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THE PREDICTION OF CAREER DECISION-MAKING SELF-EFFICACY
FROM BLACK AND WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDES

by

Jennifer K. Montgomery, M.S.

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
LOUISIANA TECH UNIVERSITY

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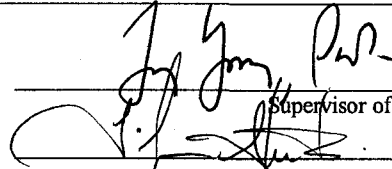
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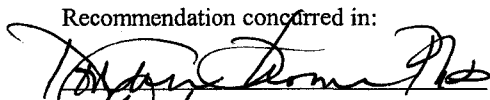

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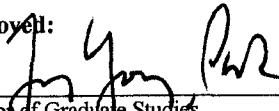


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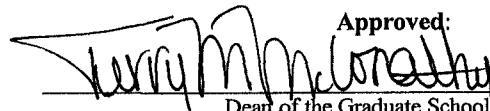
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ABSTRACT

Racial identity has been related to a variety of interpersonal, psychological, behavioral, environmental, and cognitive factors. Although Black racial identity is often researched in relation to career development, there are few studies examining the relationship between career development and White racial identity. Additionally, review of the career development studies that focused on Black racial identity reveals that they have failed to consider the role of social cognitive factors, instead using traditional career models that were created from the standpoint of middleclass non-minorities. The focus of this study was to examine the distinct relationship between Black and White racial identity and career decision-making self-efficacy.

Ninety-six African-American students and 363 Caucasian students participated in this study. The hypotheses were tested using the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale, White Racial Identity Attitude Scale, Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale, and a demographic questionnaire. Review of the findings demonstrated support for some of the hypotheses but not for others. Correlational analyses found that career decision-making self-efficacy was related to PreEncounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization attitudes of the Black racial identity model. In the White racial identity model, career decision-making self-efficacy was related to Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independent, and Autonomy attitudes. Analysis of the multiple regression model suggested significant findings for the PreEncounter and Internalization attitudes of Black

racial identity and the Pseudo-independent attitude of White racial identity.

Therefore, these attitudes significantly predicted career decision-making self-efficacy.

The results suggested that career decision-making self-efficacy could be predicted by certain Black and White racial identity attitudes. The overall findings were discussed relative to considerations for racial identity when assisting college-aged clients in career counseling.

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Author Jennifer Montgomery
Date 7/20/06

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research has documented the need for a career development model that can be generalized to minorities as well as to the majority cultural population (Luzzo, 1993). Traditional career models are based on career factors that do not consider a variety of cultural aspects. As a result of newer career models' attention to issues of diversity, researchers have begun to focus on career development in minorities. These models often consider factors such as perceived barriers to career success, values, contextual supports, and career decision-making self-efficacy. However, much of the research has focused on looking at career development based upon race rather than racial identity. Furthermore, there has been little research that examined the racial identity of Caucasians and how it affects career development, though there has been research supporting the importance of racial identity in Caucasians (Carter & Helms, 1990). This study attempts to fill in these gaps in career development research.

This study focuses on racial identity of two distinct cultures. First, it discusses African-American or Black racial identity development. Numerous studies suggest the importance of racial identity in African Americans, and these studies are discussed in detail later. Significantly less research has been done on Caucasian or White racial identity; however, the studies that have been done suggest its importance in Caucasians. This, too, is discussed in later sections.

The current study is limited to these two cultural groups for a number of reasons. First of all, historical literature of racial identity with African Americans and Caucasians has consistently supported its importance. Secondly, there are psychometrically sound, well-researched measures of racial identity for both of these ethnic groups. Finally, the availability of subjects within these ethnic groups, and lack of availability of subjects within other ethnic groups, was also a factor.

Racial identity was examined in relation to career decision-making self-efficacy, as it appears to play a significant role in the career development of both African Americans and Caucasians (Carter & Helms, 1990). Yet, in most of the studies that have looked at career decision-making self-efficacy, there is a focus on between-groups differences rather than within-group differences (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994). In other words, most of the studies have focused on the differences between African Americans and Caucasians without examining the differences that some African Americans have in comparison to other African Americans or the differences that Caucasians have in comparison to other Caucasians. Failure to consider these factors has resulted in inconsistent findings in past research (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994).

Based on historical research that is addressed later, there are two groups of hypotheses in the current study. The first several hypotheses suggest that career decision-making self-efficacy in African Americans can be predicted by Black racial identity. Based on the defining characteristics of Black racial identity, there is an expectation that African Americans with stronger endorsements of the better developed racial identity attitudes would have greater overall career decision-making self-efficacy. African-

American subjects who have more strongly endorsed lower levels of racial identity attitudes are expected to have lower career decision-making self-efficacy.

Although there is support for such findings in African-American racial identity, the hypotheses involving White racial identity are exploratory due to lack of historical research focus on these topics (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995). However, research has examined the relationship between White racial identity and other variables such as values and personality. Some of these variables are closely related to career factors and suggest the possibility that White racial identity is related to career development (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994). The hypotheses involving White racial identity suggest that it also is related to psychological factors such as neuroticism and self-esteem that may have an effect on career decision-making self-efficacy (Helms, 1990f; Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). Rationale for these hypotheses is provided throughout the next several sections.

The organization of this paper is as follows. First, there is a discussion of the importance of racial identity and why it is more applicable to examine racial identity as opposed to examining race. Secondly, there is a discussion of the problems in studying race and racial identity that have not been explored in past studies, which further supports the need for a study that will consider such factors. Next, there is an in-depth discussion of both African-American and Caucasian racial identity. The research presented in these sections defines racial identity and discusses its importance to a variety of factors, including career development. The following section will focus on career decision-making self-efficacy. The research presented in these sections also exposes gaps in previous research and provides the rationale for the current study's hypotheses. Next, this

study examines how each of these factors were measured and analyzed in the current study. Finally, there is an explanation of the findings and the effect of these results on career counseling.

Importance of Ethnic and Racial Identity

Phinney (1990) describes a variety of research that attests to the importance of ethnic identity. Attitudes towards one's ethnicity are central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group and its culture are at best poorly represented and are at worst discriminated against and attacked verbally and physically (Phinney, 1990). Numerous literary writings of ethnic group members endorse the psychological importance of ethnic identity (Helms, 1996). For instance, some researchers consider development of ethnic identity to be a central task of adolescence (Rosenthal, 1986). The concept of ethnic identity provides a way of understanding the need to assert oneself in the face of threats to one's identity (Phinney, 1990). Furthermore, having a sense of belongingness to a group contributes to positive self-concept. Positive ethnic identity increases self-esteem, group identity, and racial pride, which assists in the facilitation of the management of discriminatory incidents (Phinney, 1990).

Ethnic identity is crucial to the self-concept and psychological functioning of ethnic group members. Having developed a positive African-American identity might serve to provide a sense of self as a group member, organize self-relevant knowledge about personal meaning, and provide meaning and organization to racism, limited opportunities, and successes of African Americans (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995).

Regarding career development, high levels of African-American identity have been positively related to occupational attainment, whereas lack of African-American identity may result in self-blame and guilt regarding limited occupational, economic, and educational successes (Oyerman et al., 1995). Racial identity might provide different support systems for males and females. For males, Black racial identity may focus more on assisting in struggle and survival, whereas for females, Black racial identity may focus more on development of connections to the community, close interpersonal relationships, the value of cooperation rather than competition, the importance of tradition and institutions, and school attainment (Oyserman et al., 1995). Because the measures of this study use the term “Black” as opposed to the more accurate term “African American,” for the remainder of this study, these terms will be used interchangeably. The same is true for the use of “White” in replacement of Caucasian-American or Caucasian.

