The Social Psychological Costs of Racial Segmentation in the Workplace: A Study of African Americans' Well-being*

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Although several studies have documented how social-structural constraints impair psychological functioning, few have considered how race-related structural constraints impair African Americans' psychological functioning. This study focuses on an under-studied form of race-related structural constraints: racial segmentation in the workplace. Specifically, I examine the association between perceived workplace racial segmentation, conceived and assessed from a social psychological perspective, and African Americans' psychological well-being. The magnitude and consistency of the relationship is evaluated across both a national sample and a local probability sample of African Americans. Findings across the two samples indicate a modest but consistent negative relationship between perceived racial segmentation and psychological well-being. In addition, this association remains significant after controlling for perceived discrimination as well as sociodemographic and occupational characteristics. Consistent with prior research on relative deprivation, the adverse influence of perceived racial segmentation on well-being was stronger among higher socioeconomic status African Americans than lower socioeconomic African Americans.

There is a long sociological tradition of studying how social-structural constraints impair psychological functioning (House 1981; House and Mortimer 1990; Kohn 1989; Sorokin 1927). Only recently, however, has research begun to explicitly examine race-related structural constraints and their impact on African Americans' psychological functioning.[1] For instance, several recent qualitative studies have explored the social psychological consequences of blocked opportunity in the labor market for African Americans' well-being (Anderson 1999; Collins 1997; Cose 1993; Feagin and McKinney 2003; Feagin and Sikes 1994; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1991, 1998, 2003). This work has shown that experiencing blocked opportunity can induce emotional distress, sadness, and feelings of worth-

lessness, helplessness, and powerlessness among African Americans. For some of this research, an important labor market constraint has been racial segmentation in the workplace. Racial segmentation in the workplace refers to the process whereby many blacks are relegated to the least desirable jobs in terms of prestige, power, and chances for career advancement (see Kaufman 2001). For example, one recent study noted that, despite the fact that increasing numbers of African Americans have white co-workers, "they still tend to work in organizations where many, if not most, of the workers in similar jobs are also African Americans" (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993:3). Unfortunately, the studies that have explored the social psychological consequences of racial segmentation have typically been based upon convenience samples of the black middle class, as well as small sample sizes; consequently, the relevance of their results to the larger African American population (e.g., working class and poor African Americans) remains largely unknown.

However, there is reason to think a relationship exists. For instance, evidence from a related body of research utilizing large representative samples of African Americans suggests a negative relationship between discrimination and well-being (Brown et al. 2000; Jackson et al. 1996; Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams 1999; Landrine and Klonoff 1996; Pavalko, Mossakowski, and Hamilton 2003; Williams et al. 1997; Williams 1999, 2000). African Americans who report experiencing discrimination have lower levels of well-being than their counterparts who report experiencing no discrimination.[2] Regrettably, most of this research has focused on individual discrimination and largely ignored the type of institutional discrimination (e.g., racial segmentation) that is often the focus of previous qualitative studies, in part because data were not available.

To address these limitations, this study analyzes unique survey data both from a probability sample of African Americans in a major metropolitan area in the United States and from a large nationally representative sample of African Americans to clarify the association between perceived racial segmentation and African Americans' psychological well-being. Specifically, I consider the extent to which two indicators of perceived racial segmentation are linked to African Americans' well-being. I also assess the extent to which the influence of per-ceived racial segmentation on well-being varies based on occupational status.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Work, Discrimination, and Well-being

The study of work and personality has become one of the major approaches to the study of social structure and personality (House 1981; Mortimer and Lorence 1995; Spenner 1988). In particular, the research of Melvin Kohn and Carmi Schooler has been central to our general understanding of how work impacts individuals' psychological functioning. At the core of their research is the assertion that conditions at work mediate the effects of social stratification on individuals' values and behaviors (Kohn and Schooler 1983; Kohn and Slomczynski 1990). Indeed, other researchers have found that the occupational conditions that employed adults experience do affect their values, well-being, self-concept, cognitive functioning, and orientation to social reality (Andrisani 1978; Andrisani and Nestel 1976; Cohn 1978; Mortimer, Lorence, and Kumka 1986). Although the Kohn-Schooler approach has provided an important conceptual basis for understanding the link between workplace stratification and well-being, their research has paid scant attention to other dimensions of social stratification, such as race and its influence on psychological functioning (see Hunt et al. 2000; Mortimer and Lorence 1995).

A related body of research, however, has begun to investigate the negative consequences of discrimination for African Americans' psychological functioning. For instance, a number of studies have found that perceived discrimination is related to well-being, or lack of it, such as life satisfaction, chronic health problems, psychological distress, depression, and generalized anxiety (Brown 2001; Feagin and McKinney 2003; Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams 1999; Landrine and Klonoff 1996; Ren, Amick, and Williams 1999; Schulz et al. 2000; Thompson 1996; Williams et al. 1997; Williams 2000). In a related study of racial discrimination in the workplace, Kirby and Jackson (1998) found that perceived discrimination in employment lowered job satisfaction. Studies using panel data have also found that experiences of racial discrimination decrease

well-being (Becker and Krzystofiak 1982; Brown et al. 2000; Jackson et al. 1996; Pavalko, Mossakowski, and Hamilton 2003).

Most of these studies, unfortunately, have focused on a single dimension of discrimination, namely individual discrimination. In light of research that has highlighted the importance of considering the multidimensional nature of discrimination, these previous studies likely underestimate the social psychological impact of discrimination on African American well-being (see Feagin and McKinney 2003; Forman, Williams, and Jackson 1997; Gee 2002; Krieger 1999; Schulz et al. 2000). One recent study of perceived discrimination and health remarked, "the culpability of individual ... and institutional discrimination is crucial to our further understanding of health" (Finch et al. 2001:424).

In fact, one study has incorporated measures of both individual and institutional discrimination (Becker and Krzystofiak 1982). It used longitudinal data from the National Longitudinal Survey to investigate the link between discrimination and "locus of control," a concept that they measured with items that resemble several of the measures of personal efficacy I use in the present study. It found that African Americans who directly experience discrimination (i.e., individual discrimination) as well as those who indirectly experience discrimination (i.e., institutional discrimination) feel increased loss of control over their life. Further, the effects of individual and institutional discrimination on locus of control existed even after controlling for initial levels of locus of control collected from the first wave of data (Becker and Krzystofiak 1982). These findings are important for two reasons: (1) they document the causal linkage between perceived discrimination and African Americans' well-being, and (2) they highlight the importance of investigating the influence of both individual and institutional discrimination on well-being.[3]

