DERBER'S THEORY OF ATTENTION AND KANTER'S THEORY

OF TOKENISM: LEVELS OF VISIBILITY AMONG

PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL, AND

NON-PROFESSIONAL AFRICAN

AMERICAN WOMEN

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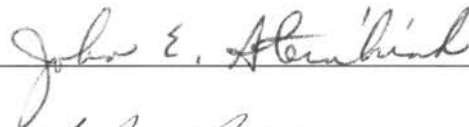the requirements for
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The purpose of this study was to test two theories, Derber's theory of attention and Kanter's theory of tokenism, in explaining levels of visibility among professional, semi-professional, and non-professional African American women. This study was conducted to provide information that will help organizations and society in determining appropriate methods to help African American females and other underrepresented individuals maximize their contributions in the workplace.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I

...We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But
when that document was complete on the seventeenth
of September in 1787, I was not included in that, We,
the people. I felt some how for many years that George
Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by
by mistake.

Barbara Jordan, 1976

Barbara Jordan was left out of "...We the people," but she was not alone.

American society has a long tradition of excluding certain groups of people from its

mainstream. According to Opotow (1990), a partial list of people whose rights have

been abrogated or eliminated because of their exclusion from the scope of justice would

include slaves, children, women, the aged, Blacks, Jews, and the mentally insane. This

systematic exclusion of people has led to their omission, misrepresentation, or invisibility

in history, education, textbooks, media, leadership and professional roles in the

workforce. Exclusion, however, is not the only way that specific groups of people are

invisible.

African American women, one of the excluded invisible groups described in

the previous paragraph, occupy a unique position in society and the workplace. Their

history has not been acknowledged or studied by the dominant culture. Research studies

tend to focus on White males, but even African American males and White women are

studied more often than African American women. African American women are

typically hidden in statistics dealing with African American males or White women, but

1

seldom are they the focus of research studies. Ironically, the two traits, which make these women most visible in society, race and gender, systematically interact to cause them to be excluded and rendered invisible and silenced in some aspects of life, including their life in the workplace (Cose, 1992; Giddings, 1984; Smith, 1992).

The remainder of this chapter will be organized around four major topics. The order of presention will be as follows: statement of the problem, background, significance of the study, and definition of terms.

Statement of the Problem

Like Barbara Jordan, many African American women feel they have been excluded from participating fully in the dominant culture and more specifically from organizations in which they are employed. The inequities of invisibility and silencing behaviors are reinforced because African American women often cannot enter or move up in any occupation until White males and women have first had access to these positions (Sokoloff, 1992). Their work experiences are more varied today, but they continue to be overrepresented in some more menial occupations, where their critical mass protects them from invisibility, and underrepresented in occupations with greater status where they are more likely to be silenced, invisible and/or excluded (Sokoloff, 1992).

According to Sokoloff (1992), African American women may be trapped in lower level occupations because moving ahead into more desirable fields, where silencing behaviors tend to increase, may be too uncomfortable for groups of people who are underrepresented in these areas. Such a condition may be explained by either Kanter's

(1977) theory of tokenism or Derber's (1979) theory of attention distribution by occupational autonomy.

According to Kanter (1977), groups without a critical mass are regarded and treated as tokens in the workplace. In this theory, it is not race or gender which evokes silencing behaviors and concomitant levels of invisibility, but rather the structural condition of limited numerical representation.

While tokenism might be used to explain underrepresentation and overrepresentation of African American women in certain occupational areas, a competing theory offered by Derber (1979) would explain over and under representation in terms of patriarchy and the class system which tend to reduce opportunities for groups of people without power in the dominant culture, such as women and minorities. However, Derber would suggest that upwardly mobile members of powerless groups that do gain employment in professional and semi-professional positions experience less silencing and gain greater visibility because of the added autonomy of their position. In this theory, the power associated with gender and race becomes a major factor in explaining the silencing and invisibility experienced by some groups of people and not others. If, however, power is a determinant of which groups get silenced, then members of groups without power, because of race and gender, can reduce invisibility by gaining the autonomy of occupational position.

The purpose of this study is to examine two theories which can be used to explain why African American women are invisible in some work areas and highly visible in

others. Specifically, the major purpose of this study will be to determine whether the theory of tokenism, the theory of autonomy of occupation or the use of these theories in combination or interplay best explain silencing behaviors and levels of invisibility experienced by African American women in various occupations.

Background

The circumstances relating to the invisibility of African American women need to be examined in greater detail. Although each of two theoretical frameworks included in the study will be described in greater detail in the next chapter, a sketch of both theories will be provided in this section to reveal the nature of the theory and its relevance to the stated problem. The presentation of this background information will be in the following order: the status of African American women in the workplace, Kanter's theory of tokenism, and Derber's theory of occupational autonomy.

The Status of African American Women

The scope of justice has been enlarged through legislation and court decisions. In 1954, the U. S. Supreme court outlawed segregation in public schools in <u>Brown v. Board of Education</u>, 347 U.S. 483. The Civil Rights Movement of 1964 was another impetus for change and resulted in legislation which promised equal opportunity and forbade discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, or handicap.

In spite of these changes, however, progress has been slow. Some non-dominant groups continue to view themselves as invisible and silent members of society. Blatant

exclusion of certain groups is illegal, but some scholars now feel exclusion is accomplished through more subtle methods (Cose, 1992; Sokoloff, 1992). Although middle class African American women are not economically disadvantaged, subtle forms of exclusion continue at the workplace and in society. This results in feelings of being left out even when these women are physically present.

Even with legislation and societal changes, women, and/or non-dominant groups continue to be underrepresented or invisible in various occupations. Cose's (1992) study on rage among middle class African Americans identified invisibility in the workplace as one of the twelve demons African Americans commonly encounter. After meeting all the requirements of society, these professionals continued to feel and experience limitations on their success and status in the workplace. One interviewee asked, "...why, when I most want to be seen, am I suddenly rendered invisible?" Because women and other non-dominant groups have internalized attention-deprivation perceptions fostered by the dominant, patriarchal culture, they have unknowingly helped to perpetuate the problem by placing self-limitations on their own visibility. The internal and external forces that contribute to feelings of invisibility negatively impact African American women and other oppressed groups.

Tokenism

Kanter (1977) suggests that a group must have a "critical mass" to attain the power required to avoid silencing. A group without critical mass (less than .15 of the total group) lacks the influence to overcome the powerlessness associated with tokenism.

In addition, tokens are frequently treated as representatives of their token category who receive attention for their token status rather than accomplishments and contributions. Tokens provide a contrast for the dominant group which results in exclusion from major activities and increased bonding among tokens. Tokens are stereotyped and relegated to roles in organizations or occupations which keep them in their prescribed places.

Occupational Autonomy

Derber (1979) examines the phenomenon of attention in face-to-face interactions which, he postulates, is unevenly distributed according to gender, race and class. Typically, males, Whites, and the affluent gain more than their share of attention. Attention is also distributed according to the autonomy or power associated with a particular position or occupation. Doctors have more autonomy than teachers, for example, and this autonomy allows physicians to gain a greater share of attention than teachers. Consequently, although African American women gain little attention and experience high levels of silencing and invisibility because of the limited power and autonomy associated with their race and gender characteristics, they can increase their power by selecting occupations with high autonomy. For example, African American women in high autonomy occupations should experience more attention and less invisibility than African-American women holding positions in less powerful fields. Thus the power inherent in a position should moderate somewhat the effect of gender-race-class on attention and, thereby, influence silencing behaviors and levels of visibility.

Significance of the Study

This study is important because of its potential contribution to theory and practice. To understand theoretically why productive intelligent people lack opportunities to maximize their contributions at the workplace, is to create the possibility that damaging consequences to the individual and society might be avoided. Maximum individual productivity may be lost or minimized when African American women enter careers based on societal assumptions which limit them to menial roles in organizations or limit their visibility in more prestigious roles.

Although several theories exist with the potential to explain the invisibility of certain classes of people, quantitative studies which apply those theoretical constructs to African American women are few. This study will expand the body of knowledge relating to the invisibility of an African American female population. At the same time, the study will attempt to define the degree of contribution of each of two theories, and their concomitant interaction, to the phenomenon of invisibility.

Furthermore, although the concept of invisibility has been defined through qualitative studies (Derber, 1979; Fordham, 1993; Goffman, 1963; Kanter, 1977; Lerner, 1972; Spender, 1982), the phenomenon has not yet been studied quantitatively. This study is one of the first to employ a new instrument which operationalizes perceptions of invisibility. As such, it will allow us to test theoretical hypotheses and generalize the results to a larger population than has been possible with the findings of qualitative studies.

To survive in a global economy, all individuals must become fully productive and contributing members to society, particularly when those who have been denied opportunities are part of a group that is entering the workplace in increasing numbers. According to a 1991 report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, minorities will account for 33% of the labor force entrants between 1988 and 2000. Women will continue to join the labor force and, by the year 2000, African American women will comprise a large portion of the new majority. Research which helps explain problems experienced in the workplace by African American women should assist those involved in this situation with gaining a better understanding of the needs and potential barriers faced by this segment of the population.

Definition of Terms

The definitions below are presented to provide a clearer understanding of the concepts and terms discussed in the study.

African American: This term refers to an individual born in America whose ancestors are of African descent.

Attention: This term refers to a social resource which is unequally distributed among individuals in society according to gender, social class, and other factors (Derber, 1979).

Attention-deprivation: This term refers to a state that occurs when individuals do not receive sufficient attention to meet their needs in face-to-face interactions in organizations. This term is synonymous with invisibility (Derber, 1979).

Attention-getter: This term refers to an individual who is able to demand attention because of implied powers based on one's social role and status in society (Derber, 1979).

Attention-giver: This term refers to an individual who is unable to demand attention and is forced to give attention because of the limited power associated with one's social role and status in society (Derber, 1979).

Autonomy: This term refers to the "level of power exercised by individual members of an occupation (Forsyth & Danisiewicz, 1985)". Professionals exhibit autonomous power through their ability to control clients (autonomy from client) and the work environment (autonomy from employing organization). For the purposes of this study, members of occupations determined to have both autonomy from client and employing organization (i.e. physicians, attorneys) or autonomy from either the client or employing organization (i.e. teachers, social workers, engineers) were categorized as having high autonomy. Members of occupations determined to have neither autonomy from client or employing organization (i.e. secretaries, clerks, bus drivers, teacher assistants, custodians, cafeteria workers) were categorized as having low autonomy.

Dominant class: This term refers to a group in society that has historically and traditionally controlled all aspects of society. In this study, dominant class refers to White males (Derber, 1979).

Gender: This term refers to the sex-role assignment of attention-giving or attention-getting roles based on whether or not the individual is male or female.

Invisible/Invisibility: This term is defined as the perceptions individuals have that their physical presence, their comments, and their very essence or voice are not seen or heard by others because they are unable to gain sufficient attention. The operational definition of invisibility is the perception that in face-to-face interaction at work silencing behaviors are numerous and supporting behaviors are few. This concept is measured by the Group Communication Profile.

Non-profession: This term is defined as an occupation in which members have lower autonomy than those members of professions or semi-professions. (Derber, 1977; Forsyth & Danisiewicz, 1985).

Number: This term tells how many people are in a social or organizational group (Kanter, 1977).

Opportunity: This term refers to having expectations and future prospects, for mobility and growth in particular jobs (Kanter, 1977).

Patriarchy: This term refers to a society in which economic, political, and cultural authority is exercised primarily by men (Derber, 1979; Spender, 1982).

Perceptions of being silenced: Belief(s) held by individuals that they have been silenced by powerful "others" who have kept them from gaining the attention required to meet their needs. Being silenced may or may not result in invisibility (Arney, 1996).

Power: This term refers to the ability to get things done (Kanter, 1977).

Profession: This term is defined as an occupation in which role holders have both

autonomy from the client and autonomy from the organization (Forsyth & Danisiewicz, 1985). Professions are associated with high educational requirements and high status (Derber, 1979).

Race: This term refers to a social category assigned to an individual based on ethnic heritage and background. This study will focus on African American women.

Role: This term is defined as a set of expectations which define how an individual of a given social position will behave. Each role has certain inherent responsibilities and powers associated with it and work related roles are hierarchical in nature. This study will focus on work related roles (Silver, 1983).

Semi-profession: This term is defined as an occupation in which role holders have high autonomy from the organization but low autonomy from the client, or high autonomy from the client but low autonomy from the organization (Forsyth & Danisiewicz, 1985). Semi-professions have higher educational requirements than non-professions but less status than professions (Derber, 1979).

Silencing: This term as defined by Arney (1996) is:

> Any systematic behavior acted out in face-to-face situations in organizations, which, over time, deprives groups of individuals without status and power of the degree and quality of attention required to gain positive visibility. Such behavior can be violent or non-violent, overt or subtle; verbal or non-verbal, and intentional

or unintentional. The behavior is not silencing unless it has been

systematic, that is consistently applied over time. (p. 1)

For this study, silencing will be measured by the Group Communication Profile,

which combines silencing and supporting behaviors experienced in the immediate work

unit, to yield a visibility score. "Examples of silencing behavior include shifting

conversational topics, ignoring contributions made by certain individuals, and inattentive

listening" (Arney, 1996, p 1).

Stereotype: This term refers to certain characteristics and generalizations assigned to

certain groups of individuals in society by members of the dominant group. A person is

not seen as an individual, but as a group member who posseses the assigned

characteristics and generalizations (Kanter, 1977).