There is less evidence to support the significance of racial identity to Caucasians. However, some studies have suggested that ethnic identity is not only crucial for minority groups, but can be important for majority or non-minority groups as well (Carter & Helms, 1990). One piece of supportive evidence is that White Americans possess a culture derived from their racial group membership similar to most minorities, and as a result, racial identity can serve similar purposes even in majority ethnic group members (Carter & Helms, 1990). Secondly, White racial identity has been significantly related to a number of personal variables and possibly career variables, suggesting that it is a more fundamental facet than was originally believed (Carter & Helms, 1990; Gushue & Carter, 2000; Helms, 1990b; Sylvestri & Richardson, 2001; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Furthermore, studies have suggested that though racial and ethnic identity does not

appear to be as important to Caucasians during situations where Caucasians are the majority ethnic group, ethnic identity has been found to be significantly more important in situations where Caucasians are the minority (Hamm, 2000). Therefore, it appears necessary to consider ethnic identity in any minority cultural group or in any cultural group that has the potential to be placed in a situation, particularly on a regular basis such as in a work setting, in which they might be a minority. For most Americans, this would mean literally every cultural group, including Caucasians.

This study will examine a variety of issues in racial and ethnic identity. Prior to this examination, a distinction must be made between ethnic and racial identity. Until recently, the terms have been used synonymously. However, Helms (1996) notes a slight differentiation between the two terms. She suggests that *racial* identity models describe reactions to societal dynamics of racial oppression such as suppression of racial or ethnic physical characteristics assumed to be genetic in nature. *Ethnic* identity models, on the other hand, focus on the acquisition or maintenance of cultural characteristics and defining principles, such as language or religious expression (Helms, 1996). This distinction has been accepted by many other researchers in the field (Fischer & Moradi, 2001). Despite the fact that the terms are not synonymous, they are highly interrelated, suggesting that the factors which have been found to be significantly related to ethnic identity are highly likely to be at least moderately related to racial identity.

Measuring Racial Identity

One of the problems of measuring racial identity is that it is defined differently throughout the literature. In fact, there are even differences in the way people view the term "race." Although some people have defined race in terms of genetic origin, these

definitions appear to be based on biological constructs that do not account for behavioral, social, or psychological implications (Helms, 1990d). Social scientists have long challenged the validity of race as a biological construct (Jackson & Neville, 1998).

Another concern of using such a definition is the proportion of physical characteristics necessary for categorization as a member of a certain race group. For instance, some regulations have stated that a person needs to have only 1/16 African ancestry to be classified as an African American, whereas others believe that a person needs to have physical features that are considered typical of such ancestry to be considered African American (Helms, 1990d). However, there are problems with both of these definitions. The first definition suggests that a person who has one ancestor of African descent, even though they have had more ancestors of European descent and do not share the physical or emotional characteristics of African Americans, should still consider himself or herself to be African American. This definition ignores a variety of biological, social, and psychological factors that determine identity. The second definition suggests that people with African characteristics should consider themselves African Americans, but this definition also ignores the fact that there is no definite single physical characteristic that is common among all African Americans. Instead, most studies to date have relied on self-report to determine racial membership, which accounts for psychological factors but may not account for biological or social factors. This is a significant concern in measuring between groups differences based on race.

Definitions of racial identity development are also inconsistent throughout the literature. This may account for the conflicting data that are sometimes seen when measuring racial identity attitudes. Some researchers have erroneously used racial

categorization (e.g., Latino or Caucasian) as synonymous to racial identity (Helms, 1990d). Other studies have defined racial identity as the ethnic component of social identity, which is that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of the social group, together with the value in emotional significance attached to that membership (Phinney, 1990). Others have suggested racial identity is the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute their race in their conceptualizations of self (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). The key aspect has been considered by some to be self identification and by others to be feelings of belonging and commitment, sense of shared values and attitudes, or attitudes towards one's group. Other definitions emphasize the cultural aspects of ethnic identity such as language, behavior, values, and knowledge of ethnic group history (Phinney, 1990). Overall, researchers appear to share a broad general understanding of what comprises ethnic identity, but the specific aspects differ widely.

One of the most commonly used definitions of racial identity is “a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms, 1990d). Because this definition has gained wide popularity and is the definition most utilized in recent studies, it will be used as the operational definition for this study.

Despite the lack of a shared, consistent definition of racial identity, it appears to be more useful to measure racial identity than to measure race. Racial identity is concerned with the psychological implications of racial group membership (Helms, 1990d). It not only considers the biological aspects of race, but also is concerned with

belief systems that are related to perceived differential race group membership. It is the quality or manner of one's identification with one's respective racial group.

Racial identity consists of three components that combine to form one's quality of adjustment (Helms, 1990d). The first component is that of personal identity, which includes characteristics such as anxiety and self-esteem. The second component is reference group orientation, which is described as the extent to which one uses particular racial groups to guide one's feelings, behaviors, and thoughts. Examples include ideologies or value systems. The third is ascribed identity, which is an individual's deliberate affiliation or commitment to a particular racial group (Helms, 1990d). In determining one's ascribed identity, a person may choose to identify with Caucasians, African Americans, neither, or both. For example, a person may feel positive about himself or herself, treat the experiences of all racial group members as irrelevant to her or his own life circumstances, and feel a commitment to neither racial group regardless of biological orientation. Another person may feel anxiety about the implications of who he or she is, be very concerned about how his or her race affects choices and actions, and choose not to affiliate with his or her racial group.

The three components undoubtedly interact with each other (Helms, 1990d). To the extent that society stereotypes one racial group in a positive manner and another racial group in a negative manner, a person may find it more pleasurable to identify with the positive group and easier to use them as a reference group and a source of ascribed identity. However, if that person is a member of the racial group that has more negative stereotypes, that person may face contradictory information regarding his or her identification with the positive group. If a Caucasian male, for an example, is in an

atmosphere where he is the only Caucasian, he may recognize the possibility that others in the group hold negative stereotypes of him, making it more difficult to identify with the other ethnic group members and possibly causing him to make identity changes. Individuals may seek to leave the group by "passing" as members of the high status group, which can have negative psychological consequences. Additionally, these identifications are problematic if they require distortions of one's self, distortions of one's racial group, acceptance of a negative situation, and/or denial of one's situation (Helms, 1990d). Identifying with a low status group may, for example, result in low self-regard and self-hatred (Phinney, 1990). Identifying with a high status group if one does not meet the physical standards or characteristics of that group can result in failure to be accepted by either group. Furthermore, this solution is not available to individuals who are visibly racially distinct and who are characterized by others as being a member of a different ethnic group. Instead, a person may need to examine alternative solutions such as developing pride in one's group, reinterpreting characteristics deemed inferior so that they do not appear inferior, or stressing the distinctiveness of one's own group (Phinney, 1990).

Racial identity theory refers to an African American or Caucasian person's identifying or not identifying with the racial group with which he or she is generally assumed to share racial heritage (Helms, 1990d). It is achieved through an active process of self-evaluation and decision-making that is similar to ego identity formation (Phinney, 1990). Racial identity theories look at the degree to which a person of a certain ancestry acknowledges shared racial group membership with others of similar race (Helms, 1990d). Additionally, these theories look at the degree to which someone searches for

similarity to other group members. Such theories attempt to describe the potential patterns of the personal, reference group, and ascribed identities. Black racial identity theories attempt to explain the various ways in which African Americans can identify, or not identify, with other African Americans and adopt or abandon identities resulting from racial victimization. White racial identity theories attempt to explain the various ways in which Caucasians can identify, or not identify, with other Caucasians and adopt or avoid developing a non-oppressive Caucasian identity (Helms, 1990d).

Most racial identity theories are “type” or “stage” models that describe racial identity as a development process wherein one moves from one level of identity to another (Helms, 1990d). These theories suggest that racial identity status can be grouped into one of several categories. These theories suggest that by appropriately placing the person's category membership, the researcher can understand the person's behavior and views of race at the present time. Stage theories describe racial identity as a developmental process wherein a person potentially, though not necessarily, goes from one level of identity to another (Helms, 1990d). This developmental process occurs after a person analyzes his or her identity at that time. Helms (1990d) suggested that whether or not a person's level of racial identity development influences later development seemed to depend on several environmental forces (e.g., socioeconomic status), personal life experiences (e.g., hearing negative racial stereotypes), and individual attributes (e.g., personality characteristics).

However, a weakness of stage models is that they fail to recognize the degree to which people endorse attitudes other than the one that they are categorized. For racial identity models, some people may strongly identify with the attitudes of more than one

racial identity stage. For that reason, Helms (1995) revised her model and replaced the word “stages” with the word “statuses.” Statuses were defined as the dynamic cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes that govern a person’s interpretation of racial information in her or his interpersonal environments. Similar to stages, the statuses ranged from least developmentally mature or sophisticated to most mature or sophisticated. All individuals were noted to have a primary or dominant status from which they tend to operate in most situations that they interpret as involving racial information (Helms, 1995). A person may also have secondary statuses that are accessible under certain circumstances, and these secondary statuses were part of the person’s personality profile. Therefore, Helms suggested that an individual’s attitudes, behaviors, and emotions may be reflective of more than one status.

