's feelings of attachment towards their organization. Furthermore, self-esteem partially mediated the relationship between participant race and organizational attachment. Despite the fact that emotional exhaustion and self-esteem had direct effects on organizational attachment, physical health did not significantly influence women's feelings of commitment, satisfaction, and turnover intentions. Therefore, emotional exhaustion and self-esteem significantly influence women's feelings of attachment towards their organization.

Summary of Findings

Overall this study presents several important and valuable findings. First, this is one of the first comparative studies that have strictly examined women in regards to the role race plays

in their organizational experiences, perceived discrimination, well-being, and organizational attachment. The results of the study suggest that ethnicity plays an important role in women's organizational experiences such as access to mentors, supervisory support, and job discretion. Therefore, ethnic minority women, specifically Black women, regardless of their education level, position, and work industry tend to have more negative experiences in the workplace because of their ethnic group membership. Furthermore, women's ethnicity also influences their level of perceived discrimination in the workplace, with women of color experiencing more discrimination in the workplace than White women. In addition, surprisingly, women of color in the study reported having higher levels of self-esteem than White women thus, despite some of the barriers they may face in the workplace, women of color's self-esteem level remains positive and their levels of burnout and physical health remain unaffected. Interestingly, ethnic identity, which is not commonly examined in organizational and management literature, mediated the relationship between race and self-esteem, where women of color who had higher ethnic identity levels also had higher levels of self-esteem. Lastly, although ethnicity did not seem to negatively impact women of color's well-being, their ethnicity did however negatively influence their levels of organizational attachment. Women of color reported feeling less committed, less satisfied, and more likely to quit their jobs than White women.

Second, this study revealed how women's organizational experiences, influences their emotional, physical, and psychological health. Regardless of race, women who had more negative workplace experiences (i.e., less mentoring, support, and job discretion) had lower self-esteem, higher levels of emotional exhaustion, and worse physical health than women who had more positive organizational experiences. These results are extremely important in that a woman's experiences in the workplace can essentially negatively affect her overall health which

could lead to detrimental physical and emotional health issues. Furthermore, women who had more positive organizational experiences also had higher levels of attachment, which suggests that the better women's work environment is the more committed and satisfied they are in their careers.

Third, women who perceived more discrimination also reported having higher levels of emotional exhaustion and were less attached to their organization. Considering emotional exhaustion and stress can lead to physical health problems, perceptions of discrimination in the workplace is an important factor in women's overall well-being. In addition, since perceived discrimination affects women's feeling about their organization, perceptions of workplace discrimination or mistreatment are influential factors in women's satisfaction, commitment and essentially their intent to stay in organizations. Lastly, women who had lower levels of emotional exhaustion and higher levels of self-esteem, reported feeling more attached to their organization. Therefore, a woman's emotional and psychological well-being influences how they feel about their organization.

Limitations and Future Research

Although the study found significant results, there were several limitations. One major limitation of the present study was the lack of ethnic diversity amongst participants. Considering Black women make up the largest percentage of women of color in the labor force especially in professional and managerial positions (Catalyst, 2004), Latinas and Asian American women were underrepresented in the study. Therefore, their responses could not be statistically analyzed and cultural differences on findings could not be statistically assessed. In the future, researchers must find ways to recruit members of these underrepresented groups in order to understand the organizational experiences of all women and to essentially expand diversity workplace literature.

Furthermore, researchers should also reexamine the definition of professional working women so that more women of color could be included in the study. The definition of professional working women for this study was somewhat limiting, therefore by expanding the definition and guidelines for participation, more women, specifically women of color who work in other professional industries can be included in future organizational studies.

Moreover in the future, researchers should examine additional organizational experience and attachment items such as organizational and peer support, performance evaluations, and engagement, to determine if a woman's race influences these career outcomes. Additionally, focus groups and interviews can be conducted to have a better understanding of the barriers women face in the workplace especially for those women who are on the leadership track. Qualitative research questions could enhance future studies and provide researchers additional information that could potentially shed a more personal light on the role race plays on women's organizational experiences.

Organizational research focusing on women should also be conducted on specific work groups and industries. Although this research study was conducted in a relatively broad range of work organizations, it is also important to analyze women's organizational experiences based on their work industry. For instance, women who work in more male dominated industries may have more negative work experiences than women who work in more female dominated industries. In addition, in the future, researchers should analyze if women's experiences are different based on whether they work in predominately White organizations or work in more ethnically diverse organizations.

Implications and Practice

Despite these limitations, this study has several implications for organizations and professional working women. First, considering the fact that this study has shown how factors such as organizational experiences and perceptions of discrimination affect women's well-being and organizational attachment, organizations must realize that they have a major responsibility in developing their women, especially their women of color, leaders and creating an inclusive, supportive working environment. Second, women, especially women of color must find ways to succeed in the workplace and engage in activities that help develop their career and maintain their emotional, physical, and psychological well-being. The following section describes strategies for both organizations and professional working women to help improve the work environment and organizational experiences for women.

Organizational Strategies

Mentoring Programs. Considering the fact that this study showed that women of color tend to have more negative organizational experiences, perceive more discrimination, and exhibit lower levels of organizational attachment, and women who have negative organizational experiences are less attached to their workplace, organizations should develop mentoring programs and minority employee networks to help support all women in the workplace, especially women of color. By implementing formal mentoring programs and networks, organizations can illustrate to all employees that they are committed to developing women leaders and support an open and inclusive work environment. By having programs that focus on women, specifically women of color could help retain current employees and attract potential female candidates. Also, organizations should implement non-traditional mentoring programs such as peer mentoring or even reverse mentoring where junior women colleagues, specifically

women of color could mentor more senior employees specifically White men on their experiences as women and women of color in the workplace. By educating influential leaders on women's experiences first-hand, can help organizational leaders understand some of the barriers women face in the workplace and can potential provide a joint opportunity to create supportive programs that will specifically help women advance in the workplace. In the long run, these programs may help improve the organizational experiences for women of color and could potentially lower perceptions of workplace discrimination.

