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## **The Career Progression of Black Managers**

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# **ABSTRACT**

## ***The Career Progression of Black Managers***

This research programme examined the factors that affect the career progression of Black managers in the United Kingdom. The research comprised two distinct but related studies. The first study was a qualitative investigation of the factors affecting the career progression of Black managers (n = 64).

The main finding from the first study was that for some the achievement of high salaries and senior positions may be at the expense of one's positive Black racial identity attitudes and well-being.

The second study was a quantitative examination of aspects revealed as important correlates of career success in study 1. Two hundred and sixty-one respondents (97 Black and 163 White respondents) across all major industry sectors participated. The results of the second study confirmed that Black managers were more disadvantaged than their White peers. The proposition that for some Black managers a "sell out" effect occurs was supported.

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## Chapter 1:

# Shades of Black

### 1.0 OVERVIEW

A major problem that Black<sup>1</sup> people face is being disadvantaged in the workplace. There is wide variation in how racial discrimination affects Black employees (research carried out by the Cabinet Office, 2002 identified differences between Asian and African Caribbean employees in reaching management positions). Black managers find it hard to move up the managerial hierarchy – consequently Black managers are conspicuous by their absence on the boards of major private, public and voluntary sector organisations. It is now well established that Black managers receive fewer advancement opportunities (Fernandez, 1975; Brown & Ford, 1977; Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker & Tucker, 1980; Irons & Moore, 1985; Nixon, 1985). Black managers also experience considerable dissatisfaction and frustration in their careers (Fernandez, 1975; Jones, 1986). However, there is a lack of more recent research studies on Black managers' career progression in the United Kingdom.

In 1985 Kraiger & Ford carried out a meta-analysis of performance appraisal ratings and found considerable race bias was prevalent in their study.

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this dissertation the term Black is used to describe people of African Caribbean and Asian descent. This term is also used to describe people who have joint parentage, for example Asian mother and European father. The term Ethnic Minority is regarded as derogatory by some; it is otiose to use the term Black and Ethnic Minority.

Following on from this research Ilgen & Yontz (1986) found that discrimination not only affected salary, promotions, terminations and training opportunities; it also affected acceptance into the work group and availability of psychological support from others. These experiences can have dysfunctional consequences for Black managers' career progression.

Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Wormley (1990) examined the effects of race on organisational experience, job performance evaluations and career outcomes. Their study comprised of a matched sample of 373 Black managers and a sample of 455 White managers in three private sector organisations in the USA.

Greenhaus et al (1990) found a significant effect in terms of race and gender in their study. Black managers were more likely than White managers to be women. This finding points to the need to determine whether sex was a more important factor than race in determining the career progression of Black managers. Greenhaus et al also found that Black managers reported having less job discretion and less feelings of acceptance than White managers. Black managers received lower promotability assessments, had lower performance assessments than Whites and were more likely to be at a career plateau.

Greenhaus et al's (1990) data revealed that supervisors often attributed good performance ratings gained by Blacks to chance, whereas when White males performed well the performance was attributed to their competence.



Greenhaus et al (1990) proposed that future research should examine the range of organisational experiences that increase the performance of Black managers. They concluded that race differences in performance evaluations do not reflect actual job performance, but may indicate bias in the rating process. According to Greenhaus et al (1990), it is possible that in general White managers use race rather than work performance in assessing a manager's performance. This is consistent with Krainger & Ford (1985), who found that raters give higher ratings to ratees of the same race. Greenhaus et al (1990) also found that Blacks received less favourable assessments of promotability from their supervisors, were more likely to have plateaux in their careers, and were more dissatisfied with their careers than Whites.

Greenhaus et al (1990) suggested that Black managers may have reported less job satisfaction than Whites because they have less discretion and autonomy. Greenhaus et al's (1990) investigation of career outcomes found no evidence that Black managers engaged in self-limiting behaviours regarding their careers. They concluded that future research needs to be conducted in a range of organisations and a broad range of managerial levels should be involved in the research to identify the extent to which these trends can be generalised to other occupational settings outside the USA.

The aforementioned research provides clear evidence that Black employees experience difficulty in progressing to senior management levels – the “concrete ceiling” effect. This phenomenon has been well documented in the

United Kingdom by the African Caribbean Finance Forum, Foundation for Management & The Wainwright Trust (1996). The phenomenon was labelled the concrete ceiling effect to indicate that it is even more difficult Black people to penetrate than the “glass ceiling” effect that was identified for women in the workplace.

The lack of senior Black managers cannot be attributed to lack of qualifications (Cabinet Office, 2002). Nor can it be argued that there is an inherent unsuitability in Black employees, as there are many high profile Black people across a range of occupations. For example, Colin Powell (military), Paul Boateng (politics), professor Stuart Hall (academia), Trevor McDonald (broadcasting), Reginald Lewis (business) and, of course, national leader Nelson Mandela.

Very little of the research has been carried out in the area of career success that has examined Black people’s experiences of pursuing and developing effective strategies for career success. The following section of this study provides an introduction to the issue. It looks at what a career is and what success is by considering both objective and subjective success.

It is clear that access to the “top table” is poor for many Black managers (African Caribbean Finance Forum, Foundation for Management & The Wainwright Trust, 1996). A significant oversight in the career literature is that it fails to give adequate consideration to how Black people’s careers may be different from those of Whites.

## **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this literature review is to provide an effective critical evaluation of current research on the factors which affect the career progression of Black managers.

In particular this chapter is focused on:

- (1) Key concepts and theories surrounding the lack of senior Black managers; and
- (2) The main problems and questions relating to the career development of Black managers that have been addressed to date.

This review provides a highly specialist account of the problems relating to the career progression of Black managers and highlights areas in need of research and exploration.

It became evident from the critical analysis of the research described in this review that there was an opportunity to create a new synthesis of the research. The review of the literature also revealed that there was an opportunity to develop instruments which had not yet been applied in the United Kingdom. The review points to ways in which the theory and knowledge relating to successful career progression of Black managers could be enlarged.

In summary this review highlights a number of important variables relevant to the successful career progression of Black Managers. The review provides a new multi-dimensional perspective on the factors affecting the career progression of Black managers. It sets out the relationship between theory and practice, establishes the context and the significance of the problem. The main methodologies and research technologies applied to this problem are also discussed.

## **1.2 THE MANIFESTATION OF RACISM?**

### **1.2.1 THE LABOUR MARKET**

In 2002 a Central Government research team concluded that Blacks face a massive disadvantage in the work place (Cabinet Office, 2002). The authors found that these differences could not be attributed to factors such as age, educational attainment, work experience, location or industry sector, as all relevant key variables were taken into account in the study.

The Cabinet Office (2002) found that after taking into account all key variables, Black people are significantly disadvantaged in terms of employment and occupational attainment. The continuing disadvantage in occupational attainment is clearer and more severe than it is for earnings.

Although Indian men have been very successful in the labour market overall, Black men and foreign-born Black women still earn substantially less than their White counterparts. More specifically African Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men face the most profound levels of disadvantage (Cabinet Office, 2002). The Cabinet Office research also found that the unemployment rate for Blacks is much higher than the unemployment rate for Whites.

Black people have the lowest level of representation in higher managerial and professional occupations (see Table 1, Appendix 1). The labour force survey demonstrates that the unemployment rate for Blacks is nearly twice that of Whites.

The Cabinet Office (2002) research examined occupational attainment by exploring the chances of being in professional or managerial jobs – defined as the salariat. These are secure jobs with favourable employment conditions. The results of the Cabinet Office survey are given in Table 2 in Appendix 1.

There is clear variation among the different ethnic groups, with Caribbean men and Pakistani women and men facing the most enduring discrimination and disadvantage. However, Table 2 (see Appendix 1) indicates that career opportunities for Blacks appear to have improved substantially between the 1970s and 1990s for the first generation and even for the second generation and that the gap between Blacks and Whites is substantially reduced.

Black staff make up 6.0% of the public and 10% of the voluntary sector workforce (Cabinet Office, 2002). In terms of the private sector the Runnymede Trust (2000) found that Black staff made up 5.4% of the workforce, and were distributed as follows:

1. Indians were represented across all grades of middle and junior managers (3.4 of the total).
2. Black African Caribbeans were under-represented at all managerial levels.
3. Bangladeshis were under-represented at all levels.

Only 1% of Black staff had senior positions and 0.02% of these had executive director posts (Runnymede Trust, 2000).

In the Cabinet Office (2002) research model, when considering differences in gross and net earning for men, average earnings from the Family Resources survey were patched onto Labour Force Survey data on employment rate to calculate the overall measure of earning power. Age, education, migration, economic environment and family structure were statistically controlled.

When exploring women's net earnings differences, account was taken of age, region, marital status, industry qualifications, job tenure, plant size, whether in part-time employment, whether in ill health, place of birth and time effects.

The multivariate regression analysis across ethnic groups mounted by the Cabinet Office (2002) revealed that there were net differences in the labour market achievement between Blacks and Whites after taking into account the measurable differences.

Among Black men, Pakistani and Bangladeshi men are most likely to be unemployed, followed closely by African Caribbean men. Indian men were the least likely to be unemployed. African Caribbean women are the women most likely to be unemployed and Pakistani and Bangladeshi women least likely to be unemployed

Apart from Indian men and women, Black people are under-represented in the professional classes. African Caribbean men are just 0.56 times as likely to be in the professional class as their White counterparts. African Caribbean women are 0.68 times as likely.

The Cabinet Office (2002) carried out more detailed statistical analysis of the net differences of the likelihood of being in the professional class. In this analysis they took into account age, educational qualifications, individuals' age when leaving education, marital status, parental status and regional variation.

Overall Black men are less likely than their White counterparts to secure a professional position. If the typical man is African Caribbean, he is 0.36 times as likely (a third) to gain a professional position as a White man.

African Caribbean men endure the highest level of discrimination and Indian men suffer the lowest level of discrimination.

The results of the analysis were somewhat different for women. African Caribbean women were most likely to be in the professional class. In summary, African Caribbean men were the least likely to be in the professional class, followed by Indian and Pakistani/Bangladeshi women, then Pakistani/Bangladeshi men. Indian men were the most likely to be in the professional class.

A summary of the gross and net differences between Black men and their White counterparts is set out in Table 7 in Appendix 1. Additional variables including training and experience were taken into account in this analysis.

When the additional variables listed in Table 7 are taken into account it can be seen that some groups of Black men became more disadvantaged.

The Cabinet Office concluded that UK-born Black women no longer appear to be disadvantaged in terms of earnings (Cabinet Office, 2002). In summary, the key finding from the literature is that Black people still appear to be disadvantaged in terms of occupational status and career progression. However, there appear to be considerable differences between Asian and African Caribbean employees. There are also marked differences between African Caribbean women and White women. These sex differences in career progression raise the possibility that differences in managerial



progression identified in the earlier research studies could be due to sex rather than race.

### **1.2.2 THE SELECTION OF BLACK MANAGERS**

Black employees invariably enter and progress in organisations after competing for jobs through the recruitment and selection process. The selection process will normally incorporate an interview. For more senior management positions psychometric tests are commonplace. The most rigorous assessment device is the assessment centre that incorporates a number of interviews, psychometric tests and a number of work-based tests, such as an in-tray, and group leadership activities.

Black candidates are likely to be disadvantaged in the interview because interviews are highly subjective and give rise to a number of racial biases (Arvey, 1979, 1989; Arvey & Campion, 1989; Janz, 1989; Arvey & Faley, 1992). Selection tests have been used for some time in a bid to make the selection process more objective. However, a major barrier to Black managers' development is the fact that Blacks find it more difficult to pass the recruitment and selection tests which are pervasive in senior management selection. The literature in this area (Jorgenson, 1973; Drenth & Van-der Flier, 1976; Gurevich, 1981) also supports the view that because selection tests measure culture it is not possible to have a culture-free selection test.

The evidence for the cultural mistrust effect is demonstrated by the work of Terrel, Terrel & Taylor (1981). Terrel et al (1981) examined the relationship between cultural mistrust and subsequent scores in the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale. The cultural mistrust inventory was administered to a group of Black males. Half of the group with a high level of cultural mistrust and half of the group with a low level of cultural mistrust were given the WAIS by a White or Black examiner. The high mistrust group scored much more highly with the Black examiner than with the White examiner. However, the low cultural mistrust group scored significantly higher with the White examiner. Mirshra (1990) also found that respondent performance on WISC and Raven's Progressive Matrices was affected by the race of the examiner. This examiner performance effect was only found with Black participants.

Despite the fact that some of these studies took place over 20 years ago there have been no significant recent research studies challenging these cultural bias effects in selection. The most effective method of selection is the assessment centre. Even though considerable resources have been expended trying to make the assessment centres objective and culture free there remains significant racial bias in assessment centres.

### *1.2.2.1 Interviews*

Reilly & Chao (1982) concluded that there was no evidence that interviews would have any less adverse effects than tests. They considered that

interviews might give rise to bias because the subjective view of the interviewer is often the determining factor. Smith & Robertson (1993) state that there are a number of forms of interview bias in conflict with the principles of equal opportunities. These biases are present in many everyday interviews and include the requirements asked for and simple assumptions about a particular racial group not fitting in. (For a more detailed analysis of problems with selection interviews see Arvey, 1979; Arvey & Campion, 1989; Janz, 1989; Arvey & Faley, 1992).

Nottingham and District Community Relations Council & the Commission for Racial Equality (1980) found that when applicants were identical in terms of qualifications and experience only half of the candidates with typical Black names were called for an interview. Parsons & Linden (1984) also studied real selection decisions for jobs and found that selectors invariably discriminate against Black applicants.

Prewett-Livingston, Veres, Field & Lewis (1996) researched the effects of interviewer race, candidate race and the racial composition of interview panels on the interview ratings of 153 police officers applying for promotion. Black candidates received higher ratings from Black interviewers and White candidates received higher ratings from White interviewers on racially balanced panels. The evidence indicates that the make-up of the interview panel in addition to the candidate's and interviewer's race are possible variables influencing selection decisions. This is consistent with the research

carried out by Krainger & Ford (1995), who found that raters give higher ratings to ratees of their own race.

Moss & Tilly (1996) carried out open-ended interviews with 75 managers, many of whom felt that Black men had poor motivational skills and were not able to interact well with customers. Tomkiewicz (1998) explored the relationship between racial stereotypes and the essential personal characteristics for management positions. A group of managers, consisting of 305 White males and 120 White females, completed a questionnaire based on Schien's (1973, 1975) descriptive index to define both Black and White stereotypes and the characteristics of successful middle managers. The study found that managers were perceived to have more of the characteristics associated with Whites.

#### ***1.2.2.2 Psychometric Testing***

There are a number of studies which have highlighted the effects of cultural distance on psychometric test results. Some of the early work by Medly & Quirk (1974) found that if the test content is made more culturally representative, involving Black examples in the test materials, then performance of Black candidates may improve. Scheuneman (1981) found that Black life experience is, on both verbal and non-verbal elements of selection tests, far different from those for whom the tests are designed. This requires Blacks to use non-optimal strategies when responding to test items. Grubb & Ollendick (1986) built on this early work to formulate the cultural

distance perspective. This held that a subculture's distance from the major culture would determine that culture's scoring pattern.

### *1.2.2.3 Assessment Centres*

The performance ratings of Black women candidates have been found to differ according to the proportions of White men in the assessment centre group. Schmitt & Hill (1977) found that Black women were viewed as less forceful when assessed with a larger proportion of White men. Further, their communication skills were assessed more positively with increasing numbers of White women in the assessment centre group.

Once in the organisation it is important to examine the experiences of Black employees in relation to training and developmental opportunities as these are the key factors which may contribute to the development of Black managers once they enter organisations.

The literature on seven key career dynamics and strategies which appeared to be important to Black managers' objective and subjective success, once Black managers enter organisations, was reviewed. The factors identified in the review were: access to developmental opportunities/job assignments, Black managers' developmental programmes, access to mainstream training, discrimination in selection processes, access to mentoring and access to key networks. Very little research was available on Black and White employees'

perceptions of egalitarianism in careers and the different strategies Blacks and Whites use for career success.

### **1.2.3 ACCESS TO TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT**

Racism in access to developmental opportunities was surveyed by Andrew (1996) and the Local Government Management Board (1996).

The Local Government Management Board (LGMB), 1996 study focused specifically on Black managers in local government. Their sample consisted of Black 'managers' and a comparison group of White managers in the UK. The researchers found that the Black participants had broadly similar entrance qualifications into local government as their White peers. However, White staff managed larger teams and generally had greater management responsibility. There were radically different experiences to access to developmental opportunities, Black staff consistently having less access.

Black managers expressed a considerably stronger desire to undertake developmental opportunities than White managers. There were also sharply contrasting views about the need for a Black managers' development programme. Black managers were generally in favour of such a programme and White managers were generally in opposition to a Black managers' development programme.

Andrew (1996) studied 187 Black managers with a comparison group of 121 White managers in UK public service organisations. Over 60% of Andrew's sample of Black managers were women. This was significantly higher than the proportion of women managers in the White sample. Andrew contends that the over-representation of Black women managers reflects the general make-up of the workforce in public sector organisations. In Andrew's sample 42% of White respondents identified themselves as the most senior paid officer in their organisation, compared with 5% of Black managers. However, the Black respondents were more qualified than their White counterparts. In short, Andrew's work supports the contention that the lack of Black managers is not due to the lack of qualifications or lack of desire of Black managers to develop.

There was a striking difference between Black and White managers on the sense of distance they felt from their organisation's training and development processes. Black managers felt far more distant from them than White managers. Black respondents were also more sceptical of the practical steps managers were perceived to be taking to practice and promote equal opportunities.

Black and White managers had profoundly different views about the major barriers to Black managers' development. Seven in ten Black managers were able to identify a minimum of three highly significant barriers to their development. Only one third of White managers were able to identify any barriers at all to Black managers' development. Two thirds of White

managers believed there were no highly significant barriers hindering Black people who were seeking to develop their careers.

While these studies certainly add to the literature, focus of the aforementioned research was limited in that it only addressed the issue of training and development opportunities. In reality the factors affecting the career progression of Black managers are multi-factoral (Davis & Watson, 1982; Irons & Moore, 1985; Edwards & Polite, 1992).

### *1.2.3.1 Mentoring*

Research carried out by Nkomo & Cox (1989) showed that Black women advanced more quickly than Black men in large organisations with some mentor help. However, having line management experience was more important for Black men's career progression.

Colins & Scott (1978) argue that everyone who is successful has a mentor. This may overstate the case somewhat. The evidence presented by Colins & Scott is limited, though they argue that mentoring is an established important factor in career progression. Black people have more difficulty than women in finding influential mentors with whom they can identify (Bell, 1990; Dickens & Dickens, 1992).



### *1.2.3.2      Networking*

One way of identifying potential mentors is through networking, which also has other career progression benefits. Friedman, Kane & Cornfield (1998) conclude that Black support networks help Blacks both socially and psychologically. They provide Black employees with more contacts and thus a larger pool of potential mentors.

Managers have also been found to belong to significantly more networks than non-managers (Carroll & Teo, 1996, p. 437).

Frazer (1994) carried out a qualitative study on senior executives on the benefits of networking for Black professionals in the USA, both inside and outside the Black community. He concluded that networking was critical for success.

Although career development opportunities such as mentoring and networking are important factors in career development, racial identity attitudes may have an important impact on the use and benefits gained from mentoring and networking activities. What appears to distinguish Black managers' career development from that of their White counterparts is Black managers' skills in managing racism at work and the impact of their racial identity attitudes on managing racism in building perceptions of career success.

Helms (1993) has defined racial identity as a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group. Racial identity theory is concerned with the psychological implications of racial group membership. Racial identity attitudes are belief systems that develop as a reaction to perceived differences as a result of membership of one's racial group. Racial identity theory is also concerned with the process by which a Black or White person identifies or not with the racial group with which he or she is said to share a common heritage. Additionally, racial identity theory refers to the quality or manner of identification with one's racial group. Racial identity theory therefore describes a number of models of identification with one's respective racial group.

It is important to understand how racism and may impact upon the psychological well-being of Black and White managers. The racial identity theory of Cross (1991) and Helms (1993) provides a conceptual framework that can empirically measure the relationship between racial identity, well-being and self-esteem.

## 1.2.4 RACISM AND RACIAL IDENTITY

### 1.2.4.1 *A Model of Black Racial Identity Development*

The Cross model of Black racial identity development was found to apply to Black people in mainstream American society where Black people are in the minority. The stages in the Cross model of racial identity development are: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion and internalisation. Each stage is now considered in more detail.

#### (a) Pre-encounter

In this stage the Black individual will construe the world as being non-Black or White. Their worldview consists of a pro-White framework. They will operate in a manner which devalues their Black identity, including preferring Whites over Blacks and publicly denigrating Blacks. This is more likely to apply to those who are in a White majority social or occupational setting.

#### (b) Encounter

To move to this stage the individual encounters a profound personal or social situation, which stimulates them to question their previous pro-White worldview. This helps them to become receptive to review of their identity. After this profound encounter the individual starts a new, almost obsessive, search for their Black identity and culture. At the

conclusion of this stage the individual has not obtained their new Black identity, however, they have made a conscious decision to find it. It should be noted that not everyone will go through every stage; some people will be born into very positive Black families and will be insulated by positive Black role models.

(c) Immersion/Emersion

In the immersion/emersion stage the individual starts to develop a sense of pride in being Black, and awareness. However, very little of this pride is internalised. Individuals at this stage engross themselves entirely in Black life and culture; they idealise everything Black and devalue or reject everything that is White.

(d) Internalisation/Commitment

This is the last stage in racial identity development in which individuals gain a sense of inner security and feel content with being Black. The immersion/emersion experiences become incorporated into the individual's worldview and there is a reduction in anti-White feelings. The individual is able to work on all forms of oppression. He (she) becomes bi-cultural and adopts a pluralistic approach to dealing with life and its conflicts.

There are now numerous empirical studies to support the Cross model of racial identity development (Helms, 1986; Pomales, Claiborn & La Fromboise,

1986; Carter & Helms, 1987; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987; Carter & Helms, 1988; and Helms, 1993 for review).

In a study of 166 Black university students, Parham & Helms (1985a) found that both pro-White/anti-Black (pre-encounter) and pro-Black/anti-White (immersion) attitudes were associated with greater personal distress as indicated by feelings of inferiority, anxiety and hostility. Awakening Black identity (encounter attitudes) was positively related to self-actualisation tendencies and negatively related to feelings of inferiority, anxiety and hostility. Parham & Helms (1985b) found that pre-encounter and immersion attitudes were associated with low self-esteem. Encounter attitudes were associated with positive self-esteem and, although not statistically significantly related, internalisation attitudes were also positively associated with self-esteem.

Gilbert (2000) contends that retention of one's cultural identity at work may be advantageous to the individual and the organisation. However, this research was restricted in that only 15 of the 83 respondents were of African extraction.

James, Lavoto & Khoo (1994) highlight the key role that social identity can play in precipitating stress and retarding coping ability. According to James, poor racial identity could generate social stressors for Black employees and retard their resistance to stress. This is because the need to maintain a positive view of one's identity was regarded as a major factor impacting on an individual's emotions and behaviours.

Bravette's (1994) research with Black women managers highlighted the conflicts they experienced in the pressure to suppress their own cultural identity. This was found to be particularly acute for British-born Black women managers. Davidson (1997) calls this bi-cultural role strain.

Davidson (1997) also pointed to a major bi-cultural role stressor in which Black employees were torn between service to the Black community and service to White organisations such as the police, who have been charged with being institutionally racist. Drawing on the work of Simpson (1984), she noted that many female African-American lawyers felt a sense of guilt and having "sold-out" when they left the public for the private sector. Dickens & Dickens (1991) built on this proposition in that their data also demonstrated that many of the African-American managers that they studied also felt as though they had abandoned the Black community and had "sold-out" to Whites.

Andrew (1996) also noted that many Black managers' careers were held back through fear of being seen as having "sold-out" to a White management culture or being labelled an "Uncle Tom". This concept of "selling out" was identified a decade before Andrew's (1996) study in research by Chung & Williams (1986) on Black managers in a local authority.

Chung & Williams (1986) brought Black and White managers together in the London Borough of Lambeth to identify issues affecting the career

development of Black managers. They also found that Black and White managers differed in their perceptions of the issues and problems facing managers and that the issues facing Black managers were not being addressed. They found that the following issues were faced by Black managers: isolation, marginalisation, overload, underload, by-passing (undermining), non-participation in the decision making process. It was noted that the Black community may feel that Black managers who are not effectively delivering services to the Black community in a way that acknowledges and supports Black people, have sold out.

James, Lavoto & Khoo (1994) have isolated six factors that are related to social identity processes in organisations that are closely correlated with Black employee health. These variables include individual expressiveness, levels of perceived racism on the job, perceived disparities between the values of Black and White workers in organisations (particularly when these affect supervisors and peers in work relationships) and intensity of self-esteem for one's ethnic group. Self-esteem is clearly correlated with a strong belief in self and good self-confidence.

Job dissatisfaction, resigning, loss of confidence, impaired performance, dampened career aspirations and time off work have all been identified by Davidson (1997) as having negative effects on psychological health outcomes related to sexism and racism at work. One limitation of Warr's (1990) well-being research is that it did not study the relationship between well-being and racial identity.

Only one study on racial identity has applied Helm's racial identity attitude scales to an occupational setting. Watts (1992) found that respondents high in internalisation attitudes believed that the strategies for dealing with racism identified by Barbarin & Gilbert (1981) and Barbarin (1996) were effective in dealing with racism. Respondents who were high in immersion and pre-encounter attitudes considered the strategies identified by Barbarin & Gilbert (1981) for dealing with racism to be ineffective. The strategies identified were:

1. Vote for anti-racist politicians.
2. Lobby for anti-discrimination laws.
3. Get Blacks and Whites to socialise more.
4. Persuade White work friends that racism hurts them.
5. Inform and mobilise Black groups for change.
6. Demonstrate and picket against racist practices.
7. Ensure Black people sit on interview panels.
8. Bring in Blacks at the top for change.
9. Set up Black businesses and schools.
10. Utilise the courts and tribunals to alter practice.
11. Provide education on the subtleties of racism.

Models of White racial identity development have not been studied in an occupational setting, yet research in this area is likely to provide valuable insights for organisations committed to eliminating discrimination at work through training and selection.



#### 1.2.4.2 *A Model of White Racial Identity Development*

Helms (1993) submits that the development of a positive White identity starts with the abandonment of racism and the development of a non-racist White identity. Models of White racial identity development focus on the negative consequences of racism. Karp (1981) noted that some of the adverse consequences of racism to Whites are feelings such as self-deception, self-hate, guilt and shame, along with feeling bad about being White. Pettigrew (1981) and Terry (1981) have pointed to a possible relationship between a racist White racial identity and White psychological ill health.

Helms (1993) outlines her empirically validated model of White racial identity development. Helms (1984) developed her model from empirical research which she undertook with White participants in the USA. The first three stages (Phase 1) of Helms's (1993) model relates to the abandonment of racism:

##### (a) Contact

First real consideration of race and therefore of Whiteness; the individual benefits from institutional and cultural racism without necessarily realising it. At this stage the individual has not really considered the moral dilemmas rising from racism. There are often positive feelings about the concept of fair treatment of Blacks, but the

individual may be anxious when in contact with Black people. Individuals at this stage often state that they do not notice race. A person moves out of the contact stage when they realise that there really are differences in the way that Black and White people are treated.

(b) Disintegration

Movement into this stage requires the consideration of the moral dilemmas linked to being White. There is a questioning of the racial ideology one has been socialised into. This stage covers the realisation that the social skills Whites have for interacting with Black communities are often inadequate. Guilt, depression, helplessness and anxiety are the result of the psychological discomfort experienced at this stage. The behaviours which are exhibited at this stage are: (i) avoiding further contact with Blacks (changing behaviour), (ii) trying to change other people's negative views about Black people (changing an environmental belief), and (iii) obtaining confirmation from Blacks or Whites that either racism is not the White person's fault or does not really exist (changing beliefs). However, because of in-group pressures, the individual accepts the view of White racial superiority.

(c) Reintegration

The individual sees Whites as superior and Blacks as inferior. The White person's position in society is seen as a consequence of merit

and superior ability. Guilt and anxiety are changed to fear and anger. Feelings about Blacks may be expressed passively, by not socialising with Black people. Active expression could be, for example, treating a Black person as an inferior person.

Stereotypes of Black people abound in Phase 1 of Helms' model of White identity. Stereotypes have a long and established history in the psychological literature. Allport (1958) refers to a number of other studies, which noted that common negative stereotypes persist. The commonest stereotypes held about Black people were that they are of primitive morality, susceptible to bribery by politicians, of low character and dishonest. Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969) found that the highest level of agreement among liberal, well-educated Princeton University students related to the stereotypes held about people of African descent.

Sigall & Page's (1971) research indicated that people understand that stereotypes are not socially desirable and so will avoid admitting that they use them. Brown (1986) viewed much of the content of stereotypes as ethnocentrically evaluated; that is, evaluations of the out-group by the standards of the in-group.

Phase 2 of Helm's model also consists of three stages that focus on defining a non-racist White identity.

(d) Pseudo-Independence

This is the initial stage of developing a positive racial identity. The individual starts to criticise commonly held racist assumptions and views. He feels sorry for Blacks and challenges his White peers. Individuals at this phase acknowledge the responsibility of Whites for racism, but look to Blacks rather than Whites to explain racism. Behaviour at this stage may, therefore, inadvertently reinforce racist stereotypes. The individual now has neither a positive or negative White racial identity. Changing Blacks, often to become more like Whites, is now the focus of the individual's interactions with Blacks. Both Blacks and Whites may treat pseudo-independent individuals with some suspicion because they are acting outside the White norms. The person may therefore feel like a misfit. In summary, the individual at this stage has intellectualised acceptance of cultural and racial differences.

(e) Immersion/Emersion

This stage is typified by a candid evaluation of racism and its importance to Whiteness. This is a stage of exchanging stereotypes about Blacks and Whites with accurate information. People at this stage often become engaged in White awareness groups in which the focus is changing White people's behaviour, rather than the behaviour of Blacks.

(f) Autonomy

This is the final stage in the model. At this stage the individual internalises a non-racist, multi-cultural identity. A new view of Whiteness develops in which the individual no longer needs to idealise or oppress people on the basis of racial group. Race is no longer seen as a threat and the individual actively engages in activities in which they can learn from other cultures.

In summary, the literature discussed indicates that any meaningful model of career development for Black managers should incorporate the notion of racial identity attitudes and how these link to perceptions of career processes such as training, mentoring, networking and selection. General models of career success do not make these connections. There is thus a need to synthesise the literature in this area to create a more inclusive model of the career progression of Black managers.

### **1.3 GENERAL MODELS OF CAREER SUCCESS**

There have been various models and conceptions of careers, career development and career success. However, the earlier models (proposed by Erickson 1959, 1980; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson & McKee, 1978; Schien, 1985a, 1985b, 1993; and Super, 1990) in the whole concentrated on individual development from adolescence to maturity. These models were generated in times when the world of employment and careers was much different than it is today.

Schien's (1985a, 1985b, 1993) career anchor theory relates well to the concept of objective and subjective career success. Unfortunately, Schien's sample was very limited in that it was American, middle class and not culturally diverse. Nevertheless, Schein was cognisant of the fact that different people will need to be managed in different ways, and this underpins Schien's career anchor theory.

The traditional conceptions of careers were produced at a time when the world of work and career was very different than it is today. The model of career promulgated by Arnold (1997) appears more able to address the changing nature of careers. Arnold contends, "a career is the sequence of employment related positions, roles, activities and experiences encountered by a person" (p. 16).

Arnold (1997) further states that careers are:

1. Defined in personal terms.
2. Have a subjective element.
3. Concern sequences of employment related experiences.
4. Are not confined to employment itself.
5. Can include employment in different occupations.
6. Do not necessarily involve high status occupations.
7. Do not necessarily involve promotion.

Arnold (1997) could have provided us with more information on the methodology and evidence used in the studies that he reviewed. In particular the review is almost silent on the number of Black participants in the studies that he reviews. In short, the research Arnold reviewed tells us almost nothing about how Black managers develop their careers.

The literature indicated two constructs, which would prove useful in evaluating whether differential career success patterns exist between Blacks and Whites in the United Kingdom. These were the constructs of objective and subjective career success. The concept and the measures of objective and subjective success are now critically appraised.

### **1.3.1 CAREER SUCCESS**

Judge, Cable, Boudreau & Bretz (1995) define career success as “positive psychological work-related outcomes or achievements one has accumulated as a result of one’s experiences”.

### **1.3.2 OBJECTIVE CAREER SUCCESS**

Career success as judged by others is determined on the basis of fairly objective and visible data is known as objective career success. This is because it can be measured by factors such as salary, number of promotions, etc. (Judge et al, 1995).

Objective career success was defined by London & Stumpf (1982) as observable career accomplishments that can be measured by pay and ascendancy. Other measures of objective career success have included: upward career mobility, occupational prestige, financial responsibility and control over subordinates (Stumpf & Rabinowitz, 1981; Veiga, 1983; Gould & Penley, 1984; and Melamed, 1996).

Education has been found to predict salary but not managerial level (Melamed, 1996; Herriott, Gibson, Pemberton & Pinder, 1993).



Age was found by Cox & Nkomo (1991) to predict level of objective success. This is possibly because older people have more job experience to offer: they effectively had had more time to climb the ladder.

Judge et al (1995) studied 1,388 US executives and found that demographic, human capital and motivational factors may account for a significant amount of variance in objective career success and career satisfaction.

Educational level, quality of degree and from where it was gained predicted financial success. The results suggested that different motivational and organisational variables explained objective and subjective success. Judge et al (1995) contend that hardly any research has combined objective and subjective success in one study.

The number of Black respondents in Judge et al's (1995) study was small. Judge et al did not report any differences in motivation or human capital between Black and Whites. They did not have enough Black respondents in their sample to infer that the differences found in objective success between Black and White employees were due to discrimination.

Judge et al (1995) conceded that their research was limited. Other environmental characteristics may have an impact on career success but these were not measured.

Melamed (1996) carried out a leading study on career success. Melamed (1996) found that the predictors of career success for White women are different to those that predict career success for White men.

Melamed believed that the determinants of career success could be split into three categories:

- (1) Human capital attributes of the employee:
  - (a) Job-relevant attributes that enable effective work performance.
  - (b) Job-irrelevant attributes that do not influence job performance.
- (2) Career options taken by the employee.
- (3) Opportunities structures open to the employee.

Melamed treated age as a confounding variable as age is strongly correlated with objective success, probably because older managers naturally have more work experience to offer.

Melamed (1996) found (in his first study of government employees) that managerial grade was positively correlated with education, extraversion, job change and promotion opportunities. It was negatively correlated with self-control.

The highest management positions were reached by educated employees who are high on self-control, with a long tenure in a line management position and whose hierarchical position allows for good promotion opportunities.

However, for women senior management, this correlated positively with tenure and regional unemployment, but negatively with self-confidence. Regional unemployment correlated negatively with men's management level.

In Melamed's (1996) second study of 324 full-time employees, mixed results were found, depending on the measure of success used. The results supported a gender specific model, but in the case of salary the results were more mixed. Managerial level was more problematic because not all the individuals were in the same organisation.

Both objective and subjective career success are critical in providing a complete conceptualisation of career success.

### **1.3.3 SUBJECTIVE CAREER SUCCESS**

Subjective career success includes current job satisfaction and the individual's feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction with their career. Locke (1976) and Judge et al (1995) defined job satisfaction as a "pleasurable or positive emotional state resulting from an appraisal of one's job or job experiences".

Korman, Wittig-Berman & Lang (1981) found that some managers, who appeared objectively successful, did not feel successful or proud of their

accomplishments. This finding is consistent with studies of other occupational groups such as lawyers (Platt & Pollock, 1974) and technicians (Van Maanen & Schein, 1977).

Gattiker & Larwood (1986) built on this work and found that subjective career success is a multi-dimensional construct and was clearly related to occupational self-concept. Gattiker & Larwood (1988) have also found that feelings about family life were correlated with feelings of career success for both men and women.

Korman (1980) argues that if individuals do not feel successful, they are likely to become alienated and detached; this leads to the search and acceptance of negative outcomes for oneself and others. These negative feelings affect job performance and how one relates and functions in the organisation. Korman et al (1981) argue that individuals who feel successful are more likely to feel happier and more motivated, which will in turn enhance their performance.

A number of studies have found that women feel less successful than men because of differences between the sexes in occupational and income levels achieved (Landau & Amoss, 1986; Roberts & Newton, 1987).

Peluchette (1993) considered objective career success to have implications for one's mental well-being and quality of life. Peluchette's (1993) study of 424 academics in the USA found individual differences in self-esteem and

sense of competence, and organisational variables played an important role in how individuals felt about their careers. In Peluchette's (1993) study, self-esteem was measured by Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale. Sense of competence and self-esteem accounted for most of the explained variance in subjective career success.

Multiple role stress was a significant family variable. Those who experienced high multiple role stress were found to have lower levels of subjective career success. Availability of resources and networking – two organisational variables – were major contributors to subjective success. The control variables of rank and tenure also accounted for a significant amount of variance in subjective career success. Rank was the stronger of the two predictors of subjective career success.

Korman et al's (1981) study of a sample of 90 White managers in the USA used the constructs described above. They found that the most pronounced effect was in relation to loss of affiliative satisfactions. Korman et al (1981) also found that managers in their study became alienated because their acceptance of external control had not brought with it the life envisaged. The results of their study indicated that contradictory role demands were more acute for females in the areas of achievement and affiliation.

Korman et al (1981) were tentative in the conclusions that could be drawn from their research, and given their very limited sample the generalisability of their findings is restricted.

Korman et al (1981) defined job satisfaction/dissatisfaction as how the individual views their job. They defined alienation as one of the processes by which job satisfaction/dissatisfaction could occur. They argued that it is possible to be personally alienated and either satisfied or dissatisfied with one's job. Personal alienation involves seeing a discrepancy between one's everyday behaviour and one's self-image. Social alienation is seeing self separated from others and not having a common framework to interact with. To be alone or isolated was defined as the essence of social alienation. Korman et al (1981) reported that personally alienated individuals were more anxious in their behaviour, less rational and less likely to have a desire for self-actualisation.

Korman et al (1981) defined expectancy disconfirmation in work settings as the concept that fair treatment was expected in careers. The perceived or real inequality in the workplace was a major source of alienation. Contradictory role demands were defined as a cognitive state that occurs when an individual realises that some of the demands placed on them are contradictory and would always be, irrespective of anything they do. Korman et al (1981) defined sense of external control (powerlessness) as the realisation that one has been doing things because others have said so.

Finally, loss of affiliative satisfactions referred to perceived lack of having satisfactory needs for interpersonal satisfaction. These needs are very

difficult to meet in managerial roles because such roles call for extensive time involvement and energy beyond normal job demands.