Introduction to Black Racial Identity

Theories and models of African-American racial identity began to appear in the counseling psychology literature in the 1970s as a response to the civil rights movement (Helms, 1990a). The most frequently studied model was proposed by Cross in 1971 and modified in 1978. Originally, Cross presented a stage model of racial identity development in which each stage was characterized by self-concept issues concerning race as well as parallel attitudes about Blacks and Whites as reference groups. With respect to self-concept, he proposed that each stage had different implications for a person's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. As reference groups are concerned, his model implied that the individual, depending upon his or her stage of racial identity, makes complex choices as to whether Blacks and/or Whites will be treated as reference groups. Helms (1986) amended Cross’s model to suggest that each stage be considered a distinct

worldview. By this, she meant cognitive templates that people use to organize information, particularly racial information, about themselves, other people, and institutions. Additionally, she suggested that an individual's stage or worldview was the result of his or her cognitive maturation level and interaction with societal forces. She felt that it was useful to think of each of the stages as bimodal, or having two potentially distinguishable forms of expression.

Cross's Nigrescence model (1978) was one of the first Black racial identity models that did not view being Black as something negative. "Nigrescence" is defined as the developmental process by which a person "becomes Black," where Black is defined in terms of one's manner of thinking about and evaluating oneself and one's reference groups rather than being defined in terms of skin color (Helms, 1990a). In 1978, Cross conceptualized five stages entitled PreEncounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, Internalization, and Internalization/Commitment. The PreEncounter stage appears to represent an absence of a self-concept or internally derived identity except as defined and approved of by Caucasians. The person in this stage either does not acknowledge an ascribed racial identity or identifies with Caucasians. The general theme is idealization of the dominant traditional Caucasian worldview. As a result, there is denigration of an African-American worldview. Someone in this stage artificially inflates his or her personal identity, abandoning African Americans as a reference group while accepting Caucasians as such. That person will deny his or her African-American identity. This is likely to occur because in the United States, Caucasian culture and Caucasians themselves are often seen as superior to African culture and African Americans (Helms, 1990a). Therefore, the African American must find a way to separate himself or herself

from the devalued reference group in order to minimize the psychological discomfort that arises (Cross, 1978).

There appear to be two subtypes of the PreEncounter stage (Helms, 1990a).

Active PreEncounter is a form in which African Americans deliberately idealize Whiteness and White culture and denigrate Blacks and Black culture through attitudes and behaviors. Active PreEncounter is associated with poor self-concept, anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. Therefore, Helms suggests that psychosocial adjustment is least healthy in this stage. People with Passive PreEncounter attitudes have worldviews that mirror White society. They accept the negative stereotypes of African Americans and the positive stereotypes of Caucasians. They deny African Americans as a reference group and source of ascribed identity. They do not feel as if other African Americans have any influence in their lives. To remain comfortable in this phase, a person must maintain the fiction that race and racial indoctrination have nothing to do with how he or she lives life, and must believe that social mobility is determined primarily by personal ability and effort. Such a person may not be aware, however, of his or her own stereotyping, and may engage in denial in order to maintain a depiction of racial equality. Persons in the PreEncounter stage may behave in ways reinforced by dominant society and other African Americans in the same stage; however, the long-term effects for this person may be negative (Helms, 1990a).

People in the PreEncounter stage may become overwhelmed on a regular basis with information indicating that he or she cannot really be a member of the dominant racial group, despite the fact that he or she may rely on denial to selectively screen such information from awareness. Such confronting information may cause the PreEncounter

person to perceive that he or she does not really fit into either group. This acknowledgment leads to feelings of alienation, which initiates his or her movement into the Encounter stage (Cross, 1978).

The Encounter stage begins when a person realizes that it is impossible to deny the reality that he or she cannot become an accepted part of the Caucasian world and society (Cross, 1978). It occurs when there is recognition that no matter how well he or she conforms to Caucasian standards, most Caucasians will always perceive him or her as African American and therefore inferior. This awareness often seems to be aroused by some event in the environment that touches the person. As a result, one seeks another identity. In this struggle, a person oscillates between the recently abandoned PreEncounter identity and an undiscovered African-American identity. At the end of the Encounter stage, the person is not noted to have become Black yet, but he/she has made the decision to become Black (Cross, 1978). In other words, he or she has deliberately begun to acknowledge his or her African-American ascribed identity.

During the Encounter stage, there is a feeling as if the person is “identity-less,” needing a cognitive framework for making sense of one's own emotions, world, and place in society (Cross, 1978). This stage has historically been linked to a variety of feelings including confusion, anxiety, depression, hopelessness, anger, and eventually euphoria, but other studies have related it to high self-esteem, low anxiety, and positive self regard (Helms, 1990a). Perhaps the difference is based on whether or not people are in the earlier Encounter phase, marked by the recent acknowledgment that they do not fit in with the Caucasian society, or latter phase, in which they have affiliated behaviors with other African Americans and can accept Caucasians who are sensitive to African-

American cultural issues, though they still have not desired to affiliate with people of any specific race.

Cross (1978) identified the name of the next stage by its two phases, Immersion/Emersion. In the Immersion portion of this stage, a person withdraws into Blackness and a Black world. A person focuses on feeling, thinking, and acting the way that he or she believes “authentic” African Americans do. He or she judges other African Americans on the basis of their conformance to these idealistic racial standards. An African-American ascribed identity and an African-American reference group orientation dominate his or her personality, often at the cost of his or her personal identity (Helms, 1990a). Additionally, because his or her description of what it means to be African American has been defined by Caucasian society, he or she often acts in stereotypical ways, causing the reference group orientation to be externally defined. People in this stage are conforming to a preconceived notion of African-American identity. Furthermore, there appears to be anger associated with this stage. The person in this stage is often angry with Caucasians because of their role in racial oppression and discrimination. Additionally, people in this stage are often angry with other African Americans who do not see things in a similar manner. Cross (1978) suggested that dichotomous thinking is characteristic of this stage, in that one begins the idealization of African and African-American heritage, and the denigration of Caucasian and Western heritage. Finally, there has been concern that people in this stage avoid certain endeavors in which they are talented and interested because the endeavors are not considered acceptably African-American behavior (Helms, 1990a).

The second part of this stage is the Emersion phase, during which African Americans spend time with other African Americans in a spirit of kinship (Cross, 1978). Entry into this phase requires the opportunity to withdraw into African-American community and to engage in a catharsis within a supportive environment. This phase allows people to develop positive, non-stereotypic African-American perspectives of the world. People in this phase are involved in cathartic and educative activities that allow their emotions, particularly anger, to become more flexible. Total acceptance of Blackness as defined by others is no longer necessary for the person to feel self-worth. He or she begins to sort out the strengths and weaknesses of African Americans and African-American culture. As the person begins to feel greater control over herself or himself, she or he moves into the Internalization stage (Cross, 1978).

People in the Internalization stage do not judge people according to their cultural group memberships, which include things such as race or gender. Instead, they are concerned with common peoplehood (Cross, 1978). The main theme of this stage is the Internalization of a positive personally relevant African-American identity. This involves the combination of one's personal identity, or what makes a person unique, with an African-American ascribed identity. The African-American identity involves the acknowledgment that one's Blackness influences who one is. Therefore, his or her primary reference group is African American, but the quality of his or her belongingness to this reference group is no longer externally determined. Internalizing people can find value in people who do not look like them.

Developing a stable African-American identity helps the individual to face the world from a position of personal strength (Helms, 1990a). Additionally, it becomes

possible to renegotiate one's position with respect to Caucasians and Caucasian society. Although the person in this stage rejects racism and similar forms of oppression, he or she is able to reestablish relationships with Caucasian associates who merit such relationships. He or she is able to analyze Caucasian culture for its strengths and weaknesses.

