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An Identity Approach to Understanding Diversity, Inclusion and the Work-Family Interface

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AN IDENTITY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY, INCLUSION AND THE WORK-FAMILY INTERFACE

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ABSTRACT

AN IDENTITY APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING DIVERSITY, INCLUSION AND THE WORK-LIFE INTERFACE

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The salience of one's ethnic identity, the subjective importance of that identity in one's life, was hypothesized to impact the extent to which inclusion predicts work-related outcomes (i.e., strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction and job stress) among 225 working women. Women who felt included at work (i.e., those who can participate, have influence and can "be themselves") were predicted to experience positive work-related outcomes. Further, belongingness at work was predicted to interact with ethnic identity salience to impact work-related outcomes for working women. Hierarchical linear regression analyses indicated that inclusion was significantly associated with positive work-related outcomes; yet, there was no support (with one exception) for ethnic identity salience as a predictor of these outcomes, neither as a main effect nor as a moderator. After controlling for belongingness at work, ethnic identity salience did significantly predict ethnic identity nonacceptance (a facet of job stress) among minority women. Possible limitations of this research, suggestions for future research, and implications for employers are discussed. Contributions made by this research include (a) introduction of an identity theory framework for exploring work-family issues, (b) illustration of the importance of linking internal identities and their subjective importance or salience to external roles, (c) utilization of a broader definition and measurement tool for ethnic and gender stressors at work, and (d) demonstration of

new links between workplace inclusion and work-family outcomes (i.e., strain-based work-family conflict and work-family enrichment) among working women.

I dedicate this research to my husband, Jon. Without your encouragement and unwavering support, I am certain I would not have reached this point. For that, and countless other reasons, I will love you always!

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INTRODUCTION

It has been said that no two individuals are exactly alike. Indeed, we each hold multiple roles and possess unique identities that set apart our work and family experiences from those of our peers. Yet, there are arguably situational and environmental constraints that work together to create a common experience among many individuals. One of the goals of this research was to explore the extent to which individuals feel included and are able to express parts of their identity in the workplace, and how this expression might ultimately impact important organizational and family outcomes. Yet, it also seeks to answer a more fundamental question as well. As organizations become interested in capitalizing on diversity, we must pause to ask whether or not individuals really want their personal identities' acknowledged and recognized in the workplace. A major thrust behind harnessing diversity and fostering inclusion lies in recognizing and valuing individual differences. Yet, to implement a diversity initiative without giving proper consideration to identity salience, particularly concerning ethnicity, could limit its success. In this context, identity salience is defined as the subjective importance that an individual places on a given identity, relative to other identities he or she maintains (Rosenberg, 1979). That conception, also termed "centrality" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994), has been utilized in previous identity theory research (e.g., Rane & McBride, 2000).

Exploration of identity, particularly ethnic identity salience, offers a way to delve into subjective individual differences that may lead to differing work outcomes. Although one's ethnic identity is defined as one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group, the

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salience of this identity refers to the extent to which belonging to a particular ethnic group influences one's thinking, perceptions and behavior (Phinney, 1990). Therefore, this research utilizes an identity theory framework to explore ways in which the workplace environment and individuals interact. Specifically, I intended to explore how an inclusive organizational climate, particularly feelings of belongingness, and individuals' levels of ethnic identity salience would interact to influence important outcomes such as strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction, and job stress.

Overview of Theoretical Framework

Given that individuals occupy many roles (e.g., employee, mother, aunt) and maintain multifaceted identities (e.g., African American, female) it is important to give careful consideration to these complexities when exploring issues of diversity. More specifically, by considering how individuals' identities impact the roles they hold and choices they make, we will gain a broader understanding both of work and family domains. For this reason, this paper uses identity theory (Stryker, 1980) as an encompassing framework for exploring diversity in terms of inclusion, identity, and the work-family interface. Although diversity could arguably include many different facets of individuality, this paper focuses primarily on ethnicity and the salience (i.e., importance) of one's ethnic identity to oneself. Because gender, like ethnicity, is an important and visible component of identity that is believed to impact many work-related outcomes, I held gender constant for the present research by restricting participation to females only. This enabled me to focus on the relationships associated with ethnic identity, the primary identity of interest in the present research.

Understanding Diversity through Identity Theory

Regardless of how you define diversity, recognition of individuals as multifaceted human beings is likely at the core. As such, identity theory is perfectly suited for exploring these differences within a given environment (e.g., workplace). Based on the symbolic interactionist assumption that the self reflects society, identity theory argues for a multifaceted self that reflects the variety of network contacts in which an individual participates. Further, identity theory contends that through social interaction and the internalization of collective values and meanings, one comes to see oneself through the eyes of others. In doing so, one constructs a fairly stable sense of self that is firmly anchored to the roles that one plays in society (Ashforth, 2001). For example, when interacting with another person, one necessarily occupies a role such as wife, mother, coworker or employee. Each of these is also an identity that corresponds to that particular role relationship (e.g., my identity as a mother). The expectations and meanings associated with each role and its performance form a set of standards that guide behavior (Stets & Burke, 2000). These tenets of identity theory support the notion that understanding social interaction at work (e.g., feeling included) in light of one's identities (e.g., ethnic identity) should illuminate behavioral outcomes that follow (e.g., job stress, conflict between work and family).

Identity, inclusion and work-family conflict. Identity theory asserts that people want to act in accordance with their role identities (Stryker & Serpe, 1994), but they also want this performance to be accepted by others. That need for acceptance highlights the importance of feeling included, or that one belongs within a given social network (Mor Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998). It is this feeling of belonging, particularly in the

workplace, coupled with the importance one places on one's ethnic identity, that are hypothesized to predict important outcomes for individuals. One outcome hypothesized to be linked to identity and inclusion is strain-based work-family conflict, in which strain experienced in one role intrudes into and interferes with participation in another role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). For example, a Hispanic woman who feels she is not included at work, particularly because of her ethnicity, may experience greater strain-based conflict in her family life. That is, feeling like she does not belong and cannot fully participate at work is predicted to cause strain (e.g., feeling emotionally drained or frazzled) that will interfere with her participation in the family domain, thereby causing a form of work to family conflict. Indeed, identity theory acknowledges and previous research confirms that individuals who attempt to maintain one identity across varied settings (e.g., work and family) may face a conflict between that identity and one a specific setting requires (Wiley, 1991). Certainly, when the demands or role expectations of these multiple roles and identities from work and family domains are incompatible, negative outcomes are more likely to occur (e.g., work-family conflict or job stress).

Intersecting identities: Gender and ethnicity. Although identity research has individually acknowledged the importance of addressing gender (e.g., Ely, 1995; Randel, 2002) and race or ethnicity (e.g., Cox & Nkomo, 1990) in the workplace, the intersection of these identities has received far less attention, with the exception of feminist psychology literatures (e.g., Greene & Sanchez-Hucles, 1997; Worrell & Remer, 1992). Yet, to examine one component of identity without acknowledging the other might overlook many individuals' experiences. For women of color in particular, having one aspect of one's identity (either ethnicity or gender) overlooked is common (Reid, 2002).

For example, a woman may experience heightened sensitivity from others regarding her race, yet still face blatant sexism. Thus, the "multiple identities" conception of self offers a unique way to explore how the salience of one's ethnic or gender identities (e.g., an African American female supervisor) might impact the work and family roles that one holds. Indeed, it is possible that barriers (e.g., racism, exclusion, sexism) stemming from multiple identities (e.g., female and minority) may have an additive effect creating a unique circumstance, or conflict, for some individuals (Reid, 2002). Thus, identity salience is a critical component for exploring differences in the extent to which aspects of individuals' identities impact their work and family lives.

Identity salience: "Choosing" among identities. Given that individuals have multiple identities that can be enacted at any time, and there are potentially competing role expectations associated with each identity, identity theory addresses the process by which individuals choose among role identities. A key component of Stryker's (1980) identity theory is the hierarchical organization of role identities based on the identity's salience. *Identity salience,* as defined above, is the self-attributed importance of a given identity to an individual (Rosenberg, 1979). Given that identities are cognitive frameworks for interpreting and reacting to one's environment (Stryker & Burke, 2000), identity theory posits that the higher the salience of an identity in the self-structure, the more likely that a situation will be defined using that role's institutionalized framework. In other words, the more salient my ethnic identity, the more likely I will be to view circumstances at work from the perspective of an African American, White, or Hispanic person. In addition, the higher the identity salience, the greater the probability that behavioral choices associated with that role will be enacted, as opposed to less salient

identity options within the given setting (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Previous identity theory research has offered support for the relevance of identity salience to behavioral outcomes, such as the amount of discretionary time one devotes to roles (Stryker & Serpe, 1994) or to activities related to given roles (Nuttbrock & Freudiger, 1991).

Within the context of the present research, the salience of one's gender or ethnic identity within a specialized network of relationships (i.e., workplace) is likely determined by the extent to which the individual feels valued as a female of a particular ethnicity in the work role. Aspects of the workplace climate likely shape this feeling of value, stemming from the ability to be authentic at work. Although not directly tested in the present research, factors within an organizational climate such as ethnic and gender discrimination, tokenism, and a value for workplace diversity are expected to determine the level of authenticity possible, given their key roles in previous organizational research (e.g., Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995; Lobel & St. Clair, 1992; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999).

Ethnic identity theory. Researchers have suggested that ethnicity may be fluid and varies according to the social composition of settings in which people participate (Kim-Ju & Ramsay, 2003). Based on social identity theory, ethnic identity theory posits that an ethnic identity is one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group, and refers to the extent to which this belonging influences one's thinking, perceptions and behavior (Phinney, 1990). In assessing the extent to which the individual identifies with their self-proclaimed group, this theory acknowledges that there is diversity and variability both *between* and *within* ethnic groups (Thomas, Phillips, & Brown, 1998). This variability, according to

ethnic identity theory, stems largely from differences in the salience of the ethnic identity in the individual's hierarchy of identities. Based on this conception, the present research will explore how the salience of one's ethnic identity may interact with feelings of belonging at work to impact outcomes such as stress and satisfaction.

Contribution of Present Research to Diversity and Work-Family Literatures

The current research builds on existing diversity and work-family literature in four significant ways. First, an identity theory framework provides a unique way to explore diversity in the work and family interface. Over the last 25 years, a substantial body of interdisciplinary research has been devoted to examining the interface, particularly involving conflict between work and family domains (cf. Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005). Although variables related to work-family conflict such as stress, caregiving burdens, and a father's involvement in family life have been explored using an identity theory framework (e.g., Large & Marcussen, 2000; Martin, 2000; Rane & McBride, 2000), identity theory is largely missing from most work-family conflict literature, with few exceptions (viz., Rothbard & Edwards, 2003). Work-family research has acknowledged that conflict can be bi-directional (i.e., work to family *and* family to work), that there are various forms of conflict that can occur (e.g., time-based, strain-based, behavior-based; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), and that it is important to delineate these differences when researching and measuring work-family conflict (Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996). Therefore, rather than exploring a broadly defined conflict construct, this research uses the identity theory framework to examine one direction (i.e., work to family) and one specific form of work-family conflict (i.e., strain-based conflict).

Given that work-family conflict represents the interface between roles, research has explored aspects of roles that potentially affect the conflict experienced, such as role quality, role overload, and spillover (e.g., Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Broman, 2001; Cardenas, Major & Bernas, 2004; Williams & Alliger, 1994). However, within identity theory, social roles are external expectations attached to positions occupied in networks of relationships whereas identities are internalized role expectations. Thus, identity theory adds to a traditional role theory perspective of work-family conflict in two ways. First, while role theory examines various aspects of external roles and the ways in which they can come into conflict, identity theory links those roles to internal identities, consisting of internalized meanings (e.g., what ethnic identity means to an individual) and expectations associated with those roles. Second, the value added by identity theory in examining diversity at work lies in its insistence on a "multiple identities" conception of self in which multiple identities do exist even within a given role (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

The second contribution of the present research lies in utilizing the identity theory framework to explore ethnic identity salience as an important component of identity, rather than viewing ethnicity merely as a demographic control, as is typically done in diversity (e.g., Bridges & Orza, 1996) and work-family research (e.g., Allen et al., 2000, Eagle, Icenogle, Maes, & Miles, 1998; Lobel & St. Clair, 1992). The view in which race is merely a demographic control not only overlooks the way in which one's ethnicity might contribute to an individual's multifaceted identity, but also excludes exploration of the link to larger workplace issues such as diversity and inclusion. Indeed, ethnicity is likely to impact the types of positions or roles one can hold and the nature and quality of one's interactions with others (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Third, in an effort to make sure the experiences of ethnic minorities are accurately captured, this research adopts a broader definition of workplace stress than commonly utilized in work-family research (e.g., Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). More specifically, racial job stressors (e.g., nonacceptance, token stress) was examined in addition to more traditional job stressors such as role overload.

Finally, the present study uses a diversity theme to link existing areas of research on topics including inclusion, gender and ethnic identity, and the work-family interface. Although each of these constructs has received individual attention in recent years, exploration of possible relationships among these constructs is less understood. Therefore, in an effort to close the gap both in the diversity and work-family conflict research areas, this review explores ethnic identity salience as a key component of identity and builds on existing theory to test these relationships.

