ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: The Relationships Between Racial
                         Discrimination, Gender
                         Discriminaton, Childhood
                         Socialization Messages, and the
                         Self-Esteems of Professional
                         Black Women

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                            Development

This study investigated the relationships between
perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender
discrimination, childhood socialization messages and the
global and situational self-esteems of Professional Black
women. The sample population was 119 Professional Black
women. The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale Form C was used
to measure global self-esteem. The Survey of Black
Women's Perceptions was used to measure degree of
self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization
messages, levels of success related to the Life Tasks of
Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God, and
perceived frequency of experiences of racial and gender
discrimination.

The hypotheses were that the global self-esteems and
the situational self-esteems of Professional Black women

would be affected by perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages, and that the global self-esteems of Professional Black women would be affected by the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God. Pearson product moment correlation and multiple regression analyses were used to test the hypotheses.

Although some of the findings were tentative and suggestive, the findings regarding global self-esteem, and the Life Tasks of Love and Friendship were highly significant. Global self-esteem was positively affected by all of the Life Tasks in general, by the Life Tasks of Love and Relationship to God in particular, and by gender discrimination from white men on the job. Global self-esteem was negatively affected by gender discrimination from white males outside of work. Global self-esteem was inversely correlated with racial discrimination from other Blacks outside of work and with gender discrimination from white males outside of work. Global self-esteem was positively correlated with all of the Life Tasks.

The Life Task of Love was negatively affected by childhood socialization messages from women outside the family concerning what it meant to be female. The Life Task of Friendship was affected overall by the interaction of racial discrimination, gender

discrimination, and childhood socialization messages, and
in particular by childhood socialization messages from
women outside the family concerning what it meant to be
Black. Hypotheses concerning situational self-esteems
related to the Life Tasks of Work and Relationship to God
were not supported.

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RACIAL AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION,

CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION MESSAGES, AND THE SELF-ESTEEMS

OF PROFESSIONAL BLACK WOMEN

by

Jacqueline Finney Brown

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
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DEDICATION

"And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through Him."

Colossians 3:17

This work is dedicated to the Lord Jesus Christ, without whose spiritual strength and grace this work could not have been begun nor completed. My thanks to God!

This work is also dedicated to my soulmate, best friend, and partner in marriage, William A. Brown, Sr. You were always there with just the right encouraging words and actions. The emotional, physical, and spiritual support you gave exceeded the best promises of our wedding vows. Your love is in every page.

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diminishing my fear of statistics. Your genuine
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Final special acknowlegements go to my mother,
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Chapter I.   Introduction

There is a large circle in which white people, most of

them men, experience influence and power. Far away from

it there is a smaller circle, a narrow space, in which

black people, regardless of sex, experience uncertainty,

exploitation, and powerlessness. Hidden in this second

circle is a third, a small dark enclosure in which black

women experience pain, isolation, and vulnerability.

These are the distinguishing marks of black womanhood in

white America.

(Gloria Wade-Gayles, 1984, p.4)

No Crystal Stair

Background

The task of creating one's self-concept is an

arduous task under the best of conditions. Under

conditions of negative social input, it becomes even more

difficult to create a self-concept that is supported by a

high level of self-esteem. When the factor of social

invisibility is added, the probability of the development

of a relatively healthy, positive self-concept lessens.

Black women in the United States are often considered

non-entities because they are Black in a white culture and female in a male dominated society (Hooks, 1981; Lerner, 1972; White, 1985). Given those factors, it becomes a real challenge for Black women to develop a healthy self-concept supported by a high level of self-esteem.

Black women have been rendered invisible in many arenas where they have had a long history of activism. The invisibility of Black women in the academic world is evidenced by the emergence of Black women's studies only as recently as the late 1970's (Hull & Smith, 1979). Black women have long been involved in educational work and in creating self-conscious representations of themselves through a variety of artistic forms. It is a historical fact that nearly 140 Black women attended Oberlin College between 1835 and 1865 (Hull & Smith, 1979). Mary Jane Patterson, the first Black woman to receive a B.A., graduated from Oberlin in 1862 (Hull & Smith, 1979, p. xxv). Spelman College in Georgia, founded in 1881 and Bennett College in North Carolina, founded in 1873 still play significant roles in the education of Black women.

Given the history of the involvement of Black women in academic life, it is interesting to note their lack of visibility in the academy. Some researchers believe this

circumstance exists because Black women belong to two groups that have been designated as intellectually inferior, Blacks and women (Hooks, 1981; Hull & Smith, 1979; Davis, 1981; Leggon, 1974). White male academics, like Shockley and Jensen have devoted an impressive amount of time and effort in trying to prove scientifically that Blacks and women are inferior. Lorraine Bethel stated the dilemma in this way:

> The codification of Blackness and femaleness by whites and males is seen in the terms "thinking like a woman" and "acting like a nigger" which are based on the premise that there are typically Black and female ways of acting and thinking. Therefore, the most pejorative concept in the white/male world view would be that of thinking and acting like a "nigger woman". (Hull & Smith, 1979, p. xxiv)

When Black women act as autonomous thinkers in white male intellectual establishments, their validity is constantly called into question. The option to adopt white-male intellectual processes often results in a non-solution that makes Black women invisible within the academy (Hull & Smith, 1979). "Intellectual passing" does not give Black women the emotional and psychological clarity needed to do the necessary research in Black women's studies that could transform their lives (Hull &

Smith, 1979, p. xxiv).

Women's studies have not been the answer to the invisibility of Black women in academia. Florence Howe, in her 1976 contribution to the 1977 report of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, stated:

> Like the social movement in which it is rooted, women's studies has tended to be predominantly white and middle-class, in terms of both faculty and curriculum, and there is a perceived need for a corrective....The major strategy developed thus far is the inclusion of separate courses on Black Women, Chicanas, Third World Women, etc.. (Hull & Smith, 1979, p. xxvi)

Although faculties involved in women's studies are becoming more aware of issues of race and culture, the majority of white women professors and administrators have barely begun to do the self-examination necessary to make productive and meaningful change in the directions and focuses of women's studies that will result in authentic inclusiveness (Hull & Smith, 1979).

Black studies does not seem to be the answer to the Black woman's invisibility problem in academia either. The sexism in the Black Studies discipline has largely gone unconfronted (Hull & Smith, 1979). The

preponderance of the writing and research on topics from slavery to the Civil Rights Movement have been from a male perspective (White, 1987; Davis, 1981; Brent, 1861; Hooks, 1981; Lerner, 1972). Michelle Wallace makes the case for the discrimination against Black women in the Civil Rights Movement when she stated:

> It took me three years to fully understand that Stokely was serious when he'd said my position in the movement was "prone", three years to understand that the countless speeches that all began "the Black man..." did not include me. I learned. (Wallace, 1982, p. 6)

The reaction of Black men to feminism has been negative; the accusation arises that Black feminism divides the Black struggle (Wallace, 1982). A Black nationalist pamphlet from the Mumininas of Committee for Unified Newark's The Nationalist Woman in the early 1970's read as follows:

> We understand that it is and has been traditional that the man is the head of the house. He is the leader of the house/nation because his knowledge of the world is broader, his awareness is greater, his understanding is fuller and his application of this information is wiser...After all, it is only reasonable that the man be the head of the house

because he is able to defend and protect the development of his home...Women cannot do the same things as men--they are made by nature to function differently. Equality of men and women is something that cannot happen even in the abstract world. Men are not equal to other men, i.e., ability, experience, or even understanding. The value of men and women can be seen as in the value of gold and silver--they are not equal but both have great value. We must realize that men and women are a complement to each other because there is no house/family without a man and his wife. Both are essential to the development of any life. (Combahee River Collective, 1982, p. 19)

Given the invisibility and devaluing of Black women in the major arenas of life in the United States, it is important to explore the issue of the state of their mental health in general and the level of their self-esteems in particular.

Theoretical Background of the Study

The self as described by Gardner Murphy in 1947 is "the individual as known to the individual" (Rosenberg, & Simmons 1971, p. 9). Murphy's "known" is used to include the total range of cognitive and affective reactions to a

particular object (Murphy, 1947). Self-concept can be
defined in the tradition of William James (1910) and
Gordon Allport (1937). Self-concept is self-image. The
important issues in the view of self-concept as self-
image are how one sees herself and how one evaluates that
perception (Hogan, 1985). The self-concept is made up of
images of the self that are influenced by the
individual's perception of how others see her; by how she
believes she ought to be; and by how she believes herself
to actually be (Sanford & Donovan, 1984; Clemes & Bean,
1981). In Gardner Murphy's terms, self-esteem is the
individual's attitudes, beliefs, opinions, and values
about herself (Rosenberg, & Simmons 1971).

Adler suggested that the self is expressed through
the life-style (Adler, 1935/1982; Ansbacher, 1980;
Dreikurs, 1989). The life-style is the summation of all
the convictions and attitudes toward life and oneself
that the individual creates as a result of her
interpretation of the world and her experiences within it
(Baruth & Eckstein, 1978). The life-style can be
understood by looking at its components. The four
components of the life-style are: 1) the weltbild or
picture of the world that the individual forms from her
experiences; 2) the convictions about who she is or the
self-concept; 3) the convictions about who she ought to

be or the self-ideal; and 4) the plan of action to address the discrepancy between who she is and who she ought to be (Baruth & Eckstein, 1978).

What are the messages from the "world" to a Black girl-child about who she is? The "world" usually consists of family, friends, community, school, media, and physiological conditions. It is very possible that all of the conditions of the "world", except media and community, could consistently send the Black girl-child the message that she is worthwhile and valuable in a positive, healthy manner. Media and community do not send Black girl-children consistent, healthy, positive images of themselves nor of the Black women they will become (Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; Hemmons, 1980; Hooks, 1981).

It is instructive to try to imagine the effect of being in a family and insulated social milieux that constantly tells the individual that she is valuable and simultaneously being in a larger social atmosphere that gives the opposite message. This is the situation for most Black girls from professional, middle-class homes (Rosenberg, & Simmons 1971). Black girls who are from lower socioeconomic homes receive negative messages about who they are from both their own Black world and from the larger white world (Schultz, 1969).

Black girls from professional middle-class homes are
constantly caught between conflicting images of self from
their Black world and from the larger white world. Early
on, the Black girl-child in this situation must begin to
interpret those messages for herself and to make
decisions about who she is and who she is not based upon
those interpretations. She knows that the larger
political and social community values males and devalues
females. She knows that the larger political and social
community values whiteness and devalues blackness. She
knows that she is Black and female.

Based upon her view of the world, or more precisely,
based upon her interpretation of the messages she
receives from the world, the Black girl-child constructs
an overall picture or image of who she is. This self-
image consists of attributes that she is convinced she
has (Sanford & Donovan, 1984; Clemes & Bean, 1981;
Collins & McNair, 1986; Hull, Scott & Smith, 1982). Some
attributes are more important to her than others. Those
attributes that are the most important form her core
image of herself, or her self-concept. Once the child
has selected the core elements of her image of herself,
she is able to finish the sentence, "I am a person who is
or who has......". If being Black and being female are
core elements of her self-image, she will have to be very

creative in her private logic as how to hold onto her self-concept _and_ develop high self-esteem. The self-ideal plays a role at this point in the process.

The hypothetical Black girl-child being presented has understood that, "the world is a place where being white and being male are highly valued and where being Black and being female are greatly devalued.". That is her weltbild. She has also decided that the attributes of being Black and being female are going to be core elements of her image of herself. She has come to the conclusion that, "I am a person who is Black and female and that is important to me in my understanding of who I am.". That is her self-concept. The direction she takes for her self-ideal will be influenced by many things. How will she end the sentence, "I _ought_ to be a person who....."?

Self-ideal is influenced by role models available to the child. It is influenced by the child's sense of uniqueness. It is influenced by the child's sense of connectedness to others. It is influenced by the child's sense of power (Wilson, 1980; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989; Clemes & Bean, 1981). The "should and ought to" messages from family, friends, community, school, and media are undoubtedly conflicting. What are some of the messages she might receive concerning who she ought to

be?

Perhaps she ought to be as white as possible.
Perhaps she ought to be as "feminine" as possible.
Perhaps she ought to be more "masculine". Perhaps she
ought to be female and strong. Perhaps she ought to be
Black and proud of it. Perhaps she ought to strive to be
raceless and genderless. Depending upon how those
messages feel to her, she will decide which elements will
make up the core of her self-ideal.

If being a proud, strong Black woman is her choice,
she will probably face some interesting barriers to
achieving that ideal sense of self. If being as white
and as masculine as possible is her choice, she will also
face some interesting barriers to achieving that ideal
sense of self. She could choose only one or the other of
race or gender to incorporate into her self-ideal. She
could decide that it is most important that "I strive
only to be the best Black person I can be". She could
decide that it is most important that "I strive only to
be the best woman I can be". In either event, achieving
the self-ideal will present many challenges because
society will probably interact with her based upon both
her race and her gender.

Global self-esteem level will be based upon how well
she does in approximating that ideal, given who she is

(Adler, 1935/1982; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Since it is very plausible that she will face societal barriers and obstacles to achieving any self-ideal that centered on race or gender or both, it is fair to assume that development and maintenance of high self-esteem or high valuation of who she is will be problematic. Again, the option is always there to develop a self-concept and self-ideal that is not in anyway based upon either race or gender. The problem inherent in that decision is that usually society will not interact with her as a raceless and/or genderless self (Hull et al, 1982).

The Black girl-child who has a raceless/genderless self-concept and self-ideal will still not avoid the problems of developing and maintaining a high sense of self-esteem. Her self-concept and self-ideal will inevitably be challenged regarding their reality factor. The Black girl-child who chooses to incorporate race or gender or both in her self-concept will probably have it challenged in terms of its worth and value.

What are the possible plans of actions that Black girl-children might choose as ways of addressing the discrepancies between their self-concepts and their self-ideals? The efficacy of those plans of action (the implementation of the life-style) has great influence on the level of self-esteem (Powers & Griffith, 1987;

Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Some Black girl-children choose to put all their energies into their peripheral images of themselves in order to indirectly validate the race and gender elements. A child might decide to excel in athletics or music or academics or business. A child might decide to be very kind to others or to be very funny. A child might decide to be a loner and to develop a large repertoire of defensive strategies for living. The possibilities are myriad.

Global self-esteem has to do with a general evaluation of oneself by oneself (Rosenberg, & Simmons 1971; Sanford & Donovan, 1984). Adlerian theory presents the construct of Life Tasks that may speak to the concept of situational self-esteem. Situational self-esteem is the researcher's name for the evaluation of self that is linked to a particular self image or Life Task. Life Tasks are those areas of life that present challenges to address or not address in a healthy, growth producing manner that supports the development of social interest (Dreikurs, 1989; Ansbacher, 1956). The major life tasks are work, love, and friendship (Dreikurs, 1989). An additional Life Task that was added later in Adlerian theoretical development was the Life Task of relationship to God (Schulman, 1973).

Work encompasses the contributions one makes to the

commonweal. The contributions are not valued according to remuneration, but rather according to their usefulness to enhancing the common good at any level (Ansbacher, 1956; Adler, 1937/1982; Dreikurs, 1989). Adler believed that engaging in the Life Task of work in a manner that moves in the direction of social interest, insures positive self-esteem (Adler, 1933/1938; Adler, 1929; Ansbacher, 1956).

The Life Task of love involves intimate cooperation between two people (Ansbacher, 1956; Dreikurs, 1989; Powers & Griffith, 1987). A woman's willingness to share herself; to put another's well-being as a primary concern; and to risk being rejected are essential to her ability to develop a solid sense of belonging with other human beings (Dreikurs, 1989; Powers & Griffith, 1987; Baruth & Eckstein, 1978). From an Adlerian viewpoint, achievement of a sense of belonging is the yardstick by which human beings evaluate their own worth (Ansbacher, 1956; Adler, 1929; Adler, 1933/1938). The Life Task of love presents the greatest challenge to the development of high self-esteem. If the Life Task of love is successfully addressed, the woman will feel that she is worthwhile; that she cannot be replaced; that her partner needs her; that she is acting well; and that she is a fellow human being and a true friend (Ansbacher, 1956).

The Life Task of friendship presents the arena in which a woman can measure the extent of her social interest (Powers & Griffith, 1987). The extent and variety of a woman's friendships attest to her ability to feel a sense of relatedness to different types of human beings. A sense of relatedness to humankind is social interest (Ansbacher, 1956; Adler, 1931; Adler, 1929). The more constricted a woman's sphere of friendship is qualitatively, the less comfortable she may be in finding and making a place for herself within the larger community (Powers & Griffith, 1997). The impression that a woman feels she makes upon another person is indicative of her degree of self-confidence and self-understanding (Powers & Griffith, 1987). Self-confidence and self-understanding are important factors in the development of high self-esteem (Sanford & Donovan, 1984; Rosenberg, & Simmons 1971).

The Life Task of relationship to God is important in that it shows how a woman addresses the Life Task of forming a sense of relationship and worth with forces greater than herself(Schulman,1973). The sense of connectedness to all creation and to creative forces is called gemeinschaftsgefuhl in Adlerian philosophy and psychology (Ansbacher, 1956; Adler, 1933/1938). For Black women, faith in God and participation in religious

community life have been staples of everyday living and survival in the United States (Brown, 1984; Hull et al, 1982; Collins & McNair, 1986; Davis, 1981; Fulani, 1988; Giddings, 1984; Lerner, 1972). When all else fails, Black women have turned to God and to the church for validation of their self-worth.

Being successful in implementing her life tasks is often seen as evidence of the Black girl-child's level of self-esteem. Usually the person herself makes a distinction between feeling good about a particular Life Task and feeling good in general or globally about who she is (Sanford & Donovan, 1984). Professional, middle-class Black women are often seen as strong, powerful, competent, bossy, dominating, non-fragile beings because they often have to bite the bullet and do what must be done and try to do it well in order to survive (Hooks, 1981; Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987; Lerner, 1972). Research has shown that to assume high global self-esteem because of high performance is often a mistake (Carrington, 1980; Aldridge, 1980; Leggon, 1974; Dumas, 1980). There is indeed a distinction between doing the deed well and the doer's valuation of self.

Purposes of the Study

One of the least told stories about Black women is

how centuries of endured double oppression has affected their psyches. The literatures; empirical, historical, biographical, autobiographical, and fictional, have given a very narrow view of Black women's lives. It appears that the possibilities for Black women are constricted by the white patriarchal system's limited notions of what they should be (Smith, 1982). It is as if Black women are defined by others and not by themselves. This is alarming because self-definition is a major source of strength of the psyche and one of the key elements of high self-esteem.

Professional Black women have been and are on the forefront of every major advancement for the uplifting of Black people in the United States (Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; Gilliam & Trescott, 1986; Hemmons, 1980; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982; Leggon, 1974; Lerner, 1972). The condition of their self-esteem and the factors affecting that condition should be of importance to citizens of the United States . To understand how racism and sexism affect the self-esteem of professional Black women, is to begin to understand how to deal with two oppressions that are impacting on the mental health of two of the 21st century's majority populations....women and Blacks (Smith, 1982; Task Force on Women, Minorities, and the Handicapped in Science and Technology, 1988). The

purpose of the study was to determine the relationships between perceived racial and gender discrimination, negative socialization messages, and the global and situational self-esteem of professional Black women.

Significance of the Study

The scholars of the women's movement have been concerned with the priority of issues that are of concern to middle-class white women (Hull et al, 1982; Davis, 1981; Figuiera-McDonough, 1985; Hemmons, 1980). Black historians have tended to focus on Black men's issues, with the assumption that Black women's issues were the same as Black men's issues (Hull et al, 1982; Hooks, 1981; Giddings, 1984). Rarely has single focus attention been paid to the psyche of Black women. Because more Black women are becoming a vital part of the United State's workforce at the management and executive levels, it would behoove researchers to try to understand the pressures and the reaction to those pressures that this vital element of tomorrow's future manifest.

Paul Pedersen (1990) raised the issue of the multicultural perspective in counseling as the fourth force in counseling. Draguns, as cited by Pedersen, stated that the multicultural perspective in counseling "is generic to all aspects of mental health counseling

and is not limited to exotic populations viewed from a white, male, urban dominant-culture perspective" (Pedersen, 1990, p. 93). Pedersen believed there was a multicultural dimension in every mental health counseling relationship because age, lifestyle, socioeconomic status, gender differences, and ethnicity and nationality must all be included in the contextual perspective in which clients are understood. Studies of the present type can only enhance the multicultural perspective in counseling.

Black women have had to resist two types of oppression in their fight for mental health. They have had to deal with racism from white men and women. They have had to deal with sexism from Black men and white men. By understanding how Black women establish healthy self-esteem in the face of double jeopardy, United States citizens can learn how to free themselves from the oppressions of racism and sexism. Socialization theory and self theory come together poignantly in the study of self-esteem and Black women. Human development theory will be enhanced by the study of the interrelationships between external socialization forces and internal self processes in the development of self-concept and self-esteem in a population dealing with two major oppressions.

Plan of the Study

The researcher used individual professional Black women and Black women who were members of professional Black women's civic and business organizations as subjects. The measures of the subjects' biased apperceptions of degree of experience with racial and gender discrimination, and with negative or positive socialization messages included items that gathered data such as:

*Perceived level of racial discrimination in the workplace, and outside of the workplace.

*Perceived level of gender discrimination in the workplace, and outside of the workplace.

*Perceived positive or negative messages received from family or significant others in childhood about what it meant to be Black, about what it meant to be female, and about what it meant to be both Black and female.

The Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) Form C was used to measure global self-esteem. The TSCS had some empirically based connections with each of the recognized models of self-concept. The total score can be used as a measure of global self-concept or self-esteem. The widespread use of the TSCS in diverse counseling, educational, clinical, and medical settings has provided

an accumulation of evidence for the validity of the scale
as a measure of general self-concept and self-esteem.
The TSCS has been used with women and with Blacks.
Results of studies using the TSCS on women and Blacks
have not justified pursuing separate norms for those
populations (Roid & Fitts, 1988, pp. 63-64). The
original standardization group was composed of an
approximate balance of males and females, Blacks, and
whites who were representatives of all social, economic,
and intellectual levels, and of educational levels from
sixth grade through doctoral level (Roid & Fitts, 1988,
p. 56). The age range of the original standardization
group was 12-68.

A researcher designed rating scale, called the
Survey of Black Women's Perceptions, was used to measure
the perceived level of self-esteem regarding the Life
Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God.
The rating scale was also used to measure the subjects'
biased apperceptions of their experiences with racial and
gender discrimination, and with negative or positive
socialization messages received from families of
childhood, and from significant Black men and women
outside of the families of childhood. The Life Tasks
used in the rating scale were concepts from Adlerian life
style development theory.

A personal data sheet was used to describe the subjects in the study. Descriptive information such as age, profession, racial and gender makeup of workplaces, neighborhood communities, and educational institutions was requested.

Multiple correlation analyses was done in order to assess the relationships between perceived racial discrimination, gender discrimination, childhood socialization messages, and the global and situational self-esteem levels of subjects.

Questions Generated for the Study

The following questions were generated for the study:

-What are the relationships between perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, childhood socialization messages, and the global self-esteems of Professional Black women?

-What are the relationships between perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, childhood socialization messages, and the situational self-esteems of Professional Black women related to the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship and Relationship to God?

-For Professional Black women, what are the

relationships between their global self-esteem and their situational self-esteems related to the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God?

Limitations of the Study

This was a study of professional Black women which limited the generalizability of the findings to other socioeconomic classes and races of women. There were the limitations associated with factors affected by the subjects being volunteers, as well as by the majority of subjects being persons who were civically and socially active in the community in addition to meeting the criteria for the designation "professional."

Another limitation of the study was the use of instruments that relied on the biased apperception of the subjects. As Rosenberg stated, "we must remain sensitive to the possibility that the subject, no matter how acquiescent or calm he appears, may be actively processing his impressions toward the development of some interpretive hypothesis, one that will lead him to adopt a response strategy that may distort the resulting data" (Combs, Richards, & Richards, 1976, p. 371). The self-report was not a description of the self-concept as much as it was a description of the self as reported to an

outsider.

Variations in degree of clarity of the subjects'
awarenesses existed. The subject matter of the
researcher designed survey of Black women's perceptions
evoked emotions and memories in the subjects that may
have colored their responses. With respect to memory of
childhood messages, it was probable that evaluations of
those childhood messages were based upon the subjects'
biased interpretations of those messages from the past.

Items on the TSCS may have been influenced by social
expectancy or desirability factors. Known race and sex
of the researcher may also have stimulated social
expectancy or desirability responses from the subjects.
There was also a variation in the degree of personal
adequacy felt by the subjects. That variation could have
affected the credibility of the self-report measures.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following
definitions were utilized:
Adlerian Socioteleoanalytic theory:

Social psychology of Alfred Adler that is based upon
the social embeddedness of human beings, the goal
directedness or purposiveness of human behavior and the
understanding of human beings via the aforementioned

factors (Adler, 1935/1982; Adler, 1929; Adler, 1931).

Biased Apperception:

The simultaneous processes of perceiving and interpreting experiences in order to give them subjective meaning.

Core Images:

Those fundamental definitions of the self that the individual does not change across situations because they approach the truth of who they are fundamentally and because the individual values those definitions of images more dearly than any others.

Common Sense:

A consensus of private logics.

Gender Discrimination:

Legal and social discrimination against women resulting in inequitable positions for women occupationally, domestically, educationally, economically, and socially.

Global Self-Esteem:

The overall feeling of self-worth than an individual has about herself.

Life Style:

The summation of all the beliefs and convictions and attitudes about life upon which an individual bases her characteristic movements through life.

Life Tasks:

Those arenas of life in which we are challenged to address our potential to develop a high level of social interest. The arenas used in this study are the life tasks of work, love, friendship, and relationship to God.

Peripheral Images:

Those definitions of the self that are situational, not constant. The peripheral images vary in importance to the individual depending upon the situation in which the individual finds herself.

Private Logic:

The decisions about the world and about the self that individuals make based upon their biased apperceptions of their experiences.

Professional/Middle-Class:

In a professional occupation. Professional occupation is one that requires an entry minimum of an Associate degree and/or professional certification or licensing.

Racial Discrimination:

Legal and social discrimination against Black citizens of the United States resulting in inequitable positions for Black citizens of the United States occupationally, educationally, economically, and socially.

Self-Concept:

The image or definition of the self that is held by the individual.

Self-Esteem:

The evaluation of self-worth that is given to the self by the individual.

Situational Self-Esteem:

The feeling of self-worth an individual has about herself based upon a sense of mastery or accomplishment in specific life tasks.

Social Interest:

A sense of connectedness or belonging to humankind. High social interest is equated with mental health and high self-esteem.

Summary and Following Chapters

Chapter I presented the psychological challenges to the development of a healthy self-concept and high self-esteem in Black women. An Adlerian theoretical framework was offered to describe the psychosocial dynamics inherent in the development of self-concept and self-esteem for Black girls. The rationale for investigating the self-esteem of Black women in a descriptive, non-comparative manner was discussed.

Chapter II reviews the historical, biographical,

autobiographical, and empirical literatures on the psychosocial forces impacting on the psyches of Black women, and Black women's responses to the psychosocial assaults upon their self-concepts. The chapter also discusses the relevance of Adlerian personality theory to Black female psychodynamics.

Chapter III describes the research design and its statistical hypotheses. A detailed assessment of the researcher designed survey of Black women's perceptions and of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale is provided. There is also a delineation of the statistical procedures and data analyses.

Chapter IV presents the findings of the study. The results of the multiple regression analyses of the relationships between perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, childhood socialization messages, and the global and situational self-esteem levels of professional Black women will be presented.