Institutional Discrimination: Racial Segmentation in the Workplace

The occupational disadvantage of African Americans vis-à-vis whites in the United States is well documented (Drake and Cayton 1945; DuBois 1899; Kaufman 2001; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993; Vaughn-Cooke 1983). For example, Spero and Harris (1931)

note, "The most distinctive characteristic of the Negro's position in the world of labor is ... the perpetuation of the tradition of black men's and white men's jobs" (p. 180). Both recent popular and social scientific accounts have continued to document a similar type of racial segmentation today (Collins 1989, 1993, 1997; Cose 1993; Dingle 1987; Feagin and Sikes 1994; Kaufman 2001; Steinberg 1995; Updegrave 1989; Wilkerson 1992). Despite substantial advancement in the U.S. opportunity structure, African Americans continue to hold distinct and often marginal positions within occupations and in their respective work organizations (Collins 1989; Kaufman 2001; Steinberg 1995). Importantly, contemporary racial segmentation in the workplace appears to cut across the social class spectrum. For instance, one author notes, "a new class of 'Negro jobs' has been created. They are not the dirty, menial, and backbreaking jobs of the past. On the contrary, they are coveted jobs that offer decent wages and job security. Nevertheless, they are jobs that are pegged for blacks" (Steinberg 1995:197–98). In line with this perspective, Collins (1997) found that 67 percent of the African American managers interviewed had held or were holding a racialized job. According to Collins, these are jobs that were created or reoriented during the 1960s and 1970s to carry out pro-black governmental policies and mediate black-related issues (e.g., jobs in departments of affirmative action, community affairs, and human resources) (Collins 1997).[4] Other studies have revealed that these positions continue to afford minorities little opportunity to supervise production, to supervise largely white staffs, or to implement important organizational policies (Cose 1993; Feagin and Sikes 1994; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff 1991, 1998, 2003). In light of the Kohn-Schooler findings on the importance of occupational control and self-direction for psychological functioning, racial segmentation is likely to have implications for African Americans' psychological well-being. Further, while clearly important for all African Americans' well-being, it may have special implications for the African American middle class.

African American Middle Class and Relative Deprivation

Recent work on the African American mid-

dle class has pointed to a perplexing paradox (Cose 1993; Feagin and Sikes 1994; Hochschild 1995). The higher the position of African American managers, the more likely they are to feel alienated (Fernandez 1981). Hochschild (1995) labels this paradox "succeeding more and enjoying it less" (p. 89). Unlike their white counterparts, for whom socioeconomic status is closely linked with quality of life, African Americans do not express greater satisfaction with quality of life as their socioeconomic status improves (Hochschild 1995). Anderson (1999) explains:

> Although government pressures and policies have enabled many blacks to land executive positions in major corporations—and most perform their duties with real competence—many have been unable to attain the corresponding informal social power, along with relative feelings of security, taken for granted and enjoyed by many of their white counterparts in the workplace. (p. 27)

It appears that the achievement of high socioeconomic status may alter but not diminish the experience of racial discrimination or its social psychological impact (and may exacerbate it). For instance Charles Willie (1989) describes why large numbers of the African American middle class feel alienated, stating, "the people who most severely experience the pain of dislocation due to the changing times are the racial minorities who are talented and educated and *integrated*, not those who are impoverished and *isolated*" (p. 20; emphasis added).

The concept of relative deprivation may be useful for understanding this paradox among middle class African Americans. The term *relative deprivation* refers to discontent resulting from a perceived gap between personal expectations and actual attainment (Walker and Pettigrew 1984; Williams 1975). Often this discontent is derived from an individual's perception of unfair outcomes between themselves and salient others. As one author notes, "a person's sense of contentment depends not on objective conditions, but on the subjective perceptions and comparisons of self to others" (Dion 1986:159). Given the work cited in the previous section, the African American middle class is at the greatest risk for feeling relatively deprived. For instance, one study reports a black manager stating the following, "White managers . . . ask you to take a position of visible prominence not slated to the bottom line

and give you financial rewards rather than leadership . . . But money doesn't relieve a poverty of satisfaction and spirit" (Jones 1986:89). That is, middle class African Americans on the tide of the civil rights movement may expect more from their individual efforts than they have currently achieved. In part, their heightened expectations of achievement may be the result, as Charles Willie noted above, of coming into closer contact with whites and increasingly comparing their occupational standing with these white peers. Because of this comparison, they may come to believe that their advanced training will not produce the same paths for occupational and career advancement as it does for their white counterparts. In these instances, relative deprivation may create increased levels of frustration that lead to decreased well-being. In fact, one study has shown that perceived job incongruence has negative health consequences (Coburn 1975).

Compared to middle class African Americans, working class African Americans are less likely to feel relatively deprived. In large measure because of residential segregation, working class African Americans seldom come into close proximity with whites. Therefore, they typically only are comparing their occupational achievements to similarly situated African Americans or other racial and ethnic minorities. As a result, working class blacks are likely to be somewhat less affected by perceived racial segmentation in the workplace than the African American middle class.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

Figure 1 presents schematically the general conceptual orientation of this study. This conceptual model is a heuristic—an attempt to "describe structures that constrain, shape, limit, and redirect action, rather than linear forces that determine it" (Diesing 1991:91). The model emphasizes the proximal mechanisms that link the macro-level racialized social structures to African Americans' well-being (see Bonilla-Silva 1997; House 1981; House and Mortimer 1990). Thus, the model considers appraisal of group and personal stressors (i.e., perceived individual and perceived institutional discrimination) as pivotal mediators in the link between the racialized social system, social stressors and African

FIGURE 1. Conceptual Model of Relationship between Racialized Social System and African Americans' Well-being
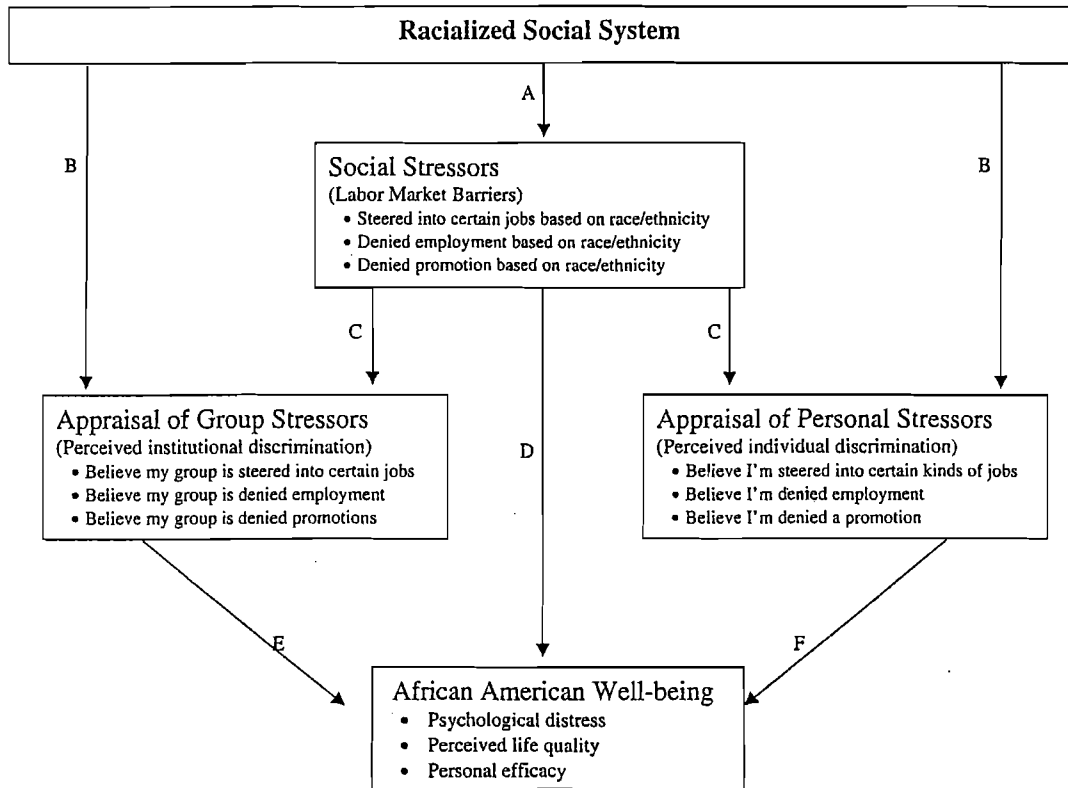
Americans' well-being (arrows A, B, and C). As Lawler, Ridgeway, and Markovsky (1993) note, "social psychological elements (e.g., perceived structural barriers) are required if multilevel theories are to connect individuals to larger-scale social structures" (p. 269). Specifically, this social psychological model focuses on racially structured inequalities experienced by African Americans as the major precursor of social stressors in the labor market (arrow A). In turn, these social stressors and racially structured inequalities threaten African Americans' well-being through their direct influence on African Americans' appraisal of group and personal stressors (arrows B and C). Further, the racialized social system has an indirect relation to African Americans' well-being (arrows D, E, and F). Unfortunately, due to data limitations I am unable to statistically estimate certain aspects of the conceptual model. Therefore, my emphasis in the present study is on examining the negative social psychological consequences of perceived institutional-level discrimination (arrow E) and perceived individual-level discrimination (arrow F) on African Americans' well-being.[5] Based