Hypotheses

Main Effects

Social exclusion, the absence of inclusion, has been identified as one of the most significant problems facing today's diverse workforce (Mor Barak, 2005). Indeed, many organizations are realizing that diversity "in a box" will not succeed without inclusion. Inclusion allows individuals to perceive that they are an integral part of the organization (Miller & Katz, 2002). Furthermore, there is a growing recognition that fostering inclusion in the workplace can lead to positive organizational outcomes (Mor Barak & Levin, 2002). Therefore, the main effect hypotheses, 1 through 4, predict that inclusiveness at work will be associated with various work-related outcomes (see Figure 1). Each hypothesis is stated below followed by the supporting arguments.

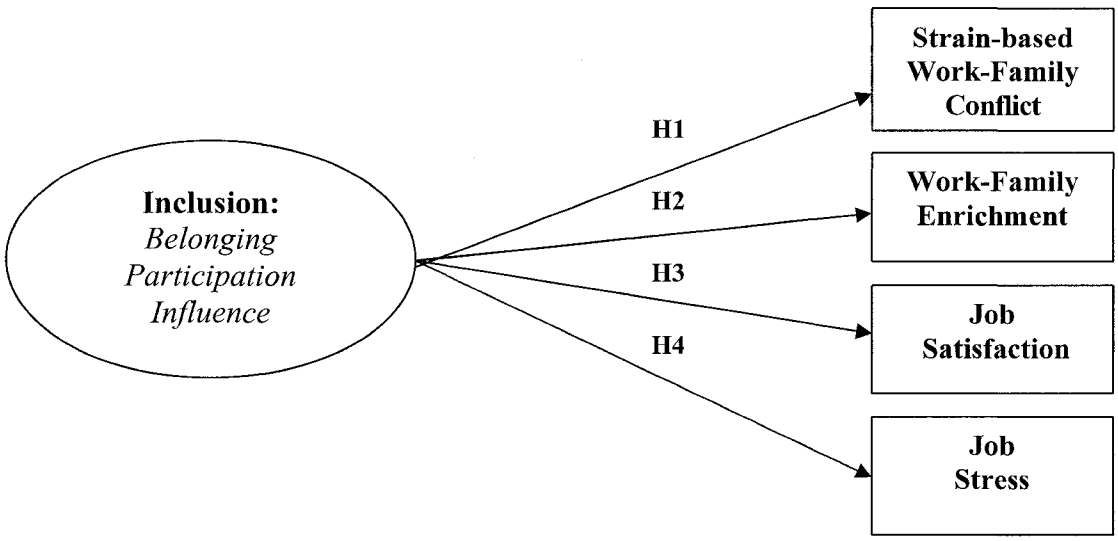

Figure 1. Belongingness, participation, and influence at work as predictors of strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction, and job stress.

Hypothesis 1: Inclusiveness at work will be negatively associated with strain-based work-family conflict.

Work-family conflict has been defined as conflict arising from simultaneous pressures both from work and family which are mutually incompatible in some respect, such that participation in one role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the other role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Consistent with this definition, an identity theory framework would suggest that conflict is likely to result when multiple roles and multiple identities (e.g., female/employee) compete or conflict rather than reinforce one another. Strain-based conflict, one form of work-family conflict, is the focus of the current research given its conceptual link both to inclusion and the outcomes of interest.

Although inclusion and strain-based work-family conflict have not been linked directly in previous research, other positive circumstances at work (e.g., good relationship with one's boss, job satisfaction; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Lapierre &

Allen, 2006) have been associated with decreased levels of work-family conflict. Further, while similar, yet certainly not identical constructs, social support in the workplace has also been linked to decreased work to family conflict (Carlson & Perewwe, 1999; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1994). Social support is linked conceptually to inclusion because social support involves value and acceptance from coworkers and together with friendship, can lead to a sense of belonging, which is a facet of inclusion (Ibarra, 1993). Research also indicates that women are particularly susceptible to strain-based work-family conflict (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Van Daalen, Willemsen, & Sanders, 2006); thus, it is imperative that we examine potential antecedents of this important construct (e.g., inclusion), particularly utilizing a female sample. Based on these findings, and utilizing an identity theory framework, I predict that the freedom to be oneself at work (i.e., feeling included) will decrease the likelihood of one's workplace identity causing conflict in the family domain. That is, if a woman feels that she belongs at work and can participate and influence important decisions, I predict that she will be less likely to come home feeling emotionally drained, frazzled, and stressed, which together characterize strain-based work to family conflict (Carlson et al., 2000).

Hypothesis 2: Inclusiveness at work will be positively associated with work-family enrichment.

In recent years, work-family researchers have begun exploring the ways in which work and family roles can positively enrich one another (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Although there are several measures in existence that capture similar, yet distinct, constructs (e.g., positive spillover, work-family facilitation), the current research will focuses on enrichment, the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of

life, namely, performance or affect, in the other role (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). The key distinction is that in order for enrichment to occur, resources must not only be transferred to another role, but successfully applied in ways that result in improved performance or affect for the individual (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006)

Resource-rich work environments have been found to foster enrichment. Specifically, supportive work environments and networking activities have been linked to positive outcomes in the family (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). In addition, informal or emotional support in the workplace has been associated with greater work-family enrichment (Holliday-Wayne, Randel, & Stevens, 2006). Given that inclusiveness could be characterized by a supportive work environment and would likely include networking activities, it is reasonable to assume that inclusion would also be positively associated with work to family enrichment.

Although families can certainly enrich workers' lives (e.g., learning new ways of interacting with coworkers), the current research only utilizes a work to family enrichment scale. The work to family direction is of interest given the desire to understand how it might be linked to inclusiveness at work. I chose the multidimensional measure of enrichment because it focuses both on affective and instrumental benefits that can transfer between work and family (Carlson, Kacmar, Holliday Wayne, & Grzywacz, 2006). Identity theory would explain this enrichment as positive social interactions in the work role reinforcing rather than conflicting with those in one's home life. In this way, both the affective (sense of belonging) and instrumental (being able to participate and have influence) aspects of inclusion may be positively linked to the affective and instrumental experiences of work to family enrichment.

Hypothesis 3: Inclusiveness at work will be positively associated with job satisfaction.

If we assume that individuals strive to feel included at work, it follows that inclusiveness at work will lead to positive organizational outcomes such as improved job satisfaction. Indeed, inclusion in organization information networks and in decision-making processes has been positively linked to job satisfaction. With a sample of 3400 employees of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, inclusion was found to be a mediator between diversity and job satisfaction and well-being (Mor Barak & Levin, 2002). Similarly, a study involving 916 information technology employees found a direct relationship between inclusion and job satisfaction (Major, Davis, & Fletcher, 2007).

Much of the research in this area has explored the dangers of exclusion, rather than evaluating the benefits of inclusion. Yet, assuming the two are at opposite ends of the same construct spectrum, the results are the same. Exclusion in the workplace has repeatedly been linked to negative outcomes, including decreased job satisfaction (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990).

Hypothesis 4: Inclusiveness at work will be negatively associated with job stress.

Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) present empirical evidence that barriers to inclusion, such as perceived discrimination and prejudice in the work environment, can contribute to minority group members' stress. They further contend that moving back and forth between one's own culture and the dominant culture, as suggested previously according to ethnic identity theory, can prove quite stressful, above and beyond typical workplace stressors. Therefore, in an effort to establish the link between inclusion and

workplace stress in the current study, the definition and measurement of stress has been broadened to included potential racial stressors as well.

Although a substantial portion of present review examines inclusion as it relates to ethnicity, it is important to acknowledge that inclusion is much broader and can affect all employees regardless of their ethnic background. In fact, inclusion, as defined by Miller and Katz (2002) refers to "fully and respectfully involving all members, regardless of gender, religion, race, color, sexual orientation, national origin, age, or physical ability, in the activities and life of the organization" (p. 199). Therefore, it is likely that individuals who do not feel included at work may experience increased stress, regardless of their ethnicity. For example, although there has been considerable change in the attitudes towards the role of women in society, research does suggest that some general stereotypes about women are still held and resistant to change (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Thus, a woman may not feel as though she belongs, can participate, or has influence simply because she is a woman. It is this type of organizational constraint, much like discrimination, tokenism, or isolation from informal social networks (Ely, 1995) that is predicted to increase workplace stress.

Interaction Effects

There are three caveats that must be made regarding the interaction hypotheses that follow. First, for the remaining hypotheses, belongingness, which is one facet of inclusion, will be discussed rather than inclusion as a whole. Although influence and participation are undeniably critical components of inclusion, they appear farther removed conceptually from the current research interests in that they seem less likely to interact with ethnic identity salience to predict the outcomes of interest.

Second, the interaction hypotheses were tested on minority women only. Although lack of previous research does not allow for differential hypotheses by ethnicity for all minority groups, there is enough evidence to suggest that ethnic identity salience will operate differently for African American females as opposed to White females (Phinney, 1996). Ethnic identity research has consistently shown that ethnic minorities score higher than Whites on ethnic identity and that African Americans score higher than other minority group members (Phinney, 1992). Although ethnic identity is seldom explored among White individuals, Helms (1990) proposed a model that suggests a lack of awareness among Whites regarding their ethnic identities. Further, in a study of high school students, Phinney (1989) reported that White adolescents expressed little understanding of the concept of ethnicity and often assumed the term referred only to ethnic minorities, not to themselves. In light of these findings, I hypothesize that a lack of awareness regarding their own ethnicity will result in reports of low ethnic identity salience among White females in this study.

Hypothesis 5: White women will report lower levels of ethnic identity salience than ethnic minority women.

Because I am predicting low ethnic identity salience among White women and the interactions that follow are based on this construct, the remaining hypotheses (6 through 9) will describe expected relationships among minority women only. Thus, as mentioned previously, the analyses that follow did not include the White females in the sample. This decision was based on the assumption that because ethnic identity is not salient or important to White women, it will fail to interact with inclusion when predicting important work-related outcomes for White women. Although I do think inclusion in the

workplace is crucial among White women, the main effect relationships between inclusion and the outcomes of interest have already been tested utilizing the entire sample (see Hypotheses 1- 4) and thus will not be repeated. Further, for White women, feeling as though one belongs at work may be based on other important aspects of identity, such as gender identity salience. Although not the focus of the present research, exploratory analyses examined the potential for interactions between gender identity salience and facets of inclusion as predictors of the outcomes of interest.

Finally, the discussion of the interactions expected has been divided into two main parts. First, I will elaborate on the nature of the interactions and level of outcomes expected. Second, because the relationships between inclusion (which includes the belongingness facet) and the organizational outcomes of interest have been addressed in the discussion above, this section focuses on what is known about the links between ethnicity and the outcomes to be examined.

Linking belongingness, ethnicity, and work-related outcomes. The benefit of identity theory in the current research is that it provides a common thread (i.e., identity) in understanding the complex interplay between diversity, ethnicity and various organizational outcomes. Although belongingness examines the extent to which one's identity is accepted or important to others, ethnic identity salience examines the importance of that aspect of identity to oneself. Further, although not the focus of the current research, I hypothesize that similar factors such as social support, discrimination, tokenism, and value for diversity in the workplace would likely shape both the climate for inclusion (Major et al., 2007; Miller & Katz, 2002) and the extent to which individuals feel they can fully enact their ethnic identities at work. Thus, because the two

concepts (belongingness and ethnic identity salience) are so closely linked, it is predicted that they work together to influence outcomes such as strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction, and job stress, as predicted in hypotheses 6 through 9 (see Figure 2).

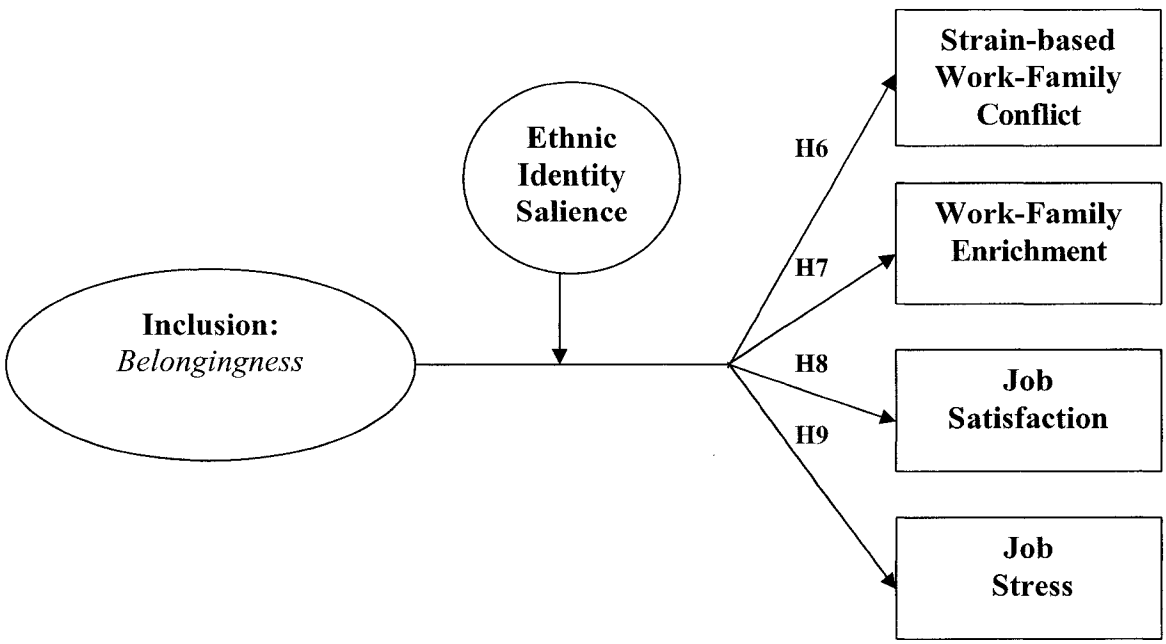

Figure 2. Ethnic identity salience as a moderator of the relationship between belongingness at work and strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction, and job stress.