Chapter V discusses the findings of this study, their implications for expanding a knowledge base relating to self-esteem maintenance in populations experiencing racism and sexism as a part of their social and psychological developmental milieux, and articulates suggestions for future research.

Chapter II. Literature Review

All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some
of Us Are Brave

(Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982)

But Some of Us Are Brave: Black

Women's Studies

Introduction

Little has been researched in the way of Black
women's studies. Despite the range and significance of
the history of Black women, they have been perceived as
token women in black texts and as token blacks in
feminist texts (Giddings, 1984, p. 5). Black women have
a psychological history of their own that is distinct
from those of white women and of Black men. Their
experiences should not be subsumed under the experiences
of white women nor under the experiences of Black men.
The resultant impact of those unique experiences on their
psyches should not be assumed from the psychological
states of either white women or of Black men. There is a
need to examine the experience of Black women because
their experiences often result from the combined forces
of racism and sexism. As Margaret Wright so eloquently

stated in 1970, "I want the right to be black and me," (Lerner, 1972, p. 608). Psychologists must make the effort to understand what that means.

Gloria Hull and Barbara Smith asserted that "merely to use the term`Black women's studies'is an act charged with political significance. At the very least, the combining of these words to name a discipline means taking the stance that Black women exist-and exist positively-a stance that is in direct opposition to most of what passes for culture and thought on the North American continent" (Hull & Smith, 1979, p. xvii). The authors felt that the "horrors" Black women have faced historically and in the present had implications on every aspect of their lives, including the "life of the mind" (Hull & Smith, 1979, p. xviii). Faulkner was a classic example of discrediting Black women's intellectual power when he wrote in his 1932 novel, Light in August:

> But now and then a negro nursemaid with her white
> charges would loiter there and spell them the
> letters on the sign aloud with that vacuous idiocy
> of her idle and illiterate kind. (Hull & Smith,
> 1979, p. xviii).

The opportunities for Black women to carry out autonomously defined investigations of self in a society that is racist, sexist, and classist have been limited.

The present study is an attempt to carry out such an autonomously defined investigation of the self-esteem aspect of the psyches of Black women. Adlerian personality theory is the theoretical framework upon which the literature review is based. The review of the autobiographical, biographical, historical, and empirical research literatures examines the historical West African psychosocial forces and the psychosocial forces of slavery that impacted on the psyches of Black women in the United States. The review of the literature also explores the socialization of both Black and white women from the perspectives of sex-roles, social roles, social image, and physical image. Finally, the review of the literature describes Black women's responses to the psychosocial assaults upon their self-concepts and self-esteem. A summary of the literature review includes hypotheses for investigation suggested by the review.

<div align="center">Adlerian Personality Theory and Black Female

Psychodynamics</div>

Adlerian psychology views how an individual handles feelings of inferiority as a measure of the degree of mental health experienced by that individual (Adler, 1933/1938; Adler, 1929; Adler, 1931). Inferiority feelings interfere with the development of a sense of

belonging. If one considers herself looked down upon, it becomes very difficult to develop a sense of belonging (Dreikurs, 1989, p. 21). Adlerian psychology postulates that the desire to feel belonging to others is the fundamental motive in human beings; therefore, any interference with the sense of belonging is considered a serious threat to self-esteem (Dreikurs, 1989, p. 21).

It is believed that any person laboring under feelings of inferiority is impelled to try to obtain power of some kind in order to cancel the supposed superiority of other people (Dreikurs, 1989, p. 22). An individual estimates her own value based upon her personal attitude to the community and to other people. A large part of the individual's attitude toward the community and toward other people is based upon the individual's interpretation of the community's attitude toward her. Often people who have strong inferiority feelings over-estimate the capacities of other people and underestimate their own capacities. Individuals with high levels of inferiority feelings often use compensation by way of significant achievement as a method of adaptation to the community from which they feel alienated.

Another Adlerian construct related to inferiority feelings is the concept of guiding lines or evaluations

and expectations that a child employs in forming a schema
of apperception. Adler described guiding lines as
impressions that are "attached to the individual as a
pattern, permitting him to express his self-consistent
personality in any situation without much reflection"
(Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 132). Some of the most
important and influential guiding lines are those that
pertain to gender (and racial) identity. The Black
female child forms a picture early on of what it means to
be:

*a man or a woman,

*(Black or white),

*a woman among men,

*(Black among whites), and

*a (Black) woman with respect to the struggle to
overcome actual inferiorities and feelings of inferiority
(Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 132). Words and phrases in
parentheses are additions and emphases of this
researcher.

Adlerian personality theory asserts that children
and adolescents operate as if they were asking and
rehearsing answers to questions such as, "What does my
gender and race require of me?, "What do they promise
me?", and "What am I going to have to do in order to
secure a place for myself with people of the other sex

and with people of another race?" (Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 133). Black female children and adolescents are no different developmentally from other children in the above respect. Due to sexism and racism, those developmental questions may be answered mistakenly or negatively, and the Black female child may come away from the questioning with enhanced feelings of inferiority.

Mistaken images of gender (or race) are those that exaggerate either the requirements or the promises of gender social roles (Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 133). This researcher maintains that the same holds true for mistaken images of race. Adlerian psychology asserts that in our country's present historical circumstances, cultural images of the differences between the sexes and the races remain distorted by an autocratic tradition of inequality. The combination of mistaken gender guiding lines and the faulty self-evaluation that leads to strong feelings of inferiority often result in what is called Masculine Protest (Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 133; Mosak & Schneider, 1977).

Masculine Protest is an assertion or claim of dignity. Griffith and Powers (1987) explained it thusly:

> The masculine protest can be understood as an
> assertion or claim for the perceived male position
> of dignity and status with its perceived perogatives

and power. Adler posited that the girl or woman
senses her socially inferior position to the boy or
man and strives to feel equal. Her goal: Treat me
like a man! In that event, she only feels equal to
the man she perceives as superior to her if she
senses herself to be ("equally") superior to the
man. (p. 133)

In the case of Black women, it is quite legitimate to
also substitute race for gender in the preceding quote
and thereby gain a fairly accurate psychodynamic
understanding of the combined Masculine and Racial
Protests of Black women.

Gender guiding lines have distinct characteristics.
Gender guiding lines are:

a) largely outside the person's conscious awareness;

b) patterns for the person's expectations regarding
   gender;

c) experienced as if presenting a destiny; and

d) shaped in conformity with images of mother and
   father, who serve as the norms for what a real
   man and a real woman are (Powers & Griffith,
   1987, p. 134).

This author puts forward the same construct for racial
guidelines. Racial guiding lines are:

a) largely outside the person's conscious awareness;

b) patterns for the person's expectations regarding race;

c) experienced as if presenting a destiny; and

d) shaped in conformity with images of white people and Black people, that serve as the norms for what a real white person and a real Black person are.

When one considers the contribution of the media to the guiding lines or impressions of children regarding gender and race, it is sobering. From the framework of Adlerian personality theory, examining the guiding lines of Black female children regarding race and gender by reviewing the childhood socialization messages Black women received concerning what it meant to be Black, what it meant to be female, and what it meant to be a Black female allowed the investigator to make some predictions about the resultant self-concepts and self-esteems of Black women.

Adlerian personality theory posits that to understand the self-concept and self-esteem of an individual, it is of central importance to understand the individual's governing images or guiding lines relating to gender and to race (Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 134). Black women's experiences in the United States probably present them with feelings of inferiority at many levels.

The question arises as to how they will address those feelings of inferiority...what will be the form, if any, of their racial and masculine protests? Will the result be a healthy self-concept and high self-esteem? The review of the literature investigated the psychodynamics of Black women from an Adlerian theoretical framework by examining their guiding lines for gender and race, any resultant feelings of inferiority and the compensations attempted in order to protect their self-esteem.

Psychosocial Forces That Impact on the Psyche of Black Women in the United States

In 1980 Prestage (p. 233) presented several contentions as the bases for her overview of the political behavior of Black women in the United States. The first two of those contentions spoke directly to the main psychosocial forces that impacted upon the psyches of Black women in this country. They were:

1. Black women have been the victims of dual oppression in the American political system-racial oppression and sexual oppression.

2. In each historical epoch in the development of the American political system, Black women have been centrally involved in the major political struggles of both Black people and women.

(Prestage, 1980, p. 233)

Another psychosocial force that impacted upon the psyches of Black women was their socialization. Like most women, Black women were socialized to live for and through others (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 247). Christine Carrington (1980) found that Black women expressed strong needs to nurture and "take care of" others in their lives. They also felt guilt when engaging in self-enhancing activities (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 247). Geraldine Wilson (1980) believed that another psychosocial influence upon the psyches of Black women was the array of negative images and stereotypes laid upon them. She observed that Black women had been moved in each generation to respond to the debilitating, constricting, and distorted images of them created by white society. She felt that the struggle continued to the present day between who Black women are and what others say Black women are (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 248). She asked the question "How can self/group be actualized under a system of colonialism?" (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 248). The forces of racism, sexism, socialization of women, and the distortion of social and physical image all impacted upon the psyches and self-esteem of Black women in the United States.

Historical West African Psychosocial Forces

In order to appreciate the unique combination of psychological and social forces impacting on the psyches of Black women in this country, it is necessary to understand their social and political history in the United States. Some of the major contributors to the psychodynamics of Black women were the West African sex-role attitudes they brought with them into slavery.

In 1980, LaFrances Rodgers-Rose reviewed the works of Blassingame (1972), Billingsley (1968), Clark (1972), Franklin (1974), Gutman (19760, Herskovits (1941), Kusbury (1952), and Nobles (1974), and from that review she was able to construct a historical overview of West African societies in the late 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries. It was during those centuries that Black African women were brought to the east coast of the United States. In late 17th, 18th, and early 19th century West Africa, the woman's role was vital to the survival of the tribe. The role of mother was the most important role because the mother carried the future of the nation. The African view of womanhood was based upon reverence for the ability to bear children. In African mythology, the universe was conceived and delivered by a woman; even the land was referred to as "Mother Africa" (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 16).

West African women were also revered for their role in the market place. They controlled the sale of goods and trading, and often women had high economic positions. What they earned belonged to them (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 16). The West African woman controlled the industries of making and selling cloth, pottery, and spinning. Women were also responsible for raising food for their families.

Wifely duties were usually shared with other wives; however, the roles of mother and economic provider were more important than the role of wife (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 16). That role prioritization was still prevalent in Coleman, Antonucci, Adelman, and Crohan's 1987 research on social roles and self-esteem in Black women, and in Hoffman and Hale-Benson's 1987 study of self-esteem of Black middle-class women who chose to work inside or outside the home.

The Coleman et al (1987) research team summarized that the social role of work in particular and the sociodemographic characteristics of education, age, family income, and health interference were predictors of psychological and physical health among middle-aged (40 to 65 years) and older (65 to 101 years) Black women. The work role was the only social role that contributed significantly to the well-being of both age groups. It

was the only predictor of well-being for the older group.

The researchers found that most middle-aged Black women held the two roles of work and parenting while only a small number also held the marital role. Age, family income, and health interference were tied to self-esteem in the middle-aged sample. Black women in the study used other Black women as comparison role models and used performance in the provider or family maintenance roles to measure success. Those were the roles that were important to them (Coleman et al, 1987). The high self-esteem of Black middle-aged women who were close to 65, with higher incomes, and in better health, supported the contention that their self-esteem was determined by their ability to be good providers (Coleman et al, 1987).

Similar evidence of the priority of the work role over the marital role was found in the Hoffman and Hale-Benson study of Black middle-class women who chose to work either inside or outside the home. The researchers found that even though all participants had worked before marriage, nearly twice as many had chosen to work outside the home as inside the home although their monetary contributions were not needed. There was a significant difference in self-esteem level between employed and non-employed homemakers with employed homemakers having higher self-esteem. The findings supported the

researchers' hypotheses that a) meaningful work was an enculturated aspect of the Black woman and that, if given the choice, she would choose to work; and b) that high self-esteem was an outcome of one's achievements and self-value and was a direct function of meaningful work (Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987).

The West African forebears of the women in the cited research studies had a unique pattern of marital/family life that obviously gave rise to the present prioritization of work and parental roles over marital roles for the Black woman. Once the woman was pregnant, she would leave her husband's house and return to her father's house where she would remain until the baby was weaned at around the age of three (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 17). The cycle was repeated with each pregnancy. The psychological result of such a tradition was that West African women lived with their children separate from their husbands for substantial periods of time. Men, even the fathers of the young children, did not interfere with the mother's function of raising the child. A mother was expected to give full attention and love to the child. The needs of the child were paramount because the cultural belief was "happy children make for happy ancestors" (Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 17).

Most West African women were socialized in a society

of peers who were referred to as sisters. Women of the
mother generation were all referred to as mother
(Rodgers-Rose, 1980, p. 17). It was in the society of
women, sometimes under the leadership of a woman chief,
that a young girl learned about life in general, the
roles she was expected to play, and where she developed a
sense of independence. Women spent more time with each
other than they did with their husbands.

In summary, the West African women, who were the
forebears of today's Black women, were independent. They
controlled the market place and felt very strongly that
they should earn their own way. The mother-child
relationship was paramount for them and they were
comfortable in the company and tutelage of other Black
women. When West African women encountered slavery and
sexism in the United States, they had brought with them a
history of hard work, independence, an expectation of
having children in their care most of the time, and an
expectation of sisterhood with other women.

Psychosocial Forces of Slavery

Slavery was the institution in which West African
women encountered the culture of the United States. It
is important to understand slavery from the Black woman's
perspective in order to develop a richer appreciation for

the psychological adjustments in self-concept and self-
esteem that resulted from the attempts to survive the
experience of being a slave woman with some sense of
integrity. White's 1987 historical review of female
slaves in the plantation South was drawn from published
primary source documents and unpublished sources from the
Schomberg Collection in New York city and from the
University of North Carolina Southern Historical
Collection. The review revealed two systems of slavery--
one for men and one for women.

Women did not travel the middle passage in the holds
of ships with the men. They were placed, usually
unshackled, on the quarterdecks. This made them more
easily accessible to the sexual desires of the sailors
(White, 1987, p.63). Sexual exploitation of Black female
captives began enroute to slavery. It was just the
harbinger of things to come for Black women in the full
blown institutional slavery experience. In spite of
their vulnerability to slaver seamen, Black women often
used their unshackled, quarterdeck positions to incite or
assist in insurrections at sea (White, 1987, p. 63).

Because slave merchants in the 17th and 18th century
believed males were better commodities than women, the
slaver rule of one woman for every two males caught was
followed (White, 1987, p. 64). This resulted in an

uneven sex ratio for Black people in which it was easier
for a woman to find a husband than it was for a man to
find a wife. Slave women had husbands (White, 1987, p.
65). Sometimes they lived with them on the same
plantation and sometimes husband and wife lived on
separate plantations. The latter separate living
arrangement was superficially similar to the historical
traditional West African family living patterns described
by Rodgers-Rose (1980).

There were some contrasts between the West African
family living patterns and those of slavery. In Africa,
the family structure was an extended one, not a nuclear
one. Living alone with one's husband and children was
not considered all there was to living with family.
Living with one's own relatives (brothers, aunts,
cousins, and sisters for example) apart from the husband
was considered truly living with "family" (White, 1987,
p. 65). White (1987) explained:

> ...in Africa segregated living arrangements flowed
> from the corporate nature of the family and from a
> belief in the inherent differences of the sexes.
> The Africans' definition of family extended far
> beyond parents and children, or the nuclear family,
> to aunts, uncles, and grandparents. (pp. 65-66).

In slavery, the Black woman was cut off from other

relatives and the cultural environment they provided. She was left with only a similar living pattern devoid of the cultural supports that used to accompany it. She had to learn to make a family relationship with other slaves in order to combat the feelings of isolation and loneliness that naturally accompanied her situation.

The slave woman was exploited for her labor and she was also used for breeding purposes (White, 1987; Davis, 1981; Brent, 1973). By the middle of the 18th century, most slaveholders had made childbearing one of their top priorities for slave women (White, 1987, p. 67). By doing so, they had again inadvertently reinforced a cultural value for Black women that had roots in Africa. Female slavery was built around hard labor and bearing and raising children to replenish the slave work force. Because the value of the love of children was so deeply ingrained in African-American slave women, the threat of separation from their children by sale or death made them extremely vulnerable to acquiescing the sexual whims of the slave master and to the sexual union requirements of breeding. It also made them less likely to run away (White, 1987; Brent, 1973). It is sobering to imagine the psychological adjustments concerning self-worth that had to made in an on-going system of sexual assault and powerlessness to protect one's offspring from

psychological and/or physical abuse or destruction
(Stetson, 1982).

In general, slavery for Black women was more arduous
and hazardous than slavery for Black men. Labor
requirements for women were the same as those for men and
the forced breeding of children was an additional major
assault upon the self-esteem of Black slave women.
Punishment was given to Black slave women regardless of
motherhood, pregnancy, or physical infirmity (Lerner,
1972, p. 15). Because of the ties to their children, the
chances of escape for female slaves were fewer than those
for males. The sexual exploitation and abuse of Black
slave women by white men was a routine practice (Lerner,
1972, p. 15). Slave mothers of daughters spent most of
their parenting energy trying to prepare and protect
their daughters against the sexual assaults that were
sure to come from both white men and Black men.

The sexual assault of Black women continued long
after the statutory end of slavery. During slavery, the
situation for "breeder women" was described in 1850 by an
87 year old ex-slave named Martha Jackson as follows:

Lawdy, Lawdy, them was tribbolashuns! Wunner dese
her womans was my Antie en she say dat she skacely
call to min' he e'r whoppin her, 'case she was er
breeder woman en' brought in chillum ev'y twelve

mont's jes lak a cow bringin' in a calf...He orders

she can't be put to no strain 'casen uv dat.

(Lerner, 1972, pp.47-48)

A post-slavery mother's concern was expressed in the 1904

autobiography of an anonymous Black woman:

I dread to see my children grow. I know not their

fate. Where the white girl has one temptation, mine

will have many. Where the white boy has every

opportunity and protection, mine will have few

opportunities and no protection. It does not matter

how good or wise my children may be, they are

colored. When I have said that, all is said.

Everything is forgiven in the South but color.

(Lerner, 1972, p. 159)

Another Black women eloquently expressed the wretched

condition of Black women after slavery in 1912:

We poor colored women wage-earners in the South are

fighting a terrible battle...On the one hand, we are

assailed by white men, and, on the other hand, we

are assailed by black men, who should be our natural

protectors; and, whether in the cook kitchen, at the

washtub, over the sewing machine, behind the baby

carriage, or at the ironing board, we are but little

more than pack horses, beasts of burden, slaves!...

...what we need is present help, present sympathy,

better wages, better hours, more protection , and a

chance to breathe for once while alive as free

women. (Lerner, 1972, pp. 157-158)

Socialization of Women and Black Women's Self-Esteem

A large part of the definition of self for Black women came from the ways in which both Black women and white women were socialized to be feminine. There were many similarities between Black women's and white women's experiences in the process of the socialization of gender. There were also some peculiarities in socialization for Black women that were the result of simultaneous racial, gender, and class socialization processes.

Women, in general, have been socialized to develop a relational sense of self (Westkott, 1989). Bardwick and Douvan (1971) used the following adjectives to describe the idealized, simplified stereotypes of normal femininity: dependence, passivity, fragility, low pain tolerance, nonaggression, noncompetitiveness, inner orientation, interpersonal orientation, empathy, sensitivity, nurturance, subjectivity, intuitiveness, yieldingness, receptivity, inability to risk, emotional liability, and supportiveness (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971,

p. 225). The affiliative need in women has been
encouraged in their socialization as nurturers and care
takers (Westkott, 1989; Andersen,1988).   Women have also
been socialized to put others' needs before their own
(Andersen, 1988). The social roles women play and their
perceptions of their physical images have also been
influences on their self-esteem (McCaulay, Mintz, &
Glenn, 1988; Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987; Coleman et al,
1987; Jackson, Sullivan, & Rostker, 1988).

Even when women reached success in their
occupational roles, they often were subject to self-
sabotage due to their fear of success (Post, 1988;
Andersen, 1988). The difficulty with success and
achievement often indicated a vulnerable self-concept
that was subject to low global self-esteem (Post, 1988;
Andersen, 1988). Great achievement in one area of a
woman's life did not guarantee that she would feel good
about herself in general. Much of the conflict in self-
concept which led to low self-esteem stemmed from the
socialization of women (Pelham & Swann, 1989).

Even when women were competent at a task, they often
lacked the self-confidence necessary to develop a sense
of high self-esteem (Post, 1989). Guilt about doing
well often accompanied the successful completion of a
task (Andersen, 1988). Doing well at male tasks often

presented women with sex-role conflict. The lack of confidence stemming from sex role conflict regarding the accomplishment of male tasks often led to workplace conflicts that were unique to women (Mesch & Dalton, 1988). The review of the literature on the socialization of women highlighted the impact of social roles on the self-concept and self-esteem of women. An awareness of the processes involved in the gender socialization of women produced better insight into the self-sabotage that often occurred with successful, professional women.

It was most disconcerting to note the overwhelming lack of racial or ethnic identification of subjects in the majority of the empirical studies reviewed. It appeared that the only time racial identification of subjects was sure to be used was when the subjects were Black. This practice is confusing to readers because when researchers only describe their subjects as "women", it is difficult to know whether or not the researcher is referring to white women only, Black women only, or both. As the research on Black women has pointed out, there are differences as well as similarities between Black women and white women on the issues discussed in this section. It could be quite misleading to assume that the psychosocial forces impacting on the self-esteem of Black women are completely embodied in the psychosocial forces

impacting on the self-esteem of white women. It is this researcher's hope that future research on women will be more mindful of the importance of specifying the racial or ethnic category of the subjects being used.

In 1976, Jean Baker Miller initiated a reevaluation of feminine qualities (Westkott, 1989). She saw "women's great desire for affiliation" as a strength (Westkott, 1989, p. 239). She argued that although that attribute could be a source of women's problems, it was also the basis for important social values. She asserted that even though the affiliative quality was dysfunctional for success in the world, it was what was needed for transforming the world into a more humane place (Westkott, 1989, p. 239). Where did this affiliative or relational self originate?

Nancy Chodorow proposed that the affiliative or relational self for women emerged from a structure of parenting in which mothers treated their sons and daughters differently (Westkott, 1989). Daughters were treated as projections of the mother, never fully separated from her. This lack of complete separation from the mother resulted in the development of a self that was connected to or continuous with others (Westkott, 1989). Andersen (1988) also observed that beginning in infancy, boys and girls were treated

differently.

Bardwick and Douvan (1971) stated that from the age of two to two and a half, boys more than girls experienced more prohibitions for a wider range of behavior. They felt it was of special importance that dependent behavior was permitted for girls and prohibited for boys. Girls were not encouraged to give up old techniques of relating to adults and using others to define their identity (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 227). Girls' self-esteem remained dependent upon other people's acceptance and love. Girls were not encouraged to learn to manipulate the physical world in order to supply their own emotional needs (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 227). Girls were encouraged to use the skills of others instead of evolving their own skills.

Research has shown that with no objective differences between infants, the parents of girls reported their babies to be softer, smaller and less attentive than did the parents of boys (Andersen, 1988). In general, parents in several research studies treated their infants differently according to their sex even though differences in the infants' actual patterns of behavior were extremely small (Andersen, 1988). The difference in socialization between males and females continued to and through puberty. Because femininity was

a given attribute for most of infancy and childhood, there was a significant delay in a girl's search for identity (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 228). The delay also extended to girls' development of autonomy, internal criteria for self-esteem, and self-affirmation. Due to these developmental delays in the development of self-identity, girls became expert at anticipating other people's needs and demands, and they became good conformists (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 228).

Children's play and games were important sources of sex-role socialization. In George Herbert Mead's play stage of socialization, the child began "taking the role of the other" (Andersen, 1988, p. 82). The child was able to see herself from the perspective of another person. Mead argued that taking the role of the other allowed the child to develop a self-concept. This was true for girls and boys. At the play stage, children began taking the role of significant others. For girls that significant other was Mommy (Andersen, 1988).

After the play stage, children went into the game stage of socialization. At the game stage, children learned to orient themselves to a generalized other in addition to a significant other (Andersen, 1988). The generalized other represented the cultural expectations of the whole social community. Researchers have

observed that there was a pervasiveness of sex-role stereotyping in the early childhood play and games of children. In Lever's 1978 study of white middle-class fifth graders, she noted that girls tended to interact through play and boys tended to interact through games (Andersen, 1988). When girls did play games, the games focused on particular others, not the generalized others in boys' games.

Rheingold and Cook observed in 1975 that girls' toys were less varied in type than boys' toys, and furthermore, girls' toys encouraged play within the home (Andersen, 1988). Maccoby and Jacklin in their 1974 study found that girls learned in play that women's place was in the home (Andersen, 1988). Both of these studies had middle-class white children as subjects. Middle-class Black female children were expected to work when they grew up because their mothers and grandmothers did. As a result, their play did not teach them that a woman's place was only in the home (Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987; Andersen, 1988). Andersen (1988) felt that continued attention needed to be paid to the role of various cultural expectations in the socialization of gender.

David Schulz in his book Coming Up Black (1969) noted that sociological research showed that by the age of nine, a Black girl in the lower economic class had

already been given considerable responsibility for her
younger siblings. She was usually assisted in that task
by her older sisters until around the age of thirteen.
At thirteen, she was given full responsibility for the
new babies and young children (Schulz, 1969, p. 21).
Child care was the major socialization process for
poverty level, young, Black girls. Maternity became
what it meant to be a "girl" (Schulz, 1969, p. 21);
however, maternity was not linked with the role of wife.
In this respect, middle-class Black girls were socialized
differently than lower-class Black girls.

Michelle Wallace (1978) captured the socialization
expectations of Black middle-class girls when she
recalled her own experience. She stated:

> I can't remember when I first learned that my family
> expected me to work, to be able to take care of
> myself when I grew up. My mother was so
> extraordinarily career-oriented that I was never
> allowed to take lessons in anything unless I
> manifested a deep interest in a career in that area.
> (Wallace, 1978, p. 130)

It was drilled into her that the best and only sure
support for herself was self-support. This was a
different message than white middle-class girls and Black
lower-class girls were receiving about what it meant to

be a "girl".

Black middle-class girls also heard the message from the larger white society about what it meant to be feminine, and a conflict often arose as to how to be self-supporting, affiliative, nurturing, and sexually desirable at the same time. At puberty, Black middle-class adolescent girls wanted what white middle-class adolescent girls wanted-- acceptance by peers and boys. Wallace described the conflicting messages in this way:

> Despite the lessons of the women in my family, I had
> no intention whatsoever of growing up to earn my own
> keep. I knew better than those women and everything
> in my environment supported what I knew. Didn't
> American media proclaim that with the right
> equipment, the appropriate quantities of femininity
> and sex appeal, I need not develop any other
> talents?...Growing up in Harlem, I listened to these
> messages no less intently than the little white
> girls who grew up on Park Avenue, in Scarsdale, and
> on Long Island. In a way I needed to hear them, to
> believe them, even more than they did. Their
> alternative was not eternal Aunt Jemimahood, Porgy-
> n'-Besshood. Mine was. I viewed work as no more
> than a contingency plan. (Wallace, 1978, p. 131)

Black middle-class girls were receiving three

distinct socialization messages about what it meant to be
female. In addition to the messages from the educated,
career-oriented Black women in their families, and from
the larger white community, a discrepant message was
received from the Black men in the larger Black
community. The message from Black men in the larger
Black community was "be more feminine; make yourself more
attractive; and above all be more submissive" (Wallace,
1978, p. 137). The socialization of middle-class Black
women definitely included the work ethic, independence,
and self-reliance. It also included the requirement to
be more in line with affiliative/relational definitions
of femininity in order to be loved and accepted as a
"woman".