Providing Challenging Activities. Since job discretion was one of the dimensions of organizational experiences, organizations should also show that they have faith in female employees especially women of color by giving them challenging assignments and work opportunities. As previously stated, women of color employees, especially Black women, often feel that their co-workers view them as being incompetent and not credible, therefore by providing these assignments and giving women of color more autonomy to do their jobs could give them the opportunity to rise to the occasion. In addition, these assignments can be extremely rewarding for the employee and could potentially increase their level of attachment to the organization.

Professional Development Programs. In addition to developing mentoring programs and providing challenging assignments for women, organizations should provide women with opportunities to develop and maintain professional skills. Career development is an important factor in women's advancement therefore, if organizations develop programs that specifically give women skills that will put them on the leadership track in organizations, this could potentially prepare them for influential leadership positions in the future. Oftentimes, additional experience is needed for leadership positions, thus if organizations provide opportunities for

women to receive experience, then more and more women can have the necessary qualifications for advancement opportunities. Also, these developmental opportunities may help women feel that the organization is focused on supporting their professional development which could potentially increase their levels of attachment to the organization and improve their overall workplace experiences.

Diversity Part of Business Strategy. In order to show full support towards the development of women, specifically women of color, organizations should make an effort to include diversity initiatives as an important aspect of their business strategy (Richard, 2000; Thomas & Ely 1996). When diversity programs and practices are supported by upper management and essentially become part of the business focus, they can potentially help alleviate many of the common acts of prejudice and discrimination that may occur and lower people's perceptions of workplace discrimination. Organizations that have a "no tolerance" policy in regards to acts of discrimination create a workplace culture that embraces and appreciates diversity. In addition, diversity practices should be connected to the business needs and organizational leaders should be held accountable for diversity efforts. These organizational strategies have the ability to create a more inclusive working environment which could have a positive impact on the career development of professional working women.

Individual Strategies

Proactive in career. One way for women, especially women of color, to succeed in the workplace and improve their organizational experiences, is for them to become more proactive in their professional careers. Women who want to develop their careers have to make a concerted effort to take control of their own development. In regards to women of color, Catalyst (2001) suggests that women actively work on enhancing the perception of their credibility. They must

actively seek support for their ideas from influential leaders and co-workers so people can begin to focus more on their abilities than misconstrued stereotypes or perceptions. Additionally, Catalyst (2001) suggests that women of color should seek out other individuals in and outside their company, who could serve as mentors and role models. Since it is difficult for women of color to find mentors, they must be more proactive in seeking individuals to serve as mentors. Although it is important for women to have mentors who are similar to themselves, it is even more important for women, specifically women of color, to find mentors that are different in ethnicity and gender from themselves because these mentors can expose them to various opportunities and networks that they may not have access to if they are involved in a more limited networking group. Since the majority of influential leaders are White males, women, especially women of color need to actively seek out influential leaders to serve as mentors because they can help junior colleague women navigate the advancement process.

Finding Support. Another strategy for women to cope with barriers in the workplace is to find support from other individuals who are not involved in their organization. Considering the workplace can be extremely stressful and challenging, women, especially those of color, must find support from other women through family or social groups. These women can serve as an outlet for professional working women and can provide advice, guidance, and different perspectives on their working environment without being directly involved with their organization. Furthermore, by connecting with individuals who are similar to themselves may help them realize that they share similar work experiences and they are not alone. This type of support could help increase their well-being and provide ways for them to improve their workplace experiences.

Leisure Activities. Lastly, since this study found that organizational experiences and perceived discrimination effect women's well-being, it is important for women to be involved in activities that serve as stress relievers. Leisure activities such as exercising, meditating, reading, or spending time with family and friends can help relieve some of the pressure and stress from work and maintain a healthy work/life balance. Also women may want to involve themselves in a hobby or a side business venture that would be totally different from their traditional work environment. Regardless of the activity, women should be able to escape from individuals and tasks that create stress in their lives and as a result these leisure activities can help women cope with some of the obstacles in the workplace and maintain a more realistic perspective of their work situation.

Therefore, the implications for women and organizations are clear. Organizations that hope to improve the working conditions for women, should consider promoting programs and initiatives that help foster a more inclusive and supportive environment for women, specifically for women of color. Furthermore, women that hope to improve their organizational experiences and working conditions should take more control over their careers and professional development. Thus, both organizations and working professional women should actively develop new strategies that embrace diversity and enhance the advancement for women.

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Appendix A

Solicitation Email 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 women's workplace experiences. The purpose of the current study is to learn more about how various workplace factors affect women's work attitudes, especially those in regards to career advancement and development..

You have been selected to participate in this study because you have been identified as a professional working woman. For the purpose of this study, a professional working woman is defined as a woman who works full-time and is paid on a yearly, **not hourly salary**. *If you are not a professional working woman, please disregard this request however, please forward this survey to professional working women.* If you are a professional working woman, we ask that you take 15-20 minutes to complete our survey at [web address link] and ask that you forward this survey to other professional working women. Participation in our study, and learning the results of it, will be one way that we can understand women's work experiences and some of the challenges that may hinder their career advancement. It can also help us develop and support organizational practices that improve the work lives of women. 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 your choice of either a \$50.00 gift certificate to a spa in your area or a \$50.00 gift certificate to Barnes and Nobles bookstore 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 so 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 web site 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 web site and mail the completed survey to the principle investigator: Wendy Reynolds-Dobbs, Department of Psychology, 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, Wendy Reynolds-Dobbs, Department of Psychology, University of Georgia, at 706-583-0561 or 9680 wrd@uga.edu. For questions or problems about your rights as a research participant please call or write: Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, 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,

Wendy Reynolds-Dobbs, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
University of Georgia

Kecia M. Thomas, Ph.D.
Professor
University of Georgia

Appendix B

Reaching the Top! Women's Workplace Experiences Survey

ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES

This first section will ask you about various facets of your organizational experiences. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions. For the following set of questions, please indicate your level of agreement.