Cross (1978) originally suggested a fifth stage entitled Internalization/Commitment. However, it has been suggested that this stage should be considered the second phase of the Internalization stage because of the difficulty in distinguishing one stage from another (Helms, 1990a). This stage has received less attention because of its significant overlap with the Internalization stage, making its measurement difficult. The primary distinction between the stages is that the Internalization/Commitment stage reflects a behavioral style, whereas the Internalization stage reflects a motivational style (Helms, 1990a). In other words, the Internalization/Commitment stage consists of having the same attitudes as people in the Internalization stage but also includes an amount of social activism is rare. People in this stage participate in social and political activities designed specifically to eliminate racism and/or oppression regardless of the race of the perpetrators or victims. However, it may involve conformance of everyday activities according to one's African-American perspective.

These stages are proposed to differ in cognitive, behavioral, and emotional expression (Helms, 1990a). Within each stage, personal identity, ascribed identity, and reference group orientation appear to vary. The earlier stages are associated with poorer adjustment than later stages due to the fact that the person in earlier stages must expend considerable energy denying, screening, or managing potentially identity-challenging

information. Theoretically, each person can progress from the least developed stage to the most developed. However, recent research has suggested that every person may not enter the developmental cycle at the same place and that recycling through the stages may occur as the person moves through the lifespan based upon the person's experiences (Helms, 1990a).

Introduction to White Racial Identity

Models of African-American racial identity vastly predated models of Caucasian racial identity. The reason may be due to the belief that Caucasians in America have the option of whether or not they want to attend to their own Whiteness (Helms, 1990f). It might be that until Caucasians come into contact with other minorities, their Whiteness is not an issue. Additionally, when many Caucasians are asked about their race or ethnicity, they may identify themselves as Irish or Catholic instead of Caucasian. Members of the Caucasian culture can choose whether or not they want to identify themselves as White Americans (Helms, 1990f). As a result, many Caucasians may not have a consistent conception of a positive White identity or consciousness.

The development of Caucasian identity is believed to result from racism that has become a part of the Caucasian person's racial identity or consciousness (Helms, 1990f). Research that has focused on the effects of racism in Caucasians suggests that racism may lead to feelings of guilt, shame, or hatred of one's own race. Another possible effect, particularly because White skin in America is often seen as superior to dark skin, is a sense of superiority. In order to develop a healthy White identity, including a non-racist identity, virtually every White American must overcome various aspects of racism. Additionally, he or she must accept his or her own Whiteness, the cultural implications of

being White, and define a view of self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group for another.

Most of the theories or models of Caucasian racial identity development have focused on defining racism (Helms, 1990f). Only recent theories have begun to speculate about the harmful consequences of racism on its perpetrators, which includes the absence of a positive White racial identity. Two separate theories propose developmental models of White racial identity development in which the Caucasian person progresses through a series of stages that differ based on the extent to which he or she involves acknowledgment of racism and consciousness of Whiteness (Helms, 1990f). The theories differ in some points, but both agree that the highest stage involves an awareness of personal responsibility for racism, abandonment of racism in all forms, and acknowledgment of one's Whiteness. Thus far, only one of the models has been subjected to significant empirical investigation, so this model will be used as a theoretical basis for the subsequent presentation of White racial identity development (Helms, 1990f).

The evolution of a positive White racial identity consists of two phases (Helms, 1990f). The first phase is the abandonment of racism, which begins with the Contact stage and ends with the Reintegration stage. The second phase is the development of a non-racist Caucasian identity, which begins with the Pseudo-independent stage and ends with the Autonomy stage.

As long as Caucasians interact solely among each other, one can choose to be oblivious to race (Helms, 1990f). If a racial/ethnic minority group member intrudes into the Caucasian environment, and the intrusion cannot be ignored or controlled, then the Caucasian is forced to deal with White racial identity issues. Depending partially upon

one's family environment, this can result in either naïve curiosity or trepidation about other minority groups and an inconsistent awareness of being Caucasian. This is the Contact stage, which is the first stage of White racial identity development. In this stage, there is limited interaction with African Americans, unless the interaction is initiated by African Americans who “act White,” using mannerisms that are consistent with beliefs or stereotypes of Caucasians. Even in these interactions, the Caucasian person uses the African American to teach him or her about what African Americans are like in general. This person uses societal stereotypes of African Americans as the standard against which the African American is evaluated. For example, a person in this stage may make comments such as “He’s not like you; he acts like a Black person.” However, if a person in the Contact stage exhibits individual racism, it is probably exhibited in an unsophisticated form, since the person is just becoming aware of whom he or she is in the racial sense (Helms, 1990f).

People in the Contact stage often have positive self-esteem because they have not yet learned to compartmentalize and differentially value their different selves (Helms, 1990f). They often have positive feelings about the idea of African Americans and the fair treatment of them, but experience mild anxiety when actual interactions with African Americans are anticipated or experienced. The amount of time spent in the Contact stage depends on the types of experiences that people have with African Americans and Caucasians with respect to racial issues (Helms, 1990f). If they continue to interact with African Americans, their significant others may make it known that such behavior is unacceptable as long as they wish to remain a member in good standing of other Caucasians. Also, they may be forced to acknowledge that there are differences in how

African Americans and Caucasians in the United States are treated regardless of economic status. This awareness may occur because of obvious discriminatory acts, awareness of subtle discriminatory acts, or because the African American mentions it. On the other hand, if the Caucasian's increased awareness of African Americans is based more on vicarious information than actual experiences, then he or she is more likely to remain in the Contact stage. This is because much of the information available to Caucasians about African Americans is negative. As a result, the person is likely to continue to engage in minimal interracial interactions, to be accepted by same race peers as long as the subject of race is not addressed, and to refuse to rethink his or her racial perspective. If enough socialization experiences penetrate the Caucasian person's identity system, then he or she can enter the Disintegration stage (Helms, 1990f).

The Disintegration stage implies conscious, though conflicted, acknowledgment of one's Whiteness (Helms, 1990f). Along with the conflicted White identification is the questioning of racial realities that one has been taught to believe. The person in this stage may not only perceive that he or she is caught between two racial groups, he or she may come to realize that his or her position among Caucasians depends upon his or her ability to successfully split his or her personality as a result of the recently discovered negative social consequences that comes with associating oneself with a group considered inferior. This stage triggers recognition of moral dilemmas that are associated with being Caucasian (Helms, 1990f). One common dilemma is the desire to be a moral person versus the recognition that to be accepted by Caucasians, one must treat African Americans immorally. A similar dilemma is the desire to show compassion versus the desire to keep African Americans in their place. Yet another dilemma involves the belief

that each African American should be treated as an individual versus being treated as a member of the African-American community. Finally, there is the belief in freedom and democracy versus the belief in racial inequality.

The Disintegration stage is accompanied by emotional discomfort, incongruence, guilt, depression, helplessness, and anxiety that are associated with the belief that one has to alter one's real self to be accepted by significant others (Helms, 1990f). When a person experiences such discomfort, he or she takes steps to reduce discomfort and also takes steps to avoid situations and information that are likely to increase discomfort. There may be three ways of reducing dissonance. These actions include changing a behavior, changing a belief, and developing new beliefs (Helms, 1990f). Therefore, someone in this stage may attempt to reduce discomfort by avoiding further contact with African Americans. They may attempt to convince others that African Americans are not inferior. Or they may seek information from African Americans or Caucasians that suggests either racism is not the Caucasian person's fault or does not really exist. The person may also attend only to information that gives him or her greater confidence in the new beliefs and/or the person will only interact with those who can be counted on to support the new beliefs. The chosen alternative depends on the extent to which her or his interracial interactions are voluntary. If the person can remove herself or himself from an interracial environment, she or he will most likely choose this option. If a person was raised in an environment in which Caucasian liberal attitudes were expressed, that person might choose to attempt to change others' attitudes. However, this is seen as a naïve approach that is likely to be met with rejections by both Caucasians and African Americans. If neither of the first two options is successful, he or she will develop new beliefs (Helms,

1990f). As this reshaping of the person's cognitions or beliefs occurs, he or she enters into the Reintegration stage.