The conflicting socialization messages about what it
meant to be a woman often resulted in the development of
the "necessary bitch" in Black middle-class women
(Simmons, 1988, p. 65). When a Black woman did not act
properly either as a Black or as a woman, there were
problems for her socially. Simmons (1988) summed it up
thusly:

> Yet when a woman, and certainly a Black women, won't
> act like a Negro, a lady and a martyr Christian, she
> usually gets labeled a bitch. A woman is a bitch if
> she stands up for herself, speaks her mind, insists

on her rights and space, isn't deferential to men

and would rather make a scene than die or turn the

other cheek. (Simmons, 1988, pp. 65-66)

Simmons pointed out that although it was good to have

found a strong and protective part of her self, she was

not comfortable with being labeled or thinking of herself

as a bitch. She would have much rather preferred to

comfortably combine her socialized attributes and

redefine for herself what it meant to be a woman...and to

have that self-definition be non-conflictual and

positive.

Simmons was almost defeated by the conflict in self-

definition. She stated that:

Obviously my schizophrenia (loosely speaking) stems

from my conflicting reactions to sexism and racism

(all mixed up with fundamentalist Christianity and

Victorian mores). To attract and keep Father-God

men, I have to be feminine, which means being short,

slim, blonde, blue-eyed, domesticated but stylish,

and either stupid or deceitful so they will always

feel they have the upper hand. I'm neither

physically nor temperamentally suited to the part.

I'm five feet eight inches tall, weigh 180 pounds

and am black-haired, brown-eyed, ferociously

intelligent, kinda wild and determined to run as

much of my life and world as I can get under my
control. Conflict. (Simmons, 1988, pp. 69-70)

Carrington (1980) theorized that Black women had to
learn to continuously fight against the negative sexual
and racial images that society projected on them. She
noted that for some Black women, the result of the fight
against the negative and conflicting socialization
processes was a damaged self-esteem. Self-hate had to be
replaced with self-love, indignity with dignity,
depriving love objects with nurturing love objects, and
feelings of victimization with feelings of power and
self-mastery (Carrington, 1980, p. 267). One of the
major obstacles to the self-healing process for both
Black and white women, was the dependency on the
relational or affiliative self-concept as the sole or
central image of what it meant to be a woman.

The theme of girls needing to be more relational was
studied at the Stone Center feminist project at Wellesley
College (Westkott, 1989). The Stone Center work saw the
basic feminine self as connected to the world and
responding to a different set of hierarchical values
(Westkott, 1989; Boldizar, Wilson, & Deemer,1989).
Gilligan's 1982 concept of a "different voice" that women
followed was summarized in the proposal that:

the moral imperative that emerges repeatedly in

interviews with women is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the "real and recognizable trouble" of this world. (Westkott, 1989, p. 240)

Stone Center psychologists believed that a girl developed a self-in-relation through her mother's ease in responding to infant female attunement and through the mother expecting empathy and caretaking from her daughter (Westkott, 1989).   This view was criticized by other feminist psychologists because it set up the possibility for a mother to misuse her daughter by inappropriately expecting her infant daughter to take care of her (the mother's) needs. It allowed no instance for healthy self-empathy and self-growth for the infant daughter. Although they routinely spoke of the importance of self-empathy and self-growth, the Stone Center psychologists rejected the idea of personal desire being met in the absence of relationship.

Lemkau and Landau in 1986 described the inhibition of self-knowledge, self-expression, and self-esteem that women experienced as a consequence of sacrificing "those aspects of their own development that conflicted with meeting the needs of others" (Post, 1988, p. 195).   That description made sense in view of the paradigm of the Stone Center relational self. Women were socialized to

be nurturant and supportive and to meet the needs of others, even if at their own expense (Post, 1988). According to Alexandra Kaplan's 1986 work, "women's core self-structure, or their primary motivational thrust, concerns growth within the relationship" (Post, 1988, p. 194). Often, the emphasis on growth within the relationship resulted in low self-esteem for women. When Bardwick and Douvan (1971) asked female college students (no race given) what would make them happy or unhappy, and when would they consider themselves successful, they received the following replies from both graduate and undergraduate women:

> When I love and am loved; when I contribute to the welfare of others; when I have established a good family life and have happy, normal children; when I know I have created a good, rewarding stable relationship. (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 231)

Sex-Roles, Social Roles, and Women's Self-Esteem

In addition to being socialized to develop a relational or affiliative self, both Black and white women are also socialized to adapt to society's expectations of them as females and as participants in society. Sex-role socialization and complementary social role socialization had great impact on the development of

global self-esteem for both Black and white women.

Pelham and Swann (1989) identified three factors that

contributed to people's global self-esteem: a) people's

tendencies to experience positive and negative affective

states, b) people's specific self-views, and c) the way

people frame their self-views. In their study of 245 men

and 256 women (no race given) at the University of Texas

at Austin, the researchers found that if individuals were

convinced that they had a number of talents, it was not

necessary for them to believe that their greatest talents

were also those that were most important to them.

Importance of an attribute or talent was most closely

associated with self-esteem for individuals who possessed

a greater than average number of negative self-views and

who were, at the same time, highly certain of their more

favorable self-views. Those subjects who were highly

certain of their positive self-views and who considered

those views to be important were most likely to have high

self-esteem. The Pelham and Swann findings regarding

self-view and self-esteem shed some light on the

phenomenon of high achieving women who had low self-

esteem.

Other studies showed that girls (no race given) were

afraid of succeeding. The adolescent girl and the

significant family and peer others in her life perceived

objective, visible achievement success as antithetical to femininity (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 230). Girls were warned through the socialization process not to succeed too much. The message sent to adolescent girls was that conspicuous success in competitive dating threatened friendships with other girls and conspicuous success in competitive "male" tasks threatened heterosexual relationships (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971). In general, the message was that conspicuous success threatened relationships. That message carried great weight with women who were socialized as a relational or affiliative self.

Post (1988) described the self-sabotage processes that she observed in the highly accomplished women who were her psychotherapy clients. These women (no race given) used to undermine their own effectiveness by engaging in the following processes: a) perfectionism, b) failure to prioritize activities and overcommitment, c) procrastination and avoidance of conflictual tasks, d) excessive modesty, e) reluctance to resolve problems through confrontation, and f) putting others' needs first. The women in the Post study were successful women who often felt inadequate and dissatisfied with themselves. Perhaps the sense of worthiness and what was required to attain it in infancy evoked disdain from

others instead of acceptance.

The women in the Post study exemplified Pelham and Swann's (1989) assertions concerning the influence of early affective experiences on self-esteem and, as Carrington (1980) had noted, they were very conflicted about the expression of aggression, assertion, and power. Carrington observed that most of the Black women that she had treated clinically were, by external observations, successful. Yet, like the women in the Post study, they carried within them deep feelings of unworthiness and despair. Carrington concluded that the socialization of women, regardless of race, contributed greatly to depression in women. She pointed out that being expected to place the needs of others before their own played a major role in the depression of highly successful women (Carrington, 1980, p. 269). Carrington speculated that because loss was associated with depression, the occupationally successful Black women in her clinical study were depressed due to losses of an interpersonal rather than occupational nature (Carrington, 1980, p. 269).

Post believed that because women were socialized to be nurturant and supportive, they lost time in attaining nonrelational goals. The women in her study were often deficient in appropriate assertiveness skills. They were

inhibited by fears of damaging other people, concern that
they would not be liked, and societal messages condemning
"aggressive" behavior in women (Post, 1989, p. 195).
Carrington (1980), in her appraisal of depression in
Black women, noted that the primary role designations for
women in the United States included a ban on the direct
expression of aggression, assertion, and power.

Post (1989) surmised that many of the women in her
study had developed discrepant or incongruous self-esteem
at an early age. She theorized that many of the women in
her study had internalized images of themselves as
damaged, disappointing, and inadequate, on one hand ,and
as special, important, and powerful on the other hand
(Post, 1989). Most of the women had parents who set high
standards that required unrealistic altruism or age-
inappropriate independence and nurturance of other family
members. The parental processes described by Post
supported the concern of the critics of the Stone
Center's approval of the dynamics of the mother-daughter
interactional origins of the relational or affiliative
self in women.

For the high achieving women in the Post study,
achievement became a major pathway for developing
positive self-esteem and a more integrated self-concept
(Post, 1989); however, guilt and anger about being

responsible for the nurturance of others weakened the
effect of high achievement and produced vulnerable self-
esteem in the face of high achievement. Even though
women saw themselves as competent and powerful, it was
also necessary for their relational selves to see
themselves as lovable and kind. Often the very
interactional processes that assured success in the
occupational world of high achieving women were the same
processes that made it very difficult to address the
affiliative and relational needs of the self. Most high
achieving women were socialized not only to achieve but
also to use interpersonal success as a route to self-
esteem (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971, p. 232).

Willemsen (1987) examined at the relationship
between sex-role, social role and self-esteem. In her
study of 29 male and 43 female (no race given) college
students that took the Personal Attributes Questionnaire,
the Offer Self-Image Questionnaire and the Need for
Uniqueness Scale, Willemsen found that for the women in
the study, social self-esteem was predicted by their
masculinity sex-role orientation and that need for
uniqueness was an aspect of self-esteem for them.
Willemsen expected that social self-esteem, associated
with feminine nurturance and people skills and sexual
self-esteem, associated with one's attractiveness to the

opposite sex, would be affected by sex-role orientation more than by self-esteem in intrapsychic or filial domains (Willemsen, 1987).

She found that higher intrapsychic self-esteem existed among women with androgynous and masculine sex-role orientations than among women with feminine and undifferentiated sex-role orientations. Women's higher self-esteem in the social domain was related to sex-role orientation. The absence of femininity, or nurturing and receptive behavior, in women interfered with self-esteem in the social domain. The need for uniqueness was strongly related to all self-esteem measures, social and sexual, for women. For women, low self-esteem was associated with little need for uniqueness and with absence of the masculine instrumental and autonomous qualities.

Whitley found similar results in his 1988 study of masculinity, femininity, and self-esteem. In his multitrait-multimethod analysis of masculinity, femininity, and self-esteem, Whitley investigated, among other things, the relative degree of relationship between trait and behavior measures of sex-role orientation and self-esteem. His subjects were 110 female and 95 male introductory psychology students (no race given). The trait measure of sex-role orientation was the Personal

Attribute Questionnaire. The behavior measure of sex-role orientation was the short form of the Sex-Role Behavior Scale-2. The trait measure of self-esteem was Sherwood's Self-Concept Inventory. The behavior measure of self-esteem was a combined score on Shrauger and Rosenberg's Self-Description Inventory and the short form of the Texas Social Behavior Inventory.

In the Whitley study, trait measures of masculinity were more strongly correlated with measures of self-esteem that were behavior measures of masculinity. Those results were stronger for women than for men. Again, women who had masculine traits had higher self-esteem.

Orlofsky and O'Heron (1987) examined the implications stereotypic and nonstereotypic sex-role orientation had for self-esteem and personal adjustment. Measures of sex-role traits, attitudes and behaviors and scales assessing self-esteem were administered to 411 college men and women (no race given). Masculine traits and behaviors had broadly positive implications for self-esteem and adjustment for women as well as for men. Feminine qualities played a central role in communal self-esteem components. Communal self-esteem consisted of self-perceived effectiveness in and enjoyment of social interaction and of satisfaction with one's interpersonal relationships. The Whitley, Orlofsky and

O'Heron findings supported the concept of the socialization of the affiliative or relational self in women in their studies. Feminine qualities were more important for communal or interpersonal self-esteem measures. Only when women in the studies had cross-sex masculine qualities did they experience high self-esteem in instrumental or masculine (achievement/leadership) measures.

Self-esteem of women in the workplace was often vulnerable to the sex-role conflicts implicated in the research studies on sex-role orientation and self-esteem. Chusmir and Koberg (1989) examined sex-role conflict, perceived work competency and motivational needs among 135 working men and 163 working women (no race given) at different hierarchical levels. Sex-role conflict was "the degree of conflict expressed between an individual's (1) treatment based on gender versus that person's desired treatment as an individual (intrarole or interrole incongruity) and (2) private self-concept of the person's sex-role versus the self-concept defined by one's society and work organization (intrapersonal incongruity)" (Koberg & Chusmir, 1988, p. 780). The researchers found that the women had significantly higher levels of sex-role conflict than the men, but they had a similar sense of work competency.

Chusmir and Koberg concluded that some women tended to mix sex-role conflict with competency at work and with other negative self-referent attitudes. That conclusion was based upon the finding that sex-role conflict and perceived competency were negatively linked for women but not for men.

The finding of no significant gender differences in work competency suggested that the less positive self-referent attitudes that were present among the women were due to reasons other than a sense of competency at work. It appeared that women's higher level of sex-role conflict negatively affected their sense of self-esteem and increased anxiety and other negative self-referent attitudes regardless of whether or not they felt competent (Chusmir & Koberg, 1989).

Women in the 1989 Chusmir and Koberg study had high levels of sex-role conflict that were associated with low levels of achievement need combined with high levels of power need. It appeared there was stronger and stronger sex-role conflict for women as they attained higher level hierarchical positions that fulfilled strong needs for power (Chusmir & Koberg, 1989).

The same authors conducted a 1988 study on the relationship between sex-role conflict and work-related variables of gender and hierarchical differences. They

tested 200 managerial and nonmanagerial men and women (no race given) for degree of sex-role conflict and various work-related attitudes and outcomes. Koberg and Chusmir (1988) found that sex-role conflict was related to low job involvement for managerial women but not for nonmanagerial women nor for men at any rank. Sex-role conflict was negatively correlated with professional commitment for both female and male managers but not for nonmanagers of either sex. Managerial women scored higher in sex-role conflict than did nonmanagerial women.

The finding that managerial women scored higher in sex-role conflict than did nonmanagerial women suggested to the researchers that as women took on nontraditional managerial jobs their level of sex-role conflict rose. They proposed that because women in the United States were more socialized to occupy low-level positions, high ranking jobs brought more discomfort to them (Koberg & Chusmir, 1988). The authors also found that role overload resulting from family and work obligations created additional conflict in fulfilling the demands of one role at the expense of another.

Sex-role conflict often expressed itself in the level of self-confidence women had in the work setting. Sleeper and Nigro (1987) examined the effects of the sex and performance of another in an achievement setting on

women's and men's self-confidence. The authors cited research that showed that women's self-confidence was not consistently lower than men's. Women's self-confidence was responsive to certain cues in the social setting such as the type of task, the presence or absence of feedback, and the salience of social cues. Women's achievement was especially sensitive to the sex and the performance of others present in achievement settings.

The researchers had 104 Bates College undergraduates (no race given) complete anagrams with a partner who was a part of the experimental design and who gave either high performance or low performance comparative feedback to the subjects. Questions measuring pretask and posttask self-confidence were answered by the subjects. Women's pretask self-confidence was lower than men's even though competition had been de-emphasized, and subjects had been made aware that anagrams had been rated as only moderately difficult and neutral in sex association.

There were several explanations offered for this phenomenon. One explanation was that before they received feedback on an achievement task, women were genuinely less self-confident than men and that their lower self-confidence represented uncertainty in the face of a novel task (Sleeper & Nigro, 1987). Another explanation

offered was that women's lower expectations represented
a response to the sex typing of the task. It could have
been that the women in the study perceived the task as a
masculine one.

Because women in the study actually solved more
anagrams than men in the study, the researchers concluded
there was the possibility that the sex difference in
self-confidence might not have been genuine, but instead
was a reflection of self-presentational goals. They
proposed that because women generally gained public
esteem by maintaining a modest, affiliative image, they
would report low self-confidence at the start of the
study. Performance would not parallel expectancies if
those expectancies were motivated by self-presentational
goals. Women's initially low expectations did not have a
debilitating effect on either their performance or on
their future self-confidence.

Women's achievement in their other social roles
often had an effect on their self-esteem. Coleman et al
(1987) examined the impact of participation in social
roles on the psychological and physical health of middle-
aged and older Black women. Their sample was data from
the National Survey of Black Americans which included 451
middle-aged Black women (40-64 years) and 215 older Black
women (65-101 years) who were interviewed during the

1979-1980 year. They found that few middle-aged and older Black women participated in the three roles of parent, spouse, and employee simultaneously. They also found that of the three roles, only employment had a significant relationship to feelings of well being. Among the middle-aged group, employed women had higher self-esteem and better health than the non-employed middle-aged women. In the older group, employed women also had higher self-esteem and better health than the non-employed older women.

Black women who were working, who were older, who had higher family incomes, and who had less health interference had higher self-esteem. Of older Black women, it was those who were working that had significantly higher self-esteem. Education was the sole predictor of perceived control among the middle-aged sample. Middle-aged Black women with more years of education felt more in control of their lives. The researchers also found that middle-aged Black women who were simultaneously participating in the work and marital social roles suffered less interference from health . Employed older Black women had less health interference than those older Black women who were not employed (Coleman et al, 1987).

Coleman et al summarized that the social role of

work in particular and the sociodemographic characteristics of education, age, family income, and health interference were predictors of psychological and physical health among middle-aged and older Black women. The work role was the only social role that contributed significantly to the well-being of both groups, and it was the only predictor of well-being for the older group. The researchers found that most middle-aged Black women held the two roles of work and parenting while only a small number also held the marital role. This might have been due to the high rates of mortality, health problems, and unemployment among Black men. Marital role and parental role were not significant predictors of physical and psychological well-being for either age group.

Age, family income, and health interference were tied to self-esteem in the middle-aged sample. Black women used other Black women as comparison role models, and used performance in the provider or family maintenance roles to measure success. Those were the roles that were important to them. For Black middle-aged women who were close to 65 years of age, with high incomes, and in good health, high self-esteem was determined by their ability to be good providers (Coleman et al, 1987).

Several conclusions were reached by the researchers. One conclusion was that the enactment of the social roles of work, marriage, and parenting differed at middle and older age. Black women at middle age were very involved in work and parenting. Older Black women had limited participation in the work or marital role and were not actively involved in the parenting role. Another conclusion was that highly educated middle-aged Black women were less likely to be married, and older Black women were less likely to be married or working. Family income was tied to higher self-esteem, and married working women were more likely to have higher incomes. The final conclusion was that the work role alone provided significant psychological benefits to the middle-aged and older Black women in the study. It appeared that Black women did not work for personal autonomy but rather they worked for wages. Work provided an alternative to dependency on welfare and demonstrated that Black women had internalized the societal norm that working people were worthwhile (Coleman et al, 1987).

The authors cited previous research that revealed that although Black women reported that they were managing their social roles quite adequately, they also felt they had little choice in the matter. They felt they could neither cease working nor abandon their

children. Historically, choice has played a critical
role in the management and subjective experience of
social roles for Black women. The freedom to choose has
been an important determinant of well-being (Coleman et
al, 1987).

Hoffman and Hale-Benson (1987) conducted a study of
the self-esteem of Black middle-class women who chose to
work inside or outside the home. They cited research that
demonstrated that the Black middle-class wife had a
different perspective on the role of homemaking. It was
considered a long-denied luxury in the Black community
not to have to work. Research also showed that young
Black women in the past 20 years had been found to
possess high occupational aspirations and have had to
work. Their jobs had contributed to their relatively
high level of self-esteem. The Hoffman and Hale-Benson
study subjects were Black women between the ages of 28
and 63 who had at least a college degree, were married to
a professional man, had at least one child, and had
worked before marriage. The study was designed to
determine whether the self-esteem of Black women who work
outside the home was higher than that of Black women who
were exclusively homemakers. The subjects responded to a
mailing that consisted of a background questionnaire, the
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, and the

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale.

The researchers found that even though all participants had worked before marriage, nearly twice as many had chosen to work outside the home as inside the home although their monetary contributions were not needed. There was a significant difference in self-esteem level between employed and non-employed homemakers. Employed homemakers were higher in self-esteem than non-employed homemakers. The findings supported the researchers' hypotheses that a) meaningful work was an enculturated aspect of the Black woman and that, if given the choice, she would choose to work and b) that high self-esteem was an outcome of one's achievements and self-value and was a direct function of meaningful work (Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987).

The authors assumed from their study that for Black women who were college educated and had high aspirations, the work orientation had become incorporated into the Black female self-concept and continued to operate even after they had achieved social, educational, and financial status. An additional observation was that the working trend of Black wives of professional men supported the idea that Black men were appreciative of, and supportive of, and attracted to competent women who were able to assume many roles (Hoffman & Hale-Benson,

1987).

Distorted Social Images of Self

Black women's feelings of being attractive to and appreciated by others was often impacted by the negative social images of Black women which were propagated by both white and Black society in the United States. Many people, including Black women themselves, have had and continue to have difficulty appreciating Black women as they are because of the imposed identities placed upon them from the various myths concerning the character and persona of Black women. The institutionalized sexual and labor exploitation of the Black slave woman and her forced submission to it was used by white men to develop distorted, negative myths, images and stereotypes of the Black woman. The distorted images of Black women presented yet another attack on self-concept and self-esteem with which to contend.

In order to sustain the continued sexual exploitation of Black women after slavery, the myth of the "bad" Black woman was created (Lerner, 1972, p. 163). It was created by asserting that there was a different level of sexuality for all Blacks that entailed greater sexual potency, eagerness for sexual exploits, and voluntary loose morals. Every Black woman was, by

definition, a slut according to the racist mythology
(Lerner, 1972, p. 163).

Due to the entrenched post-slavery racism and
sexism, it was difficult for Black women to assume roles
other than those held in slavery. It was therefore also
difficult for them to escape the myths of Black womanhood
(White, 1987). The female slave was seen as either a
Jezebel or a Mammy. Jezebel was a woman governed
entirely by her libido. Mammy was the asexual, therefore
safer, happy, strong, religious devotee of white women
and children (White, 1987, pp. 29, 46-49). Jezebel was
the counterimage of the mid-nineteenth century ideal of
the Victorian lady. The image of Black women as sensual
beings began with the impressions formed during the
initial contact of whites with Africans, with the way
Black women were forced to live under chattel slavery,
and with the sexist ideas that Southern white men held
about women in general (White, 1987, p. 29).

The strong belief in the inherent, genetic
immorality of Black women was exemplified in the
statement of William Harper, Chancellor of the University
of South Carolina in Pro-Slavery Arguments. Speaking of
the Black slave woman, he said in a speech to a southern
audience:

She is not a less useful member of society than

before. If shame be attached to her conduct, it is such shame as would be elsewhere felt for a venial impropriety. She has not impaired her means of support or materially impaired her character, or lowered her station in society; she has done not great injury to herself, or any other human being. Her offspring is not a burden but an acquisition to her owner; his support is provided for, and he is brought up to usefulness. It is hardly surprising that under such conditions that slave women yield to temptation. (White, 1987, p. 39)

It was asserted that Southern white women were kept free from immorality because Black women were used as a buffer against their degradation (White, 1987, p. 39).

The descriptions of the Mammy stereotype came from post Civil War memoirs (White, 1987, p. 47). The descriptions were written with such certainty and definitiveness that they appeared to be without question of reality. Mammy was the Black slave woman who could do anything and do it better than anyone else. She was the premier house servant and other servants were her subordinates. She was completely dedicated to the white family, with a special dedication to the white children. She was friend and advisor to the white mistress and served as surrogate mistress and mother. The Mammy myth

was grounded in the reality of Black female house service. It was the one image of Black women that was considered positive....dedication to whites, total servitude, asexual, and putting her own children and family last.

The Sapphire myth/image was very different from Mammy. The post-slavery term "Sapphire" was and is still presently used to describe an age-old image of Black women as dominating and emasculating (Scott, 1982, p. 87). Sapphire was everything that Mammy was not. She was evil, treacherous, bitchy, stubborn, and hateful (Hooks, 1981, p. 85). The etiology of the Sapphire image of the female as inherently evil was Christian mythology that depicted women as the source of sin and evil. Racist-sexist mythology designated Black women as the epitome of female evil and sinfulness. White men, white women, and Black men used the Sapphire image of Black women to justify their various exploitations of Black women (Hooks, 1981). Sapphire was even popularized on the radio and television shows of Amos and Andy in the 1940's and '50's. The Sapphire identity has been projected onto any Black woman who overtly expressed bitterness, anger, or rage about her situation. Fear of being labeled a "Sapphire" has led many Black women to repress feelings of anger and resentment. Others

embraced the identity as a reaction to the mistreatment of Black women from many sources in society. Some Black women used "Sapphire" as a facade presented to a sexist-racist world that they felt would exploit them if they appeared vulnerable.

The final myth was the myth of the Black matriarch. The Black matriarchy thesis was representative of the "social problems" approach to the Black experience that became popular in the 1960's from Moynihan's work (Scott, 1982, p.86). Black male scholars like DuBois and Frazier had presented the idea of the Black matriarch as early as 1908 and 1939 respectively (Scott, 1982). Black matriarchs were purported to have had an unnaturally dominant role in Black families that had resulted in deleterious effects upon Black society. Scott (1982) cited Billingsley's (1968), Herzog's (1970), and Staples' (1970) critiques of the numerous problems in the statistical data, inferences, social concepts, instruments, and methodologies used to support the myth of the Black matriarchy (p. 87). Black matriarchy theories were blatantly sexist and racist. Black matriarchy theories labeled Black women as doubly deviant, masculine, and unnaturally superior.

Deborah White (1987) summarized the distorted images of self with which Black women must contend:

From the intricate web of mythology which surrounds
the black woman, a fundamental image emerges. It is
of a woman of inordinate strength, with an ability
for tolerating an unusual amount of misery and
heavy, distasteful work. This woman does not have
the same fears, weaknesses, and insecurities as
other women, but believes herself to be and is, in
fact, stronger emotionally than most men. Less of a
woman in that she is less "feminine" and helpless,
she is really more of a woman in that she is the
embodiment of Mother Earth, the quintessential
mother with infinite sexual, life-giving, and
nurturing reserves. In other words, she is a
superwoman. (White, 1987, p. 27)

These myths were based on a number of negative
stereotypes. The widespread effort to continue the
devaluation of Black womanhood made and still makes it
extremely difficult and often impossible for the Black
female to develop a positive self-concept (Hooks, 1981,
p. 86).

Distorted Physical Images of Self

When distorted social images of self were compounded
by distorted physical images of self and by the
imposition of white standards of beauty, the efforts of

Black women to maintain healthy self-concepts and high self-esteem were severely confounded. Part of the fulfillment of the needs of the relational self for both Black and white women had to do with being physically acceptable to others thus body or physical image had an influence on the self-esteem of women. Jackson, Sullivan and Rostker (1988) found in their study of 166 predominantly white men and women undergraduates that feminine females evaluated their physical appearance less favorably than androgynous females although physical appearance was equally important to each group. Feminine females were those women in the study whose scores on the Short Form of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (s-BSRI) indicated greater endorsement of the ten feminine characteristics presented in the instrument. Androgynous females were those females in the study whose scores on the s-BSRI indicated greater endorsement of the ten gender-neutral characteristics presented in the instrument. The researchers pointed out that gender schema theory suggested that gender-typed persons were more motivated to conform to cultural standards regarding physical appearance and were more likely than non-gender-typed persons to evaluate their own appearance in terms of the cultural standards (Jackson et al, 1988).

Jackson et al concluded that gender role was related

to body image. They found that the relationship between gender role and body image for their subjects depended upon gender and upon the body image dimension, or body part, in question. They also found that self-esteem played a major role in understanding self-rated body image. Subjects with high self-esteem had more favorable evaluations of physical appearance and physical fitness, more appearance-directed behaviors, and higher ratings of the importance of physical health.

