ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT AND THE WELL-BEING OF BLACK WORKERS: DOES RACIAL COMPOSITION AFFECT PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS?

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ABSTRACT

Organizational approaches to racial inequality have provided contextual insight into a host of traditional stratification outcomes (e.g., hiring, earnings, authority). This chapter extends the organizational approach by drawing on the health-stress framework to explore how organizational context affects experiential and health-related outcomes − discrimination, social support, and psychological distress. Drawing on a sample of Black workers in the United States, we examine the relationship between workplace racial composition and psychological distress, as well as two potential mediators − racial discrimination and workplace social support. Our findings reveal that psychological distress is similar for Black workers in token (<25% Black coworkers), tilted other race (25−49.99% Black coworkers), and tilted same race (50−74.99% Black coworkers) job contexts. Workers in Black-dominated jobs (>75% Black coworkers), however, experience significantly less psychological distress than other compositional thresholds, net of individual, job, and workplace characteristics. This relationship is not explained by either racial discrimination experiences or supervisor and coworker social

support. This finding suggests that researchers need to theorize and examine other protective factors stemming from coworker racial similarity.

Keywords: Racial discrimination; health; workplace segregation; social support; African Americans; psychological distress; workplace inequality

More than 30 years ago, Baron and Bielby (1980) convincingly argued that researchers should "bring organizations back in" to stratification research. Their research spurred a literature examining the role of organizations in generating various indicators of stratification, such as workplace segregation (Huffman, Cohen, & Pearlman, 2010; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2012), wages (Castilla, 2008, 2011; Kmec, 2003; Semyonov & Herring, 2007), and access to authority positions (Elliott & Smith, 2001; Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006; Skaggs, 2009). Vallas (2003) criticized much of this quantitative research on workplace racial inequalities for its overemphasis on allocative questions about the distribution of material resources and encouraged researchers to examine race and workplace social relationships. Although his chapter was aimed at encouraging new qualitative research on workplace race and ethnic relations, we believe that quantitative work on race and workplace relations can also benefit from greater exploration of social relations at work.

Relational inequality perspectives theorize the importance of categories and social relations in creating and maintaining organizational inequality (e.g., Ridgeway 1997; Tilly 1998; Tomaskovic-Devey 2014), but the quantitative work invoking this language only observes categories and their linkage to material outcomes, rather than observe anything about workplace social relations. One weakness of this approach is that it often assumes that resources are zero-sum; for some workers to get more, other groups must get less (see Tomaskovic-Devey 2014 on resource pooling and claims-making). Relational inequality research such as this has been useful in thinking about inequality, but it also needs to consider non-zero-sum outcomes, such as workplace relations, experiences, and health. Mental well-being, for example, is not a zero-sum game. Some workers do not have to experience worse mental health for others to have better mental health, but social relations at work shape it. In an effort to draw more attention to racial workplace relations, we highlight the organizational foundations of psychological well-being − another core stratification outcome that has received little attention in the organizations and inequality literature.

We argue that in addition to allocating inequality in wages and other job-related material rewards, work organizations, and the decision makers who populate them, play a fundamental role in the allocation of psychological well-being because they structure the racial composition of jobs, which in turn shapes social relationships and the relative power afforded to various racial groups, as well as the interactions and relational dynamics between them. In particular, we explore (1) the relationship between workplace racial composition and Black worker's psychological distress and (2) the indirect effects of racial composition on psychological well-being operating through experiences of racial

discrimination and perceived relationships of coworker and supervisor social support − two potential mediating factors with implications for psychological distress.

Although an organizational model of psychological well-being has not been conceptualized explicitly, previous studies in both the work and health literatures have examined the effects of workplace characteristics, relations, and experiences on psychological well-being (e.g., Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995; Maume, Rubin, & Brody, 2014; Rubin & Brody, 2011). Fig. 1 demonstrates three tracts of research linking specific aspects of organizations and their explanatory models.

In the first tract (Panel A), three studies have explicitly linked work group racial composition to Black workers' health and well-being (Enchautegui-de-Jesús, Hughes, Johnston, & Oh, 2006; Hoppe, Fujishiro, & Heaney, 2014; Jackson et al., 1995). These studies find, in general, that increasing racial homogeneity tends to promote health and well-being and suggest that this stems from the erosion of majority group power, which presumably reduces stereotyping, in-group preference, and social isolation. Other research examining racial composition and job-related attitudes and behaviors produces mixed results. For example, Hodson's (2002a) study suggests that work group racial composition has no effect on job satisfaction, meaningful work, or workplace conflict once
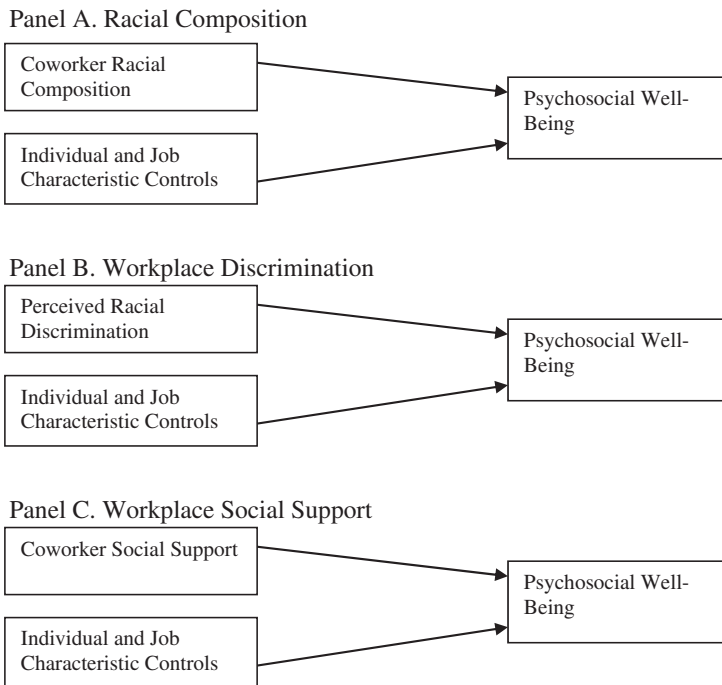
Panel A. Racial Composition

Panel B. Workplace Discrimination

Panel C. Workplace Social Support

Fig. 1. Models of Workplace Context and Psychological Well-Being.

controls for management leadership, autonomy, and other organizational factors are controlled.

In the second tract (Panel B), numerous health studies have recognized the effects of racial discrimination on well-being (Brown et al., 1999; Forman, 2003; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999; Roberts, Swanson, & Murphy, 2004). For example, Forman's (2003) study reveals a negative association between perceived racial discrimination and the health and well-being among Black workers. Other research suggests that experiences of workplace racial discrimination also reduce worker commitment and increase their likelihood of searching for a new job (Stainback & Irvin, 2012).

In the final tract (Panel C), another group of studies demonstrate the beneficial effects of workplace social relations for well-being. The health literature has focused on the role of social support as a key resource for workers, enhancing psychological well-being (Greenglass, Fiksenbaum, & Burke, 1996; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Loscocco & Spitze, 1990; Plaisier et al., 2007). Research in the sociology of work has emphasized a similar idea focusing on the importance of management citizenship behavior (MCB) in shaping workers' attitudes, behaviors, and well-being (Brody, Rubin, & Maume, 2014; Hodson, 1999, 2002a, 2002b; Maume et al., 2014; Rubin & Brody, 2011). This literature stresses the importance of manager−worker relations, and addresses some of the missing social relations in the relational inequality literature, but tends to over-emphasize the importance of good and supportive managers while less attention is given to other aspects of social relational contexts that may also be important (e.g., coworker racial composition, workplace discrimination).