In the Reintegration stage, the person consciously acknowledges a Caucasian identity (Helms, 1990f). In the absence of contradictory experiences, to be a Caucasian in America is to believe that one is superior to people of color. Consequently, the person in the Reintegration stage accepts the belief in Caucasian racial superiority and African American inferiority. He or she begins to believe that racism is acceptable because Caucasians have earned such privileges. African Americans are seen as suffering from poor conditions because of their inferior social, intellectual, and moral qualities. The person in this stage selectively attends to and/or reinterprets information to conform to societal stereotypes so that interracial similarities are minimized and/or denied. Feelings of guilt and anxiety are transformed into fear and anger toward African Americans. Though these feelings may not be overtly expressed, they live below the surface of the person's awareness, and only a personally threatening event can unleash these feelings. Passive expression of these feelings involves avoiding or removing oneself from environments in which one may encounter African Americans. Active expression may include treating African Americans as inferior and engaging in acts of violence or exclusion designed to protect Caucasian privilege (Helms, 1990f).

In many American communities, it seems fairly easy to remain fixated at the Reintegration stage, particularly if someone is passively expressing signs of it (Helms, 1990f). It may require a particularly raucous event, such as being called a racist, to begin to abandon this identity. Once the person begins to question his or her previous definition

of Whiteness and the justifiability of racism, then he or she has begun the movement into the Pseudo-independent stage.

The Pseudo-independent stage is the first stage of redefining a positive Caucasian identity. In this stage, the person begins actively to question the proposition that African Americans are innately inferior to Caucasians (Helms, 1990f). Instead, the person begins to acknowledge the responsibility of Caucasians for racism and to see how he or she wittingly and unwittingly perpetuates racism. He or she is no longer comfortable with the racist identity and begins to search for ways of redefining his or her White identity. The redefining process often takes the form of intellectual acceptance and curiosity about African Americans. In fact, this stage is a merely a stage of intellectualization in which the person attempts to suppress the tumultuous feelings about Whiteness that were aroused in previous stages. Though the person in this stage is abandoning the belief that Caucasians are superior, he or she may still behave in ways that unwittingly perpetuates this belief system. Furthermore, although the person may seek greater interactions with African Americans, much of this interaction involves helping African Americans to change themselves so that they function more like Caucasians on Caucasian criteria for success and acceptability. This person is unable to recognize that such criteria might be inappropriate or too narrowly defined. Additionally, cultural or racial differences are likely to be interpreted using Caucasian life experiences as standards. Moreover, the person still looks to African Americans rather than Caucasians to explain racism and seek solutions for racism using hypothetical African-American cultural dysfunctionalities (Helms, 1990f).

The person in the Pseudo-independent stage does not have a negative White identity or consciousness, but also does not have a positive one (Helms, 1990f). All in all, this person may not be accepted by Caucasians or African Americans, because Caucasians may treat this person as if he or she has violated White racial and societal norms, and African Americans will be suspicious of the motives of this person. This person may not feel entirely comfortable with his or her own White identity but does not strongly identify with African Americans. Therefore, he or she may feel marginal where race and racial issues are concerned (Helms, 1990f). The quest for a better definition of Whiteness signals the person's entry into the Immersion/Emersion stage.

A person in the Immersion/Emersion stage has to redefine a positive White identity that involves replacing Caucasian and African-American myths and stereotypes with accurate information about what it has meant and what it means to be Caucasian (Helms, 1990f). This person is in search of determining who he or she is racially and whom he or she wants to be. As a result, this person may immerse herself or himself in biographies and autobiographies of Caucasians who have made similar identity journeys. He or she may participate in White consciousness raising groups who serve to help the person discover his or her individual self-interest in abandoning racism and acknowledging a White racial identity. Changing African Americans is no longer the focus of his or her activities. Instead, the goal is to change Caucasians (Helms, 1990f).

The Immersion/Emersion stage involves emotional and cognitive restructuring. Successful resolution of the stage appears to require emotional catharsis in which the person re-experiences previous emotions that were denied or distorted (Helms, 1990f). Once these negative feelings are expressed, the person may begin to feel a certain

euphoria that is similar to religious rebirth. These positive feelings serve to show the person that he or she can begin to tackle racism and oppression, which leads to the final stage.

The Autonomy stage is characterized by the internalization, nurturance, and application of the new definition of Whiteness that has evolved from the earlier stages (Helms, 1990f). In this stage, the person no longer feels the need to denigrate, idealize, or oppress people on the basis of group membership. Race no longer symbolizes threat to this person. This person actively seeks opportunities to learn from other cultural groups. He or she also becomes increasingly aware of how other forms of oppression are related to racism, and makes attempts to eliminate them as well. In this stage, the person is continually open to new information and new ways of thinking about racial and cultural variables. He or she no longer reacts out of rigid worldviews, so he or she can abandon all forms of racism (Helms, 1990f).

Similar to the stages of Black racial identity, each stage of the White racial identity is hypothesized to have its own unique effect or attitudes, emotions, and behaviors. It would be expected that within each stage, personal identity, ascribed identity, and reference group orientation would vary. Also similar to the stages of Black racial identity, there can be a recycling between the stages. Another similarity is that earlier stages are associated with poorer adjustment. Although Autonomy represents the highest level of white racial identity, it appears to be an evolving process (Helms, 1990f).

Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy

Self-efficacy is a term that refers to people's beliefs about their ability to perform particular actions or behaviors (Lent et al., 2003). Career self-efficacy is defined as the

expectations of one's confidence to successfully negotiate various career related pursuits (Byars & Hackett, 1998). Career decision-making self-efficacy, then, is one's expectations of one's confidence to successfully complete career decision-making tasks.

Studies have shown that self-efficacy is related to perceived capability to complete the academic requirements in certain majors (Lent et al., 2003). Self-efficacy is predictive of persistence, academic performance, outcome expectations, and interests (Lent et al., 2003). In fact, self-efficacy is predictive of a range of perceived career options above and beyond the contributions of career interest and sex role orientation (Rotberg, Brown, & Ware, 1987). Career self-efficacy has been found to significantly predict the academic achievement and career choice of minorities (Byars & Hackett, 1998). Lack of self-efficacy has been related to reduced autonomy, task persistence, locus of control, and self-determination (Lent et al., 2003). Career barriers are strongly related to self-efficacy, which is strongly related to career goals and actions (Lent et al., 2001; Lent et al., 2003).

There are four apparent sources of self-efficacy information: performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, affective states, and verbal persuasion (Bandura, 1997). Examination of this model highlights racial differences. The most pertinent finding is that there are significant differences in self-efficacy sources based on racial membership, the strongest of which involves vicarious learning (Byars & Hackett, 1998). Because African-American females have historically had higher overall labor force participation than European-American women, African-American children might be exposed to more career skills which could enhance self-efficacy. This evidence supports the utility of vicarious learning in self-efficacy and would suggest that African-American

females have higher career self-efficacy than Caucasian females. Further supportive data suggests that higher self-efficacy in African-American females may exist because African-American parents model coping skills necessary to deal with racism and discrimination and because there is a stronger need for African-American mothers to combine family and career to be successful (Byars & Hackett, 1998). These are all positive aspects of self-efficacy in African Americans.

On the negative side, emotional arousal (affective state) when combined with weak academic efficacy, can lead to lowered expectations. Academic efficacy appears weaker in African Americans due to issues with schooling, weaker peer academic support, failure of schools to focus on career success, and being seen as “acting White,” (Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Kolodny, 2001; Oyserman et al., 1995; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Studies of verbal persuasion, which focus on the verbal messages, encouragement, and discouragement that affects self-efficacy, show that African-American children tend to receive contradictory messages that may negatively influence self-efficacy (Byars & Hackett, 1998). Studies comparing these four domains suggest that with African Americans, social persuasion affected self-efficacy more than performance accomplishments, which is not true for Caucasians (Gainor & Lent, 1998). It was suggested that this may be due to the emphasis placed on collectivistic or social attitudes within the African-American culture. The general results of this study suggested that verbal persuasion, which may work against African Americans’ career development, may be more important than other factors of self-efficacy. Overall, these findings suggest that career self-efficacy may be higher or lower in African Americans, depending on what aspect of self-efficacy is being studied.

Studies that have examined race in relation to self-efficacy without using this model have found mixed results. Some studies have found significant differences in career self-efficacy based upon race. One study suggested that because self-efficacy in general is lower in African Americans, career self-efficacy might also be lower (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995). However, there are discrepancies in the findings. One study found that neither race nor socioeconomic status predicted self-efficacy expectations for range of career choice (Magerkorth, 2000); another study, however, suggests that race interacts with other factors to determine learning experiences, which influence both educational and career related self-efficacy (Byars & Hackett, 1998).