The nature of the expected interactions, (Hypotheses 6 through 9), each follow a similar premise developed from identity theory tenets and previous research on related constructs. This basic premise asserts that belongingness at work will interact with ethnic identity salience to impact work-related outcomes for individuals. The nature and levels of outcomes expected are detailed in Table 1 as well as the discussion that follows:

Table 1
Levels of Work-Related Outcomes Expected from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

		BELONGINGNESS	
		High	*Low*
ETHNIC IDENTITY SALIENCE	*High*	A) BEST OUTCOMES • Decreased WFC • Increased WFE • Increased Job Sat • Decreased Stress	C) WORST OUTCOMES • Increased WFC • Decreased WFE • Decreased Job Sat • Increased Stress
	Low	B) GOOD OUTCOMES • Decreased WFC • Increased WFE • Increased Job Sat • Decreased Stress	D) POOR OUTCOMES • Increased WFC • Decreased WFE • Decreased Job Sat • Increased Stress

As described in box A, individuals who have a *strong* sense of belonging at work while maintaining *highly* salient ethnic identities will experience the most *positive* or best work-related outcomes. Identity theory asserts that through social interaction, we come to see ourselves through the eyes of others. Thus, it follows that if one's ethnic identity is important to oneself, relative to other identities, *and* one feels as though he or she belongs at work, then the absence of conflict (between how one sees oneself and how others see oneself) will allow for the most positive outcomes (i.e., decreased work-family conflict, increased work-family enrichment, increased job satisfaction, and decreased job stress).

Similarly, as described in box B, I predict that individuals who have a *strong* sense of belonging at work while maintaining *less* salient ethnic identities will experience *good* work-related outcomes. According to these predictions, feeling as though you belong, even if you place less importance on your ethnic identity, is the most important predictor of positive work-related outcomes. That is, you will still experience positive

outcomes, just not as positive as those who have highly salient ethnic identities and feel as though they belong at work. These assertions are based on the recognition that (a) Belongingness may stem in part from other factors not related to ethnicity (e.g., personality, gender), (b) Positive benefits may be limited if an individual is suppressing her ethnic identity to maintain the strong feeling of belonging, or (c) Low ethnic identity salience could mean simply that other aspects of individuals' lives (i.e., other identities) may be of greater importance to them, and thus would not necessarily always translate into negative work-related outcomes (Phinney, 1996). These recognitions provide the platform for distinguishing between good outcomes (see box B) and the best outcomes (see box A as described above).

Next, as described in box C, I predict that individuals who have a *weaker* sense of belonging at work while maintaining *highly* salient ethnic identities will experience the most *negative*, or worst work-related outcomes. If one's ethnicity is important among other identities, and one does not feel as though she belongs, or can be herself at work, it follows that she will likely experience negative outcomes such as stress, conflict, and decreased satisfaction. That is, the more important her ethnic identity in her life, the more important it will be for her to feel as though she belongs and is accepted in light of her ethnic identity. Identity theory offers explanation for this assertion given the need for identities (e.g., ethnic identity and workgroup member) to reinforce rather than conflict with one another. Further, identity theory posits that increased salience of a particular identity results in an increased probability of an individual viewing circumstances through that lens. Thus, it follows that an individual with a highly salient ethnic identity will be more likely to view a lack of acceptance or belonging as being related to his or

her ethnicity. Such a threat or attack on one's identity is predicted to result in the worst, or most negative work-related outcomes.

Finally, as described in box D, I predict that individuals who have a *weaker* sense of belonging at work while maintaining less salient ethnic identities will experience *negative*, or poor work-related outcomes (although not as bad as box C described above). This prediction stems from recognition that both belongingness (see main effects discussion on exclusion and organizational outcomes, Hypotheses 1-4) and low ethnic identity salience (e.g., Utsey, Chae, Brown, & Kelly, 2002) can lead to negative outcomes (e.g., stress and poorer quality of life). Given these findings, belongingness and ethnic identity salience are expected to interact to have a negative impact on work-related outcomes. Although poor work-related outcomes are expected, they are predicted to be less negative than the relationships described in box C. As discussed in the preceding paragraph, lower ethnic identity salience suggests that the person will be less likely to view a lack of belongingness through an ethnic lens. Thus, not caring as strongly about one's ethnic identity may act as somewhat of a buffer against the negative effects of feeling as though one does not belong. Having described the nature of the expected interactions, each specific interaction hypothesis will be stated and followed by the supporting arguments in the section below.

Hypothesis 6: The interaction between belongingness and ethnic identity salience will be related to strain-based work-family conflict.

Not feeling as though one can be oneself at work could manifest as reports of low belongingness or weak ethnic identity salience. Given the fundamental need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), it is perhaps not surprising that the fear of being excluded

can contribute to negative outcomes such as anxiety, loneliness, decreased self-esteem, and depression (Baumeister & Tice, 1990). If this fear is realized in the form of a lack of belonging at work, and is coupled with a highly salient ethnic identity (i.e., important relative to other identities), I predict that strain-based work-family conflict (characterized by stress and emotional draining) is likely to occur. That is, if a woman does not feel like she belongs in the workplace, she will experience greater strain or emotional draining upon returning home if her ethnic identity is really important to her than if that identity does not matter as much to her. In other words, not belonging is predicted to not "hurt" as much if her ethnic identity is not as important to her, thereby limiting or buffering the strain that can interfere with her participation in the family domain.

Although there are no known studies that directly examine ethnic identity salience's link to strain-based work-family conflict, there is some research involving race that can be drawn on to infer possible relationships. More specifically, work-family conflict research has examined gender and race (only Blacks vs. non-Blacks) differences in conflict with respect to stress and well-being (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992). The research found that work stressors and work involvement were positively related to the frequency of work-family conflict, across gender and racial groups. Their findings highlight two critical points that serve to support these hypotheses. First, experiences of conflict between work and family may be more directly linked to individual difference perceptions (e.g., lack of belongingness or weaker ethnic identity salience) rather than merely demographics (e.g., gender or ethnicity). Second, one cannot examine the relationship between belongingness, ethnic identity and work-family conflict, without acknowledging the role of workplace stress (see Hypothesis 9).

Hypothesis 7: The interaction between belongingness and ethnic identity salience will be related to work-family enrichment.

As mentioned previously, work-family research has made slow progress in acknowledging the particular ways in which work can enrich one's family life. Further, given the newness of the work-family enrichment construct, limited empirical support can be found to offer as a basis for this hypothesis. However, related concepts considered within an identity theory context can be used to make educated predictions.

At the heart of work-family enrichment are the benefits one collects within the workplace. Feeling as though one belongs at work, that is being valued and accepted as an individual in the workplace, can most certainly be considered as one of those benefits that can enrich one's family life. Indeed, work-family enrichment researchers acknowledge that an individual in a positive mood when leaving work likely responds more positively, patiently, and happily to his or her family members (Carlson et al., 2006). Based on this, I predicted that a highly salient ethnic identity would serve to augment the enrichment that comes from feeling as though one belongs at work. So, for example, a woman who not only feels accepted as an African American woman in the workplace, but also highly values her Black identity would experience the greatest enrichment at home. Conversely, because exclusion (opposite of belongingness) may be perceived by an individual to be linked to his or her ethnic identity (e.g., "I don't feel as though I belong because I am the only African American female in my workgroup), I predicted that enrichment at home would limited for women who highly value their ethnic identity but do not feel as though they belong at work. The potential moderating effects of ethnic identity salience described above are particularly important given that

salience can vary both within and between ethnic groups. Thus, salience serves to delineate uniqueness not explained by mere group membership.

Hypothesis 8: The interaction between belongingness and ethnic identity salience will be related to job satisfaction.

In a study of American managers, Greenhaus et al. (1990) found that among other disadvantaged outcomes, compared to the White managers, Blacks felt less accepted in the organization, perceived themselves as having less discretion in their jobs, and reported lower levels of career satisfaction. Although this research treated race as a demographic control, the findings offer direct support for the proposed links between belongingness, ethnicity, and job satisfaction. Clearly, minorities feeling less accepted and reporting decreased career satisfaction in this study can be conceptually compared to the weakened sense of belongingness predicted to impact job satisfaction in the present research. The contribution of this present research to these findings lies in the examination of ethnic identity salience as a potential moderator in this relationship. For example, I predict that the level of job satisfaction women report will be magnified (increased or decreased depending on level of belongingness) for those whose ethnic identities are salient or really important to them. That is, if a woman does not feel like she belongs, she will feel more dissatisfied with work if her ethnic identity is really important to her, than if that identity doesn't matter as much to her.

Hypothesis 9: The interaction between belongingness and ethnic identity salience will be related to job stress.

Low ethnic identity salience, which may result in not being able to fully enact or promote one's ethnicity particularly within the work role, is assumed to be negatively

associated with workplace stress. This predicted relationship stems from previous links between discrimination, tokenism, (possible antecedents of low ethnic identity salience), ethnic or racial identity, and stress (e.g., Jackson et al., 1995; Thompson, Anderson, & Bakeman, 2000). Indeed, research by Rushing and Schwabe (1995) found that Black married employed mothers were more distressed than White women in these roles, suggesting that ethnicity provides a social context in which similar roles might be differentially experienced (Bridges & Orza, 1996). Those findings create the need for further examination of the role of ethnic identity salience to better understand how it might buffer or augment experiences of job stress.

Although research linking ethnic identity salience in particular to stress is limited, related research on minority role conflict may shed light on the topic. In a study of predominately African American male managers, Dickens and Dickens (1991) found that Black managers who had been promoted felt a sense of having deserted the Black community and "sold out" to Whites. Clearly, cultural influences have created shared perceptions about the roles of Black men in organizations, which have in turn shaped the managers' ethnic identities. Ethnic identity theory would posit that the conflict associated with suppressing one's ethnic identity, or "selling out," is likely to lead to greater stress among the African American managers. Based on these premises, it seems justified to conclude that not being able to be oneself at work in terms of one's ethnicity is hypothesized to lead to greater stress in the workplace. Further, if ethnic identity salience is coupled with a lack of belonging or feelings of exclusion, then stress, particularly stressors related to ethnicity, are likely to occur. Thus, I predicted that individuals whose ethnic identities are really important to them would experience greater stress related to

not belonging at work than those who reported lower ethnic identity salience. While a less salient ethnic identity will still be linked to stress when coupled with a lack of belongingness, I predict that the stress will be less severe. As discussed previously, a less important ethnic identity should buffer the negative effects of stress associated with not belonging.

Not only does an ethnic identity vary from person to person, but the way in which ethnic identity is expressed in the workplace may be vastly different from how it is expressed outside of the workplace as well (Thomas et al., 1998). Thus, understanding the implications of expressing or suppressing one's ethnic identity at work based on its salience, coupled with factors within the organization's culture such as belongingness, should shed light on diversity's role in both the work and family domains.

METHOD

Participants

Although most researchers studying ethnic identity formation tend to focus on one particular ethnicity, research has indicated that it is entirely appropriate and possible to examine general aspects of ethnic identity by focusing on components that are common across groups (e.g., attitudes towards one's group; Phinney, 1992). Because I am interested in how ethnic identity salience in general may influence various work experiences, I did not restrict participation to members of any particular ethnic group, but instead sought to ensure an ethnically diverse sample. Further, because analyses revealed no statistical differences between minority groups on the variables of interest, these women were placed together for the interaction hypotheses analyses ($n = 81$). Because gender, like ethnicity, is also an important and visible identity category (Reid, 2002), I held gender constant for the present research by restricting participation to females only. Participants also had to be employed at least 20 hours a week in a paid position. Because this research involved human subjects, it was reviewed and subsequently approved by the College of Sciences Human Subjects Review Board at Old Dominion University.