Taken together, these three tracts of research, found in the work and health disparities literature, provide the building blocks for a conceptual framework focusing on the organizational elements affecting psychological well-being. This chapter aims to fill a gap in the literature by building a bridge across work and health literatures using these theoretical frameworks.

We develop an organizational framework for connecting these seemingly disparate studies, drawing from the organizational demography (Pfeffer, 1983), Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism, and Blalock's (1967) competition frameworks. Our core goal in what follows is to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the effects of workplace racial composition, perceived racial discrimination, and social support on psychological distress. In effect, we wish to encourage work and health research to explore relational aspects of workplace inequality by examining the status composition of jobs and the social relations and workplace experiences that emerge from these contexts. How do these contexts shape both positive and negative experiences at work and what are the implications for the study of psychological well-being? In particular, we focus on perceived racial discrimination and perceived social support as important mediators of the effect of racial composition on psychological distress. Following previous research, we focus on variation within a specific racial category − Black workers (e.g., Broman, 1996; Brown et al., 1999; Forman, 2003; Jackson et al., 1995; Mays, Coleman, & Jackson, 1996; also see discussion in Jackson & Cummings, 2011) − to capture asymmetric effects.

In order to introduce this conceptual framework, we first review the literatures and relevant findings concerning organizational demography and well-being. We then present our conceptual model and hypotheses concerning the statistical models that follow. Next we estimate our statistical models and present findings and results. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the effects of perceived racial discrimination and social support experienced in the workplace, and the influence these factors have on Black worker's well-being.

RELATIONAL DEMOGRAPHY, TOKENISM, AND COMPOSITION

A central idea found within the organizational demography perspective is that the status composition of jobs holds important psychological consequences for workers (Pfeffer, 1983). Status distinctions, such as race and ethnicity, are important demographic features of jobs because these categorizations hold significant implications for social interaction. Self-categorization and social identity theories suggest that we categorize ourselves, and others, on the basis of status distinctions, especially visible ones such as race/ethnicity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Racial categorizations are a prominent component of our self-identity and shape how we evaluate others. For example, individuals may evaluate similar others more highly than out-groups.

Rosabeth Moss Kanter's (1977) theory of tokenism in the workplace is consistent with the organizational demography perspective and provides more specific insight into how workplace racial composition may affect health and well-being (see Jackson et al., 1995, for a similar discussion). She classifies jobs as uniform, skewed, tilted, or balanced depending on their demographic composition. With regard to race, uniform jobs contain only one racial group. Because there are no racial differences among job incumbents, it is unlikely that these jobs provide the context for racialized conflict and stressful social experiences.

Skewed jobs are those in which workers represent a super majority or a super minority, and Rosabeth Moss Kanter suggested a composition of 85% majority and 15% minority. Those in the minority group she coined "tokens" and those in the majority group "dominants." When numerical representation is this extreme, the salience of racial differences is likely to be exaggerated. Kanter also suggested that dominants are likely to use their relative power to establish the norms of social interaction, behavior, and culture, and these social dynamics are likely to further exacerbate racial categorization and inequality.

Kanter suggests three ways in which being a token may influence individual-level health and well-being. First, visible minority status leads to performance pressures because tokens are subjected to heightened visibility and scrutiny by the majority. Second, the process of polarization often leads dominant groups to exaggerate group differences, often leading to the social isolation of tokens. The final aspect of being in the numerical minority, assimilation, refers to the stereotyping of the token. This leads to the performance pressures because token minority workers may be expected to represent their entire race (Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006; Jackson et al., 1995). Jackson and Stewart (2003, p. 446)

argue that tokenism negatively affects health and well-being due to (1) the token stress that arises from "personal self-doubts and low expectations held by others" and (2) the sense of rejection brought about by the way tokens view others as perceiving them, a social process that W. E. B. Du Bois (1903) described famously as "double consciousness" − the idea that Black people perceive themselves with multifaceted identities, one featuring a distinctly Black perspective and one of how they perceive outsiders view them.

The work of Adia Harvey Wingfield (2010, 2013) has shown asymmetric effects of tokenization, in which white spaces place different demands on Black worker's emotional displays compared to their white counterparts. She notes, "Often, [Black male workers] suppressed "negative" emotions, like annoyance, pain, or irritation [...] despite having the latitude to show anger in some situations, [they] also do the emotion work of concealing emotions in response to certain issues, particularly those that relate to racial matters" (Wingfield, 2013, p. 151). These demands on emotional labor to appease and satisfy white coworkers are likely to produce more psychological distress for Black workers, especially those in token jobs.[1]

Tilted groups continue to have a numerical majority and minority (65% and 35%); however, the majority has less relative power than those in skewed jobs and therefore has less ability to control the group and culture in the same way. It is also assumed that there is a critical mass of minority workers who can form meaningful social relationships and potentially challenge the numeric majority. Finally, balanced groups are those with composition ratios of about 60% and 40%. Kanter argues that power in balanced groups is diffuse and we can therefore expect less overt antagonism.

In contrast to Kanter's view of less discrimination in balanced groups, Blalock (1967) suggests that as the numerical size of a minority group begins to approach the size of the majority group, the majority group will feel that their resources and advantages are threatened and engage in more discriminatory action toward the minority group. Although Blalock's work was focused on community dynamics, his perspective suggests that more integrated workplace environments may be the sites of less social support, greater experiences of racial discrimination, and higher psychological distress, most notably when the numerical minority's proportional representation begins to encroach upon the majority's compositional majority (25−49.99% Black coworkers). Hence, psychological distress may be higher in more integrated work groups.

Racial composition may also influence the likelihood of experiencing racial discrimination by inducing a sense of competition and threat between racial groups, especially once a particular compositional threshold is reached. Stainback and Irvin (2012), for example, found that perceived workplace discrimination is highest among Black and Latinx workers when less than half of their coworkers are of the same race/ethnicity. They found no statistical difference between workers in token and tilted other race/ethnicity jobs. Following previous research (Roscigno, 2007; Vallas, 2003), they suggest that levels of inequality may not be different across compositional thresholds, but that the nature, or form, of discriminatory treatment may be qualitatively different − that both tokenization and

competition-threat processes are likely to be occurring. These perspectives are generally offered as potential, and sometimes contradictory, explanations, but they are not mutually exclusive and cannot be observed with the quantitative data we utilize in this chapter. We suspect both processes are operating in our data.

We know of only three studies that examine the effects of work group racial composition on health and well-being and all fall outside of the work, organizations, and inequality literature. In an earlier study, Jackson et al. (1995) examine a small sample of Black elites. Using a continuous percent Black coworker measure, they find that both depression and anxiety were reduced as the percentage of Black coworkers increased. Enchautegui-de-Jesús et al. (2006) analyze a sample of Black and Latinx workers in New York City and Chicago and find that psychological well-being is lowest among workers in token jobs and improves with the proportion of same-race coworkers, but begins to decline slightly at the highest levels of proportional representation (inverse J-shaped). Finally, Hoppe et al. (2014) examine the effect of workplace racial similarity on lumbar back health among warehouse workers. They find a positive relationship between racial/ethnic similarity and back health among Black workers. They link these physical health issues − back health − to physiological responses to workplace stress.