The Jackson et al (1988) findings suggested that femininity in both feminine and androgynous females may have been related to an acceptance of cultural standards about the importance of appearance for women. The researchers proposed that women who were high in femininity may have viewed an attractive physical appearance as an asset in the interpersonal exchange domain. The interpersonal exchange domain was thought to be a domain of importance to the self-esteem of women high in femininity.

McCaulay, Mintz, and Glenn (1988) pointed out that distortions in body image were prevalent in nonclinical samples and that those distortions were linked to problems of lowered self-esteem. In their 1988 study of 176 undergraduates (no race given) at a college known for its emphasis on physical attractiveness as a means of

social acceptance, McCaulay, Mintz, and Glenn examined gender differences in body image and its relationship to depression-proneness and self-esteem. The researchers pointed out that females in the United States were particularly valued for thinness and beauty. As a result, these women were alienated from and disliked their bodies. This alienation and dislike led to body image distortions. Recent studies reported that women tended to see themselves as heavier than their actual weight and that they disliked their bodies (McCaulay et al, 1988). McCaulay et al (1988) reported on a 1986 study by Mintz and Betz that found the relationship between body image and self-esteem was significantly stronger for women than for men in both their overall sample and in the slightly underweight participants (p. 382).

McCaulay et al (1988) found that women in their study expressed greater dissatisfaction with body image than did men in every weight category except for the slightly underweight group. In that group, men expressed more dissatisfaction. Over 75% of the women in the study were actually normal weight, as measured by a nomograph method that was comparable to the Metropolitan Life Insurance scales. Only 40% of the women perceived themselves to be of normal weight. The majority of the

women perceived themselves to be either slightly overweight or overweight, although only 5.8% were actually in those categories. For women in the sample, body satisfaction was related to their self-esteem but not to depression proneness. Women with higher levels of body satisfaction had higher levels of self-esteem. These findings were consistent with the societal messages or cultural expectations that women should be slender.

Black women received additional societal messages about what constituted physical beauty and attractiveness. In 1987, Okazawa-Rey, Robinson, and Ward conducted a review of fictional, sociological, clinical, and empirical literatures on Black women and the politics of skin color and hair. Since 1853, when the first Black novelist was published, beautiful Black women have been depicted as those who were light skinned, had long, flowing hair, had light eyes, and had finely chiseled aquiline features (p. 89). In other words, the closer Black women came to white standards of physical beauty, the more physically attractive they were considered to be by both Black men and women. The real power of the skin color and hair texture issue as an assault on the self-esteem of Black women stemmed in part from the fact that the discrimination based upon color and hair was not only from the larger white community, but also internal to the

Black community.

It was in the Black family, where skin color and hair texture could be varied, that Black children learned the subtle and sometimes not so subtle values attributed to differences in skin color and hair. Many Black women can recall childhood verbal and physical attacks that were provoked by color envy or dislike (Okazawa-Rey et al, 1987, p. 90). As has been stated earlier, a woman's self-concept developed, in part, from her observations and internalizations of what she believed others thought about her. If society was and still is putting forth whiteness, slimness, long, silky, blonde hair, tallness and blue-eyes as the standard of beauty for women in the United States, the Black woman had only three choices to make regarding her physical attractiveness. She could strive to be as "white" as possible; she could make her own standards of beauty; or she could feel "ugly" and either try to compensate for that feeling by excelling in other ways or give up completely on feeling good about herself physically. Either way, the imposition of white standards of physical beauty as the beauty norm had profound implications on the self-esteem of Black women.

The color consciousness of Black women had its roots in the social, political, and economic conditions of slavery in the United States. Because the light

skinned, straight haired, biracial offspring of slave
women and white men were often granted more social
advantages than other Blacks, their physical attributes
were seen as something to strive for. Often, lighter
skinned Blacks separated themselves socially from darker
skinned Blacks. Lighter skinned Blacks received
preferential treatment for admission into the mission
schools and Black colleges established after the Civil
War. This led to an educated Black middle class that was
overwhelmingly light skinned and very partial to white
puritanical standards of decorum (Okazawa-Rey et al,
1987, p. 93).

During world War II, there was increased economic
opportunity for Black people which resulted in a new
middle class based upon education and occupation rather
than upon skin color and family background. The old
attitudes of preference for light skin were still alive
and well though. Black fraternities and sororities on
campuses were often distinguishable by the skin color and
hair texture of their membership.

Okazawa-Rey et al cited a 1984 study by Mullins and
Sites which showed that the inheritance of light skin
color (generally from the mother, who was twice as likely
to have been lighter skinned than the father), as well as
the mother's education, occupational attainment, and

income served to increase a family's social position over time. The researchers observed that it was little wonder that Black men, both in the past and presently, still actively chose to marry lighter skinned women as a means of obtaining heightened social status and economic success.

Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) cited Grier and Cobbs' 1968 book Black Rage on the effects of white standards of beauty on the self-esteem of Black women:

> The Negro woman's black face, African features, and kinky hair are physical attributes which place her far from the American ideal of beauty, and make her, with reference to the American ideal, ugly...In choosing a mate, the black woman is again faced with the undesirability of her blackness and with the fact that it is the rare black man who can resist the omnipresent presentation of the white ideal. (p.41)

Grier and Cobbs predicted that with the "Black is Beautiful" movement would come the demise of white standards of beauty for Black women. Rosenberg and Simmons noted that research conducted toward the end of the 1960's when the "Black is Beautiful" movement was at its peak indicated that although skin color was not held as an explicitly stated criterion of physical

attractiveness in the Black community, the reality was that the preference for lighter skin remained overwhelming (p.43).

Sometimes, the theory of Racial Insulation (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971, pp. 21-30) served to protect the darker skinned child's self-esteem from color prejudice by the white community. Racial Insulation theory stated that:

> Broader social forces have operated to place the great bulk of black children in a racially insulated environment, and this environment establishes certain barriers to assaults upon their feelings of personal worth, such as the direct expressions of prejudice. (p. 30)

In effect, racial insulation rendered the white community a non-significant other when it came to influencing self-esteem.

Rosenberg and Simmons in their 1971 study of Black and white school children in the Baltimore Public School system found that despite their darker skin, Black children did not consider themselves less physically attractive than whites considered themselves; however, darker skinned Black children were more likely than lighter skinned Black children to say that they were not good-looking, and that the family member with the nicest

skin color was lighter than they. The phenomenon of dark skinned Black children having just as high self-esteem as whites has to do with whom the children compared themselves. Most Black children compared themselves with other Black children, not with white children.

When Black children compared themselves to other Black children, skin color preference appeared. Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) also found surprisingly that, within group comparisons not withstanding, the Black child with darker skin had just as high a level of self-esteem as the Black child with lighter skin. He summed the findings up by stating:

    a) Black children valued lighter skin;

    b) Children with lighter skin thought they were physically more attractive; and

    c) those who thought they were physically attractive had higher self-esteem; but

    d) lighter skinned children did not have higher self-esteem. (p.51)

The seemingly contradictory findings were explained by the factor of selective interpretation of skin color. The very dark children blurred the difference between their skin color and that of the lighter skinned Black children. This was demonstrated by the very dark skinned Black children describing themselves as only a "little

dark", not as very dark. The impact of skin color on self-esteem was largely cushioned by the children's selective interpretation of skin color (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971, p. 51).

There were very dark children who did not blur the distinction in skin color between themselves and lighter skinned Black children. Some of those children maintained their high self-esteem by not putting much value on physical attractiveness. The very dark Black children who saw themselves as very dark and who put great value on physical attractiveness did have lower self-esteem than their light skinned peers. Okazawa-Rey et al supported the above findings when they stated:

> For a dark-skinned black girl who is aware of these
> negative pronouncements against her physical
> appearance, there can be a driving motivation to
> compensate for her devaluation either through
> education or some other activity in which she may
> excel and redeem her sense of worth...On the other
> hand, if a dark-skinned young girl is constantly
> told that she is ugly, and experiences treatment
> that supports these views, she may begin to feel as
> such. This is particularly true when the treatment
> she receives within her community of origin, the
> black community, is consistent with the negative and

self-deprecating messages doled out by the larger
society. (p. 91)

Black Women's Responses to Psychosocial Assaults Upon Their Self-Concept

The myths of Black women's inherent immorality,
stupidity, and natural inferiority made a major impact on
the collective psyches of Black women as did the
imposition of the white societal norms for physical
attractiveness. Post-slavery Black women spent much of
their time in defending Black womanhood. There was also
much confusion about which would be the best way to prove
themselves to white society, to dispel the myths, and to
feel better about themselves socially, emotionally, and
physically. The strategies ranged from organizing Black
women's clubs to uplift the race and to support women's
rights to copying white standards of beauty in order to
gain respect and acceptance from white society and from
Black men (Davis, 1981; Giddings, 1984; Hooks, 1981;
Lerner, 1972; Murray, 1987).

Speaking Out Against the Myths

In 1893, Fannie Barrier Williams, an outspoken,
Black middle-class, highly educated Black woman leader
addressed the World Columbian Exposition's Women's

Exhibition attendees. The white board of Lady Managers who had allowed her to be one of the very few black women to speak had chosen her because they had considered her to be "safe" (Giddings, 1984, p. 86). She proved to be anything but. She went directly to the issue of defending Black women's morality. She stated:

> I regret the necessity of speaking of the moral question of our women, but the morality of our home life has been commented on so disparagingly and meanly that we are placed in the unfortunate position of being defenders of our name. (Giddings, 1984, p. 86)

She pointed out that the onus of sexual immorality did not rest on Black women but rather on the white men who continued to sexually harass them (Giddings, 1984, p. 86). She further stated:

> I think it but just to say that we must look to American slavery as the source of every imperfection that mars the character of the colored American. Slavery made the black woman the only woman in America for whom virtue was not an ornament and a necessity. (Lerner, 1972, p. 165)

Williams asserted to that audience that colored women were just as strong and just as weak as any other women with like education, training, and environment. She also

pointed out that, just as in slavery, at the time she was speaking, Black mothers could not protect their own daughters when they entered the homes of whites to do domestic work, and white women in those homes would not protect them. She ended by stating that the Black woman deserved more credit for what she had done and was doing than blame for what she could not so easily overcome (Lerner, 1972, p. 165).

William's defense was indicative of what Black leaders were doing to address the denigrating images of Black women. Black women of the post-slavery era and up to the present have had to confront and redefine morality and assess its relationship to "true womanhood" (Giddings, 1984, p. 85). Historical research on post-slavery period Black women revealed that one of the first orders of business on Black women leaders' agendas was the defense of the moral integrity of Black women (Giddings, 1984, p. 85). Black women did not separate themselves along class lines on this issue. They defended the history of all Black women and redefined the criteria of true womanhood (Giddings, 1984, p. 85).

There were a wide range of practices employed to reinforce the myth of the "bad" Black woman. The following practices were used to socially enforce feelings of inferiority, dirtiness, and worthlessness

among Black women:

> *laws against intermarriage,
>
> *the denial of the title "Miss" or "Mrs.",
>
> *taboos against racial mixing socially,
>
> *refusal to let black women customers try on
> clothing in stores before making a purchase,
>
> *assigning of single toilet facilities to both sexes
> of black people, and
>
> *lighter or negligible legal sanctions against the
> rape, abuse of minors, or other sexual crimes
> committed against black women and children.
>
> (Lerner, 1972, pp. 163-164).

Black women's responses were to organize, speak out and at every opportunity, fight, and dispute the negative practices and myths aimed against them. A legitimate defensiveness was developed in the psyches of most Black women.

In an anonymous article written in The Independent, on September 18, 1902, a Black woman wrote to dispel the myth of the "happy negro". She wrote:

> I am a colored woman, wife and mother....The
> Southerners say we negroes are a happy, laughing set
> of people, with no thought of to-morrow. How
> mistaken they are!...There is a feeling of unrest,
> insecurity, almost panic among the best class of

negroes in the South. In our homes, in our

churches, wherever two or three are gathered

together, there is a discussion of what is best to

do. Where can we go to feel that security which

other people feel? (Lerner, 1972, p. 166)

A myth that went hand in glove with the "happy negro"

(Aunt Jemima/Mammy myth) was the myth that Black women

approved of illegitimacy among their sisters. Elise

Johnson, a trained social worker, took white society to

task on that belief in her 1925 article, "The Double

Task: The Struggle of Negro Women for Sex and Race

Emancipation". She wrote:

Contrary to popular belief illegitimacy among

Negroes is cause for shame and grief.....Schooled in

this kind of suffering in the days of slavery, Negro

women often temper scorn with sympathy for weakness.

Stigma does fall upon the unmarried mother, but

perhaps in this matter the Negroes' attitude is

nearer the modern enlightened ideal for the social

treatment of the unfortunate. May this not be

considered another contribution to America? (Lerner,

1972, p. 170)

Black women also responded to the imposed white

standards of beauty placed upon them. Despite the

inclusionary rhetoric of "Black is Beautiful" in the 60's

and 70's, there remained a favoritism towards lighter skinned women (Okazawa-Rey et al, 1987, p. 98). Some Black women began to come to grips with how color consciousness was dividing Black women. They observed that as Black women within a racist and color-conscious society, to despise and degrade darker sisters was tantamount to identifying with racist whites. They also observed that when Black women turned against their lighter sisters they were only acting out the subconscious frustration and envy they held towards a racist and sexist society that assigned status and power to one's race and gender (Okazawa-Rey et al, 1987, p. 99).

Okazawa-Rey et al asserted that the politically astute Black woman recognized the effect her presence had upon her white co-workers, and she made the appropriate adjustments to fit the political climate. This did not mean that she fully bought into a white value system (p. 100). They contended that the marginal position of Black women in the United States offered them the opportunity to repudiate the negative stereotypes, demands, and expectations imposed upon them by both white people and Black men. They saw Black women as proactive rather than reactive, aggressive rather than passive, assertive rather than receptive, and above all, self-determined.

The Okazawa-Rey researchers saw Black women as having to make trade-offs like straightening their hair for a promotion that would increase their family's income. They felt that at no time should those trade-offs lead to allowing Black women's identities to be compromised. They strongly suggested that there were certain responses that Black women had to make to the attempts of white people and Black men to define for them their standards of physical attractiveness and beauty.

The researchers felt that Black women had to create powerful and positive identities for themselves. They also had to gain a genuine sense of appreciation and love of their own diversity, in all their colors and hair textures. Because color-consciousness was seen as a by-product of the effects of racism and sexism, it was incumbent upon Black women to continue to engage in activities of social reconstruction and continue to be agents of social change (Okazawa-Rey, 1987, p. 101).

Some of the most powerful responses to imposed white standards of beauty upon Black women has come from Black women writers. Zora Neale Hurston questioned the validity of the lip service being paid to "Black is Beautiful" when she wrote in "My People, My People":

If it was so honorable and glorious to be black, why was it the yellow-skinned people among us who have

so much prestige? Even a child in the first grade
could see that this was so from what happened in the
classroom and on school programs. The light skinned
children were always the angels, fairies and queens
of school plays. The lighter the girl, the more
money and prestige she was apt, and expected, to
marry. Was it really honorable to be black?
(Okazawa-Rey, 1987, p. 90)

Carolyn Rodgers, in I Have Been Hungry, offered up her
own standard of beauty for Black women when she wrote:

the most beauty that i am i am inside and so few
deign to touch i am a forest of expectation. the
beauty that i will be is yet to be defined. what i
can be even i can not know. (Wade-Gayles, 1984)

In 1964, poetess Mari Evans's response was to define
Black women without any mention of beauty at all. She
wrote:

I

am a black woman

tall as a cypress

strong

beyond all definition still

defying place

and time

and circumstance

assailed

impervious

indestructible

Look

on me and be

renewed. (Wade-Gayles, 1984, p. 22)

The responses of Black women writers and scholars to the color and hair texture standards of beauty were to question the relevance of those standards for Black women's identity as women, to create their own standards of beauty and identity as women, and to discern that the origins of the imposed white standards were racist and sexist.

Political and Social Responses to Racism and Sexism

Black women always saw the relationship between racism and sexism. When they attempted to formally address both issues, they often found themselves at odds with white women. They spoke out and demonstrated against the myths held against them as women as much as they spoke out and demonstrated against the myths held against them as Blacks. In 1894, Ida B. Wells, a prominent Black newspaper publisher and anti-lynching activist, founded the first Black women's suffrage club

(Davis, 1981, pp.110-126). She admired Susan B. Anthony's stances on racism and women's rights, but she constantly criticized Anthony for not bringing the two issues together.

Wells and Anthony were contemporaries and associated with one another frequently. Wells also criticized Anthony for pushing aside Frederick Douglass, a longtime vocal and active supporter of women's suffrage, in order to lure Southern white women into the suffrage movement. Wells was also unhappy with Anthony's refusal to support efforts of several Black women who wanted to form a branch of the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) (Davis, 1981, pp. 110-126). Racism was deeply entrenched in the suffragette movement.

At the 1913 Suffragette March on Washington, Ida B. Wells was asked to leave the white Illinois contingent and to march with the segregated Black groups who had come to participate. She did not comply (Davis, 1981, pp. 110-126). In 1919, one year before suffrage, the Black Northeastern Federation of Clubs, representing 6,000 Black women applied for membership in NAWSA. They were rejected because it was thought by the leaders of the NAWSA that the admittance of 6,000 "colored" women would jeopardize the amendment for women's suffrage because it would lose support from southern white men and

women. Black women supported suffrage to the end. In 1920, when suffrage was a fact, Black women in the south were violently prevented from voting. There was no protest from the NAWSA (Lavender, 1986). Due to the establishment of Jim Crow laws, women's suffrage failed to alter the social status of Black women and many Black female suffragists became disillusioned with women's rights (Hooks, 1981, p. 172).

The Black woman's club movement became another avenue of response to the psychosocial attacks on Black women's psyches. The First National Conference of Colored Women convened in Boston in 1895 (Davis, 1981, p. 133). The late 19th century saw the rise of a small, but vocal, Black middle class (Smith, 1990, p. 76). The middle-class women did not let their own more prosperous life-style keep them from addressing the needs of poorer Black women who were served by their philanthropic and welfare club activities. The Black club women believed that community improvement would uplift their race and that efforts on behalf of working women and girls would uplift their sex (Smith, 1990, p. 77). Black women's clubs were formed to deal with racism and sexism.

The issues of the day were lynching and attacks on the morality of Black women. Fannie Barrier Williams described th Black women's club movement in this way:

Colored women have come to realize that progress
includes a great deal more than what is generally
meant by the terms culture, education and contact.
The club movement among colored women reaches into
the sub-condition of the entire race...The club
movement is only one of the many means for the
social uplift of a race...The club movement is well
purposed... It is not a fad...It is rather the force
of a new intelligence against the old ignorance.
The struggle of an enlightened conscience against
the whole brood of social miseries, born out of the
stress and pain of a hated past. (Davis, 1981, p.
133)

Self-respect, public respect, and self-sufficiency were
the goals the club women set for themselves and for the
women and girls they aided (Smith, 1990, p. 77).

Black women's individual and organized responses to
the psychosocial forces of sexism, racism and the
destructive self-images produced by them were bold and
consistent and militant when required. Black women
demanded the rights of their race from the white society,
and they demanded their rights as women from both white
and Black men. They knew that their position as Blacks
and as women had to be upheld in order for them to define
themselves wholistically and positively.

Summary and Hypotheses

The review of the literature examined the psychosocial forces that impacted on the self-concept and self-esteem of Black women in the United States. The theoretical framework utilized was based upon the Adlerian personality theoretical constructs of developing and overcoming inferiority feelings, guiding lines for gender and racial identity development, and psychological masculine and racial protests. Relationships were drawn between the Adlerian theoretical constructs and the psychodynamics of Black women as they strove to identify themselves as women and as Black people, and to develop self-esteem.

It was shown that the sex-role attitudes West African women brought with them into slavery served to give them attributes of being hard workers, independent, nurturers and care takers of children, and of being comfortable in sisterhood with other Black women. Slavery required Black women to submit to being exploited sexually as well as for their labor. It was in the institution of slavery in the United States that Black women began to psychologically and socially deal with the combined forces of sexism and racism.

The socialization of both Black women and white women in the United States involved the development of

the affiliative or relational self-concept for women
which often led to sex-role and social role conflict for
both Black and white women. Black and white women in the
United States were subject to standards of beauty and
physical attractiveness imposed upon them by the white
male patriarchy. Black women had additional issues in
socialization with which to contend. Black middle-class
women were socialized not only to be affiliative but also
to be self-supporting. This often led to conflict for
them in interpersonal relationships with Black men.

Negative images of Black womanhood were promulgated
by both white men and women in the effort keep Black
women available for social, economic, and sexual
exploitation. White standards of beauty resulted in
color-consciousness and within group discrimination of
darker skinned Black women by Black men and women as well
as by the larger white community. All of these phenomena
combined to make the development of a healthy self-
concept and high self-esteem a difficult challenge for
Black women.

Black women responded to the racial and gender
guiding lines that were psychosocial assaults on their
self-esteem by gender and racial protests that took the
forms of repudiating attempts to devalue Black womanhood,
organizing to help one another, and striving to create

their own unique identity that supported what was
positive and healthy about Black women. Black women made
strong, self-esteem enhancing responses to racism from
both white men and white women. Black women made strong,
self-esteem enhancing responses to sexism from white men.
Black women were not as quick to respond in a strong,
self-esteem enhancing manner to sexism from Black men.
Black women's self-esteem was most vulnerable when the
Black community in general and Black men in particular
gave them negative feedback about what it meant to be a
Black woman.

Based upon observations gleaned from the review of
the literature, the following hypotheses regarding the
self-esteem of professional Black women were made:

For Professional Black Women:

*The confluence of racial discrimination, gender
  discrimination, and childhood socialization
  messages from significant Black men and women in
  the family concerning what it meant to be Black,
  what it meant to be female, and what it meant to be
  a Black female will affect their global self-
  esteems and their situational self-esteems related
  to the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and
  Relationship to God.

*The Life Tasks of Work, Love,

Friendship, and Relationship to God will

affect their global self-esteems.

Chapter III will discuss the methodology used to investigate the hypotheses generated by the review of the literature.

Chapter III Methodology

Introduction

Perceptual psychology proposes that what is regarded as "fact" is determined by the frame of reference of the observer (Combs, Richards, & Richards 1976, p. 367). The perceptual psychologist understands behavior as a function or symptom of perception, not as a cause. The data with which the science of perceptual psychology is primarily concerned are perceptions and the interrelationships among perceptions and behavior (Combs et al, 1976, p. 368). Because perceptions are not open to direct observation, the methods of perceptual research are usually subjective or inferential (Combs et al, 1976). This study was a perceptual study.

This study examined the relationships between perceived frequency of racial discrimination experienced, perceived frequency of gender discrimination experienced, perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement from childhood socialization messages, and the levels of global and situational self-esteem of professional Black women. Overall perceived frequency of racial discrimination experienced was measured by the subjects' ratings of how often they perceived themselves to be the

targets of racial discrimination by Black people and by white people both in the workplace and outside of work. Overall perceived frequency of gender discrimination experienced was measured by the subjects' ratings of how often they perceived themselves to be the targets of gender discrimination by Black men and by white men in the workplace and outside of work. Perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement from childhood socialization messages was measured by the subjects' ratings of childhood socialization messages from both significant Black men and Black women who were either in or outside of their families of childhood concerning what it meant to be a female, what it meant to be Black, and what it meant to be a Black female.

The global self-esteem of the subjects was measured by the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) with specific attention given to the Total Score which reflected the overall level of self-esteem which included the scores for the physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, and social self scales.

Situational self-esteem was measured by the subjects' self-ratings of how well they perceived themselves to be doing in the Adlerian Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God.

Design

This study was a descriptive research design. The data were collected by the survey method using instruments discussed later in this chapter.

Research Hypotheses

The following general question was generated by the review of the literature and is the main focus of this study:

How are perceived frequency of racial discrimination, perceived frequency of gender discrimination, and perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization messages related to the levels of global and situational self-esteem of professional Black women?

The following six hypotheses were developed to answer the main question under study.

For Professional Black women:

1. Global self-esteem is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

2. The Life Task of Occupation or Work is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

3. The Life Task of Love or Intimate Relations is

affected by racial discrimination, gender
discrimination, and childhood socialization
messages.

4. The Life Task of Friendship is affected by racial
    discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood
    socialization messages.

5. The Life Task of Relationship to God is affected by
    racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and
    childhood socialization messages.

6. Global self-esteem is affected by the Life Tasks of
    Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God.

Subjects

The total number of subjects gathered for this study
was 127 Black women. Eight subjects did not meet the
educational requirements for categorization as a
"professional" Black woman. Professional was defined as
working in an occupation that required a minimum of an
Associate degree and/or professional credentialing such
as licensure or certification. The final sample was 119
professional Black women.

The occupation with the highest percentage (39%) was
education. The educators were public school
administrators, college professors, college/university
administrators, pupil personnel workers, and 15 teachers,

the overwhelming majority of whom had the combination of education and number of years of teaching experience that placed them on the higher pay scales in public school systems in the Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Maryland metropolitan area.

The occupation with the second highest percentage (20%) was business. The business women were corporate division or department Managers, accountants, real estate agents, business analysts, business owners, and consultants. The occupation with the third highest percentage (12%) was health care. The health care professionals were a medical technologist, physical therapists, radiation therapists, a pharmacy technician, dental hygienists, registered nurses, and physicians.

The occupation with the fourth highest percentage (10%) was public administration. Public administrators were federal and local government agency administrators. The other occupations represented in the sample were psychology/counseling, legislative office, science, computer technology, engineering, law, library technology, and research. In the preceding occupational areas, subjects were therapists/psychologists, legislators, legislative aides, staff, and liaisons, microbiologist, program analysts, engineering technicians, attorneys, library technician, and research

analyst.

Most of the subjects (71.2%) were members of Black professional women's civic, social, professional, and fraternal organizations in the Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Maryland metropolitan area. The subjects were gathered in professional organization group meetings in most, but not all instances.

The mean age of the subjects was 42.36 years from a range of 24-76 years. The educational status of the subjects that had the highest percentage (34%) was Master's degree followed in next highest percentage (31%) by the Bachelor's degree. The yearly income level of the subjects that had the highest percentage (32%) was $50,000 and above. Most of the subjects (54%) were married with a mean 1.26 number of children from a range of 0-5 children. The subjects had been working in their professions for a mean of 12 years from a range of 1-40 years. For 46% of the subjects, their workplace was predominantly white. For 44% of the subjects, the workplace was predominantly female.

In summary, if a composite of the typical Professional Black woman in the survey were compiled from the demographic data she would:

-be between 32 and 52 years of age,

-be in the occupations of education, business,

health care, or public administration,

-have between 3 to 21 years of working experience in
 her profession,

-be Protestant,

-have either a Master's Degree or a Bachelor's
 Degree,

-be married,

-have between 0 to 2 children,

-hold membership in Black women's organizations,

-earn personal income of either over $50,000 per
 year, or between $30,000 and $50,000 per year,

-have attended a predominantly Black undergraduate
 college that was well integrated by gender,

-have attended a predominantly Black professional
 degree program that was either well integrated by
 gender or predominantly female,

-have normally not attended a terminal degree
 program, but when she did attend one it was
 predominantly white and well integrated by gender,

-be in a predominantly white workplace that was
 predominantly female,

-would have attended a predominantly Black
 elementary school that was well integrated by
 gender,

-live either in a predominantly Black community or

a racially integrated community that was well
integrated by gender,

-have grown up in a predominantly Black community
that was well integrated by gender, and

-have come from a working class family of childhood.

The complete demographic description of subjects appears
in Appendix A.

Instrumentation

There were four elements of the research package
used in this study; a description of each one follows.