Supporting: This term refers to any systematic behavior acted out in face-to-face

situations in organizations which over time makes individuals without status and power

feel at ease by increasing the degree and quality of attention required for them to become

visible. "Examples of supporting behaviors include active listening, reacting in a positive

way to contributions of all members, and staying on a topic until it has been thoroughly

discussed" (Arney, 1996, p. 1).

For this study, supporting will be measured by the Group Communication Profile

which combines silencing and supporting behaviors experienced in the immediate work

unit to yield a visibility score.

<u>Token status</u>: This term refers to the state of being a token or a non-token. Tokens refer to individuals in organizations who because of their unique social characteristics are not a part of the dominant group. This condition occurs in group situations where tokens represent 15% or less of the dominant group. Non-tokens on the other hand, refer to individuals in organizations who are a part of the dominant group. This non-tokenism occurs when the ratio of dominants to non-dominants ranges from 35% of the total group to 40% of the total group (Kanter, 1977).

For purposes of this study, tokenism will be defined as the ratio of minorities to non-minorities in an occupation with token status being a percentage of .222 or less and non-token status being .23 or more.

<u>Visible/Visibility</u>: This term is defined as the perceptions individuals have that their physical presence, their comments, and their very essence are consistently seen and heard by others because they are able to gain and maintain sufficient attention. The operational definition of visibility is the perception that, in face-to-face interactions at work, silencing behaviors are few and supporting behaviors are many.

For this study, visibility will be measured by the Group Communication Profile, which combines silencing and supporting behaviors experienced in the immediate work unit to yield a visibility score.

Summary

Despite legislation and societal changes, certain groups of people in society feel that they lack the opportunity to maximize their contributions at the workplace because of certain exclusionary behaviors practiced by dominants. Dominants practice silencing behaviors, which limit attention to members of the excluded group and reduce the possibilities that they can gain positive visibility. A background of the status of African American women was presented to enhance reader understanding of how these women continue to experience feelings of exclusion in the workplace and its impact on their success and status in the workplace. The theories of tokenism and autonomy of occupation were investigated to determine if both theories, or some combination of them, could explain levels of invisibility of African American women in organizations. Finally, terms were defined in order to clarify concepts and variables discussed in the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

...she had nothing to fall back on; not maleness, not whiteness, not
ladyhood, not anything.

Toni Morrison

The purpose of this study was to determine the contribution of "occupational

autonomy" and "token status" to the perceptions of invisibility experienced by African-

American women. In order to understand the theory and research which have a bearing

on the topic, a literature review is presented in the following areas: (1) the plight of the

African American female, (2) the theory of token status, (3) the theory of attention

delineating autonomy of professions as moderators of the relationship between both

gender and race and visibility, and (4) invisibility and silencing. This chapter will conclude

with the hypotheses which guided this research.

The Plight of the African American Female

According to Spender (1982), knowledge in our society has been defined,

produced, reproduced and controlled by men in a manner which consistently keeps men in

a superior position. Because of this, some believe that the history of African American

women has not been accurately reported by the dominant culture. These women, along

with other groups, have historically been excluded or misrepresented by dominant culture

writers (Giddings, 1984; Smith, 1992; Spender, 1982). For example, much of the

literature in this section is authored by people of color and, as such, is not published in mainstream professional journals.

As both minorities and women, African American women are in a double bind (Dasher-Alston, 1991; Evans & Herr, 1991; Gee & Mitchell, 1983; Nivens, 1987; Rodgers-Rose, 1980). This condition exists because African American women are victims of the economic discrimination patterns based on both gender and race (Etter-Lewis, 1993; Leggon, 1975; Spaights & Whitaker, 1995; Tucker & Wolfe, 1994). Leggon's study (1975) describes race and gender as "master status traits which tend to overpower any other characteristics of the individual." While the double-negative status traits of a race and gender interaction impose limitations on African American women, it is difficult to determine which trait causes more problems.

African American women have occupied a unique position in a patriarchal society in which work outside the home is perceived to be masculine. Unlike White women, African American women have had to work because African American men were on the second tier of a patriarchal system, often unable to enter salaried or professional jobs (Fordham, 1993; Giddings, 1984). African American women, therefore, view work outside the home as obligatory, rather than optional, and their salary contributes to the family stability (Leggon, 1975; Tucker & Wolfe, 1993).

In spite of their work history, African American women are grossly underrepresented in high autonomy roles and overrepresented in "attention-giving" roles, a condition which is more extreme for them than their White female counterparts.

Statistics provided by the Department of Labor (1992) indicate that the majority of

African American women worked in service occupations prior to 1960 with an increasing

number of African American women now holding clerical positions. Only 12% of all

African American women work in professional and technical careers and nearly 50% of

those holding professional positions are teachers instructing below the college level.

Leggon (1975) found that, even when African American women work in professional

positions, such as law or medicine, they tended to concentrate in specialties traditionally

labeled as "women's specialties." Additional statistics by the Department of Labor

(1992) indicate that African American women earn less than White women although they

work more frequently and remain in the labor force longer.

African American women tend to enter careers that they perceive are less

susceptible to the negative influences by the social stigma of race and gender (Epps,

1988; Erhart, 1991; Evans & Herr, 1991; Gee & Mitchell, 1983; Nivens, 1986; Seales,

1987; Shields & Shields, 1993; Sokoloff, 1992; Spaights & Whitaker, 1995; Tucker &

Wolfe, 1994). Although work has always been a necessity for African American women,

their choices have historically been limited to domestic work or the traditional women's

professions which include teaching, social work, and nursing (Etter-Lewis, 1993;

Giddings, 1984).

African American women have felt the effects of stereotypes and negative images

since the days of slavery and they continue to deal with stereotypes in today's society.

Maykovich (1972) found that children and adults, both Black and White, tend to assign

negative traits to Blacks. As early as 1933, research studies identified negative traits and stereotypes used to describe African Americans. A study by Katz and Braly (1933) identified the following negative traits: superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant, sly, aggressive, loud, arrogant, and unreliable. These same traits were identified in a similar study by Gordan (1982).

Specifically, African American women have been assigned additional negative characteristics. Early images portray these women as "mammies" (domestics who portrayed images of being happy all the time) or sexually loose women (Herndon, 1965). The contemporary stereotype presents African American women as unwed, welfare mothers. Traits ascribed to African American women included loud, talkative, aggressive, argumentative, and stubborn (Malson, 1988). The media continues to reinforce these negative images of African Americans by portraying them as individuals with the above mentioned characteristics (Smith, 1992; Woody, 1994).

Generally, success is described in more positive terms for White women and less positive terms for African American women. Specifically, the success of White women is attributed to hard work and intelligence, whereas, the success of African American women is attributed to other factors, such as luck or quota systems (Woody, 1994).

Research studies continue to show that negative images persist even in today's society (Shields & Shields, 1993; Tucker & Wolfe, 1994) . Negative traits assigned to African American women tend to be more negative because of lower expectations. Landrine's (1985) study showed that stereotypes differ for White and Black women.

Stereotypes of women resembled the stereotypes traditionally assigned to White, middle-class women; whereas, African American women were stereotyped more often as dirty, hostile, and superstitious. Weitz and Gordon (1993) found that images of African American women are different from women in general and, also, that lower expectations were assigned to African American women's behavior.

<div align="center">Theory of Token Status</div>

African American women who succeed at work often find themselves in organizations where they are one of a few. Cose (1993) interviewed one African American female who summed up the problem by stating:

> ...there is no one who looks like me in all of senior management--which she
>
> meant there were no Blacks, and certainly no Black women.What reason
>
> do I have to believe, that I can make it to the top? (p. 142)

Individual behavior, and the treatment of individuals in organizations and social groups are both influenced by the proportion of dominants and non-dominants in a social context. Kanter (1977) defines "tokens" as members of a group who are represented in far smaller numbers than members of the dominant group (p. 208). In addition, their experiences are influenced by their "rarity and scarcity"(p. 207). In such situations, dominants comprise 85% of the group while tokens are 15% or less of the group. Kanter (1977) delineates four group types to explain the theory of relative numbers. They are as follows:

Uniform groups have only one kind of person, one significant social type. Skewed groups are those in which there is a large preponderance of one type (dominants) over another (tokens) up to a ratio of 85:15. In tilted groups...with ratios of 65:35, dominants are just a majority and tokens become a minority. Finally, at about 60:40 and down to 50:50, the group becomes balanced. (p. 208)

The type of group one is in influences individual outcomes. Of the four groups delineated, skewed groups are the most unhealthy environment for minorities. Minorities often find themselves in token status because they lack critical mass. Kanter (1977) further explains:

> . . .tokens find themselves being... treated as representatives of their category, rather than, as individuals. They are generally so few in numbers that they cannot form a power alliance in the group. Tokenism involves...a self-perpetuating cycle that reinforces low numbers and keeps tokens in their positions. (p. 210)

Tokens are perceived differently from the dominants and are therefore subject to visibility, contrast, and assimilation. Kanter (1977) stated: "These dynamics are, again, similar regardless of the category from which the tokens come, but the kinds of people and their history of relationships with members of the dominant group provides cultural context for specific communications" (p. 212). Each perceptual tendency is associated with consequences for the token and responses to the consequences.

Visibility, or the tendency to gain attention because of unique characteristics that are different from those in the dominant group, ". . . creates performance pressures for the token" (Kanter, 1977, p. 212). Being different forces tokens to act differently in that they perceive themselves as, working under different conditions than dominants, always in the limelight, and never able to reveal their true feelings. Furthermore, race and gender are used to magnify erroneous situations involving tokens, and also, to draw additional attention to their absence and/or presence.

Dominants give little attention to the achievements of tokens, and tokens, in turn, fear retaliation from dominants. Tokens feel they must overachieve to succeed; but, they feel threatened if they ". . .show up a dominant" (Kanter, 1977, p. 217).

In their quest for success, tokens respond to these peer pressures with certain attitudes and behaviors. Their choices are to over-achieve, turn the publicity to their advantage or become socially invisible because token "visibility is associated with too many negative consequences" (Kanter, 1977, p. 219).

Contrast is used by dominants to establish cultural boundaries by reinforcing their commonalities and exaggerating the differences of tokens. She furthers suggests that tokens find themselves in situations in which they are forced to prove group loyalty, subjected to verbal interruptions such as cursing, dirty jokes, prejudicial statements, or becoming the source of humor for the group. Withholding club memberships and invitations to certain functions which promote networking and informal training further intensifies the contrast between the dominants and the tokens (Kanter, 1977).

The cultural boundaries constantly remind tokens of their differences. Tokens respond by choosing to accept isolation or trying to become insiders. The "Queen Bee" syndrome is a phenomenon in which women, choosing to become insiders, define themselves as exceptions, and turn against members of their own social category (Kanter, 1977).

Kanter's (1977) third tendency, assimilation, leads to role encapsulation, in which dominants stereotype tokens and distort individual characteristics of tokens to:

> . . . fit preexisting generalizations about their category as a group. The limited predetermined roles keep tokens in bounded places by . . .allowing dominants to make use of already learned expectations and modes of action. (p. 230)

In addition, status leveling, another component of role encapsulation, changes

> ...the perception of the token's professional role to fit with the expected position of the token's category--that is, bringing situational status in line with master status, the token's social type.(Kanter, 1977 p. 231)

The professional status of tokens is often identified incorrrectly because their category is linked with certain roles. Kanter (1977) states:

> . . .special roles are defined for certain groups, i.e. certain jobs becoming women's slots; and women are informally stereotyped into familiar roles such as mother, seductress, pet, or iron maiden (Kanter, p. 233) and tokens eventually accept the imposed stereotypical roles to minimize

dominant responses toward them and, furthermore, accepting these roles affects the work attitudes and behaviors of dominants and tokens. (p. 236)

Typically, women, African Americans, and other ethnic minorities are represented in smaller proportions in professional or leadership roles in organizations. The constant stress of performance pressures, combined with a lack of critical mass (adequate numerical representation), makes tokenism self-perpetuating. As tokens continue to accept certain roles and fail to demonstrate their full competence, "dominants are able to maintain stereotypes of the tokens" (Kanter, 1977, p. 237). These circumstances eventually lead to African American women clustering themselves in certain occupational areas and resisting entry to certain other areas, therefore, perpetuating exclusion and their own invisibility. Kanter's (1977, p. 248) study hypothesizes that tokens would generally:

--be more visible, be on "display"

--feel more pressure to conform, to make fewer mistakes

--try to become socially invisible; not to stand out too much

--find it harder to gain creditability, particularly in high

   uncertainty positions such as certain management jobs

--be more isolated and peripheral

--be more likely to be excluded from informal peer networks,

   and hence, limited in this source of power-through-alliances

--have fewer opportunities to be "sponsored" because of the

rarity of people like them upward

--face misperceptions of their identity and role in the organization

and hence, develop a preference for already-established

relationships

--be stereotyped, be placed in roletraps that limit effectiveness

--face more personal stress.

Therefore, tokens are constantly subjected to situations which limit their possibilities and

define their boundaries. Opportunity, power, and critical mass are identified by Kanter

(1977) as three variables which explain human behavior in organizations. She explains:

Opportunity refers to expectations and future prospects . Power refers to

the capacity to mobilize resources. Critical mass refers to the opportune

number of people of the same social type. In addition, formal job

characteristics and informal alliances determine the structure of power.

(p. 247)

The proper combination of the three variables translates into maximum success in the

workplace or in society. People who experience high opportunity and power generally

come from social groups with critical mass in organizations. "The behavior of successful

individuals reinforces and perpetuates more successful behavior" (Kanter, 1977, p. 246).