The literature reviewed thus far has considered the concept of careers and has highlighted how discrimination may affect Black managers' experiences of objective and subjective career success. Very little is known about how differential behavioural and cognitive states may affect Black managers as they progress through the organisation. Dickens & Dickens (1991) have attempted to integrate the concept of career development with the development of a healthy Black racial identity.

#### **1.4 FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH ACCELERATED CAREER SUCCESS**

Whilst Black candidates may encounter more barriers than their White peers in the recruitment and career development processes, they clearly do achieve employment appointments and, along with their White peers, many enter the quest for career success. The factors associated with career success have tended to be investigated from within a mainly White, male population, and often career success has been defined as managerial status. However there is a considerable body of literature regarding the characteristics of successful managers that gives some insight into the types of attributes that have traditionally been associated with career success in this albeit limited form. (See, for example, Barton & Cattell, 1972; Hunter, 1986; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Nickolson & West, 1988; Schippman & Prient, 1989; Bartram,

1992; McClland & Franz, 1992; Offerman & Bell, 1992; Howard & Bray, 1998.)

### **1.4.1 HUMAN CAPITAL ATTRIBUTES**

Human capital theory posits that employers reward the investments that individuals make in themselves and that these investments lead to higher ascendancy rates and salaries (Becker, 1964). Judge et al (1995) define human capital as the culminative educational, personal and professional experiences that might enhance an employee's value to an employer.

#### ***1.4.1.1 Personality and Mental Ability***

A number of early studies indicated that personality and mental abilities are strong predictors of managerial success. Hunter (1986), Schippman & Prien (1989), Dreker & Brentz (1991) and Howard & Bray (1998) all found mental ability to be moderately correlated with managerial level and achieved job performance.

Barton & Cattell (1972), Lord, Devader & Alliger (1986) and Nickolson & West (1988) found that managers are confident, extraverted and tough minded (resolute), independent (persuasive and wilful) and self-controlled (inhibit urges).



Bartram (1992) found that compared to the general population managers tend to be:

1. somewhat more forthright;
2. somewhat more self-reliant and realistic;
3. somewhat more experimental and free thinking;
4. considerably more self-confident; and
5. considerably more uninhibited and spontaneous.

The managerial profiles emerging from these studies are high on dominance (forcefulness), responsibility, achievement orientation, self-assurance and nurturance irrespective of the managers' gender (Brenner, 1982; Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982; Offerman & Bell, 1992; Sachs, Chrisler & Sloan-Devlin, 1992).

#### ***1.4.1.2 Education***

Correlations have also been observed between education, management level and income (McCelland & Franz, 1992; Tharenou, Latimer & Conroy, 1994). Level of education has been subject to much research and the literature indicates that returns on educational attainment in terms of pay and promotions are substantial. Swinyard & Bond (1980), Pfeffer & Ross (1982), Jaskolka, Bayer & Tice (1985), Psacharopoulos (1985) and Useem & Karabel (1986) all found that organisations value degrees in law, business and engineering from well-regarded universities.

## 1.4.2 ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES

Although human capital attributes clearly play a part in accelerating managerial success, other attitudinal variables such as organisational commitment and racial identity may well have an influence on career success. None of the published research examined whether there is a relationship between organisational commitment, racial identity attitudes and managerial progression (Maurday, Porter & Steers, 1982; Marhieu & Zojac, 1991; Meyer & Allen, 1991; Cross, 1991; Helms, 1993; Arnold & Mackenzie Davey, 1994; Gilbert, 2000). On inspection of these studies it is clear that these authors simply failed to explore the relationship between organisational commitment and racial identity.

### 1.4.2.1 *Organisational Commitment*

Organisational commitment has been defined by Maurday, Porter & Steers (1982) as the relative intensity of the individual's identification and involvement in an organisation. The most widely accepted classification system of organisational commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991) draws contrasts between:

- (1) Affective Commitment – a person's emotional attachment to the organisation;

- (2) Normative Commitment – a person's fair obligation and responsibility to the organisation;
- (3) Continuance Commitment – a person's perceptions of the risks and costs related to leaving their organisation.

Ostroff (1992) and Leong, Randall & Cole (1994) found that there was little relationship between commitment and job performance in studies with White or unspecified race participants. Nevertheless, other studies have noted a correlation between affective commitment and work performance. Committed people are more inclined to remain in an organisation (Mathieu & Zajac, 1991).

Organisational commitment is therefore influenced by the socialisation process and the extent to which an organisation provides the individual with the things that the individual values.

Arnold & Mackenzie Davey (1994) found that the key factors to influence the intensity of organisational commitment were variables linked to the intrinsic nature of the job (for instance, skill development and challenge), clarity and attractiveness of career opportunities. Continuance commitment appears to be affected by pay.

None of the research reviewed examined if differential levels of organisational commitment exist in Black and White respondents. To date there has been no research on the relationship between organisational

commitment and Black respondents' attitudes to race. The relationship between race and organisational commitment needs to be explored because, as Mathieu & Zajac (1991) argue, there is a relationship between organisational commitment job performance and employee turnover.

### **1.4.3 OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE**

Opportunity structure is defined as the size of the organisation, the resources available in the organisation, the organisation's industry sector and its commitment to diversity/equality.

Judge et al's (1995) research has yielded conflicting results as to whether size of organisation is directly related to salary and promotion opportunities.

Melamed (1996) argues that women are more likely to develop in environments in which the opportunity structure is underpinned by an equal opportunities policy. These organisations tend to be in the public and not-for-profit sectors where earnings are the lowest. In other words, it appears that the best environments for Black employees to develop in are likely to be the lowest paid sectors.

## **1.5 BLACK CAREER EXPERIENCE MODELS**

### **1.5.1 DICKENS & DICKENS' MODEL OF BLACK MANAGERS' DEVELOPMENT**

The landmark study of Black managers' career development was undertaken by Dickens & Dickens (1991). From their research on a large sample of Black managers in the USA they were able to outline a developmental model that can be used as a guide for the movement of Blacks in large White corporate organisations.

Dickens & Dickens (1991) identified five developmental phases in their closed loop model – the individual repeatedly passes through: (1) the entry phase; (2) the adjusting phase; (3) the planned growth phase; (4) the success phase, and finally (5) the job mastery phase. Each phase has particular attitudes, emotions, behaviours and skills, characteristic of that phase.

#### **1. Entry Phase**

This phase occurs when a Black individual first takes up employment within a large White organisation. During this phase, the individual will have some doubt about making it in the White corporate world. This will be a result of the fact that there are very few senior Black managers. Black employees at this stage will expect to be treated fairly and rewarded for their hard work. They assume that the company will disregard their Blackness and judge them in the same

way as their White peers. Thus, there is a general expectation of fairness and optimism regarding progression within the employing company.

At an emotional level most Blacks will be unaware of how racism manifests itself at work and unable to identify why they feel uncomfortable in their interactions with some Whites.

The principal behaviours in this stage are those of trying to fit in despite being Black. Black managers try to be “nice”, seek support, but avoid Black support.

According to Dickens & Dickens (1991), the job skills related to this phase are, for instance, developing the ability to become socialised into the corporate after-work White clubs. This is often difficult because Black managers are often not invited. There is usually an absence of Black role models and mentors to help develop their job skills at this stage (see Fernandez, 1975; Irons & Moore, 1985; Bell, 1990; and Greenhaus et al, 1990).

Lack of understanding as to how the organisation functions and how to use the communication to network are further problems Black managers may experience at this stage. To be successful, Black managers have to develop appropriate managerial skills and to

develop realistic expectations of the job and people in the organisation.

## 2. Adjusting Phase

According to Dickens & Dickens (1992), this phase is reached once the individual becomes aware of the extent of racism in the workplace. The adjusting phase is sub-divided into two elements. These are the dissatisfaction stage and the frustration stage.

### (1) Dissatisfaction Stage:

At this stage there is a negative reaction to Whites, rage at the racial inequalities in the organisation and low self-confidence.

### (2) Frustration Stage:

Whites see the Black who rages as being a vocal militant or having a bad attitude; there is no personal or job growth.

The attitudes of Black employees at this stage are that they realise that to be successful they have to do more than work hard. They have to develop strategies to get their potential noticed, find a mentor and develop multi-cultural management skills. Blacks now realise the effect that racism has on their careers.

The emotions of Black employees at this phase will be influenced by their perceptions of “neoracism”, a highly sophisticated subtle and

indirect form of racism (exhibited by the people they work with) aimed at attacking Black self-confidence, self-esteem and self-worth (Fernandez, 1975). Growth at this stage will be nurtured by the acquisition of cultural paranoia (a healthy mechanism in which mistreatment is expected). Protective hesitation, in which the Black individual hesitates to protect themselves from psychological attack before interacting with Whites, is also developed at this stage to cope with racism (Dickens & Dickens, 1991).

Racism may adversely affect Black managers' work output and psychic support is often gained by engaging more with other Blacks at work.

Behaviours at this phase also include struggling to learn the correct corporate behaviour and developing links with the communications network. Adjusting phase job skills include more active learning and a more positive assessment of one's competence.

### 3. Planned Growth Phase

During this phase, the Black employee begins to use focused and strategic effort to advance.

The primary attitudes revolve around the need to be a superstar and expend more energy than White peers. Black employees understand how to develop their personal style and better manage interactions



with Whites. There is a willingness to use Whites as resources and get more Black impact. Racism no longer becomes a barrier; expectations and attitudes about Whites are reviewed.

Emotions at this stage include a reduction in stress about abilities, the channelling of anger into productive activities, becoming more determined and building a sense of pride.

Behaviours in the planned growth stage concern removing barriers within a person's control. Examples of these behaviours are: the development of a strategy to position themselves in the company, making proper demands of the company, development of a smoother interactional style, meeting objectives and the use of protective hesitation. Black employees also seek mentors/sponsors at this stage and effectively utilise White resources.

During the planned growth phase the Black managers need to develop a range of job skills. These are: to become more proficient in general, to become skilled in multi-cultural management (that is, managing race relations within teams), to use the communication network for their advantage. Seeking career development opportunities is also characteristic of this stage.

#### 4. The Success Phase

At the success phase the key themes are gaining confidence, reaching milestone goals, and planning for the future.

The attitudes at the success phase are accepting the additional demands of being a manager as a challenge, producing results and the realisation that failure is not an option. Protective hesitation is used as a strategy. A person is aware of the impact of their Blackness on the organisation and how subtle prejudice occurs. Racist behaviour is skilfully managed. Emotions are sublimated and high self-confidence is felt and displayed.

At a behavioural level, communication networks are effectively used, personal style is refined and Whites are confronted in a way that leaves them with their dignity. Challenging goals are set and met with high quality results. Racism in others is managed and Black employees become appropriately aggressive.

The job skills at this stage involve the application of high level behavioural and interpersonal skills, and the further development of multi-cultural management skills. Corporate politics and skilled resistance to power is learned.

## 5. The Job Mastery Phase

This is the final phase in Dickens & Dickens' (1991) model in which top-level Blacks operate.

The attitudes at this stage involve the individual taking charge and becoming a "can do, can win" person. Top-level Blacks are self-reliant and believe they have something distinct to give. They take charge and lead with a feeling of ownership and respect for the organisation's welfare and output. Top-level Black managers are always seeking the next challenge, are unwilling to deal with inconsequential data and are skilful in their use of personal time. They assume their subordinates will be responsive to delegation.

Dickens & Dickens (1991) found that top Black managers had high energy levels; they displayed excitement and were proud. Being periodically apprehensive, they experienced occasional disbelief in their success and the demands made on them.

Top-level Black managers' behaviour was focused and positive. They displayed high self-confidence and organisational competence. Highly professional top-level Blacks took the initiative and showed sensitivity to people. They remained in contact with lower level employees.

The job skills displayed by Black managers at the job mastery phase were having a conceptual strategic and visionary focus. Mastery

managers had excellent people and networking skills, and they used resources well. Top-level Blacks performed as leaders, they were politically astute and used their power freely.

One major limitation of this model is that it is not specific to the experiences of Blacks and with modifications could apply to almost any disadvantaged group. Dickens & Dickens (1991) fail to indicate how people move from one stage of their model of career development to another.

Dickens & Dickens (1991) based their research on post-graduate work undertaken by Jacqueline B. Dickens. She defined success in her study as earning at least one promotion in the organisation. The limitation of this approach is that the definition of success only includes one measure of objective success and does not fully consider subjective success. Dickens & Dickens (1991) provide very little information about how their research was carried out on Black managers in the USA. There are difficulties in generalising these findings to Black managers in the UK. There are far more Black managers in the USA. Consequently, American Black managers have far more role models and support networks than their British counterparts.

## 1.5.2 BLACK CAREER SUCCESS ORIENTATION MODELS

Kimbro & Hill (1992) examined highly successful White and Black managers in the USA and from that work formulated the laws of success. These are:

1. Setting and reviewing career goals.
2. Showing confidence in others.
3. Continually improving skills.
4. Maintaining and projecting a positive attitude.
5. Substitution of positive thoughts for negative thoughts.
6. Approaching tasks on a "Believe I can do" basis.
7. Believing positive people attract positive people.
8. Giving freely without expectation of return.

The broad themes of Kimbro & Hill's (1992) work are supported by Edwards & Polite (1992). In their study of the most successful Blacks in the USA they identified ten characteristics, which they found to be present in all successful Blacks:

1. Personal responsibility/Integrity.
2. GOPAs (Goals, Organisation, Planning and Action sequence).
3. Managing others' racial perception and reactions.
4. Pioneering – the ability to function in an environment where no Blacks have gone before.
5. A high degree of self-reliance.

6. Positive self-acceptance – racial strength.
7. Balance in life – between professional and domestic demands.
8. Giving back, reaching back – supporting the Black community.
9. Faith.
10. Transcendence of the racial victim perspective.

Above all, Edwards & Polite (1992, pp. 275–276) conclude: “The challenge for any achieving Black has always been in figuring out how to be a success but not be a sell-out: how to live anywhere you can afford and want to, but not abandon your spirit of Black community; how to be a rugged individual and at the same time committed to working for the group; how to be Black, yet integrated; whole, yet always part of the struggle.”

The literature reviewed so far indicates considerable problems for Black people in terms of climbing the career ladder. But, as mentioned right at the start of this thesis, some Black people do enjoy huge career success, so it would be interesting to turn attention away from the difficulties Black managers encounter to focus on the characteristics of successful Black people to see how they managed to overcome the barriers so many of their peers seem to face.

## **1.6 A SYNTHESIS OF THE CAREER SUCCESS AND CAREER EXPERIENCES LITURATURE**

A number of clear themes emerge from the literature. The differential job entry rates between Black and White employees can be explained mainly by racism in the labour market (Nottingham and District Council for Racial Equality and the Commission for Racial Equality, 1980; Cabinet Office, 2002). Generally, the darker the shade of the Black candidates' skin the more unlikely it is that they will gain entrance to managerial and professional positions. This "shade of Black" effect is more pronounced for Black men who face the most acute barriers to entry. This proposition follows from the statistical analysis of the UK labour force data carried out by the Cabinet Office (2002) and the plethora of studies carried out on discrimination in selection and assessment (see Table 9 below).

Many of the early studies inferred racism from higher rejection rates of matched samples of Black respondents or actual selection decisions. Other studies relied on evidence of discrimination in the form of racist attitudes or stereotypes held by the interviewers (Avery, 1978; Nottingham and District Council for Racial Equality & the Commission for Racial Equality, 1980; Reilly & Chao, 1982; Janz, 1989; Avery & Faley, 1992; Smith & Robertson, 1993).

The picture that emerges from the analysis is that both conscious and unconscious discrimination militate against Black candidates. Black candidates will therefore need to market their services more intensely than

their White counterparts and manage the racial perceptions in the interview to gain employment.

**Table 9: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Studies on Racism in Gaining Work**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings	
Arvey	1978	Racism in interviews	Interviews discriminate against Blacks.	
NDCRC & CRE	1980			
Reilly & Chao	1982			
Parsons & Linden	1984			
Janz	1989			
Arvey & Campion	1989			
Avery & Faley	1992			
Smith & Robertson	1993			
Schmitt & Hill	1977			The ability of White interviewers to assess the performance of Black women confounded by the number of White candidates in the group.
Moss & Tilly	1996			White interviewers believe Black men have poor motivational skills.
Prewett-Livingston, Veres, Field and Lewis	1996	Black candidates receive higher ratings from Black interviewers and lower ratings from White interviewers.		
Tomkiewicz	1998	Managers are believed to have the characteristics associated with White men.		
Jorgenson	1973	Racism in testing	It is impossible to have a culture free psychometric test because test content is not representative. This results in poor performance.	
Medly & Quirk	1973			
Drenth & Van-der Flier	1976			
Gurevick	1981			
Scheuneman	1981			
Grubb & Ollendick	1986			
Terrel, Terrel & Taylor	1981			Black candidates score more highly when the tests are administered by a Black examiner.
Mishra	1990			
Runnymede Trust	2000		Only 0.02 of Black staff are in senior positions in the private sector.	
Cabinet Office	2002	Racism in the labour market	After controlling for all key variables, Black people are disadvantaged in terms of occupational attainment and earnings. African Caribbean men are the least likely to be in the professional class.	



One key racial perception to manage is that Black men have poor motivational skills (Moss & Tilly, 1996) and that their managerial characteristics are dissimilar to White men (Tomkiewicz, 1998).

Black candidates are more likely to be successful when Blacks also form the majority of the interview panel (Prewett-Livingston et al, 1996) and the number of Black and White candidates in the pool for assessment is at least balanced (Schmitt & Hill, 1997).

It follows from the fact that it is impossible to have a culture free test (Jorgenson, 1973; Medley & Quirk, 1973; Drenth & Van-der Flier, 1976; Gurevick et al, 1981; Grubb & Ollendick, 1986) that to be successful at interview Black candidates will need greater exposure to psychometric tests.

Table 10 below sets out the key studies on the difficulties Black employees face in gaining promotion. Once in employment Black managers' careers stagnate as a result of racism in respect of performance assessments, training opportunities and dismissals. The research considered in Table 10 demonstrates that when all significant factors are taken into account the lack of Black managers' objective success cannot be attributed to underperformance, lack of qualifications or lack of ambition.

However, none of the research reviewed provided any indication of how the managers' racial identity may interact with promotion prospects.

Assuming the employing organisation will not take effective action to eliminate discrimination at work, it is an irresistible inference – from the literature – that to be successful Black managers will need a positive Black identity, the ability to perform better than their White counterparts and to manage racial perceptions of others.

**Table 10: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Studies on Racism in Career Promotions**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings
Fernandez, Brown & Ford	1975 1977	Racism in promotions	Black managers receive fewer advancement opportunities.
Alderfer, Tucker & Tucker	1980		“
Irons & Moore	1985		“
Kraiger & Ford	1985		Race bias in performance appraisal ratings.
Jones	1986		Black managers experience dissatisfaction and frustration in their careers.
Ilgen & Yontz	1986		Discrimination affects salary, promotions, terminations and training opportunities.
Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Wormley	1990		Black women managers receive poor promotability and performance assessments.
African Caribbean Finance Forum & Wainwright Trust	1996		Concrete ceiling effect.
LGMB	1996		White managers had greater access to appropriate experience and developmental opportunities.

A number of researchers have referred to the concept of “sell-out” as a key factor hindering the realisation of Black managers gaining subjective success (see Table 11 below). It is clear from a systematic analysis of the literature (Chung & Williams, 1986; Dickens & Dickens, 1991; Simpson, 1994) that this

construct of sell-out could be explored empirically. A positive Black racial identity may provide an employee with the psychic protection to effectively manage racism in others at work, without eroding the employee's feelings of subjective success.

**Table 11: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Studies on Racial Identity and Sell-Out**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings
Cross	1991	Racism & racial identity	Cyclic model of Black racial identity development: (1) pre-encounter, (2) encounter, (3) immersion/emersion, (4) internalisation/commitment.
Parham & Helms	1985a		Encounter attitudes correlated with self-actualisation.
Parham & Helms	1985b		Pre-encounter attitudes correlated with low self-esteem.
Watts	1992		Internalised participants believe strategies for dealing with racism are most effective.
Helms	1993		Cyclic model of White racial identity development: (1) (a) contact, (b) disintegration, (c) reintegration, (2)(a) pseudo-independence, (b) immersion/emersion, (c) autonomy.
James, Lavoto & Khoo	1994		Poor racial identity could generate stress at work.
Simpson Chung & Williams	1984 1986		Black managers' careers held back through fear of having sold out.
Dickens & Dickens Andrew	1991 1996		
Gilbert	2000		Retention of racial identity is advantageous to the organisation & individual.

The research to date demonstrates that those employees with positive Black racial identity attitudes were more psychologically healthy than those with pro-White attitudes (see Parham & Helms, 1985a, 1985b; James et al, 1994;

Gilbert, 2000). Respondents with positive Black racial identity attitudes believed that certain strategies would be effective in combating racism at work (Watts, 1992). The construct of racial identity therefore emerges as a key factor which may influence Black managers' feelings of subjective success.

**Table 12: A Thematic Analysis of the Key General Models of Career Development**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings
Erickson	1959	General Models of Career Development	Adolescence to maturity models
Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levinson & McKee	1978		
Schien	1985a 1985b 1993		Career anchor theory
Super	1990		
Arnold	1997		Portfolio careers

There has been a move away from the traditional adolescence to maturity models of career development canvassed by Erickson (1959) and Levinson et al (1978) to models which focus on particular interests (Schien, 1985a, 1985b, 1993; Super, 1990). More recent models of careers now accept that they are not so much determined by hereditary factors but by labour market conditions (Arnold, 1997). However, these models remain deficient insofar as they fail to tease out the particular trajectories that lead to effective career development for Black managers. Whilst these models may have universal applicability, there has been no clear investigation of any differences that may exist for Black and White employees' career development.

Table 13 sets out the measures and predictors of objective career success.

Pay emerges as the most obvious measure of career success.

**Table 13: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Studies on the Predictors of Objective Success**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings	
Stumpt & Rabinowitz	1981	General Models of Career Development: Measures of objective success	Objective success = pay & ascendancy.	
London & Stumpf	1982		Objective success = upward mobility, acceptance, prestige, financial responsibility, control over subordinates.	
Veiga	1983			
Gould & Penly	1985	General Models of Career Development: predictors of objective success	Age & experience.	
Cox & Nkomo	1991			
Swinyard & Bond	1980			Education partly predicts salary & promotions.
Pfeffer & Ross	1982			
Jaskolka, Bayer & Tice	1985			Personality specifically: dominance, self-control, creativity, achievement orientation, and independence predict success.
Psacharopoulos	1985			
Useen & Karabel	1986			
Herriott, Gibson, Pemberton & Pinder	1993			
Tharenou, Latimer & Conroy	1994			
Barton & Cattell	1972			
Brenner	1982			
Steinberg & Shapiro	1982			
Lord, Devader & Alliger	1986			
Nicolson & West	1988			
Sachs, Christer & Sloan-Delvin	1992	Mental ability moderately predicts success.		
Offerman & Bell	1992			
Bartram	1992			
Hunter	1986			
Howard & Bray	1988			
Schippman & Prien	1989	Demographic, human capital, & motivational factors predict success.		
Dreker & Brentz	1991			
Judge, Cable, Boudreau & Bretz	1995			
Melamed	1996	3-category model: (1)(a) job-relevant characteristics, (b) job-irrelevant characteristics, (2) career options taken, (3) career opportunities open.		

The predictors of career success are best summarised by building on Melamed's (1996) model:

## **1. HUMAN CAPITAL ATTRIBUTES**

### **a. Job-relevant characteristics:**

- i. Education: especially law, management and engineering.
- ii. Personality: specifically, dominance, self-control, creativity, achievement orientation, independence.
- iii. Mental ability.
- iv. Age and job experience.

### **b. Job-irrelevant characteristics:**

- i. Level of labour market discrimination against an individual's ethnic grouping and gender.

## **2. CAREER OPTIONS TAKEN**

Entry into high demand professions, demography.

## **3. CAREER OPPORTUNITIES OPEN**

Large voluntary sector and public sector organisations present the best opportunity structures open to Black employees, as there is greater concentration of Black employees in these sectors and stronger demand for employment diversity.

While these factors predict objective success in the population as a whole, the literature (summarised in Table 14) also identifies a number of measures of subjective success.

For example, Korman et al (1980, 1981) identified alienation as an indicator of low subjective success. Korman et al believed that this alienation was a consequence of inequalities at work. However, they failed to note that subjective could obviously be related to measures of organisational commitment. Peluchette (1993) noted that another variable in realising subjective success is self-esteem.

**Table 14: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Studies on the Measures of Subjective Success**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings
Platt & Pollock Van Maan & Schein	1974 1980	General Models of Career Development: concept & measures of subjective success	Some objectively successful managers did not feel proud of their achievements.
Korman, Witting-Berman & Lang	1981		Managers alienated because inequality at work.
Gattiker & Larwood	1988		Subjective success is related to self-concept.
Peluchette	1993		Self-esteem & sense of competence account for most of the explained variance in subjective success.
Mathieu & Zajac	1991	General Models of Career Development: effect of organisational commitment	Work performance is positively affected by organisational (affective) commitment.
Arnold & MacKenzie-Davey	1994		Organisational commitment influenced by clarity & attractiveness of career opportunities.

It can be seen from Table 14 that the construct of subjective success needs to be more fully integrated with the concept of racial identity to derive a more accurate appreciation of the development of subjective success for Black managers. The literature on objective success highlights the importance of psychological processes such as well-being and self-concept in the individual evaluations of subjective success. It follows from the work of Dickens & Dickens (1991) and Davidson (1997) that for Black employees an individual's racial identity attitudes may contribute to feelings of subjective success. Black employees' evaluations of their subjective success may be affected by their awareness of and attitudes to racial discrimination at work.

Models of Black career development are at present underdeveloped. Dickens & Dickens (1991) developed a cyclic model of Black managers' career development. However, this model could also apply to other disadvantaged groups and it is unclear what drives employees through the stages.

Kimbro & Hill (1992) offer their law of success model that appears to be a motivational model based on goal setting and positive thinking. Edwards & Polite (1992) and Lewis & Walker (1995) build on this by adding integrity, management of racism/racial strength, work/life balance and self-employment into the equation. However, these models are based on US samples and the researchers are not explicit about their methodology or sample. While Bell (1990) and Freidman et al (1996) note that networking and mentoring are also key determinants of Black managers' development, they have not



considered it in the context of the range of other variables that may impact on Black managers' development.

It can be seen from the review of the literature that there was a need to develop an integrated framework for Black managers' development which would be flexible enough to account for the variations in racial discrimination across the Black community and would fuse the general literature on career development with the Black career experience literature.

The review of the literature indicates that whilst general models of career development abound there are indications that they might not fully capture the experiences and problems faced by Black people. The reason for suggesting this inadequacy relates to the clear under-representation of Black people in senior positions plus the identified importance of racial identity (at least in the USA) and the problems of perceived "sell-out" that appear to apply much more strongly to Black people than to other groups in the labour market.

It was worthwhile carrying out an investigation to see if it was possible to identify individual or organisational factors that could be addressed to facilitate career success in this currently disadvantaged group of workers.

**Table 15: A Thematic Analysis of the Key Black Career Experience Models**

Author	Date	Theme	Key findings
Cox & Nkomo	1989	Black Career Experiences: models of career development	Black women advance more quickly than Black men with some mentor help.
Bell	1990		Black people have difficulty finding an influential mentor.
Friedman, Kane and Cornfield	1996		Networking is critical career success, socially and psychologically.
Dickens & Dickens	1991		Cyclic model: entry phase, adjusting phase, planned growth stage, success phase, job mastery phase.
Kimbrow & Hill	1992		Laws of success: set & review goals, show confidence in others, continually improve skills, project a positive attitude, think positively, believe one can do, believe positive people attract positive people, give freely.
Edwards & Polite	1992		Characteristics of successful Blacks: integrity, goal setting, managing racism, innovation, self-reliance, racial strength, work/life balance, give freely, faith (not a victim of racism – internal locus of control, not selling out).
Lewis & Walker	1995		Education in law from top school, self-employment, networking, mentoring, demanding career goals, motivated to try harder by racism, good management skills, positive racial identity, managing racism, coping with isolation.

## **1.7 AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT**

In synthesising the various strands of literature an integrated model of Black career development is proposed. It is called the “Shades of Black” model of development, as it will be most applicable to those groups within the Black community who face the most heinous forms of racial discrimination. The model is shown at Figure 1 below, where the boxes that have the darkest shades of Black represent the variables which Black managers need to manage most effectively to achieve objective and subjective success.

On the right-hand side of the model are the drivers for objective career success. These are: the human capital attributes, the career options taken and the career opportunities available. These variables were discussed above in detail in the context of Melamed’s (1996) model.

The second box on the right-hand side represents a merger of the traditional adolescence to maturity models of career development, Arnold’s (1997) portfolio model and Dickens & Dickens’ (1991) Black managers’ model of development. These are stage models of career development, which recognise that career success is determined to some degree by psychological, hereditary and labour market factors.

The middle box on the right-hand side represents the essential inputs of goal setting and positive mental attitude as highlighted by Edwards & Polite (1992)

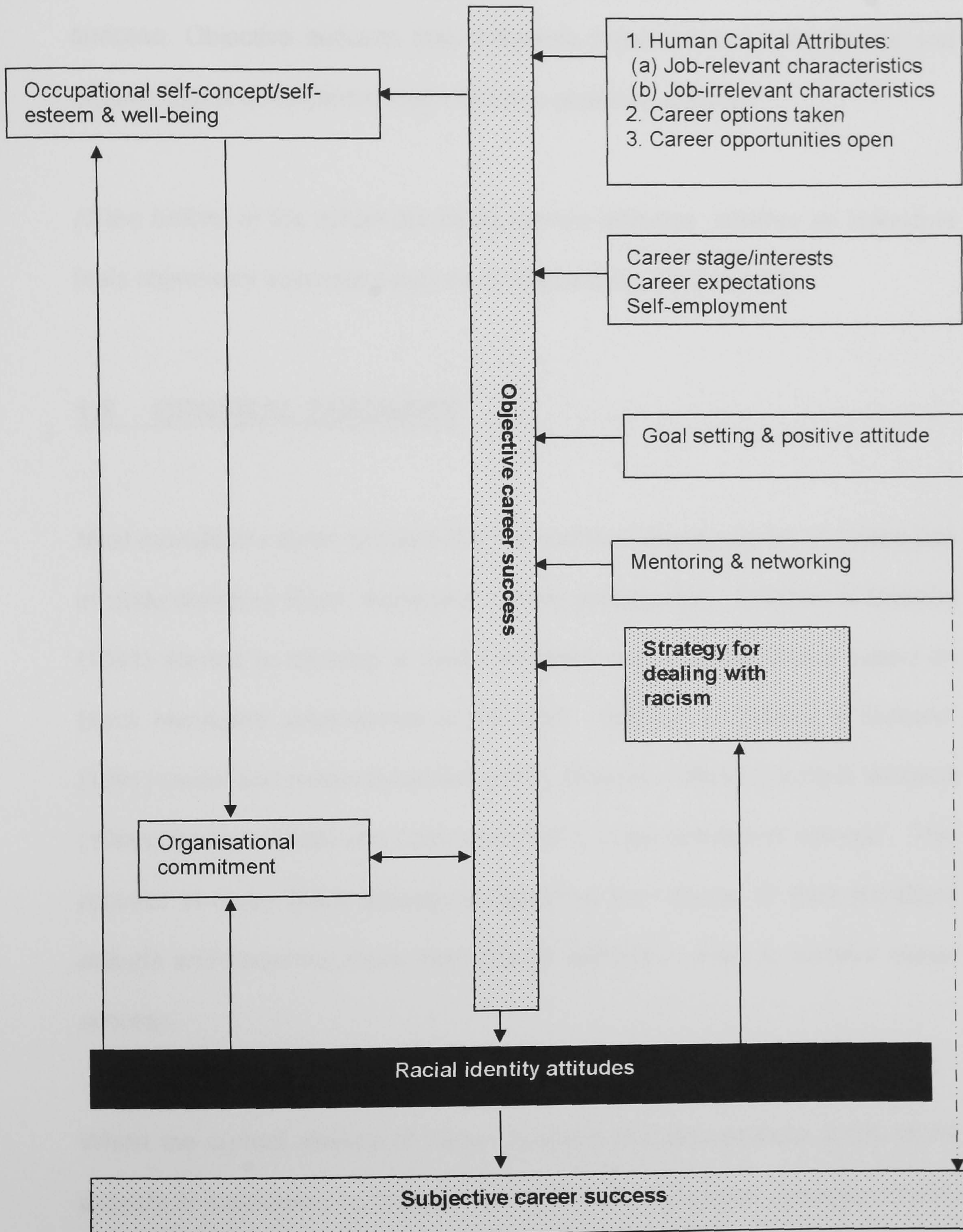
and Kimbro & Hill (1992). As self-employment may lead to greater rewards and independence for Blacks than employment (Lewis & Walker, 1995), this is represented in the model as an employment goal.

Mentoring and networking form an effective link between objective and subjective success. The impact of mentoring and networking on subjective success is probably indirect.

For Black managers, the ability to manage others' racial perceptions, racial strength, multicultural management skills or, to put it another way, a strategy for dealing with racism will be a major determinant of objective success. Strategy for dealing with racism is likely to be influenced by an individual's racial identity attitudes – as these will influence a person's perceptions of racial situations.

At the left-hand side of the model are the possible outputs of objective success. A person's self-concept will probably change as a consequence of increased earnings and occupational prestige. It may also be adversely affected by the isolation, alienation and discrimination that some objectively successful Black managers may endure.

**Figure 1: The Shades of Black Model of Career Development**



A range of variables influence organisational commitment, including self-concept/esteem, racial identity attitude (people who are proud to be Black are unlikely to want to be committed to a racist organisation) and objective success. Objective success may influence organisational commitment and organisational commitment may influence objective success.

At the bottom of the model are racial identity attitudes: whether an individual feels objectively successful may be moderated by racial identity.

## **1.8 GENERAL SUMMARY**

Most models of career success are Eurocentric. These may be of limited use in understanding Black managers' career progression. Dickens & Dickens (1991) started to develop a model of Black career development based on Black managers' experiences in the USA. Integral to Dickens & Dickens' (1991) model and research carried out by Simpson (1984), Chung & Williams (1986), Andrew (1996) and Davidson (1997), is the concept of "sell-out". This process involves Black managers lightening the "shade" of their pro-Black attitude and becoming more pro-White in attitude in order to achieve career success.

Whilst the current models of career success probably address many of the aspects of importance to Black people's career progression, Davidson (1997) has noted that research on Black people in management is virtually non-

existent in the UK. The research to date is predominantly American. Cox & Nkomo (1990) conclude that the amount of published research on Black managers is small given the relative importance of the topic. Bell et al (1993) and Betters-Reed & Moore (1995) go on to state that the studies of Black women in corporations are at most non-existent.

## **1.9 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

The overall aim of the study was to examine the factors associated with accelerated career progression in Black managers. The research took place in two distinct phases:

Study 1: the objective of the first study was simply to explore the career strategies and experiences of Black managers.

Study 2 had 5 objectives, which were:

1. To examine any differences between Black and White employees in terms of:
  - (a) Objective success (salary).
  - (b) Subjective success (career progression). Satisfaction with career progression, job satisfaction, level of organisational commitment.

2. To chart the relationship between salary (objective success) and affective well-being, and racial identity. In particular to find out if selling out of pro-Black attitudes for objective career success impacts upon Black managers' subjective<sup>2</sup> success/well-being.
3. To document any differences between Blacks and Whites in the strategies used for career success.
4. To analyse any differences between Blacks' and Whites' perceptions of egalitarianism on career dynamics.
5. To report any differences between:
  - (a) Blacks and Whites and the perceived effectiveness of the strategies used to deal with racism.
  - (b) The perceived effectiveness of strategies for dealing with racism and the respondents' racial identity state.

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<sup>2</sup> When the data were collected there was very little work in this area that documented Black peoples' experiences. It was impossible to know how Black people experienced their rises through their career paths. Nor was it possible to predict what the psychological impact of these career experiences would be on Black employees. There was no real published work on the affective and cognitive responses of Black employees in this position.



## Chapter 2:

# A Culturally Appropriate Research Paradigm

### 2.0 OVERVIEW

This section presents an overview of the methodology used. Additional methodological issues are considered in the discussion of the first study and the introduction to the second study.

The overall aim of the research was to gain reliable and rich data to increase our understanding of Black people's experiences of career advancement. However, whilst there is a considerable body of literature which has identified relevant variables within the mainstream White population, there is also evidence to suggest that what applies to Whites will not always apply to Blacks (Dickens & Dickens, 1992; Davidson, 1997). It became evident from the review of the literature that it was appropriate to explore the range of variables pertinent to Black people before an appropriate quantitative survey instrument could be devised. A multi-level approach to the research was therefore taken.

## **2.1 MULTI-LEVEL APPROACH**

The approach taken was to generate multi-level data. In the first study a case study, depth interviews, semi-structured questionnaires and focus groups were used. The second study consisted of a postal survey, which used a structured questionnaire.

## **2.2 THE METHODOLOGY OF THE FIRST STUDY**

### **2.2.1 DEPTH INTERVIEWS**

Depth interviews have high response rates and allow the interviewer to observe the surroundings and use non-verbal communication and visual aids (Neuman, 1997). The depth interviews allowed the researcher to ask complex and probing questions. The major disadvantage of the depth interviews was their high cost.

### **2.2.2 FOCUS GROUPS AND SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE**

Labaw (1980), Churchill (1983) and Krueger (1988) saw the focus group as a special kind of interview situation that is non-quantitative. In focus groups the researcher gathers 6–15 participants in a room to discuss an issue. The researcher, who can also act as a moderator, introduces the issues and ensures no one person dominates. The researcher keeps people on topic and encourages discussion. Focus groups are useful in exploratory

research, to generate new ideas for hypotheses, questionnaire items and for interpretation of results.

The semi-structured questionnaire was used to tease out common issues. Mixing open and closed questions in the semi-structured questionnaire reduced the disadvantages of open questionnaire design. Mixing open and closed questions has been found to be particularly valuable in the exploratory stages of research (Neuman, 1997). The answers to the open questions given in the first study were used to develop closed questions for the second study.

### **2.2.3 CASE STUDY**

The case study technique was selected, as there were too few participants available to use a quantitative approach. Furthermore, it became clear that there were more variables of interest than data points (participants) in the study; this also made a quantitative approach impossible.

The primary justification for the initial qualitative work was that there was a paucity of literature in this area and it was important to identify a range of variables associated with successful career strategies for Black managers.

The study also aimed to examine the development of social processes as they occurred; on a longitudinal basis, this would have not been possible with other methodologies. Additionally, the research aimed to examine untypical

cases. A key benefit of case studies is that one may identify a pattern of influences and relationships, which are too infrequent to be discernible by the more positivistic statistical analyses (Nisbet and Watt, 1980).

The case study methodology does have its limitations. The results of case studies are not easily generalisable, other than by judging similar cases. Hartley (1994) also points out that, in case studies, "generalization is about theoretical propositions not about populations".