It is important to note that none of these studies use Kanter's exact composition thresholds. Kanter provides researchers with a theory to approximate meaningful composition thresholds, not a fixed numerical definition of tokenism. The Jackson et al. (1995) paper uses percent Black coworkers and the Enchautegui-de-Jesús et al. (2006, 216) manuscript uses a measure that asks "how many coworkers were of the same ethnicity as the respondent, on a scale of 1 = none to 6 = all." Hoppe et al. (2014) use a proportional measure of same race/ethnic coworkers in the respondent's workplace. We, in this chapter, use the following racial composition categories and labels: token (<25% Black coworkers), tilted other race (25−49.99% Black coworkers), tilted same race (50−74.99% Black coworkers), and dominants (>75% Black coworkers). Our categories are similar to those used in other studies of work group composition (e.g., see Hodson, 2002a, 2002b; Stainback & Irvin, 2012; Stainback, Ratliff, & Roscigno, 2011) and provide us with the ability to discern potential nonlinear compositional effects. Moreover, Roscigno's (2007) analysis of Ohio Civil Rights Commission data indicate that, among Black workers, discrimination was particularly pronounced in workplaces where Blacks made up less than 20% of employees, suggesting that the less than 25% same race work group is a reasonable compositional threshold to indicate a numeric minority, especially since we observe racial composition at the job-level rather than the entire workplace, even if we cannot directly observe token and competition explanations.[2] We expect both processes are operating in our <25% work group category.

The previous literature addressing status processes and numeric representation in the workplace leads us to expect that Blacks working for Black supervisors and in Black majority work groups should have stronger in-group cohesion and reduced token stress, which should translate into less psychological distress. Conversely, working with racially dissimilar others, especially within a token job, may negatively affect health and well-being as a result of greater

token stress, sense of rejection, having a racial identity that is incongruent with the group, the reduced likelihood of forming meaningful social bonds, and the site of heightened emotion management. It is these token contexts that are also associated with greater exposure to workplace racial discrimination (Elliott & Smith, 2001; Hirsh & Kornrich, 2008; Stainback & Irvin, 2012) and may also be the context of reduced supervisor and coworker social support, which we discuss later. In general, the previous theory and research suggest the following hypothesis:

> *H1.* Increasing racial similarity with one's supervisor and coworkers will reduce psychological distress among Black workers.

POTENTIAL MEDIATING FACTORS

Perceived Racial Discrimination

The harmful effects of perceived racial discrimination on Black Americans' health and well-being are documented extensively in the sociological, psychological, and public health literatures (Brown et al., 1999; Forman, 2003; Kessler et al., 1999; Roberts et al., 2004). While these effects are widely accepted within the scientific community, very little is known about the specific social contexts influencing the racial discrimination and health relationship (see Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007, for review). We seek to draw attention to the workplace as a significant social and organizational context affecting health and well-being. Our intention is to encourage a stronger bridge between the health and sociology of work literatures and to extend quantitative analysis of organizations and work to explore more specific aspects of social relational context.

Discrimination can be defined as the actions, whether intended or not, that provide differential treatment to different groups and tend to deny some groups access to socially valued resources. The most common place for the experience of individual level discrimination is at work (Kessler et al., 1999). For example, one-third of African Americans reported unfair treatment in hiring, promotion, and/or firing (Kessler et al., 1999). There is also evidence that individual reports of perceived discrimination are likely to underestimate actual discriminatory experiences (Goldman et al., 2006).

Health scholars have long noted the pernicious effects of stressful events and experiences on health and well-being. Increasingly scholars have turned their attention to perceived discrimination as a meaningful social stressor adversely affecting health and the well-being of Blacks (Forman, 2003; Jackson et al. 2003; Mays et al., 2007). The stress process model of health suggests that psychological well-being is affected by "the social statuses of individuals, the contexts that envelop their daily lives, their exposure to stressors, the resources upon which they are able to call in responding to the stressors, and the way stress is manifested in their psychological and bodily functioning" (Pearlin, 1999, p. 396). This leads to our second general hypothesis:

> *H2.* Experiencing workplace racial discrimination is associated with greater psychological distress.

Moreover, because exposure to racial discrimination varies across workplaces and jobs with different racial composition (e.g., Stainback & Irvin, 2012), we expect that discrimination may mediate some of the effects of work group racial composition on psychological distress.

Workplace Social Relations: Management Citizen Behavior and Social Support

Previous research in the health literature has documented the link between social support and health and well-being (Cohen, 2004; Kawachi & Berkman, 2001; Thoits, 1995, 2011; Turner & Marino, 1994; Turner & Turner, 1999; Uchino, 2004; Uchino, Cacioppo, & Kiecolt-Glaser, 1996). Social support refers to a person's social ties to others and the extent to which they are integrated into the larger group (Thoits, 1995; Turner, 1999) and is generally thought of as a positive resource (Thoits, 1995; Uchino, 2006). Of interest to this study is the social support experienced in workplaces by close, interpersonal work relationships − that of supervisors and coworkers. The previous literature has shown that having a manager and/or coworker as someone to consult and trust about important workplace and personal issues increases well-being (Dressler, 1985; Loscocco & Spitze, 1990; Plaisier et al., 2007; Tausig, 1999).

Hodson's work (1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b) on management citizenship behavior (MCB) also stresses the importance of social relations between managers and workers and better contextualizes the relational aspects of workplace relations. MCB is "behavior that conforms to prevailing norms for organizational leadership and for respecting workers' rights" (Hodson, 2002b, p. 65). Hodson focused on two types of MCB − operational competence (manager behavior dealing with technical aspects of work) and relational competence (manager behaviors showing respect for workers). Through this research, Hodson demonstrates the importance of MCB on a host of worker attitudes and behaviors as well as on reduced manager−worker conflict. Other research using various measures of supervisor support tends to find positive effects on worker attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Broschak, et al. 2008; Kmec and Gorman 2010).

Rubin and Brody (2011) provide a more focused examination and extension of MCB using representative survey data. They argue that "strengthening the norms of reciprocity and trust between managers and managed, as well as enhancing the legitimacy of management through increased MCB, potentially creates a positive-sum game that serves both parties and the organizations in which they are situated" (Rubin & Brody, 2011, p. 466). Rubin and Brody's research demonstrates that relational competence also includes aspects of manager's ability to help their subordinates' work−family life balance.[3] Subsequent research conducted by Maume et al. (2014) examines the effect of this form of MCB − relational competence and support for family−work balance − on organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and mental health. They find moderate effects for commitment and satisfaction, but smaller and marginally

significant effects for mental health among nonwhite workers.[4] They optimistically conclude that "managerial citizenship behaviors have the potential to transcend racial difference in the workplace" (Maume et al., 2014, p. 325).