Organizations mirror our society. Opportunity, power, and non-token status

provide certain people in society with more advantages. Stereotypes are reinforced by

groups which have a critical mass, and this mechanism tends to track people into certain careers.

Because certain groups lack sufficient numbers of members in specific social contexts, these minority individuals are stereotyped in a way which limits opportunity and power. Kanter (1977) states, "it is hard for a person to break out of the cycle once it has begun . People who experience. . . low opportunity, powerlessness, and tokenism. . . are caught in a ...self-perpetuating, self-sealing system" (p. 249). Coping mechanisms of tokens seldom change because frequently there is no way to break the cycle. Minorities and women often find themselves in this cycle with no perceived hope of escaping, but African American women must deal with the issues facing both women and minorities in the workplace.

Theory of Attention Delineating Autonomy of Professions as Moderators

of the Relationship Between Both Gender and Race and Visibility

The second theoretical frame for this study is postulated by Derber (1979) who argues that, in addition to race, gender, and economic factors, it is the autonomy of a particular position which contributes to the amount of power and attention one has in society. Since race and gender influence the amount of attention that one receives in society or the workplace, women and minorities are often in attention-giving or low autonomy positions.

Conversely, one way that African American women can ameliorate the effects of race and gender on attention is by attaining a "high autonomy" job because high autonomy jobs in and of themselves serve as a magnet for greater attention. A "high autonomy" job can lessen the effects of race and gender and allow non-dominants to receive greater levels of attention on their jobs. Therefore, the autonomy of a position, can change the relationship between race and gender and the amount of attention that one receives (Derber, 1979).

Jobs held by the dominant class tend to reinforce their ability to control resources and demand attention while low autonomy jobs held by non-dominants reinforce their roles as attention-givers. Derber (1979) identifies the two role types as "attention-getting" or "attention-giving" jobs (p. 40). Power and resources have typically been distributed unequally in America, with the dominant classes getting more than their share. This results in other classes of people being excluded and/or hindered from obtaining and/or sharing in valuable resources.

Women and minority groups have traditionally been excluded from the dominant group of American society and concomitant attention-getting positions. Patriarchy and the notion of individualism are interrelated and allow members of the dominant culture to maintain the control of attention. Although a few individuals coming from non-dominant groups are entering roles traditionally held by members of the dominant culture, these individuals are still somewhat limited by the dominant culture from receiving as much attention as they would receive otherwise.

Derber (1979) distinguishes between dominant and non-dominant occupations. He labels the professions as dominant occupations with role holders who are attention-getters because of expertise and knowledge. Individuals who are not in dominant occupations are frequently found in attention-giving, low autonomy roles which have little or no power. Although Derber distinguishes between dominant and subordinate occupations, he does not delineate the semi-professional, middle ground. Other scholars reinforce the connection between status and occupation, delineate middle categories of occupations, and explain why professions are imbued with status and autonomy.

Work and occupational status are closely related to individual identity and personality. Pavalko (1987, p.2) identifies three assumptions about work: (1) work is a social activity, and occupations are a type of social role, (2) work and occupations link individuals and the larger social structure, and (3) work is major source of personal identity whose influence begins in school and continues through retirement. He further states that occupational roles pattern the basic nature of a great deal of human interaction. Roles frequently specify the way in which people are suppose to behave in relation to others occupying similar, subordinant, or superordinant roles as well as the way they are supposed to deal with clients or customers. In addition, occupation, along with other factors such as education or income, further enhances the prestige and power afforded certain individuals in society.

People in dominant occupations gain special attention, authority, and prestige in their work life and personal life (Derber, 1979). Work becomes a symbol of social worth

and those in professional occupations benefit most from these advantages. Kanter's (1977) study reinforces the notion that individuals in the professional occupations work in positions that are high in proportion of dominants.

Work is either manual or non-manual, but occupations tend to be viewed in a hierarchical manner. Positions, such as the professions are placed at the top of the hierarchy.

The term "profession" implies one who has power, autonomy, prestige, status, knowledge, and respect (Derber, 1979; Etzioni, 1969; Kanter, 1977; Pavalko, 1987). Ideally, most people aspire to professional positions because the holder of these roles are viewed as having attained the pinnacle of success and power in society.

Some work groups are viewed as professions while others have yet to attain professional status. Etzioni (1969, p.5) distinguishes between professions and semi-professions. Semi-professions differ because training is shorter, status is less legitimated, the right to privileged communication is less established, the body of knowledge is less specialized, and there is less autonomy from supervision or societal control. Forsyth and Danisiewicz's (1985) theory of professionalization, grounded in Etzioni's distinction between professional and semi-professional occupations, uses professional power as a way of delineating three distinct groups. Individual members of an occupation exercise power through both their autonomy from client and autonomy from employing organization.

According to Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1985), professional occupations are those having members who exhibit high levels of autonomy from both client and employing organization. Their study identified law and medicine as true professions. The semi-professions are characterized as being high in either autonomy from client or autonomy from organization, and low in the remaining dimension. The study identified education as a client-autonomous semi-profession and nursing and social work as organization-autonomous semi-professions. Library science, the only mimic profession identified in the study, is comprised of members who describe their levels of autonomy from both client and organization as low.

Members of professions are, therefore, in positions at work which allow them to maintain and perpetuate their dominance, control and power. Members of semi-profession have less power than their professional counterparts, but more than their non-professional colleagues.

Women, both African American and White, are overrepresented in the semi-professions and mimic-professions while males are overrepresented in the professions (Etzioni, 1969; Pavalko, 1987; Sokoloff, 1992). The majority of African American women are concentrated in non-professional roles, but when they enter the professions, they tend to congregate in the professional areas with the least status (Sokoloff, 1992).

Race and gender are the two characteristics which cannot be controlled by individuals, but the interaction of these two variables has over time caused society to have lower expectations for African American women who, in turn, develop lower aspirations

when making occupational choices. As a group, African American women are unable to make significant gains in power, status, and/or high numerical representation in the professions because members of the dominant group control, maintain, and perpetuate their status within the professions and in society. Nevertheless, there are a limited number of African American women in the professions and an increasing number who are entering the semi-professions. Will the autonomy and status associated with semi-professional and professional roles moderate the relationship between race/gender and silencing?

<div align="center">Invisibility and Silencing</div>

The literature related to invisibility and silencing lacks integration and focus. Definitions of both concepts vary with related terms often being used when authors are writing about the same concept. A review of the literature reveals only limited, fragmented information about the concepts because invisibility and silencing are usually only a small part of a longer work, (i.e. see Belenky et al., 1986; Cose 1993; Lewis, 1993; Weis, 1993). The major exception to this generalization is the work of Derber (1979) who provides a theoretical framework for silencing and invisibility as they relate to the distribution of attention.

One cluster of definitions focuses on institutional, macro-level meanings. When silencing is used in this context, it means that women are excluded from history, literature, or the larger society. Fine (1987) defines "silencing" as a macro-level process

. . .by which contradictory evidence, ideologies, and experiences are

buried, camouflaged, and discredited. The institutionalized policies

and practices obscure the social, economic, and experiential

conditions of students' daily lives, and expels from written, oral,

and nonverbal expression substantial and critical "talk" about these

conditions. (p.157)

Smith's (1992) definition of "silence" is closely related to the issue of silencing at

a macro-level, in that this process causes

> . . . women of color and other ethnic groups to experience
>
> suppression, exclusion, and misrepresentation at every level
>
> of social interaction and are placed at the margins by the
>
> dominant culture. (p. 231)

In this case, silence means invisibility.

Arney (1996), building on Derber, views silencing as a micro-level behavior acted

out by role holders in organizations in face-to-face situations. She defines it as:

> any systematic behavior acted out in face-to-face situations in
>
> organizations, which, over time, deprives groups of individuals
>
> without status and power of the degree and quality of attention
>
> required to remain visible. Such behavior can be violent or
>
> non-violent, overt or subtle, verbal or non-verbal, and intentional
>
> or unintentional. The behavior is not silencing unless it had been
>
> systematic, that is consistently applied over time. Examples of

silencing behavior include shifting conversational topics, ignoring

contributions made by certain individuals, and inattentive listening. (p. 1)

According to Derber (1979), attention deprivation is synonymous with

invisibility. Individuals without autonomy and power are, therefore, attention deprived

and invisible. Derber (1979) states, "The invisible person does not gain even the

minimum attention required to feel that his or her presence has been acknowledged and

established" (p. 17).

Attention getting and attention giving are both related to issues of visibility.

Attention getting is the attempt to obtain and hoard attention. Those who are invisible,

are frequently not successful in gaining attention because they are ignored (Ellison, 1947).

In this case, Ellison ties being silenced or being ignored, to invisibility and the former

precedes the latter. Visibility is necessary to gain attention; those who are invisible can

try to get attention but frequently do so without success.

Attention giving is a role assigned to women. Derber (1979) claims that, "In most

of her roles and formal interactions, however, a woman assumes a certain invisibility" (p.

46). In this case attention giving and invisibility are related.

One of the major problems involved in the concepts of invisibility and silencing is

determining the relationship between the two terms. Often it is assumed, without ever

being directly stated, that being silenced by powerful others results in victim invisibility. In

this sense the terms are in a cause-effect relationship. However, there is some literature

which suggests that the invisible tend to self-silence because of prior habit and/or the loss

of self esteem or self concept (Gilligan, 1982). In this sense, the relationship becomes reciprocal once an individual has experienced systematic silencing and becomes invisible. If, however, one almost always causes the other, then the relationship is tautological and the terms become synonymous.

In a study conducted by Arney and Barnes (1996), in which the researchers were developing an instrument to measure silencing behaviors, the piloting data yielded two fully developed factors, silencing behaviors and supporting behaviors which, when combined, produced an invisibility measure. Consequently, the results of this study indicate that invisibility occurs in face-to-face, formal meetings when silencing behaviors are numerous and supporting behaviors are few. In this sense, invisibility is the broader term and occurs when a specific pattern of varying combinations of silencing and supporting behaviors emerge. According to this study, invisibility is not synonymous with silencing, but the two terms are related.

Despite inconsistencies in labeling, a lack of comprehensiveness, and the confusing relationship between silencing and invisibility, it is possible to identify three major patterns in the literature which relate to silencing and/or invisibility. These patterns include: (1) the paradox of visibility and invisibility, (2) antecedents of silencing and invisibility, and (3) outcome variables related to silencing and invisibility.

The Paradox of Visibility and Invisibility

It is important to note that minorities and women are often said to be invisible (Derber, 1979; Ellison, 1947; Etter-Lewis, 1993; Fordham, 1993; Gilligan, 1982; Shields

& Shields, 1993; Tucker & Wolfe, 1994) while at other times they are described as being visible (Goffman, 1964; Kanter, 1977). How can they be both? Stanlaw and Peshkin (1988) provide an explanation of this phenomenon with their heuristic model which examines positive and negative invisibility and positive and negative visibility. Implicit in the model is the relationship between visibility, attention, and choice. Members of the dominant group tend to have choices as to whether they are visible or invisible. Race, gender, social class, sex roles, and work roles each play a part in establishing a power base and determining the type and amount of attention an individual receives. Generally, people in the dominant class can choose to be visible or invisible, but others have limited or no control over their visibility or invisibility.

Positive visibility exists for members of the dominant group because they are able to get the attention and power they need from society. In addition, individuals with more power can demand more attention, while those with economic power can purchase it. The dominant class in America has wealth, occupational power and education. According to Derber (1979), "these factors determine who gets attention and who does not get attention" (p. 64).

Attention-getters have high visibility due to status, but they can gain more visibility by purchasing additional attention. They can purchase expensive clothing, jewelry, automobiles, art, household items, and therapy. They are able to maintain visibility in all aspects of their life as a consumer, and in their emotional and physical well-being.

Negative visibility can occur at times when the stigma of the invisible is visible. Those who do not get the attention they need sometime get attention for characteristics which keep them from being powerful, i.e., gender, race. This type of attention, according to Kanter (1977), occurs because ". . . individuals in organizations who find themselves represented in smaller proportions" are highly visible and are treated differently by dominants (p.208). Tokens sometimes react differently in order to try to avoid visibility for their unique attributes.

The poor sometime find themselves in a situation which facilitates high, but negative visibility. Their dependence on social agencies, employment offices, and welfare agencies creates an environment which gives them attention they would rather avoid. They are silenced and powerless and this, in turn, creates an atmosphere of negative high visibility. This type of visibility, over which a person has no control, has a negative impact on individuals and is detrimental to their well-being.

Negative invisibility exists for people who are perceived as belonging to a lower social status. According to Derber (1979), "these individuals receive minimal or no attention and are forced to become the attention-givers"(p. 65). These attention-givers have little or no power and are generally viewed and treated as invisible members of society.

Although there is less written about positive invisibility, Stanlaw and Peshkin (1988) suggest that powerful individuals seek positive invisibility because this state allows them to operate normally with no feelings of pressure. Attention-getters use their power

and/or money to circumvent attention or visibility. High profile individuals often do not have any choice about being visible, but they can use their resources to purchase invisibility by utilizing guard dogs, bodyguards, secluded homes with high gates and home monitoring systems, chauffeurs, private planes, and trips to exclusive, secluded resort areas. Individuals with power could use their influence to secure these advantages from those with money.

Antecedents of Silencing and Invisibility

In general, the literature on silencing and invisibility is fairly consistent in delineating the antecedents of both. Patriarchy, social class, sex roles, and stigma are the antecedents identified in the literature. Although these antecedents are not necessarily causal, they exist prior in time to silencing and are intimately connected with the phenomenon. Each of these antecedents will be discussed in the narrative which follows and will be presented in the order delineated above.