## **2.2.4 STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE**

The second study was a large-scale study, which used closed questions because this was much quicker and easier for the respondents and would provide quantitative data for statistical analysis. Closed questions had the additional advantage of being more appropriate for sensitive questions (Neuman, 1997). Survey research is one of the few techniques for studying people's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours (Smith, 1975).

## **2.2.5 PARTICIPANTS**

### ***2.2.5.1 Depth Interviews***

Thirteen Black participants undertook depth interviews. It was not necessary to have a control group of White participants, as the focus of the depth interviews was to map Black employees' own perceptions and experiences. Three of the participants worked in the private sector; the remaining ten were public sector employees.

### **2.2.5.2**      *Focus Groups and Semi-structured Questionnaire*

Thirty respondents from the Midlands participated in focus group discussions. Two separate focus groups were formed with 15 participants in each group. All of the participants were Black local authority employees (18 women and 12 men).

### **2.2.5.3**      *Case Study*

Twenty Black participants from London took part in the case study: 15 of these were White local authority officers and the remainder were local politicians.

## **2.2.6 PROCEDURE**

The procedure for the unstructured interviews, focus groups, the semi-structured questionnaire and case studies is set out below.

The researcher, who was a trained occupational psychologist, controlled for interviewer bias, undertaking extensive training in interview technique before the depth interviews took place.

The effects of sample bias were controlled as much as possible by attempting to stratify the sample of participants. Where this was not possible because of participant dropout, opportunity sampling procedures were used.

Race bias was minimised by using a Black researcher to interview the respondents, who were all Black. Bias was also reduced by virtue of the fact that the researcher was a senior Black manager. This control conformed to Akbar's (1991) relationship index test. The relationship index test is the extent to which the researcher identifies with the culture within which the subject of the research is found. This reduces the possibility that the research results may be unwittingly filtered through unsuspected or unacknowledged prejudices.

Participants were interviewed confidentially in rooms where they could not be overheard by other people. Several participants were interviewed at home.

The principal purpose of the depth interviews was to identify the factors which influence the career progression of Black managers, and to define and operationalise more clearly these variables for a larger quantitative study.

Unstructured interviews required considerable skill and time. However, the unstructured interviews allowed participants to express themselves at length. The interviews lasted between 90 and 180 minutes each. The depth interview procedure allowed issues to emerge that would not have emerged

using other forms of interview technique, such as structured and semi-structured interviewing. In two of the interviews, two participants were interviewed at the same time.

Two pilot interviews were conducted to refine the depth interview technique; the results of these two pilot interviews are not reported in the main findings. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed.

### **2.2.6.1**      *Analysis of the Interviews*

The overall approach to the analysis of the interviews was for the researcher to read the transcripts, identify key themes and categories, draw inferences and to categorise the data using coding frames based on the categories that emerged from the transcripts. The themes for the categories in each coding frame were refined by relating them back to the categories identified through the literature and experience.

## **2.2.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

### **2.2.7.1**      *Validity*

The validity of the interviews was checked by comparing the results of the depth interviews with other forms of data, including written self-reports, questionnaires, observation data and case study material.

### 2.2.7.2 *Reliability*

Another interviewer carrying out one of the pilot interviews established the reliability of the interview procedure and results. Both pilot interviews were recorded and coded. A re-analysis of the pilot interviews took place five months after the initial interview to check the reliability of the technique.



## **2.3 THE METHODOLOGY OF THE SECOND STUDY**

The second study was a quantitative evaluation of the variables identified in the first study. The research instrument was a structured questionnaire. The composition and the psychometric properties of the scales which made up the questionnaire are now considered.

### **2.3.1 INSTRUMENTATION**

#### ***2.3.1.1 Moderator Variables***

##### *Racial Identity Attitudes*

Racial identity was measured using the Black Racial Identity Scale (Form RIAS-B; Helms & Parham, 1993). This scale comprises four subscales, which are: pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion and internalisation.

White racial identity was measured using the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Form WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1993). This scale comprises five subscales, which are: contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence and autonomy.

### 2.3.1.2 *Dependent Variables*

#### 1. Measures of Subjective Career Success

##### (a) *Self-esteem*

Self-esteem was measured using the Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale (RSE). Reviews of the reliability and construct validity of all major self-esteem scales regard the RSE as the gold standard (Wylie, 1989; Blascovich & Tomaka, 1991; Gray-Little & Hafdahl, 2000).

##### (b) *Organisational Commitment*

Organisational commitment was measured using Cook & Wall's (1990) organisational commitment scale.

##### (c) *Job Satisfaction/Satisfaction with Career Success*

In addition to inferring job satisfaction from organisational commitment, the Warr et al (1979) job satisfaction scale was modified for the analysis.

##### (d) *Well-being*

Warr's (1990) affective well-being scale measures well-being through two principal axes ("anxiety-contentment" and "depression-enthusiasm"). These axes then tap mental health at work. Older people have been found to report higher job-related well-being than younger people, and employees in high level jobs will report more job enthusiasm and aspiration than those at lower levels. Warr's (1990) data was obtained from a sample of 1,686 employed men and women in the UK.

In Warr's (1990) research a coefficient alpha of .76 was reported for the "anxiety-contentment" axes of the scale. For the "depression-enthusiasm" axis, a coefficient alpha of .80 was reported in Warr's (1990) study.

(e) *Career Progression*

A single item developed for this study that asked respondents directly if they felt satisfied with measured career progression. Career progression was also tapped by other measures. These measures were the organisational commitment (scale discussed above) and the career dynamics scale developed by Irons and Moore (1985).

2. Measures of Objective Career Success

The main measure of objective success was salary. This was supported by the following additional measures of objective success: seniority/rank; number of staff managed, number of promotions, size of budget controlled. This is consistent with the research objective success variables recommended for analysis by Stumpf & Rabinowitz (1981), Veiga (1983), Gould & Penley (1984) and Melamed (1996).

3. Human Capital Attribute Measurements

The research questionnaire examined a number of human capital attributes. These were: experience (including experience in other sectors), tenure and

education. Racial identity attitudes and well-being could also be regarded as secondary human capital attributes.

#### 4. Measures of Career Strategies and Experiences

##### (a) *Mentoring*

Mentoring was measured by adapting Colarelli & Bishop's (1990) measure of mentoring to include experience of mentoring others.

##### (b) *Career Success Orientation*

Career success orientation is used here to describe a construct which includes work centrality, career planning, and a general desire to be successful in one's career. This was measured by adapting Kimbro & Hill's (1992) laws of success into a questionnaire format.

##### (c) *Employee relations measures*

The employee relations measures used in the study were: the number of disciplinary and grievances hearings experienced.

#### 5. Strategies for Dealing with Racism/Opportunity Structure Measures

Measures of the participants' opportunity structure were: the number of employees, level of redundancies, industry sector, profession and geographical location (optional). These measures were supported by Barbarin's (1996) measurement of institutional racism (strategies for dealing with racism subscale. The scale consists of strategies which require either

individual or collective behaviour related to the reduction of racism. Test/re-test reliability of this scale has been reported as between .75 and .80 and the internal consistency statistic (Kuder-Richardson) ranged from .68 to .69 (Barbarin & Gilbert, 1981).

### ***2.3.1.3 Independent Variables***

The main independent variables measures were race and gender. The research questionnaire also recorded whether the respondent was disabled.

## **2.3.2 PARTICIPANTS**

Twelve hundred questionnaires were distributed and 261 of these were returned, yielding a response rate of 22%. Ninety-nine of the respondents were male and 158 female. Ninety-seven Black and 163 White employees participated in the study.

## **2.3.3 USE OF ITEMS**

Although a large number of items were included in the study to measure objective success they could not be used for analysis because of missing data or inappropriate comparisons.

## **Chapter 3:**

# **Managing to be Black: Results of the First Study**

### **3.0 OVERVIEW**

The first study was carried out in four phases. In the first phase a group of Black managers participated in in-depth interviews. In the second phase a further two groups of Black managers participated in focus groups. In phase three a group of Black managers completed semi-structured questionnaires. The final phase of the qualitative study was a case study.

### **3.1 DEPTH INTERVIEW RESULTS – INTRODUCTION**

The results of the depth interviews are discussed in this chapter under the six main headings that emerged from the qualitative analysis of the data. These are:

1. Parental influences, key childhood responsibilities and education.
2. Career strategies and experiences.
3. Stereotyping, attitudes and non-stereotypical performance.
4. Racial identity and racism.
5. Equal opportunities and the management of diversity.
6. Recruitment and promotion.

The issues considered under these six topic headings can be summarised as follows:

## **1. Parental Influences, Key Childhood Responsibilities and Education**

In this section the respondents' developmental and educational experiences are analysed. A number of issues appear from the examination of responses, such as the relationship between family structure, educational and vocational performance.

## **2. Career Strategies and Experiences**

In this section the career paths that the respondents took are reviewed. This includes consideration of the career history of participants, the factors that led to their careers developing and whether or not career goals were set. Two important factors highlighted were how the participants gained their motivation for career development and the importance of career planning. The frequency and direction of career changes are discussed; associated with career change was the participants' level of job satisfaction. Organisational commitment is considered both in this chapter and in the quantitative study.

### **3. Stereotyping and Non-Stereotypical Performance**

Stereotyping is a central concept in the literature on prejudice and inter-group relations. This section explores not only the stereotypes held about participants; it also explores the ways in which some of the participants performed in non-stereotypical ways and the extent to which stereotypes became internalised.

### **4. Racial Identity and Racism**

A major construct arising from the depth interviews was racial identity. Participants experienced high levels of isolation in their jobs and many were also marginalised. Racism remained an important obstacle for participants to surmount; they reported vivid experiences of psychological conflicts and stress driven by racism at work.

### **5. Equal Opportunities and the Management of Diversity**

Participants held varying perspectives about equal opportunities and the management of diversity at work. These perspectives were tempered by participants' level of racial identity.



## **6. Recruitment and Promotion**

Most participants had unpalatable recruitment and promotion experiences; however, a few were able to exploit the selection process to their advantage. This section also considers the effects of poorly implemented positive action selection policies.

### **3.1.1 PARENTAL INFLUENCES, KEY CHILDHOOD RESPONSIBILITIES AND EDUCATION**

#### ***3.1.1.1 Parents***

Virtually all respondents who referred to their parents were from two-parent families. The exceptions were the Assistant Chief Probation Officer whose parents died when he was aged 10 and the fire service employees who were raised entirely by their mother.

#### ***3.1.1.2 Parents' Values***

Most of the participants, in particular the two Equal Opportunities Managers, the Director of the national voluntary sector organisation and the Assistant Chief Probation Officer, consistently referred to their parents placing a very high value

on education. The fire service employees also referred to the moral values of right and wrong being instilled by their mother.

Perhaps of most interest were the values of the Personnel Officer's parents. These values were that their children should be aware that racism exists but that racism should not stop her from achieving. Indeed, this participant referred to the fact that her parents actually equipped her to deal with racism.

### **3.1.1.3      *Key Childhood Responsibilities***

This category includes key responsibilities, which the respondents undertook in early childhood. In particular, this concept refers to significant accomplishments made as a child.

Two participants referred to significant childhood responsibilities; they were both Asian men who were employed as equal opportunities managers in the Training and Enterprise movement. One participant's key childhood responsibilities included acting as an interpreter for head-teachers; the other participant referred to writing speeches, an appearance on television as a result of high academic achievement and leading prayers in front of the assembly. Both of these respondents felt that these early experiences had positively contributed to their career success.

### **3.1.1.4      *Education***

All of the participants who undertook depth interviews were highly qualified. Most participants held degrees and the general pattern was that the participants also held Masters degrees. The lowest level of qualification was fire service exams.

One of the participants, Equal Opportunities Manager A, stressed that the Asian community placed high value on education and gave him considerable support. Another participant, Equal Opportunities Manager B, stressed a strong ambition to achieve academically, at the cost of friendship or social life. He found that the number of qualifications he gained shocked his teachers. All participants placed a high value on education and felt that qualifications were essential to their career success.

Fire Fighter A failed some of his more difficult exams at first, but re-sat these exams successfully although there was no need to do so.

## **3.1.2 CAREER STRATEGIES AND EXPERIENCES**

### **3.1.2.1      *Career History***

Career history indicates the first job and significant first or second jobs. This tells us about participants' experiences, but not about how their career histories relate

to their career progression strategies. Four of the participants' first or second jobs were in education as lecturers. One participant's first job was in the race equality fields. Equal Opportunities Manager B first started working as an Assistant Export Manager. Had he stayed within that profession his overall level of career success and seniority might have been significantly better than it is now. The Fire Fighters referred to difficulty in finding their first jobs. Fire Fighter B worked as a labourer before moving on to other jobs. In contrast, Fire Fighter B worked part-time in a recreation centre before joining the Royal Marines, moving from there to the fire service.

### **3.1.2.2 *Career Development***

The term "career development" is used to describe "key triggers" which led to a respondent's career developing.

The Assistant Chief Probation Officer indicated that his drive for career development came from a supportive manager who encouraged him to take on a more senior role.

Poor treatment and powerlessness triggered this participant's career development. A further factor referred to by the participant was the need for more Black role models. The participant recognised that the most senior Black managers need tremendous support in order for their careers to develop.

The experience of racism was also noted as a key driver for career development by Equal Opportunities Manager A.

In contrast, the Director of Race Equality Council stated that his career developed through his involvement as chairperson of a local authority committee.

Two participants, an Asian Executive Director of the Training Enterprise Council and a Director of a national Black voluntary sector organisation, stated that they had key career development strategies. Their strategies included selecting high profile referees and knowing what the referees would say. The early management experience of the Asian Executive Director was an important trigger for her career development. This participant started managing staff at the age of 21.

### ***3.1.2.3 Career Goal***

This term is used to describe a participant's career objective, for example to become a solicitor or a medical doctor. Two of the participants indicated they would like to enter the legal profession. The Assistant Chief Probation Officer's initial career goal was to become a solicitor or priest. The Personnel Officer's career goal was to become a barrister.

*“...I actually wanted to do something that would lead me to work with people, and for people, and it was either (this was a very early feeling I had) that I was going to be a solicitor or I was going to be a priest, because both of those things said to me about working for people.”*

African Caribbean, male, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

Equal Opportunities Manager A had multiple career goals, he aspired to become a Director of a single regeneration budget; head of economic development; involved in politics or start up his own business.

There was a notable disparity between the personal career goals of the Asian Equal Opportunities Manager B and his parents' career aspirations for him. His parents wanted him to become a doctor or scientist. In contrast to his parents' aspirations, the respondent's career goal was to become a lecturer or professor.

*“I'll tell you the truth, I never wanted to become a doctor, I wanted to be a lecturer/professor but my family felt that they'd all gone into different areas of non-scientific, here we've got the star for the family, he must become a medical doctor. Now, you probably know in the Asian community, a medicine career seemed really big esteem...”*

Asian Equal Opportunities Manager B

The career goals of the two Fire Fighters also differed. Fire Fighter A aspired to become a physical training instructor. He also wanted to work within the forces. It was interesting to note that the participant's brother; Fire Fighter B, was motivated by his brother being goal directed and focused.

### **3.1.2.4      *Career Motivation***

Career motivation refers to the job attributes or characteristics which attracted a respondent to a particular career.

This category was used exclusively by the fire service personnel. Fire Fighter A referred to his main motivation for joining the fire service as being the discipline that the service offered. However, he also pointed to money as being a key motivator at the beginning of his career.

It was interesting to note that Fire Fighter B indicated that he was motivated to join the service and progress his career by observing his brother's progress.

### **3.1.2.5      *Career Planning***

The concept of career planning is used to describe a detailed plan with clear objectives and tasks, which the respondent works through in order to progress their career.

Most of the participants had no career plans; some participants referred to career planning during their interviews, and four of these indicated that they had no career plan at all. Two indicated that they had recently undertaken a career assessment.

It is significant that one of the most impressive participants indicated that she had a five-year career plan. The data highlights the need to explore this factor through more detailed statistical analysis to ascertain whether any trends can be identified.

### **3.1.2.6      *Career Change***

Career change means change of occupation. Most of the participants reported minimal career change during their working life. Three of the participants reported changing career direction twice and one participant reported changing career four times.

### **3.1.2.7      *Job Satisfaction***

Job satisfaction is used here to refer to how satisfied respondents felt with their jobs and their current position. This factor was strongly associated with whether or not they felt willing to move on to other jobs.

Statements that fell within this category were only mentioned by the fire service personnel.



Job satisfaction data tended to focus on the participants finding further promotion and other jobs unattractive because of the hours and conditions associated with more senior jobs. The respondents referred to their satisfaction with their present position as the main reason for not wanting to move on to positions that are more senior.

*Fire Fighter A: "I don't know. In some ways, I've taken promotion for the standard of living it could give me. I'm now quite happy with the standard of living I've got, so the financial push to take promotion has gone. Now it's down to job satisfaction and I'm getting a lot of job satisfaction out of the job I'm doing. I don't think I'd get as much if I moved up the ladder any further. The pressures of work to me just aren't worth it."*

*Researcher: "What about yourself, John?"*

*Fire Fighter B: "In ten years' time – it's unlikely that I'll ever apply for a promotion. In fact it's unlikely that I'll even do the exams to put me in a position to do it and any promotion that I took would be against what I want to do, it'd be purely for financial reasons. So, if you're talking about what I actually want to do within the job, I'd be on this station, on the same watch as a leading fireman and if you'd asked me four years ago, I'd be on this station, on the same watch as a fireman. I've just about got used to being a leading fireman now but to me the best job in the Brigade is a fireman in the watch."*

*Researcher: "Right, okay. And so really you're saying that's the best job for you?"*  
Male, dual-heritage, Fire Fighters A and B

### **3.1.2.8 Organisational Commitment**

Organisational commitment is defined as the level of commitment that one has to the organisation that one works with. In this sense, it is an indicator of belonging and an extremely important indicator for this research as commitment is often used as a proxy for organisational performance. It is hypothesised that

committed employees perform better than non-committed employees. In addition this variable was of immense interest as the respondents who took part in this study placed considerable emphasis on their feelings of isolation at work.

It is very important to note that only two respondents made statements that could be classified as indicating a high level of organisational commitment. The first was the Director of the Black voluntary sector organisation (when she worked for organisations she felt as though she owned the organisation).

The second was Equal Opportunities Manager B who stated that a job is part of his life and he will always give one hundred per cent commitment to his job.

### **3.1.2.9      *Management Skills***

The concept of management skills means those skills and competences that are particularly important for Black managers.

Senior managers referred to people skills as a very important competence for Black managers. For example, there was considerable discussion from respondents about developing the overall skills of the team. It was considered important to allow people within teams to use their best skills.

A further theme in relation to management skills is the empathy which Black managers bring. This was expressed as the care and respect that Black managers have for other people. Other respondents refer to this skill as being able to treat subordinates with dignity and respect.

The Personnel Officer indicated that Black managers bring an in-depth understanding of racism to the job. Conversely, she contended that White managers do not appreciate and understand diversity at the same level as Black managers. This view appears consistent with the implicit assumptions behind the statements in many of the other transcripts.

*Researcher:* “What sorts of skills and abilities would you need as a Black manager?”

*Personnel Officer:* “I don’t think, with the exception of one thing, that they would necessarily be different from the skills and competencies you would need if you were any other colour. And the exception is an awareness and appreciation of diversity and actually welcoming that – and I think a lot of White managers, because they don’t interact with Black people at, in most cases, a close level, enough to understand that they’re normal people like anyone else – I think that myself, as a Black manager, would bring that to the job. I know what the effects of racism are, I don’t want to get back at anyone although I will stand my corner and fight my ground. I don’t want to punish White people for what I’ve suffered, so I think you would need to be fair, a good listener, to be able to develop your staff if it’s a staff manager you are, because I think good management is about career development of yourself as well. You get the most out of them for the time they’re with you and when it’s time for them to move on, because they’ve developed in that area of work, unless you’re encouraged to go and I don’t mean that in a malicious way, so you get the most of them while they’re with you and then you help them to progress to what they do and that’s just one of a range of managerial skills that I think I would have.”

*Researcher:* “Is that a skill that you would need as a Black manager or is it something that you would bring to the organisation as a Black manager?”

Personnel Officer: “In my case it is something that I would bring, I do believe that but it might not be the case for all Black people. Because I automatically treat people with dignity and respect and certainly people who are considered subordinates as far as work is concerned, I think it’s important, the little things like please and thank you and making time to understand what issues staff are dealing with, so, those are some of the skills, and appreciation as well.”

Researcher: “Is there anything that you’d bring to the organisation other than what you just talked about as a Black person?”

Personnel Officer: “They didn’t have a Black person at my level at the County, did they? So ...”

Researcher: “What level are you now?”

Personnel Officer: “S02. Certainly in terms of Afro-Caribbean, that’s about right. So I bring that, and people having to get to know me and I think in many respects I would be challenging people’s stereotypes, if not overtly, through what they see me do and what they hear me say and I think that’s something very important because there’s a lot I won’t tolerate and I make it very clear. But I don’t do it in a sense of a diplomat for the Black race so to speak, I don’t do that at all because they’ve got to learn that we’re all different. I think that’s what I’d bring. I don’t know what the people I work with would say.”

Female, African Caribbean, Personnel Officer

Influencing and skills was also very high on the agenda in so far as Black managers need to be able to convince others and, as indicated above, there was considerable consensus that Black managers need to influence change in a way that does not alienate other staff.

Researcher: “What sort of advice would you give to people coming through wanting to be Senior Black Managers?”

Equal Opportunities Manager B: “I think my own view would be that, if you want to succeed, then you need to have a very professional approach. You are just that one person, yes you can change things slowly but you’ve got to take the White hierarchy with you because they have the budgets, they have the money, they have the pull, unless you are able to take them along, you are not going to succeed. I think I’ve done that, I think I’ve managed to take them along with me because I

*regard myself as an enabler, a facilitator, collaborator. So that has to be your rule. You need to know what you're doing. You need to have effective management styles, you know, you need to be able to convince others that what you're doing is not because you feel like it, it's because it's good business sense. Remember you're dealing with people's attitudes, people's entrenched attitudes, people have been brought up in a certain stereotypical way. We still have an educational system which trains people with this mentality. So, this is what you must understand, limitations. You can do your bit but you've got to do your bit professionally. You've got to have an effective management style but be competent, be confident, do not be scared to express your feelings but do so in a manner which conveys the message and also doesn't offend people. Because once you begin to offend people, you switch them off."*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

One of the senior managers indicated that Black managers seek respect. It can be imputed from this statement that Black managers also need the skills to command respect from their subordinates. A further skill referred to is that of honesty and openness and being able to manage time, as a person does not have the time to socialise with other staff when they are working at Director level.

### **3.1.2.10     *Networking***

For the purposes of this study, networking has been defined as establishing links and informal contacts, which offer psychic support opportunities and serve as a vehicle for career development.

The Assistant Chief Probation Officer referred to networks in detail. This participant's main use of networks was as a psychic support structure in which he was able to find support from colleagues. Indeed the respondent emphasised the importance of Black managers having good support networks for their career

maintenance and development. He contended that Black managers can use networking to ensure that other Black managers are given opportunities to progress their careers.

*“[The Senior Black Managers’ Network] got together and got thinking about mutual support ... I think the point is the network was created so that those of us who are in the public sector: (1) can gain support; (2) can use our position to create a climate in which more and more Black managers will actually come through so that in the end the profile of community, which is inclusive of Black people, can begin to be demonstrated.”*

Male, African Caribbean, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

Remarkably, the Director of the national voluntary sector organisation placed a heavy emphasis on networking; in particular, she saw networking as one of the fundamental cornerstones in gaining accelerated career progression, not only in terms of identifying opportunities but also in terms of ensuring that a person has the appropriate exposure.

This sentiment was echoed by both of the Equal Opportunities Managers in the TEC (Training and Enterprise Council) movement.

The Executive Director of a TEC, who was at the time of interview the most senior Black officer in the TEC movement, put the point most graphically. In her view, networking is more important than qualifications for promotion once a person reaches a certain level in the organisation.

### **3.1.2.11**      *Mentors*

A mentor has been defined as a significant individual who provides support for another individual's career development. There was wide agreement about the value of mentors from respondents. Mentors were important in developing participants' careers.

While the experiences that people had varied, the results from the analysis of the transcripts are as follows. The Personnel Officer found that her formal mentor while at the BBC offered little support. She referred to her father as being her most significant mentor in relation to her career. The Chief Probation Officer indicated that his mentors tended to be more distant. He referred to a supportive Black Chief Probation Officer who also acted as a mentor for him.

Most significantly the Director of a national voluntary sector organisation had an astute understanding of the use and utilisation of mentors. She noted that a person needed to find a mentor who would sponsor them within the work organisation. She was not limited to using strictly Black mentors. On the contrary, she found White mentors could offer very positive insight to the organisations and had a lot more access to power than Black individuals in the same organisations. Finally the respondent referred to a White woman mentor who gave her considerable advice on career planning and development.

All the Training and Enterprise Council respondents referred to mentors as being particularly significant in their career development. One Equal Opportunities Manager referred extensively to a supportive line manager who had a keen interest in equal opportunities. This was key in establishing this participant's position within the TEC.

Equal Opportunities Manager B also referred to mentors. One mentor within the TEC offered support but this tended to be piecemeal. The support came through the Chief Executive who was not his direct line manager. Indeed most of this respondent's time was spent referring to mentors in school who gave the participant considerable encouragement. Finally the Executive Director of a TEC referred to another woman mentor who spent time with her to help her understand that her career could progress without loss of her individuality.

The participants who worked within the fire service referred extensively to mentors. Fire Fighter A referred to a mentor who invested considerable time in ensuring that the respondent would pass his exams.

### **3.1.3 STEREOTYPING, ATTITUDES AND NON-STEREOTYPICAL PERFORMANCE**

#### ***3.1.3.1 Non-stereotypical Performance***



This category relates to performance that did not conform to the stereotypes held about Asian or African Caribbean people.

Non-stereotypical performance was identified in the transcripts of the highest performers interviewed. For example, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer excelled in education at an early age. While some of this may be attributable to the fact that the participant was initially educated outside the UK, the participant does not fit the stereotype of African Caribbean males underachieving in school. The Director of the national voluntary sector organisation (an African Caribbean woman) also excelled in education although this performance is a little less non-stereotypical than that of her male counterpart.

### **3.1.3.2      *Stereotyped Attitudes***

This term is used to identify racial and gender stereotypes that the participants experienced.

The stereotypes identified can broadly be grouped under the following headings: stereotypes relating to work performance, stereotypes linked to the employability of Black staff, stereotypes about educational performance.

The Personnel Officer recalls the stereotyped attitudes expressed by her head-teacher who expected her to become a secretary after she had successfully gained seven “O” levels in one sitting.

The Personnel Officer indicated that a commonly held stereotype by employers is that Black men are a greater threat to organisations than Black women are. In this connection, she argued that Black men are seen as more threatening because more aggression is attributed to Black men than Black women. A further hurdle that Black men face at work is that there are numerous sexual stereotypes attributed to Black men.

Personnel Officer: *“I think if you’re talking about organisation level, there’s a greater sense of threat from a Black man than from a Black woman so automatically the emphasis of racist stereotypes will focus more on the men than the women at organisation level.”*

Researcher: *“What do you mean about that threat, can you explain?”*

Personnel Officer: *“Black men have always been seen, when you come to racial stereotypes, Black men have always been seen as threatening, they’re the ones that White people who do attribute certain qualities, for want of a better word, they attribute aggression to the Black man, so a Black man is more of a threat than a Black woman. Sexual stereotypes about Black men are more prominent than the ones about Black women but they do exist. The negative emphasis is based more on the Black male than the Black female in my opinion and where work is concerned and at an organisational level I think that Black men are often seen as more of a threat than women. That’s my view.”*

Female, African Caribbean, Personnel Officer

Equal Opportunities Manager B encountered a number of stereotypes; his experience of education was that it was assumed that people from the

commonwealth were stupid and linguistically deficient. In contrast, people who came from European non-English speaking countries were not assumed to be linguistically deficient. This respondent also referred to examples of the teachers developing stereotyped attitudes about his performance. Some of these teachers actually appeared disappointed because the respondent had performed so well at school. His former teacher had assumed the respondent worked in a factory and found it extremely difficult to come to terms with the fact that the respondent was actually a qualified lecturer. In the employment field, this respondent was able to cite examples of people who approached him and asked whether Black people really want to work.

*“I mean, the point I’m trying to make is this teacher had got this stereotype that one day I was actually going to London for a conference, in those days I was a lecturer. At the railway station, he said to me, what factory do you work? Not what do you do now? Where do you work? What are you doing these days? – **What factory do you work?** That was his perception. I said well I don’t work in a factory, I’m a lecturer. **A lecturer, oh you mean instructor.** I said, what’s an instructor? I teach at college and we are called lecturers.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

The fire service personnel both recounted the profoundly negative stereotypes that were held by their schoolteachers about the athletic abilities of Black students. These respondents also pointed to their streaming into lower bands at school as an action that followed from the negative stereotypes that are held about males of African Caribbean parentage.

Gender stereotypes were referred to by the Executive Director of a TEC in her role as a conciliator with ACAS. She found that in conciliation meetings the other participants used to assume she was a secretary rather than conciliator.

### **3.1.3.3**      *Internalised Stereotypes*

This term is used to organise statements which indicated that the participants engaged in activities that fit the stereotypes.

Two stereotypes emerge from the analysis of the data. Firstly, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer excelled in sport. This is a commonly held stereotype about African Caribbeans. Fire Fighter B admits to gravitating towards bad company. This again is often a stereotype commonly associated with African Caribbean young men. Both participants recalled internalising these stereotypes at an early age but challenging them later on in the light of more positive role models.

## **3.1.4**      **RACIAL IDENTITY AND RACISM**

### **3.1.4.1**      *Racial Identity*

The term racial identity is a term developed from the theoretical work of Professor Janet Helms (1993). The term is used to describe participants'

feelings about race, their positive values about being Black or alternatively their feelings of selling out or not wanting to recognise their Black identity. A more detailed analysis of the concept of racial identity is given in the literature review.

Racial identity was the most frequent issue raised spontaneously by respondents. As such, it emphasised the importance of racial identity for the successful career development of Black managers. The Assistant Chief Probation Officer noted that his superiors had questioned him on his commitment to race issues. This participant's line managers assumed he was paranoid about race issues. It is critical that Black participants develop healthy paranoia about racial discrimination at work. The transcript of this participant's interviews quite clearly indicates that he did not feel part of the White establishment. The importance to respondents of not "selling out" (i.e. disregarding their Black identity in order to progress) and the need to build links in the Black community were important and recurring themes.

Furthermore, it was important that the community actually knew that there was a Black manager within the service who would champion their needs and concerns.

*Assistant Chief Probation Officer: "... and I remember this, getting a telephone call in early September from my Chief, saying that one of the magistrates was told by one of my officers that he was concerned about the amount of time I was pushing the division to deal with the issue of race, as if race is the only issue. I explained to her what I am doing, what my concerns were, and the issue of anti-racism. I don't think that I was being paranoid ... the community is alive but it is*

*also concerned about things. [...] I explained to her ... that I was doing my job, I wasn't paranoid about race. The point I was making about this magistrate, this was a Friday and the [...] riots were on the Monday."*

*"So I went to headquarters and got ... [the Chief Probation Officer] and I was walking down the road, this was in fact just after the Home Secretary had arrived and they stoned him and sent him away. We were walking down the road ... there was about eight Black guys who were walking straight towards us and another White Probation Officer and a Chief Officer with me, and as we walked down the road, as they approached us. This Black guy came and grabbed hold of me here, and said you are one of them aren't you? Another guy who actually recognised me said leave the man, he is a friend of mine. The reason for telling that story was here was the Chief Officer walking with me as a Black person. In fact I was the person taking the risk, okay, I had a tie on, but I was taking the risk in going down there with him, and I think he understands therefore, just being a Black manager ... it does not necessarily mean that people listen to you. You have got to be able to deliver; you have got to be able to ensure that you and your organisation and what you stand for is known by the community."*

*Assistant Chief Probation Officer: "... I was a Black guy, but basically what people were actually saying, was that the officials were actually in a way oppressing, attacking the Black community, and people for a long time were trying to get the officials to do something about the community. What I interpreted from that was because I was a Black person wearing a tie and a jacket and therefore recognisable, it was assumed that I was one of those Black guys who sell out. As a Black person I was not immediately identified with the community and therefore I must be one of those Black persons who sell out. They didn't actually do anything to the two White persons with me; I was the one they actually collared..."*

Male, African Caribbean, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

The Director of the national voluntary sector organisation strongly emphasised the importance to herself and the Black community of not selling out or losing her Black identity. She felt it was damaging when Black people lose their identities in order to get ahead. This respondent stated that if any organisation did not allow her to maintain a positive Black identity she would leave that employer.

Racial identity was also discussed in detail by Equal Opportunities Manager A. He started to become interested in Black issues through his research on racism and unemployment. While he was initially unaware of racial problems at work, later statements in his transcripts show a developing awareness of race issues. He saw his religion as a Muslim as being most important in terms of his overall identity, his racial identity as a Black Asian person the second most important thing. This respondent considered racial identity important to Black communities in their need to provide a united front when dealing with White organisations. He recognised the inherent conflict and difficulties a person faces when having to make adverse decisions about, for example, providing funding for Black organisations.

This respondent also stressed the importance of not selling out; he too did not feel part of the White establishment. However, he was also regarded with suspicion by the Black community. For this participant the importance of racial identity was linked to being able to share and pass on information to the Black community. Within team settings, he believed racial identity to be important. Black workers bring an awareness of race to organisations, and to that extent, they are part of the essential link between the organisation and the community – in effect, they are ambassadors.

*“I’ve been in very difficult situations where I have had to make a decision whether a Black organisation gets funding for something or not and that’s where it’s very, extremely difficult because Black people will also expect you, because you’re Black, to go easy on them, to overlook certain things, etc and you know, that’s where the difficulties arise and people will, and there’s nothing worse than a*

*Black person saying to you, you've sold yourself etc. And you've not funded this because you are looking after your own organisation."*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager A

This respondent felt morally obliged to address equality issues, irrespective of the job he worked in. He also felt that racial identity was important because it allowed him to develop links with the community, which would ensure they got their own fair share of resources.

The Personnel Officer gave a clear example of the importance of racial identity; her parents had made her aware of racism and equipped her to deal with it from a very young age. When confronted with racism at school this participant went to the head teacher and stated that she would only apologise for racial abuse if her racial abusers recognised she was Black and proud of it.

Her approach to dealing with racism was that the individual could do a lot to ensure that it did not happen. This participant felt comfortable in a room full of White people, as she was often the only Black person in groups.

Her approach was to ensure that she was not seen as only helping the Black community.

This respondent felt that her race is more important than her gender. She is proud to be Black however; she noted that there are Black people who have not



reached this point. They have internalised negative stereotypes about themselves.

*Personnel Officer: "I think I have experienced more discrimination because I'm Black than because I'm female and so my Blackness is the most important out of those two things. I don't tolerate discrimination in any of those areas and I won't be patronised in any way. But I think on a one-to-one basis it's my Blackness that I perceive so I don't present my Blackness. It's obvious anyway."*

*Director of the Race Equality Council: "I don't think it's a negative thing. I think it will be very unfortunate. I mean, [my colleague] earlier on said about not being allowed to say you're Black. We should be proud and realising the discrimination around us we should learn to challenge it, learn to face it, and we should be allowed to do so. I don't think there's anything negative about our culture, or anybody's culture. So, you are born into the race or culture you are born, that's not your doing and nobody should be negative about who they are. I'm certainly not. The thing is where you go from there. I think being Black you have problems, we face difficulties. I think we need to face them and face them positively."*

*Personnel Officer: "I'd agree with [the Director]. I don't think it's negative at all. I'm very proud of being Black. I don't think there's anyone who knows me who doesn't realise that and saying that I don't go around stamping on anyone's forehead, I'm Black and I'm proud, but I think people know from the way I speak, what I will and won't tolerate, that I'm proud and as [the Director] says, it's a very positive thing. However, I have met a lot of people who are Black who haven't reached that point. I've always been at that point because of my upbringing, my brothers and I, but I've met a lot of people who believe the stereotypes, who've walked into the stereotypes of Black people and do not, you know, swing on the chandeliers, saying I'm Black and I'm proud, because they don't think that's appropriate. And [the Director] is right, we have to do a lot of work in that area to let people know that, first off, who you are is something to be proud of, you have a right to be proud of it and there are things about your group that you should be proud of as well. There are a lot of Black people that don't know about the contribution, a lot of Asian people, the contribution that their ancestors had made to World Wars I and II for example."*

Female, African Caribbean, Personnel Officer & Male, Asian, Director of a Race Equality Council

Another participant, the Asian Director of a Race Equality Council, recognised that in his early career he was blind to racism. This respondent felt that it was

important not to differentiate between Asian and African Caribbeans when analysing the effects of racism.

The importance of the Black community having someone they can identify with was echoed by Equal Opportunities Manager B. However, this respondent also noted that it was important that Black workers had the skills to work in both Black and White communities.

*“We have been brought up in two cultures, we have all the skills which White people have plus we have the skills from our own communities .... [A positive Black identity] does matter because you hear all the stereotypical [attitudes], you know Blacks are not good for this and that, it’s good because it gives you confidence, the sense of encouragement that you can actually go out and say to people, look, you can achieve as well. Otherwise, I think, if you had a negative kind of perception, then you would be de-motivated and you’re not going to be any good to your community frankly, or anybody.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

The respondent referred to conflicts that occur when a person’s line manager does not understand equal opportunities. This is consistent with the research, which predicts there will be conflicts when there are differences in racial identity levels of group members (see Helms, 1993).

This respondent also felt that a positive racial identity is important because it challenges stereotypes and gives others a sense of encouragement.

The responses from the Fire Fighters were somewhat different to the profile of the rest of the participants. This may be partly due to the low level of interaction

these participants had within the Black community. Fire Fighter A, the most senior of the two fire officers, acknowledges that he had a racial identity crisis at school. This respondent felt in limbo because he was not comfortable with other Black students. This resulted in his identifying more with White children at school. This type of racial identity profile is not unusual in dual-heritage respondents brought up in White families.

In contrast to the participant's previous level of racial identity at school, he now values being Black and refers to his children (whose mother is White) as Black.

*Fire Officer A:* “Erm, well I always put Black/other because my father is Nigerian, my mother is English and I’m Black, you know, or half caste whatever you want to call it, but I think of myself as Black. My children are very light but I think of them as Black because they’re darker. I feel quite proud to be Black, not that I should feel any more proud than of being White; but I’m quite proud, [laughing] you know I like it. If someone said to me, tomorrow, you can change your colour, I would say no.”

*Fire Officer B:* “I know, I’ve been here long enough and I know the people I work with well enough to know their attitude to me. When you go out of the door to a job you don’t know what the person’s attitude is going to be and although I don’t think about it very often if we go somewhere like a gypsy site or something then I’m always aware that they might react differently to me than to the rest of the crew. Like [Fire Officer A] said, old people are normally a bit difficult but very rarely do I ever think about it. I think the difference is [Fire Officer A] and I both have grown up in White communities. I had a couple of years in a London school where you had probably as many Blacks as Whites and Blacks sort of went off in their little groups and I suppose that’s probably the only time in my life I’ve felt a little bit in limbo because I sort of didn’t really know my identity.”