on this conceptual model and previous research I will test two hypotheses in this article:

H_1: Perceived racial segmentation is negatively related to African Americans' psychological well-being.

H_2: Any negative effects of perceived racial segmentation on psychological well-being are stronger among African Americans in higher status occupations than African Americans in lower status occupations.

METHODS

Sample

The data for this study come from two unusual and valuable sample surveys: the 1980 National Survey of Black Americans and the 1995 Detroit Area Study. I chose these surveys because each contains measures of perceived racial segmentation as well as one or more measures of psychological well-being. Although differences between the National Survey of Black Americans and the Detroit

Area Study in the year conducted, population sampled, racial segmentation measures included, and the wording of well-being measures prevent direct comparison, the availability of these two data sets has the advantage of enabling us to check whether the patterns of association are consistent.

The National Survey of Black Americans is the first national probability sample of the adult African American population that was truly representative of African Americans in the United States. The sample was drawn according to a multistage area probability procedure designed to assure that every African American household had the same probability of being selected for the study. The survey is a cross-sectional sample of the non-institutionalized African American population 18 years of age and older and has a 67 percent response rate. The total sample consists of 2,107 African Americans. The analytic sample used in this study is limited to 1,199 African Americans because only individuals working for pay at the time of the survey answered the perceived racial segmentation items.[6]

The 1995 Detroit Area Study was a multistage area probability sample representative of the population 18 years of age and older, residing in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties in Michigan, including the city of Detroit. Fieldwork was completed between April and October of 1995. 1,139 adult respondents completed the face-to-face interviews, for a response rate of 70 percent. Blacks were oversampled, with the final sample including 520 white and 586 black respondents. The remaining 33 respondents were self-identified Asians, Native Americans, and Hispanics. All of the analyses reported in this paper use only black respondents. The analytic sample used in this study is limited to 347 African Americans. The analytic sample uses employed individuals because the perceived racial segmentation item in the Detroit Area Study was administered only to individuals working for pay at the time of the interview. A weight was used to take into account differential probabilities of selection and to adjust the demographics of the sample to that of the Detroit metropolitan area.[7]

Dependent Variables

All ordinal and interval scaled measures were coded so that a high score reflects a high value of the construct. I use three indicators of psychological well-being in this study: personal efficacy, perceived life quality, and psychological distress.[8]

Personal efficacy: National Survey of Black Americans. Four items measure personal efficacy in the National Survey of Black Americans: (1) "Do you think it's better to plan your life a good ways ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?;" (2) "When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things come up to make you change your plans?;" (3) "Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?;" and (4) "Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like?" Respondents selected the one item from each of the four questions that, in their opinion, was more nearly true. The measure of personal efficacy (α = .57) averages responses to the four items.[9]

Personal efficacy: Detroit Area Study. Four items measure personal efficacy in the Detroit Area Study: (1) "I can do just about anything I really set my mind to do;" (2) "There is really no way I can solve some of the problems I have;" (3) "I often feel helpless in dealing with the problems of life;" and (4) "What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me." Possible responses ranged from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (4). Items 1 and 4 were reverse coded, and the measure of personal efficacy (α = .64) is the average of the four items.

Perceived life quality: National Survey of Black Americans. Four standard items measure perceived life quality: global life happiness, life satisfaction, health satisfaction, and goal fulfillment. *Global life happiness* was assessed on a three-point scale based on the question, "taking all things together, how would you say things are these days?" Possible responses ranged from "not too happy" (1) to "very happy" (3). *Life satisfaction* was measured by the question, "in general, how satisfied are you with your life these days?" Possible responses ranged from "very dissatisfied" (1) to "very satisfied" (4). *Health satisfaction* was measured by the question, "in general, how satisfied are you with your health?" Possible

responses ranged from "very dissatisfied" (1) to "very satisfied" (4). *Goal fulfillment* was assessed with the following item: "Up to now have you gotten mostly what you hoped for out of life or have you gotten less than you hoped for?" The measure of perceived life quality (α = .65) averages responses to the above four items.

Psychological distress: Detroit Area Study. An abbreviated version of the Kessler and Mroczek (1996) psychological distress scale is used in this study. Respondents were asked how often in the past 30 days they had felt: (1) "So sad nothing could cheer you up?;" (2) "Nervous?;" (3) "Restless or fidgety?;" (4) "Hopeless?;" (5) "That everything was an effort?;" and (6) "Worthless?" Possible responses ranged from "never" (1) to "very often" (5). The measure of psychological distress (α = .82) averages responses to the six items.

Independent Variables

Perceived racial segmentation. Perceived racial segmentation was measured in the National Survey of Black Americans by respondents' answers to two questions: (1) "In the place where you work, do Black people tend to get certain kinds of jobs?;" and (2) "Is your job one that Black people tend to get more than whites?" The first question tapped a perception of global racial segmentation in the workplace. The second question measured a perception of personal racial segmentation in the workplace. In part, because it is difficult to directly observe institutional discrimination such as racial segmentation, surveys are limited to gathering information on aspects of racial segmentation for which people may have some awareness. There are, however, demonstrated relationships between self-report measures of discrimination used here and "objective" indicators of discrimination (see Gomez and Trierweiler 2001; Hammer and Green 1998; Turner and Turner 1981). For example, a study of "perceived" and "actual" occupational discrimination concluded, "perceptions potentially reflect the real world" (Turner and Turner 1981:332). This same study found that African Americans had more accurate perceptions of "actual" occupational discrimination than whites. Therefore, measuring subjective reports of racial segmentation among African

Americans in surveys enables shorthand reference to the objective reality of racial segmentation that would be virtually impossible to measure directly.[10] Only one of the perceived racial segmentation items was asked in the Detroit Area Study: "Do you think your job is one that people of your ethnic or racial group tend to get more than people of other groups?" Possible responses for the perceived racial segmentation items were "yes" (1) or "no" (0).