Patriarchy

The status of African American women and other women in this country has been directly influenced by patriarchy, a system of male dominance which begins at birth and allows males to dominate and control political, economic and social arrangements for their benefit (Amott, 1991; Beauvoir, 1971; Derber, 1979; Elliott, 1989; Fordham, 1993; Lerner,1986; Spender, 1982; Walby, 1990). Our country, like most societies, was established as a patriarchal system. Although some might argue that patriarchy is

diminishing or becoming less blatant, most would argue that it continues to this day, albeit at more tacit levels. Patriarchal influence is evident in various contexts which include schools and the workplace.

According to Spender (1982), "the condition of patriarchy allows men to be in the privileged position of creating and determining what counts as knowledge in our society. Because knowledge is constructed and controlled by those with more power and status, the knowledge of women and other oppressed groups; such as Blacks, working class people, old people, non-heterosexual people, and the disabled is denied" (p. 6). Spender contends that it is in this way that patriarchy is reinforced and perpetuated in schools. Men are the authorities and they control what is taught and to whom it is taught (Belenky et al., 1986; Fennema, 1984; Lewis, 1993). The contributions of women and minorities are excluded.

The 1992 study sponsored by the American Association of University Women further documents how teachers unknowingly perpetuate patriarchy in schools. Teachers reenact in their classrooms what is happening in society. Male preeminence is reinforced in the classroom as boys demand and receive more attention from the teacher. Boys interrupt and silence girls because this is what they have seen adults, particularly males, do at home and in society (Belenky et al., 1986; Lewis, 1993; Spender, 1982; Weis & Fine, 1993). As this treatment continues, teachers develop reduced expectations for girls in specific curriculum areas, such as math and science, because these subjects are considered to be part of the male domain. This differential treatment leads to a lower

expectation for women and a lowered self-esteem for white women (American

Association University Women ,1992).

Girls and boys are taught to underestimate the abilities and performances of girls in

these domains and overestimate the abilities and performances of boys. Students begin to

act in accordance with these expectations (AAUW, 1992; Belenky, 1986; Fennema,

1982; Lewis, 1993; Spender, 1982). Schools have consistently educated boys and girls

differently (AAUW, 1992; Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Spender, 1982).

Because girls tend to follow rules, complete assignments, demand less attention

from the teacher and are not as active in the classroom as boys; they tend to earn higher

grades than males. On the other hand, boys ultimately experience greater success on

scholarship aptitude tests (AAUW, 1992) which measure knowledge created and defined

by males. Since results of scholarship aptitude tests are weighted more heavily than grade

point averages, males receive more scholarships and gain admissions to better colleges.

Males utilize the educational system to reinforce and maintain their power base at

the expense of other groups, such as women and minorities. Spender (1982) explains this

as follows:

> These latter groups receive an education which fails to qualify them for full
>
> participation in areas regarded to be part of the men's system. Men
>
> therefore, emerge as the best candidates. In a patriarchal society the rule is
>
> that the further up the hierarchy one goes, the more men and fewer women

are to be seen, because it is the men who are the best candidates, so say the

men at the very top. (p. 45)

Schools, therefore, are reproducing and reinforcing the system of male superiority and

dominance which exists in society.

Since men control the power base and knowledge, what women should not do

becomes equated in men's minds with what they cannot do. Lower societal expectations

for girls and women influence their career and occupational choices. Women, both

African American and White, tend to enter traditional attention-giving female

occupations, such as teaching, social work, or nursing (Derber, 1979; Giddings, 1984;

Marrett & Mathews, 1984; Sokoloff, 1992). These careers involve caring for others and

do not have the same high status or pay as careers traditionally reserved for males. Males

focus on power and enter areas such as politics, law, business, and medicine.

Spender (1982) suggests:

Males set the policies and make the decisions in ways that favor men.

They argue that there is no prejudice and that all people have equal

access to the system but choose to not take the right subjects, or obtain

the necessary qualifications or gain the right experience. (p. 44)

Wealth, occupation, and education influence power and, in turn, are influenced by

it in ways which perpetuate patriarchy. Women and minorities have less power than males

under a patriarchal system and this has a direct influence on the type of roles they occupy

and the type and amount of attention they receive in society (Derber, 1979).

Patriarchy has directly influenced the visibility of African American women and other groups in the workplace. It allows men to dominate attention-getting and powerful roles while assigning women and other subordinate group members to attention-giving roles. Patriarchy empowers the males in society to silence women and other individuals who compete with them for attention (Derber. 1979).

African American women find themselves trapped in certain aspects of the workplace by the established boundaries of patriarchy. Their occupational choices are limited because they do not meet the standard established by the dominant power group. Because these women have internalized the invisibility fostered by the dominant, patriarchal culture, they unknowingly perpetuate the problem by placing limitations on their own visibility which in turn, creates an environment which limits the attention they receive and silences them. African American women and other oppressed groups in society are negatively impacted because of these internal and external behaviors. The destructive self-perpetuating behaviors that continue in school are, therefore, carried out in the workplace and society in general.

Social class and sex roles

Social class and sex roles contribute to the invisibility of certain individuals. "Gender influences the social roles and status of people and, furthermore, determines how much attention individuals give or receive and whether they will be silenced" (Derber, 1979, p. 39). This process is played out in both formal and informal organizations. According to Derber (1979), "Women and individuals of low social status do not

possess the qualities and characteristics necessary to command attention-getting

behaviors." (p. 41)   These individuals are relegated to the status of attention-givers.

Gilligan (1982) states that differences in voice are based in social status and power,

and therefore, shape the experiences of all males and women in society. This is the basis

for silencing. Those who possess a dominant voice, i.e., those with more status and

power, are able to create an environment which hinders certain groups of people.

In addition, Derber, states that women are assigned to nurturing roles because of

their gender. These individuals are supposed to give attention rather than get attention.

African American women get a double dose because they are not of the dominant

race and not of the dominant gender. African American women constitute a group of

people who possess less status and power than the dominant group. Therefore, they find

themselves in an environment which limits the attention they receive by assigning them to

attention giving roles which further contribute to their becoming silent members of

society.

<u>Stigma</u>

Stigma precedes silencing because stigma is culturally predetermined. Goffman

(1963) explains how certain individuals in society are excluded from full acceptance. He

explains stigma and its effect on people. He defines stigma as an

. . .attribute(s) that is deeply discrediting or undesirable. A stigma

is a special relationship between an attribute and a stereotype.

Society determines what is normal. Normals have different attitudes

toward a person with a stigma. Stigmas are categorized into three types:

. . .physical deformities, blemishes of individual character, and the tribal

stigma of race, nationality, and religion. Stigmas such as race, gender,

religion, and physical characteristics are used to socially categorize people.

(p. 4)

Stigma is one basis for discrimination in society. A stigma "justifies the behaviors

of normals toward those with stigmas in social situations" (Goffman, 1963, p. 13). An

individual is never totally able to escape a stigma. "Regardless of attainments, stigmatized

individuals always ultimately represent their category" (Goffman, 1963, p. 26).

According to Goffman (1963), "highly visible stigmas, such as race and physical

handicaps, influence how people are treated in society. The normals use stigmas as a basis

of discriminating between people" (p. 5). Those with visible stigmas cannot pass for

being normal, are not treated as normals, and they eventually disappear and become

silenced.

The visibility of a stigma is a crucial factor for individuals in social situations. The

attitudes, reactions, and behaviors of both normal and stigmatized individuals are

influenced by stigma(s). "Stigmatized individuals find themselves in situations which

reduce their life chances" (Goffman, p. 5). According to Goffman:

Stigmatized individuals are socialized by normals to accept certain

identity beliefs about the stigma(s) and as a result develop a moral

career that is both cause and effect of commitment to a sequence

of personal adjustments. (p. 32)

Women, minorities, and lower status people are impacted by visible stigmas. Visible

stigmas can justify silencing behaviors which can, in turn, result in invisibility.

The dominant culture has traditionally delineated certain stigmatized characteristics

and/or qualities to differentiate and distinguish themselves from women, minorities, and

other groups in society. "Passing" as described by Fordham (1992) and Goffman (1964)

is an attempt by some African American women to escape the stigmatized characteristics

assigned to them. They reject their "self" and imitate White American males in order to

gain success in society. In spite of all attempts, these stigmatic characteristics and

qualities continue to justify negative views of these groups by dominant members and

influence their status in society. Kanter (1977) further states that dominants use the

attributes of tokens as a reason for maintaining boundaries which exclude tokens and

further benefit dominants.

Outcomes of Silencing

Three outcomes of silencing are possible. They include negative invisibility,

negative visibility (loudness) and positive invisibility (academic success).

Negative Invisibility

Invisibility may result when a person has been silenced over a period of time.

Silencing itself occurs when "attention-getters" do not allow others to gain the attention

they need. This is accomplished, in part, by using techniques, such as shift-response or support-response, which shifts the conversation back to one's self and away from others over a period of time. These techniques are used selectively by attention-getters (Derber, 1979 p. 35). Individuals or groups of individuals who are subjected to this type of silencing may eventually begin to see themselves as invisible members of society. According to one of Ellison's (1952) major characters in his classic work, Invisible Man, invisibility causes a person to "...doubt if you really exist" (p. 4).

Derber (1979) further defines invisibility as "attention-deprivation" or the inability of individuals to capture sufficient attention to meet their needs. He defines the invisible member of society as:

> . . .the person in ordinary conversation or any other focused
>
> face-to-face interaction who received no attention from others
>
> in the interaction. Those who suffer role-defined exclusion from
>
> others with whom they are physically proximate but are not
>
> engaged in focused face-to-face interaction are viewed as
>
> invisible. This included workers in partly-focused interactions
>
> who have official status as participants in the situation but are
>
> excluded from the conversation or gaze of the others involved (p.
>
> 79).

Women and minorities, along with the poor, undereducated, and unemployed members of society find themselves in an environment which assigns them to attention-

giving roles beginning at birth. These roles tend render these individuals powerless, invisible and silent.

Even when African American women work hard to gain the "right badge" which Derber describes, they are still somewhat limited, and relegated to situations which diminish their full potential in society. Ralph Ellison (1952) presents a clear relationship between invisibility and how it affects African Americans.

> . . .I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to
>
> see me.When they approach me they see only my surroundings,
>
> themselves,or figments of their imagination--indeed everything
>
> and anything except me. (p. 3)

The "everything and anything" continues to help perpetuate a society in which African American women view themselves as powerless and invisible members of the society and institutions.

Negative visibility

When a person has been silenced over a period of time, she or he may become negatively visible or partially invisible. Fordham (1993) discusses the experiences of young Black girls who refuse to be silent and invisible in school. They choose to remain visible by being loud, Black girls. Since academic success is equated with giving up one's voice and become invisible, these girls frequently do not do well in school. These African American women refuse to give up their voice, but their lack of success in school again renders them invisible once they leave school.

Positive invisibility

Academically oriented African American women, like their White female

counterparts, give up their voice and trade their visibility for success in school and the

workplace (Gilligan, 1982; Lewis, 1993). Ultimately, this choice may eventually allow

African American women to obtain some visibility if they can find good jobs after their

education is completed. In this sense, invisibility may be positive because it could lead to

outcomes which are fostered by by school success. Positive invisibility in school may also

be regarded as doing things so well that an individual does not get negative attention.

Hypotheses

According to Kanter, tokenism is associated with a lack of power. The lack of

numerical dominance (critical mass) in a group creates an environment where "tokens"

(those in which 15% or less of the role holders) are highly visible in organizations for

those social characteristics that differ from the dominant group. Members of the

dominant group exaggerate the differences of tokens and, in doing this, cause them to be

"invisible" in all areas except differentiating physicial characteristics (Figure 1). Unlike

tokens, individuals who have sufficient critical mass (adequate numerical representation) in

formal organizations will experience greater power and success because they don't stand

out . Individuals with sufficient critical mass (numerical dominance) will perceive lower

levels of silencing behaviors and increased visibility. Consequently, it is reasonable to

hypothesize the following:
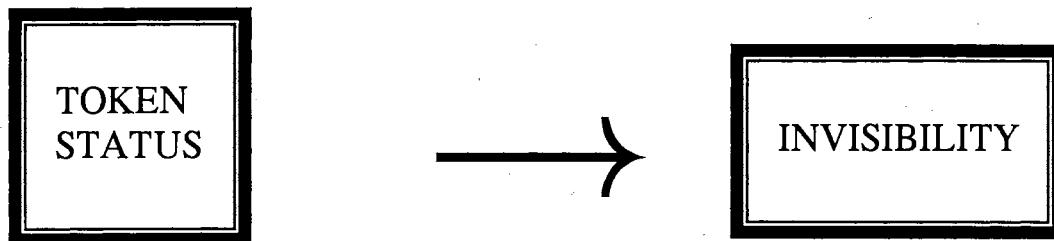
Figure 1. Kanter's Model of Tokenism and the Relationship to Invisibility

Hypothesis I:

African American women without token status in their immediate work unit will

perceive significantly higher levels of visibility than their token counterparts.

According to Derber (1979), roles with high autonomy are associated with

attention getting because, "A professional is normally granted attention automatically on

the basis of assumed expertise and knowledge." Derber furthers adds that, in effect,

professionals control rewards and punishments, such as hiring and firing, so that a

subordinate must give respectful attention despite possible feelings of resentment or

bitterness. Silencing behaviors such as shifting topics tend to make subordinates feel

attention deprived and invisible (Figure 2). Consequently, it is reasonable to hypothesize

the following:

Hypothesis II:

African American women holding positions with high occupational autonomy will

perceive significantly higher levels of visibility than African American women with lower

occupational autonomy.