1. My immediate supervisor takes the time to learn about my career goals and aspirations.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
2. My immediate supervisor cares about whether or not I achieve my career goals.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
3. My immediate supervisor keeps me informed about different career opportunities for me in the organization.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
4. My immediate supervisor makes sure I get the credit when I accomplish something substantial on the job.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
5. My immediate supervisor gives me helpful feedback about my performance.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
6. My immediate supervisor gives me helpful advice about improving my performance when I need it.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

7. My immediate supervisor supports my attempts to acquire additional training or education to further my career.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
8. My immediate supervisor provides assignments that give me the opportunity to develop and strengthen new skills.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
9. My immediate supervisor assigns me special projects that increase my visibility in the organization.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
10. My assignments are challenging.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
11. I have considerable decision-making power in my position.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
12. I have the opportunity to use my knowledge and skills.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

The statement below describes a mentoring relationship. Please read the statement below and answer the following two questions.

A mentoring relationship is defined as an influential individual in your work environment who holds a position senior to yours and who is committed to developing your career and providing upward mobility and support to your advancement. Although it is possible for an immediate supervisor to serve as a mentor, the standard subordinate/supervisor relationship is not necessarily a mentoring relationship.

13. In my company there is a person who will serve as a mentor to me by creating opportunities for career advancement?
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
14. In my company I feel there are several people who would be willing to serve as my mentor?
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
15. In my company, I currently serve as a mentor.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

WORKPLACE PERCEPTIONS

This second section will ask you about various facets of your workplace perceptions based on your ethnicity and gender. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions. For the following set of questions, please indicate your level of agreement.

16. At work many people have stereotypes about my culture or ethnic group.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
17. At work many people have stereotypes about my culture or ethnic group and treat me as if they were true.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
18. At work I feel that others exclude me from informal activities because of my ethnic background.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

19. At work I sometimes feel that my ethnicity creates barriers.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
20. At my present place of employment, people of other racial/ethnic groups do not tell me some job-related information they share with members of their own group.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
21. At work ethnic minority employees receive fewer opportunities.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
22. Supervisors scrutinize the work of members of my group more than that of members of other racial/ethnic groups.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
23. Where I work promotions and rewards are influenced by racial/ethnic group membership.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
24. Where I work people of different racial and ethnic groups **do not** get along well with each other.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
25. At work many people have stereotypes about my gender group.
 - a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

26. At work many people have stereotypes about my gender group and treat me as if they were true.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
27. At work I feel that others exclude me from informal activities because of my gender background.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
28. At work I sometimes feel that my gender creates barriers.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
29. At my present place of employment, men do not tell me some job-related information they share with men.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
30. At work women employees receive fewer opportunities than men.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
31. Supervisors scrutinize the work of women more than that of men.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
32. Where I work promotions and rewards are influenced by gender group membership.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
33. Where I work men and women **do not** work well together in work groups.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither Disagree/Agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree

HEALTH AND WELL-BEING

This third 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.

34. 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

35. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

36. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

37. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

38. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

39. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

40. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

41. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

42. I certainly feel useless at times.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Agree
- d. Strongly Agree

43. 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:

44. 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

45. 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

46. 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

47. 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

48. 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

49. 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

50. 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

51. 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

52. 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.

53. 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

54. 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

55. 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

56. 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

57. 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

58. 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

59. 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

60. 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
61. 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
62. 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
63. 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
64. 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
65. 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

66. 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
67. 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
68. 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
69. 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
70. 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

YOU'RE MORE THAN HALF WAY DONE. KEEP UP THE GOOD WORK!!!!

ORGANIZATIONAL ATTACHMENT

This fifth 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.

71. 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
72. 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
73. 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
74. 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
75. 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
76. 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
77. I am actively looking for a job at another company.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree

78. I am seriously thinking about quitting my job.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
79. 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
80. 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
81. 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
82. I do not feel emotionally attached to this organization.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Neither Disagree/Agree
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly Agree
83. 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
84. 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

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

This fourth 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

85. 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
86. 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
87. 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
88. 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
89. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
90. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
91. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
92. 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

93. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
94. 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
95. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree
96. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
- a. Strongly Disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Agree
 - d. Strongly Agree

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

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

97. 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) _____
98. What is your age?
- a. 18-24
 - b. 25-39
 - c. 40-54
 - d. 55-64
 - e. 65+
99. What is marital status?
- a. Single (Never Married)
 - b. Married
 - c. Divorced or Separated
 - d. Widowed
100. Do you have any children?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Not Applicable (N/A)

101. If yes how many?
- 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5+
102. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?
- Elementary/Middle School (grades 1-8)
 - High school or GED (General Equivalency Diploma)
 - Technical training or apprenticeship
 - Associate's degree
 - Bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.S.)
 - Master's degree (e.g., M.S., M.Ed., M.A.)
 - Professional degree (e.g., J.D., M.Div., D.V.M.)
 - Doctoral degree (e.g., Ph.D., Ed.D.)
103. What state do you live in? (If you live outside the United States, please select "International" from the menu below.)
- _____
104. What industry do you work in?
- Advertising/Marketing/Public Relations
 - Arts/Entertainment/Media
 - Banking/Financial Services/Accounting/Auditing
 - Consulting Services
 - Education
 - Engineering
 - Government and Policy
 - Medical/Healthcare
 - Human Resources/Recruiting
 - Information Technology/Computers
 - Internet/e-Commerce
 - Legal
 - Non-profit
 - Publishing
 - Real Estate
 - Retail/Wholesale
 - Sales
 - Science/Biotechnology/Pharmaceuticals
 - Telecommunications
 - Other (please specify below)_____
105. If you work in a business/corporate environment please indicate the level of your position.
- Administrative/Support
 - Technical
 - Supervisor
 - Manager
 - Director
 - Vice President
 - CEO/Executive
 - Other
 - N/A

106. If you work in education, please indicate your 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
107. How many people work in your organization?
Please estimate the approximate number of employees. _____
108. How many years have you been in your current position? _____
109. How many years have you been with your organization? _____
110. Please indicate your years of experience. _____
111. 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+
112. 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) _____
113. Which gender group makes-up the majority of your organizational leadership team (e.g. Executive board, Corporate Officers, Directors etc.)?
- a. Women
 - b. Men
114. Which racial/ethnic group makes-up the majority of your work group (e.g., department, team, staff, 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) _____
115. Which gender group makes-up the majority of your work group (e.g., department, team, staff, etc.)?
- a. Women
 - b. Men

116. 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 "Submit Survey" 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 gift certificate to Barnes & Nobles or a spa in your location please send me your email address at 9680wrd@uga.edu. 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 working women.