With regard to sample size, the objective was to obtain a sample size sufficient to test the proposed relationships using multiple regression analysis. Using the statistical software, *Power and Precision,* a power analysis was conducted to determine the number of participants needed to detect significant effects (i.e., achieve adequate power) using the current research design. As is common with new fields of study, effect sizes for the specific variables examined in this study were difficult to determine. Therefore, they were estimated based on ethnic identity research more broadly and erred on the side of

being conservative (i.e., small to medium effect sizes; Cohen, 1992; Maxwell, 2000). Assuming an alpha level of .05, the power analysis indicated that a sample size of 190 was needed to achieve power of .83 (at least .80 is suggested by Cohen, 1992; see Appendix A). This estimation is consistent with general sample size recommendations for multiple regression research (based on the number of independent predictor variables; see Table 2 in Cohen, 1992). Upon closing the survey, the sample included 236 women from organizations across the United States. Due to missing data on critical variables of interest, data from 11 women were not included in subsequent analyses. Thus, the final sample size was 225, which exceeds the sample size estimation indicated by the power analysis as discussed previously.

Employment Information

With regard to industries represented in the sample, nearly one third of the women worked in technology (31%) followed by architecture/engineering (17%), chemical (15%), education (15%), and medicine (6%). The remaining 16% worked in industries such as public service, finance, safety, consulting/human resources, food, and customer service/sales. The women in this sample had worked 8.2 years (SD = 6.83) on average for their current employer; the mean number of hours worked per week was 46 hours (SD = 9.75). Most women (77%) reported having salaried as opposed to hourly jobs. Nearly half of the women (41%) worked at very large organizations (10,000+ people), yet 24% of the sample reported their organization to have only 101-500 employees. The remaining women (35%) represent organizations of various sizes. Nearly all women (99%) reported working in workgroups at least part of the time; however, workgroup size varied substantially across women (M = 7.01, SD = 3.27).

Participant and Family Background Information

The women ranged in age from 21 to 68, but were on average 40 years old (*SD* = 9.97). With regard to ethnicity, 64% of women in this sample are White, 24% are Black, 5% are Asian, 3% reported multiple ethnicities, 2% are Hispanic, 1% are Asian Indian, and 1% are Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders. Most women in the sample (72%) were married or living with a partner. Among the 48% of women who have children, 86% of them have 1 or 2 children living at home, the average age of the youngest child was 10.96 years (*SD* = 9.28). In addition, 16% of women in the sample have other individuals (e.g., parents or relatives not including one's spouse and children) currently living with them. Most women represented in this sample (76%) have earned a bachelor's, master's, or doctorate degree, followed by 11% of women who have a vocational/technical school or associate's degree (the remaining 13% are high school graduates). Average yearly household income for the women in this sample is between $80,000 and $90,000, with 89% of the sample earning at least $50,000 per year. The women lived in 18 different states; over half (62%) residedin the states of Virginia or Washington. In addition, 4% of women work for American organizations but resided in countries outside the United States (i.e., Canada, Mexico, Japan, and Virgin Islands).

Measures

The majority of measures administered were existing scales; however, others were created for the present study by adapting existing scales to fit the focus of the current research. The measures are described below. Unless otherwise noted, the scales use the same response format with respondents indicating the extent of their agreement

with each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Questions that assessed demographic information can be seen in Appendix B.

Inclusion

The definition of inclusiveness employed in this research was chosen because it integrates previous research on participative decision making, employee involvement, influence, and belongingness (Chrobot-Mason & Aramovichs, 2002; Major, Davis, Fletcher, & Germano, 2006; Mor-Barak & Cherin, 1998). According to this research, three factors comprise inclusiveness—belongingness, participation, and influence (Major et al., 2006). Belongingness is the feeling of being accepted and valued as an individual in one's workgroup, department, and/or organization. Participation captures the notion that an employee is invited to partake in the organization's daily activities. Influence results from effective participation. Employees need to perceive that their participation is valued and influences decisions that get made and work that gets done (Major et al., 2006). Both facet and overall inclusion were measured using 36 items from Aufenanger, Major, Fletcher, and Davis's (2005) 50-item scale (see Appendix C). The 36 items (12 items for each facet) were chosen because they were believed to best represent the three facets. Although the main effects analyses included all 36 items, the interaction effects analyses examined scores from the 12-item belongingness subscale. Participants responded to the items using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *never, 5 = always*). Alpha coefficient for the entire 50-item inclusion scale has been reported to be .98 and .95 for the belongingness subscale (Aufenanger et al., 2005). In addition, alpha for an abbreviated 13-item version of the inclusion scale has been reported at .94; an alpha of .94 has been reported for the abbreviated 5-item belongingness subscale (Major &

Germano, 2006). In the present research, alpha was found to be .98 for the entire scale and .96 for belongingness. Confirmatory factor analysis using *Lisrel 8.7* suggested a reasonably good fit for the 3-factor model of inclusion (χ^2 (591) = 1363.97, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .09, NNFI = .98, and CFI = .98, see Appendix F for an explanation of fit indices).

Ethnic Identity Salience

Ethnic identity salience was measured using eight items (see Appendix D). Three items were developed by Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1984) by adapting a previous measure of religious salience (Roof & Perkins, 1975). Another three items were taken from White and Burke (1987). These items stress the importance of the ethnic group in the context of those individuals who are most important to the person (Stryker & Serpe, 1983). The scale described above has a reliability coefficient of .86. Following the same format used by White and Burke (1987), the final two items were created for this study to measure ethnic identity salience in the context of the workplace. The two items ask individuals to assess how important it is to the person to have (a) one's coworkers and (b) one's employer think of her in terms of her ethnicity. These items rely on a 4-point Likert scale (*1 = not at all important, 4 = very important*). The items were chosen because they all capture the importance of one's ethnicity to the individual, which is an integral part of the conceptual definition of ethnic salience offered previously. Additionally, they emphasize that ethnicity is but one aspect of individuals' complex set of social identities by asking about ethnic identity salience in the context of other relationships (e.g., family, friends, coworkers). In the present research, alpha coefficient was found to be .78 for this scale.

Strain-Based Work-Family Conflict

Three items capturing strain-based conflict, one form of work-family conflict that measures the extent to which strain experienced in one role intrudes into and interferes with participation in another role, were utilized. Developed by Carlson et al. (2000), this measure has recently been used by others to assess work interference with family (e.g., Carlson et al., 2006; Lapierre & Allen, 2006; Van Daalen et al., 2006). This measure was chosen because it not only distinguishes the direction of conflict experienced (i.e., work to family), but also identifies the specific type of conflict of interest in this research (i.e., strain-based conflict). Alpha coefficient for this subscale (see Appendix E) has been reported at .80 for strain-based work interference with family (Van Daalen et al., 2006) and was found to be .87 in the present research.

Work-Family Enrichment

Work-family enrichment, which attempts to capture the positive side of the work-family interface, was measured using a multi-dimensional (development, affect, and capital) nine-item scale developed by Carlson et al. (2006; see Appendix F). Work-family capital refers to when involvement in work promotes levels of psychosocial resources such as a sense of security, confidence, accomplishment, or self-fulfillment that helps the individual to be a better family member. Work-family affect describes when involvement in work results in a positive emotional state or attitude which helps the individual to be a better family member. Work-family development refers to when involvement in work leads to the acquisition or refinement of skills, knowledge, behaviors, or ways of viewing things that help an individual be a better family member. Although this is a recently developed measure, the authors have established the reliability and validity of the scale

using five independent samples (Carlson et al., 2006). This measure of enrichment was chosen because it captures multiple dimensions of enrichment and because it acknowledges that enrichment only occurs if the resources transferred from work result in an individual becoming a better family member. In the present research, alpha coefficient was found to be .90 for this scale.

Job Satisfaction

Similar to previous studies on work-family conflict (e.g., Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Kopeleman, Greenhaus, & Connolly; 1983), job satisfaction was assessed using Hackman and Oldham's (1975) three-item measure (see Appendix G). This measure was chosen because it consistently provides sound psychometric data in similar research despite its brevity. Friedman and Greenhaus (2000) report an alpha coefficient of .87. Alpha coefficient was found to be .85 in the present research.

Job Stress

Job stress was measured using 13 items adapted from Jackson, Thoits, and Taylor (1995) who measured work stressors in research on tokenism (see Appendix H). Using exploratory factor analysis, Jackson et al. (1995) looked at 16 work pressures and found 5 types of work stress: scrutiny, nonacceptance, token stress, interpersonal conflict, and role overload. The present research utilized items adapted from these categories to capture not only traditional types of workplace stress (i.e., role overload), but also stressors that may be linked to ethnicity as well (i.e., token stress, ethnic identity nonacceptance). Token stress includes feelings of isolation or being left out whereas ethnic identity nonacceptance refers to stressors associated with feeling unaccepted or

losing one's identity at work. Role overload refers to feeling like one has too many tasks or time demands at work.

Because the measurement scale was adapted, existing psychometric support was limited, and several additional items were added, this measure was piloted utilizing a sample of 164 undergraduate students from a large ethnically diverse university. The results of the pilot study and subsequent confirmatory factor analyses for the new measure of job stress can be seen in Appendix I. The new job stress scale uses the response format with respondents indicating the extent of their agreement with each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). In the present research, alpha coefficient was found to be .88 for the entire scale, .88 for the five-item role overload subscale, .83 for the four-item token stress subscale, and .83 for the four-item ethnic identity nonacceptance subscale. Confirmatory factor analysis of the stress measure using *Lisrel 8.7* and data from the present sample suggested a reasonably good fit for the three-factor model of stress (χ^2 (62) = 225.03, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .11, NNFI = .94, and CFI = .95, see Appendix I for an explanation of fit indices).

Gender Identity Salience

The first five items of the gender identity salience measure parallel the items taken from White and Burke (1987) as described for the ethnic identity salience measure, but were adapted by replacing the word ethnicity with the word gender (see Appendix J). These items were maintained for the gender identity salience measure because they stress the importance of gender to an individual in the context of those individuals who are most important to the person (Stryker & Serpe, 1983). No existing measures of gender identity salience based on an affective importance or value conception could be found.

These items rely on a 4-point Likert scale (*1 = not at all important, 4 = very important*). In addition to the items capturing the affective component of gender identity salience described above, three additional items were chosen because they capture a cognitive component of gender identity salience, or the extent to which the individual notices gender (Randel, 2002). These items rely on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Alpha coefficient for this measure has been reported at .94 and evidence of acceptable convergent and discriminant validity has been presented (Randel, 2002). Alpha coefficient for the entire adapted scale was found to be .83 in the present research.

Procedure

Because of the complexity of identity issues and exploratory nature of the relationships being tested, gender was held constant by restricting participation to females only. Given this eligibility requirement, true random sampling of an entire population was not possible. In an effort to increase generalizability with a sample diverse in ethnicity, income, occupation, and geographic location, I solicited participation through a number of professional and personal contacts. Two large organizations and one mid-size organization sent an e-mail invitation to participate to employees who are involved in their women's employee groups. Additionally, professors and alumni from Old Dominion University sent the invitation to participate to coworkers and colleagues from organizations across the United States. Personal contacts from three education settings also circulated the invitation to participate to working women. Finally, in an effort to increase minority representation in the sample, I went to local minority religious groups and handed out paper and pencil surveys to eligible women. Of the 1,555 women who

were invited to participate in this research, 236 chose to do so, resulting in a response rate of 15%.

Individuals who expressed interest in participating were given a survey packet consisting of a cover letter, survey, and debriefing information. The completed survey was collected either in person or electronically through a secure online survey hosted by *Inquisite*. The cover letter reminded participants of the eligibility requirements for participation. It also instructed potential participants that their confidentiality would be protected, that they could terminate participation at any time, and that they could contact the primary researcher at the number provided with any residual questions. To protect confidentiality, participants were identified by number only on the actual survey and in the corresponding database. Rather than ask individuals to identify their employer directly, they were asked to indicate the industry in which they currently work. Participant names and a method for contacting them (e.g., e-mail, phone number) were solicited on a voluntary basis and were stored in a separate computer file from survey responses for those wishing to be entered into a $50 cash drawing, being offered as a participation incentive. A check for $50 was mailed to the winning participant upon the survey's closing.

The 29 paper and pencil surveys collected were distinguished from online responses during data entry, which allowed me to ensure that there were no significant differences between the two methods of data collection. To do so, I chose a random sample of 29 online respondents from the minority group of women in the sample. Given that the paper and pencil responses were from a minority sample, I wanted to rule out that differences found were due to ethnicity rather than method of data collection. Results of

t-tests on all continuous variables involved in hypothesis testing revealed two significant differences between the groups (i.e., job stress and work-family enrichment). However, I believe that these differences are more a function of employment circumstances than method of data collection. The 29 online respondents reported greater job stress (M = 2.84, SD = .85) than the paper and pencil respondents (M = 2.24, SD = .85; $t(56) = -2.69$, $p < .05$) and less work-family enrichment (M = 3.22, SD = .91) than paper and pencil respondents (M = 3.77, SD = .67; $t(56) = 2.60$, $p < .05$). However, t-tests also revealed that online respondents were significantly more likely to hold salaried positions, have longer tenure at their organizations, have attained higher education, and earn greater incomes. Thus, it is not surprising that the online sample of women holding professional and demanding jobs would report greater job stress and less positive spillover from work to family. Based on this reasoning, I concluded that there were no significant differences between the two methods of data collection that could be attributable to the data collection process itself.

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among all variables included in subsequent analyses for all 225 women in the sample are presented in Table 2. In addition, Table 3 includes means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations for the same variables, but compares the experiences of the 144 White women (correlations above diagonal) to those of the 81 minority women (correlations below diagonal) in the sample. Similarly, Table 4 provides a comparison of demographic profiles for the White women and minority women in this sample.