*Researcher:* “So you are saying in that situation at school you were left in the middle?”

*Fire Officer B:* “I wasn’t left in the middle because in the end I sort of latched on. [...] I think I tended to latch onto the White kids because I found that the Black kids had a language almost of their own .... That was probably the only time in my life when I had a bit of an identity crisis but it’s not a problem up here.”

Researcher: “What about yourself?”

Fire Officer A: “No problem. I mean, it’s predominantly White and we’ve lived the whole of our life in that sort of situation, so I haven’t been in the same situation where I’ve had an identity crisis of any sort. I’ve always been aware that I’m different but just allow it to flow because 90% of my friends have been White, I’ve grown up in a White community with White attitudes to a great extent.”

Male, dual-heritage, Fire Officers A and B

### 3.1.4.2 Racism

Racism means treating another person less favourably on the grounds of their race or ethnic group and attitudes, which may reflect such behaviour. The most frequently referred to form of racism was racism from clients and client undermining. This was followed by racism from colleagues at work.

The Assistant Chief Probation Officer referred the most to experiences of racism. His first encounter of racism happened when he arrived in the UK. Previously, this respondent had lived in Jamaica and had not experienced racial discrimination there.

This participant recounted that racism was actively promoted in politics and the media. Although our respondent worked in a liberal profession, he cites an example of a racist joke being told by his first social work student. Although the respondent did not challenge the racist joke, the joke had a significant impact on him.

Other experiences of racism referred to by the participant were liberal racist attitudes from probation managers. This manifested itself by White managers objecting to a Black support group for probation staff. The atmosphere that developed was that Black workers felt nervous about sitting next to another Black person in a conference as it was then assumed that the Black officers were planning something.

An analysis of this respondent's transcript revealed that racism from colleagues was a highly significant occurrence. He refers to traps being set by White subordinate colleagues. Some colleagues, in fact, were blatantly racist. In other instances, the respondent experienced racism and undermining by work colleagues directing discussions about establishments that the respondent was responsible for to other White colleagues while the respondent sat in the same meeting. Although the respondent now operates at very senior level in the organisation he still experiences racism, but it manifests itself differently from when our respondent worked at more junior levels in the organisation.

Two experiences of quite disturbing racism from clients were referred to. This participant had an experience where a client said that she would not allow Black people in her house. The second experience was where clients came into the probation office interview room and wrote racist remarks about the participant on the wall. The racist graffiti remained on the wall for a long period of time, and

although other members of staff must have clearly noticed it, no one removed the graffiti. The graffiti was only finally removed when the participant removed it himself.

The further salient point raised by the participant was his experience of racism from other organisations with which he had to interact. The participant experienced racism and stereotyped attitudes when he challenged a judge's disproportionate sentencing of Black offenders. Professional partners would often undermine the respondent by talking directly to his line manager. The fire officers referred to this type of racist undermining on numerous occasions.

*“When I finished my training I was employed by [...]. I always remember that interview I had because one of the questions they asked me was how I would cope trying to service a predominantly White area, which [it] was. I was a bit taken aback by that, not least of all, but in fact all my training, I would say 99% of the training, was about working with White people and the White community, so there was that supposition therefore, that as a Black person you are going to have a lot of difficulty and so on. I suppose it was as it was said, it wasn't a supportive question, it was a critical question, and in a way it made sense, I mean, I still remember writing to a mother in [the location that I worked in] saying, 'Your son is soon to be released from Borstal but I need to make a home visit and see you before he can be released', and I turned up at the door and she came to the door and I said to her who I was and she said 'What do you want?' I said, 'Can I come in and have a discussion with you?' 'Oh no, I do not allow Black people in my house.' I know people are prejudiced, but for the woman whose son was in prison and this Black man comes to help her and help him and she tells me that she does not want me in her house, it was so ridiculous. I said to myself she is not going to get away with it, and I stood my ground and I said, 'Look at this report, your son is going to be released and I am not going to do a report until you invite me in for the interview.' I was there about five/ten minutes having this argument with her and being fairly firm, eventually she said, 'Okay, come on in' and I went in and she said 'Sit down', and I said, 'No, Mrs B, I shan't sit down until I have an apology from you for what has happened out there. I will sit down and I will come into the interview after we put that thing straight.' Eventually she actually apologised. I got on with the interview and did the report but it is that kind of blatant experience, one had many, very many like those, so we are talking now*

*about the early seventies and if people could feel free to carry out that kind of behaviour, what were employers and others actually doing?”*

*“ ... There are several examples I know of, one in which this particular judge I had written to about coming, he gave me an appointment to come and actually see him and once I got there and he saw who I was he was so very uncomfortable and he quickly turned the discussion [to cricket].”*

*“ ... in an office when even some of my colleagues were actually patently racist. There was once in that particular office in which someone had gone into the waiting room and had written B. B. B. Basil, Black, Bastard, and that was on the wall in the waiting room for about three months, it must have been clients, but still no one said anything to me. No one decided to actually take it off the wall and in the end I had to [...]. So racism was part of the background, well nothing was done, unless someone was going to be abusive to you in terms of hitting you. Then it was accepted. I still remember my first social work student telling me one of the most racist jokes I have ever heard. There was another White officer with me and to be honest my initial feeling was to demand an apology but once again in those days and being the only Black person one might think that you might shrug it off and say well what do you expect, we knew you were like that anyway. You had to control yourself.”*

Male, African Caribbean, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

Equal Opportunities Manager A had noticed that unfair labelling of Black organisations that are insolvent occurs. This respondent observed that Black organisations were labelled more severely than their White counterparts who committed the same offences. This obviously has clear implications for the Black managers of those organisations.

The experiences of racism referred to by the Personnel Officer concentrated on her experiences of racism at school. From her transcript, it is evident that these experiences had a marked impact on how she dealt with racism in the work environment. This participant also felt that Black men would experience greater

levels of racism than Black women would because Black men are seen as greater threat than Black women.

Equal Opportunities Manager B was concerned about two major experiences of racism. The first followed from the reaction to the respondent receiving a high number of "O" levels at school and the second experience of racism came from colleagues at work.

The fire service officers' experience of racism came mainly from the public. The general public tended to prefer to talk to his White subordinates, even when it was obvious that the Black Fire Fighter was the senior officer at the time.

The Fire Fighters experienced a client who refused to let them carry her down the stairs because of their race. While their colleagues found this amusing, the event was significant enough for our respondent to raise it spontaneously during the interview. The Assistant Chief Probation Officer and the senior Fire Fighter's approach to racist jokes was that they accept them if there was no malice intended.

*"Yeah, doing our job. Say I go to a house fire, because of my rank I wear a White hat, which in normal circumstances you get an all White crew, they'll go up to the guy with the White hat and say, over here boss, this is happening, that's happening, whatever. When I turn up, they'll go up to the guy with the yellow hat with two stripes on and say, can you tell your boss it's over there. I don't even get acknowledged."*

*"I mean it's not a general thing but it does happen. You turn up, you've got the driver, I'm sitting in the front, your helmet has a yellow band round it, you've got*



*rank markings [showing I am in charge]. You're the one who gets out and tells them what to do. A member of the public will come over to a member of your crew and start telling them what's happened and to be fair to the crew they always say, that's the boss, you know. But the attitude is exactly like [...] says, you're so obviously in charge, some of the time people go to the White Fire Fighter."*

*"They just don't talk to you. They talk about you. You know, you go to an old person's house and put out a chimney fire and it's 'Oh, come in dear, would you like a cup of tea, would he like one?' [Laughs] As though you're somebody else."*  
[All laugh].

*"We went to an old person's home, the lift had been broken, and we had to carry these people downstairs and this woman refused to let me carry her downstairs. [All laugh]. The lads took the Mickey for ages, it's just people isn't it."*  
Male, dual-heritage, Fire Officer A

### **3.1.4.3 Conflict**

Conflict is defined as a situation where there are mutually antagonistic events, motives, purposes and behaviours at work whether voiced vociferously or not. The term includes role conflicts in which participants may find themselves placed in situations where their role as a Black individual may be in conflict with the culture of their organisation.

Conflict is clearly a key factor which Black managers have to consider, and skills in managing conflict effectively are of tremendous benefit to Black managers.

It was significant to note that three of the participants spontaneously indicated that their response to dealing with conflicts is to act as constructively as possible by developing a consensus and discussing the issue within the team.

The Assistant Chief Probation Officer experienced significant conflict in his management career as he was given one of the most difficult teams to manage at the beginning of his career.

The specialist Equal Opportunities Manager B stressed that Black staff will experience conflict when they challenge the White hierarchy and that conflict will arise because there are extremely entrenched attitudes in the White hierarchy that only can be moved so far. He argued that Black managers experience conflict in getting their White bosses to use the right language in respect of Black issues. This respondent considered many of the White managers he worked with to be devoid of any real understanding of racism. The respondent also identified conflicts that were being generated because White managers feel threatened by the competence of Black staff.

*“I think, again, conflicts and race, particularly when you have to challenge the White hierarchy, you are an employee, you are an officer of the organisation and you are paid your salary. On the other hand the cake has now been shared fairly but you know that the people who have the power, you know that they themselves have such entrenched attitudes that you can only push them so far which is what I mean. That’s the conflict. It’s your job as well your living which is the unfairness and what you feel for that.”*

*“Another area of conflict for Black Managers is if you have bosses who are White who are brought up White [...] middle class ... in this [organisation]. I remember we were using the terminology coloured, and it was interesting when we started equal opportunities training. [...] I think the conflict is this is a very sensitive area of Equal Opportunities and in the power that you have, White middle class, White people who are in charge, I think one of my frustrations that what ever I have to do, nevertheless, it is to be approved by somebody who I know 101% doesn’t really understand the issues, if you see what I am getting at ....”*  
Asian Male, Equal Opportunities Manager B

Conversely, the Fire Fighters indicated that in their profession there is naturally a high level of conflict. Fire Fighter A had experienced conflict because of his rapid promotion. However, Fire Fighter A indicated that he would now voice opinions directly with his superiors even if this resulted in conflict. Managing conflicts and expressing disagreements are therefore important for Black managers.

*Fire Fighter A: "I've had run-ins with people because I have got on fairly quickly within the Brigade and I was a Station Officer within five and a half years which is one of the quickest rises, well it's almost the quickest you can rise through the ranks anyway. People said you haven't done your time, you haven't got any experience, you haven't got this, you haven't got that but my attitude was don't argue about it, just show them you can do the job."*

*Researcher: "So, how did you deal with those run-ins?"*

*Fire Fighter A: "I tend to face up to people, although I disliked direct conflict at one stage. I would enter into it and as time has gone on I've become much happier in direct conflict to the point where I'm now quite happy to sit down and have a direct argument with my superior bosses whereas in the past I wouldn't."*

Male, dual-heritage Fire Fighter A

Only one participant, the Personnel Officer, indicated that her conflicts tend to be in her personal life as opposed to work. She felt that she is able to prevent conflict because she is perceived as a strong Black woman; consequently people are somewhat shy in entering into any conflicts with her.

*"Most of my conflicts have been either at school or in my personal life. I think because of the way I present myself people are generally very careful what they say in front of me because they know that they'll get a tongue lashing."*

Female, African Caribbean Personnel Officer

The Executive Director of the TEC's main conflict was with external training providers.

#### **3.1.4.4      *Stress***

Stress is used to describe a syndrome comprising physiological and psychological reactions to mental tension. The examples of stress given are those which are related to occupational pressure and strain experienced because of racism. Stress is a particularly important category, and it is hypothesised that stress can lead to differential performance and may have an adverse effect on career development.

The probation respondent outlined a particularly harrowing experience where he had to take six months' sick leave because of stress-related illness, which was caused by racism at work. In referring to this episode, he noted that his employers failed to take responsibility for his health.

*Assistant Chief Probation Officer: "I had a serious period of illness, I was off for about six months and there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that it was caused by my manager's lack of support in supporting me to carry out some of the things that I needed to do here, including confronting that judge and another member of the Probation Committee [who were] quite racist. There was a time when I was actually treated appallingly within the context of a meeting."*

*Researcher: "They would speak to your subordinates instead of speaking to you as the manager when you are there in a team meeting."*

*Assistant Chief Probation Officer: "That's right, and that went on for some time. That's quite real for me because I had actually started to make a record of those*

*incidents, through my word processor. I now have quite a database of incidents that have happened, which I have recorded within hours of them actually happening, and so there is no doubt in my mind that six-month period of illness I was actually being totally stressed out and the service never really took responsibility for that. It's things like that that make you feel that, well, it is probably better if I go on to discover non-probation service work."*

Male, African Caribbean, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

Equal Opportunities Manager A's experience was that compared to White employees Black employees have the additional stress of constantly having to prove themselves. He believed he would benefit from stress management training.

Equal Opportunities Manager B had experienced stress when people became very difficult. He found it tiring to try to change the culture of an organisation with little personnel support. This respondent also had a stress-related illness, which took the form of headaches.

In contrast to the other participants, the fire service personnel had clear home/work boundaries, and Fire Fighter B stated that he found working life in the fire service was a stress reliever.

#### **3.1.4.5 Isolation**

Isolation emerged as a very important issue; it has been combined with marginalisation. The term isolation is used in this study to refer to a person being

the only senior officer of their particular ethnic group; the term also refers to instances where Black officers are regarded as tokens and asked to work in specialised “Black areas” or “Black projects”.

*“When I finished my training I was employed by [...]. I always remember that interview I had because one of the questions they asked was ‘How would you service a predominantly White area?’ I was a bit taken a back because all of my training I would say 99% of the training was about working with White people and the White community, so there was a supposition therefore, that as a Black person you were going to experience a lot of difficulty and so on.”*

*“I was the first Black probation officer to put a motion to our Union in relation to pursuing anti-racism and the year before I had actually spoke, I introduced myself as a token Black probation officer.”*

*“... two things that I remember quite clearly about [my] experience along the race line. I took responsibility for [...] is a multi-racial area regarded as difficult put in the same category as Moss Side and Brixton and that kind of thing, and I as a Black person going to take responsibility for all that. I was also responsible for [...] one of the most racist areas. ...[it is] the only area [...] that I had tremendous fear of going in to .... It is a very White working class area and therefore rife with the National Front.”*

Male, African Caribbean, Assistant Chief Probation Officer

All participants referred to the fact that they were isolated as far as they were the only Black senior manager or only Black officer within the establishment. Furthermore, participants also referred to the fact that there were very few Black students within their school, college or university, and this tended to reinforce their feelings of isolation.

Integral to the issue to isolation was the issue of tokenism, and several of the participants felt that they were token employees or token managers within their service.

Perhaps the most common complaint raised by the participants was that they felt isolated and marginalised because they had been given specialist job areas which related only to Black issues and this tended to restrict their overall experience and limit their potential for career development. Black employees not formally employed as equal opportunities specialists were given Black areas, the most racist White areas or White employees to manage.

*“I was the second Black person in the whole of the [county careers service], which had out of approximately 150 staff, two Black people both on section 11. This post was vacant for some time; they couldn’t find a qualified person from the ethnic communities .... When the section 11 money went I was made redundant. Now the interesting thing here is, here you are, they can complain they don’t get qualified, educated people from ethnic communities and when they did, what did they do? They got rid of that person. I mean, you tell me, how many TECs [Training and Enterprise Councils] have Black managers or even staff from the Black community?”*

*“You see, sometimes they have people just for ethnic minorities and it should not be just for the Black communities but for the mainstream, you know they should be at the heart of the organisation .... There are no mainstream posts so you become marginalised even more so and again.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

Two participants indicated that they were asked at the interview how they would respond to racist jokes or how they would deal with client racism. One officer indicated the difficulty he experienced when a senior officer told the team that a

Black officer would be joining the team. The team was told that they were not allowed to make jokes about him. While this action was fairly well intentioned, the respondent thought it had a detrimental effect on his induction and integration into the team.

*Researcher:* “Were there any issues for you in terms of being a Black fire fighter or were you treated the same? Was it an issue that ever came up?”

*Fire Fighter A:* “Before I came here the watch officer ... sat the watch down and said we’re getting a fire fighter and he’s different and he went through all these things, there can’t be any jokes and you’re not allowed to give him nicknames and this and that and the other and my view was that did me more harm than just turning up at the station and letting them accept me for how I am. I think he put my progress on the watch back by sort of three months. Although he had the best intentions it put everyone on their guard. Tackling a problem and I’d not even been there. We’ve got a guy coming in and you can’t call him this and you can’t call him that, what sort of guy is he then? and they didn’t know me. Nobody said have you got a problem with people taking the mick or whatever. It was just assumed that this is the best way to tackle it, let’s sort it out before it happens and it caused me more problems to a certain degree cos people wouldn’t talk to me at first cos they were frightened to talk to me and say something that may be offensive.”

“Not really, people just didn’t know how to treat me, as though I was somebody different. Now whether it was down to this pep talk or not, I don’t know. I would say that I would imagine a lot of it was. The one thing I noticed and I continually notice as I’ve gone up through the ranks is outside people still don’t tend to talk to you.”

Male, dual-heritage, Fire Fighter A

Two respondents referred extensively to the experience of being treated differently from White officers. These particular participants (the Fire Fighters) were perhaps amongst the most placid of respondents interviewed.



### 3.1.5 EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND THE MANAGEMENT OF DIVERSITY

#### 3.1.5.1 *Equal Opportunities*

This term is used to refer to the participants' responses to equal opportunities policies and strategies generally. The most common responses in relation to equal opportunities was that work colleagues and clients erroneously understood equal opportunities to mean giving jobs to Blacks, women and disabled people, without them being qualified for those jobs. This sentiment was expressed by the fire service personnel.

The Fire Fighters' perspective on equal opportunities was that everyone should be treated the same. This is sometimes termed the equal chance perspective.

*Fire Officer A: "As an individual I am different to the majority of fire fighters within County [...], so is John, so are the women. We stand out in a crowd. Now, if you treat us differently, or the Government treat ethnics differently, they collect statistics, you've got fire fighters, and then you've got ethnic minority fire fighters and women fire fighters so you're being treated differently. The Government start it to a certain extent. If we perpetuate that all the way down the line, you end up asking yourself the question, am I a token or am I here because I can do the job, I am the best person for the job."*

*"The idea and the thought behind it is right, you know. Over the years and there probably will be in future years [...] a lot of discrimination and it's given the people discriminated against no protection."*

Male, dual-heritage Fire Fighter A

The specialist Equal Opportunities Manager B believed that equal opportunity does not mean treating everyone the same. He viewed equal opportunities as

recognising the differences and making provision for them. His view of equality was consistent with the equal share perspective.

*“Now [...] you find there are obstacles in the sense that you are going to come across people whose attitude is, well we treat everybody equal, which is a discriminatory statement in itself because, to treat everyone equal, as you know, is incorrect because you have people who are disabled, people who are disadvantaged, in other words you need to look at the situation as it is and take action accordingly and I think this is one of the problems, you have people who have come from different backgrounds, different environments, and in order to overcome some of the difficulties we began equal opportunity training really to raise people’s awareness.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

A popular theme that permeated the discussion on equal opportunities was the role of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the Equal Opportunity Commission and major contractors. The respondents felt that the CRE’s standards that require organisations to deliver equality as part of their contractual obligations was tremendously useful.

The Personnel Officer echoed a common sentiment that her organisation knew they wanted to address equal opportunities but did not know how. This participant recognised that having an equal opportunity policy does not always mean a reduction in the number of sex and race discrimination cases. In this connection, she referred to the BBC who had a vigorous approach to equal opportunities but also had a high number of race and sex discrimination cases.

*“In the County Council, we are a typical shire Council and you have to do a lot of work to explain what equal opportunity is. There are still people who think that equal opportunities is about promoting women, giving jobs to Blacks and maybe*

*some disabled person who really can't do it and you still have to overcome that attitude."*

*"I think within the staff complement, a lot of people thought that equal opportunities meant something totally different, you know, meant giving jobs to a particular people without merit and I'm able to re-train and draw out people's views and as you'll appreciate, as a Black woman, standing in front of what is usually an all White group I'm sure they must think she's Black, she's a woman. They haven't seen a Black equal opportunities officer come in and do things that only benefit the Black community, or only benefit women, they're seeing policies that affect everyone and are not detrimental to people, in my opinion."*

Female, African Caribbean Personnel Officer

Equal Opportunities Manager A indicated that he had a high level of support from his Board and manager and this enabled him to progress in equal opportunities. However, this respondent found problems when he tried to get Black people into jobs as opposed to training programmes.

*" ... Black issues are still equality issues, Black issues feature regularly on the Board's agenda. I don't believe we have had the kind of impact that I would have liked to have seen in terms of getting Black people into jobs, etc but in terms of getting people into training programmes, running, dedicating resources for Black people to benefit, etc we were perhaps amongst the best in that area, where the specific budget for Black groups or equality issues and so forth has been spent."*

Asian Male, Equal Opportunities Manager (a)

### **3.1.6 RECRUITMENT AND PROMOTION**

The term recruitment and promotion is used to describe participants' recruitment, selection and promotion experiences including racism, the method through which people are recruited and the promotion patterns and dynamics in organisations.

The analysis of the transcripts placed a large number of responses in the category of recruitment and promotion. After racial identity, it was the second most frequently mentioned issue.

Consistent with a number of other participants, the Assistant Chief Probation Officer felt that he worked harder than his White counterparts. The Director of a national Black voluntary organisation believed that hard work does not necessarily lead to promotion. Both Equal Opportunities Managers also shared this view.

*“I’ll be honest. Always, I think, as a Black person you always felt that you have to be two, three times better in order to gain respect, recognition and acceptability. The people who work their guts out, always remain low. Unless you play the game, suck up to people, licking their arse and so on.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager B

Both Equal Opportunities Managers and the Assistant Chief Probation Officer reported that Black workers continually have to prove themselves and are constantly under the microscope.

Both Equal Opportunities Managers referred to experiences in which they knew they were unsuccessful in job applications because of racism. Equal Opportunities Manager A also cited examples of situations where he had applied for jobs outside the UK. He experienced racism, but unfortunately had no legal redress.

*“... Very frustrating, you know, when you go for a job you know you’re as good as the next person, you think the only reason you don’t get the job is the colour of your skin, and you know that. It’s not just the gut feeling.”*

*“I have applied for a couple of jobs ... outside the country, not within Europe, it was in the States and places like that, and they were through international recruitment agencies and the response I had was ‘we’re not looking for...’ and we knew it was direct discrimination ... you couldn’t do anything through the legal system because they were outside the law, they were an agency working outside the country.”*

Male, Asian, Equal Opportunities Manager A

Five of the participants had benefited directly from less formal recruitment processes; Equal Opportunities Manager A was taken on as a direct employee following being employed under a previous sub-contract agreement with a university. The Executive Director of a TEC was recruited directly after a period of secondment to her current employer. However, in her case she made a formal application for the job after secondment. The Director of a national Black voluntary sector organisation was successful in two senior jobs because of less formal recruitment processes.

Fire Fighter A gained two promotions without a formal application. It can be inferred from this that there is still considerable value in networking as a means of gaining informal promotion.

Equal Opportunities Manager B had a strong lobby from the community to ensure a Black manager was appointed. However, the respondent doubts that another Black manager would be re-appointed if he left, as the main driver for his appointment was community pressure.

There was a culture in the TEC movement (which is reflected in many other organisations) in which a person must attend interviews and formal engagements in European dress. Equal Opportunities Manager A considered this to have an adverse effect on the recruitment and selection opportunities for Black staff. Equal Opportunities Manager B submitted that Black employees are more highly trained than their White superiors. This respondent observed that within his organisation there was a disproportionate number of Black staff who were engaged on temporary contracts. Compared with their White counterparts their terms and conditions of employment were much less favourable.

As indicated above, the Fire Fighters were very concerned that positive action may lead to a stigma being attached to those people who have obtained jobs through positive action promotion. This is because in some organisations people believe positive action means people were not recruited on merits but because of their membership of a particular ethnic group. Fire Fighter A further contended that if he found out that he was recruited solely because of positive action he would rebel against it.

It was unfortunate that positive action under the Race Relations Act was perceived as an additional benefit and a mechanism which lowered standards for the Fire Fighters.

Fire Fighter A indicated that historically there had been employee problems because of differential treatment in relation to promotions and transfer. This is perhaps not surprising, given the very informal promotion mechanisms which existed within that fire service.

*“I’ve got a female fire fighter on my watch and she’s excellent. No complaints, the fault lies with the system, not with the people within it. There was a lad joined, I don’t know why, I think the Brigade were worried about it and the time he joined after taking the entrance test. Anyone from an ethnic minority and women were allowed a preview of this test and to look and see what it was about. No one else was. He joined at that time, now he was probably more than good enough to come in the same as anyone else had done over the years, but at the time people were looking at him and saying no, you’ve had an unfair opportunity, you’ve been given a chance where other people wouldn’t have been given a chance and he’s not the sort of person that it would bother but that would have been stigma to me. I’d always wonder whether I’d got in the job on my own merits or whether someone had made it easy for me. I’ve gone around the houses a bit, but it’s not the female fire fighters’ faults, it’s the system.”*

*“If you get a promotion, you want to know that you’ve been promoted on your own merits. Not because you’re Black or you’re female or whatever. You know, another tick in the box.”*

Male, dual-heritage, Fire Officer A

Fire Fighter A asserts that he is not prepared to compromise his principles in order to gain further promotion. The respondent recognised that his promotion to the position of station officer was extremely rapid; he was able to gain that position within a period of five and a half years. He was not successful for promotion at first instance and he cited an incident where he declined the opportunity for temporary promotion.

The Executive Director argued that some organisations are better at recruiting Black staff than others. She highlighted the importance of Black people identifying organisations, which are not risk-adverse to appointing Black staff.

### **3.1.7 SUMMARY OF THE DEPTH INTERVIEWS**

In summary the first study highlighted a number of issues that informed the design of the second study.

The respondents' parents tended to place a high value on education, ethics and maintaining a healthy Black identity. These values remained with the respondents to adulthood.

A number of respondents reported significant accomplishments as children. This early exposure to success may have provided these respondents with a head start in life. The aforementioned issues, however, did not emerge as central to participants' career development and therefore did not form part of the second study.

The depth interviews also revealed that Black men had difficult gaining formative employment opportunities.



Discrimination was evident in recruitment. Black staff were more qualified than their White counterparts and were more likely to be on temporary contracts. The more astute Black managers considered it best to identify organisations with high proportions of Black staff. Once in employment Black employees were subject to intense performance pressure.

Two main drivers for career development were identified from the depth interviews. These were: succeeding as a reaction to racism, and career planning. While most participants indicated that they did not have a career plan, the most successful participants had career plans and goals.

The most frequent career goals reported were to enter law, medicine, education or senior management. Once at work, respondents tended to remain loyal to their professions.

A number of issues relating to the affective states of the participants were highlighted in the depth interviews. Only two respondents reported that they felt committed to their organisation. The vast majority of respondents reporting low levels of organisational commitment had high levels of isolation.

The key management skill needed for progression into senior management reported by the respondents was the application of effective strategies for dealing with racism. This skill of managing racism does not form part of White managers'

career strategies. Most participants also stressed the importance of networking and mentoring for progression into senior roles.

Although the respondents tended to behave in ways that challenged the stereotypes attributed to Black people, Whites subjected them to stereotypical assumptions. The main stereotypical attitudes complained of were: assumptions that Blacks have low academic ability, that African Caribbean men are threatening and that Black people are not motivated to work. Racism from colleagues and clients was a regular occurrence and appeared to be more intense for Black males. There was also considerable agreement among respondents that White staff had negative perceptions about equal opportunities and in particular the concept of positive action. Organisations had considerable difficulty turning rhetoric in relation to equal opportunities into practice.

The most frequent issue raised by participants was the importance of not “selling out” – losing their Black identity to get ahead.

The majority of respondents experienced a high level of conflict in their work; this was addressed by developing effective conflict management strategies. The most common effect of racism on participants was stress and isolation. Approximately half of the participants experienced chronic stress as a result of discrimination. Senior Black managers remained isolated at work and were often regarded as tokens and only given specialist Black projects to manage.

## **3.2 FOCUS GROUP RESULTS – INTRODUCTION**

Focus group discussions were organised with a group of 30 Black employees from two large local authorities in the Midlands. The sample comprised of 18 women and 12 men. All participants were aged between 27 and 45. Group members were either managers or employees aspiring to management.

Two separate focus groups were run in each local authority. Participating local authorities provided conference rooms and resources to enable the focus groups to be run.

Each focus group ran for two hours. Large focus groups of 15 participants were more appropriate as this ensured a wide diversity of views would be presented from Black employees at all levels in the organisation. The researcher facilitated focus groups. Control of group members was achieved by setting clear ground rules.

The purpose of the focus groups was to identify competences and issues relating to the career progression of Black managers for inclusion in the final study.

### 3.2.1 EMERGENT ISSUES

Focus group members were asked to address the questions given at the top of each of the following tables. The text following the bullet points is the participants' responses to each question.

**Table 16: Issue 1 – Characteristics of Successful Managers**

- Objective/impartial/approachable
- Assertiveness/decisiveness
- Communications
- Targets set for staff and office
- Ability to review policies and procedures
- Ability to motivate, foster enthusiasm amongst staff
- Is able to give praise where praise is due
- Time management skills – prioritise workload/planning
- Ability to implement City Council policies – i.e. mission statement
- Ability to give constructive criticism and praise when due
- Aware of/sensitive to cultural differences amongst staff
- Understanding of cultural behaviour
- Develops staff/has regular appraisals with staff
- Diplomatic/persuasive
- Is able to pull rank
- Has a sense of humour
- Is able to identify resources
- Is able to evaluate training needs
- Is able to stay calm under pressure
- Is able to change with the times/needs

It can be seen from Table 16 above that the characteristics of successful managers identified by the focus groups were broadly consistent with the characteristics identified by the participants in the unstructured interviews.

**Table 17: Issue 2 – Participants’ Perceptions of the Skills they Require for Progression to Senior Management**

- Be more confident
- Take an active part in discussions and meetings
- Be more assertive
- Networking

Participants identified the skills they required for progression into senior management in Table 17 above.

**Table 18: Issue 3 – Problems Faced by Black Managers (Men and Women)**

- We have to work twice as hard as our White counterparts to achieve the same goals.
- Black employees are “generally” in manual occupations – we follow our parents’ example.
- More Black women tend to be in high-powered posts, and have to work harder to stay on top.
- Black women tend to have to support extended families.

Table 18 above sets out the issues faced by Black managers. Consistent with the findings of the unstructured interviews, Black employees felt they had to work twice as hard as their White counterparts.

The group then examined the factors which were particular to Black women managers. In response to this question, the group concluded that Black women managers are doubly disadvantaged because they have to deal with the effects of racism and sexism at work, the demands of raising a family and being the major breadwinner. All of this leads to increased occupational stress (see Table 19 below).

**Table 19: Issue 4 – Problems Faced by Black Women Managers**

- Due to sexism and racism Black women are doubly oppressed
- Black women are often the major breadwinners in the family.
- Black women have to combine working with looking after family.
- Breakdown in support networks – increase in single parenthood leads to added pressure on women.
- Possible lack of support from partners.
- Career advancement pressure brought on women which leads to repercussions in the marital home.
- Jealousy of female high flyers – men feel threatened.
- Government policies designed to keep the Black race subservient and Black women in particular.

In contrast with the position for White women managers, the group concluded that there are more Black women in high-powered jobs. Black women are therefore more likely to have the dual demands of high-powered jobs and families.

**Table 20: Issue 5 – Problems Faced by Black Employees in this Organisation**

- The expectation placed on the performance of Black employees is greater than that of their White counterparts.
- Stress of living in a racist society.
- Lack of job security/job prospects.
- The need to prove yourself (i.e. superwoman and superman).
- Trying to break down the negative stereotypes.
- Lack of cultural awareness by colleagues and employers regarding Black staff.
- Desire to be accepted by colleagues.

The particular issues faced by Black staff in their organisation were considered (see Table 20 above). The focus group responses show that, in addition to

performance pressure, Black workers' career prospects were limited and dogged by negative stereotypes.

### **3.2.2 SUMMARY OF FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS**

In addition to general management skills, Black managers reported that they needed to develop effective strategies for dealing with racism in order to progress in their careers. In addition to this respondents reported the need to become more assertive and improve their networking skills.

Participants regarded the main issues faced by Black managers as performance pressure and the under-representation of Black men in management. Black womens' continued career success tended to be driven in part by the responsibilities and pressures of objective career success.

The focus group results reinforced the depth interview findings that Black employees have high levels of performance pressure and occupational stress. The need for effective strategies for dealing with racism was regarded as critical for a Black person's career to progress effectively.

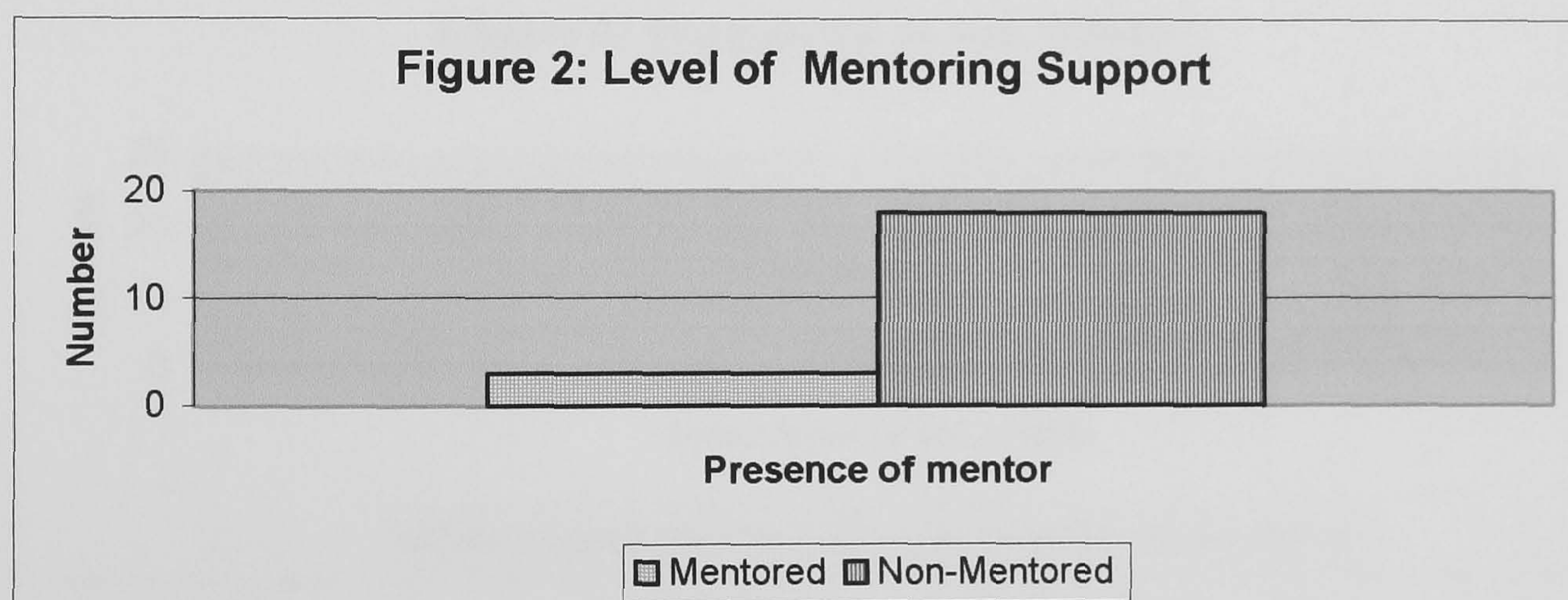
### **3.3 SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS – INTRODUCTION**

A semi-structured questionnaire was distributed to an opportunity sample of 30 Black employees in two large local authorities.

#### **3.3.1 EMERGENT ISSUES**

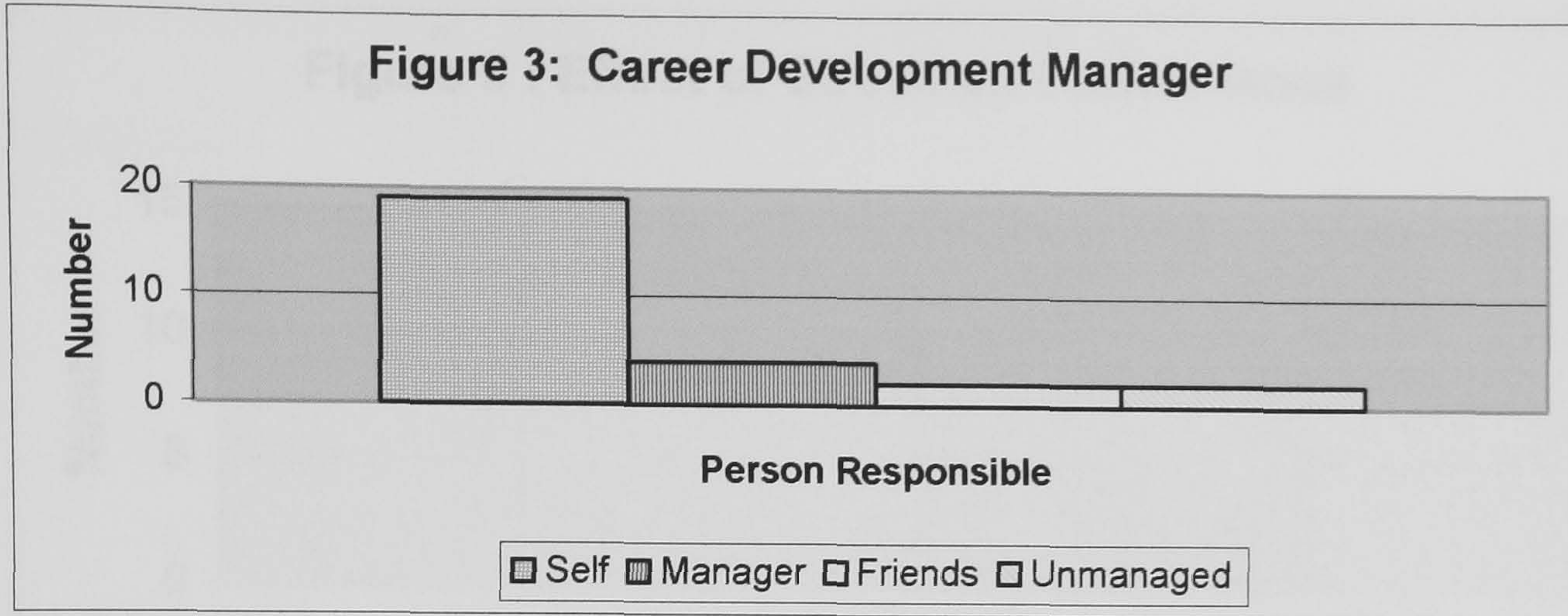
The most important results generated from the questionnaire are set out below.