Individuals do not work in environments with just critical mass or autonomy.

Their work environment deals with both critical mass and autonomy. The way in which

critical mass and autonomy interact could provide greater information and a better

explanation for visibility (Figure 3). Individuals in higher status roles who are non-tokens

should receive more attention, have more power and opportunity, be less likely to

```
┌─────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────┐
│  SHIFTING       │                    │  ATTENTION      │
│  TOPICS         │ ───────────────→   │  DEPRIVATION    │
│  (SILENCING)    │                    │  (INVISIBILITY) │
└─────────────────┘                    └─────────────────┘
```
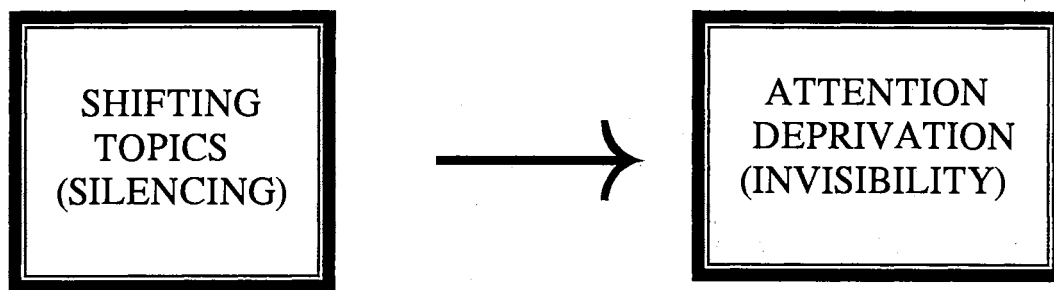
Figure 2. Derber's Model of Occupational Autonomy
and the Relationship to Invisibility

TOKEN STATUS
X
AUTONOMY STATUS

SHIFTING
TOPICS
(SILENCING)

ATTENTION
DEPRIVATION
(INVISIBILITY)
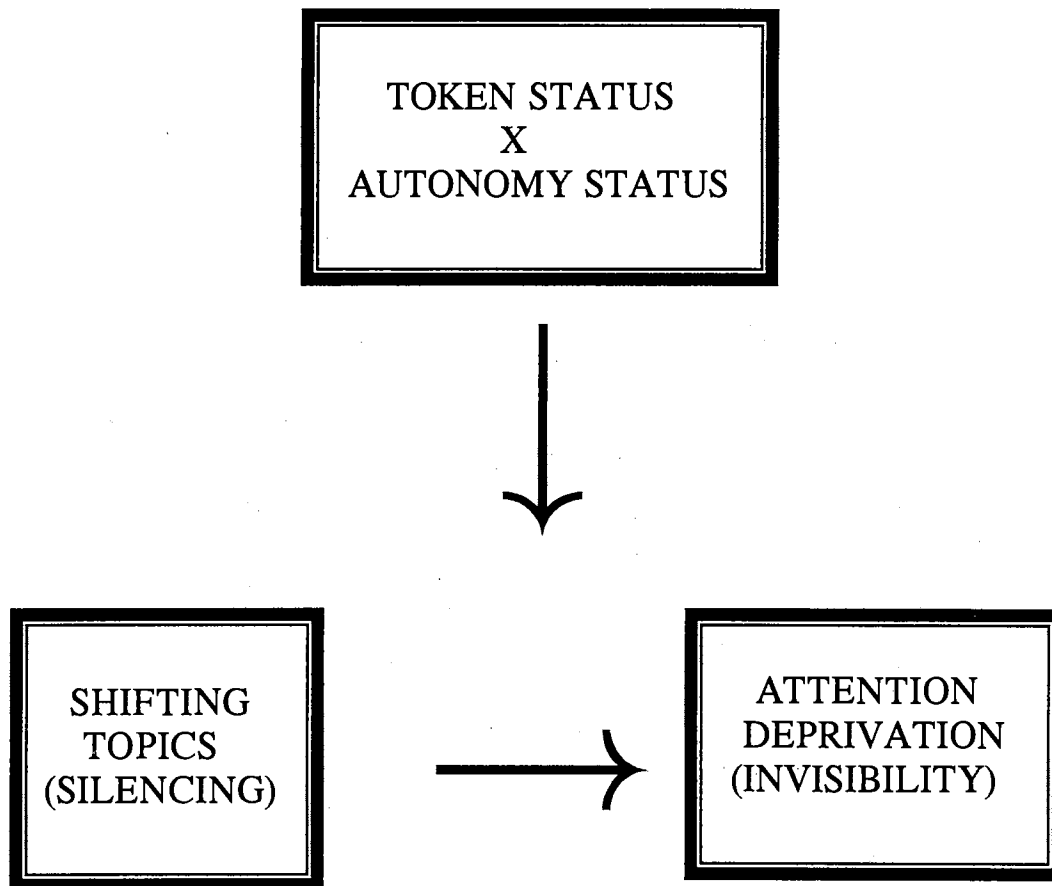
Figure 3. A Synthesis Model of Derber and Kanter
and the Relationship to Invisibility

be silenced and more visible than their token counterparts in low status roles. Consequently, it is reasonable to hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis III:

The interaction between token status and occupational autonomy will contribute to the variance in perceptions of visibility. More specifically, non-token African American women in occupations with higher levels of autonomy will perceive greater visibility than their token counterparts with low autonomy.

Summary

A review of the literature presented information on the plight of the African American female, the theory of token status, the theory of attention delineating autonomy of professions as moderators of the relationship between both gender and race and visibility, and invisibility and silencing.

According to the theory of token status, tokens are treated differently because of being in a situation in which they experience limited opportunity and power. Tokens act differently, because they are treated differently by dominants, thereby, creating a situation where they are unable to reach maximum potential. Kanter (1977) states that "power begets power" for dominants, and tokens find themselves in a self-perpetuating cycle where powerlessness begets powerlessness.

Individual power is influenced by race, gender, and autonomy of occupation. According to Derber, individuals with high power are associated with attention-getting behaviors and individuals with low power are associated with attention-giving behaviors.

Attention-givers eventually find themselves in situations where they experience feelings of being silenced. Over a period of time, the success of African American women and other non-dominant groups in formal organizations, has been impacted by their perceptions of levels of visibility, silencing behaviors, and supporting behaviors.

It was hypothesized that token status, occupational autonomy, and the interchange of both are related to perceptions of visibility experienced by African American women in formal organizations.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This research was designed to determine the contributions of occupational

"autonomy" and "token status" to the perceptions of visibility among African American

women in face-to-face interactions in formal organizations. To accomplish this, it was

necessary to select a sample, measure the constructs and analyze the data. These

procedures are described in the following sections: research design, population and

sample, instrumentation, data collection, data analysis, and summary.

Research Design

This research employed a two-way factorial design, with two categorical

independent variables, to determine the effects of tokenism and autonomy and the

tokenism-autonomy interaction on levels of visibility. Both independent variables have two

levels, token status as token or non-token and occupational autonomy as high autonomy

or low autonomy. Since much theoretical and empirical support exists for race, gender,

and race by gender relationships with silencing, these effects were controlled for by using

only African American women in this study.

Population and Sample

The population for this study was African American women holding professional,

semi-professional and non-professional positions in formal organizations in the midwestern

and southwestern regions of the United States. The sample included African American women who are physicians, attorneys, nurses, engineers, social workers, educators and blue collar, non-professional workers.

When determining sample size, Fowler (1984) suggests that it is the subgroups for which data will be analyzed that determine the requisite sample size. Since this study includes two independent variables, each with two levels, data had to be obtained for four cells. Bruning and Kintz (1977) report that, in determining sample size, the rule of thumb for some researchers is about 20 subjects for each independent variable used in a study. Since two independent variables are used, a minimum of 40 subjects were required for each cell for a total of 160 subjects. However, oversampling would be necessary for at least two reasons. First, the respondent's token status was not known a priori; therefore, it was necessary to oversample to insure that there would be a sufficient number of respondents for each of four cells in this 2 x 2 design. Second, since Gay (1987) suggests that, with two mailings, only 70 percent of the sample will return questionnaires, the number sampled had to be increased by at least 30 percent to compensate for non-returns. The researcher decided to begin with 353 respondents. That number would be adjusted as needed to insure that there were at least 40 subjects for each of the four cells.

When there were a sufficient number of African American women in any one occupation, the sample was randomly selected from the occupational population list. However, in certain occupational areas, (for example, physicians, attorneys, and engineers), in which it was quite difficult to find sufficient numbers of African American

women; the sample could not be randomly selected because of the rarity of African American women in these areas. In these instances, the sampling boundaries were expanded.

Population lists for each occupation represented in the study were compiled from various geographic regions. Since there were sufficient numbers of African American women holding teaching, social worker roles, and non-professional positions in Tulsa, the boundary for these three occupations was confined to Tulsa (Table 1). However, since there were insufficient numbers of African American women in Tulsa who are engineers, attorneys, physicians, and nurses; boundaries were expanded until the requisite number was attained. Specifically, the boundaries for nurses were Tulsa and Oklahoma City; for physicians Oklahoma, Texas, and Missouri; for attorneys Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Dallas and Houston; and for engineers Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and Missouri.

Initially, a letter describing the research and requesting a mailing list with names and addresses of African American female members was sent in December, 1994, to the respective national professional and work organizations. These letters were mailed to these groups in Tulsa and the states of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and Missouri. National organizations solicited either did not keep a mailing list by state, did not release such information, or requested that their membership list be purchased and all mailing be done through their national office. Cost factors associated with that type of procedure prohibited their use based on the number of subjects required for this study.

Table I

Boundaries for Each Population, Number of Respondents Sampled and Origin of Population Lists

OCCUPATION	BOUNDARY	TOTAL FEMALES IN EACH OCCUPATION	NUMBER	ORIGIN OF POPULATION LISTS
Educator	Tulsa Public Schools	460	70	Tulsa Public Schools
Social Worker	Tulsa	162	73	Tulsa Association of Black Social Workers
Non-Professional	Tulsa Public Schools	407	120	Tulsa Public Schools
Nurse	Tulsa, Oklahoma City	213	67	Tulsa Association of Minority Nurses
Physician	Oklahoma, Texas Missouri	53	53	Minority Physicians' Associations in Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri
Attorney	Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Dallas, Houston	65	65	Minority Attorneys' Associations in Tulsa, Oklahoma City, Dallas, Houston
Engineer	Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Missouri	38	38	Oklahoma State University, University of Tulsa, Minority Engineers' Association in Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, Missouri
Population Total		1398	486	

As a result, other methods were used to generate population lists. Contacts to major universities in the selected geographic regions provided a limited list of African American women graduates (Table 1). Mailing lists for educators, and non- professional workers were obtained from the Tulsa Public Schools. The local association of Black social workers provided a mailing list of African American social workers in Tulsa. Each of these groups was randomly sampled because sufficient numbers of African American women belonged to each group (Table 1). Mailing lists for occupations in which there were no population lists were eventually obtained by making personal phone calls to members of African American professional organizations in the selected geographic locations. The Tulsa chapter of African American attorneys provided the membership list for Tulsa and Oklahoma City, and a contact person for the respective organizations in Dallas and Houston provided the membership list for those cities. The minority physicians' organization in Tulsa provided a membership list for Oklahoma and contacts for the organization in Texas, and Missouri. Each minority physicians' group in the respective location provided the mailing list for its organization. The Tulsa chapter of minority nurses provided the mailing list of African American nurses in Tulsa and Oklahoma City. The minority engineers' organizations in the states of Oklahoma, Texas, Kansas, and Missouri provided the membership list for each statewide organization. By repeating this networking process as needed, the researcher eventually obtained a sufficient number of African American women to use in this study. However, in the case

of African American female physicians, engineers, and attorneys, it was necessary to use the entire population as the sample to ensure sufficient response numbers for the study.

Instrumentation

The questionnaire used in this study was designed to provide information about five variables: (1) token status, (2) occupational autonomy, (3) visibility, (4) silencing behaviors, and (5) supporting behaviors. The total questionnaire contained 44 items. Thirteen of these 44 items were discarded because, as a part of the pilot instrument they clustered around two factors which are not sufficiently developed at this time. Two items provided demographic data which will be used in future research. Fourteen items measure supporting behaviors and 11 items measure silencing behaviors. Visibility is the combined measure of both supporting behaviors and silencing behaviors. Four items measure both occupational autonomy and token status.

Questionnaires were coded so that follow-up questionnaires could be sent to non-respondents. The first page of the questionnaire describes the purpose of the study (appendix A) and the last page provides respondents with information about the study that they needed to know to be able to give their informed consent. The remainder of this section will discuss development of the Group Communication Profile, and measurements of the dependent and independent variables.

Development of the Group Communication Profile

The Group Communication Profile was developed by Arney and Barnes (1996) to measure silencing and invisibility. The first draft was administered to approximately 50

people to eliminate any major problems with wording of the instructions and question items. Minor revisions were made to increase variability and item clarity.

The modified instrument was then administered to a diverse sample of 269 people. Six percent were female, 72 percent had at least one year of college, 70 percent were employed full-time, 20 percent were full-time students, 4 percent were not employed and 2 percent were retired. Their ages ranged from 18 to 69. Sixty-six percent were White while 32 percent were minorities. Using the 1989 U. S. Census Occupational Codes, the authors determined that the sample was occupationally diverse although at least 40 percent of the group were in professional/technical or managerial categories of employment (Arney & Barnes, 1996).