Hierarchical Linear Regression Hypothesis Testing

Hierarchical linear regression analysis was used to test each hypothesis and the proposed relationships. Control variables for the following analyses were chosen utilizing two criteria. First, a correlation matrix including all demographic information linked to outcomes of interest was examined. Second, significant relationships were considered from a theoretical and historical perspective based on their links to the outcome variables in previous research. Based on these criteria, the variables that predicted variance in the outcome of interest were entered as controls into the first step of the equation. I chose a conservative approach retaining a uniform set of control variables across equations for hypothesis testing. Thus, controls in hypotheses 1-9 included age, hours worked per week, relationship status, and exempt status (i.e., hourly versus salaried; see Table 2 for coding of control variables).

Main Effect Hypotheses 1 through 4

Hypothesis 1 predicted that inclusion would be negatively associated with strain-based work-family conflict. Thus, the criterion variable was strain-based work-family

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations among Variables

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Relationship Status[a]	1.72	.45	—														
2. Hourly vs. Salaried[b]	1.77	.42	.07	—													
3. Age[c]	40.04	9.97	.11	.09	—												
4. Hours Worked per Week	46.07	9.75	-.13	.34*	.03	—											
5. Belongingness[d]	3.88	.77	.04	-.07	.14*	-.10	—										
6. Inclusion[d]	3.65	.66	.06	.09	.22*	.02	.86*	—									
7. Ethnic Identity Salience[e]	1.71	.52	-.16*	.08	.03	.04	-.03	-.02	—								
8. Gender Identity Salience[e]	2.08	.67	-.06	.01	-.10	-.10	-.03	-.06	.39*	—							
9. Strain-based WFC[f]	3.16	1.06	-.03	.20*	-.03	.29*	-.33*	-.24*	.04	.09	—						
10. W-F Enrichment[f]	3.35	.76	.13	-.06	.23*	-.12	.30*	.31*	.02	-.03	-.31*	—					
11. Job Satisfaction[f]	3.20	1.05	.08	-.11	.18*	-.14*	.34*	.33*	-.01	-.03	-.33*	.54*	—				
12. Job Stress[f]	2.71	.75	-.17*	.29*	-.03	.36*	-.46*	-.32*	.21*	.12	.59*	-.29*	-.39*	—			
13. Token Stress[f]	2.70	1.03	-.15*	.19*	-.01	.23*	-.58*	-.43*	.13	.10	.44*	-.23*	-.33*	.84*	—		
14. Ethnic Nonacceptance[f]	1.94	.78	-.18*	.16*	.00	.17*	-.40*	-.36*	.36*	.13*	.23*	-.15*	-.20*	.70*	.60*	—	
15. Role Overload[f]	3.33	1.06	-.09	.29*	-.04	.40*	-.16*	-.03	.08	.07	.62*	-.26*	-.35*	.79*	.41*	.24*	—

Note. $N = 225$, $*p < .05$.

[a] 1= "Single, Separated, Divorced, Widowed" 2= "Married, Living with partner."

[b] 1= "Hourly" 2= "Salaried."

[c] In Years.

[d] 1= "Never" 2= "Rarely" 3= "Sometimes" 4= "Often" 5= "Always."

[e] 1= "Not at all Important" 2= "Somewhat Important" 3= "Important" 4= "Very Important."

[f] 1= "Strongly Disagree" 2= "Disagree" 3= "Unsure" 4= "Agree" 5 = "Strongly Agree."

Table 3

Comparing Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations for White Women and Minority Women

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Relationship Status[a]	1.79 1.60	.41 .49	—	.09	-.07	-.18*	-.04	-.01	-.06	-.08	-.12	.11	-.02	-.13	-.13	-.07	-.10
2. Hourly vs. Salaried[b]	1.77 1.78	.42 .42	.05	—	.05	.37*	-.09	.05	.07	.01	.27*	.12	-.13	.31*	.18*	.15	.34*
3. Age[c]	40.46 39.31	9.76 10.34	.33*	.16	—	.01	.15	.19*	.08	-.13	.00	.24*	.16	-.04	-.04	-.05	-.02
4. Hours Worked per Week	46.21 45.82	9.29 10.58	-.07	.29*	.05	—	-.13	.02	.03	-.12	.31*	-.04	-.13	.35*	.20*	.11	.41*
5. Belongingness[d]	3.81 3.99	.76 .76	.21	-.04	.14	-.04	—	.87*	-.05	-.02	-.35*	.33*	.42*	-.40*	-.52*	-.29*	-.15
6. Inclusion[d]	3.60 3.74	.62 .73	.19	.15	.28*	.03	.86*	—	-.09	-.06	-.24*	.39*	.39*	-.25*	-.38*	-.30*	.00
7. Ethnic Identity Salience[e]	1.55 1.99	.37 .62	-.11	.10	.04	.07	-.13	-.06	—	.36*	.08	.04	-.06	.15	.15	.28*	.02
8. Gender Identity Salience[e]	2.04 2.16	.65 .70	-.00	-.01	-.05	-.07	-.06	-.08	.45*	—	.16	-.07	-.08	.13	.13	.11	.08
9. Strain-based WFC[f]	3.20 3.08	1.06 1.08	.07	.08	-.08	.27*	-.27*	-.25*	.06	-.01	—	-.38*	-.38*	.61*	.46*	.17*	.62*
10. Work-Family Enrichment[f]	3.36 3.35	.70 .85	.16	-.33*	.21	-.23*	.25*	.22	.02	.02	-.23*	—	.54*	-.32*	-.27*	-.16	-.27*
11. Job Satisfaction[f]	3.22 3.17	1.05 1.05	.22*	-.07	.21	-.16	.21	.26*	.08	.05	-.24*	.55*	—	-.43*	-.41*	-.27*	-.31*
12. Job Stress[f]	2.69 2.74	.69 .86	-.21	.26*	.00	.38*	-.57*	-.40*	.28*	.11	.59*	-.26*	-.34*	—	.83*	.61*	.82*
13. Token Stress[f]	2.78 2.55	.98 1.10	-.23*	.22	.02	.28*	-.65*	-.49*	.23*	.09	.40*	-.20	-.22*	.87*	—	.50*	.44*
14. Ethnic Nonacceptance[f]	1.81 2.18	.62 .96	-.21	.19	.09	.25*	-.63*	-.50*	.32*	.13	.35*	-.15	-.13	.81*	.82*	—	.20*
15. Role Overload[f]	3.33 3.33	1.02 1.13	-.09	.21	-.08	.39*	-.20	-.08	.16	.06	.62*	-.26*	-.42*	.75*	.38*	.29*	—

Note. (White, top M & SD, correlations above diagonal) $n = 144$, *(Minority, bottom M & SD, correlations below diagonal)* $n = 81$, $^*p < .05$.

[a] 1= "Single, Separated, Divorced, Widowed" 2= "Married, Living with Partner ."

[b] 1= "Hourly" 2= "Salaried."

[c] In Years.

[d] 1= "Never" 2= "Rarely" 3= "Sometimes" 4= "Often" 5= "Always."

[e] 1= "Not at all Important" 2= "Somewhat Important" 3= "Important" 4= "Very Important."

[f] 1= "Strongly Disagree" 2= "Disagree" 3= "Unsure" 4= "Agree" 5 = "Strongly Agree."

Table 4

Demographic Profiles Comparing White Women and Minority Women

Variable	White %	Minority %
Relationship Status		
Married	69	58
Living with Partner	10	2
Single	10	30
Separated	1	1
Divorced	9	9
Widowed	0	0
Women with Children	47	51
Women with Children below age 10	27	23
Highest Degree Earned		
High school	13	12
Vocational/Associates	10	12
Bachelor's	53	37
Master's	22	28
Doctorate	2	11
Household Income		
Less than 50,000	8	18
50,000 - 69,999	11	11
70,000 - 89,999	17	23
More than 90,000	65	48
Women with Salaried Jobs	77	78
Tenure		
0 - 5 years	39	45
6 - 10 years	33	32
11 – 20 years	21	15
20 years +	7	8
Hours Worked per Week		
20-39 hours	11	15
40-59 hours	75	69
60 + hours	14	16
Responses regarding her Ethnicity's Impact on her Career Opportunities		
Negative Impact	6	16
No Impact	87	57
Positive Impact	7	27
Responses regarding her Gender's Impact on her Career Opportunities		
Negative Impact	49	25
No Impact	37	49
Positive Impact	14	26

Note. White n = 144; Minority n = 81.

conflict. To test Hypothesis 1, the four control variables mentioned previously were entered as a first step in the hierarchical linear regression. The inclusion variable (composite of belongingness, participation, and influence) was entered in the second step. Results indicate that step one was significant, accounting for 9.8% of the variance. The number of hours a woman worked per week and exempt status significantly predicted strain-based work-family conflict. Support for Hypothesis 1 was found in that the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 6.6% of the variance (see Table 5).

Table 5
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Strain-based Work-Family Conflict from Workplace Inclusion

Variables	*B*	*T*	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Strain-based Work-Family Conflict				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.10*	
Hours Worked Per Week	.25	3.81*		
Marital Status	.01	.10		
Age	.01	.19		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	.13	2.01*		
Step 2:			.16*	.06*
Inclusion	-.26	-4.16*		

Note. $N = 225$. Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that inclusion would be positively associated with work-family enrichment. Thus, the criterion variable was work-family enrichment. To test Hypothesis 2, the four control variables mentioned previously were entered as a first step in the hierarchical linear regression. The inclusion variable (including belongingness, participation, and influence) was entered in the second step. Results indicate that step one

was significant, accounting for 7.9% of the variance. In this step, age significantly predicted work-family enrichment. Support for Hypothesis 2 was found in that the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 7.4% of the variance (see Table 6).

Table 6
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Work-Family Enrichment from Workplace Inclusion

Variables	*B*	*T*	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Work-Family Enrichment				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.08*	
Hours Worked Per Week	-.10	-1.47		
Marital Status	.09	1.41		
Age	.16	2.56*		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	-.08	-1.12		
Step 2:			.15*	.07*
Inclusion	.28	4.36*		

Note. $N = 225$. Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that inclusion would be positively associated with job satisfaction. Thus, the criterion variable was job satisfaction. To test Hypothesis 3, the four control variables mentioned previously were entered as a first step in the hierarchical linear regression. The inclusion variable (comprised of belongingness, participation, and influence) was entered in the second step. Results indicate that step one was significant, accounting for 6.1% of the variance. Support for Hypothesis 3 was found in that the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 9.6% of the variance (see Table 7).

Table 7
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Job Satisfaction from Workplace Inclusion

Variables	β	T	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Job Satisfaction				
Step 1: Demographic control variables				
Hours Worked Per Week	-.11	-1.66	.06*	
Marital Status	.04	.64		
Age	.12	1.80		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	-.11	-1.63		
Step 2:			.16*	.10*
Inclusion	.32	4.98*		

Note. $N = 225$. Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that inclusion would be negatively associated with job stress. Thus, the criterion variable was job stress. The four control variables mentioned previously were entered as a first step in the hierarchical linear regression. The inclusion variable was entered in the second step. Results indicate that step one was significant, accounting for 18.6% of the variance. All control variables, except age, significantly predicted job stress. Support for Hypothesis 4 was found in that the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 11% of the variance (see Table 8).

Table 8
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Job Stress from Workplace Inclusion

Variables	β	T	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Job Stress				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.19*	
Hours Worked Per Week	.27	4.50*		
Marital Status	-.13	-2.32*		
Age	.04	.60		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	.23	3.81*		
Step 2:			.30*	.11*
Inclusion	-.34	-5.85*		

Note. $N = 225$. Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 5 and Interaction Hypotheses 6 through 9

Hypothesis 5 suggested that White women would report low levels of ethnic identity salience. A t-test indicated that White women did report significantly lower levels of ethnic identity salience on the 4-point scale ($M = 1.55$, $SD = .37$) than minority women ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .62$), $t(112.28) = -5.93$, $p = .00$.

Because White women reported significantly lower levels of ethnic identity salience as predicted, the remaining hypotheses 6 through 9, were restricted to minority women only ($n = 81$). However, in order to ensure that findings were not skewed due to inadequate power, each remaining hypothesis was also tested on the entire sample of women ($N = 225$). Because the results were nearly identical, the analyses involving minority women only as originally hypothesized are presented below.

To test Hypotheses 6 through 9, the four control variables mentioned previously were entered as a first step in the hierarchical linear regression. The second and third steps of the equations were utilized to test for the effects of moderation. Within this framework, moderation implies that the causal relation between two variables (e.g., belongingness and strain-based work-family conflict) changes as a function of the moderator variable (e.g., ethnic identity salience). The method for testing the differential effects depends on the level of measurement of the independent and moderator variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Given that the independent variables and moderator variables are all continuous variables, step three of the equation included Ethnic Identity Salience and Belongingness and step four included the interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience. As is typically done with regression equations involving interactions, I centered the predictors involved in the interaction (i.e., belongingness and

ethnic identity salience) by subtracting the variable mean from each observed score and created the interaction variable from the product of the centered variables (Cohen, Cohen, West & Aiken, 2003). Moderator effects will be indicated by the significant effect of Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience while both Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience are independently controlled in previous steps.