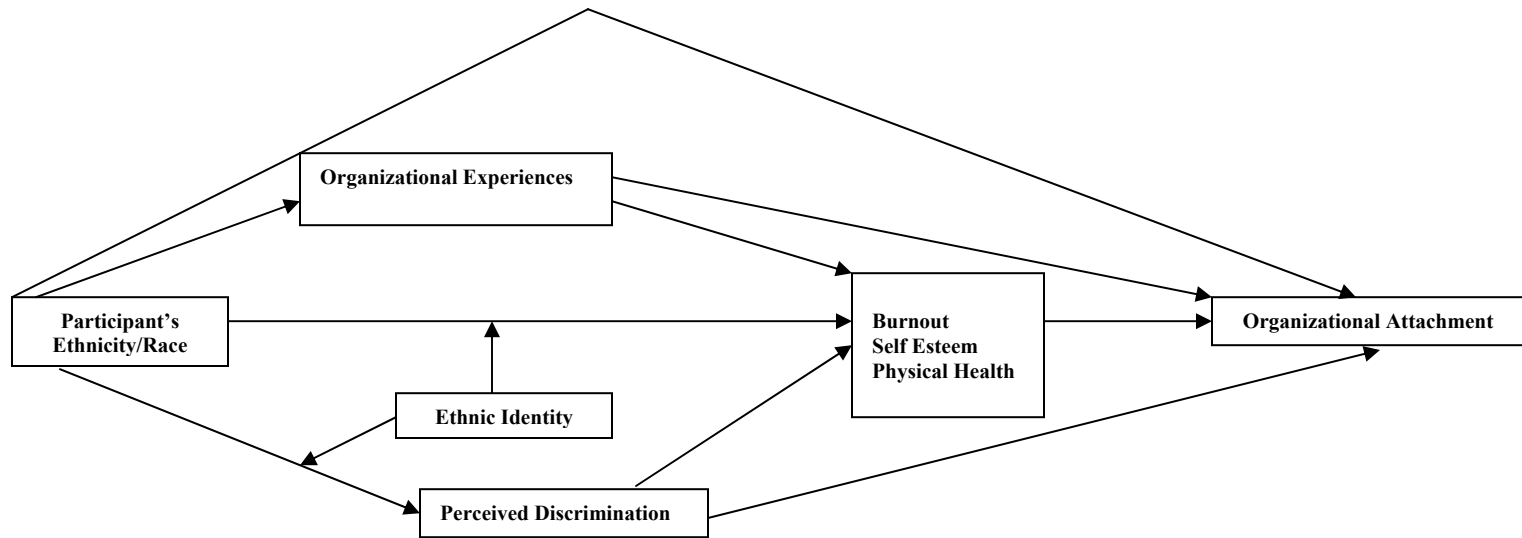


Figure 1: Proposed Relationship Model

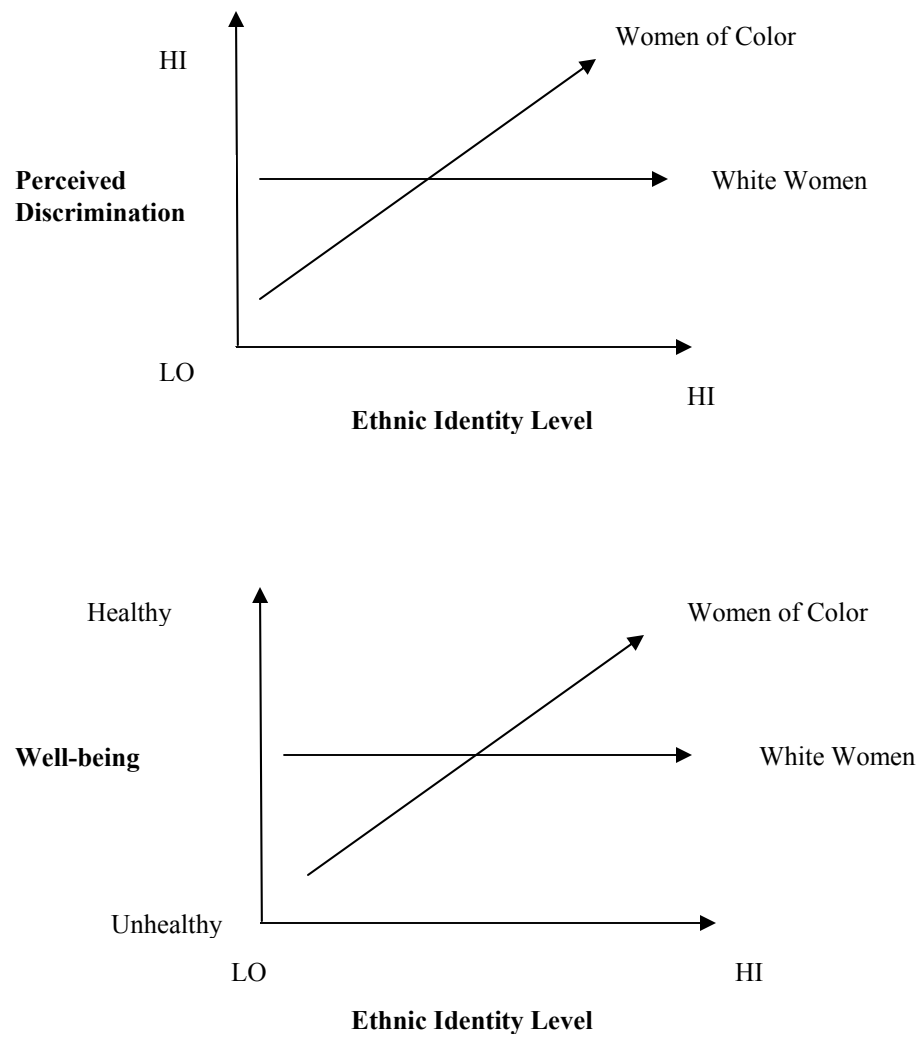


Figure 2: Proposed interaction of ethnic identity as a moderator

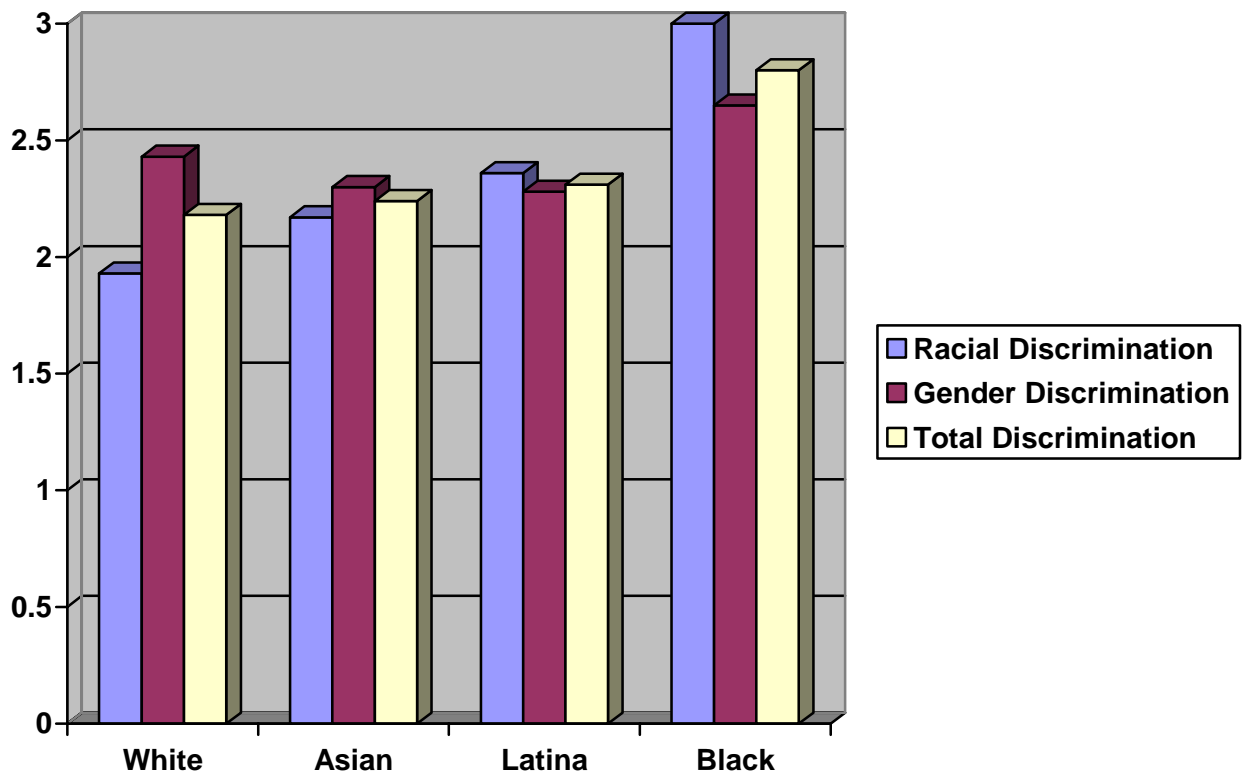


Figure 3: Means of Women on Perceived Discrimination

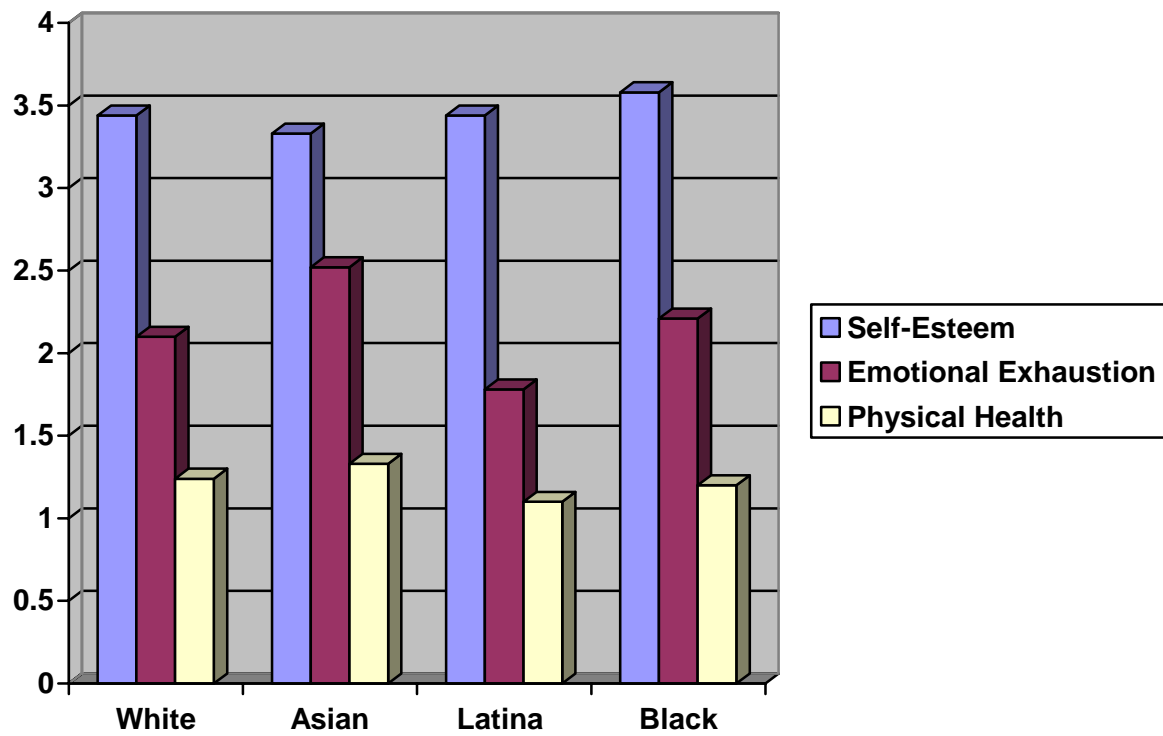


Figure 4: Means of Women on Well-Being

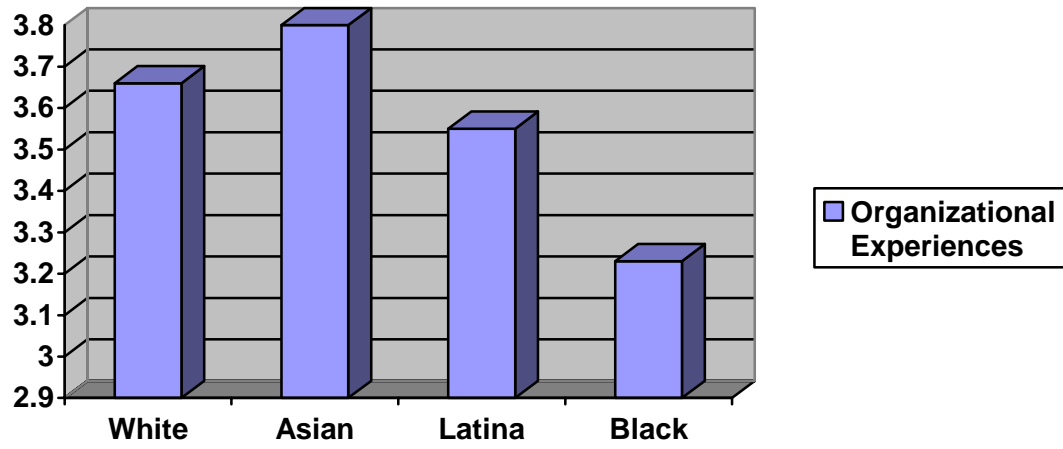


Figure 5: Means of Women on Organizational Experiences

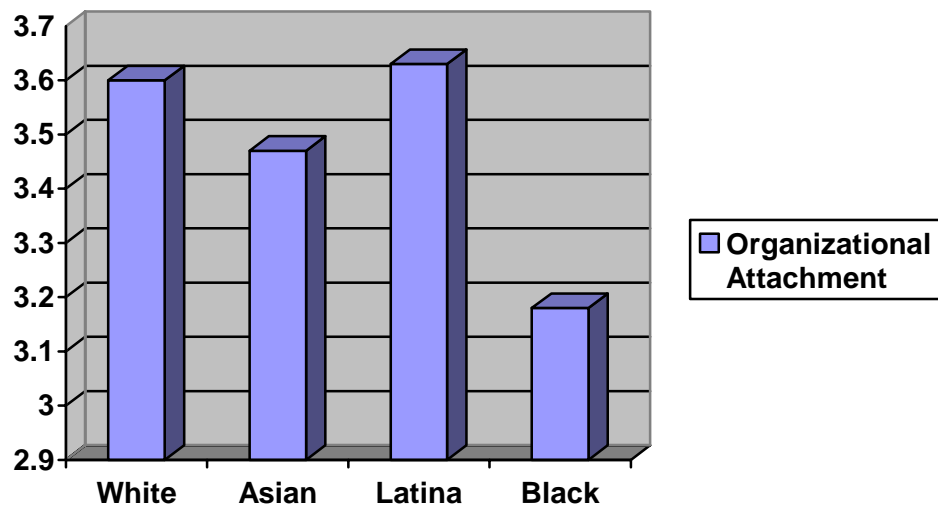


Figure 6: Means of Women on Organizational Attachment

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N = 420)