Cover letter. A cover letter requesting
participation in a survey of Black women's perceptions
was the first item presented to subjects. For a copy of
the cover letter, see Appendix B.

Personal data sheet. The Personal Data Sheet was a
researcher designed 25 item self-report covering
demographic information and background history regarding
racial and gender makeup of elementary and college
educational institutions attended, racial and gender
makeup of the childhood and adult communities lived in,
and racial and gender makeup of the subjects workplaces.
For a copy of the Personal Data Sheet, see Appendix C.

The Tennessee self-concept scale. The Tennessee
Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) has been in use as a measure of

self-concept since 1964 and has averaged more than 200
references annually in a wide variety of publications in
the fields of education, psychology, and the social and
health sciences (Roid & Fitts, 1988). The TSCS consists
of 100 self-descriptive statements that the subjects used
to portray their own self pictures. The respondents are
asked to read each statement and decide on the level of
self description by using a 5-point scale which is
defined as follows; (1) Completely false, (2) Mostly
false, (3) Partly false and partly true, (4) Mostly true,
or (5) Completely true (Roid & Fitts, 1988, p. 1). The
scale was self-administered and took between 20 to 40
minutes to complete.

The hand-scoreable Counseling Form C was used. Form
C provides 14 basic scales. For the purpose of this
study, each subject's total score which included the
scales for the physical self, the moral-ethical self, the
personal self, the family self, and the social self was
used to compute a t-score for each subject. The t-score
is the single most important score on the TSCS because it
reflects the overall level of self-esteem. An individual
with a high t-score tends to like herself, feels that she
is a person of value and worth, has self-confidence, and
acts accordingly (Roid & Fitts, 1988).

The physical self score indicates the individual's

view of her body, her state of health, her physical appearance, her skills, and her sexuality. The moral-ethical score indicates the self from a frame of reference that examines moral worth, relationship to God, feelings of being a "good" or "bad" person, and satisfaction with one's religion or lack of it. The personal self score reflects the individual's sense of personal worth, feelings of adequacy as a person, and self-evaluation of herself apart from the body or relationships with others. The family self reflects the individual's feelings of adequacy, worth, and value as a family member. The social self score indicates the individual's sense of adequacy and worth in social interaction with other people in general.

The TSCS has been used with women and with Blacks. Results of studies using the TSCS on women and Blacks have not justified pursuing separate norms for those populations (Roid & Fitts, 1988, pp. 63-64). The original standardization group was composed of an approximate balance of males and females, Blacks and whites who were representatives of all social, economic, and intellectual levels, and of educational levels from sixth grade through doctoral level (Roid & Fitts, 1988, p. 56).

Internal consistency estimates (alpha coefficients)

have been computed on 90-, 30-, and 18-item subsets of the TSCS on a clinical sample (n=132) and two university samples (n=132 and 138). All coefficients were above .80 in all three samples. The size of item intercorrelations obtained seem reasonable and expected in comparison to other self-report inventories having internal consistency estimates in the range of .80 and above (Roid & Fitts, 1988, p. 65).

Test-retest reliability of the total positive score over a two week period was .92 with test-retest reliability of various subscores ranging between .70 to .90 (Roid & Fitts, 1988, p.66).

The TSCS has some empirically based connections with the general factor, hierarchical, and multiple factor models of self-concept. Convergent validity was in evidence. The TSCS correlated -.70 with the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. It correlated .80 with the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale. There was a correlation of .75 with the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory. There was also a .70 correlation with the Shostrom Personal Orientation Inventory (Roid & Fitts, 1988, pp. 77-78). For a copy of the TSCS, see Appendix D.

Survey of black women's perceptions. The Survey of Black Women's Perceptions was a researcher designed

rating scale which required subjects to rate how enhancing to self-esteem they perceived the childhood socialization messages were that they received from significant Black men and Black women in their families and from significant Black men and Black women outside of their families concerning what it meant to be Black, what it meant to be female, and what it meant to be both Black and female.

The Survey of Black Women's Perceptions also contained a rating scale that measured how well subjects perceived themselves to be doing in the Life Tasks of Work, Love or Intimate Relations, Friendship, and Relationship to God. Subjects were asked to rate how often they perceived themselves to be racially discriminated against by Black people and by white people both on the job and outside of work. Subjects were also asked to rate how often they perceived themselves to be sexually discriminated against by Black men and white men both on the job and outside of work. All ratings were done on a scale of 1 to 5 which also gave the verbal description of each numerical rating in order to provide a clearly defined range of choice. This is the same system that is used for summated-rating attitude scales (Kerlinger, p. 494). For a copy of the survey, see Appendix E.

Procedure

The researcher prepared respondent packets consisting of a cover letter, the Personal Data Sheet, Form C of the TSCS, and the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions rating scale. Each packet had a respondent code number on each item in the packet.

Subjects were approached individually by the researcher or in group meetings of their organizations. The researcher used her own memberships and affiliations in Black women's greek letter, social, and civic organizations to access the presidents of Black women's organizations in the Baltimore/Washington, D. C. metropolitan area. The presidents were asked to place the researcher on the agenda for the year opening meetings of the organizations. Individual members of the organizations introduced the researcher to other Professional Black women who were willing to participate in the study on an individual basis.

The researcher asked the subjects to complete the instruments in the packets in the order in which they appeared. For those subjects that were surveyed during professional organization meetings, the researcher gave talks on the issues affecting the mental health of Black women after the surveys had been completed and collected. Subjects who did not hear the researcher's talk were

given the option of completing the instruments on the spot or taking them home to complete and returning them to the researcher by mail. A self-addressed stamped envelope was supplied to those who chose to mail the packet in. All subjects who heard the researcher's talk were required to complete the instruments <u>prior</u> to hearing the talk. This procedure was followed to avoid biasing the responses of the subjects. If the subjects wished to receive a summary of the results and findings of the study, they self addressed an envelope provided by the researcher for that purpose.

Operational Definitions

An operational definition is the definition of a variable in terms of the specific method used to measure or manipulate the variable (Cozby, Worden, & Kee, 1989, p, 30). The following were the operational definitions for this study:

1. Subjects were requested to complete the Personal Data Sheet. Descriptive information such as age, religious affiliation, occupation, education, marital status, membership in civic or social organizations of Professional Black women, and racial and gender makeups of workplaces, educational institutions and neighborhoods, and

social status of family of childhood was obtained. A code book was created for each subject and the Personal Data Sheet information was recorded.

2. The dependent variable, global self-esteem, was measured by the t-scores subjects achieved on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) Form C.

3. The dependent variable of situational self-esteem was measured by the subjects' self-ratings of how well they perceived themselves to be doing in the Life Tasks of Occupation, Love or Intimate Relations, Friendship, and Relationship to God. Self-rating measures were items on the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions.

4. The independent variable of perceived frequency of racial discrimination was summatively measured by subjects' self-ratings of how often they perceived themselves to be racially discriminated against by Black people and by white people both on the job and outside of the workplace. Self-rating measures were items on the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions.

5. The independent variable of perceived frequency of gender discrimination was summatively

measured by subjects' self-ratings of how often
they perceived themselves to be sexually
discriminated against by Black men and white men
both on the job and outside of the workplace.
Self-rating measures were items on the Survey of
Black Women's Perceptions.

6. The independent variable of degree of self-
esteem enhancement of childhood socialization
messages was summatively measured by how
enhancing to self-esteem subjects rated the
messages they received in childhood from
significant Black men and women from both inside
and outside their families, concerning what it
meant to be female, what it meant to be Black,
and what it meant to be both Black and female.
Ratings scales were items on the Survey of Black
Women's Perceptions.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis used for this study was
multiple correlation. Multiple correlation or regression
measures the degree of association between three or more
variables simultaneously. It indicates not only the
correlations between independent and dependent variables,
but also the intercorrelations between dependent

variables. Another advantage of multiple regression is that it shows the combined effects of a set of independent variables and also the separate effects of each independent variable while controlling for the others.

In this study the dependent variables were global self-esteem, and situational self-esteems related to Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God. The independent variables were perceived frequency of racial discrimination experienced, perceived frequency of gender discrimination experienced, and perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization messages.

A canonical analysis was done for the purpose of studying the relations between the set of predictor variables and the set of criterion variables. Multiple correlation or regression analysis indicated the nature of the relationship between perceived frequency of racial discrimination experienced, perceived frequency of gender discrimination experienced, perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization messages, and the level of global and situational self-esteems of the subjects.

Alpha coefficients were calculated to determine reliability estimates for the TSCS and for the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions for the study sample. An

intercorrelation matrix of all the variables is presented in Appendix F.

Summary

Chapter III included a brief overview of the benefits and deficits of perceptual research, the research design of this study, descriptions of the subjects, hypotheses to be tested, operational definitions of the variables, descriptions of the instruments used in this study, and the statistical analyses to be used.

Chapter IV will discuss the findings of the study. Chapter V will discuss the results of the study and the conclusions drawn from those results. Recommendations for future research will be presented.

Chapter IV. Results

Introduction

This Chapter presents the findings of the study by presenting, graphically and descriptively, the statistical findings of the main hypotheses. The following general question was the main focus of the study:

How are perceived frequency of racial discrimination, perceived frequency of gender discrimination, and perceived degree of self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization messages related to the levels of global and situational self-esteem of Professional Black women?

The general question generated six main hypotheses:

For Professional Black women:

1.   Global self-esteem is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

2.   The Life Task of Occupation or Work is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

3.   The Life Task of Love or Intimate Relations is

affected by racial discrimination, gender
discrimination, and childhood socialization
messages.

4. The Life Task of Friendship is affected by
racial discrimination, gender discrimination,
and childhood socialization messages.

5. The Life Task of Relationship to God is
affected by racial discrimination, gender
discrimination, and childhood socialization
messages.

6. Global self-esteem is affected by the Life
Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and
Relationship to God.

The findings for both the correlations of the
independent variables with the dependent variables and
the multiple regression analyses of the affect of the
independent variables on the dependent variables are
presented in correlation and regression analyses summary
tables. The independent variables were:

A. Childhood Socialization Messages

1. Childhood socialization messages from men and
women in the family about what it meant to be
Black (MFB and WFB).

2. Childhood socialization messages from men and
women outside the family about what it meant to

be Black (MB and WB).

3. Childhood socialization messages from men and women in the family about what it meant to be Female (MFF and WFF).

4. Childhood socialization messages from men and women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (MF and WF).

5. Childhood socialization messages from men and women in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (MFBF and WFBF).

6. Childhood socialization messages from men and women outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (MBF and WBF).

B. Racial Discrimination

1. Racial discrimination both on the job and outside of work from other Black people (RJB and RB).

2. Racial discrimination both on the job and outside of work from white people (RJW and RW).

C. Gender Discrimination

1. Gender discrimination both on the job and outside of work from Black men (SJBM and SBM).

2. Gender discrimination both on the job and outside of work from white men (SJWM and SWM).

The dependent variables were:

1. Global self-esteem (SE)

2. Situational Self-Esteem in the Life Tasks of
   Work (LTO), Love (LTL), Friendship (LTF), and
   Relationship to God (LTG).

Internal Consistency of the TSCS and the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions with the Sample

An alpha coefficient was computed on the sample's responses to all 100 items of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS). The analysis yielded an internal consistency estimate of .7857.

The alpha coeffficient for this sample was only slightly lower than previous internal consistency estimates that had been computed on a clinical sample and on two university samples (n=132 and 138). The estimates on those samples were computed on 90-, 30-, and 18-item subsets of the TSCS. All coefficients in those three samples were above .80. The TSCS has been used with women and with Blacks. Results of studies using the TSCS on women and Blacks have not justified pursuing separate norms for those populations (Roid & Fitts, 1988, pp. 63-64).

Alpha coefficients were computed on the sample's responses to all 4 items of the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions (SBWP) that formed the Racial Discrimination

Scale (R Scale); all 4 items of the SBWP that formed the
Gender Discrimination Scale (G Scale); and all 12 items
of the SBWP that formed the Childhood Socialization
Messages Scale (C Scale). The analyses yielded internal
consistency estimates of .6705 for the R Scale, .7618 for
the G Scale, and .8701 for the C Scale. The SBWP is a
researcher designed instrument.

Multivariate Correlations

A canonical correlation was done to determine the
relationship between the set of independent variables and
the set of dependent variables. The canonical
correlation between childhood socialization messages
variables, racial discrimination variables, gender
discrimination variables, and global and situational
self-esteem variables was .72; however, the Wilk's Lambda
test of significance yielded a non-significant (p=.1996)
F value of 1.0829. Due to the non-significance of the
canonical correlation, all succeeding results are
suggestive and tentative.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis One

Hypothesis one stated that Global self-esteem is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. This was tested with Pearson product moment correlations between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable of global self-esteem, a linear regression analysis predicting the level of self-esteem with all of the independent variables, and with an ordered regression analysis predicting the level of self-esteem with the interaction of racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The results of the analyses are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table   1

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Global Self-Esteem

R^2=.237   F for Regression=1.353   Sig. F=.168

df for Regression=20   df for Residual=87

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
SWM	-.195	.040	-.400	.008
WBF	.077	.413	-.065	.691
RJB	-.111	.239	-.120	.327
MB	.012	.898	-.106	.527
WFB	.054	.566	-.094	.445
MFBF	.133	.159	.204	.347
RB	-.243	.011	-.205	.077
SJBM	.022	.814	.099	.420
WB	.070	.456	.094	.451
RJW	.050	.594	.131	.385
SBM	-.042	.654	.013	.915
WFF	.143	.130	.147	.303
RW	-.116	.218	-.044	.752
SJWM	.086	.360	.315	.033
MFB	.104	.270	.039	.793
WFBF	.088	.350	-.118	.441
WF	.109	.248	.098	.521

MF	.025	.790	-.195	.354
MFF	.065	.489	-.242	.233
MBF	.089	.344	.322	.159

Childhood socialization messages (CSM's), perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination appeared to have a non-significant overall effect on the global self-esteem of the Professional Black women in the study. There were, however, certain relationships that were of interest.

Racial discrimination from other Black people both on and off the job and racial discrimination from whites outside of the job had low negative correlations (r=-.111, p=.239; r=-.243, p=.011; and r=-.116, p=.218 respectively) with global self-esteem. It may be that for the sample, the more they perceived racial discrimination of the types just described, the more their self-esteem suffered.

Gender discrimination from both Black men and white men outside of work had low negative correlations (r=-.042, p=.654; and r=-.195, p=.040 respectively) with global self-esteem. Again, it may be that for the sample, the more they perceived gender discrimination of the types just described, the lower their self-esteem became.

The variables with significant negative correlations with global self-esteem were racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (r=-.243, p=.011) and gender discrimination from white men outside of work (r=-.195, p=.040).

Regression analysis yielded several variables that appeared to contribute negatively to global self-esteem. They were in order of strength of effect from most effect to least effect:

1. Gender discrimination from white men outside of work (Beta=-.400, p=.008),

2. Childhood socialization messages (CSM) from men in the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.242, p=.233),

3. Racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (Beta=-.205, p=.077),

4. CSM from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.195, p=.354),

5. Racial discrimination from other Black people on the job (Beta=-.120, p=.327),

6. CSM from women in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=-.118, p=.441),

7. CSM from men outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=-.106, p=.527),

8. CSM from women in the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=-.094, p=.445),

9. CSM from women outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=-.065, p=.691), and

10. Racial discrimination from white people outside of work (Beta=-.044, p=.752).

The two most significant contributors to global self-esteem were:

1. Gender discrimination from white males outside of work (Beta=-.400, p=.008), and

2. Gender discrimination from white males on the job (Beta=.315, p=.033).

Gender discrimination from white males outside of work was not only the most significant contributor to global self-esteem, it also had the greatest negative effect on global self-esteem. Oddly enough, even though gender discrimination from white males on the job showed a significant contribution to global self-esteem, that effect was positive. Perhaps perceptions of gender discrimination from white men on the job somehow made the subjects in the study feel somewhat better about themselves. When the perception was of gender discrimination from white men outside of work, the subjects appeared to feel somewhat badly about

themselves.

Table 2

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Global Self-Esteem

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.040	3	552.090	184.030	1.615	.190
Interactions						
	.091	6	1236.873	206.145	1.809	.104
Residual						
		104	11850.167	113.943		

Scores on the twelve variables WFB, WFF, WFBF, MFB, MFF, MFBF, WB, WF, WBF, MB, MF, and MBF were summated to form a variable called Childhood Messages (C). Scores on the four variables RJB, RB, RJW, and RW were summated to form a variable called Race Discrimination (R). Scores on the four variable SJBM, SBM, SJWM, and SWM were summated to form a variable called Gender Discrimination (G). Childhood Messages was squared and formed the interaction variable C2. Race Discrimination was squared

and formed the interaction variable R2. Gender Discrimination was squared and formed the interaction variable G2. Race Discrimination x Gender Discrimination formed the interaction variable RG. Race Discrimination x Childhood Messages formed the interaction variable RC. Gender Discrimination x Childhood Messages formed the interaction variable GC. Racial Discrimination x Gender Discrimination x Childhood Messages formed the interaction variable RGC.

Ordered regression analysis of the effects of the interactions of Childhood Messages, Race Discrimination, and Gender Discrimination on the Global Self-Esteem of the women in the study yielded non-significant overall effects for both the main effects and for the interactions.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis two stated that the Life Task of Work is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. This was tested with Pearson product moment correlations between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable of the Life Task of Work, a linear regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Work with all of the independent variables, and with an ordered regression

analysis predicting the Life Task of Work with the interaction of racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The results of the analyses are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Work

$R^2 = .112$ F for Regression=.54911   Sig. F=.9357

df for Regression=20   df for Residual=87

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
SWM	-.050	.594	-.047	.770
WBF	-.006	.949	-.097	.583
RJB	.015	.873	.014	.916
MB	.145	.125	.011	.953
WFB	.043	.647	.031	.813
MFBF	.074	.431	.328	.161
RB	.128	.175	.057	.645
SJBM	-.007	.940	.004	.977
WB	-.020	.831	.013	.924
RJW	.077	.413	.058	.719

SBM	-.067	.476	-.030	.820
WFF	-.118	.210	-.238	.123
RW	-.055	.558	-.113	.457
SJWM	.025	.790	.044	.779
MFB	.101	.284	.086	.594
WFBF	-.048	.609	-.051	.757
WF	.032	.733	.165	.318
MF	.160	.091	.232	.308
MFF	.021	.823	-.277	.205
MBF	.121	.200	-.075	.760

Childhood socialization messages (CSM's), perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination appeared to have a non-significant overall effect on the Life Task of Work for the Professional Black women in the study. Although none of the independent variables had a significant effect on the Life Task of Work, the following variables had the greatest positive effects on the Life Task of Work:

1. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=.328, p=.161), and

2. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.232, p=.308).

The following variables had the greatest negative effects

on the Life Task of Work:

1.   CSM's from men in the family about what it
      meant to be Female (Beta=-.277, p=.205), and

2.   CSM's from women in the family about what it
      meant to be Female (Beta=-.238, p=.123).

It appeared that CSM's from male and female family
members about what it meant to be Female had the most
potential for negatively impacting the Life Task of Work
for the women in the study.

The following variables had very low negative
correlations with the Life Task of Work. The negative
correlations suggested that as the following variables
increased, there was a slight decrease in the level of
self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work:

1.   CSM's from women in the family about what it
      meant to be Female (r=-.118, p=.210),

2.   Gender discrimination from Black men outside of
      work (r=-.067, p=.476),

3.   Racial discrimination from white people outside
      of work (r=-.055, p=.558),

4.   Gender discrimination from white men outside of
      work (r=-.050, p=.594),

5.   CSM's from women in the family about what it
      meant to be a Black Female (r=-.048, p=.609),

6.   CSM's from women outside the family about what

it meant to be Black (r=-.020, p=.831),

7.   Gender discrimination from Black men on the job
     (r=-.007, p=.940), and

8.   CSM's from women outside the family about what
     it meant to be a Black Female (r=-.006,
     p=.949).

It is interesting to note that when subjects
received self-esteem enhancing CSM's from women both in
and outside of the family, they may have experienced a
slight decrease in level of self-esteem related to Work.
Perhaps Professional Black women in the study who were
told by other women in their childhood to feel good about
being Black, about being Female, and about being a Black
Female found that those messages mitigated against them
in some way in the workplace.

Table 4

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Work

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.004	3	.441	.147	.162	.921
Interactions						
	.038	6	3.714	.619	.005	.999
Residual						
		104	94.124	.905		

Ordered regression analysis of the effects of the interactions of Childhood Messages, Race Discrimination, and Gender Discrimination on the Life Task of Work for the women in the study yielded non-significant overall effects for both the main effects and for the interactions.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three stated that the Life Task of Love or Intimate Relations is affected by racial

discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. This was tested with Pearson product moment correlations between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable of the Life Task of Love, a linear regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Love with all of the independent variables, and with an ordered regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Love with the interaction of racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The results of the analyses are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Table 5

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Love

$R^2 = .185$ F for Regression = .9763   Sig. F = .4977

df for Regression = 20   df for Residual = 86

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
SWM	-.138	.144	-.124	.420
WBF	.070	.289	.260	.129
RJB	-.137	.147	-.046	.715
MB	.145	.125	.104	.553
WFB	.075	.425	-.010	.935
MFBF	.055	.558	-.031	.891
RB	-.113	.231	-.080	.501
SJBM	-.066	.483	.034	.787
WB	.104	.270	-.066	.610
RJW	-.159	.093	-.235	.137
SBM	-.170	.073	-.149	.252
WFF	.094	.318	.073	.621
RW	-.152	.108	-.039	.788
SJWM	-.016	.865	.243	.111
MFB	.098	.298	-.109	.486
WFBF	.044	.640	.008	.962

WF	-.045	.632	-.329	.041
MF	.164	.083	.397	.075
MFF	.127	.179	.141	.502
MBF	.069	.463	-.410	.089

Childhood socialization messages (CSM's), perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination appeared to have a non-significant overall effect on the Life Task of Love for the Professional Black women in the study.

The following variables had the greatest effects on the Life Task of Love for the women in the study:

1. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=-.410, p=.089),

2. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.397, p=.075), and

3. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.329, p=.041).

It appeared that CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female had the greatest negative effect on feelings of self-esteem in the Life Task of Love. It is important to note that effect was large but not significant. The one significant negative effect on feelings of esteem related to Love came from

CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female.

The variables that appeared to have the most positive effect on the Life Task of Love were:

1. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.397, p=.075),

2. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=.260, p=.129), and

3. Gender discrimination from white men on the job (Beta=.243, p=.111).

It was interesting to note that gender discrimination from white men <u>on the job</u> appeared to somehow <u>positively</u> affect the subjects' feelings of esteem regarding the Life Task of Love. It is important to note that none of the positive effects were significant.

The five variables with the highest negative correlations to the Life Task of Love suggested that, for the women in the study, as the following types of gender and racial discrimination were perceived to increase, their feelings of self-esteem related to Love may have tended to decrease slightly. The five variables with negative correlations to the Life Task of Love were:

1. Gender discrimination from Black men outside of work (r=-.170, p=.073),

2.   Racial discrimination from white people on the job ($r=-.159$, $p=.093$),

3.   Racial discrimination from white people outside of work ($r=-.152$, $p=.108$),

4.   Gender discrimination from white men outside of work ($r=-.138$, $p=.144$), and

5.   Racial discrimination from other Black people on the job ($r=-.137$, $p=.147$).

All forms of gender and racial discrimination appeared to have inverse relationships with the Life Task of Love. The only childhood socialization messages (CSM's) that had an inverse relationship with the Life Task of Love were CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female ($r=-.045$, $p=.632$). All other CSM's had positive correlations with the Life Task of Love.

Table 6

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Love

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.051	3	11.170	3.723	1.960	.124
Interactions						
	.038	6	8.129	1.354	.713	.639
Residual						
		104	197.481	1.898		

Ordered regression analysis of the effects of the interactions of Childhood Messages, Race Discrimination, and Gender Discrimination on the Life Task of Love for the women in the study yielded non-significant overall effects for both the main effects and for the interactions.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis four stated that the Life Task of Friendship is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

This was tested with Pearson product moment correlations between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable of the Life Task of Friendship, a linear regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Friendship with all of the independent variables, and with an ordered regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Friendship with the interaction of racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The results of the analyses are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 7

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Friendship

$R^2 = .181$ F for Regression $= .95605$ Sig. F $= .5213$

df for Regression $= 20$ df for Residual $= 86$

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
SWM	-.097	.303	-.224	.146
WBF	.032	.733	-.275	.109
RJB	-.057	.544	.028	.828
MB	.065	.489	-.012	.946
WFB	.155	.101	.065	.614
MFBF	-.040	.670	-.005	.983

RB	-.139	.141	-.092	.444
SJBM	.024	.798	.096	.451
WB	.305	.002	.388	.003
RJW	-.083	.378	-.092	.558
SBM	-.031	.741	.011	.933
WFF	.059	.530	-.107	.471
RW	-.105	.265	.084	.569
SJWM	.004	.966	.198	.195
MFB	.077	.413	.046	.768
WFBF	.069	.463	.138	.389
WF	.073	.438	.146	.361
MF	.081	.389	.045	.840
MFF	-.024	.798	-.202	.339
MBF	.051	.587	.044	.854

Childhood socialization messages (CSM's), perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination appeared to have a non-significant overall effect on the Life Task of Friendship for the Professional Black women in the study. The variable with the most significant effect on self-esteem related to Friendship was CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=.388, p=.003). It appeared that, for the sample, the Life Task of Friendship was most significantly strengthened by

childhood socialization messages from women outside the family about what it meant to be Black. Perhaps feeling good about themselves as Black people positively impacted on the subjects' abilities to feel good about themselves in the role of friend.

Other variables that had a positive effect on self-esteem related to Friendship were:

1. Gender discrimination from white men on the job (Beta=.198, p=.195),

2. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.146, p=.361),

3. CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=.138, p=.389),

4. Gender discrimination from Black men on the job (Beta=.096, p=.451),

5. Racial discrimination from white people outside of work (Beta=.084, p=.569),

6. CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=.065, p=.614),

7. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=.046, p=.768),

8. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.045, p=.840),

9. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=.044, p=.854),

10. Racial discrimination from other Black people on the job (Beta=.028, p=.828), and

11. Gender discrimination from Black men outside of work (Beta=.011, p=.933).

Gender discrimination on the job from both Black men and white men and gender discrimination from Black men outside of work appeared to have a positive effect on the Life Task of Friendship for the women in the study. Racial discrimination from whites outside of work also appeared to have a positive effect on the Life Task of Friendship for the women in the study. Perhaps gender and racial discrimination of the types just described encouraged the Professional Black women in the study to form friendships.

The variable that had the greatest negative effect on self-esteem related to Friendship for the women in the study was CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=-.275, p=.109). It is important to note that this was not a significant effect. Perhaps, some aspect of the socialization messages from women outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female served to negatively impact on the subjects' feelings of self-esteem related to Friendship. Other variables that negatively affected the Life Task of Friendship were:

1. Gender discrimination from white men outside of work (Beta=-.224, p=.146),

2. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.202, p=.339),

3. CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.107, p=.471),

4. Racial discrimination from white people on the job (Beta=-.092, p=.558),

5. Racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (Beta=-.092, p=.444),

6. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=-.012, p=.946), and

7. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=-.005, p=.983).

Gender discrimination from white men outside of work and racial discrimination from white people on the job appeared to have discouraged the Professional Black women in the study from forming friendships.