Few studies have examined the effects of racial identity on career self-efficacy factors. One study suggested no differences based on racial identity (Gainor & Lent, 1998). The finding that self-efficacy was indirectly related to career choice intentions occurred across racial identity attitudes levels. In other words, self-efficacy was significantly related to occupational interests and making career choices, but this did not vary by racial identity. Despite the findings of this study, other researchers suggest that racial identity is related to career self-efficacy. For instance, one study suggested that people in the PreEncounter and Encounter stages of Black racial identity may demonstrate more emotionality indicative of affective states that are known to play a role in self-efficacy (Byars & Hackett, 1998). This would suggest that people in these stages would have lower self-efficacy regarding career abilities. Higher levels of achieved African-American identity are related to higher career self-efficacy, whereas lower racial identity is associated with lower career self-efficacy (Byars & Hackett, 1998; Williams, 2002). Also, perceived racism is correlated with self-esteem in African Americans, which

can cause lack of self-efficacy within the occupational domain (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995). This study suggests that perceived racism is more likely to occur in less developed Black racial identity statuses. There are no known studies that have examined White racial identity and career self-efficacy.

The fact that there is limited research on this subject supports the need for further investigation of the role of racial identity in career decision-making self-efficacy. That racial identity plays a role in other career factors suggests its importance in career development as a whole, including decision-making self-efficacy. For instance, studies have suggested Black racial identity to be related to career choice, the degree of traditionality of career choice, career foreclosure, confidence that career goals will be achieved, career undecidedness, occupational attainment, vocational development, work values, perceived social persuasion for pursuing math and science career options, academic achievement, and perceptions of discrimination regarding career self-efficacy (Gainor & Lent, 1998; Helms & Piper, 1994; Jackson & Neville, 1998; Manese & Fretz, 1984; Singleton, 1996; Thompson, 1985; Turner, 1995; Williams, 2002). White racial identity has been related to work values (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994). For instance, Reintegration and Disintegration attitudes were connected with work values of economic security, advancement, economic reward, prestige, cultural identity, authority, and achievement. These attitudes were negatively related to the work value of altruism and to Pseudo-independent and Autonomy attitudes regarding these values (Carter et al., 1994).

Current Study

Most of the research dealing with psychological aspects of contact between racial and ethnic groups has focused on others' attitudes towards racial and ethnic groups other than one's own (Phinney, 1990). Particularly, studies have focused on discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice, particularly of majority group members towards minority group members. Significantly less emphasis has been placed on how interactions with other group members initiate the development of attitudes towards oneself as a racial group member. Nonetheless, there have been a variety of studies that focused not only on this aspect, but also on its role in career development. A major criticism of career theory is its failure to acknowledge the role of interpersonal interactions in the development of career, which may be particularly important for African Americans (Murry & Mosidi, 1993; Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995; Watson, 2001).

Another significant criticism of past studies is that they utilize traditional theories of career development that do not accommodate non-Eurocentric factors or perspectives. Therefore, they fail to acknowledge problems or characteristics that are common in African Americans. It is critical that career counselors take into account the significant influence of ethnicity in the process of career development (Luzzo, 1993). Despite the concern that existing research on ethnic minorities' career development is confusing and inconsistent, it should be noted that such studies often use traditional models that do not take into account the role of factors such as self-efficacy and social support (Luzzo, 1993). These factors are frequently found to be more important in ethnic minorities' career development than are the factors commonly examined in traditional studies such as gender role, interests, values, and abilities (Luzzo, 1993). There is a strong need for

studies that take into account contextual factors involved in both identity and career. The current study was planned to fill this gap.

At the same time, what is deemed a hindrance or an asset in career decision-making in one member of a minority group may not be consistent with other members of the minority group. This study adds the component of racial identity. Racial identity is often ignored in career counseling, as many studies have focused on between-groups differences rather than within-groups differences. However, if studies suggest that the acknowledgment of ethnicity itself is fundamental in career counseling, and ethnic group members differ based on how they define themselves as ethnic minority members, it seems critical to examine the within-groups differences in career counseling. Failure to acknowledge differences in racial identity might be an important reason that studies looking at the effect of relationship in racial group membership do not produce consistent findings.

In addition, the study intends to explore the relationship between White racial identity and career. It poses answers to questions about the role of White racial identity in career decision-making self-efficacy. No one has suggested its importance or lack thereof, despite the fact that the relationship between non-career factors and White racial identity has produced some significant findings that could have an effect on career development. For instance, White racial identity status has been related to cultural values and personality, which are likely to play a role in career (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994; Sylvestri & Richardson, 2001).

Most studies involving the multicultural perspective of career development involves between-group cultural differences (Carter, Gushue, & Weitzman, 1994). The

need to recognize within groups differences was suggested long ago, yet even those studies that focused on the within-groups differences in African Americans failed to examine similar differences in Caucasians. Nonetheless, it is likely that psychological variables connected with racial membership, and not racial membership itself, are crucial in understanding career choice (Carter & Constantine, 2000). For these reasons, consideration was given to intragroup variations.

Hypotheses Involving Black Racial Identity Attitudes

The review of the literature led to the following hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that the level of PreEncounter attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. It is expected that stronger PreEncounter attitudes will predict lower career decision-making self-efficacy. This hypothesis is based on the findings from previously mentioned empirical studies. As these studies have suggested, PreEncounter attitudes are associated with dependence on White society for definition and approval of acceptable career options, a tendency to choose careers that are not traditional for African Americans, a lack of active career decision-making skills, a tendency to be career foreclosed, lower self-confidence in choosing a career, lower tolerance for career undecidedness, and greater self-blame when recognizing limited occupational, economic, and educational successes (Gainor & Lent, 1998; Helms & Piper, 1994; Jackson & Neville, 1998; Manese & Fretz, 1984; Singleton, 1996; Thompson, 1985; Turner, 1995; Williams, 2002). Review of self-efficacy studies suggests that people in the PreEncounter stage may demonstrate more emotionality indicative of affective states that are known to play a role in self-efficacy, which is supported by other racial identity studies finding that this stage is associated with low self-esteem, feelings of inferiority, and anxiety. All of

these factors can have a negative effect on career self-efficacy. When integrated, these findings have led the authors to the conclusion that the PreEncounter stage may be more associated with lower career decision-making self-efficacy.

The second hypothesis is that the Encounter attitude will be negatively related to career decision-making self-efficacy. Prior studies have suggested that people in the Encounter stage are undergoing a confusion that has resulted in an identity search and uncertainty about one's capabilities and the extent to which racial factors effect the career development process, leading the authors to believe that such people will also demonstrate lower self-efficacy. To support this finding, a review of self-efficacy studies suggests that people in the Encounter stage may demonstrate more emotionality indicative of affective states that are known to play a role in self-efficacy, which results in lowered self-efficacy. Other racial identity studies suggest that people in the Encounter stage are likely to perceive racial discrimination from ambiguous situations, and perceived discrimination was associated with psychological distress, making it difficult for such people to display high self-efficacy.

The third hypothesis is that there is a negative relationship between Immersion/Emersion attitudes and career decision-making self-efficacy. Previously mentioned studies of career development in people who are in the Immersion/Emersion stage suggest active rejection of the dominant culture may lead to one's viewing career options as limited by racial or cultural factors, greater perceptions of discrimination influencing career self-efficacy, lower achievement, preference for serving in their own community rather than being a part of the dominant culture, and lower career foreclosure. These results suggest the possibility that people in this stage are likely to report less career

decision-making self-efficacy. Review of the self-efficacy studies also suggest that perceived racism, which appears higher at this stage than most others, is correlated with self-esteem, which can cause lack of self-efficacy within the occupational domain.

The fourth hypothesis is that Internalization attitudes will be positively related to career decision-making self-efficacy. Examination of the Internalization stage suggests greater occupational attainment, better vocational development, more positive vocational attitudes, higher achievement, more stable vocational identity, more hope that career goals will be achieved, higher likelihood of an internal locus of control, higher perception of social persuasion to studying math and science fields, and greater career self-confidence, despite higher levels of career foreclosure and limited consideration of career options. Review of other racial identity studies finds that higher self-esteem is related to an achieved (e.g., internalized) racial/ethnic identity. These results suggest that people with strong attitudes consistent with this stage would report greater career decision-making self-efficacy.