From the stress process health perspective, and consistent with the MCB literature, supportive workplace relationships, as a key resource, are presumed to offset stressful circumstances and therefore positively affect psychological well-being. Of the three studies to examine racial composition and well-being, only Hoppe et al. (2014) incorporated a measure of social support. They find that greater coworker social support is associated with better lumbar back health. Based on MCB and social support research,[5] we derive the following hypothesis:

> *H3.* Greater supervisor and coworker social support will reduce psychological distress.

We also expect that the *level* of social support is likely to vary across jobs of varying racial composition − greater similarity is expected to be associated with greater perceived social support. Hence, supervisor and coworker social support may mediate the relationship between racial composition and psychological distress.

MCB, Social Support, and Perceived Racial Discrimination

Although this chapter is focused on estimating the relationship between workplace racial composition and psychological distress, as well as racial discrimination and workplace social support as mediating factors, we would be remiss if we did not mention the potential relationship between social support and discrimination. Barrera (1986) outlines a variety of models in which perceived social support relates to social stressors (e.g., discrimination) and well-being. The *stress prevention model* suggests that perceived social support (1) insulates individuals from experiences of discrimination and (2) reduces the "appraised stressfulness of events" (Barrera, 1986, p. 426). From this perspective, MCB/social support, as a resource, decreases both the experience and stressfulness of racial discrimination.

The *social support deterioration model* asserts that "stress deteriorates the perceived availability or effectiveness of social support" (Barrera, 1986, p. 426). From this perspective, the stress of perceived racial discrimination not only increases psychological distress, but also reduces perceived social support from supervisors and coworkers. This perspective suggests that the negative mental health effects of perceived racial discrimination are not only direct, operating through a stress process, but also indirect by reducing workers' perception of MCB/social support. Because our perceived discrimination measure is dichotomous and endogenous to our statistical model, we cannot test for the potential reciprocal effects between perceived discrimination and perceived social support. We do however seek to shed some light on the relationship using mediation analysis (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

In addition to the potential mediating effects, the stress buffering hypothesis suggests that perceived social support is likely to reduce the effect of racial

discrimination on psychological distress. In other words, the effects of perceived discrimination are attenuated at higher levels of social support, implying a statistical interaction (moderation). There are mixed findings for this hypothesis with some studies providing support for a buffering effect (Plaisier et al. 2007; Olstad, Sexton, & Søgaard, 2001), while others do not (Loscocco & Spitze, 1990; Sanne, Mykletun, Dahl, Moen, & Tell, 2005). Few studies examine the buffering hypothesis with respect to racial discrimination and to our knowledge none focus on this relationship within the workplace as we do here.

A key contribution we make to the work and health literatures is combining the MCB framework with the stress process model. MCB has been conceptualized as an important factor shaping worker experiences, behaviors, and attitudes. Moreover, although MCB literature implicitly suggests, at least to us, that MCB should moderate negative experiences at work, the MCB literature has not considered these types of relational interaction effects. This leads to our final hypothesis expecting a statistical interaction:

> *H4*. The effect of racial discrimination on psychological distress will be lower at higher levels of MCB/social support.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL

We display our conceptual model emphasizing the proposed organizational foundations of psychological well-being in Fig. 2. First, the literature regarding status distinctions and workplace racial composition suggests that Black workers in jobs where they represent a larger share of the work group should experience less psychological distress. Moreover, we expect having a same race manager may have similar consequences for Black workers' psychological well-being.

The racial composition of coworkers and supervisors is likely to also influence two critical processes within work organizations. First, racial composition influences the relative power of actors within work organizations. When workers are surrounded by racially similar others (coworkers, supervisors), they are less likely to perceive a discriminatory experience because (1) the number of
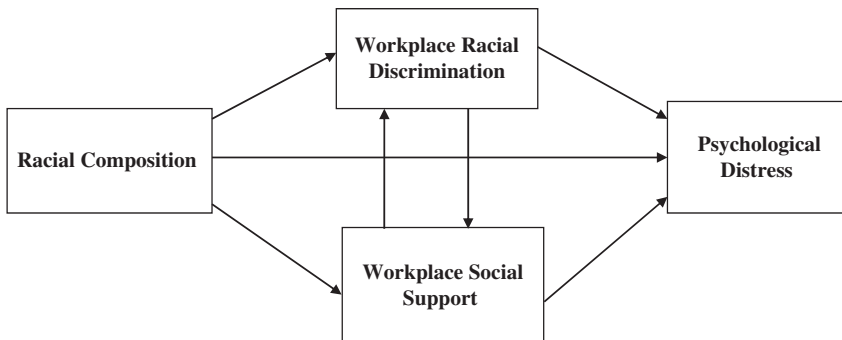
Fig. 2.   Organizational Model of Racial Composition and Psychological Distress.

potential perpetrators declines in proportion to increases in racial homogeneity and (2) the numerically dominant group has more relative power vis-à-vis other coalitions. Therefore, individuals are less likely to experience racial discrimination as the percentage of same-race coworkers increases.

Second, consistent with the theoretical perspectives discussed previously, increasing racial homogeneity should provide social contexts with enhanced trust, which in turn should enhance perceived social support from coworkers and supervisors. Consequently, in-group bias leads to more supportive workplace environments and supportive environments are less likely to be the sites of perceived experiences of racial discrimination. Moreover, social support is generally seen as an important coping resource improving psychological well-being.

METHODS

Sample

This study utilizes the 2002 National Study of the Changing Workforce (NSCW), a nationally representative dataset of workers residing in the contiguous United States conducted by the Work and Families Institute (see Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prottas, 2003). The sample is based on an unclustered random probability sampling design using random-digit-dialing methods. Respondents are noninstitutionalized, over the age of 18, and currently working in the civilian labor force. We further limit the sample to Black respondents.

Omitting cases with missing data or retaining such cases using mean substitution may produce biased statistical estimates (Allison, 2001, 2005; Little & Rubin, 2002). We use multiple imputation (MI) techniques to handle missing data. Before analyzing the data, we created 10 data imputations using the multiple imputation procedure in SAS statistical software (PROC MI), each with a random error component for the missing values based on a model incorporating all covariates found in our full models. The procedure creates 10 different datasets with observed values, and imputations of plausible values, for each missing datum (for discussion, see Allison, 2001). The multiple imputation estimates were combined using SAS's MIANALYZE procedure. The variable with the most missing data was hourly wage, for which we imputed 5.38% of cases. All other variables were missing less than 1%. The imputations allow us to retain 22 cases. The resulting sample size is 238.

Measurement of Dependent Variable

Psychological Distress

Psychological distress is measured with a seven-item index based on how often one has experienced various conditions within the past month (e.g., feeling anxious, trouble sleeping). Similar items have been used to measure psychological distress in previous research (e.g., Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983; Cohen, Kamarck, Mermelstein, & Williamson, 1988; Maume et al., 2014). The Likert-scale response categories range from never (coded 1) to very often (5). We averaged the items to create a psychological distress index ($\alpha = 0.77$). Descriptive

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables Used in the Analyses of Black Workers' Health and Well-Being, National Study of the Changing Workforce (2002).