		Blacks	Whites	Total
Total Number of Respondents		208	212	420
Age		40.81	41.70	41.26
Years in Organization		8.21	8.05	8.15
Years in Position		4.92	4.44	4.67
Education Position Level	Administration	4.8%	4.7%	4.8%
	Professor	2.4%	8.5%	5.5%
	Teacher	1.9%	4.2%	3.1%
	Director		.9%	.5%
	Faculty/Admin	3.8%	3.3%	3.6%
	Other	6.3%	2.4%	4.3%
Business Position Level	Administration	14.4%	4.7%	9.5%
	Technical	9.6%	8.0%	8.8%
	Supervisor	9.1%	3.3%	6.2%
	Manager	15.9%	19.3%	17.6%
	Director	3.8%	15.1%	9.5%
	VP	1.4%	6.1%	3.8%
	CEO/Exec	.5%	.5%	.5%
	Other	21.2%	14.2%	17.6%
Marital Status	Single	37.5%	23.1%	30.2%
	Married	37%	61.8%	49.5%
	Divorced/Separated	22.6%	13.7%	18.1%
	Widowed	1.9%	.9%	1.4%
Educational Attainment	High School	4.3%	4.2%	4.3%
	Technical degree	2.4%	1.4%	1.9%
	Associate's degree	7.7%	3.3%	5.5%
	Bachelor's degree	37%	38.7%	37.9%
	Master's degree	33.7%	37.7%	35.7%
	Professional degree	7.2%	4.2%	5.7%
	Doctoral degree	6.7%	10.4%	8.6%
Yearly Individual Salary	\$10,000-\$20,000	.5%	.5%	.5%
	\$20,000-\$40,000	13.9%	11.3%	12.6%
	\$40,000-\$60,000	32.2%	21.2%	26.7%
	\$60,000-\$80,000	23.6%	18.9%	21.2%
	\$80,000-\$100,000	14.9%	17%	16%
	More than \$100,000	13%	31.1%	22.1%