From Figure 2 it can be seen that the vast majority of respondents did not have a mentor.

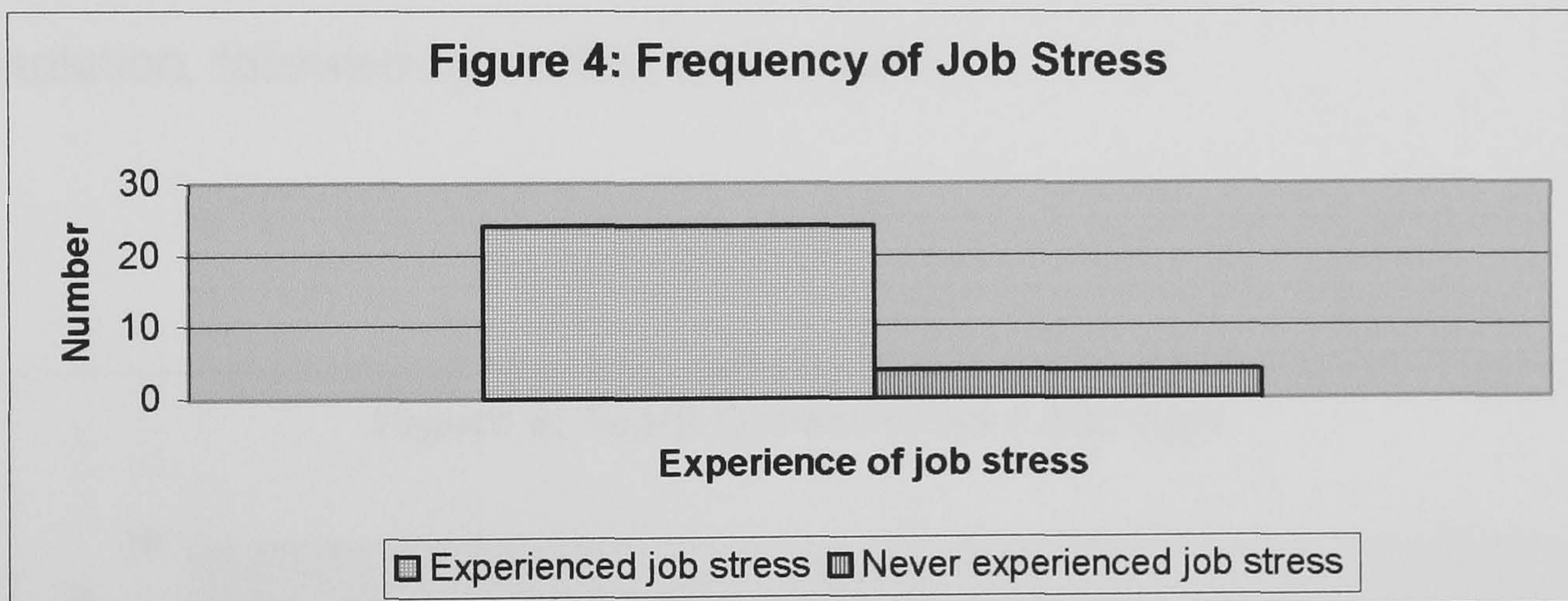


Nearly all the participants were found to be responsible for managing their own career development. Only two of the participants reported that their line managers were responsible for developing their careers, as shown in Figure 3 below.

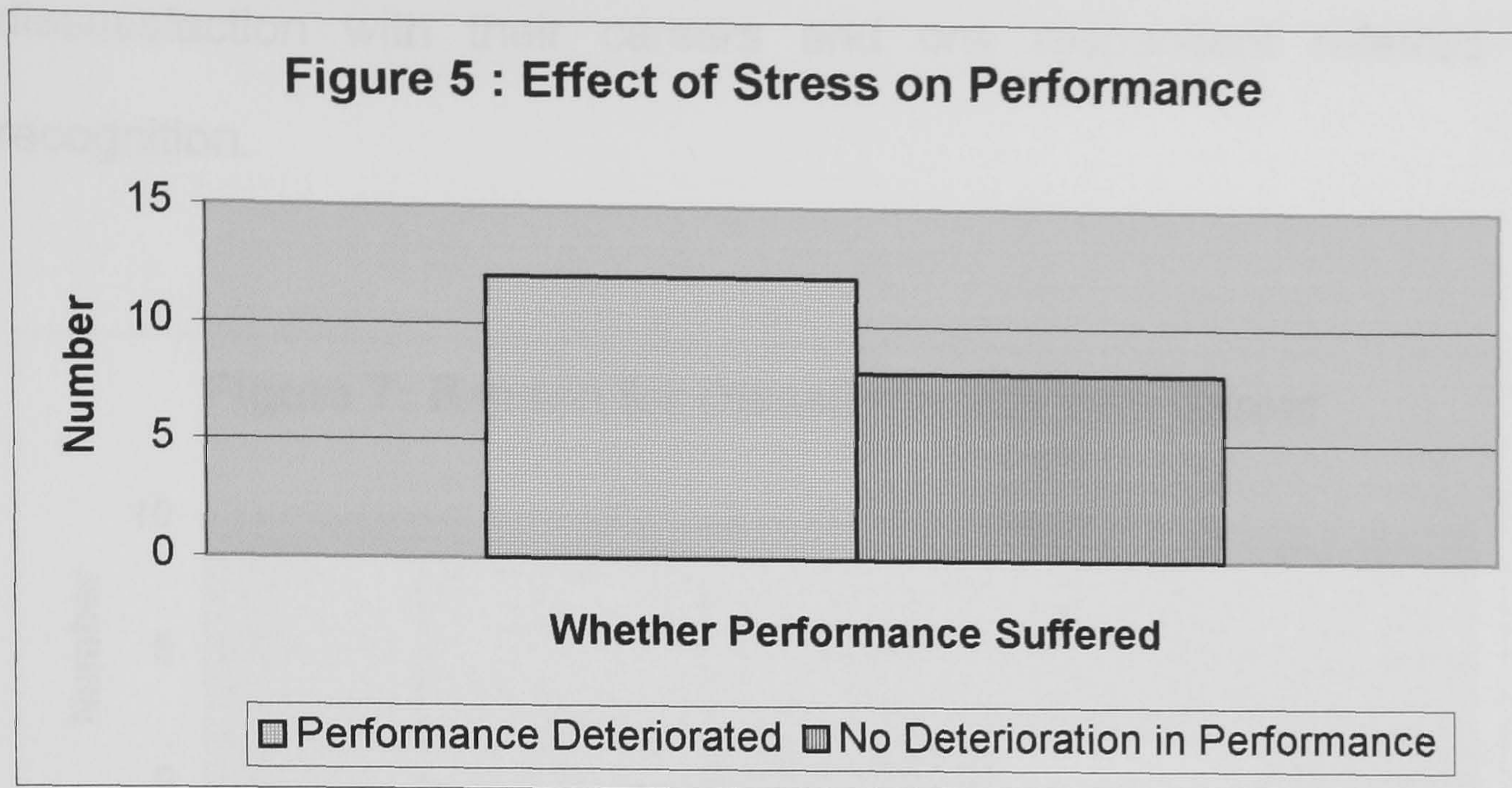




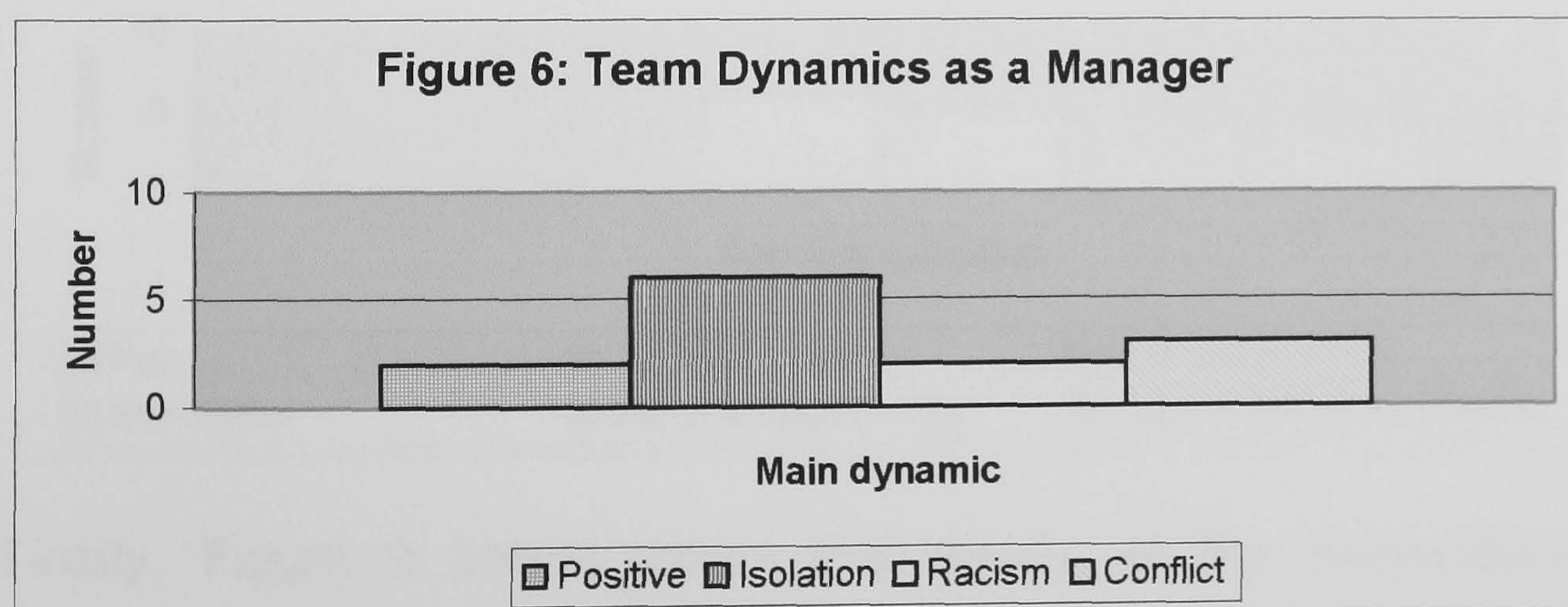
As can be seen (from Figure 4), occupational stress was a major feature in the participants' lives. Only a small minority of respondents experienced no job stress.



The majority of the participants reporting occupational stress noted that their performance deteriorated as a consequence of occupational stress. This is depicted in Figure 5 below.

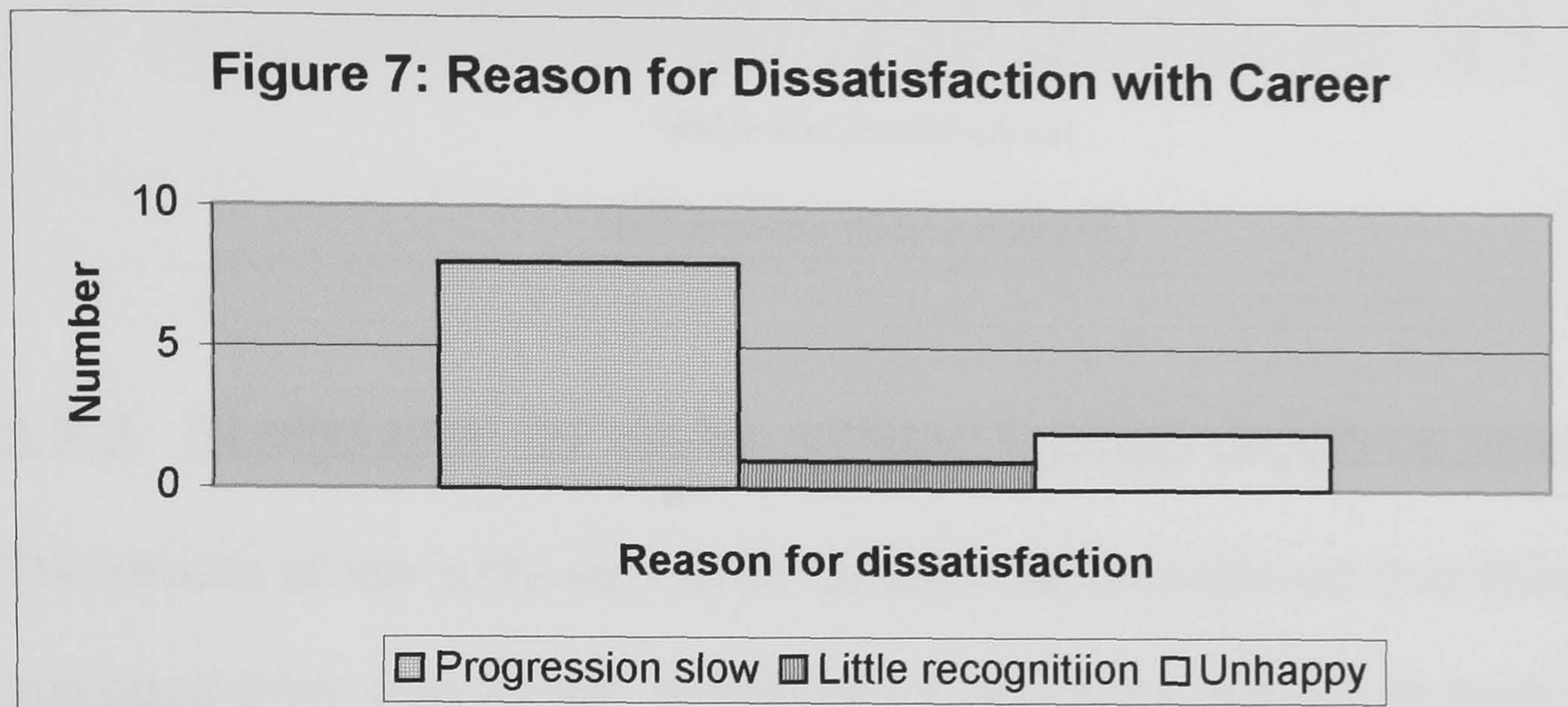


When the major features of team dynamics as a manager was examined, only two respondents were able to refer to any positive team dynamics. It can be seen from Figure 6 below that the most prominent experience reported was isolation, followed by conflict and racism.

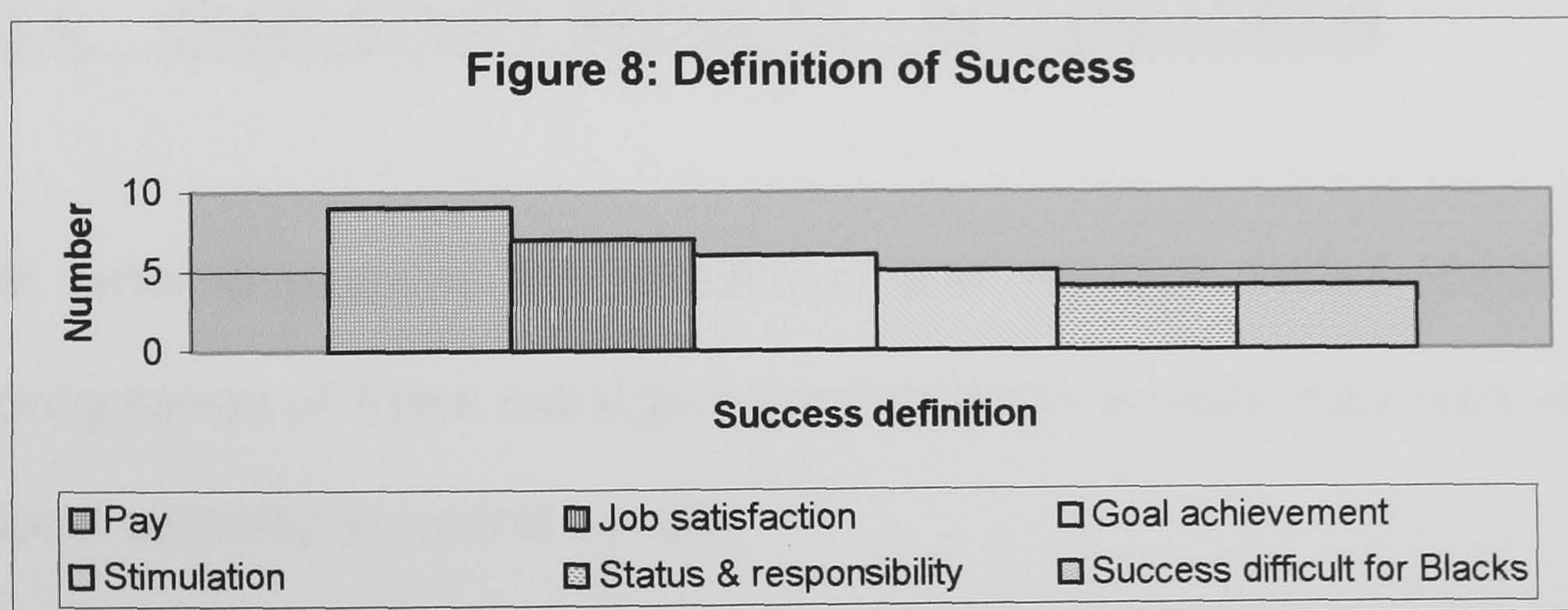


The most common reason for dissatisfaction with the participants' careers was analysed. It can be seen from Figure 7 below that most participants considered their career progress to be too slow. Two respondents reported a general

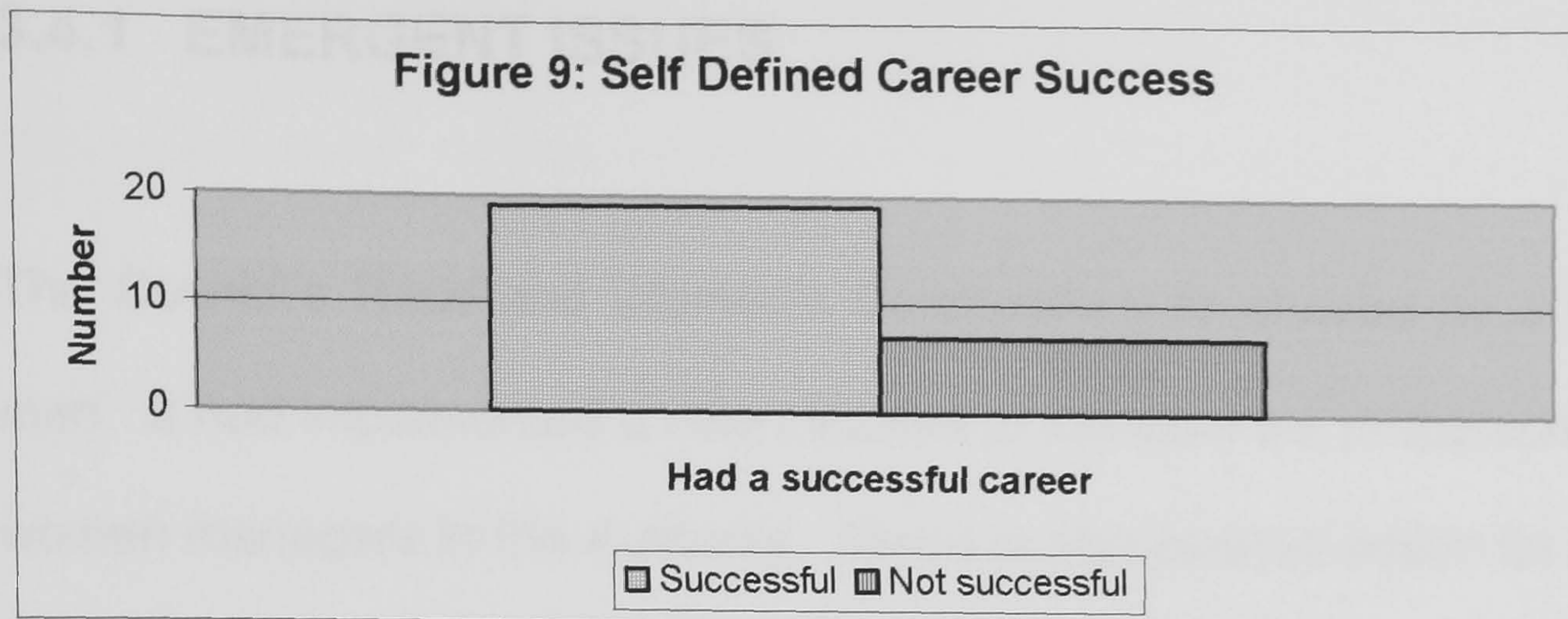
dissatisfaction with their careers and one respondent referred to lack of recognition.



It can be seen from Figure 8 below that participants spontaneously used a range of objective and subjective definitions of career success. Pay, an objective measure of success, was offered more frequently than any other indicator.



Finally, Figure 9 below shows that nearly all the respondents considered themselves to be successful when both objective and subjective measures of success were considered.



### **3.3.2 SUMMARY OF SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE**

The results of the semi-structured questionnaire confirmed that Black managers managed their own career development and were subject to high levels of job stress caused through racism. Invariably the resultant occupational stress adversely affected work performance. Respondents reported that the route to objective career success was slow and arduous.

### **3.4 CASE STUDY RESULTS – INTRODUCTION**

In order to examine the recruitment and selection issues affecting the career progression of Black managers in more detail, a case study was carried out in a local authority in central London.

### 3.4.1 EMERGENT ISSUES

The Council's Race and Women's Committee was chaired by a Black African man. It had implemented a new initiative to increase the proportion of Black and women managers in the Authority. There is also positive action for lesbians, gay men and disabled employees. The number of Black employees within the Authority had fallen. Most of the Council's Black employees were Asian or African Caribbean. African Caribbean and African women made up the highest proportion of the Black workforce. The majority of Black women were employed in lower paid professions. However, there was a slight increase in women workers and an increase of men undertaking part-time work.

There was also a significant increase in the middle-management level of women, Black and disabled staff.

The Council faced its most significant problem in achieving diversity at the more senior levels. The Authority had started to focus upon recruiting for particular occupations rather than particular departments. This recruitment was based on occupational analysis of the availability of Black professionals in the labour market.

The emphasis was on internal appointment into first-line and middle management.

The main reason for non-appointment of Black candidates was a perceived or real lack of knowledge and experience. The Authority carried out a number of interviews with women and Black employees; it found that there was a demand for career planning and management development. Training was available for staff to gain this experience through positive action learning sets. Most Black staff were in “specialist” posts dedicated to race equality in employment or service delivery. This had adverse effects on the career progression of these staff as employers now require more general experience. Low labour turnover had resulted in fewer opportunities for recruitment.

The authority has run two Black trainee schemes, one for accountants and the other for solicitors. The authority expects to mount career grade and secondment schemes and also mentoring opportunities to encourage Black staff to enter accounting or law.

Experience and lack of secondment opportunities was reported by the authority as the main reason why so few Black staff progress within the organisation. Secondments were often from one department to another. The main form of secondment was to other jobs within the same department. Secondments to external departments were also considered.

Many of the Black staff and senior women in the Finance Department had recently left the department. The department found that job rotation and job shadowing was most useful in terms of people getting experience of work at a much more senior level.

There was a significant problem achieving representation of Black staff on interview panels.

There were no Black personnel professionals in the authority, and none of the Black staff in the adjoining professions was seeking promotion.

A large number of Black employees hoped to gain further experience in their present area of service. Individuals wanted more experience in specific areas of work.

### **3.4.2 SUMMARY OF CASE STUDY RESULTS**

Black women made up the majority of the Black workforce. There were no Black staff in a number of professional posts. The main recorded reason for Black rejection at interview was lack of experience. When Black staff were recruited this tended to be in marginalised equal opportunities posts. The case study confirmed that it was difficult for Black staff to gain senior positions.

## **3.5 GENERAL SUMMARY OF RESULTS**

### **3.5.1 DEPTH INTERVIEWS**

Most of the respondents came from two-parent families. Their parents placed a high value on education and ensured their children were aware of racism and how to overcome it.

Some of the participants, particularly the Asian men, were able to recall key achievements from school age. All respondents were highly educated and valued education. Reginald Lewis (Lewis & Walker, 1995) also valued education highly.

Participants had mixed experiences of the recruitment and selection process. Some respondents gained promotions and jobs informally while others experienced acute discrimination in selection processes. Nottingham & District Council for Racial Equality & the Commission for Racial Equality (1980) and Parsons & Linden (1984) also found extensive discrimination in selection processes.

Participants' careers often developed either with the help of a supportive mentor or as a reaction to discrimination. The most successful respondents had career



development strategies. Nearly all respondents reported that they had ambitious career goals.

Respondents tended to remain in their current professions, yet there was a low level of job satisfaction and organisational commitment expressed by most participants. Korman et al (1991) concluded that job satisfaction is an indicator of subjective success; further exploratory work was therefore required to establish why objectively successful Black managers felt subjectively unsuccessful. Arnold & Mackenzie Davey (1994) found that organisational commitment was related to the intrinsic nature of the job, job clarity and attractiveness of career opportunities. One possible explanation for the low level of organisational commitment in this group was that discrimination made their jobs and the organisation less attractive.

The participants identified a number of skills and competences for Black managers. These included multi-cultural competence, the ability to manage diversity, networking skills and the ability to secure high profile mentors. The importance of networking skills for career development has also been well documented by Frazer (1994). One of the key skills identified by respondents was management of a positive Black identity – managing to be Black. The importance of racial identity in maintaining the well-being of Black respondents was supported by a number of other studies: Parham & Helms (1985a); Cross

(1991); Dickens & Dickens (1991); Helms (1993); James, Lavoto & Khoo (1994); and Gilbert (2000).

Consistent with Davidson's (1997) study all respondents experienced racism, stress and conflict rooted in racism at work. The most successful Black managers were able to manage this conflict successfully.

Black managers felt particularly isolated when they were in "specialist" equal opportunities jobs. This echoed the findings of Chung & Williams (1986).

Successful Black managers performed well and were conscious that their high performance would challenge the negative stereotypes held about Blacks. They also were able to perform in environments where equal opportunities was misunderstood.

### **3.5.2 FOCUS GROUPS**

Focus group participants identified competences and issues relating to the career progression of Black managers. Consistent with the depth interviews, interpersonal skills, multi-cultural competence, self-confidence and dominance were also reported to be rated highly. Self-confidence and dominance have been reported by a number of other researchers as key factors for the managerial progression of White managers (see Barton & Cattell, 1972; Brenner,

1982; Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982; Lord, De Vader & Alliger, 1986; Nicholson & West, 1988; Bartram, 1992; Offerman & Beil, 1992; and Sacks, Chrisler & Sloan-Delvin, 1992).

In support of Davidson's (1997) study Black employees felt they had to work twice as hard as their White counterparts. Similarly, Black women felt higher demands were placed on them than their White peers. Expectations of Black managers and racism were believed to result in high levels of occupational stress by participants.

### **3.5.3 SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE**

Consistent with Thomas & Kram (1988), Bell (1990) and Dickens & Dickens (1991), the results of the semi-structured questionnaire revealed that Black managers had a lack of mentors. Black employees also expressed a lack of support for their career development, a result that was also found by Andrew (1996) and the Local Government Management Board (1996). Participants who completed the semi-structured questionnaire reported a high level of occupational stress. This stress had an adverse effect on their work performance.

Most Black staff felt isolated as managers and subjected to racism. They also felt their careers were at a plateau. The majority of respondents saw career success in financial terms.

### **3.5.4 CASE STUDY**

Case study respondents confirmed that most of their African Caribbean managers were women. Participants found that a titanium ceiling existed in their organisation in that very few Black staff held management positions. This finding was in line with previous research carried out by Greenhaus et al (1990), Iles & Auluck (1991), Major (1996), African Caribbean Finance Forum et al (1996) and Davidson (1997).

Evidence of unmet development needs of Black staff existed and most of the senior Black employees were isolated in “specialist” race relations roles.

### **3.5.5 INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION**

Drawing together the findings of the three qualitative sub-studies, a framework for a more extensive quantitative analysis of the findings emerged. This is summarised in Table 21 below.

It can be seen from Table 21 that the major evidence for human capital formation came from the depth interviews. The findings in relation to career dynamics were supported in all three qualitative studies. The main theme to crystallise under this heading was that Blacks would find it harder than Whites to get work and develop their careers. There was a clear need to test this proposition against a sample of White respondents.

There was considerable evidence of Blacks finding strategies to succeed against all odds. This finding emerged from the depth interviews and focus groups. In order to progress their careers Blacks had to develop exceptional interpersonal, marketing and planning strategies. Some of these are summarised in Table 21 below, under strategies for career success. Racial identity attitudes and strategy for managing racism appeared to moderate the realisation of career success. Furthermore, these variables appeared to be related to participants' perceptions of subjective success.

The low level of job satisfaction and organisational commitment reported in the study could be a consequence of the discrimination in employment which results in slow career progression for Black employees.

**Table 21: An Integrative Summary of Study One**

<b>Study</b>	<b>Key finding<sup>1</sup></b>
	<b>(i) Human Capital Formation</b>
d.01	Most respondents came from two parent families
d.02	Many successful managers had responsible roles as children
d.03	Respondents' parents prepared their children to deal with racism
d.04	Respondents' parents placed a high value on education
d.05	Respondents had many qualifications, education was valued highly
d.06	Respondents' early achievements were non-stereotypical
	<b>(ii) Career Dynamics and Experiences</b>
f.01	Black employees faced a high level of job insecurity
d.07	Discrimination in recruitment and selection was common
d.08	African Caribbean men experienced most difficulty in finding work
c.01	Lack of knowledge/experience main reason for rejection at interview
c.02	Black employees were under-represented in senior management
c.03	African Caribbean women made up the majority of the workforce
d.09	Most respondents remained in the same profession
c.04	The turnover of senior and professional Black staff was high
	<b>(iii) Strategies for Career Success</b>
f.02	Successful managers have interpersonal and organisational skills
f.03	Successful managers understand cultural differences
d.09	The most successful managers had some mentoring input
s.01	The majority of managers had no mentor
d.10	The most successful respondents had career development strategies
s.02	The majority took responsibility for developing their own careers
d.11	The most successful managers had career goals
d.12	The most successful managers used networking
	<b>(iv) Measures of Success</b>
d.13	Maintaining a positive Black identity was key for subjective success
s.03	Nearly all participants considered themselves successful
d.14	Managing racism was a key determinant of success
s.04	Pay was the most important indicator of objective success
s.05	Job satisfaction was the second most important indicator of success
	<b>(v) Job Satisfaction and Commitment</b>
s.06	Most were dissatisfied with their slow career progression
d.15	Low levels of job satisfaction were evident
d.16	Low levels of organisational commitment were evident
	<b>(vi) Racism and its Effects on Well-being</b>
d.17	Black managers were isolated and marginalised in Black projects
s.07	The main dynamics as manager were isolation and conflict
d.18	Equal opportunities was not held in high regard by employers
d.19	High level of racial stereotyping existed at work
d.20	Racism from clients and peers was pervasive
d.21	Conflict at work caused by racism was endemic
d.22	Racism resulted in debilitating stress reactions for Black managers
s.08	The majority of managers experienced stress caused by racism
s.09	Stress caused by racism affected job performance of most managers
f.04	Managers faced performance pressure caused by racism
f.05	Black women managers faced racism and sexism

<sup>1</sup> Key: (d) are key findings of the depth interviews, (f) relates to main findings of the focus groups, (s) indicates a main finding of the semi-structured questionnaire and (c) refers to key findings of the case study.

### 4.0 INTRODUCTION

The first study identified experiences that Black people had in respect of: career progression, barriers, developmental opportunities, dealing with conflicts and “sell-out” problems.

The main messages of the first study were that:

1. Race conflicts in organisations resulted in stress.
2. Successful Black managers had strategies and plans for dealing with racism.
3. Job success could be at the expense of a good sense of self and well-being.
4. Endemic racism in organisations resulted in poor performance and poor health.

The first study revealed that the real successful Black manager is someone who is both objectively and subjectively successful. In other words, the real successful Black manager is therefore able to maintain a healthy pro-Black identity and thus a high level of self-esteem whilst achieving objective

success. The results of the qualitative study indicated that this was a significant challenge as there were very few other objectively successful Black managers from whom a person could gain psychological support for their pro-Black attitudes. Not only is positive self-esteem related to a positive Black identity, it also correlates strongly with self-confidence and dominance – key attributes of successful managers (Russell, Darcie & Karol, 1995).

The findings of the first study are now discussed in the context of the literature on self-concept, self-esteem and racial identity.

#### **4.1 SELF-CONCEPT**

Self-esteem and self-concept emerged as important constructs in the qualitative study. They are also important constructs to consider in the context of success because self-esteem has been linked to low self-efficacy. There is also some evidence that self-esteem is an index of psychological well-being (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach and Rosenberg, 1995). According to Dill (1978), the terms self-concept and self-esteem refer to personal evaluations, feelings and attitudes through his/her behaviour.

Symbolic interactionists such as Mead (1984) submit that self-concept develops from how others respond to us. Mead calls this process the “me”, which symbolises the internalisation of others’ attitudes and feelings about



the individual self, and the “I”, which denotes how the individual feels about the organised “me”.

In a seminal article Nobles (1973, 1976) attacked the functionality of these traditional approaches to understanding Black self-concept, because these approaches have failed to recognise the effect of African worldviews on Blacks. Nobles (1973, 1976) asserts that the African worldview extends beyond the “I” and the “we” to incorporate the notion of the “I am because ‘we’ are and ‘we’ are therefore I am”. For Nobles, the Black self-concept cannot be understood without understanding the Black concept of the self.

Sims (1986) reviewed the research on Black self-concept (what one is like) and self-esteem (evaluations associated with one’s self-concept). She found that the literature prior to the mid 1960s was bombarded with deficit models of Black self-concept.

According to Sims, a major methodological weakness in these studies was the failure to measure self-concept and racial attitudes separately. In fact, the relationship between self-concept and racial attitudes was not empirically tested in most of the research. Where the relationship between self-concept and racial attitudes has been scientifically investigated, the early research yields inconsistent findings. Most studies found a positive relationship and some found no relationship (see Jackson, McCullough & Gurin (1982) for

review). When self-concept is assessed directly, it is related to positive mental health in Black Americans (Sims, 1986).

The most definitive review to date of the literature of self-esteem, self-concept and race was undertaken by Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000).

### **4.1.1 SELF-ESTEEM**

Self-esteem and sense of competence are part of self-concept. Gattiker and Larwood (1986) found positive occupational self-concept positively influenced an individual's perception of their own career success.

#### ***4.1.1.1 Self-Esteem and Racial Identity***

Phinney (1990, 1996) clearly distinguishes between racial identity and racial esteem. Racial identity refers to the intensity of identification with one's ethnic group. Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) conclude that while racial identity and self-esteem are conceptually and empirically distinguishable they are related.

#### **4.1.1.2      *Self-Esteem and Racial Esteem***

Racial esteem implies an evaluation of one's racial group. Racial esteem is a form of collective esteem, the perception of one's social group as valued by or as comparing favourably with other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Cross, 1987; Triandis, 1989; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Rowley, Sellers, Chavous & Smith, 1998).

The literature and theory indicates that the larger White society does not represent significant others for Blacks for personal self-esteem. The significant others are primary groups or immediate reference groups (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1972; Nobles, 1973, 1976; Marsh, 1987, 1990; Cairns, 1990; Oyserman & Markus, 1993).

#### **4.1.1.3      *Racial Differences in Self-Esteem***

Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) in a meta-analysis of over 261 studies, practically all the research on self-esteem and race published to date, found Blacks have higher average self-esteem than their White counterparts.

Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) reason that Blacks have higher levels of self-esteem because Black people (who are a highly visible and identifiable group) highlight their desirable differences. Blacks treat racial group membership as a meaningful category distinction. Blacks and other minority

groups experience racial identity more profoundly than Whites and their Black (or other) identity is more sharply brought into focus as a sense of self-identification. The literature shows that race is more likely to be mentioned by Blacks as an element of self-concept than Whites (McGuire & McGuire, 1988; Phinney, 1989; Phinney & Alipura, 1990; Rotheram-Borus, 1990; Smith, 1991; Judd, Park, Ryan, Brauer & Kraus, 1995; and Gaines, Marelich, Bledsoe, Steers, Henderson, Granrose, Hicks, Lyde, Takahashi, Yum, Rios, Garcia, Farris & Page, 1997).

Another factor giving rises to higher levels of self-esteem in Blacks is that racial identity is a key source of variance in the self-esteem of Blacks (see Cross (1991), Burlew & Smith (1992) and Rowley et al (1998) for a critique of racial identity constructs and instruments).

The vast majority of studies demonstrate a positive relationship between individual self-esteem and racial identity in Blacks (see Paul & Fischer, 1980; Clarke, 1985; Parham & Helms, 1985; Wright, 1985; White & Burke, 1987; Rotheram-Borus, 1989; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Pyant & Yanico, 1991; Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Munford, 1994; Goodstein & Poneratto, 1997; and Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette, 1998). A small number of researchers have found no reliable relationship (McAdoo, 1977; Hines & Berg-Cross, 1981; Clarke, 1982; Houston, 1984; Rotheram-Borus, 1990; and Rowely et al, 1998).

The studies finding no reliable relationship were carried out mainly on pre-school or infant children. However, Gray-Little and Hafdahl (2000) in their meta-analytic study found the self-esteem advantage for Blacks increases with age. The studies reporting no relationship are therefore likely to be an artefact of this effect.

Research incorporating White respondents has found that White respondents report little or no relationship between self-esteem and racial identity or found a less significant relationship (Phinney & Alipura, 1990; Goodstein & Ponterotto, 1997). This also supports the conclusion that racial identity is more strongly related to individual self-esteem for Blacks.

Gray-Little & Carels (1997) and Gray-Little & Hafdahl (2000) have hypothesised that for Blacks and Whites, self-esteem will probably be higher in situations that are racially consonant for them. This consonance could be a function of race and socio-economic status (due in part to the fact that race and socio-economic status are related).

Rosenberg (1965) found that racial consonance improved self-esteem; Coleman (1966) found that Blacks in segregated schools had higher self-esteem than those in desegregated schools. Research undertaken by Abbot (1981), Gerken et al (1984) and Powell (1985) all supports this contention.

#### **4.1.1.4      *Self-Esteem and Managerial Progression***

Rieke and Corn (1994) correlated the Coopersmith self-esteem scale with the 16PF, a personality instrument which is often used to select managers by identifying whether their personality is similar to the profile of successful managers (Barton & Cattell, 1972; Brenner, 1982; Steinberg & Shapiro, 1982; Lord et al, 1986; Nickolson & West, 1988; Bartram, 1992; Otterman & Bell, 1992; and Stacks et al, 1992).

When Rieke & Conn (1994) regressed the self-esteem scale against the following primary factors these factors were found to be significant predictors of self-esteem.

According to Gray-Little & Hafdahal (2000) Black respondents report a higher level of self-esteem than Whites at low socio-economic levels and lower self-esteem than Whites at high socio-economic levels. The higher level of Black self-esteem is likely to lead to distortions on the major personality measures such as the 16PF.

#### **4.1.2 OCCUPATIONAL SELF-CONCEPT**

Gattiker & Larwood (1986) studied 221 employees from public and private sector organisations in the USA, and found career success can be measured by several factors.