	Mean/Percent	Std. Dev.	Range
Psychological distress	2.23	0.74	1−4
Percent Black coworkers			
0−24.99	35.70		0−1
25−49.99	20.80		0−1
50−74.99	26.68		0−1
75−100	16.82		0−1
Black supervisor	27.37		0−1
Racial workplace discrimination	16.71		0−1
Coworker Social Support Index	3.33	0.68	1−4
Supervisor Social Support Index	3.30	0.64	1−4
Job Autonomy Index	2.73	0.84	1−4
Hourly wage (ln)	2.58	0.68	0.76−5.93
Job security	2.79	1.02	1−4
Sex (female = 1)	50.71		0−1
Marital status (married = 1)	34.77		0−1
Education (years)	12.97	2.19	10−18
Age	38.51	12.11	18−75

Note: Data are weighted; $N = 238$.

statistics for our sample are presented in Table 1. A list of index items can be found in the Appendix.

Measurement of Independent Variables

Racial Composition

We capture racial composition with two questions. First, coworker racial composition is measured by asking respondents "about what percent of your coworkers are people from your racial, ethnic or national background?" Response categories include 100%(1), 75 to 99% (2), 50 to 74% (3), 25 to 49% (4), more than 0%, but less than 25% (5), and 0% (6). Only eight respondents reported working with 100% racially similar others and 12 claimed to be the only Black worker. Given these small cell sizes, we collapsed the variable into four categories: 0−24.99% (token), 25−49.99% (tilted other race), 50−74.99% (tilted same race), and 75−100% (dominants) Black coworkers and created three dummy variables to represent the four categories. The reference category is 75−100% same-race coworkers (dominants). Because of the nature of the survey item used to construct this variable, we cannot test for Kanter's specific demographic thresholds.

Self-reports of racial composition have desirable characteristics with respect to both reliability and validity. First, in terms of reliability, the measure is based on a

question that asks about the racial composition of coworkers, something directly observable by the respondent. Interviewers screened respondents to determine whether they were part of a work group or team prior to asking questions about one's coworkers. Given the screening questions prior to the coworker questions, we feel strongly that the measure captures the racial composition of work groups as intended. Our confidence in the reliability of the measure is also bolstered because respondents were asked to report racial composition categorically rather than as an exact percentage. In terms of validity self-reports of coworker race composition are clearly superior to the alternative − using occupational data from the census and national surveys. Aggregate occupation-based data cannot capture the social context in which workers interact and experiences are generated.

Second, respondents were asked, "is your supervisor or manager of the same racial or ethnic background as you?" We created a dummy variable for Blacks who report having a same-race supervisor (coded 1, non-Black supervisor coded 0).

Workplace Racial Discrimination

We use a dichotomous measure of workplace racial discrimination similar to previous studies (e.g., Hirsh & Lyons, 2010; Roberts et al., 2004; Stainback & Irvin, 2012). Respondents were asked, "do you feel in any way discriminated against on your job because of your race or national origin?" If the respondent answered "yes," we coded perceived racial discrimination 1; if no, then "0."

Workplace Social Support

We include measures of both supervisor, similar to the relational MCB index[6] used by Maume et al. (2014), and coworker social support. Supervisor social support is an average of nine Likert-scale items ($\alpha = 0.90$) and coworker social support is an average of three Likert-scale items ($\alpha = 0.77$). The response categories for the index items range from strongly agree (coded 1) to strongly disagree (4). Items were coded so that higher values signify greater social support. Index items are provided in the Appendix.

Job and Workplace Characteristics

We include a series of job quality control variables, including a job autonomy index, the natural logarithm of hourly wages, job tenure, job security, and workplace size. These measures capture dimensions of job quality and allow estimating the effects of racial work group composition net of the effects of job quality. This is important because Black workers are often sorted into less desirable jobs compared to their white counterparts (e.g., Kmec, 2003; also see Maume and Sebastian 2007). These measures are also important because they may have significant influences on psychological distress.

The autonomy index is based on the average of three Likert-scale items with responses ranging from strongly agree (coded 1) to strongly disagree (4) and were coded so that higher values indicate greater autonomy ($\alpha = 0.71$). Greater job autonomy is linked to a host of psycho-social outcomes (e.g., satisfaction, commitment), but most importantly for this study, psychological distress

(Karasek 1979). Workers' hourly wage is included as the natural logarithm of hourly wage and is a global indicator of job quality. Job tenure is the number of years a worker has been employed with the same employer. This represents a social relation established between a worker and an employer and is likely to be linked to less psychological distress.

Job security is constructed from the following question, "how likely is it that during the next couple of years you will lose your present job and have to look for a job with another employer?" Response categories include very likely (coded 1), somewhat likely (2), not too likely (3), or not at all likely (4). Higher values indicate greater job security.

Finally, we include a measure of workplace size, which is an ordinal measure of the number of workers at the respondent's work location. The measure ranges from fewer than 25 employees (coded 1) to more than 10,000 employees (coded 10). Workplace size is correlated with a variety of organizational characteristics, including bureaucratization/formalization, size and scale of the human resource function, etc. Many of these factors may promote positive social environments that may lead to less distress through equity policies and practices around wage setting, hiring, and promotion (see Marsden, 1996).

Background Characteristics

We also control for sociodemographic characteristics that have been shown to affect health and well-being, including sex (female coded 1), marital status (married coded 1), education (years), and age (years).

RESULTS

Bivariate Associations among Key Independent Variables

We first present a series of descriptive tables and figures examining the relationship between our focal independent variables. Approximately 16.71% of our sample reported experiencing workplace racial discrimination (Table 2). Fig. 3 provides some interesting insights into the percentages of workers who experience racial discrimination across coworker racial composition. As might be expected, individuals working in token jobs, which we define as less than 25% Black, are much more likely to be exposed to racial discrimination than Black workers in other demographic contexts. Approximately 27% of workers in token

Table 2. Social Support by Workplace Racial Composition, Black Workers.

	Supervisor's Race[a]		Percent Black Coworkers[b]			
	Black	Non-Black	0−24.99	25−49.99	50−74.99	75−100
Supervisor social support	3.343	3.291				
Coworker social support			3.331	3.232	3.346	3.397

[a]*Notes*: Differences are not statistically significant at $p < .10$.
[b]Differences are not statistically significant at $p < .10$.
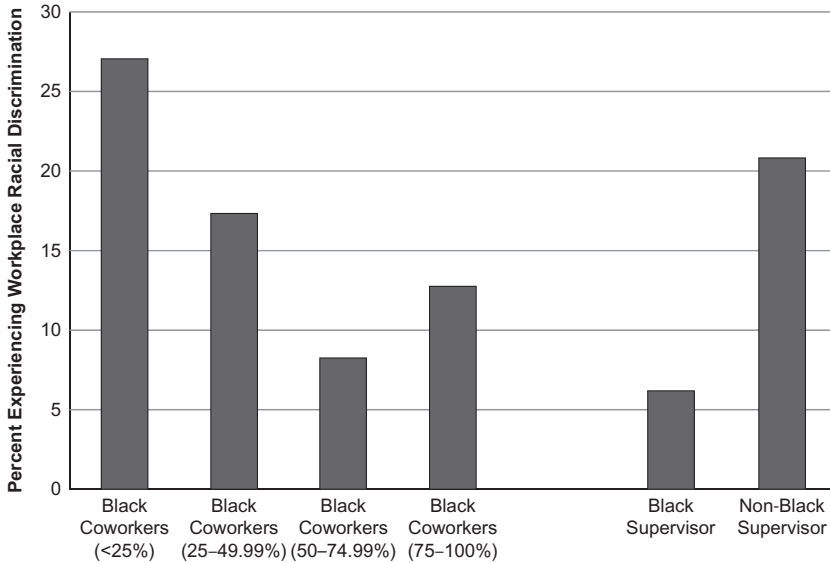Data are weighted.