Covariates: Individual and Occupational Characteristics

I control for several variables in this study. These include age, education, gender, personal income, region, marital status, perceived discrimination, dual labor market status, occupational control, substantive complexity of the occupation, and physical demands of the occupation. Age was chosen because of its strong association with psychological well-being (Hughes and Demo 1989; Jackson, Chatters, and Neighbors 1986; Mirowsky and Ross 1992; Thomas and Hughes 1986).[11] That is, older individuals are more satisfied and efficacious than younger individuals. Education is also linked with psychological well-being (Campbell 1981; Hughes and Demo 1989; Ross and Wu 1995). Individuals with higher levels of education have higher levels of personal efficacy and perceived life quality. Gender differences have also been found in perceived life quality and personal efficacy (Campbell 1981; Hughes and Demo 1989; Thomas and Holmes 1992). Men express a greater sense of personal efficacy and have higher levels of perceived life quality than women. Personal income was chosen as a covariate because past research has documented income differences in perceived life quality and personal efficacy (Gurin and Gurin 1976; Gurin, Gurin, and Morrison 1978; Thomas and Hughes 1986). Individuals with high personal income express a greater sense of personal efficacy and perceived life quality. Region is included as a covariate because past research has found regional differences in psychological well-being (Campbell 1981; Jackson, Chatters, and Neighbors 1986; Thomas and Holmes 1992). Marital status was chosen because prior research shows that married individuals have higher well-being than the non-married (Gove, Style, and Hughes 1990;

Jackson, Chatters, and Neighbors 1986; Thomas and Hughes 1986). Perceived discrimination has been shown to adversely influence African Americans' well-being (Brown 2001; Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams 1999; Williams et al. 1997). Finally, a number of occupational characteristics have also been found to relate to well-being (Kohn and Schooler 1983; Link, Lennon, and Dohrenwend 1993).

Perceived discrimination. One item measures perceived discrimination in the National Survey of Black Americans:[12] "At the place where you work now, have you ever been turned down for a job you wanted because you are Black?" One item measures perceived discrimination in the DAS:[13] "For unfair reasons, do you think you have ever not been hired for a job?" Possible responses for both of these items were "yes" (1) or "no" (0).

Structural job characteristics. The cognitive and physical demands as well as the conditions of occupations were measured with a set of variables from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. On-site assessments by analysts at the U.S. Department of Labor provided the basis for the creation of these variables (for a discussion of these measures see Cain and Treiman 1981; Shu et al. 1996). In this regard, the Dictionary of Occupational Titles provides useful data for characterizing U.S. occupations.[14] I merged occupational variables from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles onto the micro-level data of the National Survey of Black Americans and the Detroit Area Study according to the detailed census occupation in which a respondent was employed at the time of the interview.

One item measures *occupation control*: direction, control, and planning. Direction, control, and planning assesses the extent to which a particular occupation requires self-direction and control over others' work activities. According to the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, an occupation involves direction, control, and planning when the "worker is in a position to negotiate, organize, direct, supervise, formulate practices, or make final decisions" (U.S. Department of Labor 1972:297).

Substantive complexity (α = .61, National Survey of Black Americans; α = .69, Detroit Area Study) averages responses to three items that have been used in previous work (Kohn and Schooler 1983). The three items are: (1)

complexity of function in relation to data, (2) complexity of function in relation to people, and (3) complexity of function in relation to things.

Physical demands of work (α = .83, National Survey of Black Americans; α = .84, Detroit Area Study) averages responses to five items that have been used in previous work (Cain and Treiman 1981; Link, Lennon, and Dohrenwend 1993; Shu et al. 1996). The five items measure demands of the occupation for (1) climbing and balancing; (2) eye-hand-foot coordination; (3) outside working condition; (4) lifting, carrying, pulling, and pushing; and (5) stooping, kneeling, crouching, and crawling.

Dual labor market status is used here as a measure of job quality. Following the classification schemes emerging from labor market segmentation research (Boston 1988; Edwards 1988; Piore 1975), I coded respondents' occupations into three major occupational categories: (1) secondary; (2) lower primary; and (3) upper primary. Secondary sector jobs are characterized by low wages, low mobility, contingent employment, few or no benefits (e.g., health, retirement). These jobs are mostly unskilled labor such as clerical, service, or operative. Stable wages, full-time employment, unionization, and greater mobility characterize lower primary sector jobs. These jobs include plumbers, janitors, electricians, and other skilled craftsmen. The upper primary sector is characterized by job security, high returns on education and training, and comprehensive benefit packages (Edwards 1988; Piore 1975). These jobs include corporate executives, doctors, and lawyers.

Analysis of Data

I treat my ordinal-level well-being indexes as interval-level variables; this approach is consistent with prior work on well-being (see Hughes and Demo 1989; Jackson, Thoits, and Taylor 1995; Marks, Lambert, and Choi 2002; Williams et al. 1997). My analysis has three parts. I first examine the distribution of perceived racial segmentation across the two samples. Next, I examine the bivariate relationships between my indicators of perceived racial segmentation and measures of psychological well-being. Finally, I estimate ordinary least squares regression models to assess the

main and joint effects of perceived racial segmentation on psychological well-being. The two-step regression strategy first estimated the main effect of perceived racial segmentation on psychological well-being adjusted for several individual and occupational characteristics. This allows us to investigate whether the negative effects of perceived racial segmentation on well-being are spurious. Next, I tested for interactions between occupational status and perceived racial segmentation to examine whether perceived racial segmentation differentially harms African Americans employed in high status occupations versus those working in low status occupations.

RESULTS

Descriptive and Bivariate Results

Descriptive results regarding the distribution of perceived racial segmentation in both samples indicate that a moderate number of African Americans perceive racial inequality in the workplace (data not shown in tables). In 1980, a few more than 4 in 10 African Americans nationwide reported that blacks got certain types of jobs where they worked (National Survey of Black Americans, 44%). A third of African Americans nationally reported that they had a job that blacks tended to be hired for more than whites (National Survey of Black Americans, 31%). In 1995, less than a third of African Americans in the Detroit metropolitan area reported having a job that blacks got more than whites (Detroit Area Study, 28%).