The following variables had an inverse relationship to the Life Task of Friendship:

1. Racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (r=-.139, p=.141),

2. Racial discrimination from white people outside of work (r=-.105, p=.265),

3. Gender discrimination from white men outside of work (r=-.097, p=.303),

4. Racial discrimination from white people on the job (r=-.083, p=.378),

5. Racial discrimination from other Black people on the job (r=-.057, p=.544),

6. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (r=-.040, p=.670),

7. Gender discrimination from Black men outside of work (r=-.031, p=.741), and

8. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be Female (r=-.024, p=.798).

Perhaps, the more the women in the study perceived themselves to be the targets of racial discrimination from Black and white people both on and off the job, the less successful they were in the Life Task of Friendship. It also appeared that the more the women in the study perceived themselves to be the targets of gender discrimination from both Black men and white men outside of work, the less successful they were in the Life Task of Friendship.

Other interesting relationships have to do with the sources of childhood socialization messages. For the women in the study, the more enhancing were the messages from men in the family about what it meant to be Female

and about what it meant to be a Black Female, the less
successful the women in the study were in the Life Task
of Friendship. Perhaps some aspect of the messages from
men about being Female and being a Black Female were
related to issues that mitigated against feelings of
success in friendship. On the other hand, the variable
with the greatest significant positive relationship to
self-esteem related to Friendship was CSM's from women
outside the family about what it meant to be Black
(r=.305, p=.002). Perhaps, for the sample subjects, some
aspect of the messages from women about being Black were
related to issues that fostered feelings of success in
the Life Task of Friendship for them.

Table 8

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Friendship

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.027	3	2.815	.938	1.171	.324
Interactions						
	.144	6	14.416	2.402	2.998	.010
Residual						
		104	83.338	.801		

Ordered regression analysis of the effects of the interactions of Childhood Messages, Race Discrimination, and Gender Discrimination on the Life Task of Friendship for the women in the study yielded a non-significant overall effect for the main effects and a significant overall effect for the interactions.

The ordered regression analyses presented in Tables 9, 10, and 11 were conducted to analyze the sources of the overall significant interactions effect shown in Table 8.

Table 9

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Friendship

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.029	3	3.026	1.009	1.260	.292
C2, R2, RC						
	.057	3	5.759	1.920	2.398	.072
G2, GC, RG						
	.082	3	8.241	2.747	3.431	.020
Residual						
		105	84.069	.801		

Ordered regression analysis yielded a significant overall effect on the Life Task of Friendship from the interactions of gender discrimination with childhood messages and gender discrimination with racial discrimination.

Table 10

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Friendship

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.029	3	3.026	1.009	1.260	.292
C2, G2, CG						
	.105	3	7.645	2.548	3.182	.027
R2, RC, RG						
	.063	3	6.356	2.119	2.646	.053
Residual						
		105	84.069	.801		

Ordered regression analysis yielded a non-significant overall effect on the Life Task of Friendship from the interactions of racial discrimination with childhood messages and racial discrimination with gender discrimination.

Table 11

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Friendship

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.029	3	3.026	1.009	1.260	.292
R2, G2, RG						
	.060	3	6.090	2.030	2.535	.061
C2, GC, RC						
	.078	3	7.911	2.637	3.293	.024
Residual						
		105	84.069	.801		

Ordered regression analysis yielded a significant overall effect on the Life Task of Friendship from the interactions of childhood messages with gender discrimination and childhood messages with racial discrimination.

A review of the results presented in Tables 9, 10, and 11 indicated that the sources of the significant overall interaction effects on the Life Task of Friendship were gender discrimination and childhood

messages when they interacted with one another and when either of them interacted with racial discrimination.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis Five

Hypothesis five stated that the Life Task of Relationship to God is affected by racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. This was tested with Pearson product moment correlations between each of the independent variables and the dependent variable of the Life Task of Relationship to God, a linear regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Relationship to God with all of the independent variables, and with an ordered regression analysis predicting the Life Task of Relationship to God with the interaction of racial discrimination, gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The results of the analyses are presented in Tables 12 and 13.

Table 12

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Relationship to God

R^2=.106   F for Regression=.51868   Sig. F=.9516

df for Regression=20   df for Residual=87

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
SWM	-.051	.587	-.160	.318
WBF	-.024	.798	-.095	.588
RJB	-.034	.717	-.120	.366
MB	.029	.758	.012	.945
WFB	-.012	.898	-.064	.630
MFBF	.036	.702	.123	.600
RB	-.058	.537	-.077	.535
SJBM	.036	.702	.036	.788
WB	-.073	.438	-.027	.840
RJW	.130	.168	.161	.326
SBM	.008	.932	.015	.908
WFF	-.013	.890	-.072	.640
RW	-.037	.694	-.115	.450
SJWM	.134	.156	.194	.221
MFB	.017	.856	.005	.977
WFBF	.083	.378	.202	.225

WF	-.010	.915	.037	.825
MF	.022	.814	.018	.938
MFF	-.034	.717	-.231	.292
MBF	.043	.647	.045	.854

Childhood socialization messages (CSM's), perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination appeared to have a non-significant overall effect on the Life Task of Relationship to God for the Professional Black women in the study. Even though none of the correlations or contributions was significant, there were some interesting relationships and effects. The variable that made the greatest contribution to self-esteem related to Relationship to God was CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.231, p=.292). It is interesting to note that the contribution from this variable was a _negative_ contribution. Perhaps some aspect of those messages from men in the family about what it meant to be Female involved issues or concepts that made it difficult for the women in the study to feel good about themselves in relationship to God.

Other variables that had a negative effect on the Life Task of Relationship to God were:

1. Gender discrimination from white men outside of

work (Beta=-.160, p=.318),

2. Racial discrimination from other Black people on the job (Beta=-.120, p=.366),

3. Racial discrimination from white people outside of work (Beta=-.115, p=.450),

4. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.095, p=.588),

5. Racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (Beta=-.077, p=.535),

6. CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.072, p=.640),

7. CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=-.064, p=.630), and

8. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=-.027, p=.840).

Perhaps, gender discrimination from white men outside of work, racial discrimination from Black people both on and off the job, and racial discrimination from white people outside of work served to slightly weaken the sample's feelings of success in the Life Task of Relationship to God.

For the women in the study, the variable that yielded the greatest positive contribution to self-esteem related to the Life Task of Relationship to God was CSM's from women in the family about what it meant to be a

Black Female (Beta=.202, p=.225). Perhaps some aspect of those messages from women in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female involved issues or concepts that made it easier for the women in the study to feel good about their relationships to God. Other variables that had positive effects on self-esteem related to the Life Task of Relationship to God were:

1. Gender discrimination from white men on the job (Beta=.194, p=.221),

2. Racial discrimination from white people on the job (Beta=.161, p=.326),

3. CSM's from men in the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (B=.123, p=.600),

4. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be a Black Female (Beta=.045, p=.854),

5. CSM's from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.037, p=.825),

6. Gender discrimination from Black men on the job (Beta=.036, p=.788),

7. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=.018, p=.938),

8. Gender discrimination from Black men outside of work (Beta=.015, p=.908),

9. CSM's from men outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=.012, p=.945), and

10.   CSM's from men in the family about what it

meant to be Black (Beta=.005, p=.977).

It is interesting to note that perceived gender discrimination from both Black men and white men on the job and gender discrimination from Black men outside of work appeared to slightly strengthen the subjects' good feelings about their own relationships to God.

Gender discrimination from white men on the job and racial discrimination from white people on the job yielded the highest positive correlations to the Life Task of Relationship to God (r=.134, p=.156; and r=.130, p=.168 respectively). Perhaps, for the women in the study, as perceived job related gender and racial discrimination from whites increased, their feelings of strength in their relationships to God increased.

Table 13

Ordered Analysis of Variance Summary for the Whole Sample

Dependent Variable: Life Task of Relationship to God

Source	R^2	DF	Sum of Square	Mean Square	F Value	Probability of F
Childhood Messages, Race Discrim., Gender Discrim.						
	.004	3	.575	.191	.162	.921
Interactions						
	.066	6	8.752	1.458	1.239	.292
Residual						
		104	122.426	1.177		

Ordered regression analysis of the effects of the interactions of Childhood Messages, Race Discrimination, and Gender Discrimination on the Life Task Relationship to God for the women in the study yielded non-significant overall effects for both the main effects and for the interactions.

Findings Regarding Hypothesis Six

Hypothesis six stated that Global self-esteem is affected by the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God. This was tested with Pearson

product moment correlations between each of the
independent variables and the dependent variable of
Global Self-Esteem and a linear regression analysis
predicting the level of global self-esteem with all of
the independent variables. The results of the analysis
are presented in Table 14.

Table 14

Correlation and Regression Analyses Summary

Dependent Variable: Global Self-Esteem

$R^2 = .237$ F for Regression=8.5678   Sig. F=.0000

df for Regression=4   df for Residual=110

Predictor	r	p	Beta	p
LTG	.382	.000	.273	.004
LTL	.309	.001	.232	.008
LTO	.191	.044	.071	.422
LTF	.321	.000	.149	.109

The Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and
Relationship to God had a highly significant overall
effect on the Global Self-Esteem of the Professional
Black women in the study. The Life Task of Relationship
to God and the Life Task of Love had the greatest and

most significant positive contributions to Global Self-Esteem (Beta=.273, p=.004; and Beta=.232, p=.008 respectively). Personal relationships with God and intimate relationships with loved ones appeared to significantly contribute in a positive way to the global self-esteems of the Professional Black women in the study.

All the Life Tasks were significantly correlated with Global Self-Esteem. The better the subjects perceived themselves to be doing in the Life Tasks, the higher was their level of Global Self-Esteem.

Summary of Findings

Global self-esteem of the Professional Black women in the study was not significantly affected overall by the main effects of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=1.615; Probability of F=.190). Global self-esteem was not significantly affected overall by the interaction of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=1.809; Probability of F=.104). Global self-esteem was very significantly affected overall by the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to

God (F for regression=8.5678; Probability of F=.0000).

Global self-esteem had significant positive correlations with the Life Tasks of Relationship to God (r=.382, p=.000), Friendship (r=.321, p=.000), Love (r=.309, p=.001), and Work (r=.191, p=.044). Global self-esteem had significant negative correlations with racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work (r=-.243, p=.011) and gender discrimination from white men outside of work (r=-.195, p=.040).

Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a positive way by the Life Task of Relationship to God (Beta=.273, p=.004), the Life Task of Love (Beta=.232, p=.008), and gender discrimination from white men on the job (Beta=.315, p=.033). Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a negative way by gender discrimination from white men outside of work (Beta=-.400, p=.008).

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work was not significantly affected overall by the main effects of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=.162; Probability of F=.921). Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work was not significantly affected overall by the interaction of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination,

and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=.005; Probability of F=.999).

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love was not significantly affected overall by the main effects of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=1.960; Probability of F=.124). Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love was not significantly affected overall by the interaction of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=.713; Probability of F=.639). Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love was significantly affected in a negative way by childhood socialization messages from women outside the family about what it meant to be Female (Beta=-.329, p=.041).

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship was not significantly affected overall by the main effects of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=1.171; Probability of F=.324). Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship was significantly affected overall by the interaction of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender

discrimination (F for regression=2.998; Probability of F=.010). The sources of the significant overall interaction effects on the Life Task of Friendship were gender discrimination and childhood socialization messages. Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship had a significant positive correlation with childhood socialization messages from women outside the family about what it meant to be Black (r=.305, p=.002).

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship was significantly affected in a positive way by childhood socialization messages from women outside the family about what it meant to be Black (Beta=.388, p=.003).

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Relationship to God was not significantly affected overall by the main effects of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=.162; Probability of F=.921). Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Relationship to God was not significantly affected overall by the interaction of childhood socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination (F for regression=1.239; Probability of F=.292).

In general, for the Professional Black women in the

study, global self-esteem was significantly affected
overall by how they were doing in the Life Tasks of Work,
Love, Friendship and Relationship to God. The Life Tasks
that had significant individual positive effects on
global self-esteem were the Life Task of Relationship to
God and the Life Task of Love.

Childhood socialization messages from women outside
the family about what it meant to be Female had a
significant negative effect on the sample's level of
self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love.

Self-esteem in the Life Task of Friendship was
significantly affected overall by the interaction of
childhood socialization messages, perceived racial
discrimination, and perceived gender discrimination. The
interactions of gender discrimination with childhood
socialization messages, gender discrimination with racial
discrimination, and childhood socialization messages with
racial discrimination had a significant overall effect of
self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship.
Childhood socialization messages from women outside the
family about what it meant to be Black had a significant
positive effect on the subjects' levels of self-esteem
related to friendship.

Neither global self-esteem, nor self-esteem related
to the Life Tasks of Work, Love, and Relationship to God

were significantly affected overall by either the main
effects or the interaction effects of childhood
socialization messages, perceived racial discrimination,
and perceived gender discrimination.

Chapter V.   Discussion

<u>Introduction</u>

The purpose of this descriptive study was to determine the relationships between perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, childhood socialization messages and the global and situational self-esteems of Professional Black women. Rarely has single focus attention been paid to the psyche of this segment of the Black female population. Because more professional Black women are assuming major political, educational, and social roles in the United States, it becomes important to try to understand the psychosocial pressures and the results of those pressures on the self-esteem of this vital part of Workforce 2000. By understanding the effects of racism, sexism, and childhood socialization messages on the self-esteem of Professional Black women, mental health professionals, educators, and those concerned with self and socialization processes of human development can gain insight into practice and theory development that will enhance self-esteem in the face of psychosocial pressures.

The theoretical constructs of self-esteem used in

this study were from Adlerian socioteleoanalytic Psychology and from Rosenberg and Simmons' theory of Racial Insulation (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971, pp 21-30). The Adlerian theoretical constructs stated that:

-If one considers herself looked down upon, it becomes very difficult to develop a sense of belonging and any interference with a sense of belonging is a serious threat to self-esteem (Adler, 1931; Adler, 1929).

-Gender (and racial) guiding lines act as impressions on the individual that are "attached to the individual as patterns permitting her to express her self-consistent personality in any situation without much reflection" (Powers & Griffith, 1978, p. 132).

-Mistaken gender guiding lines and faulty self evalauation leading to strong feelings of inferiority result in Masculine Protest which is an assertion or claim for the perceived male position and status with its perceived perogatives and power (Griffith & Powers, 1987, p. 133; Mosak & Schneider, 1977).

-Mistaken racial guiding lines and faulty self evalauation leading to strong feelings of inferiority result in Racial Protest which is an

assertion or claim for the perceived "white" position and status with its perceived perogatives and power. The concept of Racial Protest was introduced by this researcher.

-Successfully engaging in the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God moves in the direction of social interest and insures positive self-esteem (Ansbacher, 1956).

Rosenberg and Simmons' (1971) Racial Insulation theory posited that:

Broader social forces have operated to place the great bulk of black children in a racially insulated environment, and this environment establishes certain barriers to assaults upon their feelings of personal worth, such as the direct expressions of prejudice. (p. 30)

Data Collection and Statistical Analyses

The data were collected by administering the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale Form C and the Survey of Black Women's Perceptions to a sample of 127 Black women in the Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Maryland metropolitan area. In addition, all subjects filled out a Personal Data Sheet. Eight subjects did not meet the educational requirements for categorization as a "professional" Black woman. Professional was defined as working in an

occupation that required a minimum of an Associate Degree and/or professional credentialing such as licensure or certification. The final sample consisted of 119 Professional Black women.

The statistical analyses used for this study were Pearson product moment correlation and multiple regression. The dependent variables were global self-esteem and situational self-esteems related to the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God. The independent variables were measures of:

-perceived racial discrimination from other Black people and from white people both on the job and outside of work,

-perceived gender discrimination from Black men and white men both on the job and outside of work, and

-degree of self-esteem enhancement of childhood socialization messages from significant Black men and women both in and outside of their families concerning what it meant to be Black, what it meant to be Female, and what it meant to be a Black Female.

Summary of Hypotheses Findings and Conclusions

In this section, the findings of the hypotheses will be presented and conclusions drawn from those

findings will be discussed.

Hypotheses One and Six

Findings for hypotheses one and six will be presented and discussed together because both hypotheses are concerned with the global self-esteems of Professional Black women. Hypotheses one and six stated:

-Global self-esteem is affected by perceived

racial discrimination, perceived gender

discrimination, and childhood socialization

messages, and

-Global self-esteem is affected by the Life

Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and

Relationship to God.

The findings concerning hypothesis one were:

-Global self-esteem was not significantly affected

overall by either the main effects or the

interaction effects of perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender discrimination,

and childhood socialization messages.

-Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a

positive way by gender discrimination from white

men on the job.

-Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a

negative way by gender discrimination from white

men outside of work.

-Global self-esteem had significant negative

correlations with racial discrimination from other

Black people outside of work and with gender

discrimination from white men outside of work.

The findings concerning hypothesis six were:

-Global self-esteem was significantly affected

overall by how well the subjects were doing in the

Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and

Relationship to God.

-Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a

positive way by the Life Tasks of Relationship to

God and Love or Intimate Relations.

Hypotheses one and six were supported in several ways. Gender discrimination from white men on the job served as a contributor to high self-esteem. Perhaps gender discrimination from white men on the job served as a motivator or incentive for the women in the sample to excel or work harder at being successful. For the women in the study, the probable result of successfully addressing gender discrimination from white men on the job by excelling would be to feel good about themselves as Blacks and as women.

The truly interesting phenomenon is that gender discrimination from white men outside of work served to

lower the self-esteem of the women in the study. There was also a significant inverse correlation between global self-esteem and gender discrimination from white men outside of work that suggested that as gender discrimination from white men outside of work increased, the global self-esteem of the women in the study decreased.

It is important to remember that these women were, for the most part, in high powered occupational positions. In most high powered positions, whom one operates with socially has important bearing on one's success in the world of work. Studies have shown that the world of work is very important to middle-class Black women's sense of well-being (Coleman et al, 1987; Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987).

The "off-duty" non-written social rules for getting to the top in the United States are still defined for the most part by white males. Through the "good old boy" social network connection to the world of work, it is quite possible that white males had become socially important to the Professional Black women in the study. If that were indeed the case, gender discrimination outside of work from occupationally important white men could have presented the Professional Black women in the study with a challenge and dilemma that resulted in a

sense of helplessness and lowered self-esteem.

In the "off-duty" social networking scene, the objective indexes of success related to occupational productivity are not operative. At least on the job, the Professional Black woman may feel gender discrimination is aimed at her occupationally...and she can fight back by being productive. Outside of work, the gender discrimination is aimed at her female personhood. Social gender discrimination from the people who are in charge of the social rules for "getting to the top" (white males) could easily result in lowered self-esteem for Professional Black women of the occupational and educational caliber of the women in the study.

Doing well in the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God had an overall positive effect on the global self-esteem of the women in the study. It is interesting to note that the two Life Tasks that were significantly important to the establishment and maintenance of a healthy global self-esteem were the Life Task of Relationship to God and the Life Task of Love or Intimate Relations. The women in the study experienced feelings of overall positive self-esteem from their personal relationships with God and from their intimate relations with significant others

whom they loved. Perhaps God and love were the keys to mental health for the Professional Black women in the study.

The findings regarding global self-esteem also suggested that as perceived racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work increased, the self-esteem of the women in the study decreased. Racial discrimination from other Black people in the social arena can serve to decrease feelings of belonging in the Black community for Professional Black women. Even though the women in the study were operating at occupational and educational levels where there were not a significant number of Black people in the workplace, the inverse correlation between global self-esteem and racial discrimination from other Black people outside of work suggested a need for affiliation with other Blacks outside of the occupational arena in order to feel good about themselves.

<u>Hypothesis Two</u>

Hypothesis two stated:

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work

is affected by perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender

discrimination, and childhood socialization

messages.

The findings concerning hypothesis two were:

> -Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work was
> not significantly affected overall by either the
> main effects or the interaction effects of
> perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender
> discrimination, and childhood socialization
> messages.

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Work appeared to be unaffected in any significant way by perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The findings suggested that, for the women in the study, feelings of self-esteem in the Life Task of Work were rather impervious to the effects of perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and/or childhood socialization messages.

Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three stated:

> -Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love
> or Intimate Relations is affected by perceived
> racial discrimination, perceived gender
> discrimination, and childhood socialization
> messages.

The findings concerning hypothesis three were:

> -Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love or

Intimate Relations was not significantly affected

overall by either the main effects or the

interaction effects of perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender discrimination,

and childhood socialization messages.

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Love or

Intimate Relations was significantly affected in a

negative way by childhood socialization messages

from women outside the family about what it meant

to be Female.

Hypothesis three was supported by the findings in

the following way. Childhood socialization messages

from women outside the family about what it meant to be

female had a significant negative effect on self-esteem

related to love or intimate relations. There must have

been something in those messages about being female that

mitigated against success in love or intimate relations.

Perhaps when they brought the attitudes from those

messages about being female into love relationships, the

results were either problems in the relationships or

failures of the relationships.

Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis four stated:

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of

Friendship is affected by perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender

discrimination, and childhood socialization

messages.

The findings concerning hypothesis four were:

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship

was not significantly affected overall by the main

effects of perceived racial discrimination,

perceived gender discrimination, and childhood

socialization messages.

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship

was significantly affected overall by the

interaction effects of perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender discrimination,

and childhood socialization messages.

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship

was significantly affected in a positive way by

childhood socialization messages from women

outside the family about what it meant to be

Black.

Hypothesis four was supported in several ways.

Self-esteem related to friendship was significantly

affected overall by the interaction of perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and

childhood socialization messages. Interestingly, when

gender discrimination and childhood socialization

messages interacted with one another and when either one
of them interacted with racial discrimination, self-
esteem related to friendship was significantly affected
for the women in the study.

Self-esteem related to the Life Task of Friendship
was also significantly affected in a specific way by the
individual variable of childhood socialization messages
from women outside the family about what it meant to be
Black. That variable made a significant positive
contribution to self-esteem related to friendship.
Perhaps, for the women in the study, feelings about
themselves as Black people served as the bases for
establishing and maintaining successful friendships.

Hypothesis Five

Hypothesis five stated:

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of
 Relationship to God is affected by perceived
 racial discrimination, perceived gender
 discrimination, and childhood socialization
 messages.

The findings concerning hypothesis five were:

-Self-esteem related to the Life Task of
 Relationship to God was not significantly affected
 overall by either the main effects or the
 interaction effects of perceived racial

discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages.

Hypothesis five was not supported by the findings. Self-esteem related to personal relationship with God appeared to be unaffected in any significant way by perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and childhood socialization messages. The findings suggested that, for the women in the study, feelings of self-esteem related to their personal relationships with God were rather impervious to the effects of perceived racial discrimination, perceived gender discrimination, and/or childhood socialization messages.

A picture emerged of Professional Black women who had done well in the occupational and educational arenas. Surprisingly, their global self-esteem was only in the middle of the range for healthy self-esteem. Their global self-esteems were strengthened by their personal relationships to God and their intimate relationships with loved ones.

Job-related gender discrimination from white males probably served to motivate them to overcome feelings of inferiority and to emerge with healthy self-esteems. Social gender discrimination from white males served to decrease their global self-esteems.

Implications of Findings for Adlerian Personality Theory

Adlerian psychology postulates that human beings are motivated by feelings of inferiority (Adler, 1931). Adlerian theory also posits that feelings of inferiority can also be used to enforce feelings of low self-esteem (Adler, 1929). In some instances, the women in the study appeared to be able to use the feelings of inferiority resulting from being looked down upon due to race and/or gender to motivate themselves to do what was necessary to overcome those feelings of inferiority. In other instances, those feelings of inferiority resulted in a loss of a sense of belonging and a concommitant loss in level of self-esteem. The findings supported the Adlerian theory that feelings of inferiority can be used either as motivators to act in the direction of establishing a healthy sense of self or they can be used to lower self-esteem. Gender discrimination from white males on the job resulted in raised self-esteem for the women in the study. Gender discrimination from white males outside of work resulted in lowered self-esteem for those same women.

The concepts of gender and racial guiding lines that act as patterns impressed upon the individual that allow the individual to express their self-consistent personality in any situation without much reflection

(Powers & Griffith, 1987, p. 133) need to be examined in the light of the findings. Even though the women in the study had racial and gender guiding lines (childhood socialization messages concerning what it meant to be Black, what it meant to be female, and what it meant to be a Black female), there were situations in which there had to have been a great deal of reflection as to how to express their personality in such a way that the expression of it would successfully circumvent the negative consequences of certain forms of racial and gender discrimination. The concept of racial and gender guiding lines affording an individual the ability to express their self-consistent personality in any situation without much reflection was called into question by the findings of this study.

Masculine Protest, an Adlerian psychodynamic concept, and Racial Protest, a psychodynamic concept developed by this researcher, are the results of mistaken gender and racial guiding lines and faulty self evaluations which lead to strong feelings of inferiority. More importantly, Masculine and Racial Protests are assertions or claims for the perceived male and perceived "white" positions and statuses with their perceived perogatives and power (Griffith & Powers, 1987, p. 133; Mosak & Schneider, 1977).

The women in the study appeared to exhibit both Masculine and Racial Protests. They were Black women who were doing well in the white male bastions of occupation and education. The subjects were women who had succeeded in attaining some of the status and position afforded white males. The perogatives and power that go along with those positions may have been out of reach due to various forms of racial and gender discrimination.

The theoretical constructs of Masculine and Racial Protests may be able to shed some light on the mediocre mean self-esteem level of such accomplished women as the ones in this study. Perhaps the Professional Black women in the study had only attained the position and status afforded white males and not the accompanying perogatives and power. Another explanation for the mediocre mean self-esteem level of the sample presents itself if it is assumed that the women in the study had been fully successful in their Masculine and Racial Protests and had achieved not only position and status but also perogatives and power. If that were the case, it is possible that the women in the study may have been experiencing only mediocre levels of self-esteem due to the alienation that often results from gaining power over others.

Masculine and Racial Protests are <u>mistaken</u> attempts to gain self-esteem in that they are attempts to elevate oneself <u>over</u> another person. To successfully adapt to oppressor/power "over" paradigms means to either suffer loss of self-esteem due to being in the role of the oppressed or to suffer a loss of a sense of belonging due to being in the lonely role of the oppressor. Professional Black women are walking a tightrope of mental health when they are consistently successful in the hardball courts of perogative and power afforded white males. The oppressor/power "over" paradigm is viewed in Adlerian psychology as a pathology that mitigates against social interest and mental health. To successfully adapt to a pathology could result in paying the price of diminished social interest and fragile self-esteem based upon staying "on top".

It is interesting, in light of this discussion, to note that the global self-esteem of the Professional Black women in the study was most positively affected by their relationship to God and their relationships with loved ones and intimate others. It is also instructive to note that gender discrimination from white males on the job appeared to enhance the global self-esteem of the women in the study by, perhaps, motivating them to win at the occupational or professional game. The use

of gender discrimination from white males on the job as a motivator for higher self-esteem may indicate that the Professional Black women in the study are vulnerable to the pitfalls of Masculine and Racial Protest. Perhaps God and love are how Professional Black women hold on to their mental health while participating in the high powered, energy consuming occupational worlds in which they operate. Perhaps those two variables keep Professional Black women from completely falling prey to the pathologies associated with Masculine and Racial Protests.

The final Adlerian theoretical construct that was used as a framework for this study was the concept of meeting the challenges of the Tasks of Life as a way of moving in the direction of social interest and insuring positive self-esteem (Ansbacher, 1956). Clearly, the women in this study served witness to the veracity of this concept. Global self-esteem was significantly affected in a positive way by success in the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God.

The Life Tasks present us with situations in which we have a chance to grow in our understanding of who we are and what we can contribute. When we courageously meet these Life Tasks, we gain insights and understandings of our worth and value that results in

healthy self-esteem. The situational self-esteem levels achieved in the Life Tasks resulted in an overall sense of well being and healthy self-esteem for the women in the study.