Using items from 263 completed questionnaires, the authors analyzed the data with a principal components analysis. This analysis revealed 10 factors with eigen values greater than 1.00, but a scree plot suggested either a four-factor or a five-factor solution would better fit the data. To resolve this issue, oblique rotations of both solutions were studied. The four factor solution was the most interpretable and most consistent with the theoretical model guiding the instrument development. The 4 factors accounted for 43 percent of the variance. Items with loads of .40 or higher were retained (Table II).

The reliability of the first variable, supporting conditions, is within an acceptable range with an internal consistency alpha of .88. Higher scores mean higher visibility due to group support. The reliability of the second variable, silencing conditions, is within an acceptable range with an internal consistency alpha of .84. Higher scores mean higher

Table II

Factor Structure Loadings			Low	High
Item	Support	Silence	Profile	Profile
I24 Easy to speak	.78	-.25	-.03	-.30
I26 Comfortable asking	.72	-.13	.01	-.19
I27 My comments as good	.71	-.24	.25	-.22
I18 Nothing to say	-.66	.33	.11	-.01
I12 Can hold attention	.62	-.20	-.08	-.33
I25 Others trust me	.62	-.39	.28	-.34
I23 Others listen	.61	-.39	.31	-.35
I21 Words come out wrong	-.61	.37	.11	.00
I10 Say what's on my mind	.60	-.17	-.13	-.38
I34 People really listen	.57	-.47	.39	-.34
I13 People react well	.57	-.23	.15	-.44
I20 Forget what to say	-.56	.33	.04	-.21
I28 Think best on my feet	.48	.11	.13	-.21
I37 Encourage to continue	.45	-.31	.22	-.37
I4 Ignore what I say	-.19	.72	.05	.25
I16 Get interrupted	-.23	.69	-.15	-.03
I33 Can't get attention	-.35	.69	-.13	-.06
I15 Change topic	-.26	.64	-.09	-.19
I16 Private conversation	-.33	.62	-.10	-.12
I7 Feel unnoticed	-.31	.61	.11	.15
I1 Struggle to be heard	-.23	.57	-.07	.31
I19 Look at their watches	-.34	.57	-.09	-.31
I29 Don't look at me	-.30	.54	-.10	-.16
I5 Feel rushed when speak	-.21	.54	-.04	-.02
I3 Assume less status	-.04	.51	.05	.02
I31 Maintain low profile	-.46	.21	.59	.07
I30 Stay quiet, get attn	.07	.14	.57	-.26
I6 Listen more than talk	-.23	.09	.55	.12
I32 Ideas more important	.20	-.11	.41	-.07
I35 Get credit for ideas	-.03	.09	.07	-.58
I36 Seek spotlight	.12	.13	-.41	-.52
I9 Finish if interrupted	.33	-.35	.13	-.51
I22 Convince others	.17	.02	.03	-.47
I11 Lets me continue	.30	-.23	-.08	-.45
I14 Talk more than listen	.10	.18	-.41	-.44
I18 Asked for my opinion	.33	-.30	.12	-.42
Coefficient Alpha	.88	.84	.48	.58

visibility due to less silencing (Arney & Barnes, 1996). The alpha for the composite score was not computed with the pilot sample.

Factors three and four were reported to have unacceptable reliabilities, .48 and .58 respectively. According to Arney and Barnes (1996), "These latter two scores are not sufficiently well-developed for use as a research tool at this time." (p. 6)

Construct validity for this instrument was established by identifying groups of individuals believed to be highly visible in group meetings, that is their opinions were sought by others and, when they spoke, their colleagues listened; and groups of individuals believed to be highly invisible in group meetings, that is their opinions were not solicited and, when they dared to speak, they received only minimum attention for a brief period. These individuals did not know that they had been designated as "visible" or "invisible" when they responded to a questionnaire which was color coded to indicate one of two categories of visibility. There were 18 respondents per group. The visible group had support scores of 57.11 as contrasted with support scores of 46.44 for the invisible group. The visible group had silencing scores of 44.44 compared to 39.89 for the invisible group. Univariate t-tests indicate that the differences on both measures are statistically significant.

Internal consistency data for this study utilizing a Coefficient Alpha on all items yielded a reliability score of .90 for both silencing and supporting behaviors, and .92 for visibility. Variables were expressed on a five point Likert scale ranging from a low score of one to a high score of five.

The Dependent Variables: Visibility, Supporting Behaviors, and Silencing Behaviors

The Group Communication Profile Index which measures visibility as a composite of two subscales (silencing and supporting behaviors) contains 25 usable items. Visibility is computed by combining the frequency of silencing behaviors and supporting behaviors experienced by respondents in face-to-face interactions with others in formal organizations. Silencing behaviors were measured with 11 questions describing respondents' perceptions of how often the group thwarts efforts to be heard with active and passive acts of aggression which prevent the respondents' from gaining the group's attention. Examples of items are as follows: "When I speak, I notice other people looking at their watches," and "When I'm talking, people try to change the topic."

Supporting behaviors consists of 14 questions which describe the respondents' perceptions of how often the group makes them feel at ease by supporting their efforts to be heard and, therefore, visible. Examples of items are as follows: "It's easy for me to speak up in group meetings," and "People seem to trust that I know what I'm talking about."

The Independent Variables: Token Status and Occupational Autonomy

Token status was operationalized as the ratio of African Americans to others in the work unit of the organization where the respondents reported they spent the majority of their time, i.e., the school building for teachers, the ward for nurses and department for social workers. To obtain the ratio, the total number of African Americans including the

respondent was divided by the total number of people in the immediate work unit. Both African American women and males were included when determining token status. Based on the researcher's cultural knowledge of what it is like to be an African American in a dominant culture which is not African American, it was determined that as long as there were other African Americans in the organization, male or female, the African American subjects of the study would feel more comfortable. On that basis, African American women and males in an organization were included when determining token status.

Kanter (1977) suggests that individuals do not escape the impact of token status until the ratio of dominants to non-dominants is equal to or greater than 65:35. Since skewed groups reflect ratios of 85:15 and tilted groups 65:35, it is apparent that a gray area exists between these two ratios. To insure that there were sufficient numbers of tokens and non-tokens in each cell, the researcher determined that a natural break existed at the 78:22 ratio. This allowed for a reasonable distribution of tokens and non-tokens while maintaining Kanter's range of ratios for tokens. Respondents in work groups where .222 percent or less of the workers were African American were labeled as tokens. If the respondents were in a work unit in which .23 percent or more of the workers were African American, then the respondents were classified as non-tokens.

"Occupational autonomy" was operationalized as the degree of professional power associated with each occupation used in this study. Although the researcher originally intended to have three categories (professional, semi-professional, and non-professional), one of these categories did not contain enough responses to allow analysis.

Consequently, three cells were collapsed into two cells. In Forsyth and Danieswitz's (1985) study of professions, occupations designated as having high organizational and/or client autonomy were designated as "high autonomy" occupations. These occupations were physicians, attorneys, teachers, social workers, and engineers. Occupations which had neither autonomy from client or autonomy from organization, were designated as "low autonomy" occupations. These occupations include secretaries, clerks, bus drivers, teacher assistants, custodians, and cafeteria workers.

Data Collection

The Group Communication Profile was mailed first in April, 1995 and next in August, 1995. For each mailing, an explanatory letter and a stamped, self-addressed envelope were included in the packet. Subjects were promised anonymity although a coding list was kept until the target sample size was attained. At that time, all coding lists were destroyed. The sequence of mailing was as follows: physicians, social workers, attorneys, educators, registered nurses, engineers, and blue collar workers. If there was no response after one month, a second instrument was mailed out to non-respondents.

Due to the lack of a sufficient number of responses in some occupational groups, even after two mailings, it was also necessary to make a third contact to 21 randomly selected non-respondents by phone. An additional reason for contacting non-respondents was to determine whether or not respondents (those responding to the first or second mailouts) and non-respondents (those who did not respond to the first or second mailouts) were similar in their perceptions of visibility, silencing behaviors, and supporting

behaviors. Since some occupational groups needed more respondents, the researcher more heavily selected non-respondents from those groups. Reasons given for not responding included such responses as: "just forgot to complete it by the requested deadline" or "why study this topic?" Eleven of the respondents contacted by phone returned the surveys within one week.

Forty percent of the respondents contacted during the first mailing returned the questionnaire (Table III). An additional 35 percent returned questionnaires after the second mailing. Fifty-two percent of the 21 non-respondents contacted by phone returned the questionnaire. The largest return rate by occupational groups was 67 percent of the support workers followed by 53 percent of the engineers. Thirty-eight percent of the physicians who were contacted returned the questionnaire. In addition, the response rates for attorneys, nurses, educators, and social workers ranged from 27 percent to 31 percent. A total of 200 African American women participated in this study which represents a 41 percent return rate.

Because the overall return rate was lower than expected, it was important to determine whether the respondents in the study were similar to the non-respondents. To do this, a comparison was made of the mean scores on the three dependent variables of the 189 respondents and the 11 non-respondents. Non-respondents had much higher levels of visibility (97 as contrasted with 91) and support (52 as contrasted with 50) and lower silencing (45 as contrasted with 41) because ten of the eleven non-respondents were from the professional groups.

Table III

Questionnaire Response Rate

	First Mailing	Percent Returned	Second Mailing	Percent Returned	Phone Solicited Non-Respondents	Percent Returned	Total Mailing	Total Percent Returned
Engineer	20	45	18	44	3	100	38	53
Attorney	50	28	15	27	3	67	65	31
Physician	43	30	10	50	3	67	53	38
Social Worker	60	28	13	15	3	33	73	27
Nurse	40	30	27	26	3	33	67	30
Educator	60	30	10	10	3	33	70	29
Non-Professional	80	74	40	50	3	33	120	67
Total	353	40	133	35	21	52	486	41

Because of the skewed results, it was necessary to analyze respondent and non-respondent responses in a different way. To do this, a between group contrast was conducted comparing the scores of professional women in both responding and non-responding groups. A second contrast was conducted comparing the scores of of non-professional women from both the responding and non-responding groups.

African American women, holding high autonomous jobs, both respondents and non-respondents, had similar mean scores on visibility (97 and 94 respectively), silencing behaviors (45 and 42 respectively), and supporting behaviors (55 and 52 respectively).

The one phone solicited non-respondent with low autonomy was far less visible than the other low autonomy respondents (66 as compared with 86). Perhaps the solicited non-respondent with low autonomy was so invisible that it was difficult for her to find a voice for completing the questionnaire. Only with prodding did she complete and return the instrument. If her score is representative of other low autonomy non-respondents, then their scores, although in the same direction as low autonomy respondents, are more extreme than their low autonomy counterparts who had sufficient visibility and could, therefore, respond without prodding. This situation, however, would not contradict the findings of the study but would, instead, provide even more dramatic support for the notion that invisibility increases as autonomy decreases.

Data Analysis

The unit of analysis for this study was groups of African American women. According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), "Broad parameters governing the definitions of units of analysis are designated by the general theoretical perspective informing the research (p. 59)." Since Derber (1979) discusses dominant and non-dominant groups of individuals, one non-dominant group, African American women became the unit of analysis in this study.

Because it was not possible to determine "token" or "non-token" status of the respondents prior to their completing the survey, the number of subjects in each group could not be predicted in advance. The researcher combined professional and semi-professional women to further insure a sufficient number of respondents in each cell. Consequently, the four cells in the 2 x 2 design did not contain an equal number of respondents. Unequal cell size results in non-orthogonality, that is, independent variables which are correlated.

To control for correlated independent variables, a stepwise Anova procedure was employed in which the effects of each independent variable were partialled from the others hierarchically (Wilkinson, 1990). For example, the common variance shared by both token status and the interaction term and both autonomy and the interaction term were removed prior to entry of the interaction variable. Therefore, the model controls for the contribution of the interaction term after the effects of token status and occupational autonomy have been removed.

Since visibility consists of a composite of both silencing and supporting behaviors, two additional stepwise anovas were constructed to complement the hypothesized findings by determining the contributions of the independent variables to silencing and supporting behaviors. The variables were entered in the following order: token status, type of autonomy and the token-autonomy interaction term. Each model tested the impact of the variables on perceptions of visibility, as well as silencing and supporting behaviors. A probability level of .05 was established as the level of significance. In the event that an interaction term was significant, a Bonferroni multiple comparison test was used to contrast the levels of visibility, support, and silencing experienced by African American women under varying conditions of token and autonomy levels.

Summary

This chapter described the methodology employed to analyze data collected to determine the contributions of "occupational autonomy" and "token status" and their interaction term to the perceptions of visibility, silencing behaviors and supporting behaviors among African American women in face-to-face interactions in formal organizations. Three stepwise Anova models were used to analyze the data. The population was limited to African American women, both professional and non-professional, who are attorneys, physicians, social workers, engineers, registered nurses, educators, or blue-collar workers in the city of Tulsa or the states of Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, or Kansas.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This research was designed to determine the contributions of "occupational autonomy," "token status" and their interactions to the perceptions of visibility among African American women in face-to-face interactions in formal organizations. To this end three hypotheses were formulated and tested by a stepwise anova model. Two additional stepwise models were constructed to test the contribution of occupational autonomy, token status, and the interaction term to two factors (silencing and supporting behaviors) which, when combined, measure degrees of visibility.

This chapter will provide the following information: a brief description of the respondents in the study, which will be followed by the results of hypotheses testing. Additional results will be reported for silencing behaviors and supporting behaviors under the relevant hypotheses.