The question that remains is whether these perceptions have negative consequences for African Americans' well-being. The bivariate results, with one exception, show that perceived racial segmentation adversely affects psychological well-being (data not shown in tables). For instance, global racial segmentation was negatively associated with personal efficacy (National Survey of Black Americans, $r = -.08$, $p \leq .05$). Nationally, African Americans who report working in an organization where blacks tend to receive certain types of jobs tend to also express less control over aspects of their life. Personal racial segmentation is negatively associated with perceived life quality (National Survey of Black Americans, $r = -.07$, $p \leq .05$). African Americans who have

a job that blacks tend to occupy more than whites are less satisfied with various parts of their quality of life (e.g., health, happiness, and attaining life goals) than those with other types of jobs. Personal racial segmentation is also negatively linked to personal efficacy among African Americans nationwide (National Survey of Black Americans, $r = -.08$, $p \leq .01$) as well as among those in the Detroit metropolitan area (Detroit Area Study, $r = -.12$, $p \leq .05$). African Americans nationwide and in Detroit who report that they are currently employed in a job that blacks tend to be hired for express less control over their lives. Finally, personal racial segmentation is positively associated with psychological distress (Detroit Area Study, $r = .13$, $p \leq .05$). In all, these patterns of results provide firm support for hypothesis 1, which posited that perceived racial segmentation would be negatively linked to well-being.[15]

Multivariate Results

My next concern is to investigate hypothesis 1 in a multivariate regression framework that can control for other factors that also are related to psychological well-being. Table 1 reports the unstandardized regression coefficients from the estimated regression equations.[16] Two regression models are presented for each of the well-being measures. The first model shows the association between perceived personal and global racial segmentation, adjusting for social background and occupational characteristics. The second model tests for interactions between perceived racial segmentation and dual labor market status.[17]

According to model 1, southern ($p \leq .10$), older, and married African Americans report that they have higher levels of life quality. In addition, African Americans who report experiencing discrimination have lower levels of life quality ($p \leq .10$). Model 1 shows that global racial segmentation is not associated with perceived life quality. Personal racial segmentation, however, is negatively related with perceived life quality: The perception of being employed in a job that African Americans typically occupy more than whites is linked to lower perceived life quality. In short, controls for social background and occupational characteristics do not appear to reduce the effect of personal racial segmentation on perceived life

TABLE 1. Metric Coefficients from Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Psychological Well-being on Covariates and Perceived Racial Segmentation Measures: 1980 National Survey of Black Americans

Independent Variables	1980 National Survey of Black Americans			
	Perceived Life Quality		Personal Efficacy	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Global Racial Segmentation (Yes = 1)	−.015	.049	−.039*	−.044
	(.040)	(.056)	(.019)	(.028)
Personal Racial Segmentation (Yes = 1)	−.112**	−.129*	−.006	.053*
	(.045)	(.056)	(.022)	(.025)
Region (South = 1)	.071†	.071†	−.037†	−.039*
	(.040)	(.040)	(.020)	(.020)
Gender (Male = 1)	.026	.027	.057**	.059**
	(.045)	(.045)	(.022)	(.022)
Age	.009**	.009**	.003**	.003**
	(.002)	(.002)	(.001)	(.001)
Marital Status (Married = 1)	.192**	.193**	.008	.009
	(.040)	(.040)	(.020)	(.020)
Education	−.006	−.006	.025**	.025**
	(.009)	(.009)	(.005)	(.004)
Income	−.003	−.004	.002	.002
	(.003)	(.003)	(.002)	(.002)
Perceived Discrimination (Yes = 1)	−.139†	−.130†	.010	.013
	(.076)	(.077)	(.038)	(.038)
Occupational Status				
Upper Primary Sector	.003	.065	.088**	.117**
	(.076)	(.087)	(.038)	(.043)
Lower Primary Sector	−.079	−.044	.037	.063†
	(.054)	(.070)	(.027)	(.034)
Secondary Sector (omitted category)	—	—	—	—
Substantive Complexity	.001	.001	.001	.000
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Occupational Control	.001	.001	.000	.000
	(.001)	(.001)	(.000)	(.000)
Physical Conditions of Work	−.001	.000	−.001	.000
	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)	(.001)
Global Segmentation x Lower Primary		.028		−.115*
		(.107)		(.053)
Global Segmentation x Upper Primary		.035		−.153*
		(.136)		(.067)
Personal Segmentation x Lower Primary		−.100		.012
		(.094)		(.047)
Personal Segmentation x Upper Primary		−.178†		−.003
		(.104)		(.051)
Constant	2.48	2.44	1.06	1.05
N	1,011		1,007	
R²	.092	.095	.116	.124
R² Change	—	.003	—	.008*

† $p \leq .10$; *$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$ (two-tailed tests)

Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.

quality. These results are consistent with recent qualitative studies of African Americans (Collins 1997; Cose 1993; Feagin and Sikes 1994).

Turning to personal efficacy, model 1 shows that southern African Americans are less efficacious than African Americans located in other regions of the United States ($p \leq .10$). In general, male, older, more-educated, higher-occupational status African Americans report higher levels of personal efficacy. Though personal racial segmentation was statistically linked to efficacy at the bivariate level, it is not a significant predictor once we control for other factors. However, perceiving lots of organizational racial inequality in the workplace (i.e., global racial segmentation) does reduce African Americans' sense of personal efficacy.

A comparison of the global racial segmentation coefficient in model 1 to a baseline model estimating the gross effect of global racial segmentation reveals that the controls for sociodemographic characteristics, perceived discrimination, and occupational characteristics do little to reduce the association between global racial segmentation and personal efficacy. In all, there appears to be support for hypothesis 1 (i.e., perceived racial segmentation is consequential for well-being) in the national sample of African Americans.

The models labeled 2 in Table 1 test the joint effect of perceived racial segmentation and labor market status on well-being, adjusted for social background and occupational characteristics. The results reported in models 2 for life quality and efficacy answer hypothesis 2 concerning the extent to which perceived racial segmentation interacts with labor market status to influence perceived life quality. That is, the results show whether the influence of perceived racial segmentation varies depending on an individual's labor market status (e.g., secondary, lower primary, or upper primary sectors). There appears to be mixed support for hypothesis 2. For example, the interaction term for personal racial segmentation and upper primary sector is statistically significant ($p \leq .10$) for perceived life quality. This finding indi-

cates that the negative effect of personal racial segmentation on perceived life quality is more consequential for African Americans in the upper primary sector than for those in the secondary and lower primary sector. It is important to note, however, that the addition of the interaction terms in model 2 did not make a statistically significant incremental contribution to explained variance.

The results for personal efficacy, however, are more striking. According to model 2, the interaction term for global racial segmentation and upper and lower primary sector is statistically significant. Further, the addition of the interaction terms produced a small but statistically significant increase in the explained variance. Figure 2 graphically presents these interactions and indicates that the adverse effect of global racial segmentation on personal efficacy is greater for African Americans employed in the upper and lower primary sectors than for those in the secondary sector. Consistent with relative deprivation theory, African Americans employed in primary sector occupations who perceive that their organization provides only certain types of jobs to African Americans are more likely to feel they have little control over their life compared to secondary sector workers. These results are also consistent with several recent studies of the African American