Fig. 3. Percent of Black Workers Reporting an Experience of Racial Discrimination by Racial Composition.

jobs reported having an experience of racial discrimination at work, compared to 17%, 8%, and 13% for those in tilted other race, tilted same race, and dominant jobs respectively. This pattern is curvilinear with Black workers in tilted same race jobs reporting the fewest experiences of racial discrimination. We also find that the majority of Black workers who reported racial discrimination were in token jobs (e.g., 35.7% report being in a token job, yet account for 57% of all discrimination experiences in these data).

When we compare across individuals working for Black versus non-Black supervisors, we find that only 6% of workers with a Black supervisor experienced racial discrimination compared to nearly 21%of those working for a non-Black supervisor. This difference is remarkable shifting the odds of perceiving racial discrimination from 1 in 16 to about 1 in 5. These results support the expectation that the racial composition of coworkers and the race of one's supervisor influence Black workers' perception of racial discrimination (also see Elliott & Smith, 2001). These results follow a nearly identical pattern to Enchautegui-de-Jesús et al.'s (2006) psychological well-being pattern, which suggest that discrimination may be an important mediator of the racial composition and well-being relationship.

In Table 2, we examine coworker and supervisor social support by workplace racial composition. Based on the organizational demography perspective, we expected that racial homogeneity might increase sentiment and trust leading to a more supportive workplace climate. However, we find no support for the

expected relationship between percent of same-race coworkers/supervisor and perceived workplace social support.

Multivariate Models

In Table 3 we examine the effects of racial composition, workplace discrimination, and social support on psychological distress. Model 1 provides a baseline model estimating the relationship between workplace racial composition and psychological distress (*H1*) net of job, workplace, and demographic controls. The results indicate that psychological distress is lowest in Black-concentrated jobs (dominants). This finding is somewhat inconsistent with our theoretical expectations. Based on Kanter's theory of tokenism, we expected that psychological distress would decline with increases in percentage of Black coworkers and that psychological distress would be particularly pronounced among tokens. Tokens may experience the most psychological distress, but the coefficient is not statistically different from the tilted other race and tilted same race coefficients. We should be cautious about this nonfindings given our sample size ($N = 238$); however, a larger sample would be highly unlikely to affect our point estimates dramatically, only our standard errors. Therefore, even if tokens have the highest levels of psychological distress, the magnitude of the effect (0.12 to 0.11), relative to more integrated work groups (tilted other race and tilted same race contexts, respectively), is very small given that the standard deviation of psychological distress is 0.74. We find no effect of having a Black manager on psychological distress among our sample of Black workers.[7]

Model 2 estimates the effect of perceived racial discrimination on psychological distress (*H2*). Consistent with previous research (Brown et al., 1999; Forman, 2003; Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002; Roberts et al., 2004; Williams & Williams-Morris, 2000; Williams, Yu, & Jackson, 1997), racial discrimination is associated with greater psychological distress. The work group racial composition coefficients become slightly smaller with the inclusion of the discrimination variable, which suggests that a small part of the effect of racial composition on distress observed in the previous model is the result of greater exposure to racial discrimination in token contexts.

Model 3 examines the effect of coworker and supervisor social support on psychological distress net of racial composition and controls (*H3*). Supervisor, but not coworker, social support is associated with less psychological distress.[8]

Model 4 estimates the effects of perceived racial discrimination and workplace social support on psychological distress. Although cross-sectional data preclude us from directly estimating the reciprocal effects of perceived discrimination and social support, this model allows us to provide some preliminary evidence of the association by mediation analysis. Our strategy is to first treat supervisor social support as a mediator of perceived discrimination (stress prevention model) by comparing models 2 and 4 and then treat perceived discrimination as a mediator of supervisor social support (support deterioration model) by comparing models 3 and 4.

Table 3. Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Estimates of Psychological Distress.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Work group racial composition (% same race)								
0–24.99% (token)	Reference		Reference		Reference		Reference	
25–49.99% (tilted other race)	−0.122	(0.119)	−0.109	(0.118)	−0.086	(0.120)	−0.077	(0.118)
50–74.99% (tilted same race)	−0.113	(0.122)	−0.088	(0.121)	−0.069	(0.122)	−0.057	(0.121)
75–100% (dominant)	−0.368*	(0.146)	−0.340*	(0.145)	−0.382**	(0.145)	−0.357*	(0.144)
Black supervisor	0.089	(0.107)	0.124	(0.107)	0.100	(0.108)	0.118	(0.108)
Perceived racial discrimination			0.333**	(0.123)			0.295*	(0.132)
Coworker social support					0.023	(0.083)	0.069	(0.085)
Supervisor social support					−0.192*	(0.081)	−0.169*	(0.081)
Control variables								
Establishment size	−0.011	(0.018)	−0.008	(0.018)	−0.014	(0.018)	−0.010	(0.018)
Job autonomy	−0.095	(0.058)	−0.070	(0.058)	−0.071	(0.061)	−0.066	(0.061)
Hourly wage (ln)	0.049	(0.085)	0.039	(0.085)	0.053	(0.084)	0.044	(0.085)
Job security	−0.228***	(0.044)	−0.208***	(0.044)	−0.208***	(0.045)	−0.199***	(0.045)
Education (years)	−0.079**	(0.027)	−0.084**	(0.027)	−0.081**	(0.027)	−0.085**	(0.027)
Age	−0.008	(0.004)	−0.008	(0.004)	−0.007	(0.004)	−0.007	(0.004)
Job tenure (years)	0.000	(0.007)	−0.001	(0.007)	−0.001	(0.007)	−0.002	(0.007)
Female	0.412***	(0.101)	0.457***	(0.101)	0.415***	(0.100)	0.458***	(0.101)
Married	0.165	(0.096)	0.162	(0.095)	0.154	(0.095)	0.157	(0.094)
Intercept	4.161***	(0.383)	4.021***	(0.381)	4.582***	(0.428)	4.295***	(0.445)
Adjusted R^2	0.1642		0.1864		0.1806		0.1995	

Notes: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001 (two-tailed test).
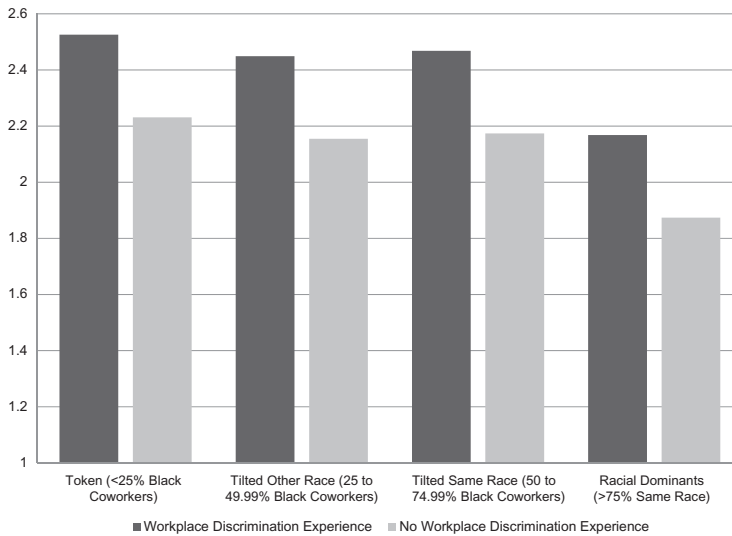Standard errors in parentheses.