Implications of Findings for Racial Insulation Theory

Rosenberg and Simmons (1971) put forth the Racial Insulation theory that posited that due to the protection of racially insulated environments, Black children were protected from assaults on their self-esteems due to direct expressions of prejudice. The women in this study grew up in racially insulated communities. As children, they received messages from significant Black men and women both in and outside of their families concerning what it meant to be Black, what it meant to be female, and what it meant to be a Black female.

By the time those racially insulated children grew up to be the Professional Black women in this study, educational racial insulation and occupational racial insulation had nearly disappeared. Integration resulted in a loss of racial insulation and its protective properties. The Professional Black women in the study were not racially insulated or protected occupationally.

It cannot be discerned from the data as to whether

or not the women in the study were protected as children from assaults on their self-esteems by being racially insulated. It can be discerned that as adults, racial insulation did not protect their self-esteems from being assaulted by social gender discrimination from white males.

Contribution to Mental Health Practice

Mental health practitioners should be aware of the possible impacts of the various forms of racism and sexism on the self-esteems of Black women clients. All interventions for Black women should take into account the effects of sexism and racism on the mental health of Black women. Black women who seek counseling for self-esteem related issues that are occupationally and/or educationally based often perceive themselves to be in racially and/or sexually hostile environments. Mental health practitioners who attempt to get the client to "objectively" examine the situation in order to discern whether or not in fact racism or sexism exists have completely missed the point! They will probably lose the client also.

Because racism and sexism are such a part of the fabric of life for Black women in this country, it is meaningless from a psychodynamic viewpoint to try to get

them to identify the instances when it does not exist. The practitioner's time would be better spent going with the client's perspective and seeking ways of healthfully addressing the perceived sexism and racism. The issue is to empower the client--not to defend the system! Practitioners who take the position of trying to show the client that all is not racism and/or sexism invalidate the client's perceptual experience by not confirming the feeling before attempting to focus on task. It is important to remember that, in this case, the task is to work with the client on developing a sense of empowerment and high self-esteem given the racism and sexism she purports to be experiencing!

Many Black women suffer from low self-esteem due to feeling that they are ugly. They have been told that their lips are too big, their skin is too dark, their hair is too nappy, and their behinds are too big. These are the typical foci of physical rejection for Black women. If these messages have been coming at them since childhood, and most have, the mental health practitioner is faced with a monumental task of assisting the client not only to see herself in a new light, but also to assist her in rejecting the Euro-American cultural value system's stance of "correctness" when it comes to the definition of beauty. The practitioner's role will

become one of educator and political scientist.

Many mental health professionals fail to understand that the real issue for Black women who reject their Negroid physiognomy is not simply a case of learning to like oneself. It is a case of educating the client to the fact that the white standard of beauty has been imposed upon her for racist and sexist reasons and that Negroid physiognomy has its own standards of beauty that are quite different from those generated from Caucasoid physiognomy. All of these observations should be underwritten by bibliotherapy or exposure to Black standards of beauty that show the client her own beauty and, most importantly, the groups of people who appreciate that beauty.

Mental health professionals should be familiar with the works of Black women writers and with art and literary works that show the beauty of Negroid features. It is also important to include conversations that redefine inner feminine beauty. Usually Black women have been told they are too "masculine" to be considered as real women. The negative connotations attached to strength, persistence, expression of anger, and intelligence often serve to undermine the self-esteem of Black women with those attributes. Exposure to role models of Black women such as poet and writer Lucille

Clifton, African intellectual Queen Nefertiti, and African female warriors Nzinga and Yaa Asantewaa The Great (Wilson, 1980, pp. 310-312) can prove helpful because most Black women who suffer from low self-esteem on this issue are not aware of their history as women of African descent. They usually have focused their historical context in the United States with special emphasis on the period of slavery. Healthful, supportive, beautiful images of Black women must be presented from a wider psycho-historical context.

A very unique source of low self-esteem for Professional Black women surrounds the issues of either not being "Black enough" or of being "too white". Both of these issues impact on the social self-esteem of Black women. Some women experience a sense of alienation and estrangement from other Black people because they are perceived as trying to be white by the way they carry themselves and by the things they seem to value. Because they are distrusted, criticized, and rejected by other Black people, they tend to isolate themselves in order to protect themselves from further rejection and hurt. This isolation is perceived by the social group as "haughtiness" on the part of the alienated individual. This leads to more rejection and more withdrawal...a truly vicious cycle.

A mental health practitioner must understand that
being socially compatible with other Black people is an
important socialization process for Black women. For
the Black women in this study, there was a significant
negative correlation between global self-esteem and
racial discrimination from other Black people outside of
work. Feeling a part of the family of Black people is
critical for a sense of acceptance and understanding.
It is the heart of the friendship Life Task. It is the
wonderful sense of never really being alone in the white
world or in the male world because you can link with a
"sister" or a "brother" who understands you because in
so many ways she/he is you. That sense of connectedness
is absolutely critical to Black women's senses of self-
worth.

Again, the role of the mental health professional
is not to attempt to convince the client that she
doesn't need other Black people in her life. The client
knows better than that. The task is to explore the
barriers that are preventing that hook-up and to devise
methods to address those barriers that are comfortable
to the client.

Euro-American psychotherapy has an individualistic,
masculine perspective. "Think about yourself!" "Think
about what's good for your own mental health!" The

problem with that logic is that it flies in the face of the collective definition of self that most Black women have. If taking care of herself means that her family and/or Black people will be seen in a negative light by a white mental health practitioner, the typical Black woman client who is working with a white practitioner will choose to defend and protect her family's/people's image at the expense of her own mental health.

Mental health professionals need to be cognizant of the distrust that most Black women have of the mental health community. They view it, and correctly so, as predicated upon a European, patriarchal view of human behavior. The foundations of Western psychology are racist and sexist. Black women are very aware that in the past and still presently, their complaints are used as an indictment against either the Black male, the Black family, or Black children, and that they themselves are usually evaluated from a deficit model.

Trust can be developed by the mental health professional showing a sensitivity to those issues by asking the client if she is having difficulty asking for help for herself because of a concern about whether or not she, the client, can be sure that the therapist is not racist or sexist. It would also be helpful to initiate a conversation about what a bind it is to feel

"responsible" for a whole group that you collectively love and at the same time to have individual needs that are not being addressed.

Mental health practitioners must take as much time as necessary to develop a sense of trust, understanding, and respect of the cultural values that permeate the psyche of Black women. Without taking that time, the interventions recommended will not be effective because the interventions will not have factored in the issues of group loyalty and protectiveness. Practitioners must remember the aspect of self that is collectively defined for Black women.

A genuine contribution to mental health practitioners' array of interventions for working with Black women comes from the understanding of the relationship between addressing the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God and their self-esteems. When Black women in the study were successfully meeting the Life Tasks in general, their global self-esteems were raised. The Life Tasks with the most significant effect on global self-esteem were the Life Tasks of Relationship to God and Love. Mental health practitioners would do their Black women clients a tremendous service by using interventions that investigate and seek to shore up their clients' personal

relationships with God and with loved ones. God and love appeared to be the keys to mental health for the Black women in the study.

Contribution to Education

Some of the contributions of this study to mental health practice apply to methods of practice in education. Educators need to be aware of their role in the development of self-esteem of Black female children. Female children of color are especially hurt by the androcentric standard curriculum. The world view given in schools is racist and sexist (Sanford & Donovan, 1984, p. 186). The androcentric/eurocentric philosophy of education renders Black females intellectually inferior on two counts...race and gender. Often when Black women act as autonomous thinkers in white male intellectual establishments, their contributions are ignored or seen as useless and irrelevant.

It is important for Black female students to have Black female academic role models. Black female students should be encouraged to share their views and perspectives and to have those views and perspectives legitimately discussed in the classroom forum. Middle and upper class Black female children usually receive encouraging messages from home regarding their academic efficacy. If the school does not nurture that enthusiam

and interest in academic achievement, those children will be faced with the task of learning "in spite of" school, not because of it. It is very difficult to think highly of oneself as a learner when your gender and your race are used against you as proof positive of your inability to learn or contribute anything meaningful.

Both mental health practitioners and educators need to be aware that racism and sexism are invasive to the very paradigms upon which mental health and educational excellence are based. Mental health practitioners and educators need to remember that helping Black female clients and students to gain a sense of efficacy in meeting the challenges of the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God will enhance both their mental health and their academic prowess in spite of the fact that the mental health and educational systems in which they must operate are racist, sexist, and classist. Academic experiences specifically related to the Life Tasks could greatly enhance the educational self-esteem of Black female students.

Black female clients and students present a challenge to any system based upon a white male patriarchal foundation. Definitions of mental dis-ease and pathology are based upon masculine eurocentric

ideation of what is healthy and what is normal. The educational system in the United States is based upon a masculine eurocentric view of the world and the supporting skills and values necessary to be "successful". Black female clients and students, because of their "differentness", will challenge the systems of mental health and education to expand their world views and become more inclusive and affirming of the perspectives and contributions of women and African-Americans. The result will be critical mental health and educational systems that are richer in diversity, flexibility, and relevance to the clients and students of the 21st century.

Contribution to the Concept of Developmental Tasks

Very little focus in human development theory has been on the developmental tasks involved in coming to accept oneself as a Black person in the United States though some attention has been paid to the developmental tasks involved in coming to accept oneself as a woman. However, human development theory has not focused on the developmental tasks involved in coming to accept oneself as a Black woman in the United States.

The concept of developmental tasks tends to look at life in stages in which there are certain tasks to be

accomplished in order to proceed to the next stage of development. Parents, educators, and developmental psychologists would be well served if concepts of developmental tasks could speak to the evolutionary tasks necessary for the development of emotionally, physically, and cognitively healthy children who find themselves in non-validating environments due to their race, ethnicity, class, and/or gender.

Most people face challenges and hostile environments that are assaults on the self at some point in their lives. Most United States citizens are dealing with tasks of acceptance, accomplishment, and growth that are dictated by conflicting and contrasting cultural orientations. Where are the theoretical guidelines that let us know what emotional, physical, and cognitive tasks need to be addressed in order to survive hostile and culturally confictual environments? What are the productive and healthy ways of addressing those tasks?

Racism and sexism are just two of the prejudices parents and children must learn to deal with developmentally. African-American and female are just two of the cultures individuals must deal with developmentally. By studying the effects of racism, sexism, and childhood socialization messages on the

self-esteem of Professional Black women, developmental tasks conceptualizations can begin to identify the developmental stages and tasks that are necessary to produce healthy, functioning individuals who can successfully deal with and overcome non-validating and culturally conflictual environments. Knowing that successfully addressing the Life Tasks of Work, Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God can help to counteract the self-esteem lowering effects of racism and sexism for Professional Black women is a begining contribution to developmental tasks concepts and human development theories that focus on the social and psychological tasks necessary for the development of individuals who can successfully survive psychosocial assaults on self-esteem and still contribute to society.

Comparison with Other Findings

Coleman, Anotonucci, Adelmann, and Crohan (1987) examined the impact of participation in social roles on the psychological and physical health of middle-aged and older Black women. Their sample was data from the National Survey of Black Americans which included 451 middle-aged (40-64 years) Black women and 215 older (65-101 years) Black women who were interviewed during the 1979-1980 year. They found that few middle-aged and

older Black women participated in the three roles of parent, spouse, and employee simultaneously. They also found that of the three roles, only employment had a significant relationship to feelings of well being. Of older Black women, it was those who were working that had significantly higher self-esteem. Education was the sole predictor of perceived control or self-efficacy among the middle-aged sample.

Coleman et al summarized that the social role of work in particular the sociodemographic characteristics of education, age, family income, and health interference were predictors of psychological and physical health among middle-aged and older Black women. Black women used other Black women as comparison role models, and used performance in the provider or family maintenance roles to measure success. The researcher also concluded that highly educated middle-aged Black women were less likely to be married, and they were very involved in work and parenting.

The Professional Black women in the present study were highly educated and they were very successfully involved in the Life Task of Work. Although all the Life Tasks were significant overall predictors of global self-esteem, the most significant predictors of global self-esteem were the Life Task of Relationship to God

and the Life Task of Love or Intimate Relations, not the Life Task of Work. Most of the highly educated women in the present study were married and that could account for the difference in the findings and for the significant effect of Love or Intimate Relations on global self-esteem for this sample. It would appear that when Black women are married, the social role of marriage could become a significant predictor of well being along with work and parenting.

Hoffman and Hale-Benson (1987) conducted a study of the self-esteem of Black middle-class women who chose to work inside or outside of the home. Their review of the literature showed that young Black women from the mid 1960's to the mid 1980's had been found to possess high occupational aspirations and have had to work. Their jobs had contributed to their relatively high level of self-esteem.

The Hoffman and Hale-Benson study subjects were Black women between the ages of 28 and 63 who had a least a college degree, were married to professional men, had at least one child, and had worked before marriage. The study was designed to determine whether the self-esteem of Black women who work outside the home was higher than that of Black women who were exclusively homemakers.

The researchers found that even though all participants had worked before marriage, nearly twice as many had chosen to work outside the home as inside the home although their monetary contributions were not needed. There was a significant difference in self-esteem level between employed and non-employed homemakers. Employed homemakers were higher in self-esteem than non-employed homemakers. The findings supported the researchers' hypotheses that a) meaningful work was an enculturated aspect of the Black woman and that, if given the choice, she would choose to work and b) that high self-esteem was an outcome of one's achievements and self-value and was a direct function of meaningful work (Hoffman & Hale-Benson, 1987).

The findings of the present study support the findings of the Hoffman, Hale-Benson study. The majority of the Professional Black women in the study were married and had obviously chosen to continue to work. The fact that they were in high level positions in their chosen fields also appeared to support to the finding that work was an enculturated aspect of the Black woman.

Implications for Future Research

The present study raised many questions for future

research. It would be interesting to apply this research design to working class Black women and to various classes of other women of color in the United States. Future research should examine the relationships between demographic variables and global and situational self-esteem. Were this study to be done again, a different progession for understanding self-esteem would be followed. First, the researcher would have sought to qualitatively and quantitatively understand the self-concepts of the subjects. The next step would have been to qualitatively and quantitatively understand the self-ideals of the subjects. An investigation of the discrepancy between the self-concepts of the subjects and their self-ideals would have yielded a self-esteem measure that was richer in psychodynamic context.

A case study research design would allow much more detail regarding the intricacies and nuances of the private logics and psychodynamics of women dealing with sexism and racism. If a case study design were used, there could be many questions asked in a structured interview format that could not be adequately addressed in a survey format. The following questions could be asked:

-Who were your role models as a child? What did

you admire about them?

-Who are your role models today? What do you
 admire about them?

-How did you feel about yourself when you were the
 target of racial discrimination?

-How do you feel about yourself when you are the
 target of gender discrimination?

-Can you tell the difference between racial
 discrimination and gender discrimination when they
 are aimed at you? If you can, how do you do that?

-How do you measure success in the Life Task of
 Work?

-How do you measure success in the Life Task of
 Love?

-How do you measure success in the Life Task of
 Friendship?

-How do you measure success in the Life Task of
 Relationship to God?

-What were some of the most self-esteem enhancing
 childhood messages you received? Whom were they
 from?

-What were some of the most non enhancing or
 destructive childhood messages you received? Whom
 were they from?

-How did those childhood messages affect your

ability to deal with sexism and racism as an
adult?

-How would you describe the types of relationships
you tend to have with Black men?

-How would you describe the types of relationships
you tend to have with white men?

-How would you describe the types of relationships
you tend to have with other Black women?

-How would you describe the types of relationships
you tend to have with white women?

-What are the things that help you maintain a high
level of self-esteem?

-What are the things that bring you down and lower
your self-esteem?

-What role, if any, did school play in either
raising or lowering your self-esteem?

-What role, if any, did religion play in either
raising or lowering your self-esteem?

-What role, if any, did marriage play in either
raising or lowering your self-esteem?

-What role, if any, did parenting play in either
raising or lowering your self-esteem?

-What advice would you give another Black woman on
the best ways to deal with racism and sexism?

-What would you like to tell society about the

effects of racism and sexism?

-What do you think society should do to eradicate
racism and sexism?

These questions for future research reflect some of
the gaps in information in the present study. Future
research in the areas of mental health related to Black
women and to other women of color in the United States
needs to forthrightly ask the open-ended questions that
can supply the field with the baseline data that allows
researchers to begin to get a big picture of the
contemporary state of mental health of a population
struggling with at least two endemic discriminations.
The baseline data in that big picture should be based
upon variables that investigate not only the sources of
childhood messages, and racism, and sexism, but also the
contents and contexts of those phenomena. Future research
in mental health and in education needs to investigate
how mental health interventions and academic activities
specifically designed to address the Life Tasks of Work,
Love, Friendship, and Relationship to God affect the
mental health and academic efficacy of female children
and adults and of children and adults of color
regardless of gender. Finally, future research in
Adlerian psychology needs to explore mistaken attempts
to overcome feelings of inferiority other than the

Masculine Protest. Race, age, physical health, economic class, etc. are all possibilities of bases upon which to build mistaken attempts to overcome feelings of inferiority. Perhaps future Adlerian research will examine the larger mental health issue of the oppressor paradigm, regardless of the specific protest form it takes.

Summary

Professional Black women appear to have their feet solidly planted in at least three cultural worlds...the cultural world of Black people, the cultural world of women, and the cultural world of white males. This researcher defines culture as the rules for living developed by a group of people based upon who they are, where they are, and the perceived resources available. The tricultural existences of Professional Black women presents a real challenge to their self-esteems.

The women in this study appeared to suffer loss of self-esteem when confronted with social gender discrimination from white males. The self-esteems of the Professional Black women in this study also tended to lower when they were confronted with social racial discrimination from other Black people. It appears they

needed to be able to gain social acceptance from both white males and Black people. Very often that can be a no-win situation socially and psychologically.

They were also able to turn a negative into a positive by using job-related gender discrimination from white males as a reason to excel on the job and thereby enhance their self-esteems. They also used their personal relationships with God and their intimate relationships with loved ones to keep them on the track to healthy self-esteem.

Professional Black woman is a truly definitive phrase in and of itself. Professional denotes the white male dominated occupational worlds in which they operate. Black denotes the African-American cultural world in which they operate. Woman denotes the gender specific cultural world in which they operate. With so many contrasting and often conflictual cultural rules and standards to follow and live up to all at once, self-esteem can be a fragile thing because it is stretched across so many different evaluative processes. Perhaps the Professional Black women of the 1990's will create their own personal worth evaluation system and thereby lessen the debilitating effects of racism and sexism on their self-esteems.

APPENDIX A

Demographic Description of Subjects

AGE	Actual Number	Percentage
Mean Age 42.36		
SD 9.98		
Range 24-76		

OCCUPATION		39%
Education	46	20%
Business	24	12%
Health Care	14	10%
Public Administration	12	5%
Legislators	6	2%
Law	3	2%
Science	2	2%
Computer Technology	2	1%
Engineering	1	1%
Library Technician	1	1%
Research Analyst	1	

YEARS IN OCCUPATION
Mean Years in Occupation 12
SD 8.80
Range 1-40

RELIGION		76%
Protestant	90	19%
Catholic	23	3%
Other	4	2%
No Religion	2	

EDUCATIONAL STATUS		3%
Associate Degree	4	31%
Bachelor's Degree	37	9%
Master's Degree Candidate	11	34%
Master's Degree	40	8%
Doctoral Degree Candidate	9	7%
Doctoral Degree	8	3%
Medical Degree	4	4%
Law Degree	5	6%
Other Degree/Certification	7	
(in addition to other degrees)		

MARITAL STATUS   54%
  Married   64   26%
  Single   31   5%
  Widowed   6   13%
  Divorced   15   2%
  Remarried   2

NUMBER OF CHILDREN
  Mean Number of children 1.26
  SD 1.15
  Range 0-5

MEMBERSHIP IN BLACK WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS   71%
  Membership   84   29%
  Non-Membership   34

PERSONAL YEARLY INCOME   19%
  Under $30,000   22   26%
  $30,000-$40,000   30   23%
  $41,000-$50,000   27   32%
  Over $50,000   37

RACIAL MAKEUP OF UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE ATTENDED   71%
  Predominantly Black   84   27%
  Predominantly White   32   2%
  Well Integrated by Race   3

GENDER MAKEUP OF UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE ATTEDED   26%
  Predominantly Female   31   8%
  Predominantly Male   9   66%
  Well Integrated by Gender   79

RACIAL MAKEUP OF PROFESSIONAL DEGREE PROGRAM ATTENDED 42%
  Predominantly Black   50   37%
  Predominantly White   44   13%
  Well Integrated by Race   16   8%
  Not Applicable   9

GENDER MAKEUP OF PROFESSIONAL DEGREE PROGRAM ATTENDED 34%
  Predominantly Female   40   14%
  Predominantly Male   17   43%
  Well Integrated by Gender   51   9%
  Not Applicable   11

RACIAL MAKEUP OF TERMINAL DEGREE PROGRAM ATTENDED

Predominantly Black	23	20%
Predominantly White	38	32%
Well Integrated by Race	7	6%
Not Applicable	49	42%

GENDER MAKEUP OF TERMINAL DEGREE PROGRAM ATTENDED

Predominantly Female	20	17%
Predominantly Male	18	15%
Well Integrated by Gender	29	25%
Not Applicable	50	43%

RACIAL MAKEUP OF CURRENT WORKPLACE

Predominantly Black	38	32%
Predominantly White	54	46%
Well Integrated by Race	24	20%
Not Applicable	2	2%

GENDER MAKEUP OF CURRENT WORKPLACE

Predominantly Female	52	44%
Predominantly Male	25	21%
Well Integrated by Gender	37	31%
Not Applicable	4	3%

RACIAL MAKEUP OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

Predominantly Black	95	80%
Predominantly White	17	14%
Well Integrated by Race	7	6%

GENDER MAKEUP OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDED

Predominantly Female	12	10%
Predominantly Male	2	2%
Well Integrated by Gender	105	88%

RACIAL MAKEUP OF PRESENT COMMUNITY

Predominantly Black	52	44%
Predominantly White	30	25%
Well Integrated by Race	37	31%

GENDER MAKEUP OF PRESENT COMMUNITY

Predominantly Female	9	8%
Predoninantly Male	2	2%
Well Integrated by Gender	108	90%

RACIAL MAKEUP OF COMMUNITY OF CHILDHOOD (0-7 YEARS)

Predominantly Black	102	86%
Predominantly White	12	10%
Well Integrated by Race	5	4%

GENDER MAKEUP OF COMMUNITY OF CHILDHOOD (0-7 YEARS)
   Predominantly Female   17   15%
   Predominantly Male   4   4%
   Well Integrated by Gender 94   82%

SOCIAL STATUS OF FAMILY OF CHILDHOOD
   Primarily Working Class   72   63%
   Primarily Middle Class   37   32%
   Primarily Upper Class   5   4%

APPENDIX   B

Dear Colleague,

I am a Doctoral Candidate in the Human Development program of the University of Maryland and I am requesting your participation in a study of Black women's perceptions of racial and gender discrimination. This study is part of the research I am conducting for my dissertation.

The attached survey is a part of the study on Black women's perceptions. You are being asked to participate because I want to know the most current perspectives Black women have on the psychological and social issues that affect them.

You will not be requested to give your name. Due to the anonymity of the survey, individual responses will not be identified with a specific respondent. Results will be analyzed on a group basis; not on an individual basis.

A summary of the study results will be made available to you if you so desire. Please self-address the envelope being provided if you wish to have a summary of the study results sent to you. If you are unable to

complete the survey packet at this time, please complete it as soon as possible and return all forms to the researcher in the pre-addressed, stamped, large, brown mailer being provided.

I thank you for your most needed and valued participation in this study. If you should have any questions concerning any aspect of the study, please feel free to contact me at 262-3429 or 464-7552. Again, thank you for your participation.

Professionally yours,

Jacqueline F. Brown, M.Ed.

Ph.D. Candidate

University of Maryland

APPENDIX   C

Personal Data Sheet

Code #_____

1.   Age_____

2.   Present Occupation

_____

3.   How long in years have/had you been working in

your present occupation ?

_____

4.   Religion

1._____ Protestant

2._____ Catholic

3._____ Muslim

4._____ Jewish

5._____ Other (Please specify)_____

6._____ No religion

5. Describe your highest Educational Status (check more than one if appropriate)

    1. _____ High School Diploma

    2. _____ Associate Degree

    3. _____ Bachelor's Degree

    4. _____ Master's Degree Candidate

    5. _____ Master's Degree

    6. _____ Doctoral Degree Candidate

    7. _____ Doctoral Degree

    8. _____ Medical Degree

    9. _____ Law Degree

    10. _____ Other Degree/Certification/License

    Specify

6. Marital Status (check more than one if appropriate)

    1. _____ Married

    2. _____ Single

    3. _____ Widowed

    4. _____ Divorced

    5. _____ Remarried

7. How many children do you have?

   _____

8. What are the ages of your children?

9. Are you a member of any civic, social, or professional organizations that have a membership of predominantly Black women?

   1._____ Yes

   2._____ No

10. What is your personal income?

    1._____ Under $30,000 per year

    2._____ $30,000-$40,000 per year

    3._____ $41,000-$50,000 per year

    4._____ Over $50,000 per year

11. What was the racial makeup of the undergraduate college that you attended or are attending?

   1._____ Predominantly Black

   2._____ Predominantly White

   3._____ Well Integrated by Race

   4._____ Not Applicable

12. What was the gender makeup of the undergraduate college that you attended or are attending?

   1._____ Predominantly Female

   2._____ Predominantly Male

   3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

   4._____ Not Applicable

13. What was the racial makeup of the Professional degree/Certification program that you attended or are attending?

   1._____ Predominantly Black

   2._____ Predominantly White

   3._____ Well Integrated by Race

   4._____ Not Applicable

14. What was the gender makeup of the
    Professional degree/Certification program that
    you attended or are attending?

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

    4._____ Not Applicable

15. What was the racial makeup of the
    Terminal degree program that you
    attended or are attending?

    1._____ Predominantly Black

    2._____ Predominantly White

    3._____ Well Integrated by Race

    4._____ Not Applicable

16. What was the gender makeup of the
    Terminal degree program that you attended or
    are attending?

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

    4._____ Not Applicable

17. What is the racial makeup of your current professional workplace?

    1._____ Predominantly Black

    2._____ Predominantly White

    3._____ Well Integrated by Race

    4._____ Not Applicable

18. What is the gender makeup of your current professional workplace?

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

    4._____ Not Applicable

19. What was the racial makeup of the elementary school that you attended?

    1._____ Predominantly Black

    2._____ Predominantly White

    3._____ Well Integrated by Race

20. What was the gender makeup of the elementary school that you attended?

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

21. What is the racial makeup of the community in which you presently live?

    1._____ Predominantly Black

    2._____ Predominantly White

    3._____ Well Integrated by Race

22. What is the gender makeup of the community in which you presently live?

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

23. What was the racial makeup of the community in which you grew up? (ages 0-7)

    1._____ Predominantly Black

    2._____ Predominantly White

    3._____ Well Integrated by Race

24. What was the gender makeup of the community in which you grew up? (ages 0-7)

    1._____ Predominantly Female

    2._____ Predominantly Male

    3._____ Well Integrated by Gender

25. What was the social status of your family of childhood?

    1._____ Primarily working class

    2._____ Primarily middle class

    3._____ Primarily upper class

APPENDIX   D

Tennessee Self-Concept Scale/Form C

Tennessee Self-Concept Scale

William H. Fitts, Ph.D.

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INSTRUCTIONS

On the top line of the separate answer sheet, fill in your name and the other information except for the time information in the last three boxes. You will fill in these boxes later. Write only on the answer sheet. Do not put any marks in this booklet.