It has been argued that it is important to study those concepts and employee's subjective assessment of career success to understand individual perceptions and their impact on career development (Driver, 1979; Sehein, 1980).

Gattiker & Larwood (1986) define job features as the employee's perception of job characteristics as well as the ergonomic work environment. "Occupational Self-Concept" is the person's self-esteem and self-evaluated job qualifications.

Occupational self-concept can be defined as a subset of one's overall self-concept and refers to people's beliefs about themselves in the workplace. It is a measurement of the degree of people's own approval or disapproval of themselves as being capable, significant and worthy in their own occupations (Rosenberg, 1979; Mossholder, Bedeian, & Armenakis, 1982). It is assumed that employees will be healthier and better adjusted to life if their beliefs about themselves are consistent with the ideals they hold for themselves. Briddle (1979) and Gattiker & Larwood (1986) found that positive occupational self-concept influenced an individual's perception of career success positively.

The literature indicates the requirements for success by recommending career strategies; education and the right entry position will lead to

hierarchical progression and a successful career (Molloy, 1977; Lynch, 1978; and Black, 1981). These researchers have overlooked people who avoid managerial careers for personal reasons, yet regard themselves as successful (Korman, 1980).

Several researchers have argued that self-concept and job features affect a person's career success (Brousseau, 1983; Von Glinow, Driver, Brousseau & Prince, 1983).

Gattiker and Larwood identified a number of factors that define career success (using factor analysis) as these relate to occupational self-concept:

**(a) Organisational Success**

i. Job Success

Positive performance, responsibility, enjoy job, support of management.

ii. Interpersonal Success

Respected and accepted by peers, good performance evaluations.

iii. Financial Success

Receiving high income compared with peers, earning as much as one's work is worth.

iv. Hierarchical Success

Pleased with promotions and career goals achieved.



**(b) Non-organisational Success**

Life Success

Happy with private life, satisfied with life overall.

Gattiker & Larwood (1986) found that occupational self-concept determines non-managerial perceptions of life success much more than it does for managers. For managers, occupational self-concept was found to be a very strong predictor of how they perceive their job and hierarchical success.

Gattiker & Larwood (1986) recommended that their constructs needed developing and dimensions such as organisational commitment and stress should be included in future research.

England and Whitely (1990) found that individuals who viewed work as a central part of their lives had the highest net incomes. Howard & Bray (1988), Cox & Cooper (1989) and Cannings & Montmarquette (1991) found that ambition was one of the best predictors of achievement. However, discrimination at work may alienate Black employees this could potentially result in lower work centrality.

## **4.2 SUMMARY AND DIRECTIONS FOR THE QUANTITATIVE STUDY**

In addition to the issues discussed above, the qualitative study raised a number of key themes which were crystallised in the headings used in the results section of the first study. The method of exploring these themes and how they map to the psychometric instruments used in the second study are now considered. A more detailed analysis of the psychometric properties of the instruments was provided in Chapter 2.

Parental influences, key childhood responsibilities, education, career history and management skills all contribute to the value of the human capital attributes. These human capital attributes were examined using questions relating to education and work experience in the final questionnaire.

The broad issues raised in relation to management skills, career strategies and experiences were explored through the inclusion of Irons & Moore's (1984) career dynamics subscale, Colarelli & Bishop's (1990) measure of mentoring and Kimbro & Hill's (1992) laws of success. Kimbro & Hill's (1992) laws of success were also used to research the issues relating to career strategies and career development.

The qualitative study pointed to a number of biases in the recruitment and promotion experiences of Black managers. Irons & Moore's (1984) career

dynamics subscale was also used to investigate these issues at a quantitative level.

The first study highlighted a range of concerns relating to equal opportunities, racism and stereotyping. Helms & Carter's (1993) White racial identity attitude scale and Barbarin's (1996) strategies for dealing with racism subscale were used to analyse these in the second study.

Black racial identity emerged from the first study as a key factor moderating relationship between objective and subjective career success. Helms & Parham's (1993) Black racial identity scale was used to map the structure of the theoretical model in the second study.

It was contended that isolation and stress were the products of racism. These issues were analysed in the second study with Cook & Wall's (1990) organisational commitment scale and Warr's (1990) well-being scale.

## **Chapter 5:**

# **Career Progression in Black and White: Results of the Second Study**

### **5.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND STUDY**

There is now considerable literature to show that Black people are disadvantaged in the work place. There is clear evidence to show that this is due to discrimination (Fernandez, 1975; Brown & Ford, 1977; Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker & Tucker, 1980; Brown, 1984; Irons & Moore, 1985; Nixon, 1985; African Caribbean Finance Forum et al, 1986; Ilgen & Yantz, 1986; and Davidson, 1997). There is a relative paucity of research on the strategies successful Black people use for coping with discrimination at work.

The first study aimed to address these limitations in the research. The first study used a qualitative investigation of Black peoples' career experiences and the strategies used to combat racism. The main findings of the first study focused on racism across the board and raised complex issues concerning the relationship between self-esteem and racial identity. One implication of this study data was that for some the realisation of objective career success might be at the expense of "selling out" one's positive Black racial identity attitudes. It was contended that Black people may find that in order to gain high objective career success they would have to adopt an Eurocentric frame of reference and idealise everything White, rarely engaging in Black life/culture.

Korman, et al (1981) has documented the existence of the career success/personal failure syndrome in which family life/work balance is sacrificed for culture/status. Racial identity could similarly be suppressed in order to gain objective career success.

Employees have different strategies to address racism in the workplace. It was important to explore whether any of the strategies advocated correlate with the racial identity states of Black and White employees.

The focus of the second study was, therefore, to explore these variables quantitatively. The second study used a questionnaire survey design to address these issues; however, there were a number of problems to be surmounted in the second study.

Problem 1: How could a large sample of objectively successful Black people be identified and accessed?

It was an extremely expensive and difficult task to locate a large sample of objectively successful Black people. The sample was identified by:

1. The use of mailing lists from relevant professional and social organisations which were known to have significant numbers of Black members.

2. The use of public events in which Black people associate to identify potential participants and to distribute questionnaires to them.

Problem 2: How could “successful managers” be identified using a questionnaire design?

Objective success is normally measured on the basis of salary, position, career progression, span of control, and budgetary responsibility (see Judge et al, 1995; Melamed, 1996). It is difficult to compare these variables in a survey format because most of the non-financial variables differ so much across organisations that it is hard to draw broad conclusions about equivalence of the non-financial variables. While it is accepted that there are some problems in using salary as an objective measure of success, it proved the most feasible measure to use in this study.

Objective success is by no means the only measure of success (see Gattiker & Larwood, 1990) there was a need to examine subjective success indicators such as satisfaction with career, job satisfaction and organisational commitment. Affective well-being was also measured on the assumption that it would be associated with subjective success. Affective well-being provides a basis to consider “selling-out” effects. (See Hypothesis 2 below.)

Problem 3: How can racial identity be measured?

There was substantial difficulty in measuring racial identity. The racial identity attitude scale developed by Helms (1993) was one of the only instruments available at the time to systematically measure Black and White racial identity. The positive and negative points about the scale can be summarised as follows:

**Table 22: An Evaluation of the Racial Identity Attitude Scales**

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Scale is known to correlate well with a range of significant personality variables.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Pre-encounter and contact sub-scales very transparent; because of the social desirability associated with many of these variables participants may be unwilling to openly agree with them.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sub-scales provide a good operationalisation of the historical and psychological development of Black people across cultures.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Very positive Black values best measured through encounter and immersion subscales – thus dwarfing the positive Black values on the more balanced internalisation subscale.</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Used by several US researchers and validated in the USA.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• To author's knowledge not used in British-based research.</li></ul>

Having established an acceptable (if not perfect) approach to measurement the objectives set out below were addressed.

## **5.1 SURVEY OBJECTIVES/HYPOTHESES**

**Hypothesis 1:** There will be a difference between Black and White employees in terms of:

- Objective success (salary). Whites will earn more than Blacks.
- Subjective success (career progression). Whites will be more satisfied with their career progression, their jobs and will report higher levels of organisational commitment than Blacks.

**Hypothesis 2:** The relationship between salary (objective success) and affective well-being will be moderated by racial identity. Specifically, it is hypothesised that immersion and encounter attitudes will operate as moderators in respect of selling out for objective career success. In this connection it is hypothesised that there will be a relationship between the moderator variables, well-being, self-esteem, and organisational commitment.

**Hypothesis 3:** There will be a difference between Blacks and Whites in the strategies they use for career success.



**Hypothesis 4:** There will be a difference between Blacks' and Whites' perceptions of egalitarianism on career dynamics.

**Hypothesis 5:** There will be a difference between:

- (a) Blacks and Whites and the perceived effectiveness of the strategies used to deal with racism.
- (b) There will be a high correlation between the perceived effectiveness of strategies for dealing with racism and the respondents' racial identity state.

Two hundred and fifty-nine respondents disclosed their age. The mean age of respondents was 40 years 8 months. The age range was 21 to 65 years with a standard deviation of 8.63 years.

The descriptive statistics for the participants' earnings are set out in the frequency table for participants' earnings, Table 23

**Table 23: Frequency Table for Participants' Earnings.**

Salary Band	Salary	Frequency	Valid Percent
1	Under £10,000	6	2.3
2	£10,000 – £20,000	50	19.5
3	£21,000 – £30,000	117	45.5
4	£31,000 – £40,000	59	23.0
5	£41,000 – £50,000	17	6.6
6	More than £50,000	8	3.1
	Sub total	257	100
	Missing	4	
	Grand total	261	

Ninety-nine (38.5%) of participants were male and 158 (61.5%) of participants were female. Four respondents declined to reveal their gender. Ninety-seven (37.3%) of the participants were Black and 163 (62.7%) of participants were White. One participant declined to state their race.

**Table 24: Survey Participants by Race and Sex**

		Race		
Sex		Black	White	
	Male	43 (45%)	58 (35%)	101
Female	54 (55%)	105 (65%)	159	
Total	97 (37.3%)	163 (62.7%)	260	

## **5.2 RESULTS**

### **5.2.1 HYPOTHESIS 1**

In order to test Hypothesis 1 (race differences on success variables) a discriminant function analysis was performed using the following success variables as predictors of participants' racial group:

- Affective well-being
- Organisational commitment
- Self-esteem
- Salary
- Satisfaction with career success
- Job satisfaction

The internal consistency reliabilities of each subscale in the Black and White Racial Identity Attitude Scales from the data in the current study are set out in the Tables 25 to 26 below:

**Table 25: Reliability Analysis of the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale**

	Measure			
	Alpha	Number	Mean	Standard Dev.
<i>Factor Name</i>				
Pre-encounter	.5984	83	26.7711	8.1814
Encounter	.7503	81	14.444	6.1543
Immersion/emersion	.7692	82	42.6829	11.7377
Internalisation	.6369	85	39.5765	6.3591

**Table 26: Reliability Analysis of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale**

<i>Factor Name</i>	Measure			
	Alpha	Number	Mean	Standard Dev.
Contract	.5521	137	34.1971	6.7583
Disintegration	.7076	97	20.0412	7.0621
Reintegration	.6762	159	11.3019	4.9077
Pseudo- Independence	.5256	159	42.1258	5.2792
Autonomy	.5833	154	38.6234	4.9323

A reliability analysis of the organisational commitment scale reveals an alpha of .7844 (N = 244, mean = 49.5144, SD = 9.119). Kimbro and Hill's (1992) laws of success was analysed for internal consistency. A reliability analysis of the scale yielded an alpha of .7665 (N = 248; mean = 43.0202; SD = 6.2391).

**Table 27: Group Descriptive Statistics for Career Success Measures**

Race	Mean	Std. Deviation
<b>White</b>		
Objective Success (Salary)	3.3782	1.0370
Affective Well-Being	5.0443	.9385
Organisational Commitment	4.8162	.6053
Self-Esteem	5.6396	.8232
Career Progression	5.1859	1.4627
Job Satisfaction	4.9103	1.5424
<b>Black</b>		
Objective Success (Salary)	2.9750	.9137
Affective Well-Being	4.7635	1.3030
Organisational Commitment	4.4597	.7340
Self-Esteem	5.8792	.8200
Career Progression	4.4375	1.9735
Job Satisfaction	4.4125	1.7696

Table 27 above shows that Whites score higher than Blacks on all objective and subjective measures of success except self-esteem.

The group means and levels of significance of the individual elements contributing to objective and subjective career success are given below.

**Table 28: Tests of Equality of Group Means for Career Success Measures**

Career Success Measure	Wilk's Lambda	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Objective Success (Salary)	.964	8.648	1	234	.004
Subjective Success (Affective Well-Being)	.985	3.605	1	234	.059
Subjective Success (Organisational Commitment)	.937	15.832	1	234	.000
Subjective Success (Self-Esteem)	.981	4.490	1	234	.035
Subjective Success (Career Progression)	.956	10.841	1	234	.001
Subjective Success (Job Satisfaction)	.979	4.976	1	234	.027

It can be seen from Table 28 above that there is a statistically significant difference between the two broad racial groups on almost all independent variables (measures of objective and subjective success). The only independent variable which did not quite reach statistical significance was well-being.

**Table 29: Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions for Career Success Measures**

Function	Eigenvalue	% of variance	Cumulative %	Canonical correlation
1	.169	100.0	100.0	.380

First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

**Table 30: Summary of Wilk's Lambda for Career Success Measures**

Test of Function(s)	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
1	.855	36.052	6	.000

From the above canonical correlations and Wilk's Lambda it can be seen that the career success measures account for approximately 15% of the variance between Black and White respondents.

**Table 31: Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for Career Success Measures**

Career Success Measure	Function
<b>Objective success:</b>	
Salary	.366
<b>Subjective success:</b>	
Affective Well-being	.387
Organisational Commitment	.441
Self-Esteem	-.739
Career Progression	-.385
Job Satisfaction	-.051

From the above standardised canonical discriminate function coefficients over the value of 0.3 it can be seen that the most important predictors in the model are:

- Organisational commitment;
- Self esteem; and
- Career progression.

The probabilities for the classification results have been compiled based on group size.

**Table 32: Classification Results for Career Success Measures**

Race	Predicted Group Membership		Total
	White	Black	
White	144 (92.3%)	12 (7.7%)	156
Black	47 (58.8%)	33 (41.3%)	80
Ungrouped cases	0	1	1

*75.9% of original grouped cases correctly classified.*

The classification results revealed that the predictors of objective and subjective career success correctly classified 92% of Whites and 41% of Blacks.

In order to test whether sex was more important than race in determining objective career success, race and sex were regressed against salary.

**Table 33: Model Summary for Sex, Race and Objective Success**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	df1	df2	Sig of F Change
1	.177 <sup>a</sup>	.031	.027	1.00	1	249	.001
2	.287 <sup>b</sup>	.082	.075	.97			

(a = Predictor's sex, b = sex and race)

The results show that 8% of the variance is accounted for by sex and race (R square, sometimes written  $R^2$ ). Approximately 3% of the variance is accounted for by sex alone. In other words, race accounted for 5% of the variance between the groups; race was a far more important predictor of salary than sex.

The adjusted  $R^2$  takes into account the population errors. If this statistic is used 7.5% of the variance is accounted for by race and sex. The proportion of variance due to sex alone in the adjusted  $R^2$  is 2.7% leaving 4.8% attributable to race. The standardised beta co-efficient for the equations is set out below:

**Table 34: Beta Coefficients for Sex, Race and Objective Success**

Variable	B	Beta	T	Significance
Sex	-.410	-.197	-3.225	.001
Race	-.476	-.227	-3.719	.000

## 5.2.2 HYPOTHESIS 2

In order to test Hypothesis 2 (that salary and Black racial identity attitudes would moderate relationships between well-being, self-esteem and organisational commitment), a series of moderated multiple regression analyses (MMRs) were performed. In the first MMR the criterion variable was affective well-being. Neither pre-encounter or internalisation constructs produced any statistically significant results. However, effects were observed for both immersion and encounter constructs, and the findings are reported in this section.

**Table 35: Descriptive Statistics for Moderated Regression Analysis**

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Affective Well-Being	4.7048	1.2715	83
Salary	2.90	.89	83
Immersion	3.5061	.9316	83
Moderated Immersion	10.0821	3.7557	83

Immersion multiplied by salary for moderated multiple regression analysis.

The subscale used was the immersion/emersion subscale, which proved to be the most reliable subscale in the reliability analysis. The immersion items reflect a psychological withdrawal into Black society and culture, with idealisation of everything Black and denigration of everything White. The items are as follows:

1. When I am with people I trust, I often find myself using offensive names to refer to White people.
2. I frequently confront the system and the White man.



3. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theatre, and so forth).
4. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black or Afro-centric perspective.
5. I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being kicked out of school, disappointing my parents, being exposed to danger).
6. I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can.
7. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past.
8. The most important thing about me is that I am Black.
9. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it.
10. I feel joy and excitement in Black surroundings.
11. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people.

The R square and adjusted R square in the model is set out in Table 36 below.

**Table 36: Affective Well-Being R<sup>2</sup> Change Model Summary for Moderated Immersion**

Model	Change Statistics						
	R <sup>2</sup>	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Std. Error of the Estimate
Salary	.010	.819	1	81	.368	-.002	1.2729
Immersion & Salary	.031	2.570	1	80	.113	.017	1.2608
Moderated Immersion	.098	8.990	1	79	.004	.106	1.2022

It can be seen from Table 36 above that there is no statistically significant predictive relationship between salary and affective well-being, neither does immersion have a direct predictive relationship with affective well-being in the regression equation. However, when the immersion salary interaction product is added to the analysis there is a significant interaction effect ( $p < 0.004$ ).

The beta weights for the MMR are set out in Table 37 below. The highest beta weight is allocated to the salary\*immersion effect. Salary data were originally

collected in six salary bands. However, among Black respondents only two people reported salaries in band 6 (over £50,000) and one in band 5 (over £40,000). The salary bands were therefore collapsed into two bands so that salary band 1 and 2 became the new low salary band. Salary bands 3 and 4 became the new high salary band. These two new bands of salary were used in the ANOVAs to produce graphic plots of the salary\*interaction effects explored.

**Table 37: Standardised Coefficients for Immersion Subscale**

Model	Unstandardised Coefficients		Beta	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error			
1 (Constant)	4.291	.478		8.967	.000
SALARY	.143	.158	.100	.905	.368
2 (Constant)	5.224	.751		6.957	.000
SALARY	.112	.157	.079	.715	.477
IMMERSION	-.241	.151	-.177	-1.603	.113
3 (Constant)	.537	1.719		.312	.755
SALARY	1.816	.588	1.274	3.090	.003
IMMERSION	1.154	.487	.845	2.370	.020
SALARY* IMMERSION	-.511	.170	-1.510	-2.998	.004

(Dependent variable is Affective Well-Being)

The moderated regression interaction shows an interaction but it is not easy to interpret exactly what pattern exists. It was therefore necessary to run an ANOVA to obtain a clear graphic representation of the interaction effects.

In order to examine the relationship indicated in the multiple regressions in more detail, immersion racial identity attitudes were grouped into three categories, which reflect the nearest approximation of the lowest (33%), the central (33%) and the highest (33%).

**Table 38: Categorisation of Immersion Constructs for ANOVA**

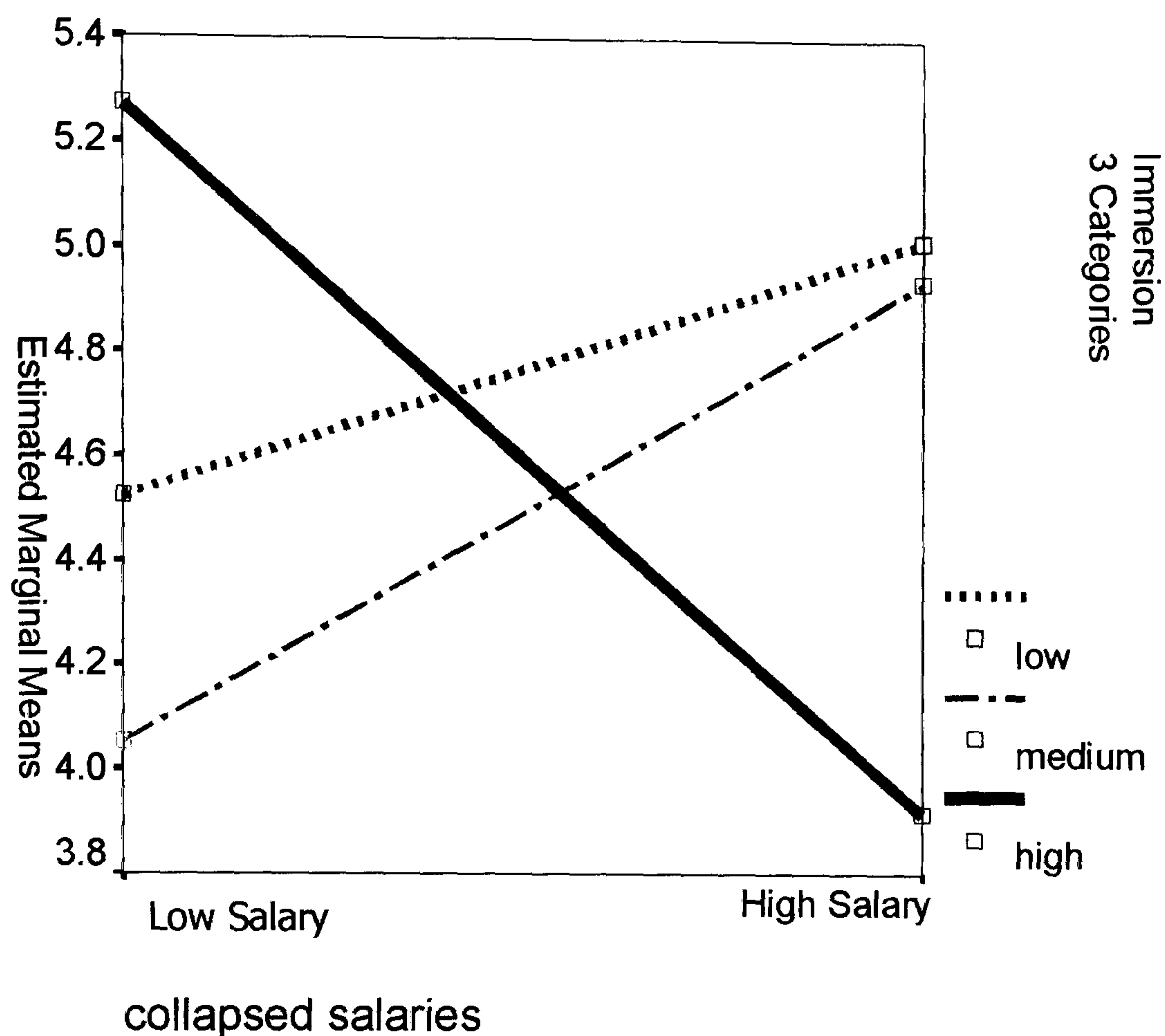
Collapsed Salaries	Racial Identity level			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Old 1 & 2 Salary bands	7	9	12	28
Old 3 & 4 Salary bands	22	16	16	54
Total	29	25	28	82

**Table 39: Categorisation of Encounter Constructs for ANOVA**

Collapsed Salaries	Racial Identity level			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Old 1 & 2 Salary bands	6	11	11	28
Old 3 & 4 Salary bands	22	18	15	55
Total	28	29	26	83

A factorial ANOVA of the main success measures by salary and immersion groups was performed. Figure 10 below gives the marginal mean affective well-being scores according to salary for each of the three immersion categories.

**Figure 10: Marginal Means of Affective Well-Being**



The medium immersion low salary group had the lowest affective well-being score, with a marginal mean of just over 4. This contrasts sharply with the marginal means for the high immersion, low salary group. The high immersion group had a marginal mean of approximately 5.3.

The reverse relationship was found in the higher salary conditions. Participants in the low immersion high salary group produced a marginal affective well-being score of 5. This compares favourably with the high immersion group who had a marginal affective well-being of approximately 4.

There were also adverse relationships between high immersion attitudes, organisational commitment and self-esteem (see Figures 11 and 12 below). In the low salary condition, the respondents with high immersion attitudes had lower levels of organisational commitment than those with low and medium immersion attitudes. At the top end of the earnings curve the highest levels of organisational commitment were found in the medium immersion attitude group, followed by the low immersion group. It can be seen in Figure 11 below that the lowest level of organisational commitment was found in the high immersion group.

At low salary levels respondents with high immersion attitudes had the highest level of self-esteem.

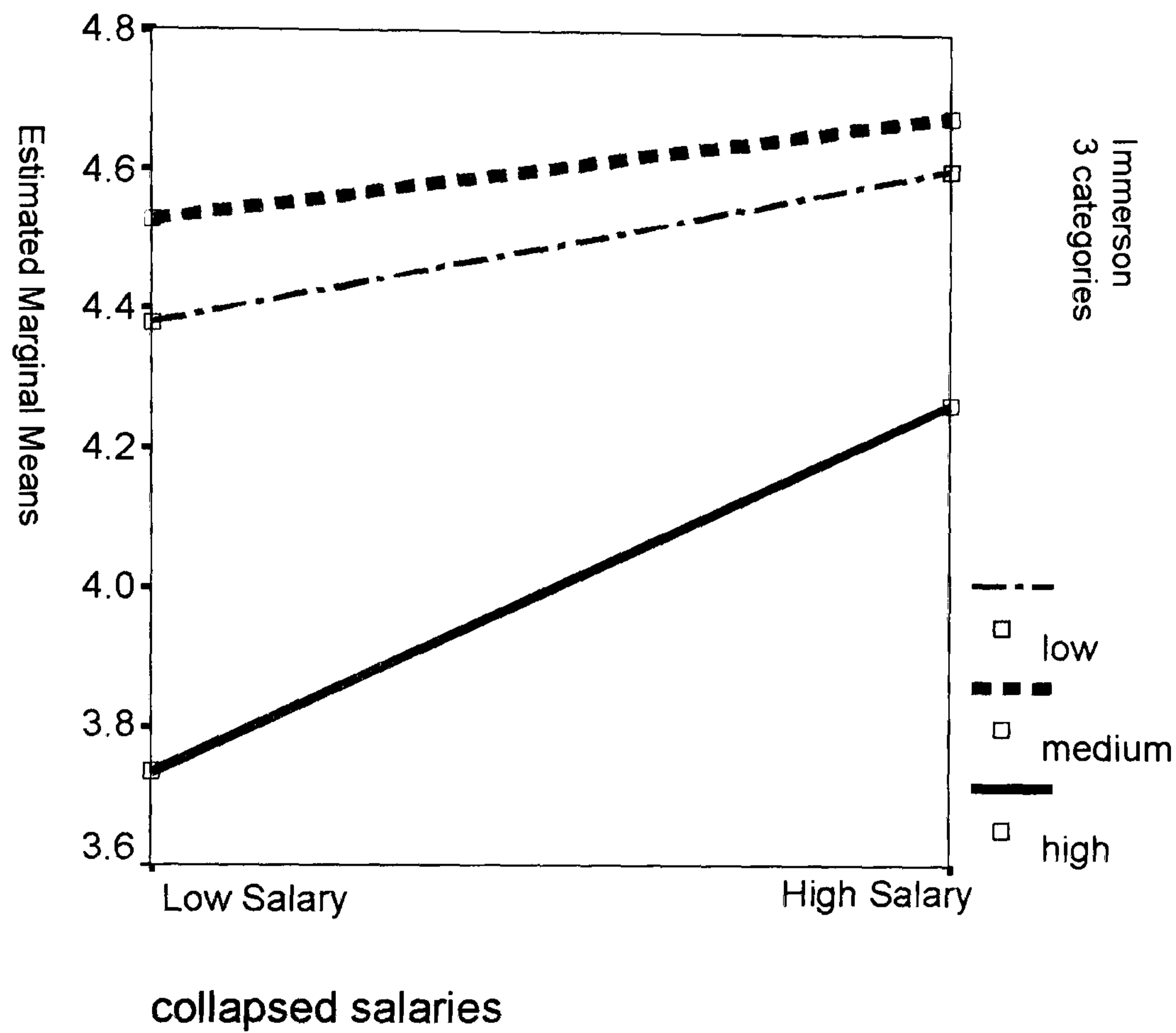
Table 40 below shows that there is a statistically significant interaction between the moderator variables immersion racial identity attitudes and salary and the dependent variable affective well-being of  $p < .005$ .

**Table 40: Between Subjects Effects – Immersion, Salary & Affective Well-Being**

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Immersion	.827	2	.413	.274	.761
Salary	9.707E-4	1	9.707E-4	.001	.980
Salary*Immersion interaction	17.522	2	8.761	5.811	.005
Error	111.568	74	1.508		
Total	1893.062	80			

Table 41 below sets out the significant effects for the ANOVA, which generated the organisational commitment by immersion graph.

**Figure 11: Marginal Means of Organisational Commitment**

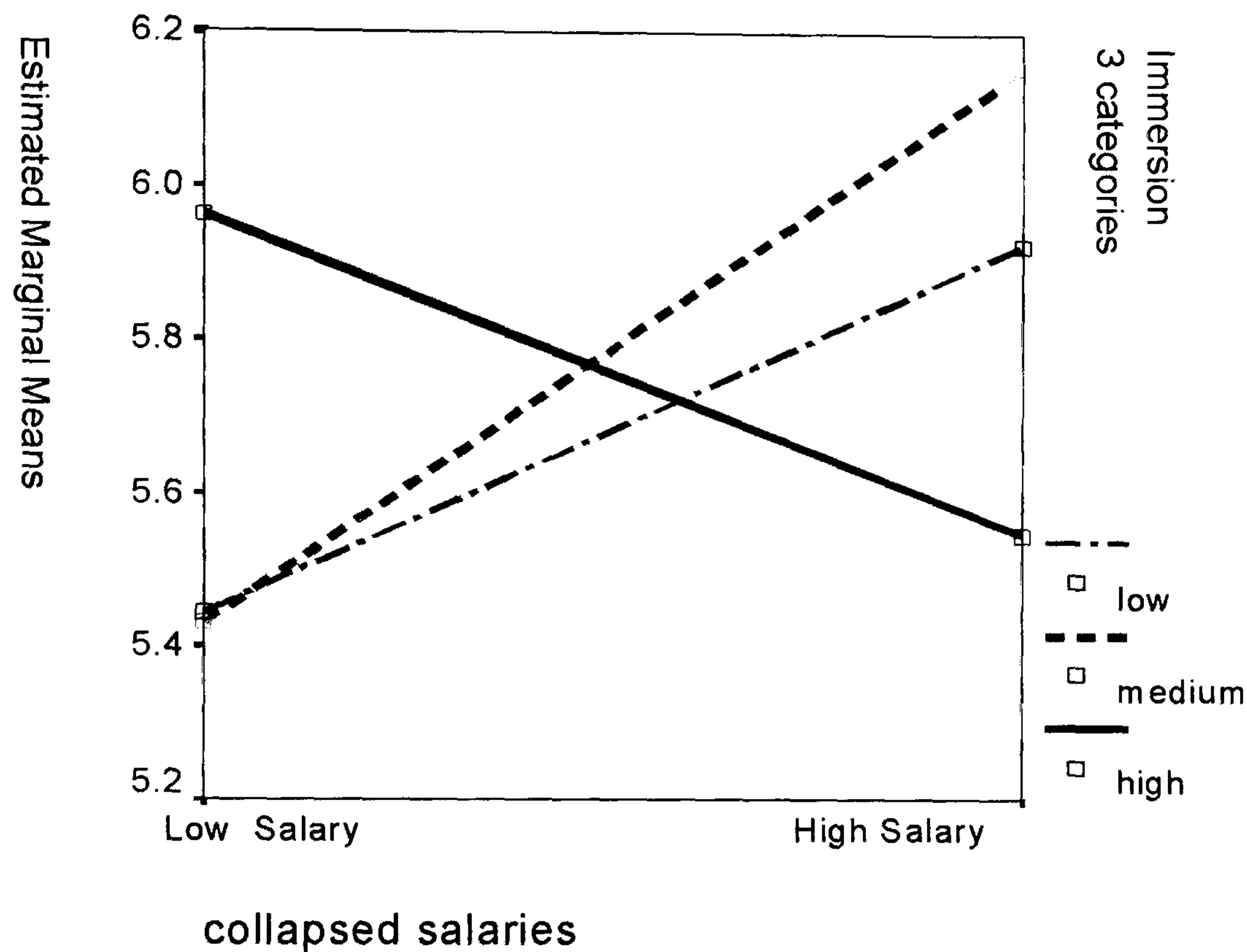


**Table 41: Between Subjects Effects – Immersion, Salary & Organisational Commitment**

Source	Type III sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Immersion	4.691	2	2.345	5.038	.009
Salary	1.498	1	1.498	3.219	.077
Salary*Immersion interaction	.459	2	.230	.493	.613
Error	31.653	68	.465		
Total	1473.642	74			

It can be seen from Table 41 that, although there is a main effect with organisational commitment and the moderator variables of salary and immersion in the ANOVA, this relationship is not significant.

**Figure 12: Marginal Means of Self-Esteem**



From Table 42 below it can be seen that there was a significant interaction between the moderator variables of salary and racial identity and the dependent variable of self-esteem.

**Table 42: Between Subjects Effects – Immersion, Salary & Self-Esteem**

Source	Type III sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Immersion	.126	2	6.314E-02	.091	.913
Salary	1.178	1	1.178	1.706	.196
Salary*Immersion interaction	4.373	2	2.187	3.167	.048
Error	49.713	72	.690		
Total	2687.358	78			

To test the hypothesis that encounter racial identity attitudes moderated a relationship between salary and well-being, a moderated regression analysis was performed.

**Table 43: Affective Well-Being Model Summary for Salary & Encounter Moderated Regression Analysis**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	Std. Error of the Estimate
SALARY	.100	.010	-.002	1.2729
SALARY ENCOUNTER	.194	.038	.014	1.2629
MODERATED ENCOUNTER	.316	.100	.066	1.2291

**Table 44: Summary of Moderated Regression Analysis with Affective Well-Being as the Criterion and Salary\*Encounter as the Predictors**

Model	Change Statistics					
	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj R <sup>2</sup>	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
SALARY	.010	-.002	.819	1	81	.368
SALARY & ENCOUNTER	.038	.014	2.295	1	80	.134
MODERATED ENCOUNTER	.100	.066	5.450	1	79	.022

Neither salary nor encounter attitudes alone predicted well-being. However there was a significant interaction effect.

The standardised beta coefficients for the variables are set out in Table 45 for the moderated multiple regression analysis between affective well-being, salary and encounter attitude. We can also observe from the standardised



coefficients that moderated encounter attitudes impact negatively on affective well-being.

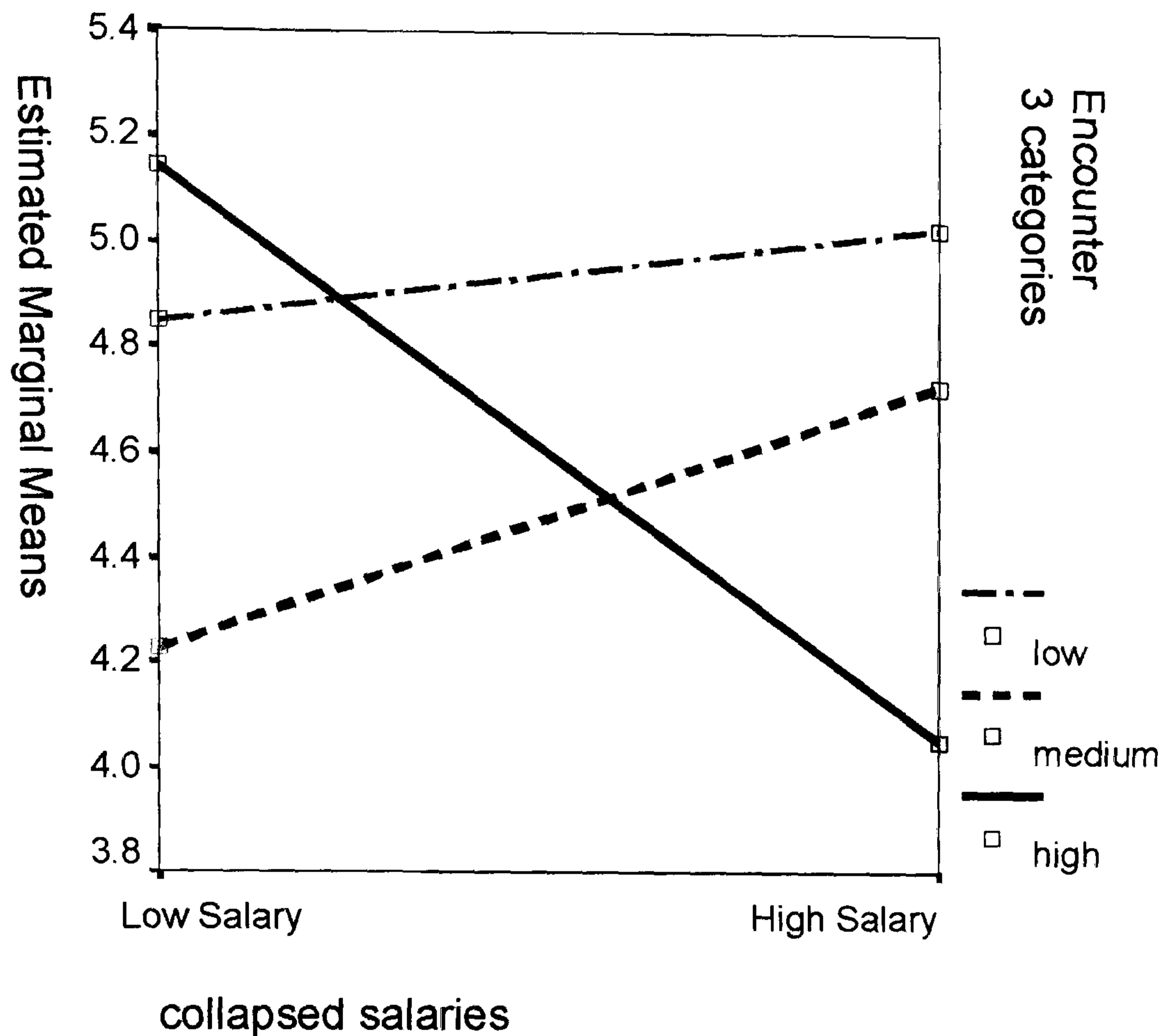
**Table 45: Standardised Coefficients for MMR summary in Table 44**

Model	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	sig.
	B	Std. Error			
(Constant)	4.291	.478		8.967	.000
SALARY	.143	.158	.100	.905	.368
(Constant)	4.941	.640		7.719	.000
SALARY	9.386E-02	.160	.066	.588	.558
ENCOUNTER	-.143	.095	-.170	-1.515	.134
(Constant)	2.085	1.373		1.518	.133
SALARY	1.058	.441	.742	2.398	.019
ENCOUNTER	.625	.342	.741	1.829	.071
MODERATED ENCOUNTER for Moderated MRA	-.266	.114	-1.049	-2.335	.022

Dependent Variable: Affective Well-Being

The impact of the encounter and immersion constructs on the subjective success subscales was very similar. At low salary levels, the high encounter group displayed the highest level of affective well-being, with a marginal mean of nearly 5.2. This contrasts with the marginal mean for the medium and low encounter attitude groups of 4.8 and 4.2. As found with the immersion group, at high salary levels the high encounter attitude group's well-being scores fell substantially below those of the low and medium encounter attitude groups (that is, they had a marginal mean of 4 for affective well-being, as opposed to scores of 4.8 and 5 for the medium and low encounter attitude groups respectively).