FIGURE 2. Joint Effect of Global Racial Segmentation and Occupational Status on African Americans' Personal Efficacy (1980 National Survey of Black Americans)
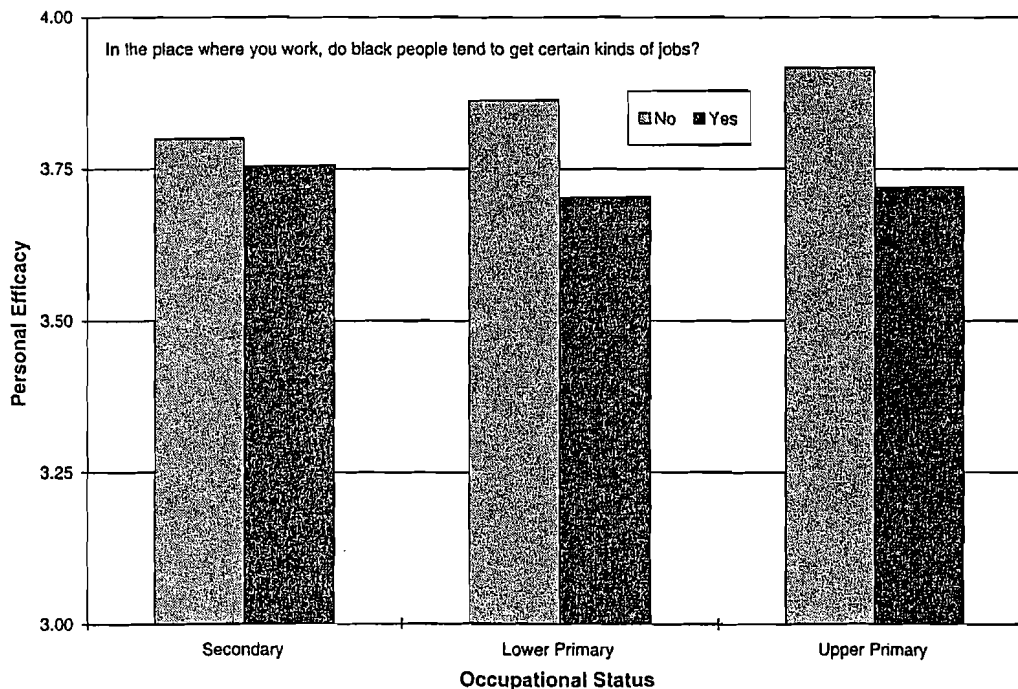
middle class (e.g., Anderson 1999; Collins 1997; Cose 1993; Feagin and Sikes 1994; Hochschild 1995).

Table 2 presents regression models for African Americans residing in the Detroit metropolitan area. The dependent variables in this set of analyses are personal efficacy and psychological distress. In contrast to the findings in the national sample, model 1 shows that younger and higher income African Americans

in the Detroit area have higher levels of personal efficacy and that gender is unrelated to personal efficacy. Experiencing discrimination at work reduces an individual's efficacy. Some of these results should be viewed cautiously since the effects for gender in the national sample as well as those for age and income in Detroit are small. Further, the National Survey of Black Americans asks a slightly different discrimination question than the one asked in

TABLE 2. Metric Coefficients from Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis of Psychological Well-being on Covariates and Perceived Racial Segmentation Measures: 1995 Detroit Area Study

| | 1995 Detroit Area Study | | | |
| | Personal Efficacy | | Psychological Distress | |
Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Global Racial Segmentation (Yes = 1)[a]	—	—	—	—
Personal Racial Segmentation (Yes = 1)	−.065	−.024	.178*	−.081
	(.058)	(.076)	(.084)	(.123)
Region (South = 1)[b]	—	—	—	—
Gender (Male = 1)	.035	.035	−.085	−.094
	(.055)	(.055)	(.090)	(.089)
Age	−.004*	−.004*	−.006	−.005
	(.002)	(.002)	(.003)	(.003)
Marital Status (Married = 1)	−.045	−.052	.043	.081
	(.054)	(.055)	(.089)	(.089)
Education	.023	.022	.001	.012
	(.015)	(.015)	(.024)	(.024)
Income	.096**	.099**	−.066	−.087
	(.034)	(.034)	(.055)	(.055)
Perceived Discrimination (Yes = 1)	−.146**	−.149**	.254**	.273**
	(.052)	(.053)	(.086)	(.085)
Occupational Status				
Upper Primary Sector	−.105	−.076	−.159	−.322†
	(.105)	(.110)	(.172)	(.178)
Lower Primary Sector	.054	.079	−.079	−.260*
	(.065)	(.074)	(.106)	(.120)
Secondary Sector (omitted category)	—	—	—	—
Substantive Complexity	−.001	.000	−.002	.000
	(.001)	(.001)	(.002)	(.002)
Occupational Control	.002	.002	.000	.000
	(.000)	(.001)	(.002)	(.002)
Physical Conditions of Work	−.002	−.002	.003	.003
	(.001)	(.001)	(.002)	(.002)
Global Segmentation x Lower Primary[a]		—		—
Global Segmentation x Upper Primary[a]		—		—
Personal Segmentation x Lower Primary		−.081		.622**
		(.128)		(.208)
Personal Segmentation x Upper Primary		−.123		.543*
		(.169)		(.273)
Constant	2.47	2.45	2.73	2.82
N	345		345	
R²	.115	.117	.087	.115
R² Change	—	.002	—	.028**

† p ≤ .10; *p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01 (two-tailed tests)
Note: Standard errors are in parentheses.
[a] A measure of global racial segmentation was not included in the 1995 Detroit Area Study.
[b] Region is not included in these models because the data were collected solely in the Detroit Metropolitan Area.

the Detroit Area Study. Regression models reported in Table 2 only include a measure of personal racial segmentation because the Detroit Area Study did not ask about global racial segmentation. Consistent with national results, personal racial segmentation appears to be unrelated to personal efficacy once we control for individual and occupational characteristics. The Detroit Area Study included a measure of psychological distress that was not available in the national study. According to model 1, African Americans who report experiencing employment discrimination have increased levels of psychological distress. It is also the case that African Americans who perceive that they have a job that blacks tend to occupy more than whites where they work report higher distress levels than those who do not. In addition, controlling for social background and occupational characteristics does not reduce the effect of personal racial segmentation on psychological distress among African Americans in the Detroit metropolitan area. This result provides further support for hypothesis 1.

The models labeled 2 in Table 2 test the interaction between perceived racial segmentation and labor market status on African Americans' well-being. Model 2 reveals that the interaction terms are not statistically significant for personal efficacy. These results do not support hypothesis 2; however, they are not surprising, since it was the interaction between global racial segmentation and labor market status that was statistically significant in the national sample. In contrast, the joint effect of personal racial segmentation and labor market status is statistically linked to psychological distress. Consideration of the interaction terms in model 2 made an incremental 3 percent contribution to explained variance. Figure 3 illustrates graphically the nature of this joint effect. These results support hypothesis 2, showing that the negative effect of personal racial segmentation on distress is stronger for African Americans in Detroit who are employed in the upper and lower primary sectors. Specifically, African Americans employed in primary sector occupations who perceive that their job is one that African Americans typically tend to occupy have higher levels of psychological distress than those employed in the secondary sector.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Racial segmentation in the workplace remains a conspicuous feature of our society. This aspect of discrimination has been largely ignored in prior research on discrimination and health. Therefore, the overall purpose of this study was to explore the implications of this