Hypothesis 6 stated that the interaction between belongingness (a facet of inclusion) and ethnic identity salience would be related to strain-based work-family conflict. Thus, the criterion variable was strain-based work-family conflict. As described above, step two of the equation included Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience and step three included the interaction between these two variables. Results indicate that step one was not significant. Step two was significant, accounting for 7.7% of the variance. However, step three was not significant, providing no support for Hypothesis 6 (see Table 9).

Table 9
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Strain-based Work-Family Conflict from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

Variables	β	T	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Strain-based Work-Family Conflict				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.10	
Hours Worked Per Week	.28	2.51*		
Marital Status	.18	1.58		
Age	-.13	-1.14		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	-.01	-.12		
Step 2:			.17*	.07*
Belongingness	-.31	-2.72*		
Ethnic Identity salience	.01	.12		
Step 3:			.18	.01
Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience	.10	.91		

Note. $n = 81$, *minority women only.* Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 7 stated that the interaction between belongingness (a facet of inclusion) and ethnic identity salience would be related to work-family enrichment. Thus, the criterion variable was work-family enrichment. As described above, step two of the equation included Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience and step three included the interaction between these two variables. Results indicate that step one was significant, accounting for 21.2% of the variance. Neither step two nor step three were significant, providing no support for Hypothesis 7 (see Table 10).

Table 10
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Work-Family Enrichment from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

Variables	β	t	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Work-Family Enrichment				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.20*	
Hours Worked Per Week	-.14	-1.32		
Marital Status	.07	.60		
Age	.21	1.85		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	-.33	3.03*		
Step 2:			.24	.04
Belongingness	.19	1.73		
Ethnic Identity Salience	.09	.82		
Step 3:				
Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience	.03	.27	.24	.00

Note. $n = 81$, *minority women only.* Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Hypothesis 8 stated that the interaction between belongingness (a facet of inclusion) and ethnic identity salience would be related to job satisfaction. Thus, the criterion variable was job satisfaction. As described above, step two of the equation included Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience and step three included the

interaction between these two variables. Results indicate that none of the steps were significant, providing no direct support for Hypothesis 8 (see Table 11).

Table 11
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Job Satisfaction from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

Variables	β	t	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Job Satisfaction				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.09	
Hours Worked Per Week	-.15	-1.35		
Marital Status	.15	1.28		
Age	.16	1.38		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	-.05	-.45		
Step 2:				
Belongingness	.20	1.70	.13	.04
Ethnic Identity Salience	.14	1.26		
Step 3:				
Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience	-.11	-.89	.14	.01

Note. $n = 81$, *minority women only.* Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
$^*p < .05$.

Hypothesis 9 stated that the interaction between belongingness (a facet of inclusion) and ethnic identity salience would be related to job stress. Thus, the criterion variable was job stress. As described above, step two of the equation included Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience and step three included the interaction between these two variables. Results indicate that step one was significant, accounting for 21.1% of the variance and step two was significant, accounting for 30.0% of the variance. However, step three was not significant, providing no support for Hypothesis 9 (see Table 12).

Table 12
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Job Stress from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

Variables	*B*	*t*	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Job Stress				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.21*	
Hours Worked Per Week	.30	3.52*		
Marital Status	-.09	-.96		
Age	.06	.66		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	.13	1.52		
Step 2:			.51*	.30*
Belongingness	-.52	-5.88*		
Ethnic Identity Salience	.16	1.92		
Step 3:			.51	.00
Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience	-.00	-.05		

Note. $n = 81$, *minority women only.* Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
$^*p < .05$.

Exploratory Analyses

Job stress facets. Several additional analyses were done to further explore the three facets of job stress (i.e., token stress, ethnic identity nonacceptance, and role overload). Although the criterion in Hypothesis 4 were scores from the total job stress measure, this analysis was repeated three times using each of the job stress facets. The goal of these exploratory analyses was to further delineate the impact of inclusion on specific aspects of job stress, particularly those related to ethnicity, among all women in the sample. Upon controlling for the variables mentioned in Table 8, inclusion was a significant predictor of token stress and ethnic identity nonacceptance, but not role overload. For token stress, step one was significant accounting for 9% of the variance, and the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 20% of the variance. For ethnic identity nonacceptance, step one was significant, accounting for 7% of the variance, and the change in R^2 for step two was significant, accounting for 14% of the

variance. For role overload, step one was significant, accounting for 20% of the variance, and the change in R^2 for step two was not significant, accounting for 0% of the variance. In this case, working more hours worked per week significantly predicted role overload.

In addition to examining the direct relationship between inclusion and the three job stress facets among all women in the sample as described above, I also looked at ethnic identity salience and belongingness as predictors of the three facets of job stress among minority women. Specifically, I repeated the analysis described in Hypothesis 9 inserting each of the three facets of job stress as the criterion variable. Although no support for interactions between belongingness and ethnic identity salience was found, ethnic identity salience was a significant predictor of ethnic identity nonacceptance (but not token stress or role overload) in the final step of the equation (see Table 13). This finding is particularly interesting in light of t-test results that indicated ethnic identity salience and ethnic identity nonacceptance to be the only variables among all those tested in this research that show significant differences between minority and majority women in the sample. As expected, minority women reported significantly higher ethnic identity salience (as discussed in hypothesis 5) and higher ethnic identity nonacceptance (M = 2.18, SD = .96) than White women in the sample (M = 1.81, SD = .62; t (223) = -3.50, $p < .05$).

Table 13
Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnic Identity Nonacceptance from the Interaction between Belongingness and Ethnic Identity Salience

Variables	*B*	*t*	R^2	ΔR^2
Criterion: Ethnic Identity Nonacceptance				
Step 1: Demographic control variables			.13*	
Hours Worked Per Week	.17	1.95		
Marital Status	-.11	-1.26		
Age	.19	2.13*		
Exempt Status (Hourly vs. Salaried)	.08	.91		
Step 2:			.52*	.39*
Belongingness	-.57	-6.62*		
Ethnic Identity Salience	.21	2.50*		
Step 3:			.52	.00
Belongingness x Ethnic Identity Salience	-.05	-.61		

Note. $n = 81$, *minority women only*. Betas are reported for the last step of the equation.
*$p < .05$.

Although only two significant mean differences between minority women and majority women emerged during this research (i.e., ethnic identity salience and ethnic identity nonacceptance), examination of correlations for each group offer some interesting comparisons (see Table 3). In particular, several differences emerge with regard to work-family enrichment. Although increased job stress is associated with decreased work-family enrichment for all women, other predictors associated with work-family enrichment vary. For example, for White women in this sample, being older ($r = .24$, $p < .05$) and feeling included at work ($r = .39$, $p < .05$) are significantly associated with increased work-family enrichment. However, for minority women in this sample, working fewer hours per week ($r = -.23$, $p < .05$) and having an hourly as opposed to salaried job ($r = .33$, $p < .05$) were associated with increased work-family enrichment. With regard to job satisfaction, feeling included was associated with increased satisfaction for both White women and minority women. However, while increased

belongingness (a facet of inclusion; $r = .42$, $p < .05$) and ethnic identity acceptance ($r = -.27$, $p < .05$) were significantly associated with increased job satisfaction for White women, neither relationship holds for minority women. For minority women only, being married/living with a partner ($r = .22$, $p < .05$) is associated with increased job satisfaction. In addition, correlations demonstrate a significant positive relationship between ethnic identity salience, job stress, and token stress for minority women, but not for White women in this sample (see Table 3).

Gender identity salience. As discussed previously, similar regression equations were used for exploratory analyses examining gender identity salience as it might interact with belongingness to predict the outcomes of interest. To do so, gender identity salience was substituted for ethnic identity salience each time it appeared in the equations above. Because I believe that gender identity salience is relevant and potentially important to women of all ethnicities, the entire sample was included in these analyses ($N = 225$).

Results indicated that the interaction between Gender Identity Salience and Belongingness did not significantly predict of any of the outcomes of interest (i.e., strain-based work-family conflict, work-family enrichment, job satisfaction, or job stress). Further, upon controlling for belongingness, there was not a direct link between gender identity salience and the outcomes of interest either, with one exception. When the job stress facets served as the criterion variables, using the same controls discussed previously, gender identity salience did significantly predict ethnic identity nonacceptance, although the effect was small. The lack of findings regarding gender identity salience are even more surprising in light of women's responses to a question on what impact their gender has had on their career opportunities. Despite low reports of

gender identity salience, 39% of women in this sample (49% of Whites and 25% of minorities) indicated that their gender has had a negative impact on their career opportunities (42% of women reported no effect, and 9 % reported a positive effect).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The current study examines the relationships between inclusion, ethnic identity salience, and various work-related outcomes. Consistent with the literature reviewed, the results suggested that women who feel included at work, that they belong, that they have influence, and that they can actively participate, experienced more positive work-related outcomes. More specifically, feeling included at work was associated with less strain-based work-family conflict, greater work-family enrichment, greater job satisfaction, and less job stress among women in this sample.

As predicted, if a woman felt included at work, she reported being less likely to come home feeling emotionally drained, frazzled, and stressed, which together characterize strain-based work to family conflict (Carlson et al., 2000). Similarly, results supported my prediction that women who felt included at work, particularly White women, were more likely to experience improved quality of life, namely performance or affect, in the family role, which embodies work-family enrichment (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). The correlation differences (between Whites and minorities; see Table 3) and belongingness interaction regressions (see Table 10) as discussed previously indicated that this relationship might not be true for minority women in this sample. Interestingly, among minority women, feeling included at work appeared less critical for achieving work-family enrichment than securing a specific type of job (i.e., working fewer hours, having an hourly job). Moreover, although correlations suggested that feeling included at work was important among minority women for achieving job satisfaction, ($r = .26$, $p < .05$) feeling as though one belongs in the workplace (a facet of inclusion) was less critical for achieving this outcome ($r = .21$, $p > .05$). Further examination reveals that feeling as

though one could actively participate at work (rather than belonging or having influence) was most critical for achieving job satisfaction among minority women in this sample ($r = .28$, $p < .05$). These distinctions both within and between ethnic groups highlight the importance of not only examining inclusion's influence in the workplace, but also the potential for differential effects of specific facets of inclusion as well.

Additionally, the results provide support for the established relationships between feeling included at work and experiencing greater job satisfaction and decreased job stress. As results of the exploratory analyses indicate, feeling included is particularly important for reducing stressors associated with tokenism and ethnic nonacceptance (as opposed to role overload). Together, these results indicate how critical feeling included at work is in terms of the effect it has on important work-related outcomes. Implications for employers are discussed in the conclusions section that follows.

After controlling for hours worked per week, marital status, age, and exempt status (hourly versus salaried), inclusion still accounted for 6 to 11% of the variance in the outcomes of interest. As one might expect, feeling included at work was more strongly linked to the work outcomes (i.e., job satisfaction and job stress) than those related to family (i.e., strain-based work-family conflict and work-family enrichment). This finding supports previous work-family research demonstrating stronger within-domain as opposed to cross-domain effects (e.g., Casper, Buffardi, Erdwins, & Martin, 2002).

Based on the literature reviewed, I predicted and results supported, that White women would report significantly lower levels of ethnic identity salience than minority women. Based on the predicted lack of variability among Whites, I chose to include only

minority women when testing the interaction hypotheses involving ethnic identity salience. Contrary to my hypotheses, the interaction between ethnic identity salience and belongingness (a facet of inclusion) did not account for a significant portion of the variance in any of the four outcomes of interest.

In contrast to the lack of significance found for the interaction hypotheses, exploratory analyses on the three facets of job stress revealed significant direct effect relationships between belongingness, ethnic identity salience, and ethnic identity nonacceptance among minority women (see Table 13). As one might expect, minority women who feel as though they belong at work reported feeling increased ethnic identity acceptance (i.e., less stress) in the workplace. Yet, with regard to ethnic identity salience, results indicate that the more salient the woman's ethnic identity, the more stress from ethnic identity nonacceptance she is likely to report. Perhaps this finding can be better understood in the context of previous discussions regarding ethnic identity salience and the expected interactions. Identity theory posits that increased salience of a particular identity results in an increased probability of an individual viewing circumstances through that lens. Thus, it follows that an individual with a highly salient ethnic identity will be more likely to view a lack of acceptance at work as being related to his or her ethnicity, thereby reporting greater stress associated with ethnic identity nonacceptance.

Possible Limitations

There are many potential reasons why some of the findings of this study did not support, or only weakly supported the original hypotheses. The following discussion will focus primarily on the lack of support found for the interaction hypotheses involving ethnic identity salience.