Hypotheses Involving White Racial Identity Attitudes

Although there is such support for findings in Black racial identity, the hypotheses involving White racial identity are exploratory based on lack of historical research focusing on these topics. Research focusing on the relationship between White racial identity and other factors, many of which are related to career factors, suggest the possibility that White racial identity is related to career development as well. Therefore, there is a rationale for the authors' expectation of finding a relationship between White racial identity and the career development of Caucasians, but lack of more extensive

research prevents the authors from making expectations regarding the extent or direction of the relationship.

The fifth hypothesis of this study suggests that Contact attitudes will be positively related to career decision-making self-efficacy. Because the Contact stage is associated with generally high self-esteem, there is likely to be lesser anxiety and therefore greater career decision-making self-efficacy. The opposite would be true for people in the Disintegration stage, which is associated with greater confusion and negative affective states. Therefore, the sixth hypothesis is that people with higher endorsements of attitudes from this stage will be related to less career decision-making self-efficacy. This may be true for people in the Reintegration stage as well, which is also associated with more anger than personal comfort and may be suggestive of lesser career decision-making self-efficacy. However, the degree of negative affective state may not be the most pertinent indication of self-efficacy for people in the Reintegration stage. People in this stage may be more driven by the belief that they have a certain degree of privilege, which would suggest greater self-efficacy rather than lesser. The seventh hypothesis is that Reintegration attitudes will be related to career decision-making self-efficacy, but there is no indicator of whether that will be a negative or positive relationship.

As an eighth hypothesis, it is believed that Pseudo-independent attitudes will be positively related to career decision-making self-efficacy. The final hypothesis is that Autonomy attitudes will be positively related to career decision-making self-efficacy. These hypotheses are based on the belief that there is higher self-confidence associated with such attitudes. It should again be stated, however, that there is no empirical evidence

to support such claims. As a result, this study will consider these hypotheses to be exploratory in nature, simply an effort to determine whether such a relationship exists.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

Participants

Five hundred questionnaires were returned from students at an average-sized university in the southern region of the United States. Of the 500, 459 questionnaires were usable. The other 41 questionnaires could not be used either because the wrong questionnaire was completed (e.g., an African-American student completing the questionnaire meant for Caucasians) or the participant failed to answer enough questions. Racial membership was an issue because for the purposes of this study, the only questionnaires that could be utilized were those from African-American or Caucasian students.

Frequency analysis provides the following information. Ninety-six African-American students completed questionnaires that could be used in the study. There were 363 Caucasian students who participated in the study and produced usable findings. Of the 459 participants, 43% were males and 57% were females. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 55, with a mean age of 20.7. As can be seen, diversity is reflected in terms of gender and age. The majority of the participants (83%) had never been married. Four percent were engaged, ten percent were married, and two percent were separated or divorced.

Freshmen students comprised 46.5% of the subject pool. There were 26.5% sophomores, 17% juniors, and 9% seniors. Less than 1% of the students were graduate students and less than 1% indicated that they were taking non-degree classes. Three percent of the population, all of which were Caucasian students, had not developed a primary career choice. For those students who had chosen a primary career, 49% of the students indicated that they were very certain about their desire to achieve that career choice. Thirty-six percent of the students indicated that they were fairly certain about their primary career choice. Ten percent suggested that they were somewhat uncertain about their primary career choice, and five percent indicated that they were very uncertain about it. Regarding a secondary or back-up career choice, 68% of students were able to list one.

The demographic questionnaire also provided information about parents' education level. Seven percent of participants' mothers did not earn a high school diploma, 23% attained a high school diploma, 25% attended college without earning a degree, 30% attained a bachelor's degree, 13% attained a master's degree, and 3% received more advanced training. Therefore, maternal education level was fairly normally distributed. Eight percent of the participants' fathers earned less than a high school diploma, 24% earned a high school diploma, 23.5% received some college education without earning a degree, 30% earned a bachelor's degree, 9% earned a master's degree, and 6% attained more advanced training.

Finally, participants were asked about their expectations regarding their own plans for educational attainment. Two percent did not anticipate earning any degree. Approximately 32% planned to attain a bachelor's degree. Forty-three percent planned to

earn a master's degree, and 22% planned to continue their education post-master's degree.

Subjects were solicited through each of the introductory psychology classes and were provided with extra credit toward course grades for participation in the study. Psychology classes were chosen because students in most major courses of study were expected to take at least one psychology class. Although there was quite a variety in the participants' fields of study, the most commonly represented career paths included nursing, engineering, and social fields such as counseling and psychology. Subjects reporting membership in racial groups other than Caucasian and African American were allowed to participate only for the purpose of obtaining extra credit; their data could not be utilized in this study because no other racial group represented a relatively large enough sample size. Further, there is a general lack of information regarding racial identity models for every potential racial group membership of each participant.

Measures

Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B)

The RIAS-B was believed to be the instrument of choice in future research on racial identity development in African Americans, and appears to be meeting this expectation (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). The version utilized in this study comes from Helms (1990e). This scale is a rationally constructed attitudinal measure based on Cross's (1978) ideas. It is aimed at tapping negative, positive, or mixed attitudes of African Americans toward their own group and towards the Caucasian majority. It was originally designed to measure the general themes of four of the five racial identity statuses proposed by Cross (1971), and was amended by Cross in 1978. To be more

specific, it measures the PreEncounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization stages but does not assess the Internalization/Commitment stage because the stage seemed to describe a style of behaving with respect to identity issues that did not seem to be unique to the stage due to its likely presence in some of the earlier stages (Helms, 1990e). Therefore, there was significant overlap between the Internalization and Internalization/Commitment statuses that made it difficult to capture the latter's distinct quality without overlapping in other areas. Attitudes were assumed to change as a person moves through the stages (Phinney, 2000). The development of the RIAS has made Nigrescence theory more accessible for research and practical applications (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002).

Three versions of the RIAS have existed (Helms, 1990e). The original RIAS is a 30-item self-report measure designed to assess the attitudinal stages of racial identity development. The RIAS-B used the same 30 items after reassigning some items to different subscales. The most frequently used version of this scale, however, contains an additional 20 items and is called the RIAS-B (long form) or the RIAS-L. The latter two versions of the measure continue to be studied, and only one of the versions is no longer in use. Because of a lack of specificity with respect to the use of the various versions of the RIAS, discussion of psychometric properties is complicated. Additionally, an accurate literature review is challenging.

The current versions of the scale have been developed using a diverse sample of college and university students (Helms, 1990e). Diversity is reflected in terms of age (which ranges from 17 to 72 years), geographical region, gender, educational institution (private college, state university, and community college), and racial composition of the

respondents' environments (predominantly Black versus predominantly White). It can therefore seem reasonable to assume that this measure can be used to appropriately assess the racial identity of male and female college/university students (Helms, 1990e).

The authors of the scale initiated reliability studies to examine internal consistency. In each of their studies, Cronbach's alpha was used to calculate reliability estimates for the subscales (Helms, 1990e). Reliabilities for the short form subscales include .69 for the PreEncounter stage, .50 for the Encounter stage, .67 for the Immersion/Emersion stage, and .79 for the Internalization stage. The long form was designed to improve the reliabilities of the subscales by adding more items of similar content. Reliability estimates of the longer version include .76 for PreEncounter, .51 for Encounter, .69 for Immersion/Emersion, and .80 for Internalization. Lengthening the inventory improved the reliability of some subscales to a moderate degree. Nonetheless, the reliability of the Encounter scale was modest and did not meet the median reliability of .54 that has been suggested to be adequate for personality measures (Anastasi, 1982). Review of other reliability studies provides fairly consistent support of these findings. Some studies suggest that reliabilities of all of the subscales are adequate, finding that the PreEncounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization stages received respective reliabilities of .67, .72, .66, and .71 (Helms, 1990e). However, other studies agree that there are coefficient alphas above .70 for all stages except the Encounter stage, which has internal consistency estimates as low as .43 (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998; Parham & Helms, 1981). Regardless, the obtained reliabilities appeared moderate and compared favorably with those obtained for non-culture specific personality measures in addition to comparing favorably with the reliabilities of other measures of racial identity

(Anastasi, 1982; Helms, 1990e; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997; Vandiver et al., 2002).