FIGURE 3. Joint Effect of Personal Racial Segmentation and Occupational Status on African Americans' Psychological Distress (1995 Detroit Area Study)
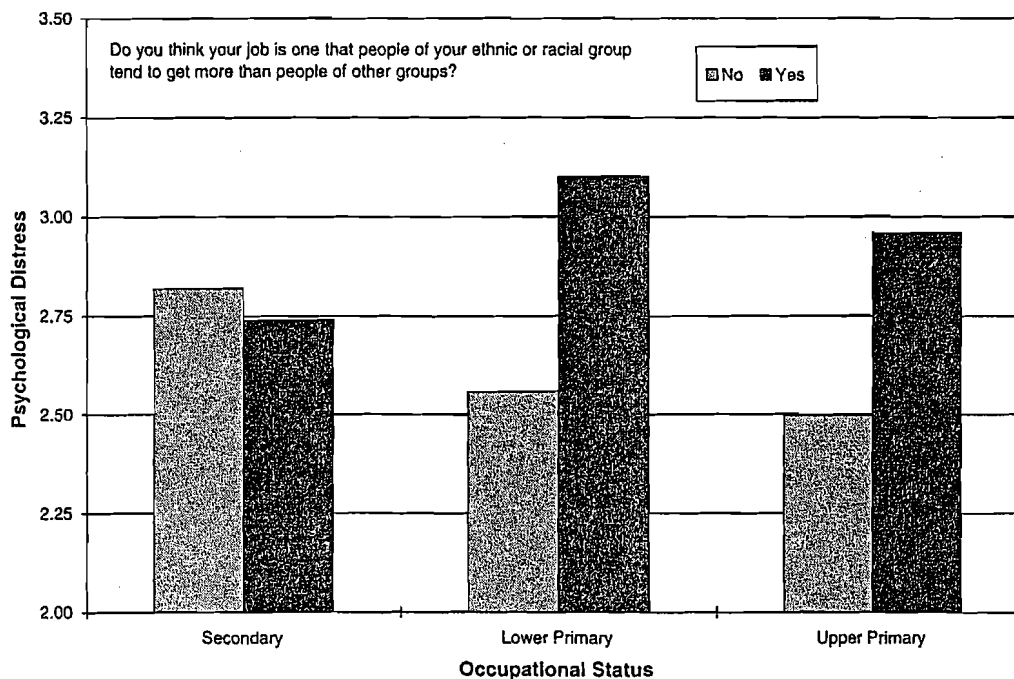
form of workplace inequality for African Americans' well-being. In pursuit of this agenda, this article systematically investigated two hypotheses: that perceived racial segmentation is negatively associated with African Americans' psychological well-being, and that occupational status conditions any negative effects of perceived racial segmentation on psychological well-being. Using data from both a nationally representative sample of African Americans and a local probability sample of African Americans, this study found that perceived racial segmentation is negatively related to African Americans' psychological well-being and that it matters more for higher status blacks.

More specifically, African Americans who perceive their current job to be a "black job" have lower levels of life satisfaction and higher levels of psychological distress than their counterparts who do not perceive their jobs in this light. In addition, African Americans who perceive racial segmentation in the workplace feel they have less control over their lives than those who self-report no racial segmentation in the workplace. The interaction effects observed in this study indicate that the social psychological consequences of blocked opportunity are negative for all African Americans; however, they are particularly powerful for the African American middle class. Taken together, these results support and extend Feagin and Sikes' (1994) assertion that "the psychological costs of racial discrimination are cumulative, painful, and stifling" (p. 184).

These findings, however, do not demonstrate that perceived racial segmentation explains most of the variation in African Americans' well-being, nor am I suggesting that this is the case. Rather, the results indicate that perceived racial segmentation has a nontrivial and measurable effect on African Americans' well-being, other things being equal. Perhaps the strongest finding is that the estimated net effects of the two dimensions of perceived racial segmentation are consistently deleterious, even with adjustments for a variety of sociodemographic factors, perceived discrimination, and occupational characteristics known to be related to well-being. These patterns of results provide additional empirical evidence of the link between perceived discrimination and African American well-being.

In attaching meaning to these findings, it is important to acknowledge data limitations.

There are at least two possible criticisms of my treatment of the data in the current study. One potential criticism of the approach employed here is the use of cross-sectional data. Although a cross-sectional study cannot disentangle cause and effect relationships, the present analysis included personal and global racial segmentation as predictors of psychological well-being. There is good reason to assume that this is an appropriate statistical specification. Combined evidence from longitudinal studies and experimental laboratory studies supports the view that causation in the link between discrimination and well-being goes from discrimination to well-being (Anderson 1989; Anderson et al. 1989; Becker and Krzystofiak 1982; Brown et al. 2000; Dion and Earn 1975; Jackson et al. 1996; Jones et al. 1996; Pak, Dion, and Dion 1991; Pavalko, Mossakowski, and Hamilton 2003). Thus, the causal ordering employed in this study seems both plausible and accurate.

A second issue in this study is my use of "subjective" measures on both sides of the regression equation. The conceptual model presented earlier in this article guided my focus on subjective measures. This conceptual framework emphasizes the proximal mechanisms that link the racialized social system to African Americans' well-being. Specifically, the model focuses on the appraisal of group and personal stressors (i.e., perceived individual and perceived institutional discrimination) as pivotal mediators in the links among the racialized social system, objective social stressors, and African Americans' well-being. In essence, the focus here on perceived racial segmentation is an attempt to specify one potential proximal mechanism through which objective labor market barriers (e.g., actual racial segmentation) influence African American psychological well-being. It is also important to note that the use of "subjective" measures as exogenous variables in statistical models has a long tradition in other areas of sociological inquiry, such as stress process research (see Cohen, Kessler, and Gordon 1995; Mirowsky and Ross 1990; Turner and Lloyd 1999; Turner, Wheaton, and Lloyd 1995).

Notwithstanding these limitations, this study contributes to the literature on work and personality and discrimination and mental health in significant ways. First, building on earlier work that emphasizes the importance of social structure and personality (House 1981;

Kohn 1989), the present study provides additional insight into the relationship between structural (i.e., racial segmentation) and personality (i.e., psychological well-being and distress) variables. The findings support the view that perceptions of racial inequality play an important and independent role in influencing African Americans' psychosocial functioning.

Second, the present study examines a dimension of stratification—race—that has until now either been used as a background control variable or overlooked entirely in prior research on work and personality (Hunt et al. 2000; Kohn and Schooler 1983; Kohn and Slomczynski 1990; Mortimer and Lorence 1995). Finally, this study utilizes a broader assessment of discrimination than has been typically employed in studies of discrimination and mental health (Brown et al. 2000; Brown 2001; Kessler, Mickelson, and Williams 1999; Jackson et al. 1996; Pavalko, Mossakowski, and Hamilton 2003; Ren, Amick, and Williams 1999; Williams et al. 1997; Williams 1999, 2000). Whereas prior work focused on individual-level discrimination, the present study focuses on measuring both individual and institutional discrimination, namely racial segmentation in employment.