**Figure 13: Marginal Means of Affective Well-Being**

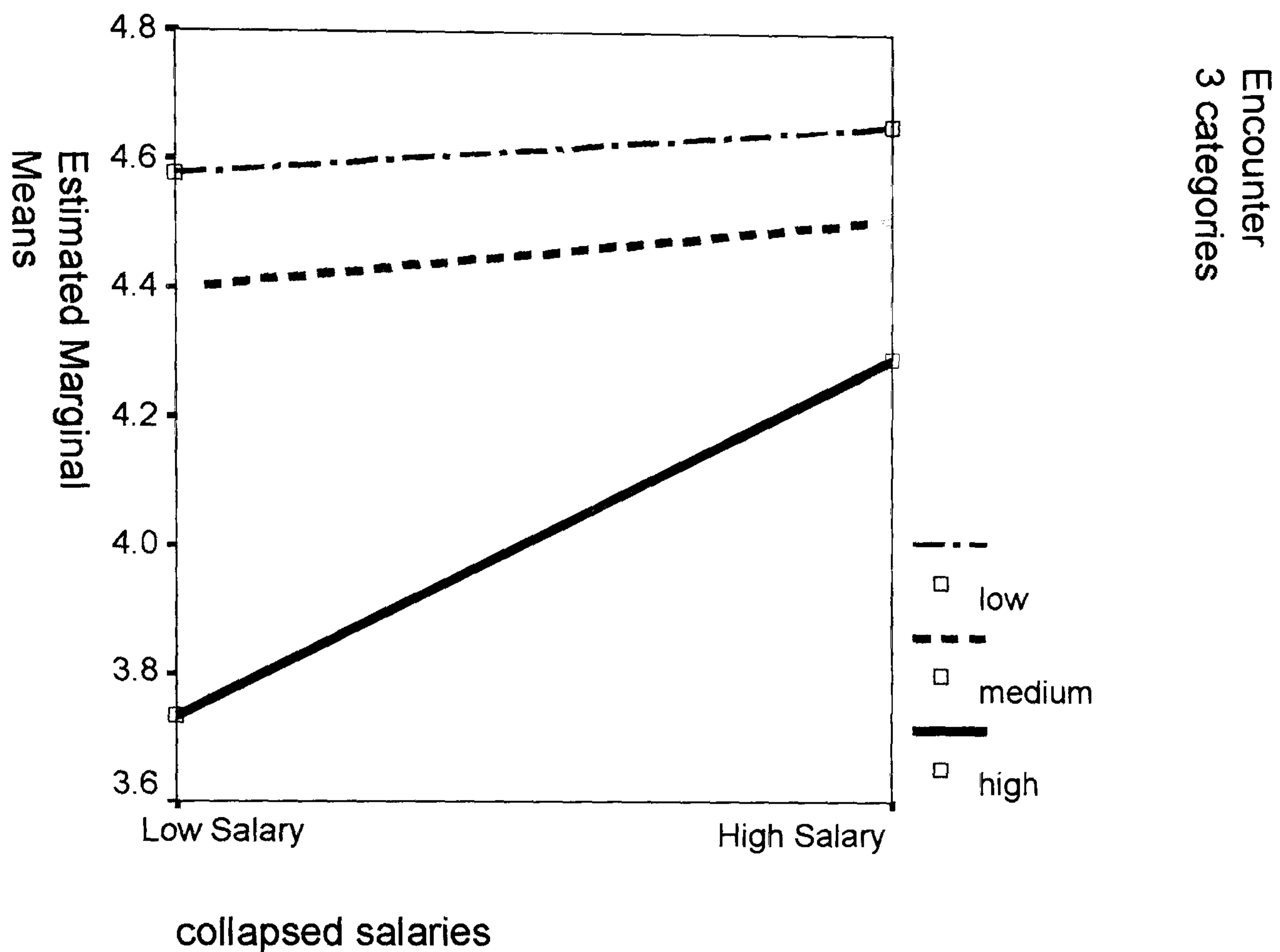


**Table 46: Between Subjects Effects – Encounter, Salary & Affective Well-Being**

Source	Type III sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Salary	.297	1	.297	.188	.666
Encounter	2.211	2	1.105	.700	.500
Salary*Encounter interaction	8.814	2	4.407	2.792	.068
Error	118.379	75	1.578		
Total	1913.312	81			

From Table 46 above it can be seen that the ANOVA of the graphic results of moderated salary and immersion produced no significant effects on the dependent variable affective well-being.

**Figure 14: Marginal Means of Organisational Commitment**



**Table 47: Between Subjects Effects – Encounter, Salary & Organisational Commitment**

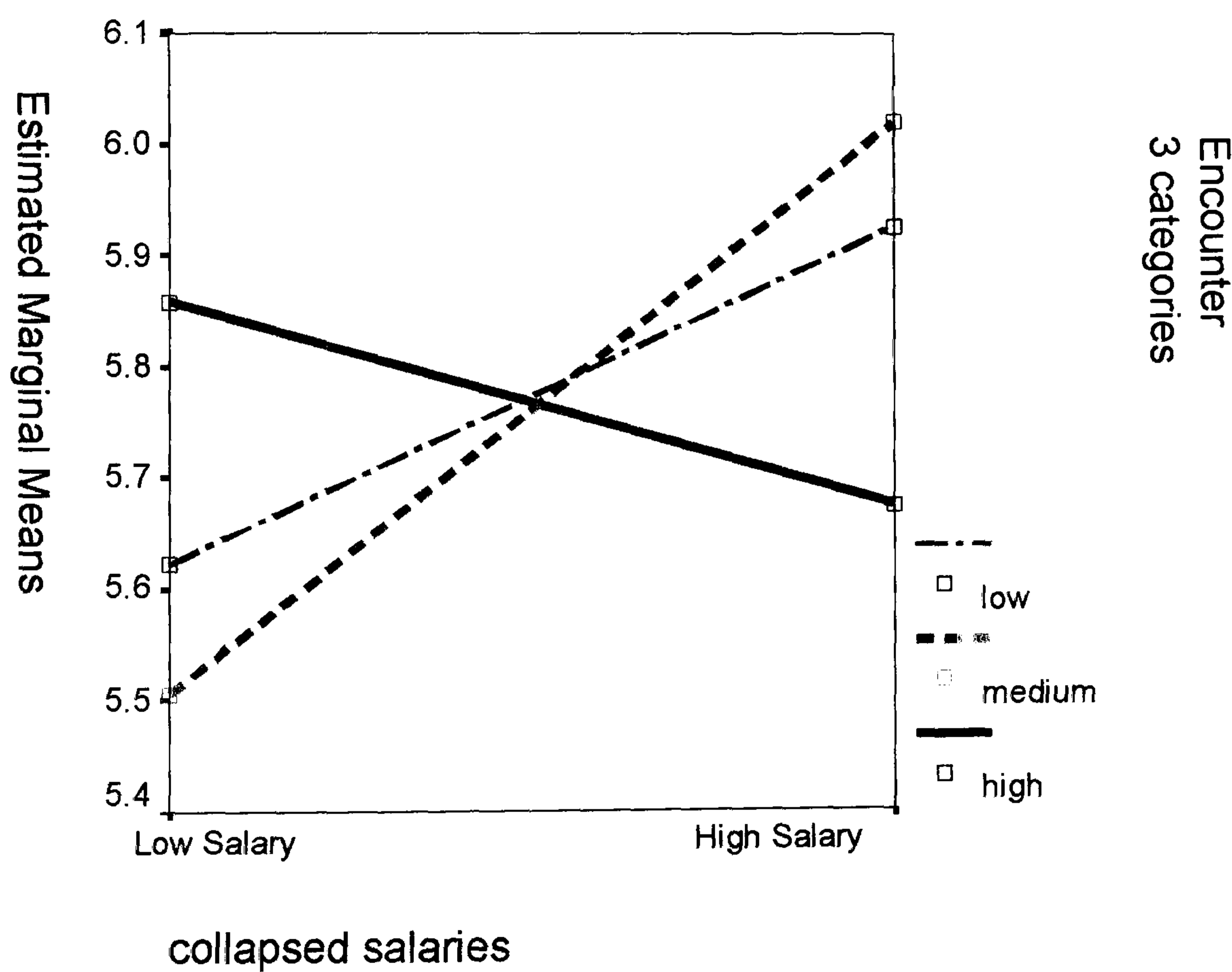
Source	Type III sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Salary	.960	1	.960	2.044	.157
Encounter	4.045	2	2.022	4.307	.017
Salary*Encounter interaction	.791	2	.396	.843	.435
Error	32.398	69	.470		
Total	1488.765	75			

Participants who earned low salaries and who were high in encounter attitudes reported a lower level of organisational commitment than the other encounter

groups. Nevertheless, those who earned high salaries and reported medium encounter attitudes reported more organisational commitment than the high encounter group. Their level of organisational commitment did not seem to increase substantially with pay in the medium and low encounter attitude condition. This relationship can be seen in more detail in Figure 14 above.

It can be seen from Table 47 above that the ANOVA of the graphic results of moderated salary and immersion produced no significant effects on the dependent variable organisational commitment.

**Figure 15: Marginal Means of Self-Esteem**



**Table 48: Between Subjects Effects – Encounter, Salary & Self-Esteem**

Source	Type III sum of squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig
Encounter	1.389E-03	2	6.945E-04	.001	.999
Salary	.719	1	.719	.993	.322
Salary*Encounter interaction	1.611	2	.806	1.113	.334
Error	52.842	73	.724		
Total	2726.074	79			

The high encounter attitude group reported much higher levels of self-esteem (5.9) at low salary levels than the medium and low encounter groups. This is set out in Figure 15.

At low salary levels respondents who were high in encounter attitudes had the highest levels of self-esteem. In contrast, respondents who were well-paid and held high encounter attitudes reported the lowest level of self-esteem. The respondents who held low or medium encounter attitudes reported low levels of self-esteem at low salary levels and high levels of self-esteem at high salary levels.

The reported relationships between encounter attitudes, affective well-being, self-esteem and organisational commitment were in the right direction. However, the ANOVAs of the graphic results indicate that the relationships in the moderated variables were not statistically significant.

In summary, high immersion and encounter attitudes correlate consistently with high self-esteem and effective well-being when the participant's salary is low. This positive relationship, between these two subjective success indicators and pro-Black attitudes, was not evident in the higher earnings conditions. In the high salary group, medium or low encounter and immersion attitudes prevailed. This indicates that it is severely difficult to maintain a very strong sense of identity and achieve objective and subjective career success at the same time.

### 5.2.3 HYPOTHESIS 3

The third hypothesis tested whether Blacks and White emphasise different career success strategies. This was done by the use of discriminant function analysis. The table below sets out the group statistics for Black and White respondents on the strategies for career success.

**Table 49: Group Statistics for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Race: (Blacks & Whites) & Kimbro's Laws of Success	Mean	Std. Deviation	Valid N (listwise)	
			Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Whites:</b>				
Set career goals	3.90	1.69	157	157.000
Show confidence in others	5.75	.85	157	157.000
Continually improve professional skills	5.89	.95	157	157.000
Maintain a positive attitude	5.86	.88	157	157.000
Substitute positive thoughts for negative ones	4.55	1.65	157	157.000
Believe I can do tasks	5.63	1.08	157	157.000
Positive people attract positive people	5.71	1.06	157	157.000
Give freely without expectation of return	5.10	1.26	157	157.000
<b>Blacks:</b>				
Set career goals	4.74	1.71	90	90.000
Show confidence in others	5.52	1.12	90	90.000
Continually improve professional skills	6.00	1.08	90	90.000
Maintain a positive attitude	5.96	.96	90	90.000
Substitute positive thoughts for negative ones	4.59	1.89	90	90.000
Believe I can do tasks	5.97	.94	90	90.000
Positive people attract positive people	6.03	1.05	90	90.000
Give freely without expectation of return	5.44	1.39	90	90.000

At a multivariate level the most significant difference found between Black and White respondents was that Black respondents were more likely to set clear goals for their career development, which they constantly reviewed.

**Table 50: Equality of Group Means for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Kimbro's Law of Success	Wilk's Lambda	F	Df1	df2	Sig
Set reviews career goals	.945	14.271	1	245	.000
Shows confidence in others	.987	3.266	1	245	.072
Continually improves professional skills	.997	.755	1	245	.386
Maintains and projects positive attitude	.997	.633	1	245	.427
Substitutes positive thoughts for negative	1.000	.032	1	245	.858
Believe I can do tasks	.976	6.102	1	245	.014
Positive people attract positive people	.979	5.217	1	245	.023
Give freely without explanation of return	.984	4.064	1	245	.045

At a univariate level, it can be seen from Table 50 above that the following of Kimbro's success strategies differed between the two broad racial groups. These factors were: setting and reviewing career goals,  $p < 0.00$ ; believing that tasks can be done,  $p < 0.014$ ; believing that positive people attract positive people,  $p < 0.023$ ; giving freely without any expectation of return,  $p < 0.045$ , with Black people scoring higher than Whites.

From Table 50 above, Black participants scored higher on all these variables. Table 51 below shows the eigenvalues of the canonical discriminate functions. Wilk's Lambda is set out in Table 52. From the tables it can be seen that approximately 14% of the variance between Black and White respondents is accounted for by the aforementioned factors.

**Table 51: Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.166 <sup>a</sup>	100.0	100.0	.377

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

**Table 52: Summary of Wilk's Lambda for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Test of Function(s)	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
1	.858	36.926	8	.000

From the standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients over the value of 0.3 it can be seen that the most important predictors in the model are:

1. Setting and reviewing career goals.
2. Showing confidence in others.
3. Believing tasks can be done.
4. Believing positive people attract positive people.

**Table 53: Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Kimbro's Laws of Success	Function
Sets and reviews careers	.759
Shows confidence in others	-.751
Continually improves skills	-.009
Maintains and projects positive attitude	-.223
Substitutes positive thoughts for negative	-.102
Believes can do	.427
Positive people attract positive people	.315
Gives freely without expectations	.285

The probabilities for the classification results have been computed based on the size of the group. The prior probabilities for the groups are set out below.



**Table 54: Prior Probabilities for Groups (Race) & for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Race	Prior
White	.636
Black	.364
Total	1.000

The classification results for the respondents demonstrate that 88% of White respondents were correctly classified as White using their career success strategy predictors. Similarly, 42% of Black respondents were correctly classified as Black based on the career success strategies they used.

**Table 55: Classification Results for Kimbro's Laws of Success**

Race	Predicted Group Membership		Total
	White	Black	
White	138 (87.9%)	19 (12.1%)	157
Black	52 (57.8%)	38 (42.2%)	90
Ungrouped cases	1	0	1

#### 5.2.4 HYPOTHESIS 4

In order to test the hypothesis that there will be a difference between Blacks and Whites on their perceptions of egalitarianism on career dynamics a discriminant function analysis was performed.

**Table 56: Group Statistics for Race & Career Dynamics**

Race & Career Dynamic	Mean	Std. Dev	Valid N (listwise)	
			Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Whites:</b>				
Promotions are handled fairly	4.55	1.55	144	144.000
My chances of promotion are good	3.66	1.82	144	144.000
Whites and Blacks have the same promotion chances	5.13	1.67	144	144.000
I am keen to get promoted	4.65	1.76	144	144.000
Promotion is on length of service	2.35	1.34	144	144.000
Progress is not related to performance	2.88	1.69	144	144.000
I feel satisfied with my career progress	5.13	1.50	144	144.000
I feel satisfied with my job	4.90	1.53	144	144.000
My employer is vigorously seeking Blacks	4.85	1.66	144	144.000
My employer affords more opportunities to Blacks	4.03	1.64	144	144.000
Blacks & Whites have same opportunities at work	5.31	1.52	144	144.000
<b>Blacks:</b>				
Promotions are handled fairly	2.93	1.70	80	80.000
My chances of promotion are good	3.20	1.75	80	80.000
Whites and Blacks have the same promotion chances	3.00	1.92	80	80.000
I am keen to get promoted	4.59	2.00	80	80.000
Promotion is on length of service	2.75	1.96	80	80.000
Progress is not related to performance	4.00	2.01	80	80.000
I feel satisfied with my career progress	4.38	1.95	80	80.000
I feel satisfied with my job	4.38	1.76	80	80.000
My employer is vigorously seeking Blacks	3.43	2.02	80	80.000
My employer affords more opportunities to Blacks	3.30	2.07	80	80.000
Blacks & Whites have same opportunities at work	3.51	1.99	80	80.000

From Table 56 above it can be seen that at a multivariate level the largest differences in standard deviations arise on the following variables.

1. Whites score more highly on the statement that “promotions are handled fairly” than Blacks.
2. Blacks score more highly on the statement that “progress is not related to performance” than Whites.
3. Whites were more likely to state that they were “satisfied with their career progress” than Blacks.
4. Whites were more likely to state that their employers were “vigorously seeking Blacks and ethnic minorities” than Blacks.

5. Whites were more likely than Blacks to think that “Blacks and Whites have the same opportunities at work”.

The equality of group means is set out below.

**Table 57: Tests of Equality of Group Means for Career Dynamics**

Career Dynamic	Wilk's Lambda	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Promotions are handled fairly	.809	52.323	1	222	.000
My chances of promotion are good	.985	3.374	1	222	.068
Blacks and Whites have the same promotional prospects	.748	74.745	1	222	.000
I am keen to get promoted	1.000	.051	1	222	.821
Promotion is on length of service	.986	3.195	1	222	.075
Progress is not related to performance	.918	19.801	1	222	.000
I feel satisfied with my career progress	.955	10.350	1	222	.001
I feel satisfied with my job	.976	5.489	1	222	.020
My employer is vigorously seeking Blacks	.873	32.155	1	222	.000
My employer affords more opportunities to Blacks than others	.964	8.345	1	222	.004
Blacks and Whites have the same opportunities	.794	57.716	1	222	.000

From the tests for equality of group means, it can be seen that there were no statistically significant differences between the groups on the following variables:

1. Promotion is based on length of service.
2. I am keen to get promoted.
3. Blacks and Whites have the same promotion chances.

Below is a summary of the canonical discriminant functions. From the canonical correlation and Wilk's Lambda, it can be seen that 32% of the

variance between Black and White respondents can be accounted for by their perceptions of egalitarianism on career progression.

**Table 58: Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions for Career Dynamics**

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.473a	100.0	100.0	.567

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

**Table 59: Summary of Wilk's Lambda for Career Dynamics**

Test of Function(s)	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
1	.679	83.867	11	.000

The standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients below show that the most important factors in the equation are the differences in perceptions between Blacks and Whites that promotion is handled fairly. The second most important variable in the equation is the perception that Blacks and Whites have the same promotion prospects. Clearly, these two variables are closely related. Finally, the third most important variable was the differential belief between Blacks and Whites that their promotion chances were good.

**Table 60: Standardised Canonical Discriminant Function Coefficients for Career Dynamics**

Career Dynamic	Function
Promotions are handled fairly	.480
My chances of promotion are good	-.323
Blacks and Whites have the same promotional prospects	.463
I am keen to get promoted	.211
Promotion is on length of service	-.019
Progress is not related to performance	-.263
I feel satisfied with my career progress	.026
I feel satisfied with my job	-.088
My employer is vigorously seeking Blacks	.252
My employer affords more opportunities to Blacks than others	-.124
Blacks and Whites have the same opportunities	.154

The probabilities for the classification results were compared on the basis of the size of group membership. The prior probabilities for the groups are set out below.

**Table 61: Prior Probabilities for Groups – Race & Career Dynamics**

Race	Prior
White	.643
Black	.357
Total	1.000

When the analysis was performed the classification results revealed that 86% of Whites were correctly classified as White and 69% of Black people were correctly classified as Black on the basis of their perceptions of egalitarianism in career dynamics.

**Table 62: Classification Results for Career Dynamics**

Race	Predicted Group Membership		Total
	White	Black	
White	124 (86.1%)	20 (13.9%)	144
Black	25 (31.3%)	55 (68.8%)	80
Ungrouped cases	0	1	1

## 5.2.5 HYPOTHESIS 5

### 5.2.5.1 *Hypothesis 5(a)*

In order to test the null hypothesis that there would not be a difference between Black and White participants' perceived effectiveness and use of the strategies used to deal with racism and the actual use of strategies for dealing with racism, a discriminant function analysis of these variables was performed. The following group statistics table for the effectiveness of strategies used for dealing with racism shows the direction of difference in response to each item. It can be seen from inspection of Table 63 that Blacks had a more positive view of the effectiveness of the strategies for dealing with racism.

**Table 63: Group Statistics for Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Race & Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism	Mean	SD	Valid N (listwise)	
			Urweighted	Weighted
<b>White Respondents</b>				
Vote for anti-racist politicians	4.45	1.50	137	131.00
Lobby for anti-discrimination laws	5.10	1.26	137	131.00
Blacks and Whites to socialise more	5.37	1.26	137	131.00
Persuade White work friends that racism hurts them	4.69	1.59	137	131.00
Inform and mobilise Black groups for change	4.35	1.61	137	131.00
Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	3.73	1.88	137	131.00
Ensure that Black people sit on interview panels	5.14	1.41	137	131.00
Bring in Blacks at the top for change	4.79	1.56	137	131.00
Set up Black businesses and schools	2.93	1.90	137	131.00
Utilise the courts and tribunals to alter practice	5.12	1.59	137	131.00
Provide education on the subtleties of racism	5.92	1.18	137	131.00
<b>Black Respondents</b>				
Vote for anti-racist politicians	4.56	1.87	80	80.00
Lobby for anti-discrimination laws	5.11	1.81	80	80.00
Blacks and Whites to socialise more	5.14	1.53	80	80.00
Persuade White work friends that racism hurts them	4.66	1.93	80	80.00
Inform and mobilise Black groups for change	5.20	1.79	80	80.00
Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	4.30	2.00	80	80.00
Ensure that Black people sit on interview panels	5.51	1.64	80	80.00
Bring in Blacks at the top for change	5.38	1.75	80	80.00
Set up Black businesses and schools	4.43	2.11	80	80.00
Utilise the courts and tribunals to alter practice	5.53	1.71	80	80.00
Provide education on the subtleties of racism	6.08	1.23	80	80.00

Table 64 is a summary of the canonical discriminant functions it can be observed by squaring the canonical correlation (or 1 minus Wilk's Lambda) that 22% of the variance between the groups can be accounted for by racial differences in the perceived effectiveness of the strategies for dealing with racism.

**Table 64: Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions of Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.268a	100.0	100.0	.460

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

**Table 65: Wilk's Lambda for Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Test of Function(s)	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
1	.789	49.691	11	.000

The standardised canonical discriminant function coefficients in Table 65 demonstrate that the most important factors in the equation are the differential responses between Blacks and Whites to the following statements relating to their agreement with the perceived impact:

1. Inform Blacks and minority groups of the problem and help mobilise them to change.
2. Make it possible for Black and ethnic minorities to withdraw and develop their own businesses, schools and other organisations rather than rely on predominately White organisations.
3. Persuade White work friends on a individual level that racism hurts them as much as it does Blacks.
4. Provide a setting in which non-Whites and Whites can participate in common social activities to get to know one another.
5. Utilise the courts and industrial tribunals to alter unfair practices.



**Table 66: Standardised Canonical Function Coefficients for Effectiveness of Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

Effectiveness of Strategy for Dealing with Racism	Function
Vote for anti-racist politicians	-.128
Lobby for anti-discrimination laws	-.193
Blacks and Whites to socialise more	-.361
Persuade White work friends that racism hurts them	-.365
Inform and mobilise Black groups for change	.692
Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	.162
Ensure that Black people sit on interview panels	.088
Bring in Blacks at the top for change	.021
Set up Black businesses and schools	.646
Utilise the courts and tribunals to alter practice	.355
Provide education on the subtleties of racism	.056

The probabilities for the classification results were compared on the basis of the size of group membership. The prior probabilities for the groups are set out below.

**Table 67: Prior Probabilities for Groups for Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Race	Prior
White	.631
Black	.369
Total	1.000

**Table 68: Classification Results for Effectiveness of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Race	Predicted Group Membership		Total
	White	Black	
White	116 (84.7%)	21 (15.3%)	137
Black	37 (46.3%)	43 (53.8%)	80
Ungrouped cases	0	1	1

The discriminant function analysis classification results in Table 68 above show that 85% of White respondents were correctly classified as White and 54% of Black respondents were correctly classified as Black solely on the basis of the perceived effectiveness of strategies used to deal with racism. The means in the group statistics in Table 69 below show that Blacks were more active in using a range of strategies to tackle racism than their White counterparts.

**Table 69: Group Statistics for Extent of Use of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Race: Extent of use of Strategies for Dealing with Racism	Mean	SD	Valid N (listwise)	
			Unweighted	Weighted
<b>Whites</b>				
Voted for anti-racist politicians	3.62	2.11	131	131.00
Lobbied for anti-discrimination laws	3.12	2.02	131	131.00
Got Blacks and Whites to socialise more	3.82	1.90	131	131.00
Persuaded White friends that racism hurts them	3.37	1.95	131	131.00
Informed and mobilised Black groups for change	2.90	1.81	131	131.00
Demonstrated/picketed against racist practices	2.15	1.69	131	131.00
Ensured that Black people sat on interview panels	3.45	2.02	131	131.00
Brought in Blacks at the top for change	3.04	1.82	131	131.00
Set up Black businesses and schools	2.15	1.68	131	131.00
Utilised the courts and tribunals to alter practices	3.08	2.00	131	131.00
Provided education on the subtleties of racism	4.36	1.91	131	131.00
<b>Blacks</b>				
Voted for anti-racist politicians	4.00	2.18	80	80.00
Lobbied for anti-discrimination laws	3.79	1.91	80	80.00
Got Blacks and Whites to socialise more	4.16	1.78	80	80.00
Persuaded White friends that racism hurts them	3.66	2.12	80	80.00
Informed and mobilised Black groups for change	4.26	2.09	80	80.00
Demonstrated/picketed against racist practices	3.09	1.74	80	80.00
Ensured that Black people sat on interview panels	4.22	2.03	80	80.00
Brought in Blacks at the top for change	3.78	2.04	80	80.00
Set up Black businesses and schools	3.08	2.10	80	80.00
Utilised the courts and tribunals to alter practices	3.43	2.13	80	80.00
Provided education on the subtleties of racism	4.51	1.94	80	80.00

The summary of the canonical discriminant functions is given below. It can be deduced from the summary that approximately 20% of the variance between

the groups can be accounted for by the reported differences in the extent that they actually use the strategies for dealing with racism.

**Table 70: Summary of Canonical Discriminant Functions for Extent of Use of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Function	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	.236a	100.0	100.0	.437

a. First 1 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

**Table 71: Wilk's Lambda for Extent of Use of Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Test of Function(s)	Wilk's Lambda	Chi-Square	Df	Sig.
1	.809	43.085	11	.000

Upon inspection of the standardised canonical discriminant functions, it was found that the most important factors in the equation are the contrasting responses between Blacks and Whites on the following statements relating to their agreement with their frequency of use:

1. Informed Blacks and minority groups of the problem and help mobilise them to change.
2. Persuaded White work friends on an individual level that racism hurts them as much as it does Blacks.
3. Provided education on the subtleties of racism.

4. Ensured that aware Blacks sit on interview panels.
5. Demonstrated and picketed against racist practices.

**Table 72: Standardised Canonical Function Coefficients for Extent of Use of Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

Extent of use of Strategy for Dealing with Racism	Function
Voted for anti-racist politicians	-.008
Lobbied for anti-discrimination laws	.035
Got Blacks and Whites to socialise more	-.080
Persuaded White work friends that racism hurts them	-.483
Informed and mobilised Black groups for change	.895
Demonstrated and picketed against racist practices	.301
Ensured that Black people sit on interview panels	.318
Brought Blacks in at the top for change	-.113
Set up Black businesses and schools	.297
Utilised the courts and tribunals to alter practice	-.092
Provided education on the subtleties of racism	-.335

The probabilities for the classification results were compared on the basis of size of group membership. The prior probabilities for the groups are set out below.

**Table 73: Prior Probabilities for Groups for Extent of Use of Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

Race	Prior
White	.621
Black	.379
Total	1.000

Table 74 below shows the discriminant function analysis classification results. It can be observed that 80% of the White respondents were correctly classified as White and 53% of the Black respondents were correctly classified

as Black solely on the basis of their extent of use of strategies for dealing with racism.

**Table 74: Classification Results for Extent of Use of Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

Race	Predicted Group Membership		Total
	White	Black	
White	106 (80.9%)	25 (19.1%)	131
Black	37 (46.3%)	43 (53.8%)	80
Ungrouped cases	0	1	1

#### 5.2.5.2 Hypothesis 5(b)

In order to test the null hypothesis that there would be no difference between the perceived effectiveness of strategy for dealing with racism and racial identity, a correlation matrix was constructed.

For Black respondents', belief in effectiveness of the strategies for dealing with racism correlated most strongly with the internalisation stage, whereas immersion attitudes were negatively correlated with the statements that Blacks and Whites should socialise and the statement persuade to White friends that racism hurts them. The first numerical line in Table 75 is Pearson's correlation (r.), the second line is the level of significance (p) and the final line is the number of participants.

**Table 75: Correlations of Black Racial Identity Attitudes and Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

	Pre-encounter	Encounter	Immersion	Internalisation
Vote for anti-racist politicians	r. = -.054 p = .627 N = 82	.115 .299 83	-.027 .810 83	.153 .166 83
Lobby for anti-discrimination laws	.029 .797 83	-.063 .569 84	-.114 .301 84	.300 .006 84
Blacks & Whites socialise more	.020 .859 81	-.092 .413 82	-.228* .040 82	.146 .190 82
Persuade White work friends that racism hurts	.051 .655 79	-.088 .437 80	-.226* .044 80	.278* .012 80
Inform and mobilise Black groups for change	-.102 .367 81	.089 .424 82	-.028 .800 82	.392 .000 82
Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	.047 .672 82	.050 .655 83	-.056 .613 83	.081 .464 83
Ensure that Black people sit on interview panels	-.119 .287 82	-.018 .869 83	-.092 .407 83	.253* .021 83
Bring in Blacks at the top for change	-.200 .071 82	.102 .361 82	.106 .344 82	.251* .023 82
Utilise courts and tribunals to alter racist practices	.029 .795 82	-.008 .941 83	-.016 .883 83	.066 .554 83
Provide education on the subtleties of racism	-.220* .049 81	.115 .304 82	.159 .153 82	.182 .101 82

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

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

**Table 76: Correlations of White Racial Identity Attitudes and Strategies for Dealing with Racism**

Strategy	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-independence	Autonomy
Vote for anti-racist politicians	r. = -.204** P = .010 N = 160	-.288** .000 160	-.132 .098 159	.267** .001 160	.303** .000 160
Lobby for anti-discrimination laws	-.085 .289 158	-.321** .000 158	-.200* .012 157	.306** .000 158	.349** .000 158
Blacks & whites socialise	.115 .156 155	-.111 .169 155	-.049 .550 154	.308** .000 155	.247** .002 155
Persuade White friends that racism hurts them	.143 .075 156	-.177* .027 156	-.207** .010 155	.332** .000 156	.316** .000 156
Inform and mobilise Black groups for change	.064 .437 150	-.084 .305 150	-.052 .527 149	.200* .014 150	.240** .003 150
Demonstrate and picket against racist practices	-.136 .091 156	-.338** .000 156	-.144 .073 155	.160* .046 156	.193* .016 156
Ensure that Blacks sit on interview panels	-.035 .669 155	.201* .012 155	-.097 .232 154	.142 .077 155	.213** .008 155
Bring in Blacks at the top for change	-.028 .727 155	-.209** .009 155	-.137 .090 154	.056 .489 155	.108 .181 155
Utilise the courts and tribunals to alter racist practices	-.053 .510 158	-.326** .000 158	-.231** .004 157	.256** .001 158	.299** .000 158
Provide education on the subtleties of racism	.132 .097 158	-.291** .000 158	-.294 .00 157	.387** .000 158	.431** .000 158

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

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

White racial identity attitudes and strategies for dealing with racism were analysed using Pearson's correlation. It can be seen from Table 74 that racist

contact, disintegration and reintegration attitudes were negatively correlated with the perceived effectiveness of strategies for dealing with racism. However, the non-racist pseudo-independence and autonomy attitudes were positively correlated with the perceived effectiveness of strategies for dealing with racism.



## **Chapter 6:**

# **Career Success Strategies: Study 2 Discussed**

## **6.0 INTRODUCTION**

The results of each of the hypotheses presented in the second study are now interpreted and integrated into the existing literature. The implications of the study for current theory are discussed.

## **6.1 HYPOTHESIS 1**

### **6.1.1 INTERPRETATION**

The null hypothesis is rejected. There was a difference between Black and White employees in terms of:

- 6 Objective success (salary): Whites earned higher salaries than Blacks;
- 7 Subjective success: Whites were more satisfied with their career progression than Blacks. Whites showed higher levels of

organisational commitment, satisfaction within their career progression and their jobs.

The largest differences between Black and White respondents were found in relation to organisational commitment and career progression. Whites were more committed to their organisations than Blacks and were more satisfied with their careers. Black respondents maintained a higher level of self-esteem than Whites.

It was possible to identify 92% of White and 41% of Black participants based on their responses to the objective and subjective success measures.

Race was found to be a far stronger barrier to becoming financially successful than sex.

#### ***6.1.1.1 Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 1 with the Existing Literature***

Given that there were no adverse differences in the human capital attributes of Black respondents, one can conclude that the objective success advantage of White respondents is attributable to discrimination in the workplace. This conclusion is consistent with the literature.

### **(i) Objective Success**

The finding that Black employees were not as financially successful as their White counterparts is consistent with the previous research (Ilgen & Yontz, 1986; African Caribbean Finance Forum et al, 1996; Major, 1996; Davidson, 1997; Cabinet Office 2002). The current study supports the view that these disparities in objective success are attributable to racial discrimination at work. The results also indicate the stability and consistency of this effect across time and industrial sector.

Judge et al's (1995) model of objective success does not consider racism as a limitation to achieving objective success. The results of the current study demonstrate that Judge et al's (1995) theory needs revision. Black managers will have to expend considerably more energy to reach the same objective success levels as their White counterparts.

Melamed (1996) argued that irrelevant human capital attributes such as (gender) which do not influence job performance are considered by employers. This retards the career progress of women. In light of the findings that race was a more important determinant of salary than gender, Melamed's (1996) theoretical model should be enlarged to incorporate importance of racial discrimination on career progression. It also accords with the assertion of a Black female interview participant that she experienced more racial discrimination than sex discrimination in progressing her career.

## **(ii) Subjective Success**

Korman et al (1980) submitted that lack of success leads to alienation at work. The deflated organisational commitment scores of the Black respondents lends strong support for that theoretical position. The results also support Ilgen & Yontz (1986) who found discrimination affects acceptance into the work group.

Peluchette (1993) considered subjective success as having implications for one's well-being. The results of the current study shows that while the well-being scores are lower for Blacks than Whites, these differences narrowly missed statistical significance. Thus, Black respondents were able to buffer many of the negative psychological affects of limited subjective success at work.

One possible theoretical explanation for the relative limited adverse effects on Black psychological well-being may be that a positive racial identity and self-esteem may help maintain the psychological health of Black employees. Consistent with Gray-Little & Hafdahl (2000), Black participants had significantly higher self-esteem than Whites, despite the fact that Whites were more objectively successful than Blacks.

The finding that Black respondents encountered less career and job satisfaction is consistent with previous studies in the USA and on Black women managers in the UK (Greenhaus et al, 1990; and Davidson, 1997).

## **6.2 HYPOTHESIS 2**

### **6.2.1 INTERPRETATION**

The results show that the null hypothesis is rejected. The relationship between objective success and: (i) affective well-being; (ii) organisational commitment and (iii) self-esteem was found to be moderated by racial identity in respect of selling out for objective career success.

#### **(i) Affective Well-Being**

The results of the second study show that affective well-being is moderated by immersion and encounter attitudes in addition to salary. Respondents who earned low salaries and who did not have a strong sense of Black racial identity reported the highest levels of an anxiety and depression (that is, the lowest levels of affective well-being.)

It would appear that strong racial identity attitudes serve to maintain positive psychological health in low paid junior employees. The support for this proposition is that those low paid respondents who had a very strong sense of racial identity reported the lowest levels of anxiety and depression.

Black managers who earned high salaries appeared to do so at the expense of maintaining a strong racial identity. As one moves up the earnings scale, it

appears that some reduction in pro-Black attitudes may have a positive effect on affective well-being as those respondents with low immersion attitudes reported higher levels of affective well-being than those with high immersion and encounter attitudes at high salary levels.

This is probably due to the fact that there are very few Blacks who earn high salaries, and therefore the Black respondents in the high salary condition are likely to be in isolated situations which are not racially consonant for them. The maintenance of very strong pro-Black attitudes in organisations which do not have a strong commitment to racial diversity probably adversely affects well-being through the stresses of challenging racism and the psychological role conflicts inherent in being the most senior Black employee.

So there appears to be a trade-off in the high salary condition; respondents either had high well-being and low racial identity or high racial identity and low well-being.

## **(ii) Organisational Commitment**

The groups with the strongest racial identity attitudes were least committed to the organisations. This could be due to the fact that strong racial identity attitudes sensitise respondents to institutional racism. It follows that racially conscious participants who are acutely aware of the fact that their organisations may have a poor track record on diversity may not want to identify or commit to that organisation.

This may partly explain why those respondents with medium and low levels of racial identity were found in the higher salary bands.

**(iii) Self-Esteem**

Strong racial identity attitudes at the lowest salary levels gave the respondents a self-esteem advantage over those with low racial identity attitudes. At high salary levels only medium or low racial identity attitudes provided respondents with a self-esteem advantage.

**6.2.1.1 *Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 2 with the Existing Literature***

**(i) Affective Well-Being**

In interpreting the findings on affective well-being, consideration has been given to the fact that Warr (1990) found that older employees report greater job-related well-being than young employees and that occupational level is positively correlated with enthusiasm. In the current study no relationship was found between age and racial identity. Age, therefore does not appear to be a confounding variable. The current study enlarges the literature by demonstrating how racial identity and occupational level (salary) moderate affective well-being.

The low levels of depression and anxiety in the high immersion and high encounter attitude groups (low salary condition) reflect an enthusiasm related to intrinsic job satisfaction.