Fig. 4. Racial Composition, Workplace Racial Discrimination, and Psychological Distress among Black Workers. *Note*: Based on Estimates in Table 3, Model 4. Predicted values with other all other variables at their means.

In both instances, we find partial mediation. Both variables remain significantly related to psychological distress and both coefficients are reduced with the inclusion of the other. This provides some preliminary evidence for the reciprocal effects of perceived racial discrimination and supervisor social support and suggests that experiences of perceived racial discrimination are lower in environments with comparatively higher levels of supervisor social support and that perceived racial discrimination is also likely to reduce one's perception of supervisor social support. Of course, we would need time series data to unpack this fully.

We present the predicted values of psychological distress by racial composition for racial discrimination in Fig. 4. These figures aid in understanding the magnitude of effects. The predicted values for token, tilted same race, and tilted other race all show similar levels of psychological distress. The difference in psychological distress between those experiencing racial discrimination and those who do not is 0.295, which is a meaningful effect given the standard deviation (0.74) of the distress measure. The average difference in psychological distress between Black workers in token jobs (<25% Black coworkers) and dominant jobs (75−100% Black coworkers) is −0.375, which is about one-half a standard deviation in the distress index. Hence, the predicted psychological distress level for a Black worker who experiences discrimination in a dominant job is about the same as a Black worker in a non-dominant job who does not report an experience of racial discrimination.[9] This nontrivial difference is net of supervisor social support and other variables in model 4. This suggests that there is a

protective benefit of racial similarity that is not captured by typical factors such as social support. This is an interesting puzzle for future research to explore.

Finally, we examined *H4* by re-estimating model 4 (Table 3) with an interaction between racial discrimination and supervisor social support. The interaction term was not statistically significant by traditional standards. We suspect that the nonsignificant interaction effect largely results from being underpowered, but even with a small sample, it approaches statistical significance ($p < 0.14$, two-tailed test). We illustrate the nature of the interaction in Fig. 5 and encourage future examinations of this relationship.

To provide the reader with a sense of magnitude, we generated predicted values at the fifth (low supervisor support) and ninety-fifth (high supervisor support) percentile. The nature of the interaction, though tentative ($p < 0.13$), provides an interesting finding and not the one we hypothesized. There is no moderating effect. The interaction suggests that experience of racial discrimination is associated with higher psychological distress and ostensibly unaffected by social support. The slope is slightly positive, suggesting if anything, experiencing racial discrimination in a supportive environment is associated with slightly higher psychological distress than when experienced in low supervisor social support environments. This tentative finding may suggest support for the *social support deterioration model*, at least among those experiencing racial discrimination at work. The perspective suggests that discrimination as a stressor may
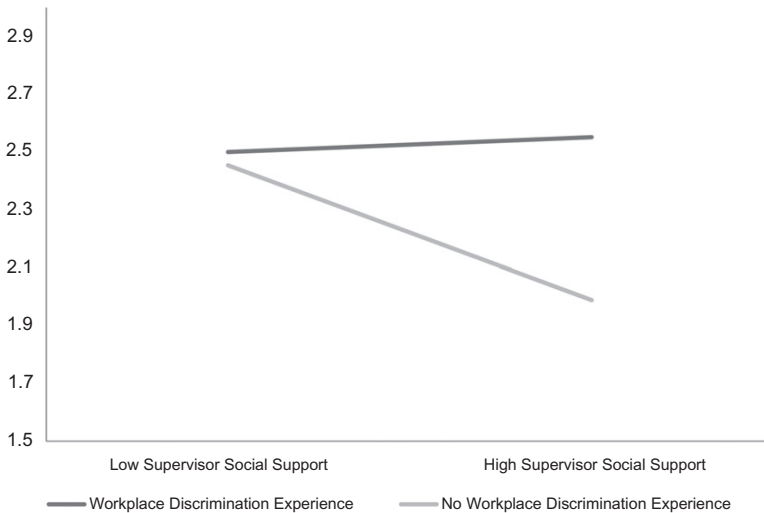

Fig. 5. Racial Composition, Supervisor Social Support, and Psychological Distress among Black Workers. *Note*: Predicted values calculated by re-estimating model 4 (Table 3) with an interaction term between with all other variables at sample means. The relation is not statistically significant by traditional standards ($p < 0.14$), but the interaction term is underpowered given the number of workers reporting racial discrimination.

"deteriorate the perceived availability or effectiveness of social support" (Barrera, 1986, p. 426). More research will need to be conducted on this relationship. Among those who do not experience discrimination, supervisor social support has a strong inverse relationship with psychological distress as would be expected based on the MCB and social support literature.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter contributes to and extends the literatures on workplace racial inequality by examining the effects of organizational demography, as well as perceived racial discrimination and MCB/social support experienced in a specific social context – the workplace, on Black worker's psychological well-being. Although organizational researchers have long noted the importance of workplace context for understanding inequality, the quantitative literature has primarily focused on structural outcomes such as wages, segregation, and access to authority and ignored race and social relationships at work (Vallas, 2003). In this chapter, we highlight the organizational context and its relation to psychological distress among Black workers, paying particular attention to job-level workplace context and relationships.

We find that the racial composition of coworkers exerts a significant influence on psychological distress for Black workers and provides partial support for the organizational demography perspective. We expected to find the highest levels of psychological distress among workers in token jobs with distress lessening with the percentage of same race coworkers. Our analysis, however, reveals that psychological distress is lower in racially segregated work groups (75−100% same-race) compared to workgroups that are less than 75% same-race. We do not find statistical differences, or meaningful effect magnitude, in psychological distress between workers in token, tilted other race, and tilted same race jobs. Hence, we do not replicate Jackson et al.'s (1995) findings that (1) token status is associated with worse mental health and (2) increasing percentages of Black coworkers promote health and well-being. It is, however, important to note that their study examines Black elites, while we use a nationally representative dataset. High on the agenda for future studies is to further explicate how the intersections of race and class affect health. This is especially important given the large existing literature on Black professionals and corporate executives (e.g., Collins, 1997; Wingfield, 2013) that can speak to the social processes linked to token, competitive, and integrated environments. Collecting a larger sample of Black workers to examine the relationship between racial work group composition, gender, and class would be an interesting avenue of future research, especially as it intersects with work in the public and private sector. This latter point would be especially interesting given the trends toward the "privatization" of the public sector (Wilson, Roscigno, and Huffman 2015).