The first limitation involves a lack of variability in the construct of ethnic identity salience. As discussed previously, ethnic identity theory asserts that there is typically diversity regarding ethnic identity both *between* and *within* ethnic groups (Thomas, Phillips, & Brown, 1998). Further, ethnic identity theory asserts that this variability stems largely from differences in the salience of the ethnic identity in the individual's hierarchy of identities. While I found diversity in salience levels *between* ethnic groups, as supported in Hypothesis 5, I found less diversity in responses to ethnic identity salience *within* ethnic groups. In fact, among minority women, only 5% said that their ethnic identities are important or very important in their lives. Perhaps one explanation is that women did not feel comfortable being honest about the importance of ethnicity in their lives. However, this argument is significantly weakened by the fact that women never reported either their name or their employer's name, and thus were unlikely to have felt that their anonymity was in question. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that this sample included primarily professional women, highly educated and well paid who have been working 8 years on average for their current employer. One could argue that the level of status these women have attained professionally has allowed other workplace identities (e.g., knowledgeable and respected coworker) to surpass ethnic identity in the hierarchy of importance. Additionally, given that approximately half of the women in the sample have children, it is possible that for many women, other family related identities (i.e., mother) are of greater subjective importance. Support for this assertion is offered by lower reports of ethnic identity salience among minority women with children ($M = 1.77$, $SD = .69$) than minority women without children ($M = 2.05$, $SD = .71$).

A final explanation for reports of low ethnic identity salience among minority

women in this sample lies in the possibility that many of these women work in atmospheres where ethnicity is not an issue, or at least is not a problem. Some support for this explanation lies in responses to the question, "In this work environment, I believe that my ethnicity has had the following impact on my opportunities." Over half of minority women in this sample (57%) claimed that their ethnicity had no effect on their opportunities, while 27% claimed it had a positive effect, and 16% said their ethnicity has had a negative effect on career opportunities. Yet, given that this research did not directly examine the organizational climate and factors such as ethnic and gender discrimination, tokenism, and a value for workplace diversity, this assertion remains speculative. This illustrates a second limitation of the current research in that I cannot definitively link reports of low ethnic identity salience to positive or negative and inhibiting factors within the workplace. One relationship I explored in trying to link salience to one aspect of organizational climate was its possible link to inclusion. However, results indicated inclusion did not significantly predict either ethnic or gender identity salience. Moreover, neither gender identity salience nor ethnic identity salience significantly predicted workplace inclusion. Clearly, additional research is necessary to better understand what impact, if any, workplace factors may have on shaping identity salience.

Conclusions

Despite the lack of support found for the role of ethnic identity salience within the relationships examined, this research offers several contributions within the areas of diversity and work-family research. In addition, this discussion highlights several opportunities for extending these fields of study through future research. First, an identity theory framework was introduced as a valuable tool for examining work-family issues.

Future research efforts could benefit from this theoretical framework in continuing to delineate the "multiple identities" conception of self in an effort to understand how these identities may be linked to important work and family related outcomes. Indeed, this research highlights the importance of recognizing intersecting identities such as ethnicity and gender. For example, although the mean difference approached but did not reach significance ($p < .10$), White women in this sample reported greater token stress than minority women in this sample. While tokenism is often addressed as an issue that ethnic minorities face, these findings remind us that token stress can be an equally important gender issue for women of all ethnicities.

A second contribution of this research lies in the fact that it brings to the forefront the importance of linking internal identities and their subjective importance to external roles. This distinction is critical for employers who wish to understand and embrace their employees as unique and multifaceted individuals. Yet, substantial work is needed to translate the theoretical construct of identity salience into measures that employers can use to better understand their employees. Although both the ethnic identity salience measure and gender identity salience measure (largely derived from questions on the ethnic identity measure) proved reliable in the current study, neither scale had been used extensively in previous research. Further, the lack of significant findings when utilizing either scale calls into question the validity and utility of the measures. Thus, future research efforts should continue to explore the construct of identity salience so as to create psychometrically and theoretically sound and useful measures. Upon doing so, additional research is needed to better understand possible antecedents of ethnic and gender identity salience and how factors in the workplace may or may not affect the

salience of identities. Additionally, based on the previously discussed recognition that other identities (i.e., beyond ethnic and gender identities) may be of critical importance to individuals, future research should continue to explore other types of salience as well (e.g., family versus work/career identities or salience; Holliday-Wayne, 2006; Lobel & St. Clair, 1992).

A third contribution of this research lies in the introduction of a new definition and measurement tool for job stress as it relates to possible ethnic stressors such as tokenism or loss of ethnic identity at work. In addition to examining more traditional stressors such as role overload, this new measure offers a way to examine ethnicity in the workplace, beyond viewing it merely as a demographic control. In addition, the results of the exploratory analyses on the three job stress facets suggest that stressors related to ethnicity are linked to individuals' ethnic identities and feelings of inclusion and thus should not be overlooked in organizational research. Future research should replicate these findings offering additional validity for the new measure. Additionally, both work-family and diversity research should continue to look for new ways to explore issues of ethnicity, beyond simply looking for group differences in organizational outcomes.

Fourth, another contribution of this research lies in the merging of diversity and work-family literatures. Support was found for new links between inclusion and work-family outcomes (i.e., strain-based work-family conflict and work-family enrichment). These findings provide further evidence for employers that creating positive workplace environments can have a positive effect on the family lives of their employees. Additional support for this assertion lies in the correlation found between these two work-family variables. Increased strain-based work-family conflict is associated with

decreased work-family enrichment among all women in this sample (see Table 2). What remains to be determined is whether work-family conflict and work-family enrichment are opposite ends of one construct or are independent constructs that are not inversely related. One explanation is that the presence of the workplace factors that create or foster conflict may be the same workplace factors that in absence allow enrichment to occur. Yet, another argument is that an important work identity could simultaneously result in negative interference and positive influence between work and family (Holliday-Wayne et al., 2006). Additional research is needed to further explicate this relationship and to examine inclusion's effect on work-family issues more broadly as well as other organizational outcomes associated with inclusion (e.g., organizational or career commitment).

The final contribution of this research is that it offers clear recommendations for employers regarding the importance of addressing inclusion in the workplace. First of all, this research highlights the necessity for making sure that employees, particularly women as this sample demonstrates, feel included in the workplace. Given the clear link between feeling included and feeling satisfied and less stressed (both of which have been associated with decreased employee turnover, e.g., Firth, Mellor, Moore, & Loquet, 2004), it is in the employer's best interest to take steps to foster inclusion in the workplace. Fortunately, recent research has offered several ways (e.g., creating equal access to opportunities) for employers to make that happen (cf. Miller & Katz, 2002; Mor Barak, 2005).

A second recommendation for employers stems from the finding that while ethnicity and gender may not be salient in women's lives relative to other identities, they

can still feel as though their gender or ethnicity has had a negative impact on their career opportunities. Thus, while it may be less important to recognize and outwardly promote individual differences in the workplace, it is critical that those differences not be used against the employee. Assisting all individuals, regardless of their differences, to feel included should be the goal. As the lack of significant findings regarding ethnic identity salience suggest, future research is needed to understand whether inclusion is best attained by recognizing and embracing individual differences outwardly or simply appreciating and accepting differences quietly. Perhaps the approach should be tailored to the individual. Identity theory tenets would no doubt support that the uniqueness associated with individual identities and their subjective importance to individuals prohibits a one-size-fits-all approach to achieving workplace inclusion.

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APPENDIX A

POWER ANALYSIS RESULTS

Determining Effect Size from Related Research

Source	*Variables Examined*	*N*	*r*	*ES Estimation*
Thompson et al. (2000)	Racial Identity→ Racial Stress	84	.43-.48	Medium to Large
Utsey et al. (2002)	Ethnic Identity→ Racial Stress	160	.33-.53	Medium to Large
White & Burke (1984)	Ethnic Identity→EI Salience	112	.11	Small

NOTE: Effect size (ES) estimation based on Tables I & II in Cohen (1992)

Power for a test of the null hypothesis: A report from Power & Precision

The model will include (a) 8 covariates, which will yield an R-squared of .07 and (b) 4 variables in the set of interest, which will yield an increment of .07. The model will also include (c) 1 interaction variable entered subsequent to the set of interest, which accounts for an additional .04 of variance. The total R-squared for the 13 variables in the model is .18.

The power analysis focuses on the increment for the set of interest (c) over and above any prior variables (i.e., 4 variables yielding an increment of 0.07). With the given sample size of 190 and alpha set at .05 the study will have power of 0.83

The test is based on Model 2 error, which means that variables entered into the regression subsequent to the set of interest will serve to reduce the error term in the significance test, and therefore are included in the power analysis.

This effect was selected as the smallest effect that would be important to detect, in the sense that any smaller effect would not be of clinical or substantive significance. It is also assumed that this effect size is reasonable, in the sense that an effect of this magnitude could be anticipated in this field of research.

Notes

Power computations: Non-central F, Model 2 error

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Are you male or female?
   ___Male
   ___Female
2. What is your ethnicity? Please check all of the boxes that apply to you.
   ___American Indian or Alaska Native
   ___Asian (non-Indian)
   ___Asian Indian
   ___Black or African American
   ___Hispanic
   ___Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   ___White
3. What is your relationship status?
   ___Single
   ___Married
   ___Living with a partner
   ___Separated
   ___Divorced
   ___Widowed
4. How many children do you have living with you at home? _____
5. If applicable, what is the age of your youngest child? _____
6. How many other individuals (e.g., parents, relatives) currently live with you, not including yourself, your spouse/significant other, or children?
7. How old are you? (in years, e.g., 26) _____
8. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?
   ___Less than High School
   ___High School Graduate
   ___Vocational/Technical School Degree
   ___Associate's Degree
   ___Bachelor's Degree
   ___Master's Degree
   ___Doctorate Degree
9. What is your current approximate *HOUSEHOLD* income?
   ___Less than 30,000
   ___30,000-39,999
   ___40,000-49,999
   ___50,000-59,999
   ___60,000-69,999
   ___70,000-79,999
   ___80,000-89,999
   ___90,000-99,999
   ___100,000 or more

10. How many years have you worked for your current company? _____

11. What industry do you currently work in?
    ___Architecture/Engineering
    ___Chemical Industry
    ___Medicine
    ___Religious Ministries
    ___Technology
    ___Education
    ___Other
12. If you answered "other" to the previous question, please write in the industry in which you currently work.
13. In what state do you currently live?
14. Is your current job an hourly or salaried position?
15. What is the approximate size (# of employees) of your organization?
    ___Less than 10 people
    ___10-50
    ___51-100
    ___101-500
    ___501-1,000
    ___1,001-5,000
    ___5,001-10,000
    ___10,001+
16. How many hours do you work in an average week? Include time spent doing job-related work at home: _____ hours
17. Do you work alone or as a member of team in your organization?
    ___I work alone and am not a member of team.
    ___I mostly work alone, although I sometimes work as part of a team.
    ___I work alone sometimes, but I mostly work as part of a team.
    ___I mostly work with others as part of a team and seldom work alone.
18. The number of people in my workgroup (*coworkers with whom you interact most frequently and/or who report to the same supervisor as you*) is about:
    ___0, I always work alone
    ___1
    ___2
    ___3
    ___4
    ___5
    ___6
    ___7
    ___8
    ___9
    ___10-15
    ___15-20
    ___More than 20

19. The number of coworkers in my workgroup who are the same ETHNICITY as me is about:
    ___0, No one is the same ethnicity as me
    ___1
    ___2
    ___3
    ___4
    ___5
    ___6
    ___7
    ___8
    ___9
    ___10-15
    ___15-20
    ___More than 20
20. The number of coworkers in my workgroup who are the same GENDER as me is about:
    ___0, No one is the same gender as me
    ___1
    ___2
    ___3
    ___4
    ___5
    ___6
    ___7
    ___8
    ___9
    ___10-15
    ___15-20
    ___More than 20
21. On a typical work day, do you work with people:
    ___All of whom are of your same ethnicity?
    ___Most of whom are of your same ethnicity?
    ___About half of whom are of your same ethnicity?
    ___Most of whom are of a different ethnicity than you?
    ___All of whom are of a different ethnicity than you?
22. On a typical work day, do you work with people:
    ___All of whom are your same gender?
    ___Most of whom are your same gender?
    ___About half of whom are your same gender?
    ___Most of whom are a different gender than you?
    ___All of whom are a different gender than you?

23. In this work environment, I believe that my ETHNICITY has had the following impact on my opportunities:
    ___Very negative
    ___Somewhat negative
    ___No effect
    ___Somewhat positive
    ___Very positive
24. In this work environment, I believe that my GENDER has had the following impact on my opportunities:
    ___Very negative
    ___Somewhat negative
    ___No effect
    ___Somewhat positive
    ___Very positive

APPENDIX C

INCLUSION

These statements describe the extent to which you feel like a part of your work team, are able to participate in decisions, and feel that your contributions are valued. When responding to the following statements, think about your coworkers with whom you interact most frequently and/or who report to the same supervisor as you. Then, please select the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree with each statement.

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

Belongingness

1. I feel like I can be myself with my coworkers.
2. I am included as part of the team by my coworkers.
3. I am accepted in my workgroup.
4. My coworkers make me feel like a valued member of the workgroup.
5. I feel that I can fit in with my coworkers without having to change who I am.
6. I'm able to be the "real me" in my workgroup.
7. My coworkers make me feel like I belong.
8. My coworkers appreciate me as a person.
9. I can be true to myself in my workgroup.
10. My coworkers treat me as if I am one of them.
11. My coworkers accept me just the way I am.
12. I can be genuine with my coworkers.