Description of the Respondents

The demographic data (Table IV) was obtained from the 200 respondents who completed the questionnaire for this study. This information is provided to describe the characteristics of the respondents. Women who were between the ages of 22 and 28 constituted 14.5 percent of the total group while women who were 29 to 36 years of age constituted 23 percent of the total group. The largest group of women were ages 37 to

TABLE IV

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA DESCRIBING THE RESPONDENTS

Variable	Frequency N	Percent of Total	Cumulative
Age			
22-28	29	14.5	14.5
29-36	46	23.0	37.5
37-44	75	37.5	75.0
45-51	37	18.5	93.5
52-57	13	6.5	100.0
Education			
No High School	0	0	0
High School Graduate	37	18.5	18.5
Post High School Training	15	7.5	26.0
Two Years College	18	9.0	35.0
Bachelor's	61	30.5	65.6
Master's	21	10.5	76.0
Master's + Hours	6	3.0	79.0
Ed.D./Ph.D./M.D./J.D.	42	21.0	100.0
Occupation			
Attorney	20	10.0	10.0
Educator	20	10.0	20.0
Physician	20	10.0	30.0
Non-Professional	80	40.0	70.0
Nurse	20	10.0	80.0
Social Worker	20	10.0	90.0
Engineer	20	10.0	100.0

44 and constituted 37.5 of the total group. In addition, 18.5 percent of the women were ages 45 to 51 and 6.5 percent of the total group of women were ages of fifty-two to fifty-seven.

All participants completed high school with 18.5 percent having only a high school education. Seven and a half percent had additional post high school training and 9.0 percent completed two years of college. Sixty-one percent of the respondents held the bachelor's degree. In addition, almost 11 percent held the master's degree and 3.0 percent had earned additional hours beyond the master's degree. Twenty-one percent of the participants held the doctoral-level degree in their occupational area.

A majority of the respondents worked in professional positions, with each occupational group representing 10.0 percent of the study for a total of 60% of the sample. Non-professionals represented forty percent of the total group.

Results of Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis I:

African American women without token status in their immediate work units will perceive significantly higher levels of visibility than their token counterparts.

This hypothesis is rejected. Token status was not entered in any of the three-step regression models because it did not attain a .05 level of significance (Table V). African American women, whether tokens or non-tokens, did not experience different

Table V

Results of Stepwise Anovas

Dependent Variables	Token Status	Autonomy	TS X A
Visibility			
df	#	1	1
ss		3624.991	653.669
F		16.695	3.010
ms		3624.991	653.669
P		0.000*	0.042*
Being Silenced			
df	#	1	2
ss		444.083	#
F		6.565	
ms		444.083	
P		0.005*	
Being Supported			
df	#	1	1
ss		1551.201	243.246
F		19.957	3.129
ms		1551.201	243.246
P		0.000*	0.039*

* Significant at the .05 level ($p < .05$)
# Not included in the final step

levels of visibility. Furthermore, African American women , whether tokens or non-tokens, did not experience different levels of silencing or support at their respective workplaces.

Hypothesis II:

African American women holding positions with high occupational autonomy will perceive significantly higher levels of visibility than African American women with lower occupational autonomy.

This hypothesis was confirmed. Occupational autonomy was entered at a .05 level or less in all three models (Table V). As occupational autonomy increases, African American women become more visible, more supported and silenced less (Table VI). Professional women have a mean visibility scores of 95 while their non-professional counterparts have a mean visibility score of 86. In addition, professional women have a mean silencing score of 42 and a mean supporting score of 52 as contrasted with non-professional women who have mean silencing score of 39 and a mean supporting score of 47. According to Table VII, almost eight percent of the variance in visibility, three percent of the variance in silencing behaviors, and about nine percent of the variance in supporting behaviors can be explained by occupational autonomy.

HYPOTHESIS III:

The interaction between token status and occupational autonomy will contribute to the variance in perceptions of visibility. More specifically, non-token African American

Table VI

<u>Visibility, Silencing, and Supporting Mean Scores for Low and High Autonomy Women</u>

	LOW AUTONOMY (Non-Professional)	HIGH AUTONOMY (Professional or Semi-Professional)
VISIBILITY	86.00	94.783
SILENCING	39.475	42.517
SUPPORTING	46.525	52.267

Table VII

Amount of Variance Explained by Each Contributing Variable

	Visibility	R Silencing	Supporting
Token Status (TS)	#	#	#
Occupational Autonomy (OA)	.079	.032	.092
TS x OA	.013		.017
TOTAL	.092		.107

Excluded from the final step

women in occupations with higher levels of autonomy will perceive greater visibility than their token counterparts with low autonomy.

This hypothesis was confirmed. The interaction term contributed significantly to the variance in visibility (Table V). In addition, the interaction term contributed significantly to the variance in supporting behaviors (Table V). The interaction term contributed over one percent of the variance in both visibility and supporting behaviors (Table VII).

The direction of the interaction term was as predicted. According to Table VIII and Table IX, non-token African American women in occupations with high levels of autonomy were more visible (96.50) and more supported (53.31) than token African American women in occupations with low levels of autonomy who were less visible (87.81) in their immediate work units and less supported (47.63).

Although not hypothesized, one other contrast emerged as significant which further confirms the importance of autonomy. According to Table VIII, professional African American women who are tokens experience significantly more visibility (92.88) than non-professional African American women who are not tokens (84.19). Further, Table IX shows professional African American women who are tokens experience significantly more supporting behaviors (51.10) than non-professional African American women who are not tokens (45.42).

Table VIII

Mean Visibility Scores for Low and High Autonomy

	Low Autonomy (Non-Professional)	High Autonomy (Professional or Semi-Professional)
Token	1 87.809	2 92.884
Non-Token	3 84.191	4 96.502

*Cells 1,4; 2,3; 3,4

Significant differences between cells at the .05 level

Table IX

Mean Supporting Scores for Low and High Autonomy

	Low Autonomy (Non-Professional)	High Autonomy (Professional or Semi-Professional)
Token	1 47.629	2 51.108
Non-Token	3 45.421	4 53.315

*Cells 1,4; 2,3; 3,4

*Significant differences between cells at the .05 level

A final contrast which is statistically significant adds little information. Specifically, in Table VIII, professional women with non-token status experience significantly more visibility (96.50) than non-professional women with non-token status (84.19). In addition, according to Table IX, professional women with non-token status experience significantly more supporting behaviors (53.31) than non-professional women with non-token status (45.42).

SUMMARY

Status of tokenism did not successfully predict levels of visibility and silencing or supporting behaviors when entered as a main effect. Further, occupational autonomy did predict levels of visibility and silencing or supporting behaviors and in the direction predicted. Specifically, women holding jobs with higher autonomy experience higher levels of visibility in the workplace, fewer silencing behaviors, and more supporting behaviors. The interaction between token status and degree of professionalism did contribute successfully to the variance in visibility and supporting behaviors, and in both cases it was in the direction hypothesized. Specifically, non-token women holding jobs with higher autonomy experience higher levels of visibility and support in the workplace than token women holding jobs with lower autonomy.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, INTERPRETATIONS,

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The major purpose of this study was to determine whether the theory of

tokenism, the theory of autonomy of occupation, or the use of both theories in

combination or interplay, best explain silencing behaviors and levels of invisibility

experienced by African American women in various occupations in the workplace.

The results of this study can only be generalized back to the population in this

study. Table 1 lists the population boundary for each occupation included in this research

project. Any assumptions, suggestions, recommendations, and interpretations which

follow in the narrative should be read and interpreted only within the context of this study.

In this chapter, the discussion of the findings as they relate to these purposes will

be organized in the following order: a summary of chapters one through four, conclusions

and interpretations, recommendations, suggestions for future research, and a concluding

thought.

Summary

A stepwise model was constructed to test the hypothesis that token status,

occupational autonomy, and the interaction between the two contribute to levels of

invisibility. Two additional models were built to determine the effect of the independent

81

variables on the two related dependent variables. It was determined that token status was not successful in explaining issues relating to levels of visibility, perceptions of silencing, and perceptions of support in a work setting. Occupational autonomy did contribute to perceptions of visibility, silencing behaviors and supporting behaviors. African American women holding jobs with higher autonomy experienced higher levels of visibility, fewer silencing behaviors, and more supporting behaviors in the workplace. The interaction term was a successful predictor of visibility and supporting behaviors. This same group of professional women experienced even higher levels of visibility and supporting behaviors if they also worked in places where they were not tokens.

<div align="center">Conclusions and Interpretations</div>

Two conclusions can be drawn from the findings of the study. First, Derber's (1979) theory of occupational autonomy does a better job of predicting visibility, silencing, and support than Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism. The second conclusion is that token status is a significant factor only with highly autonomous African American women but not with lesser autonomous African American women.

Why does Derber's theory do a better job of explaining visibility levels for African American women than Kanter's theory? Why doesn't reducing tokenism in organizations help all African American women, both autonomous and non-autonomous? Each of these questions will be addressed in the order indicated.

Derber's Theory of Attention by Occupational Autonomy as the Better Predictor

Power is tied to patriarchy and class issues. Therefore a theory, such as Derber's, which emphasizes the context in which work settings are placed, is more likely to be successful in explaining issues of invisibility than a theory which fails to take into consideration the larger context in which a particular work setting might be embedded. Kanter's theory focuses on organizational structure within the workplace. Indeed, although not referring directly to Kanter but to similar theorists who deal with issues at the microlevel, Derber (1979) suggests:

> This requires going beyond the work of Goffman and others who have
>
> explored status and deference in interpersonal life toward an analysis of
>
> the ways that face-to-face relations are uniquely embedded within the
>
> dominant socioeconomic system--in this instance, within the patriarchal
>
> system and class structure of contemporary America. I have indicated that
>
> microsociologists have neglected analysis of the larger economic and
>
> political institutions. (p. 6)

Many African American women would argue that racism and sexism are still alive and well in today's society. This notion appears to be supported by data which indicate that few African Americans have access to professional positions (Horton & Smith, 1990; U.S. Census Bureau, 1995: Sokoloff, 1992). For example, approximately 6.5 percent of American American men currently hold professional positions while 4.9 percent of African American women hold professional positions in the workforce (King, 1992:

Sokoloff, 1992). This means that approximately 95 percent of African American males and females do not hold professional positions. Because African American women have a double stigma and less power, it is less likely that they would hold more powerful positions. Nevertheless, according to this study, when African American women do gain access to positions with autonomy, they also gain visibility. It seems that occupational autonomy does moderate the strong connection between race-gender and visibility.

Kanter's Theory of Token Status as an Enhancer of

 Autonomous African American Women

The addition of Kanter's theory to Derber's theory contributes nothing to the model which predicts visibility, silencing, and supporting. However, the multiplicative interchange between Kanter's notion of tokenism and Derber's theory of attention improves the predictive model focused on in this study. Kanter's theory contributes to Derber's model, but only when dealing with professional African American women. It does not contribute to Derber's theory when dealing with women who lack occupational autonomy. In other words, non-token status can enhance power if it exists, but it can't create that which does not exist.

Non-token status was not powerful enough to ameliorate the effects of low autonomy on visibility; the African American women in this sample with lower occupational autonomy remained more invisible and experienced fewer supporting behaviors than their autonomous counterparts whether they were tokens or not. Adding more powerless people to an organization will not increase their power. African American

women in non-professional occupations view their jobs as dead ends with little or no opportunity for advancement. This continues to be reinforced by the work organization and society as a whole throughout their work careers and lives. Increasing the masses of invisible individuals will not make them visible. If an invisible person is represented by a zero, twelve times zero is still equal to zero. Tokenism is not really about power as Kanter suggested at one point. If it were, reducing tokenism would increase visibility for women without autonomy in their jobs.

However, increasing critical mass is helpful in enhancing visibility levels for African American women who hold jobs with higher autonomy. Ten professional African American women, in the same work unit even though they are African American, are more powerful and also more visible than six African American professional women in the same work unit. Each would be seen and treated as an individual rather than as a token representative of a group.

Implications

The results of this study have both theoretical and practical implications to assist others in improving the status of African American women in the workforce.

Theoretical Implications

Theorists and researchers who study organizations, and the people who work in them, are encouraged to look to the outer environment to explain things that occur in the workplace. The larger context in which organizations are embedded influences conditions that individuals experience at the workplace. Workers take their races and genders with

them as they enter their places of work. Organizations embedded in patriarchal systems may exclude individuals from more powerful positions or fail to facilitate th success of those few who do fill the higher level positions. Theorists need to consider the larger context in which organizations are embedded as well as the structure of the organization itself. It is the outer environment that helps us learn how to structure the inner environment.

Theorists and researchers should consider adding to the predictive power of theories by combining them with other existing conceptual frameworks in an interactive way. A complex phenomenon sometimes can better be understood by incorporating and using more complex designs in research studies.

Practical Implications

Today's educational system contributes to the effectiveness of tomorrow's future workforce. Members of the educational system have a responsibility to ensure that all students reach their maximum potential by encouraging members of underrepresented gender and ethnic groups to aspire to employment opportunities which were not choices for them in the recent past.

African American women should be encouraged to remain in school, take college preparation classes, and consider preparation programs for professional occupations. Education, as suggested by Derber (1979), is a source of potential power for all individuals, but is particularly useful for groups without as many employment opportunities.

The hierarchical organization embedded in a patriarchal and class system has nourished a culture which does not recognize the potential of all of its workers. While it is not possible to directly influence the larger context, employers could enrich jobs, particularly non-professional positions, while encouraging talented individuals to seek higher level positions. On-the-job training, educational benefits, mentoring, networking opportunities, and job rotation could be used to help African American women improve their status at the workplace.