According to Warr's (1990) theory a clinical interpretation could be as follows: in the high salary condition, very strong racial identity may lead to feelings of depression associated with loss or deprivation. This could be related to being an isolated Black manager. The higher levels of anxiety reflect a response to threat or danger probably associated with holding strong racial identity attitudes in settings that are not strongly committed to racial equality.

The results must also be considered in the context of Dickens & Dickens' (1991) model of Black managers' development. Dickens & Dickens (1991) reasoned that managers in the adjusting phase would experience dissatisfaction and frustration driven by rage at the racial inequalities in the organisation. This would result in low self-confidence.

Central to Dickens & Dickens' (1991) thesis is the concept that in order to move into the planned growth and success phases, one's racial identity attitudes need to be modified so that Whites are used as resources and challenged in a way that leaves them with their dignity. This phase of development appears to be consistent with the medium encounter and immersion attitudes evidenced in the second study.



This line of reasoning is supported by the empirical work of Parham & Helms (1985a). In their study they found that high immersion attitudes were associated with greater mental distress, a finding replicated in this study.

The present study adds to the theory by demonstrating that high immersion attitudes increased effective well-being at low income levels, but decreased affective well-being at high income levels.

The results also provide support for Bravette (1994), James et al (1994) and Davidson's (1997) research which found that poor racial identity at work can precipitate psychological ill health.

## **(ii) Organisational Commitment**

Cook & Wall's (1990) measure of organisational commitment essentially taps identification with the organisation and interpersonal trust at work. Cook & Wall (1990) submit that organisational commitment is influenced by the socialisation process at work and the extent to which the organisation provides the individual with feelings that they are valued.

The clear trend of the high (strong) immersion and high encounter group is that they were the most likely to report the lowest level of organisational commitment this is indicative of lack of identification with organisations which may not value cultural diversity. Lack of support and isolation (Davidson, 1997) and not feeling accepted at work (Greenhaus et al, 1990) are all factors

which could contribute to lower levels of organisational commitment in the high immersion /encounter attitude groups.

### **(iii) Self-Esteem**

Parham & Helms (1985b) found that high immersion attitudes were related to low self-esteem and high encounter attitudes were related to positive self-actualisation. The current study adds to the literature by demonstrating that high immersion attitudes are related to high self-esteem when pay is low, but then are correlated with low self-esteem when pay is high. Similarly, high encounter attitudes are related to high self-esteem when pay is low but are linked to low self-esteem when pay is high. In summary, it seems reasonable to suggest that these results indicate some degree of “sell-out” of pro-Black racial identity attitudes to achieve objective success.

Dickens & Dickens' (1991) work provides theoretical support for this view in their planned growth stage. The development of a “smoother interactional style” is critical. In the planned growth, success and mastery phase the self-esteem of Black managers is high; they move away from the racial victim separatist perspective.

An alternative interpretation of the results follows the work of Barton and Cattell (1972), Lord et al (1986) and Nicholson & West (1988), who have found that managers tend to be confident, extroverted, independent and dominant. In other words, those at the top of the earnings scale could have

high self-esteem as a result of other factors which may or may not include pro-Black racial identity attitudes.

The theoretical literature appears to support the interpretation that high self-esteem is related to racial identity. It is clear from the analysis of Reginald Lewis' career success that he had a strong sense of self-worth and a pro-Black racial identity. He was also able to move comfortably between Black and White worlds, Lewis & Walker (1995).

Support for the proposition that there is a positive relationship between self-esteem and racial identity can be found in the work of Paul & Fischer (1980); Clarke (1985); Parhan & Helms (1985); Wright (1985); White & Burke (1987); Rotheram-Borus (1989); Phinney & Alipuria (1990); Pyant & Yanico (1991); Phinney & Chavira (1992); Munford (1994); Goodstein & Poneratto (1997); and Lorenzo-Hernandez & Ouellette (1998). None of the aforementioned studies looked at why senior level Blacks modified their racial identity attitudes to progress.

The results of the current study endorse the work of Gray-Little & Carels (1997) and Gray-Little & Hafdahl (2000) as the demographic results indicate that race consonance is a function of socio-economic status. In the current small cross-sectional study it seemed that Black managers had to modify their pro-Black racial identity attitudes in situations that were not consonant with pro-Black attitudes in the UK.

## **6.3 HYPOTHESIS 3**

### **6.3.1 INTERPRETATION**

The null hypothesis is rejected. There was a difference between Blacks and Whites in the strategies they used for career success. Black respondents engaged in more focused career development strategies and were more likely to put into practice Kimbro's laws of success in relation to:

1. setting and reviewing career goals;
2. showing confidence in others;
3. believing tasks can be done;
4. believing positive people attract positive people.

In other words, Black participants were expending more effort on career success strategies yet received lower objective success than their White counterparts for their efforts.

#### ***6.3.1.1. Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 3 with the Existing Literature***

The results of this study support Greenhaus et al's (1990) study which found no evidence that Black managers engaged in self-limiting behaviour. This study extends the work of Howard & Bray (1988), Cox & Cooper (1989) and Cannings & Montmarquette (1991) by demonstrating that although ambition is one of the key predictors of advancement, discrimination in the workplace

requires successful Blacks to maintain a higher level of ambition than their White counterparts.

Edwards & Polite (1992) and Kimbro & Hill (1992) developed their laws of success without reference to the differential levels of input that aspiring Black managers must make. The results of this study confirm Davidson's (1997) performance pressure concept: the need for Black managers who want to be superstars to constantly expend more energy than Whites.

The data challenged the stereotypes reported by Karlins et al (1969) and Moss & Tilly (1996) that Blacks have poor motivational skills. These findings should be considered in the context of Andrew's (1996) study which found Black managers were more qualified than their White counterparts.

## **6.4 HYPOTHESIS 4**

### **6.4.1 INTERPRETATION**

The null hypothesis was rejected. There was a difference between Black and White respondents in respect of their perceptions of egalitarianism on career dynamics.

White respondents believed recruitment and promotion processes were handled more fairly than Blacks; White respondents were more satisfied with

their careers than Black respondents. The views of Black and White respondents about whether there are equal opportunities in employment were diametrically different. It was possible to determine the ethnic origin of 86% of White respondents and 69% of Black respondents by their perceptions of equal opportunities in employment.

This finding may be interpreted as indicating that one of the most important barriers to Black managers' career progression are the beliefs and behaviours of White managers. Their behaviours and beliefs need to be changed so that White managers recognise that racial discrimination is endemic in the workplace and act in collaboration with Black managers to eliminate racism. Alternatively, Black managers must become highly effective in managing discrimination in others.

#### ***6.4.1.1 Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 4 with the Existing Literature***

The findings of the current study support those of Chung & Williams (1986) and Andrew (1996) who both found that Black and White managers had different perceptions of the major barriers to Black managers' development.

The empirical research (Brown & Ford, 1977; Alderter et al, 1980; Fernandez, 1985; Irons & Moore, 1985; Nixson, 1985; Ilgen & Yantz, 1986; Greenhaus et al, 1990; Smith & Robertson, 1993; and Prewitt-Livingston et al, 1996) supports the contention of Black managers that discrimination does effect

salary, promotions, selection and access to training to a very large extent. The current study adds to the literature by demonstrating that Black managers are acutely aware of these forms of discrimination at work.

The results of the present study also add weight to Korman et al's (1981) theory of expectancy disconfirmation resulting from inequalities in the workplace.

## **6.5 HYPOTHESIS 5**

### **6.5.1 HYPOTHESIS 5(a)**

#### **INTERPRETATION**

The null hypothesis is rejected. There was a difference between Black and White participants' perceived effectiveness and use of strategies for dealing with racism.

Black respondents had a more positive view of the effectiveness of the strategies for dealing with racism. Black respondents were also more active in applying a range of strategies to deal with racism than their White counterparts.

One interpretation of these results is related to the findings discussed under Hypothesis 4, in that because Whites do not really see racism as a major

problem and benefit from racist behaviours themselves, they are less inclined to take action against it, and are less likely to believe that the strategies for eliminating it will be effective.

An alternative or additional interpretation of the responses is that they reflect the real perception that White respondents consider racism more difficult to eliminate than their Black counterparts and that Whites do not have the skills to challenge it.

#### **6.5.1.1**      *Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 5(a) with the Existing Literature*

The findings of the study fit well with the existing literature. Barbarin & Gilbert (1981) found that African-Americans were more likely than Whites to view the strategies for dealing with racism as effective. The current study expands the existing literature by replicating this phenomenon across a sample of private, public and voluntary sector UK employees.

#### **6.5.2 HYPOTHESIS 5(b)**

##### **INTERPRETATION**

The null hypothesis is rejected. There was a difference between the racial identity states of Black and White respondents and perceived effectiveness of strategy for dealing with racism



### **(i) Black Racial Identity Attitudes and Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

There were three reliable interactions found on the internalisation scale. Internalised Blacks were more likely to believe that bringing in Blacks at the top administrative level, ensuring Black people sit on interview panels and persuading White work friends that racism hurts them were effective strategies for dealing with racism.

Two strong relationships between the immersion scale and the strategy for dealing with racism were found. Immersion Blacks were less likely to believe socialising with Whites is an effective strategy for dealing with racism. They were also less likely to advocate persuading White work friends that racism hurts them as an effective strategy for dealing with racism.

No reliable relationships between the encounter scale and strategy for dealing with racism were found.

The pre-encounter group was the only group who felt that providing education on the subtleties of racism was not an effective strategy for dealing with racism. No other reliable relationships were found between the pre-encounter scale and strategy for dealing with racism.

## **(ii) White Racial Identity Attitudes and Strategy for Dealing with Racism**

There was a very strong positive relationship found between autonomy attitudes and strategy for dealing with racism. Participants high in autonomy attitudes were more likely to see the following as effective strategies: voting for anti-racist politicians; lobbying for anti-discrimination laws; getting Blacks and Whites to socialise more; persuading White friends that racism hurts them; informing and mobilising Black groups; ensuring that Blacks sit on interview panels; providing education on the subtleties of racism; utilising the courts and tribunals to alter racist practices.

There was also a reliable, but not as strong, positive association between autonomy attitudes and considering demonstrations and pickets to be an effective way of altering racist practices.

The correlations between the pseudo-independence scale and the strategies for dealing with racism scale were very similar to those found on the autonomy scale, but the strength of the average relationships was not as strong. Pseudo-independent participants strongly believed that the following were effective strategies for dealing with racism: voting for anti-racist politicians; lobbying for anti-discrimination laws; getting Blacks and Whites to socialise more; persuading White friends that racism hurts them; utilising the courts and tribunals to alter racist practices; providing education on the subtleties of racism. There was also firm evidence that pseudo-independent respondents

felt that informing and mobilising Black groups for change, and demonstrations and pickets against racist practices were effective strategies for dealing with racism.

As predicted by the direction of the responses relating to the reintegration, disintegration and contact scales were in the negative direction. That is, respondents high in the aforementioned racial identity attitudes did not view strategies for dealing with racism as effective.

There was a very strong view in the reintegration group that persuading White friends that racism hurts them and utilising the courts and tribunals to change racist practices were ineffective approaches. Respondents who were high in reintegration attitudes also saw lobbying for anti-racist politicians as an ineffective strategy.

The most vociferous opposition to the strategies for dealing with racism came from those respondents high in disintegration attitudes. There was a very consistent view that the following strategies were ineffective in eliminating racism: voting for anti-racist politicians; lobbying for anti-discrimination laws; demonstrating and picketing against racist practices; bringing in Blacks at the top for change; utilisation of the courts and tribunals to alter racist practices; providing education on the subtleties of racism. Disintegration participants also considered that persuading Whites that racism hurts them and ensuring

that Blacks sit on interview panels were ineffective strategies for dealing with racism.

Although contact attitude respondents tended to view the strategies for dealing with racism negatively, there was insufficient data to draw reliable conclusions from their responses.

#### **6.5.2.1      *Integration of the Findings of Hypothesis 5(b) with the Existing Literature***

The finding of the current study support and extend Watts' (1992) research on the relationship between Black racial identity attitudes and strategy for dealing with racism.

Consistent with Watts' (1992) USA study, Black participants high in internalisation attitudes strongly believed that most of the strategies for dealing with racism are effective. Watts (1992) also found that immersion and pre-encounter attitude participants generally considered the strategies for dealing with racism to be ineffective.

The current study extends Watts (1992) work (which focused solely on racial identity attitudes and strategies for dealing with racism of Black US civil service employees) to a range of sectors in the United Kingdom; thus demonstrating the consistency of the constructs across cultures.

The theoretical literature is enlarged by the results of the current study which demonstrates that there is a high degree of agreement in the attitudes and perceived effectiveness of internalised Blacks and autonomous Whites, both see the majority of the strategies for dealing with racism as effective.

It would appear, therefore, that racial identity attitudes are more important than race in evaluating the effectiveness of strategies for dealing with racism. The resultant behaviours from the models of Black and White racial identity described by Helms (1993) seem to be very similar.

## Chapter 7:

# The Career Progression of Black Managers: General Discussion

### 7.0 INTRODUCTION

In this section the common themes that emerge from both studies are discussed. The general applicability of the findings of the research is analysed in light of the literature on Black managers' career progression. The areas for further research and the limitations of the findings are also considered.

This research found that Blacks exert more effort in developing their careers than their White peers. It demonstrated that there are clear differences in the approaches and experiences of Blacks and Whites in respect of career development. Unfortunately, the published literature in the UK has lacked a comprehensive understanding of Black career experiences and developmental processes (Erickson, 1959; Levinson, Darrow, Klein, Levison & McKee, 1978; Schien, 1985a; 1985b; 1993; Super, 1990; Aronold, 1997).

Race was found to be more important than sex in terms of the discrimination that Black people face at work. Yet racial identity attitudes were a more important predictor than race in relation to the strategies used to eliminate

discrimination at work. In the literature review a shades of Black model of career development was proposed to conceptualise the affective and cognitive processes related to selling out for objective career success. This model is considered in relation to this study's findings.

## **7.1 THE CAREER PROGRESSION OF BLACK MANAGERS**

The qualitative study provided some insight into the architecture of career success. Early developmental experiences in terms of parents' attitudes were identified as an enduring characteristic that served to lay the foundation for participants to develop a positive Black identity, high self-esteem and effective strategies to defeat racism.

What crystallised from the analysis of the depth interviews in terms of career development was that occupation, career history, career planning, setting career goals, the number of times that participants changed their occupations and the drive that participants had for career development all contributed to career success. The first study also found that successful Black managers were skilled at networking and often had mentors. They were aware of discrimination in recruitment and selection but were also able to take advantage of informal selection processes.

The most important finding to emerge from both studies was the structure and psychological correlates of the "sell-out" effect. The sell-out effect is a

phenomenon evidenced in the current study, in which Black employees sell out their positive Black racial identity attitudes to reach senior management positions. The qualitative study demonstrated that Black employees were aware that selling out in order to progress may help Black managers by removing some of the conflicts/barriers that would arise if they maintained a strong and positive Black identity. Participants in the first study saw the process of sell-out as unpalatable and psychologically damaging.

The issue of selling out was the most frequently raised issue in the first study. This indicates that this phenomenon is an important factor in Black managers' career progression. Participants who maintained a strong Black racial identity did so in the knowledge that this could result in stress or job loss.

In the second study, racial identity attitudes and the sell-out effect were found to be related to positive self-esteem and low levels of anxiety and depression in low-paid/non-managerial employees. The process of sell-out appears to occur when Black employees move into management and become more financially successful. The findings suggest that Black managers have to modify their racial identity attitudes in order to progress. Further research is needed to identify why employees change their attitudes when they move into well-paid management positions. One suggestion is that Black managers may feel under pressure to conform to the norms and values of the White managerial majority. Black managers may also realise that holding very positive Black attitudes may harm their chances of further career progression.



Of particular significance is the finding that holding strong racial identity (pro-Black) attitudes was related to high levels of self-esteem and effective well-being for non-managers, but medium or low pro-Black attitudes were found to be related to high levels of self-esteem, affective well-being and organisational commitment for managers. The high level of affective well-being and self-esteem in managers who have sold out warrants further research as this effect has not yet been investigated (Rosenberg, 1965; Wylie, 1989; Warr, 1990; and Blasocovich & Tomaka, 1991).

The level of organisational commitment of managers who sell out was found to be higher than those with very positive Black racial identity attitudes. This effect would also benefit from further research as the earlier studies of organisational commitment have not examined this relationship (Mauday, Poter & Steers, 1982; Cook & Wall, 1990; Arnold & MacKenzie Davey, 1994; Leong, Randall & Cole, 1994).

The findings indicate that there is a psychological cost to pay for maintaining a positive Black identity in senior management positions. The sell-out effect is particularly interesting in light of the finding of the first study that Black managers felt that selling out in order to progress their careers was undesirable. The wider applicability of the sell-out effect in relation to Black managers' career progression has not been empirically examined by any research study before. The findings of the current research demonstrate that

the sell-out effect interacts with self-concept, self-esteem, affective well-being and organisational commitment.

There is a relative paucity of research on the sell-out effect and how this relates to Black managers' career progression. Dickens & Dickens (1991), Bravette (1994) and James et al (1994) have all noted the importance of racial identity but these studies did not use any objective measure of racial identity. Nor did any of these studies map other correlates of subjective success such as well-being, self-esteem and organisational commitment to the racial identity attitudes. Those studies that have examined racial identity have not examined the process of sell-out in occupational or indeed any other settings (Parham & Helms, 1985a, 1985b; Chung & Williams, 1986; Cross, 1991; Dickens & Dickens, 1991; Watts, 1992; Helms, 1993; James, 1994; Simpson, 1994; Andrew, 1996; and Gilbert, 2000).

Racial identity attitudes had a significant effect in determining what strategies Black managers use to deal with racism in organisations. Those with strong pro-Black attitudes were least likely to believe that there was value in persuading White employees that racism hurts them. In contrast to pro-Black managers, Black employees who had sold out believed that persuading White employees that racism hurts them would be an effective strategy for dealing with racism.

### **7.1.1 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE**

Behavioural and attitudinal competencies have long since formed part of the recruitment and selection processes of organisations. As organisations begin to recognise the economic and social benefits of managing diversity, it will be even more important to assess candidates' commitment to diversity. Clearly it is advantageous for organisations to also employ managers who hold positive pro-Black attitudes in order to ensure equality and cultural diversity at work.

The racial identity attitudes scales are measures which could be adapted to be used in selection and development. Discussion and careful interpretation of the racial identity attitude scale by a trained professional may also prove beneficial to team development events aimed at eliminating discrimination at work.

### **7.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH**

There are a number of limitations to the current research study. The findings of the study could have been improved if the path and predictors for Black managers' career development had been more carefully mapped out using a control group of White managers. The study would have been more effective if it had been carried out longitudinally over a period of 10–15 years. This would have allowed more detailed analysis of career development mechanisms.

A further limitation of the research is that it could have used a larger sample of Black managers in a range of roles and industries. The study would have also benefited from an increased response rate, particularly from Black managers at senior levels. It was not possible to determine whether the sell-out effect is also found in environments where Blacks hold the majority of economic and political power.

### **7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Future research could address these limitations by taking a longitudinal sample of participants across a number of countries. While such a research programme would be expensive, it would allow the findings of the current study to be developed and refined.

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**Table 1: Occupations by Ethnic Group**

	White	Asian	African Caribbean
Higher Managerial & Professional	13%	17%	11%
Lower Managerial & Professional	26%	18%	7%
Intermediate Occupations	12%	11%	13%
Small employers and own account workers	8%	12%	4%
Lower supervisory & technical	12%	8%	9%
Semi-routine occupations	14%	17%	18%
Routine occupations	11%	10%	11%
Never worked	4%	7%	7%

**Table 2: Proportion of Black People with Jobs in the Salaried in Britain at the Time of the Survey**

Ethnic origin	First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1970s		First-generation, born 1940-59, surveyed 1990s		Second-generation, born 1960-79, surveyed 1990s	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
White	22.7 (24,668)	16.5 (26,384)	45.5 (88,025)	37.8 (78,916)	33.0 (76,069)	35.4 (70,246)
Caribbean	11.3	26.2	27.3	45.0	28.6	38.1
Indian	17.5	11.2	35.9	25.3	42.5	38.3
Pakistani	5.8	-	21.5	*	22.8	32.3

**Table 3: Comparing Gross Differentials Between Each Group of Black Men and their White Counterparts in Britain**

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	Metric	Gross
African Caribbean	Unemployment	2.59
	Occupational Attainment	0.56
	Earning Power	Caribbean: £115 (-) African: £116 (-)
Indian	Unemployment	1.50
	Occupational Attainment	1.10
	Earning Power	£5 (-)
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	Unemployment	2.67
	Occupational Attainment	0.71
	Earning Power	£150 (-)

**Table 4: Comparing Gross Differentials Between Each Group of Black Women and their White Counterparts in Britain**

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Metric</b>	<b>Gross</b>
African Caribbean	Unemployment	2.56
	Occupational Attainment	0.68
	Earning Power	Caribbean: £30 (+) African: £19 (+)
Indian	Unemployment	1.38
	Occupational Attainment	2.0
	Earning Power	£14 (+)
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	Unemployment	1.18
	Occupational Attainment	1.0
	Earning Power	Pakistani: £34 (-) Bangladeshi: (*)

**Table 5: Comparisons of the Net Differences in the Likelihood of Being in the Professional Class for Men in Britain**

	<b>African Caribbean</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Pakistani/Bangladeshi</b>
Comparisons between the residuals of Black and White men	0.36	0.61	0.56

**Table 6: Comparisons of the Net Differences in the Likelihood of Being in the Professional Class for Women in Britain**

	<b>African Caribbean</b>	<b>Indian</b>	<b>Pakistani/Bangladeshi</b>
Comparisons between the residuals of Black and White women	0.57	0.48	0.48

**Table 7: Comparing Gross and Net Differentials Between Black Men and their White Counterparts in Britain**

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Metric</b>	<b>Gross</b>	<b>Variables taken into account</b>	<b>Net</b>
African Caribbean	Unemployment	2.59	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	2.51
	Occupational Attainment	0.56	Same as above	0.36
	Earning Power	Caribbean: £115 (-) African: £116 (-)	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	Caribbean: £81 (-) African: £132 (-)
Indian	Unemployment	1.50	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	1.64
	Occupational Attainment	1.10	Same as above	0.61
	Earning Power	£5 (-)	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	£23 (-)
Pakistani/ Bangladeshi	Unemployment	2.67	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	2.85
	Occupational attainment	0.71	Same as above	0.56
	Earning Power	£150 (-)	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	£129 (-)

**Table 8: Comparing Gross and Net Differentials Between Black Women and their White Counterparts in Britain**

<b>Ethnic Group</b>	<b>Metric</b>	<b>Gross</b>	<b>Variables taken into account</b>	<b>Net</b>
African Caribbean	Unemployment	2.56	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	2.38
	Occupational Attainment	0.68	Same as above	0.57
	Earnings	-----	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	Caribbean and African born in the UK: statistically insignificant
Indian	Unemployment	1.38	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	1.44
	Occupational Attainment	2.00	Same as above	0.48
	Earnings	-----	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	Born in the UK: statistically insignificant
Pakistani/Bangladeshi	Unemployment	1.18	Education, training, experience, marital and parental status, region	2.71
	Occupational attainment	1.0	Same as above	0.48
	Earnings	-----	Age, migration, education, economic environment, family structure	Born in the UK: statistically insignificant

# Confidential Career Review Questionnaire – Scoring Key

Introduction: This questionnaire is about career success and social attitudes. You may find parts of this questionnaire controversial, but please remember there are no right or wrong answers - it is individual opinions that are of importance to this research. Please write your answers in the space provided or tick the appropriate boxes. The term 'Black' is used in this questionnaire to describe people of African, African-Caribbean or Asian descent. The term is also used to describe people who have joint parentage for example an Asian Mother and a European Father. You may wish to use the term Black other, or White other if you have more than one single ethnic origin. This questionnaire remains totally confidential and will not be shown to your line manager or anyone other than the researcher. It is important that you are open, honest and say what YOU think when responding to questions.

## Section 1: About you and your job (biographic variables)

1. Your age in years.....
2. Sex: (a) female  (b) male
3. Do you have a registerable disability:  
(a) Yes  (b) No  *If No, Please Go to Question 5*
4. In what way are you disabled?  
(a) Visually impaired  (b) Hearing impairment   
(c) Mobility disabilities  (d) Learning disabilities   
(e) Communication difficulties  (f) Mental Health problems   
(g) Other (please specify.....)
5. Please state the ethnic group which you belong to:  
(a) Indian  (b) Pakistani  (c) Bangladeshi   
(d) Black African  (e) Black Caribbean  (f) Chinese   
(g) White  (h) Irish   
(i) Black other  Please state.....(j) White Other  Please state.....
6. How long have you been employed by your current employer?  
Years.....Months.....
7. Do you work: Full time  Part time
8. How long have you held your current post.? Years.....Months.....
9. What is your current post title ?.....
10. How many grades are there between your post and the top post in the organisation?.....
11. Do you manage staff ? (a) No  (b) Yes   
*If Yes, for how many employees do you have managerial responsibility?.....*
12. How many employees (approximately) are there in your organisation ?.....
13. What is the size of the budget (approximate) that you control each year? £.....

14. What department and section do you work in?

Department.....Section.....

15. Which best describes your employer's business?

- (a) Local authority  (b) Central Government  (c) Health Service   
(d) Private sector  (e) Voluntary sector  (f) Education   
(g) Other  Please specify.....

16. What is the ethnic origin of your line manager?

- (a) Indian  (b) Pakistani  (c) Bangladeshi   
(d) Black African  (e) Black Caribbean  (f) Chinese   
(g) White  (h) Irish   
(i) Black other  Please state..... (j) White Other  Please state.....

17. In which industry do you work?.....

18. How long have you worked in your profession/area of work? Years.....Months.....

19. Including your present job, how many jobs have you had throughout your career?.....

20. How many different areas of work/professional disciplines have you worked in?.....

21. Which of the following qualifications do you hold? State the title of each qualifications, and the institution which you graduated from:

- (a)  GCSE O levels/CSE  
(b)  GCSE A levels  
(c)  Qualification below degree: *please state qualification & institution*  
Subject.....  
(d)  Degree Subject.....  
(e)  Professional Qualification at degree level:  
Subject.....  
(f)  Masters degree: Subject.....  
(g)  MBA  
(h)  PhD: Subject.....

22. Do you have an official mentor at your place of work? Yes  No

23. Are you an official mentor for anyone at your place of work? Yes  No

## Section 2: Your career, career development & your approach to work

### ORGANISATIONAL COMMITMENT SCALE Cook and Wall (1980) [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]

( 7 strongly agree, 1 Strongly disagree, 4 not sure)

24. In my work here I feel like I am making some effort, not just for myself but for the organisation as well -reverse score
25. I sometimes feel like leaving this organisation for good
26. Even if the organisation were not doing too well financially, I would be reluctant to change to another employer
27. An offer of a bit more money with another employer would not seriously make me think about changing my job
28. To know my own work has made a contribution to the good of the organisation would please me
29. I feel myself to be part of the organisation
30. I am quite proud to tell people who it is I work for
31. I'm not willing to put myself out for this organisation -reverse score
32. I would not recommend a close friend to join our staff -reverse score
33. I believe I can achieve my career goals in this institution

### SELF ESTEEM SCALE Rosenberg [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]

34. I feel I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others
35. I feel I have a number of good qualities
36. All in all I am inclined to feel that I am a failure -reverse score
37. I am able to do things as well as most other people
38. I do feel I have much to be proud of
39. I take a positive attitude towards myself
40. I could have more respect towards myself -reverse score
41. I certainly feel useless at times -reverse score
42. At times I think I am no good at all -reverse score

### KIMBRO AND HILL'S LAWS OF SUCCESS (1992) [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]

43. I set clear goals for my career development which I constantly review

- 44. I show confidence in others
- 45. I try to continually improve my professional skills through practice
- 46. I maintain a positive professional attitude and project this outwards
- 47. I substitute positive thoughts for negative ones
- 48. I undertake tasks with a positive expectancy, I make myself believe I can do them
- 49. I believe positive people attract positive people
- 50. I give freely without any expectation of return

**IRONS AND MOORES (1985) URBAN BANKERS JOB AND CAREER DYNAMICS QUESTIONNAIRE - [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]**

51. The most important promotion criteria with my employers are as follows

- (a) Technical knowledge
- (b) Communication skills
  - (i) Oral
  - (ii) Written
- (c) Personality
- (d) Who you know (office politics)
- (e) Hard work
- (f) Appearance
- (g) Education (in general)
  - (i) School you came from
  - (ii) An MBA

- 52. Promotions are handled fairly in this organisation
- 53. My chances of promotion are good
- 54. Black employees have the same chances of promotion as Whites
- 55. I am keen to get promoted in this organisation
- 56. Promotion is usually on the basis of length of service



*Strongly  
Disagree*

*Strongly  
Agree*

57. How I progress in this organisation has very little to do with my own performance
58. I feel satisfied with the career progress I have made to date
59. I feel satisfied with my job
60. My employer is just as vigorously seeking Black and Ethnic Minorities today as they were five years ago
61. I believe my employers affords more opportunities to Black and ethnic minority candidates than most other employers.
62. Black and ethnic minority candidates are afforded the same opportunities in this organisation as White employees.
63. Employees from the groups listed below are being hired and promoted in the following rank order in this organisation (please rank 1 - 4 according to what happens in practice)

**Hired**

**Promoted**

- |               |                 |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| ( ) White men | ( ) White women | ( ) White men | ( ) White women |
| ( ) Black men | ( ) Black women | ( ) Black men | ( ) Black women |

**Section 3: About your views as a Black employee** *If you are not 'Black' as defined for the purposes of this questionnaire (i.e. of African, Caribbean or Asian decent) please go to Section 4*

**HELMS AND PARHAMS (1981) Black Racial Identify Attitude Scale - [5 FACTORS]**

Circle the number which best describes how you feel using the following guide: 1 = no, I disagree very strongly, 2 = no, I disagree quite strongly, 3 = no I disagree a little, 4 = I am not sure, 5 = yes, I agree a little, 6 = yes, I agree quite strongly, 7 yes, I strongly agree.

Subcales internalisation, encounter, pre-encounter, immersion, emmersion

*Strongly*

*Strongly*

64. I believe that being Black is a positive experience Internalization
65. I know through my personal experiences what being Black in Britain means Internalization
66. I am increasing my involvement in Black activities because because I don't feel comfortable in White environments Encounter
67. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy Pre-Encounter
68. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people Emersion

69. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people. Internalization
70. A person's race does not influence how comfortable I feel when I am with her or him Internalization
71. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks Encounter
72. I feel uncomfortable when I am around Black people Pre-encounter
73. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities Internalization
74. When I am with people I trust I often find myself using offensive names to refer to White people. Immersion
75. I believe being Black is a negative experience Pre-encounter
76. I believe that certain aspects of the "Black experience" apply to me, and others do not Internalization
77. I frequently confront the system and the (White) man Immersion
78. I constantly involve myself in Black political and social activities (such as art shows, political meetings, Black theatre, and so forth). Immersion
79. I involve myself in social action and political groups even if there are no other Blacks involved. Internalization
80. I believe that Black people should learn to think and experience life in ways that are similar to White people's ways Pre-encounter
81. I believe that the world should be interpreted from a Black perspective Immersion
82. I am changing my life style to fit with my new beliefs about Black people Encounter
83. I feel excitement and joy in Black surroundings Emersion
84. I believe that Black people came from a strange, dark, and uncivilised continent Pre-encounter
85. People, regardless of their race, have their strengths and limitations Internalization
86. I find myself reading a lot of Black literature and thinking about being Black Encounter
87. I feel guilty or anxious about some of the things I believe about Black people Pre-encounter
88. I believe that a Black person's most effective weapon for solving problems is to become part of the White person's world Pre-encounter

89. I speak my mind about injustices to Black people regardless of the consequences (such as being disciplined or dismissed from my job) Immersion
90. I limit myself to Black activities as much as I can Immersion
91. I am determined to find my Black identity Encounter
92. I believe that White people are more intelligent than Blacks Pre-encounter
93. I believe I have many strengths because I am Black Internalization
94. I feel Black people do not have as much to be proud of as White people do. Pre-encounter
95. Most Blacks I know are failures Pre-encounter
96. I believe White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past Immersion
97. White people can't be trusted Immersion
98. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to Blame Pre-encounter
99. The most important thing to me is that I am Black Immersion
100. Being Black just feels natural to me Internalization
101. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences Pre-encounter
102. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it Immersion
103. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race. Pre-encounter
104. The people I respect most are White Pre-encounter
105. A person's race is usually not important to me. Pre-encounter
106. I feel anxious when White people compare me to other members of my race Encounter
107. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people Encounter
108. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he or she is a good person Internalization
109. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy Pre-encounter
110. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed Pre-encounter
111. I believe a Black person can be close friends with a White person Internalization

*Strongly  
Disagree*

*Strongly  
Agree*

112. I am satisfied with myself Internalization
113. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black Internalization
114. I have denied my feelings of identify or 'sold out' in order to be successful in my career (Item developed in first study NOT PART OF BRIAS)

**IF YOU ANSWERED THE BLACK EMPLOYEES SECTION, NOW PLEASE GO TO QUESTION 162**

**Section 4: About your views as a White employee** *This section relates to 'White' people as defined for the purposes of this questionnaire. Please do not complete this section if you completed Section 3.*

This section of the questionnaire is designed to measure the social and political attitudes of White employees. 1 = no, I disagree very strongly, 2 = no, I disagree quite strongly, 3 = no I disagree a little, 4 = I am not sure, 5 = yes, I agree a little, 6 = yes, I agree quite strongly, 7 yes, I strongly agree.

5 factors – contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, autonomy

**HELEMS AND CARTER (1992) WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE SCALE [5 FACTORS]**

*Disagree*

*Agree*

115. I hardly think about what race I am Contact
116. I do not understand what Blacks want from Whites Disintegration
117. I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks Re-integration
118. I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites Pseudo-independence
119. I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them Autonomy
120. I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like Contact
121. I feel depressed after I have been around Black people Disintegration
122. There is nothing that I want to learn from Blacks Re-integration
123. I seek out new experiences even if I know a large number of Blacks will be involved in them Autonomy
124. I enjoy watching the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life Pseudo-independence
125. I wish I had a Black friend Contact
126. I do not feel I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively Disintegration

127. A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something Reintegration
128. When a Black person holds a opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my viewpoint Autonomy
129. Sometimes jokes based on Black people's experiences are funny Autonomy
130. I think its exciting to discover the little ways in which Black people and White people are different Contact
131. I used to believe in racial integration but now I have my doubts Disintegration
132. I would rather socialise with Whites only Reintegration
133. In many ways Blacks and Whites are similar, but they are also different in some important ways Pseudo-independence
134. Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other Pseudo-independence
135. For most of my life, I did not think about racial issues Contact
136. I have come to believe that Black people and White people are very different Disintegration
137. White people have bent over backwards trying to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks, now it's time to stop Reintegration
138. It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other Pseudo-independence
139. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Blacks that they can't learn from other Whites Autonomy
140. I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other Contact
141. I understand that White women and men must end racism in this country because White people created it Autonomy
142. I limit myself to White activities Disintegration
143. Society may have been unjust to Blacks, but it also has been unjust to Whites Reintegration
144. I am knowledgeable about the values Blacks and Whites share Pseudo-independence
145. I am comfortable wherever I am Pseudo-independence
146. In my family, we never talked about racial issues Contact
147. When I must interact with a Black person, I usually let him or her make the first move Disintegration

148. I feel hostile when I am around Blacks Reintegration
149. I think I understand Black people's values Autonomy
150. Blacks and Whites can have successful intimate relationships Autonomy
151. I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of their race Contact
152. Nowadays I go out of my way to avoid associating with Blacks Disintegration
153. I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites Reintegration
154. I believe I know a lot about Black people's customs Pseudo-independence
155. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Blacks that they can't learn from other Whites Autonomy
156. I think that it's okay for Black people and White people to date each other as long as they don't marry each other Contact
157. Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about Black people Disintegration
158. When I am the only White in the group of Blacks, I feel anxious Reintegration
159. Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior Pseudo-independence
160. I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White Autonomy
161. I think White people should be more involved in socialising with Blacks Contact
162. I don't understand why Black people blame all White people for their social misfortunes Disintegration
163. I believe White people look and express themselves better than Blacks Reintegration
164. I feel comfortable talking to Blacks Pseudo-independence
165. I value the relationships I have with my Black friends Autonomy

**ALL RESPONDENTS PLEASE CONTINUE TO SECTION 5**

### **Section 5: Well-being and the strategies you use to deal with racism**

This section of the questionnaire is designed to measure the strategies use to deal with racism and well-being at work.. There are no right or wrong answers, your responses will NOT be fed back to your employer. Please follow the scoring instructions on each set of questions.

**WARR'S (1990) AFFECTIVE WELLBEING SCALE [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]**

**Please read each word and then circle the number on the scale which most accurately reflects the way you feel when you think about your job/life at work**

	<u>Rarely</u>						<u>Mostly</u>	
166. Calm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
167. Contented	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
168. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
169. Tense	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score
170. Uneasy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score
171. Worried	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score
172. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
173. Optimistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
174. Cheerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
175. Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score
176. Gloomy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score
177. Miserable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	-reverse score

**BIOGRAPHIC DETAILS**

178. Over the past two years how many days sickness absence have you had?.....Days
179. Over the past ten years how many times have you been subject to disciplinary proceedings?.....Times
180. Over the past ten years how many times have you been made redundant?.....Times
181. Over the past ten years how many times have you lodged a formal complaint against your employer.....Times
182. Which group best describes your current salary band?(Please tick one category)  
(if you work part-time, please tick the box that best describes the full time equivalent of your current salary)

- A.  under £10,000
- B.  £10,000 - £20,000
- C.  £21,000 - £30,000
- D.  £31,000 - £40,000
- E.  £41,000 - £50,000
- F.  more than £50,000

**BARBARINS IRS – MULTI-DIMENSIONAL MEASURE OF INSTITUTIONAL RACISM (19 ) [Exploratory factor analysis to be used]**

183.	Vote for politicians sympathetic to altering racist practices									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
184.	Actively lobby for enactment of anti-discrimination laws									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
185.	Provide a setting in which non-Whites and Whites can participate in common social activities to get to know one another									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
186.	Persuade White work friends on an individual level that racism hurts them as much as it does Blacks									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
187.	Inform Blacks and minority groups of the problem and help mobilise them to change									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
188.	Demonstrate and picket against racist practices.									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
189.	Ensure aware Black people sit on interview panels									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
190.	Bring in Black and ethnic minorities at the top administrative level so that they can monitor and change racist policies									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
191.	Make it possible for Black and ethnic minorities to withdraw and develop their own businesses, schools, and other organisations rather than rely on predominantly White organisations									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
192.	Utilise the courts and Industrial Tribunals to alter unfair practices									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently
193.	Provide education about the subtleties of racism									
(a)	<b>Effectiveness</b>	Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent
(b)	<b>Extent of use</b>	Never	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Frequently