Future research seeking to better understand the relationship between discrimination and well-being must give greater attention to the proper conceptualization and measurement of discrimination. For example, the results of this study illustrate that the concept of institutional discrimination that is central within a variety of theories of racial inequality (see Barrera 1979; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Bonilla-Silva and Lewis 1999; Feagin and Eckberg 1980; Pincus 1996; Tomaskovic-Devey 1993) can be operationalized within the context of the social survey. For instance, the measurement of perceived global racial segmentation used in this study treated respondents as group representatives with special insider knowledge about the organizational practices of their workplace. Respondents were asked to respond to questions concerning both their own individual work experience and the work experiences of those around them. Thus, what was recorded was not only their perceptions of personal injustices but also their sense of group inequities in the workplace. In this way, they were relied upon as informants, similar to the way anthropologists and ethnographers identify informants when they enter a new setting, to inform us about the organizational structure and climate in a particular setting (e.g., workplace, neighborhood, school), as well as about a particular racial group's location within it. I believe that the results presented here are useful for outlining one way to operationalize institutional discrimination. Regardless of the approach taken, it is essential that we begin to push the survey method in new directions in order to shed light on the social processes and conditions that constitute the lived experience of those interviewed.

Future research should also explore some of the health-enhancing cultural and psychosocial resources that African Americans may mobilize in order to cope with the negative social-psychological consequences of institutional discrimination. For instance, a variety of cultural resources, such as religion, familial support, and participation in civic organizations, may play an important role in buffering African Americans from the adverse effects of discrimination. One specific question that might be considered is whether participation and leadership in civic organizations serve as buffers from the deleterious effects of perceived racial segmentation on well-being. Future research should also explore the ways in which sociodemographic factors (e.g., gender) may themselves be resources or risk factors. For example, does being male exacerbate the relationship between perceived racial segmentation and psychological well being? Despite the need for further research, the results of this study unambiguously indicate that perceived institutional inequity in the workplace impairs African Americans' psychological functioning.

NOTES

1. In this article, I use the terms African American and black interchangeably.
2. Feagin and Eckberg (1980) define discrimination as "the practices and actions of dominant race-ethnic groups that have a differential and negative impact on subordinate race-ethnic groups" (p. 9). Pincus (1996) goes further to distinguish between two dimensions of discrimination: individual and institutional. According to Pincus (1996), individual discrimination refers to "the behavior of individual members of one

race/ethnic group that is intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on the members of another race/ethnic group" (p. 186). In contrast, institutional discrimination refers to "policies of majority institutions . . . [that] have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority groups" (Pincus 1996:186). A key aspect to this definition of institutional discrimination is the idea that it need not be intentional (see also Bonilla-Silva 1997; Hill 1988); as Feagin and Eckberg (1980) suggest, "unintentional discrimination may nevertheless have harmful effects" (p. 10).

3. One other challenge to understanding the effect of discrimination on well-being is that it is difficult to measure "actual" discrimination in surveys. Surveys typically can only gather self-reports of discrimination, which are always questioned with regard to their veracity and objectivity. There are, however, compelling theoretical reasons for taking such "perceived" discrimination seriously. First, a symbolic interaction framework underscores the importance of studying the individual's point of view and the meaning that they may attach to situations in which collective action is constructed (e.g., discrimination) (see Lal 1995). In essence, symbolic interactionists argue that, "[if individuals] define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas and Thomas 1928:572). Thus, "perceived" discrimination in this vein is as "real" as "actual" discrimination. Second, distributive justice theory tells us that individuals express dissatisfaction when they perceive that the benefits that accrue to them fall short of what they feel they deserve. In short, there are clear negative psychological effects to such perceived inequities, including increased distress and feelings of powerlessness (Alwin 1987; Cohen and Greenberg 1982; Jasso 1983; Markovsky and Younts 2001). Finally, a focus on "perceptions" of discrimination here is also consistent with existing stress process research, which typically focuses on a stressful experience that individuals confront and the individual's perceptions of that stressful experience as threatening or burdensome (Pearlin 1989). Therefore, there is an established tradition of exploring the negative social psychological consequences of per-

ceived injustices for individuals' well-being.

4. For an extended discussion of this matter, see Clark (1980), Brown and Erie (1981), Jones (1986), and, more recently, Anderson (1999).

5. To be sure, it would be ideal to have both "perceived" and "actual" measures of racial segmentation in this study, but data collection limitations prohibited such an approach. One study has been able to successfully measure both types of discrimination, and it shows that both forms are consequential for health status (Gee 2002).

6. Because the analysis is limited to those employed, there is the possibility of selection bias. In order to investigate this possibility, I estimated statistical models that test for potential selection bias using the method developed by James Heckman (1979). These models indicate little, if any, sample selection bias because of restricting the sample to the employed.

7. I weight descriptive statistics by sampling weights provided in the 1995 Detroit Area Study. However, following the guidance of Winship and Radbill (1994), I do not use weights in my multivariate regression analysis.

8. These indexes have been used in previous studies of psychological well-being and have strong internal consistency (Becker and Krzystofiak 1982; Gurin and Epps 1975; Gurin and Gurin 1976; Gurin, Gurin, and Morrison 1978; Marks, Lambert, and Choi 2002; McLanahan and Sorensen 1984; Williams et al. 1997).

9. Although the coefficient alpha indicates only moderate reliability, at best, it is important to note that the coefficient alpha is dependent, in part, on the number of items in the scale. Only one of the items in the scale had an item/total correlation below .30, and it was only just below this threshold ($r = .29$). Thus, I deemed the scale reliability acceptable for the present study.

10. Nevertheless, although perceived racial segmentation is not a 100 percent accurate reflection of social reality, it would be just as misleading to conclude the opposite— that is, that perceived racial segmentation is merely an illusion constructed to justify an individual's psychological state. In short, perceived racial segmentation, as

noted in my conceptual model, does not spring from a vacuum but typically can be traced back to objective racial segmentation and the larger macro racial structure (see also Bonilla-Silva 1997).

11. Some previous work indicates that the effect of age is non-linear (Mirowsky and Ross 1992). I tested for the non-linear effect of age in these data and found no such pattern.

12. There are other measures of discrimination in the National Survey of Black Americans but they have limitations for my purpose. Many of the items either ask about discrimination against the respondent and his or her family or black people in general. The measure chosen for this study has the benefit of asking solely about their experience with discrimination.

13. There are several items in the Detroit Area Study measuring perceived discrimination; however, this item was chosen because it was the most similar to the question asked in the National Survey of Black Americans. In preliminary analyses (not shown), I combined this item with one other measure from the Detroit Area Study: "Do you think you have ever been unfairly fired or denied a promotion?" Unfortunately, combining these two items does not create a reliable scale ($r = .28$). Furthermore, in order to maintain consistency across the two samples, I decided to use the single-item.

14. One potential drawback to these measures is that they do not capture variability within occupations (see Jencks, Perman, and Rainwater 1988). That is, these measures focus on between-occupation variations. As a result, these measures' associations with the outcome variables are likely underestimated.

15. It is important to note, however, that, in terms of magnitude, each of these associations is modest.

16. To test for excessive multicollinearity, variance inflation factors were calculated. The variance inflation factors associated with the estimated equations were all below three. Thus, the regression analyses do not appear to suffer from excessive multicollinearity.

17. Given the theoretically specified and directional hypotheses outlined earlier, I have chosen to report results that are statistical-

ly significant at .10, .05, and .01 using two-tailed statistical tests.

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