The observed racial composition effects we observe occur, in part, by shaping exposure to racial discrimination. Consistent with previous research, we find that perceived racial discrimination is associated with greater psychological distress (Brown et al., 1999; Forman, 2003; Roberts et al., 2004). Moreover, we

show that coworker racial composition and perceptions of discrimination have an inverse J-shaped association. Perceived discrimination is highest within token jobs (less than 25% Black coworkers) and then declines for titled other race (25−49.99% same race coworkers) and tilted same race (50−74.99% same race coworkers), and then increases among those in the 75−100% same race category. However, these observed differences in exposure to racial discrimination do not explain away the racial composition and psychological distress association.

We also expected that racial composition of coworkers would be associated with perceived coworker social support. We reasoned that racial similarity may promote the development of social ties to similar others; however, this relationship needs to be further examined since we do not find a relationship between coworker racial composition and perceived social support. Although we do not find a relationship between supervisor race and psychological distress, our analyses do reveal an inverse relationship between supervisor social support and psychological distress. We suspect that supervisor social support may be an indicator of Management Citizenship Behavior (Hodson, 1999; Maume et al., 2014; Rubin & Brody, 2011) and workgroup climate. For example, it may be less about what kinds of negative events happen at work than how supervisors deal with those issues. For example, do they speak out when racially motivated forms of discrimination and microaggressions occur or do they remain silent? Researchers will need to develop better measures of race-related issues at work and how supervisors respond to these issues to further examine this idea.

Another interesting puzzle for future research is to explore the relationship between social support and discrimination. The stress prevention and social support deterioration perspectives provide two explanations for this relationship. One suggests that negative experiences may be less likely to occur in supportive environments while the other perspective argues that negative experiences are likely to diminish perceived social support. We suspect that both processes are operating, but cannot adjudicate this relationship with our cross-sectional data.

The increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the US labor force will require organizations to develop policies and programs designed to minimize racial discrimination, whether real or perceived. We suspect that increasing racial/ethnic diversity among organizational leadership and work groups may make workplace power more diffuse and therefore limit discriminatory acts and perceptions of unfairness. Future research should seek to identify specific organizational practices that minimize (or exacerbate) the salience of status differences, and the coping strategies that emerge within these specific organizational contexts.

In conclusion, we assert the importance of work and workplace relations as key factors shaping the contours of the stratification and health relationship. Our study addresses how the effect of racial context may shape the experiences of discrimination and psychological distress within actual jobs. We extend previous research by linking literatures on discrimination, health, and work and organizations. We see this bridge as a particularly important advancement because it extends the study of social stratification outcomes, which traditionally focus on

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tangible aspects of employment such as wages, to the interactional, experiential, and psychological consequences of racial workplace stratification. Furthermore, it highlights the potential contribution of work and stratification literatures, especially those emphasizing inequalities to be inextricably linked to organizational processes (e.g., Reskin, McBrier, & Kmec, 1999; Stainback, Tomaskovic-Devey, & Skaggs, 2010), to the study of health and well-being.

NOTES

1. Wingfield's work examines the intersection of race and gender in shaping Black men's opportunities and experiences. We cannot examine such intersectional relationships due to our relatively small sample ($n = 238$),

2. Of course, we have to be cautious with Roscigno's (2007) workplace-level composition finding. His descriptive data are frequencies of 156 serious discrimination cases; hence, they do not provide rates (we would need to know how many people are in those contexts *and* how many report discrimination). These data identify *where* most serious cases occur, but they cannot inform us that they result *because* of workplace racial composition (e.g., isolation or competition), only that they occur where Black workers are more likely to be employed.

3. Rubin and Brody (2011) find that these two aspects, relational and family supportiveness, load on a single factor. Maume *et al.* (2014) use the combined measure and we estimate a nearly identical measure.

4. Maume *et al.* (2014) also examined MCB linked to operational and ethnical competence, but it did not influence mental health. We estimated our models with both types of MCB and only the relational and family support index was significant in the models. Therefore, we only present the relational and family supportive models.

5. For consistency, we simply use the term social support in our hypotheses, discussion of results, and tables rather than MCB, in part, because we also have coworker social support, which doesn't have an analog in the MCB literature.

6. Our supervisor support is nearly identical to the relational and family supportive MCB measure used by Maume et al. (2014). They have one additional item in their index asking about whether workers feel respected in their workplace. Because this is the only item that does not reference the direct supervisor's behaviors, we drop it from the index to focus on the specific work group context. Our substantive findings do not change with the different measurement strategy; however, using their additional survey item in our measure does slightly increase the magnitude of supervisor social support/MCB in our models. We also estimated the models with Maume et al.'s (2014) operational competence MCB index. It never reached statistical significance in our models and did not substantively affect our core findings, so we did not include it in our reported models.

7. We estimated models with different racial composition variables and the substantive findings do not change. We first estimated coworker composition only and then supervisor's race only. Supervisor's race is non-significant in all models. Coworker composition variables remain similar irrespective of the inclusion of supervisor's race. We present models with the non-significant supervisor variable because we feel it is an important "non-finding." The significance and magnitude of the work group racial composition variables remain substantively identical regardless of the inclusion or exclusion of the same race supervisor variable.

8. To ensure the veracity of the findings, we also estimated with model with coworker social support only. The variable does not reach statistical significance with the inclusion or exclusion of the supervisor social support variable.

9. We also estimated statistical interactions between racial discrimination and racial composition to see if the effect of racial discrimination on distress varied by coworker racial composition. None of the interaction terms were statistically significant.

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APPENDIX. INDEX ITEMS

Psychological distress: In the last month, how often have you: (1) "Been bothered by minor health problems such as headaches, insomnia, or stomach upsets?" (2) "Had trouble sleeping to the point that it affected your performance on and off the job?" (3) "Felt nervous and stressed?" (4) "Felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?" (5) "Felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?" (6) "Felt that things were going your way?" (7) "Felt that difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?" Response choices include never (coded 1), almost never (2), sometimes (3), fairly often (4), and very often (5). We averaged the items such that higher values indicate greater distress (items 5 and 6 were reverse coded).

Manager social support: My supervisor or manager: (1) "Keeps me informed of the things I need to know to do my job well." (2) "Has expectations of my performance on the job that are realistic." (3) "Recognizes when I do a good job." (4) "Is supportive when I have a work problem." (5) "Is fair and doesn't show favoritism in responding to employees' personal or family needs." (6) "Accommodates me when I have family or personal business to take care of — for example, medical appointments, meeting with child's teacher, etc." (7) "Is understanding when I talk about personal or family issues that affect my work." (8) "Really cares about the effects that work demands have on my personal and family life." And the final item was (9) "I feel comfortable bringing up personal or family issues with my supervisor or manager." Response choices include strongly agree (coded 1), somewhat agree (2), somewhat disagree (3), and strongly disagree (4). Items were reverse coded and averaged and so that higher values indicate greater social support.

Coworker social support: (1) "I feel I am really a part of the group of people I work with." (2) "I have the support from coworkers that I need to do a good job." (3) "I have support from coworkers that helps me to manage my work and personal or family life." Response categories range from strongly agree (coded 1) to strongly disagree (4). Items were reverse coded and averaged so that higher values indicate greater social support.

Job autonomy: (1) "I have the freedom to decide what I do on my job." (2) "It is basically my own responsibility to decide how my job gets done." (3) "I have a lot of say about what happens on my job." Response choices range from strongly agree (coded 1) to strongly disagree (4). Items were reverse coded and averaged. Higher scores represent greater autonomy.