Existing hiring practices should be examined to determine how policies benefit or hinder certain groups of people. other minorities in professional occupations. Phillip Selznick (1992) stresses the need to recognize the potential of all individuals in the following quotation:

> No one should be hampered, no door should be closed to anyone, because of a prejudice against that person's social origins. Whatever opportunities exist should be open to all without regard to social class or to race, creed, ethnicity, or gender. (p.492)

Suggestions for Future Research

Numerous opportunities exist for additional research involving African American women and issues related to visibility. In future research the population should be expanded to include occupations that were excluded in this study and the geographical boundaries should be expanded to allow greater generalizability.

Other theories should be considered to increase the explanatory power of current theories. By using both Derber and Kanter, the researcher was able to explain ten percent of the variance in visibility. Hopefully, future researchers could increase that percentage considerable.

In addition, qualitatative studies of African American women who are successfully employed, underemployed, or unemployed could provide information that explains their perceptions as to why they are in their current situations. African American women might also be interviewed to learn more about how they succeed in spite of numerous obstacles.

Studies could also compare and contrast urban, suburban, and rural African American women. Furthermore, research could determine the impact of personality on invisibility. Continued research in this area would benefit not only all African American women, but also other underrepresented groups and, ultimately, our entire society.

A Concluding Thought

While progress in the workplace seems slow, African American women have consistently made gains. Little attention has been paid to the history of African American women, their resilience, and their ability to develop coping strategies to ensure success under discouraging conditions. Sojourner Truth, the Delaney Sisters, and Barbara Jordan are representatives of a large group of African American women who have campaigned

for the rights of others and/or chosen to enter the workforce under less than ideal circumstances.

Sojourner Truth was born a slave in 1797, freed in 1828, and died in 1883. She was an American abolitionist, an orator who spoke against slavery, and a feminist who fought for the rights of all women throughout her entire life. In May, 1851, she spoke at a women's rights organization and after describing the hardships she had endured in life asked, "Ain't I a woman?"

The Delaney sisters are an example of African American women who entered professional positions in the early 1900's. Elizabeth Delaney, born in 1891, was a dentist and her sister, Sarah Delaney, born in 1889, was a teacher. Elizabeth Delaney summed up the feelings of many of these women in the following quotation:

> . . .There was little respect. . .no matter how accomplished you were. It
>
> was like you were invisible. . . .All I ever wanted in my life was to be
>
> treated as an individual. (p.186)

The Delaney sisters and the few other African American females who entered the professions in the late 1800's each ". . . developed her own way of coping in a racist society (Hearth, 1993)." Their adaptability was typical of African American women who entered the professions long before it was acceptable for women in general to work. Like the Delaney sisters, African American women have always continued to work, utilizing their coping strategies and the limited choices available to them.

Barbara Jordan (1936-1996) was the first African American woman from a southern state to serve in the United States Congress. The Texas Democrat was a member of the House of Representatives from 1973 to 1979. In her speech as the first African American keynote speaker at the Democratic Convention in 1976, she told the audience that she felt ". . .We the people. . .just left me out by mistake."

African American women, along with other women in society, have previously not had full access to occupational opportunities. According to Beavoir (1971), "what is certain, is that, hitherto, women's possibilities have been suppressed and lost to humanity, and that it is high time she be permitted to take her chances in her own interest and in the interest of all."

"All" members of society will benefit when "all" members of society are allowed to reach maximum productivity in the workplace. Organizations and society are comprised of individuals who have the ability to create a supporting environment that encourages and promotes the success of African American women and other excluded groups in the workplace.

Legislation mandates and enforces change in the workplace to insure the rights of individuals, but long-lasting change in the workplace is a process that must be internalized with each individual. The individuals in our society, whether they be powerful dominants or powerless tokens, created, perpetuated and influenced the work environment of the 20th century.

Sojourner Truth's powerful question in 1851 expressed her feelings and the feelings of other African American women. Sojourner Truth, along with other African American women of today can be reinforced because, yes, they are indeed women and women of worth. Women like the Delaney sisters, who were treated in less than human terms will be recognized for their accomplishments and ". . . will be treated like individuals." Women like Barbara Jordan, who were excluded from "we the people" could know that they are a part of "we, the people." These women, along with other African American women have been able to become successful, despite the odds against them. Just think how much more they could have accomplished with the support and advantages that were afforded to the more powerful individuals in society.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE

#_____

Dear Participant:

I am an African-American doctoral student at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, Oklahoma, who is conducting research to determine ways that African-American women communicate with other workers at their places of employment. This is an important study to do because African-American women have been denied full participation in many occupational areas and this study may help us address ways of dealing with the problem.

Would you please take approximately 10-15 minutes of your time to complete the enclosed questionnaire? Your responses will be confidential. To that end, please do not mark your name anywhere on this questionnaire. The code number above will allow us to send you the results of the study, if your request it, and/or send a second mailing packet. The coding sheet will be destroyed after the data are collected.

Please complete the questionnaire and sign the informed consent form on the last page of the questionnaire. Return the questionnaire in the self-addressed envelope within ten days of receiving it.

I appreciate your assistance and would be glad to share the results of my study with you. Put a check here if you wish to see the results._____

Thank you for your assistance.

Kay Wright
(918) 583-9521

Lynn K. Arney
(405) 744-7244

THE GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE

Directions: For the purpose of this survey, think of yourself at a <u>meeting</u> with other workers in your <u>immediate work unit</u>. Examples would include the following:

     ******* a teacher in a school faculty meeting
     ******* a doctor in a staff meeting at the office or hospital
     ******* a nurse in a floor unit meeting
     ******* a secretary in a departmental meeting
     ******* a social worker or engineer in a departmental meeting
     ******* a cook in a dietary unit meeting
     ******* a lawyer in a staff meeting
     ******* a teacher assistant/clerk/janitor/bus driver in
        a school staff meeting.

At the meeting, the following two conditions should exist:

(1) the group is gender diverse (males and females) and/or
    racially diverse (whites and minorities);
(2) and there are at least two levels of authority present
    (someone above you and/or below you).

If you cannot meet these criteria, describe your situation relative to these conditions on the lines below and then complete the questionnaire.

_____

_____

_____

As you respond to the questions on the following pages, please select the response that best describes how often you experience each of the events described throughout this survey in work unit meetings during recent months. Respond by placing an "x" within the box corresponding to your choice for each item. Only one response per item, please.

Page 1 of 6 Pages

THE GROUP COMMUNICATION PROFILE	very frequently	frequently	occasionally	infrequently	very infrequently
1. I feel that I have to struggle to get people to listen to me. This happens:					
2. People use my ideas without giving me credit. This happens:_____					
3. People assume that I hold a position with less status than I do. This happens:_____					
4. People seem to ignore what I have to say. This happens:_____					
5. I feel rushed when I speak. This happens:_____					
6. I listen more than I speak. This happens:_____					
7. I feel unnoticed by others. This happens:_____					
8. People call on me to give my opinion. This happens:_____					
9. When I am interrupted by something, the other group members encourage me to finish what I am saying, This happens:_____					
10. During meetings, I say what is on my mind. This happens:_____					
11. If another person and I begin to speak at the same time, the other person lets me continue. This happens:_____					
12. I can hold a group's attention for long periods of time. This happens:_____					
13. When I speak out in a group, people react to my comments well. This happens:_____					
14. I find myself talking more than I listen. This happens:					

Page 2 of 6 Pages

105

	very frequently	frequently	occasionally	infrequently	very infrequently
15. When I'm talking, people try to change the topic. This happens:____					
16. I can't finish making a point before being interrupted by someone. This happens:_____					
17. When I speak in groups, I notice others beginning to have their own private conversations. This happens:__					
18. I cannot think of anything to say in group meetings. This happens:_____					
19. When I speak, I notice others looking at their watches. This happens:_____					
20. In meetings, I forget what I was going to say. This happens:_____					
21. When I talk in meetings, my words don't come out right. This happens:__					
22. I can convince others of my point of view, even if I don't know what I am talking about. This happens:____					
23. When I speak, others seem to listen. This happens:_____					
24. It's easy for me to speak up in group meetings. This happens:_____					
25. People seem to trust that I know what I'm talking about. This happens:					
26. I feel comfortable asking questions. This happens:_____					
27. In meetings, my comments seem just as good as other peoples' comments. This happens:					

Page 3 of 6 Pages

106

	very frequently	frequently	occasionally	infrequently	very infrequently
28. I think best on my feet. This happens:_____					
29. People don't look at me when I speak. This happens:_____					
30. I can get attention by staying quiet for a long time before I speak. This happens:_____					
31. I try to maintain a low profile in meetings. This happens:_____					
32. I am more interested in getting an idea of mine accepted than getting credit for it. This happens:_____					
33. I have trouble getting the attention of my superiors or group leaders. This happens:_____					
34. I have the feeling that people "really" listen to me. This happens:_____					
35. I get credit for the ideas of other people. This happens:_____					
36. In meetings, I look for opportunities to be in the "spotlight"! This happens:_____					
37. When I begin to speak, others encourage me to continue. This happens:_____					
38. I play the role of devil's advocate. This happens:					

39. How old are you?_____

40. What is the highest level (grade or degree) of education completed thus far?_____

Page 4 of 6 Pages

41. What is your immediate work unit?_____
        (Examples on p. 1)

42. Approximately how many people work with you in your immediate
        work unit?_____

43. Of the people mentioned above, how many are African-American
        females?_____African-American males?_____
        Other females?_____

44. What is your occupation?._____

45. WE CANNOT USE SURVEYS WITH UNANSWERED ITEMS OR UNSIGNED
        CONSENT FORMS. TO MAKE SURE THAT YOUR RESPONSES COUNT,
        PLEASE:

    ****(1) GO BACK TO PAGE 1 AND CONTINUE TO PAGE 6
            TO MAKE SURE THAT YOU HAVE ANSWERED EACH
            ITEM ON EACH PAGE;

    ****(2) SIGN THE INFORMED CONSENT FORM ON THE NEXT
            PAGE. AFTER THIS IS DONE, PLACE A CHECK IN
            THE SPACE BELOW.

    ____THANK YOU!

Page 5 of 6 Pages

Dear Respondent:

    The purpose of this research is to determine ways that African-American women communicate with other workers at their places of employment. This is an important study to do because many African-American women have been denied full participation at the workplace. Perhaps by studying the patterns of communication we can begin to understand how this happens.

    Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may decide at any time not to participate by not completing or returning the questionnaire. If you do choose to participate, however, your responses will be completely confidential. As you can see, this letter is separated from the instrument and your signature below is for your protection as a participant in this study. Your copy of this form may be detached below the dotted line and kept with your records.

    With my signature below, I authorize Kay Wright to utilize my survey responses in conjunction with this research project. I understand that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am free to withdraw my consent and participation in this project at any time without penalty.

XX_____
    Signature of Respondent

    You may contact me, Kay Wright, by phone at 918-831-3317 (work) or 918-583-9521 (home). Dr. Lynn Arney, my dissertation advisor can be reached by phone at 405-744-7244. Or if you prefer, you may contact Jennifer Moore at the Office of University Research Services at 405-744-5700. Thank you.

- -

                DETACH THIS PORTION FOR YOUR RECORDS IF YOU WISH

- -

Dear Respondent:

    The purpose of this research is to determine ways that African-American women communicate with other workers at their places of employment. This is an important study to do because many African-American women have been denied full participation at the workplace. Perhaps by studying the patterns of communication we can begin to understand how this happens.

    Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may decide at any time not to participate by not completing or returning the questionnaire. If you do choose to participate, however, your responses will be completely confidential. As you can see, this letter is separated from the instrument and your signature below is for your protection as a participant in this study. Your copy of this form may be detached below the dotted line and kept with your records.

    You may contact me, Kay Wright, by phone at 918-831-3317 (work) or 918-583-9521 (home). Dr. Lynn Arney, my dissertation advisor can be reached by phone at 405-744-7244. Or if you prefer, you may contact Jennifer Moore at the Office of University Research Services at 405-744-5700. Thank you.

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 02-27-95   IRB#: ED-95-051

Proposal Title: PERCEPTIONS OF SILENCING AND SUPPORTING BEHAVIORS
EXPERIENCED BY AFRICAN-AMERICAN FEMALES IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Principal Investigator(s): Lynn Amey, Kay Wright

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

APPROVAL STATUS SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT
MEETING.
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION
OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.
ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as
follows:

Signature: _____   Date: March 2, 1995
Chair of Institutional Review Board

VITA

Kay Francis Rice Wright

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: DERBER'S THEORY OF ATTENTION AND KANTER'S THEORY OF TOKENISM: LEVELS OF VISIBILITY AMONG PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL, AND NON-PROFESSIONAL AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN.

Major Field: Educational Administration

Biographical:

Education: Graduated from Washington High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma in May 1970; received Bachelor of Science degree in Psychology and Special Education from Oklahoma State University in December 1973; received the Master of Science in Special Education from Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 1976. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education at Oklahoma State University in December 1996.

Professional Experience: Elementary communication skills teacher, grades two through five, Tulsa, Oklahoma, August 1974 to July 1975; high school special education teacher, Tulsa, Oklahoma, August 1975 to December 1987; high school guidance counselor, Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 1987 to June 1990; district special education supervisor, Tulsa, Oklahoma, August 1990 to December 1994; high school assistant principal, Tulsa, Oklahoma, December 1994 to present.

Professional Memberships: Tulsa Association of Secondary School Principals, Oklahoma Association of Secondary School Principals, Oklahoma Education Association, National Association of Secondary School Principals, Phi Delta Kappa.