Table 2

Correlations of Variables (N = 420^a)

Variables	M	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Race ^a	.50	.501	1							
2. Discrimination	2.48	.816	.383**	1						
3. Self Esteem	3.51	.429	.160**	-.073	1					
4. Burnout	2.15	1.29	.043	.226**	-.226**	1				
5. Physical Health	1.22	.681	-.027	.106*	-.276**	.588**	1			
6. Org. Attachment	3.40	.858	-.247**	-.425**	.264**	-.504**	-.338**	1		
7. Ethnic ID	2.96	.544	.689**	.284**	.296**	-.054	-.066	-.082	1	
8. Org. Experience	3.47	.841	-.223**	-.404**	.179**	-.424**	-.232**	.683**	-.091	1

Because of pairwise deletion of missing data, N ranged from 382 to 420

^a 0 = White, 1 = Black

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Organizational Experiences

Variable	Beta	R ²	Adjusted R ²	F
Race/Ethnicity	-.223**	.050	.047	20.836**

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 4

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Perceived Discrimination

Variable	Beta	R²	Adjusted R²	F
Race/Ethnicity	.383**	.147	.144	66.456**

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 5

Means for Perceived Racial and Gender Discrimination

Variables	Group	Mean	S.D.	N	t	F
Perceived Racial Discrimination	Whites	1.93	.66	207	-13.710**	12.268**
	Blacks	3.00	.86	198		
Perceived Gender Discrimination	Whites	2.43	.89	204	-2.48*	.030
	Blacks	2.65	.92	198		

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 6

Ethnic Identity Moderation Effects on the Race - Perceived Discrimination Relationship

Variables	Adjusted R ²	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	β
Step 1:	.148	.150	65.039**		
Race					.387**
Step 2:	.146	.000	32.534**	.174	
Race					.368**
Ethnic ID					.028
Step 3:	.146	.003	22.108**	1.219	
Race					-.033
Ethnic ID					-.053
Ethnic ID x Race					.464

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Well-Being

Variables	Beta	R ²	Adjusted R ²	F
Burnout		.174	.167	25.714**
Race/Ethnicity	-.068			
Organizational Experiences	-.377**			
Perceived Discrimination	.110*			
Self-esteem		.080	.073	10.510**
Race/Ethnicity	.250**			
Organizational Experiences	.183**			
Perceived Discrimination	-.091			
Physical Health		.052	.044	6.267**
Race/Ethnicity	-.098			
Organizational Experiences	-.211**			
Perceived Discrimination	.052			

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 8

Ethnic Identity Moderation Effects on the Race – Well-being Relationship

Variables	Adjusted R ²	ΔR^2	F	ΔF	β
Self-esteem as outcome variable					
Step 1:	.027	.030	11.693**	11.693**	
Race					.173**
Step 2:	.084	.059	18.596**	24.770**	
Race					-.057
Ethnic ID					.335**
Step 3:	.085	.003	12.860**	1.353	
Race					-.486
Ethnic ID					.246*
Ethnic ID x Race					.497
Exhaustion as outcome variable^a					
Step 1:	-.001	.002	.679	.679	
Race					.042
Phys. Health as outcome variable^a					
Step 1:	-.002	.001	.407	.407	
Race					-.034

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black^a Steps 2 and 3 were not conducted since Step 1 was not significant* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Analysis Predicting Organizational Attachment

Variables	β	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
		.569	.561	689.701**
Race/Ethnicity	-.105*			
Organizational Experiences	.467**			
Perceived Discrimination	-.147**			
Well Being				
Emotional Exhaustion	-.219**			
Self-esteem	.130**			
Physical Health	-.049			

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .001$

Table 10

Mediation Effects of the Race – Well-being Relationship

D.V.	Models	β	R ²	Adj. R ²	F
Mediator: Organizational Experiences					
Self-esteem	Step 1:		.025	.023	10.469**
	Outcome: Self-esteem				
	Predictor: Race	.160**			
	Step 2:		.050	.047	20.836**
	Outcome: Org. Exp.				
	Predictor: Race	-.223**			
	Step 3:		.074	.070	15.405**
	Outcome: Self-esteem				
	Predictor: Race	.211**			
	Mediator: Org. Experiences	.228**			
Exhaustion ^a	Step 1:		.002	-.001	.743
	Outcome: Exhaustion				
	Predictor: Race	.043			
Physical Health ^a	Step 1:		.001	-.002	.271
	Outcome: Physical Health				
	Predictor: Race	-.027			
Mediator Perceived Discrimination					
Self-esteem	Step 1:		.025	.023	10.469**
	Outcome: Self-esteem				
	Predictor: Race	.160**			
	Step 2:		.147	.144	66.456**
	Outcome: Discrimination				
	Predictor: Race	.383**			
	Step 3:		.054	.049	10.793**
	Outcome: Self-esteem				
	Predictor: Race	.239**			
	Mediator: Discrimination	-.163**			

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black^a Steps 2 and 3 were not conducted since Step 1 was not significant

*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .001

Table 11

Mediation effects of race-organizational attachment relationship

Mediator	Models	β	R ²	Adj. R ²	F
Org Experiences	Step 1:		.061	.059	25.439**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.247**			
	Step 2:		.050	.047	20.836**
	Outcome: Org. Experiences				
	Predictor: Race	-.223**			
Self-esteem	Step 3:		.475	.472	169.078**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.096*			
	Mediator: Org Experiences	.661**			
	Step 2:		.025	.023	10.469**
	Outcome: Self-esteem				
Perceived Discrimination	Predictor: Race	.160**			
	Step 3:		.167	.163	37.190**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.318**			
	Mediator: Self-esteem	.317**			
	Step 2:		.147	.144	66.456**
Org. Experiences & Self-esteem	Outcome: Discrimination				
	Predictor: Race	.383**			
	Step 3:		.187	.183	42.194**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.084			
	Mediator: Discrimination	-.393**			
Perceived Discrimination & Self-esteem	Step 3:		.508	.504	124.238**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.155**			
	Mediator: Org. Experiences	.164**			
	Mediator: Self-esteem	.187**			
	Step 3:		.263	.257	42.435**
Perceived Discrimination & Self-esteem	Outcome: Org. Attachment				
	Predictor: Race	-.168**			
	Mediator: Discrimination	-.354**			
	Mediator: Self-esteem	.262**			
	Step 3:		.263	.257	42.435**
	Outcome: Org. Attachment				