The statements in this booklet are to help you describe yourself as you see yourself. Please respond to them as if you were describing yourself to yourself. Do not omit any item. Read each statement carefully, then select one of the five responses listed below. On your answer sheet, put a circle around the response you chose. If you want to change an answer after you have circled it, do not erase it but put an X mark through the response and then circle the response you want.

When you are ready to start, find the box on your answer sheet marked time started and record the time. When you are finished, record the time finished in the box on your answer sheet marked time finished.

As you start, be sure that your answer sheet and this booklet are lined up evenly so that the item numbers match each other.

Remember, put a circle around the response number you have chosen for each statement.

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

You will find these response numbers repeated at the top of each page to help you remember them.

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

1. I have a healthy body ....

3. I am an attractive person..

5. I consider myself a sloppy person ....

19. I am a decent sort of person ....

21. I am an honest person ....

23. I am a bad person ....

37. I am a cheerful person ....

39. I am a calm and easygoing person.................................

41. I am a nobody ....

55. I have a family that would always help me in any kind of trouble........

57. I am a member of a happy family.................................

59. My friends have no confidence in me ....

73. I am a friendly person ....

75. I am popular with men..

77. I am not interested in what other people do ....

91. I do not always tell the truth..................................

93. I get angry sometimes ....

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

2. I like to look nice and neat all the time ....

4. I am full of aches and pains ....

6. I am a sick person ....

20. I am a religious person...

22. I am a moral failure...

24. I am a morally weak person ....

38. I have a lot of self-control ....

40. I am a hateful person ....

42. I am losing my mind ....

56. I am an important person to my friends and family ....

58. I am not loved by my family ....

60. I feel that my family doesn't trust me ....

74. I am popular with women ....

76. I am mad at the whole world ....

78. I am hard to be friendly with ....

92. Once in a while I think of things too bad to talk about..................

94. Sometimes, when I am not feeling well, I am cross ....

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

7. I am neither too fat nor too thin ....

9. I like my looks just the way they are ....

11. I would like to change some parts of my body ....

25. I am satisfied with my moral behavior.............................

27. I am satisfied with my relationship to God ....

29. I ought to go to church more ....

43. I am satisfied to be just what I am ....

45. I am just as nice as I should be ....

47. I despise myself ....

61. I am satisfied with my family relationships ....

63. I understand my family as well as I should ....

65. I should trust my family more ....

79. I am as sociable as I want to be ....

81. I try to please others, but don't overdo it ....

83. I am no good at all from a social standpoint ....

95. I do not like everyone I know ....

97. Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke ....

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

8. I am neither too tall nor too short ....

10. I don't feel as well as I should ....

12. I should have more sex appeal ....

26. I am as religious as I want to be ....

28. I wish I could be more trustworthy ....

30. I shouldn't tell so many lies ....

44. I am as smart as I want to be..

46. I am not the person I would like to be ....

48. I wish I didn't give up as easily as I do ....

62. I treat my parents as well as I should (Use past tense if parents are not living

64. I am too sensitive to things my family says ....

66. I should love my family more...

80. I am satisfied with the way I treat other people ....

82. I should be more polite to others ....

84. I ought to get along better with other people..........................

96. I gossip a little at times ....

98. At times I feel like swearing ....

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

13. I take good care of myself physically ....

15. I try to be careful about my appearance..............................

17. I often act like I am "all thumbs" ....

31. I am true to my religion in my everyday life ....

33. I try to change when I know I'm doing things that are wrong ....

35. I sometimes do very bad things......................................

49. I can always take care of myself in any situation ....

51. I take the blame for things without getting mad ....

53. I do things without thinking about them first..........................

67. I try to play fair with my friends and family ....

69. I take a real interest in my family ....

71. I give in to my parents (Use past tense if parents are not living) ....

85. I try to understand the other fellow's point of view ....

87. I get along well with other people ....

89. I do not forgive others easily...

99. I would rather win than lose in a game ....

Completely False	Mostly False	Partly False and Partly True	Mostly True	Completely True
1	2	3	4	5

14. I feel good most of the time ....

16. I do poorly in sports and games ....

18. I am a poor sleeper ....

32. I do what is right most of the time ....

34. I sometimes use unfair means to get ahead ....

36. I have trouble doing the things that are right ....

50. I solve my problems quite easily ....

52. I change my mind a lot ....

54. I try to run away from my problems ....

68. I do my share of work at home ....

70. I quarrel with my family ....

72. I do not act like my family thinks I should ....

86. I see good points in all the people I meet ....

88. I do not feel at ease with other people ....

90. I find it hard to talk with strangers ....

100. Once in a while I put off until tomorrow what I ought to do today ....

APPENDIX E

<u>Survey of Black Women's Perceptions</u>

Code #_____

As children, we all observed the significant people and
events around us. Often those people and events
knowingly or unknowingly sent us messages about who we
were and how we were supposed to feel about ourselves.
Those messages are called <u>socialization messages</u>. In
the following set of questions, you will be asked to
rate how enhancing to your self-esteem you feel the
socialization messages from significant adults in your
childhood were.

A rating scale from 1-5, with <u>1 being completely non-</u>
<u>enhancing</u> to self-esteem and <u>5 being highly enhancing</u> to
self-esteem will be provided.

On a scale of 1-5, with <u>1 being completely non-enhancing and very destructive to your self-esteem</u> and <u>5 being highly enhancing and constructive in a very positive way to your self-esteem</u>:

(PLEASE BE SURE TO PAY ATTENTION TO THE BOLD FACED AND <u>UNDERLINED</u> SECTIONS OF EACH QUESTION <u>BEFORE</u> RESPONDING)

1. How would you rate the <u>childhood</u> socialization messages you received from <u>significant Black Women who were in your family</u> concerning: What it meant to be <u>Black</u>?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

    4_____enhancing to self-esteem

    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

2.   How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from _significant Black Women who were in your family_ concerning: What it meant to be _Female_?

  1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
  2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
  3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
  4_____enhancing to self-esteem
  5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
  Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

3.   How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from _significant Black Women who were in your family_ concerning: What it meant to be _both Black and Female_?

  1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
  2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
  3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
  4_____enhancing to self-esteem
  5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
  Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

4. How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from _significant Black Men who were in your family_ concerning: What it meant to be _Black_?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
    4_____enhancing to self-esteem
    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
    Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

5. How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from _significant Black Men who were in your family_ concerning: What it meant to be _Female_?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
    4_____enhancing to self-esteem
    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
    Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

6. How would you rate the childhood socialization messages you received from significant Black Men who were in your family concerning: What it meant to be both Black and Female?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

    4_____enhancing to self-esteem

    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____ Cannot recall_____

7. How would you rate the childhood socialization messages you received from significant Black Women who were Outside of your family concerning: What it meant to be Black?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

    4_____enhancing to self-esteem

    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____ Cannot recall_____

8. How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from __significant Black Women who were Outside of your family__ concerning: What it meant to be Female?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
    4_____enhancing to self-esteem
    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
    Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

9. How would you rate the _childhood_ socialization messages you received from __significant Black Women who were Outside of your family__ concerning: What it meant to be both __Black and Female__?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem
    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem
    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem
    4_____enhancing to self-esteem
    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem
    Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

10. How would you rate the childhood socialization messages you received from significant Black Men who were Outside of your family concerning: What it meant to be Black?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

    4_____enhancing to self-esteem

    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____ Cannot recall_____

11. How would you rate the childhood socialization messages you received from significant Black Men who were Outside of your family concerning: What it meant to be Female?

    1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

    2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

    3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

    4_____enhancing to self-esteem

    5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____ Cannot recall_____

12. How would you rate the childhood socialization messages you received from significant Black Men who were Outside of your family concerning: What it meant to be both Black and Female?

1_____completely non-enhancing to self-esteem

2_____much less enhancing than desired to self-esteem

3_____somewhat enhancing to self-esteem

4_____enhancing to self-esteem

5_____highly enhancing to self-esteem

Never discussed_____   Cannot recall_____

SECTION II--LIFE TASKS

As adults, we usually have a personal sense of how well we believe we are doing in certain areas of our lives. These self-ratings are our own evaluations of ourselves; not what others may think of us. In the following set of questions, you will be asked to rate how well you believe yourself to be presently doing in certain areas of your life.

On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being not well at all and 5 being very well:

13. How would you rate how you are presently doing in the life area of: Occupation?

1_____Not well at all

2_____Much less well than desired

3_____Somewhat well

4_____Well

5_____Very well

14. How would you rate how you are <u>presently</u> doing in the life area of: <u>Love or Intimate Relations</u>?

    1_____Not well at all

    2_____Much less well than desired

    3_____Somewhat well

    4_____Well

    5_____Very well

15. How would you rate how you are <u>presently</u> doing in the life area of: <u>Friendships</u>?

    1_____Not well at all

    2_____Much less well than desired

    3_____Somewhat well

    4_____Well

    5_____Very well

16. How would you rate how you are _presently_ doing in the life area of: _Relationship to God_?

      1_____Not well at all

      2_____Much less well than desired

      3_____Somewhat well

      4_____Well

      5_____Very well

SECTION III--RACIAL AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION

As professional women, we often find ourselves in situations where we must interact with both men and women and with people of racial and ethnic origins that are different from our own. In the following set of questions, you will be asked to give your personal assessment of the frequency of feelings of racial and gender discrimination that you experience from different types of people, both on the job and outside of work.

On a scale of 1-5, with 1 being "never" and 5 being "constantly" :
(PLEASE BE SURE TO PAY ATTENTION TO THE BOLD FACED AND UNDERLINED SECTIONS OF EACH QUESTION BEFORE RESPONDING)

17. How often do you feel you are Racially discriminated against On the Job by Other Black people?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

18. How often do you feel you are <u>Racially discriminated</u> against <u>On the Job by White People</u>?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

19. How often do you feel you are <u>Sexually discriminated</u> against <u>On the Job by Black Men</u>?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

20. How often do you feel you are <u>Sexually discriminated</u> against <u>On the Job by White Men</u>?

1_____Never

2_____Hardly ever

3_____Sometimes

4_____Often

5_____Constantly

21. How often do you feel you are <u>Racially discriminated</u> against <u>Outside of work by Other Black people</u>?

1_____Never

2_____Hardly ever

3_____Sometimes

4_____Often

5_____Constantly

22. How often do you feel you are <u>Racially</u> <u>discriminated</u> against <u>Outside of work by</u> <u>White people</u>?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

23. How often do you feel you are <u>Sexually</u> <u>discriminated</u> against <u>Outside of work by Black</u> <u>Men</u>?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

24. How often do you feel you are <u>Sexually discriminated</u> against <u>Outside of work by White Men</u>?

    1_____Never

    2_____Hardly ever

    3_____Sometimes

    4_____Often

    5_____Constantly

25. Please review the survey to be sure that you responded to each item. If there are any comments you would care to make, please feel free to use this space for that purpose and Thank You!

APPENDIX   F

Intercorrelation Matrix

	WFB	WFF	WFBF	MFB	MFF	MFBF	WB	WF	WBF	MB	MF
WFB	1.0000	.4686**	.4337**	.4413**	.2364*	.3395**	.3505**	.2514**	.2904**	.3235**	.1999*
WFF	.4686**	1.0000	.6840**	.3401**	.4249**	.5086**	.3139**	.3440**	.2929**	.2166*	.1713
WFBF	.4337**	.6840**	1.0000	.3688**	.5040**	.5967**	.2939**	.4178**	.4445**	.2733**	.2366**
MFB	.4413**	.3401**	.3688**	1.0000	.4484**	.5285**	.1842*	.0608	.1522	.4214**	.3338**
MFF	.2364*	.4249**	.5040**	.4484**	1.0000	.8343**	.2936**	.3383**	.2527**	.2635**	.3290**
MFBF	.3395**	.5086**	.5967**	.5285**	.8343**	1.0000	.1784	.3021**	.2355*	.2441**	.2366**
WB	.3505**	.3139**	.2939**	.1842*	.2936**	.1784	1.0000	.3959**	.4383**	.1832*	.2415**
WF	.2514**	.3440**	.4178**	.0608	.3383**	.3021**	.3959**	1.0000	.7736**	.2474**	.2664**
WBF	.2904**	.2929**	.4445**	.1522	.2527**	.2355*	.4383**	.7736**	1.0000	.3032**	.3453**
MB	.3235**	.2166*	.2733**	.4214**	.2635**	.2441**	.1832*	.2474**	.3032**	1.0000	.7529**
MF	.1999*	.1713	.2366**	.3338**	.3290**	.2366**	.2415**	.2664**	.3453**	.7529**	1.0000
MBF	.2301*	.2614**	.3833**	.4044**	.3313**	.3416**	.1713	.2753**	.3973**	.7699**	.8618**
LTO	.0000	-.1256	-.0679	.1141	-.0020	.0418	-.0329	-.0127	-.0447	.1073	.1173
LTL	.0264	.0803	.0165	.1034	.0877	.0102	.0780	-.0866	.0153	.1062	.1071
LTF	.1557	.0920	.0913	.0696	-.0084	-.0324	.3105**	.0977	.0429	.0791	.0748
LTG	-.0039	.0149	.0883	-.0047	-.0063	.0486	-.0428	.0299	-.0077	.0376	.0208
RJB	-.0389	-.0128	.0045	-.2099*	-.0483	-.0688	-.2032*	-.1258	-.1387	-.0181	.0227
RJW	-.1729	-.2816**	-.1888*	-.2302*	-.0819	-.0755	-.3289**	-.1651	-.2086*	-.1095	-.0008
SJBM	-.0725	-.1048	-.1577	-.1406	-.2076*	-.1343	-.1910*	-.0415	-.0455	-.0981	-.1090
SJHM	-.1178	-.2423**	-.1935*	-.2094*	-.1681	-.1569	-.2098*	-.0501	-.0669	-.0629	-.0510
RB	-.1212	-.1453	-.1108	-.2981**	-.0715	-.0655	-.2846**	-.2012*	-.2704**	-.0371	-.0837
RW	-.2044*	-.2343*	-.1880*	-.2111*	-.1544	-.1511	-.2840**	-.0433	-.0899	-.0695	.0134
SBM	-.2339*	-.2215*	-.1805	-.3587**	-.2737**	-.2184*	-.1773	-.0571	-.0289	-.3220**	-.2452**
SWM	-.1981*	-.2684**	-.2644**	-.2461**	-.3446**	-.2511**	-.1309	-.0458	-.0185	-.1390	-.1175
SE	.1055	.1748	.1346	.0834	.0885	.1554	.1265	.1709	.1193	.0563	.0539
R	-.1471	-.2027*	-.1379	-.3348**	-.0896	-.0811	-.3464**	-.1497	-.2181*	-.0607	.0112
G	-.1545	-.2393**	-.2230*	-.2936**	-.2584**	-.1776	-.1962*	-.0092	-.0115	-.1633	-.1204
C	.5713**	.6232**	.7139**	.6246**	.6961**	.7007**	.4933**	.5643**	.6018**	.6797**	.6813**
R2	-.1703	-.2178*	-.1675	-.3276**	-.1147	-.1116	-.3709**	-.1654	-.2138*	-.0563	.0180
G2	-.1495	-.2513**	-.2382*	-.2964**	-.2669**	-.1901*	-.2327*	-.0475	-.0461	-.1527	-.1208
C2	.5580**	.6048**	.7040**	.6220**	.6889**	.7014**	.4718**	.5366**	.5864**	.6731**	.6891**
RG	-.1898*	-.2802**	-.2407**	-.3653**	-.2316*	-.1834*	-.3437**	-.0957	-.1204	-.1341	-.0727
RC	.2983**	.3093**	.4412**	.2415**	.4993**	.4912**	.0599	.3013**	.2764**	.4480**	.5126**
GC	.2483**	.2422**	.3183**	.1990*	.2854**	.3416**	.1394	.4023**	.4410**	.3182**	.3559**
RGC	.1077	.0769	.1751	.0070	.1866*	.2236*	-.1242	.2289*	.2319*	.2136*	.2796**

* – Signif. LE .05   ** – Signif. LE .01   (2-tailed)   " . " printed if a coefficient cannot be computed

	MBF	LTO	LTL	LTF	LTG	RJB	RJW	SJBM	SJWM	RB	RW
WFB	.2301*	.0000	.0264	.1557	-.0039	-.0389	-.1729	-.0725	-.1178	-.1212	-.2044*
WFF	.2614**	-.1256	.0803	.0920	.0149	-.0128	-.2816**	-.1048	-.2423**	-.1453	-.2343*
WFBF	.3833**	-.0679	.0165	.0913	.0883	.0045	-.1888*	-.1577	-.1935*	-.1108	-.1880*
MFB	.4044**	.1141	.1034	.0696	-.0047	-.2099*	-.2302*	-.1406	-.2094*	-.2981**	-.2111*
MFF	.3313**	-.0020	.0877	-.0084	-.0063	-.0483	-.0819	-.2076*	-.1681	-.0715	-.1544
MFBF	.3416**	.0418	.0102	-.0324	.0486	-.0688	-.0755	-.1343	-.1569	-.0655	-.1511
WB	.1713	-.0329	.0780	.3105**	-.0428	-.2032*	-.3289**	-.1910*	-.2098*	-.2846**	-.2840**
WF	.2753**	-.0127	-.0866	.0977	.0299	-.1258	-.1651	-.0415	-.0501	-.2012*	-.0433
WBF	.3973**	-.0447	.0153	.0429	-.0077	-.1387	-.2086*	-.0455	-.0669	-.2704**	-.0899
MB	.7699**	.1073	.1062	.0791	.0376	-.0181	-.1095	-.0981	-.0629	-.0371	-.0695
MF	.8618**	.1173	.1071	.0748	.0208	.0227	-.0008	-.1090	-.0510	-.0837	.0134
MBF	1.0000	.0846	.0289	.0523	.0409	.0106	-.0710	-.1490	-.1119	-.0800	-.0056
LTO	.0846	1.0000	.0318	.2235*	.2896**	-.0149	.0399	-.0188	.0179	.0086	-.0754
LTL	.0289	.0318	1.0000	.2435**	.1450	-.1546	-.1749	-.0797	-.0323	-.1314	-.1706
LTF	.0523	.2235*	.2435**	1.0000	.3687**	-.0445	-.1147	.0089	.0192	-.1509	-.1211
LTG	.0409	.2896**	.1450	.3687**	1.0000	-.0333	.0899	.0131	.1320	-.0630	-.0545
RJB	.0106	-.0149	-.1546	-.0445	-.0333	1.0000	.4502**	.2469**	.1889*	.3819**	.1467
RJW	-.0710	.0399	-.1749	-.1147	.0899	.4502**	1.0000	.2064*	.5663**	.2699**	.5210**
SJBM	-.1490	-.0188	-.0797	.0089	.0131	.2469**	.2064*	1.0000	.4333**	.1681	.2162*
SJWM	-.1119	.0179	-.0323	.0192	.1320	.1889*	.5663**	.4333**	1.0000	.1972*	.4888**
RB	-.0800	.0086	-.1314	-.1509	-.0630	.3819**	.2699**	.1681	.1972*	1.0000	.2581**
RW	-.0056	-.0754	-.1706	-.1211	-.0545	.1467	.5210**	.2162*	.4888**	.2581**	1.0000
SBM	-.2516**	-.0781	-.1736	-.0698	-.0243	.2067*	.1724	.5006**	.2916**	.1603	.2312*
SWM	-.1572	-.0630	-.1614	-.1107	-.0602	.0648	.3060**	.4172**	.5814**	.1533	.6131**
SE	.1088	.1907*	.3086**	.3207**	.3821**	-.0746	.0494	.0294	.1231	-.2051*	-.0525
R	-.0288	-.0173	-.2358*	-.1395	.0069	.7220**	.8300**	.2819**	.5142**	.6399**	.6333**
G	-.1734	-.0643	-.1775	-.0429	.0433	.2399**	.4072**	.7689**	.7805**	.2392**	.4913**
C	.7366**	.0261	.0676	.1108	.0185	-.0881	-.2187*	-.1847*	-.2009*	-.2085*	-.1774
R2	-.0174	-.0239	-.2234*	-.1308	-.0195	.7191**	.8092**	.3069**	.5128**	.6280**	.6402**
G2	-.1698	-.0540	-.1620	-.0730	.0467	.2315*	.3970**	.7782**	.7644**	.2227*	.4752**
C2	.7422**	.0164	.0689	.0786	-.0099	-.0776	-.2025*	-.1784	-.1963*	-.1932*	-.1662
RG	-.1251	-.0586	-.2394**	-.1220	.0097	.5293**	.6662**	.6402**	.7607**	.4760**	.6271**
RC	.5262**	.0421	-.1383	-.0289	.0554	.4951**	.5077**	.0489	.2554**	.3549**	.3552**
GC	.3519**	-.0248	-.0923	.0320	.0676	.1231	.2100*	.5376**	.5414**	.0410	.3054**
RGC	.2617**	-.0219	-.2005*	-.0835	.0418	.4620**	.5753**	.5059**	.6499**	.3548**	.5299**

* - Signif. LE .05   ** - Signif. LE .01   (2-tailed)   " . " printed if a coefficient cannot be computed

	SBM	SWM	SE	R	G	C	R2	G2	C2	RG	RC
WFB	-.2339*	-.1981*	.1055	-.1471	-.1545	.5713**	-.1703	-.1495	.5580**	-.1898*	.2983**
WFF	-.2215*	-.2684**	.1748	-.2027*	-.2393**	.6232**	-.2178*	-.2513**	.6048**	-.2802**	.3093**
WFBF	-.1805	-.2644**	.1346	-.1379	-.2230*	.7139**	-.1675	-.2382*	.7040**	-.2407**	.4412**
MFB	-.3587**	-.2461**	.0834	-.3348**	-.2936**	.6246**	-.3276**	-.2964**	.6220**	-.3653**	.2415*
MFF	-.2737**	-.3446**	.0885	-.0896	-.2584**	.6961**	-.1147	-.2316*	.6889**	-.2316*	.4993**
MFBF	-.2184*	-.2511**	.1554	-.0811	-.1776	.7007**	-.1116	-.1901*	.7014**	-.1834*	.4912**
WB	-.1773	-.1309	.1265	-.3464**	-.1962*	.4933**	-.3709**	-.2327*	.4718**	-.3437**	.0599
WF	-.0571	-.0458	.1709	-.1497	-.0092	.5643**	-.1654	-.0475	.5366**	-.0957	.3013**
WBF	-.0289	-.0185	.1193	-.2181*	-.0115	.6018**	-.2138*	-.0461	.5864**	-.1204	.2764**
MB	-.3220*	-.1390	.0563	-.0607	-.1633	.6797**	-.0563	-.1527	.6731**	-.1341	.4480**
MF	-.2452**	-.1175	.0539	.0112	-.1204	.6813**	.0180	-.1208	.6891**	-.0727	.5126**
MBF	-.2516**	-.1572	.1088	-.0288	-.1734	.7366**	-.0174	-.1698	.7422**	-.1251	.5262**
LTO	-.0781	-.0630	.1907*	-.0173	-.0643	.0261	-.0239	-.0540	.0164	-.0586	.0421
LTL	-.1736	-.1614	.3086**	-.2358*	-.1775	.0676	-.2234*	-.1620	.0689	-.2394**	-.1383
LTF	-.0698	-.1107	.3207**	-.1395	-.0429	.1108	-.1308	-.0730	.0786	-.1220	-.0289
LTG	-.0243	-.0602	.3821**	.0069	.0433	.0185	-.0195	-.0467	-.0099	.0097	.0554
RJB	.2067*	.0648	-.0746	.7220**	.2399**	-.0881	.7191**	.2315*	-.0776	.5293**	.4951**
RJW	.1724	.3060**	.0494	.8300**	.4072**	-.2187*	.8092**	.3970**	-.2025*	.6662**	.5077**
SJBM	.5006**	.4172**	.0294	.2819**	.7689**	-.1847*	.3069**	.7782**	-.1784	.6402**	.0489
SJWM	.2916**	.5814**	.1231	.5142**	.7805**	-.2009*	.5128**	.7644**	-.1963*	.7607**	.2554**
RB	.1603	.1533	-.2051*	.6399**	.2392**	-.2085*	.6280**	.2227*	-.1932*	.4760**	.3549**
RW	.2312*	.6131**	-.0525	.6333**	.4913**	-.1774	.6402**	.4752**	-.1662	.6271**	.3552**
SBM	1.0000	.4116**	-.0386	.2571**	.6689**	-.3356**	.2467**	.6684**	-.3420**	.5371**	-.0555
SWM	.4116**	1.0000	-.1413	.3855**	.7779**	-.2759**	.3810**	.7388**	-.2614**	.6876**	.0745
SE	-.0386	-.1413	1.0000	-.0643	.0117	.1783	-.0821	-.0022	.1455	-.0663	.0727
R	.2571**	.3855**	-.0643	1.0000	.4955**	-.1981*	.9842**	.4715**	-.1827*	.8102**	.6341**
G	.6689**	.7779**	.0117	.4955**	1.0000	-.2554**	.4918**	.9805**	-.2536**	.8814**	.1748
C	-.3356**	-.2759**	.1783	-.1981*	-.2554**	1.0000	-.2181*	-.2750**	.9879**	-.2916**	.5993**
R2	.2467**	.3810**	-.0821	.9842**	.4918**	-.2181*	1.0000	.4839**	-.1932*	.8248**	.6004**
G2	.6684**	.7388**	-.0022	.4715**	.9805**	-.2750**	.4839**	1.0000	-.2637**	.8817**	.1325
C2	-.3420**	-.2614**	.1455	-.1827*	-.2536**	.9879**	-.1932*	-.2637**	1.0000	-.2710**	.5894**
RG	.5371**	.6876**	-.0663	.8102**	.8814**	-.2916**	.8248**	.8817**	-.2710**	1.0000	.3935**
RC	-.0555	.0745	.0727	.6341**	.1748	.5993**	.6004**	.1325	.5894**	.3935**	1.0000
GC	.3704**	.5046**	.1371	.2755**	.6901**	.4787**	.2529**	.6398**	.4571**	.5373**	.5991**
RGC	.3611**	.5332**	.0222	.6917**	.7145**	.2590**	.6845**	.6821**	.2542**	.7988**	.7778**

* - Signif. LE .05   ** - Signif. LE .01   (2-tailed)   " . " printed if a coefficient cannot be computed

	GC	RGC
WFB	.2483**	.1077
WFF	.2422**	.0769
WFBF	.3183**	.1751
MFB	.1990*	.0070
MFF	.2854**	.1866*
MFBF	.3416**	.2236*
WB	.1394	-.1242
WF	.4023**	.2289*
WBF	.4410**	.2319*
MB	.3182**	.2136*
MF	.3559**	.2796**
MBF	.3519**	.2617**
LTQ	-.0248	-.0219
LTL	-.0923	-.2005*
LTF	.0320	-.0835
LTG	.0676	.0418
RJB	.1231	.4620**
RJW	.2100*	.5753**
SJBM	.5376**	.5059**
SJWM	.5414**	.6499**
RB	.0410	.3548**
RW	.3054**	.5299**
SBM	.3704**	.3611**
SWM	.5046**	.5332**
SE	.1371	.0222
R	.2755**	.6917**
G	.6901**	.7145**
C	.4787**	.2590**
R2	.2529**	.6845**
G2	.6398**	.6821**
C2	.4571**	.2542**
RG	.5373**	.7988**
RC	.5991**	.7778**
GC	1.0000	.8527**
RGC	.8527**	1.0000

* - Signif. LE .05   ** - Signif. LE .01   (2-tailed)

" . " printed if a coefficient cannot be computed

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