Participation

13. I participate in informal discussions in my workgroup.
14. My workgroup members ask me to participate in decisions.
15. People in my workgroup listen to what I say.
16. My judgment is respected by members of my workgroup.
17. I am able to express my concerns in my workgroup.
18. It's OK for me to speak up in my workgroup.
19. I'm invited to share my ideas with my coworkers.
20. I am comfortable voicing my opinion around my coworkers.
21. Coworkers include me in key decisions that affect my job.
22. My coworkers ask me what I think.
23. I am consulted about important decisions that involve my workgroup.
24. I am invited to share my ideas about important changes in my workgroup.

Influence

25. I am able to influence decisions that affect my job.
26. I am able to influence work assignment decisions.
27. I am consulted about important project decisions.

28. I have a say in the way work is performed.
29. My input makes a difference in my workgroup.
30. I can change the way things are done in my workgroup.
31. I can see the impact that I have in my workgroup.
32. It is easy to see that my input influences decisions in my workgroup.
33. My opinion carries a lot of weight with my coworkers.
34. I have a great deal of influence over the decisions that affect me.
35. I can shape the way things are done at work.
36. I influence important project decisions in my workgroup.

APPENDIX D

ETHNIC IDENTITY SALIENCE

The following questions ask you to think about the importance of your ethnicity in your life.

1. My ethnicity is:
    a. Not really of importance in my life (1)
    b. Only of minor importance to my life, compared to certain other aspects of my life. (2)
    c. Important for my life, but no more important than certain other aspects of my life. (3)
    d. Of central importance for my life, and would, if necessary, come before other aspects of my life. (4)
2. Everyone must make many important decisions during their lives such as whom to marry and what to teach one's children. When you have made, or do make decisions such as these, to what extent do you make the decisions on the basis of your ethnic background?
    a. I seldom if ever base such decisions on my ethnicity. (1)
    b. I sometimes base such decisions on my ethnicity but definitely not most of the time. (2)
    c. I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my ethnicity, but usually in a general, unconscious way. (3)
    d. I feel that most of my important decisions are based on my ethnicity, and I usually consciously attempt to make them so. (4)
3. Without my ethnic background, the rest of my life would not have much meaning to it. (*Reverse score*)
    a. Strongly agree (4)
    b. Agree (3)
    c. Disagree (2)
    d. Strongly Disagree (1)

Not at all Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important
1	2	3	4

4. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **close friends** think of you in terms of your ethnicity.
5. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **parents** think of you in terms of your ethnicity.
6. Indicate how important it is to you to have **people in general** think of you in terms of your ethnicity.
7. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **coworkers** think of you in terms of your ethnicity.
8. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **employer** think of you in terms of your ethnicity.

NOTE: I added #7 & 8 to White & Burke (1987).

APPENDIX E

STRAIN-BASED WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT

These statements describe the extent to which your professional life and personal life interfere with one another. Please select the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree with each statement.

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

1. ___When I come home from work I am often too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities.
2. ___I am often so emotionally drained when I get home from work that it prevents me from contributing to my family.
3. ___Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do the things I enjoy.

APPENDIX F

WORK-FAMILY ENRICHMENT

The statements below describe how your involvement at work may impact your home life. Please select the number that best indicates the extent to which you agree with the entire statement.
Please note that in order for you to strongly agree with an item, you must agree with the FULL statement. Take for example the first statement:

My involvement in my work helps me to understand different viewpoints and this helps me be a better family member.

To strongly agree, you would need to agree that (1) your work involvement helps you to understand different viewpoints AND (2) that these different viewpoints transfer to home making you a better family member.

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

Work to Family Development

1. My involvement in my work helps me to understand different viewpoints and this helps me be a better family member.
2. My involvement in my work helps me to gain knowledge and this helps me be a better family member.
3. My involvement in my work helps me acquire skills and this helps me be a better family member.

Work to Family Affect

4. My involvement in my work puts me in a good mood and this helps me be a better family member.
5. My involvement in my work makes me feel happy and this helps me be a better family member.
6. My involvement in my work makes me cheerful and this helps me be a better family member.

Work to Family Capital

7. My involvement in my work helps me feel personally fulfilled and this helps me be a better family member.
8. My involvement in my work provides me with a sense of accomplishment and this helps me be a better family member.
9. My involvement in my work provides me with a sense of success and this helps me be a better family member.

APPENDIX G

JOB SATISFACTION

Please use the following scale to record your level of agreement with each of the following statements about your current job.

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

1. _____ I am satisfied with my present job situation.
2. _____ My job situation is very frustrating to me.
3. _____ I frequently think I would like to change my job situation.

APPENDIX H

JOB STRESS

The following statements describe specific types of stress you may have experienced in the workplace. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements.

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

Token Stress

1. I have been stressed by discrimination at work.
2. I have been stressed by feeling left out at work.
3. I have been stressed by a sense of isolation at work.
4. I have been stressed by feeling different than my coworkers.

Ethnic Identity Nonacceptance

5. I have been stressed by feeling unaccepted by people of other ethnicities.
6. I have been stressed by feeling unaccepted by people of the same ethnicity as me.
7. I have been stressed by a loss of my ethnic identity at work.
8. I have been stressed by issues relating to my ethnic identity at work.

Role Overload

9. I have been stressed by too many time demands at work.
10. I have been stressed by having too many responsibilities at work.
11. I have been stressed by trying to juggle my private life with my work life.
12. I have been stressed by working longer hours than anticipated.
13. I have been stressed by feeling overwhelmed with tasks at work.

APPENDIX I

PILOT STUDY RESULTS ON JOB STRESS MEASURE

Overview

I piloted this stress measure using 164 undergraduate students from a large ethnically diverse university. The participants included 36 males, 125 females, and 3 participants who did not disclose their gender. The students worked an average of 24 hours a week and the majority of participants (73%) were single. The ethnic composition of the sample is as follows: 101 Whites, 49 Blacks, 13 Hispanics, 4 American Indian/Alaska Natives, and 3 Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders. Several participants indicated multiple ethnicities (either 2 or 3 categories) among those listed previously; thus, the ethnic breakdown totals greater than 164.

I began with 20 items, which I believed represented four dimensions of job stress: token stress, ethnic identity nonacceptance, role overload, and interpersonal conflict. The fourth dimension, five items thought to measure interpersonal conflict, cross-loaded on the other three dimensions during an exploratory factor analysis conducted using the statistical software program *SPSS*, so those items were removed from subsequent confirmatory factor analyses. Additionally, two other poorly loading items (one from token stress and one from ethnic nonacceptance) were also removed. Therefore, the factor analysis that followed included 13 items.

I used structural equation modeling (SEM) via LISREL 8.71 to analyze the factor structure. Results are reported from directly observed variables, that is, the items to which each participant responded. The model was examined by the minimum fit function chi-square, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the non-normed fit index

(NNFI), and the comparative fit index (CFI). RMSEA values less than or equal to .08 suggest that a model fits reasonably well (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Values of .90 or greater for the NNFI (Tucker & Lewis, 1973) and CFI (Bentler, 1990) suggest a reasonable fit for a model as well. The RMSEA, NNFI, and CFI indices are unbiased estimators and unaffected by sample size.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The three latent subscales of job stress were Token Stress, Ethnic Nonacceptance, and Role Overload. I expected that items 1 through 4 would load on Token Stress, items 5 through 8 would load on Ethnic Identity Nonacceptance, and items 9 through 13 would load on Role Overload (see Appendix F for statements corresponding to item numbers). The confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) of the three subscales yielded the following goodness of fit statistics: χ^2 (62) = 150.49, $p < .01$, RMSEA = .08, NNFI = .97, and CFI = .97 (see Figure 3 for parameter estimates). These statistics suggest a reasonably good fit for the model. Furthermore, each of the items loaded on their respective factors significantly. The mean for the entire scale (*SD* in parentheses) was 2.53 (.82). The means for the token stress, ethnic identity nonacceptance, and role overload subscales (*SD* in parentheses) were respectively 2.35 (.97), 2.00 (.91), and 3.12 (1.07). The coefficient alpha for the entire stress measure was .90 whereas the subscale coefficient alphas were .82 for token stress, .84 for ethnic identity nonacceptance, and .86 for role overload. A correlation of .68 ($p<.05$) between the new measure of job stress and an existing 12-item measure of job stress (Bernas & Major, 2000) provided evidence of convergent validity. Based on these acceptable results, this new measure of job stress will be used in the present research.

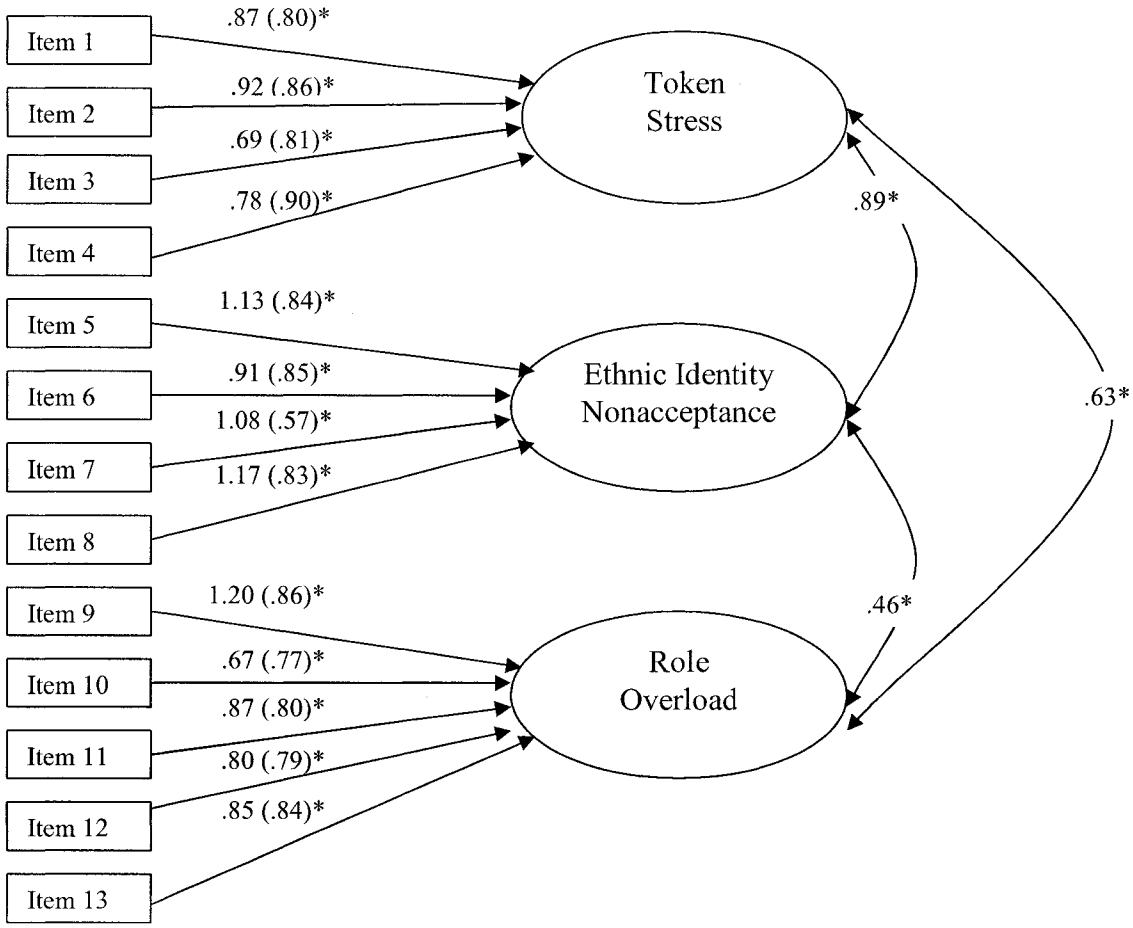

Figure 3. Job Stress Measurement Model. Observed parameter estimates are shown, with standardized parameter estimates in parentheses. * Indicates *t-value* for parameter is > 2, i.e., statistically significant.

APPENDIX J

GENDER IDENTITY SALIENCE

The following questions ask you to think about the importance and/or relevance of gender in your life.

Not at all Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important
1	2	3	4

1. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **close friends** think of you in terms of your gender.
2. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **parents** think of you in terms of your gender.
3. Indicate how important it is to you to have **people in general** think of you in terms of your gender.
4. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **coworkers** think of you in terms of your gender.
5. Indicate how important it is to you to have your **employer** think of you in terms of your gender.

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

6. When people ask me about who is in a group, I initially think of describing group members in terms of gender composition (e.g., two women and three men).
7. It is not intentional, but when I think of my fellow group members, what comes to mind initially is the names of the women and then the names of the men.
8. Even though I don't mean to, I think of gender as the most prominent characteristic of my fellow group members.

NOTE: Items 1-5 describe an affective dimension of gender identity salience, or the value/importance placed on that identity. Items 6-8 reflect a cognitive dimension of salience, which refers to the extent to which group members notice an identity. Because of the exploratory nature of this construct, I felt it important to include both dimensions.

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