Note: For Race/Ethnicity, 0 = White; 1 = Black

*p ≤ .05; ** p ≤ .001

Table 12

Post Hoc Analyses mediation of ethnic identity

Variables	Adjusted R ²	F	β
Step 1:	.027	11.693**	
Outcome: Self-Esteem			
Predictor: Race			.173**
Step 2:	.474	357.716**	
Outcome: Ethnic ID			
Predictor: Race			.689**
Step 3:	.084	18.596**	
Outcome: Self-esteem			
Predictor: Race			-.057
Mediator: Ethnic ID			.335**

Table 13

Summary of Results

		Hypotheses	Results
Organizational Experiences	H1	There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity and organizational experiences, where women of color will experience more negative organizational experiences than White women.	Supported
Perceived Discrimination	H2	There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity and perceived discrimination, where women of color will perceive more discrimination in the workplace than White women.	Supported
	H3	Women of color will report perceiving more discrimination based on ethnicity, while White women will report perceiving more discrimination based on gender.	Partially Supported
	H4	Ethnic identity will moderate the relationship between ethnicity and perceived discrimination. Specifically, the linear relationship will be stronger for women of color than for White women who will remain unaffected across ethnic identity levels	Not Supported
Well-being	H5	There will be a direct relationship between organizational experiences and well-being	
		A. Women who experience more positive organizational experiences will report having higher levels of self-esteem	Supported
		B. Women who experience more positive organizational experiences will report having lower feelings of emotional exhaustion	Supported
		C. Women who experience more positive organizational experiences will report having better physical health	Supported
	H6	There will be a direct relationship between perceived discrimination and well-being	
		A. Women who experience less perceived discrimination will report having higher levels of self-esteem	Not Supported
		B. Women who experience less perceived discrimination will report having lower feelings of emotional exhaustion.	Supported
		C. Women who experience less perceived discrimination will report having better physical health.	Not Supported
	H7	There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity and well-being	
		A. Women of color will report experiencing lower levels of self-esteem than White women.	Not Supported
		B. Women of color will report experiencing higher feelings of emotional exhaustion than White women.	Not Supported
		C. Women of color will report experiencing worse physical health than White women.	Not Supported
	H8	Ethnic identity will moderate the relationship between ethnicity and well-being. Specifically, the linear relationship will be stronger for women of color than for White women who will remain unaffected across ethnic identity levels	

		A. Self Esteem	Not Supported
		B. Emotional Exhaustion	Not Supported
		C. Physical Health	Not Supported
	H9	Organizational experiences will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and well-being	
		A. Self -Esteem	Not Supported
		B. Emotional Exhaustion	Not Supported
		C. Physical Health	Not Supported
	H10	Perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and well-being	
		A. Self-esteem	Not Supported
		B. Emotional Exhaustion	Not Supported
		C. Physical Health	Not Supported
Organizational Attachment	H11	There will be a direct relationship between well being and organizational attachment	
		A. Woman who have lower levels of emotional exhaustion will have increased levels of organizational attachment	Supported
		B. Women who have higher levels of self esteem will have increased levels of organizational attachment	Supported
		C. Women who have better physical health will have increased levels of organizational attachment	Not Supported
	H12	There will be a direct relationship between organizational experiences and organizational attachment, where women who have more positive organizational experiences will have increased levels of organizational attachment	Supported
	H13	There will be a direct relationship between perceived discrimination and organizational attachment, where women who perceive more discrimination will have lower levels of organizational attachment	Supported
	H14	There will be a direct relationship between ethnicity and organizational attachment, where women of color will have lower levels of organizational attachment	Supported
	H15	Organizational experiences will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.	Not Supported
	H16	Well-being will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.	
		A. Self Esteem	Supported
		B. Emotional Exhaustion	Not Supported
		C. Physical Health	Not Supported
	H17	Perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.	Supported

	H18	Organizational experiences and well-being will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.	
		A. Organizational experiences and self-esteem	Not Supported
		B. Organizational experiences and emotional exhaustion	Not Supported
		C. Organizational experiences and physical health	Not Supported
	H19	Well-being and perceived discrimination will mediate the relationship between participant ethnicity and organizational attachment.	
		A. Self-esteem and perceived discrimination	Not Supported
		B. Emotional exhaustion and perceived discrimination	Not Supported
		C. Physical health and perceived discrimination	Not Supported

Table 14

Group Means

Race		Racial Discrimin.	Gender Discrimin.	Perceived Discrimin.	Self-esteem	Exhaustion	Physical Health	Attachment	Org. Experiences
Black	Mean	2.9955	2.6504	2.8045	3.5763	2.2074	1.2004	3.1786	3.2810
	N	198	198	189	198	202	183	190	196
	S.D.	.88535	.92363	.82286	.41408	1.41329	.68347	.90084	.92206
Latina	Mean	2.3565	2.2844	2.3102	3.4440	1.7778	1.0990	3.6273	3.5487
	N	24	25	24	25	25	23	23	22
	S.D.	1.08470	1.06481	1.03143	.44448	1.22558	.84685	.72555	.74700
Asian	Mean	2.1667	2.3042	2.2354	3.3282	2.5230	1.3305	3.4739	3.7962
	N	42	42	42	39	41	39	41	41
	S.D.	.78154	.87181	.76949	.43344	1.47390	.74196	.75318	.53704
White	Mean	1.9265	2.4259	2.1806	3.4395	2.0978	1.2367	3.6019	3.6558
	N	207	204	200	205	208	199	204	204
	S.D.	.66262	.89020	.68371	.43369	1.15123	.68062	.76331	.71052