Review of the correlations between RIAS-B scales suggests that the highest positive correlation ($r = .62, p < .001$) occurs between scales measuring Encounter and Immersion/Emersion attitudes, whereas PreEncounter attitudes are negatively correlated with the other three types of attitudes (Helms, 1990e). There are not significant correlations among Internalization attitudes, PreEncounter attitudes, and Immersion/Emersion attitudes. This supports the descriptions of these attitudes as representing conceptually different stages.

Validity of this scale is further supported by social desirability measures. When examining social desirability in relation to the RIAS-B, the results appear to be based on the social desirability measure being used, as there are significant findings for some measures but not others. Some studies suggest that social desirability accounted for a significant amount of the variance in regression models in both the RIAS-B and WRIAS, but there are often significant findings above and beyond social desirability (Perez-Riviera, 2002). The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale is inversely related to the PreEncounter and Immersion/Emersion stages but not to the Encounter or Internalization stages, and there are no significant findings when examining other desirability scales (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). Social desirability appeared to affect the PreEncounter construct more than the Immersion/Emersion construct. As a result, individual differences in people's willingness to respond non-defensively may influence their test-taking attitudes and response styles but it is less likely with certain personality characteristics (Fischer et al., 1998).

Review of the validity studies show support of the RIAS-B predicting characteristics that are expected to be related to racial identity, but does not predict those that are not expected to be related (Helms, 1990e). Examples of factors that are related to racial identity in African Americans include self-esteem, affective states, and preference for therapists of certain races. Other validity findings suggest that there are four orthogonal factors explaining the RIAS-B that are consistent with the types of racial identity attitudes. Additionally, comparison of the RIAS-B with a similar scale of racial identity suggests that the scales measure highly related constructs (Helms, 1990e). Studies examining validity of the RIAS-B generally found support for the measure (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). Many studies found support for the theoretical constructs inherent in both Cross's original model and Parham and Helms's representation, whether interpreted from a three- or four-factor oblique model (Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). Review of the various subscales suggests that there was strong support for the PreEncounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization stages, but there was little statistical support for the Encounter stage, suggesting that Encounter attitudes are difficult to conceptualize and measure (Ponterotto & Wise, 1987). To a lesser degree, there have also been mild concerns with the PreEncounter status (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998). Despite the fact that some studies suggest that the RIAS-B suffers from psychometric limitations, generally all studies find at least partial support for it, and studies find moderate to strong support for the convergent validity, discriminant validity, and general use of the scale (Fischer, Tokar, & Serna, 1998; Ponterotto & Wise, 1987).

There is considerable controversy regarding how the RIAS-B is best scored (Helms, 1990e). Many people suggest that the measure is best scored in terms of stages

or discrete categories into which a person is placed. Such believers make the assumption that attitudes and stages are synonymous, and therefore subjects should be placed in the category in which they receive the highest mean score. The first version of this scale was based on this scoring premise (Parham & Helms, 1981).

Others consider stages to contribute to types of attitudes but suggest that each person holds some degree of an attitude to some extent (Helms, 1990e). Researchers who hold such beliefs suggest that scoring procedures would best allow the scale administrator to make use of the respondents' scores on all four subscales. In this manner, if a person scores very high on two subscales but very low on the other subscales, all of these factors can be considered rather than placing the person in a stage and examining this singular factor. It is this philosophy that underlies recent usage of the scale, which seems appropriate given the previous discussion concerning the complexity of stages of identity as well as the subscales that attempt to measure them. It is also this philosophy that was used to analyze the data from the current study. Nonetheless, some researchers feel that categorical data, which places participants in one specific category, is more useful for the purposes of their studies. Different scoring procedures are likely to permit different interpretations of one's results, and either method is acceptable per Helms (1990e). This information was also examined in this study but was not used for hypothesis testing.

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS)

The WRIAS was developed to assess attitudes related to the original five stages of racial identity development suggested by Helms, which initially included only the Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independent, and Autonomy stages (Helms & Carter, 1990). The Immersion/ Emersion stage was not included in the scale

due to the overlap between attitudes distinctive to this stage versus attitudes and beliefs of other stages. Similar to the RIAS, the basic underlying premise is that attitudes about Whites, Whiteness, and White culture as well as attitudes about Blacks, Blackness, and Black culture propel a person's racial identity development, although this does not always occur consciously. Therefore, each stage is characterized by attitudes about Whites and oneself as a White person along with attitudes about Blacks and one's relationship to them. The stages, and consequently the attitudes reflective of the stages, are aligned from least sensitive to race and racism to most aware of race and racism. The stages are also aligned from least to most healthy (Helms & Carter, 1990).

The WRIAS is a rationally derived scale based on this model (Helms & Carter, 1990). Each of the five subscales is measured by 10 items, each of which met the minimum item-total subscales correlation with its own scale of .30 in the original pilot study of the measure. None of the items correlated significantly with a social desirability scale that examined the possibility of a social desirability response set. For each of 50 attitudinal statements, respondents are instructed to use a five-point Likert-type scale to describe themselves. Studies have found no significant differences in WRIAS scores as a function of gender, age, socioeconomic status, academic class level, parents' education level, or religious affiliation (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Scoring for each particular item ranges from scores of 1 which are indicative of strongly disagreeing with statements, to scores of 5 which are indicative of strong agreement. Scores are calculated by adding the point values of the responses marked by the respondents for each of the subscales. Each subscale sum is divided by 10 to maintain the scale metric. Zero values (which can occur due to leaving items blank) are included in the total scores because, according to the

theory of which the measure is based, until the person has reached the relevant stage of development, some items may seem meaningless. Therefore, scores can range from zero to 50. The higher the score, the more descriptive of the respondents are the subscales. Although the attitudinal scales are based on a model that proposes discrete stages of racial identity, it is probably best to use all five of a respondent's scores to form a profile rather than single scores to assign the respondent into a single stage (Helms & Carter, 1990). Review of means and standard deviations suggests that although there are no significant gender differences on any of the subscales, males tended to have non-significantly higher scores on the Autonomy and Pseudo-independent subscales.

Review of the pilot study of the WRIAS shows internal consistency reliabilities in the .90s for each of the subscales (Helms & Carter, 1990). Since then, reliabilities have been calculated in three studies. The results of the first study suggest that reliabilities via the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula range from .67 (Contact) to .82 (Reintegration). Results of the second study suggest reliabilities ranging from .55 (Contact) to .77 (Disintegration). Results of the third study found internal consistency reliabilities ranging from .65 (Pseudo-independence and Autonomy) to .76 (Disintegration). Following the pilot studies, other researchers noted reliabilities of .61 (Contact) to .84 (Reintegration) (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). As can be seen, each scale has repeatedly been found to exceed the median reliability coefficient of .54 reported by Anastasi (1982) for personality tests in general, despite the fact that some researchers report problems with the reliability of the Contact scale (Behrens, 1997). Overall, these results suggest that this measure seems to have adequate reliability to warrant further experimental use (Helms & Carter, 1990).

Some information is available regarding content, criterion, and construct validity. Regarding content validity, the measure seems to include items identified by other authors as being important components of White racial identity development, and in fact, does so more systematically than is typically the case (Helms & Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). Because it is not intended to measure racism or prejudice, per se, there is also less emphasis on the measurement of racism in the items than is typically the case (Helms & Carter, 1990). The greater similarity between the WRIAS and other scales of its type occur with respect to the Reintegration, Pseudo-independent, and Autonomy stages (Helms & Carter, 1990).

Criterion validity compares each of the scales of the WRIAS to measures of other personality constructs. Various studies have shown that higher Contact attitudes have been associated with lower levels of anxiety, lower desire to initiate social contact with others, and higher likelihood of clients to report feeling supported and understood during therapy sessions (Helms & Carter, 1990). In other words, Contact attitudes are related to interpersonal receptivity as long as a person does not have to initiate the interaction. Higher Disintegration attitudes have been related to greater discomfort with interpersonal interactions, stronger desire to affiliate with same-race people, and stronger beliefs that African Americans require more academic assistance than Caucasians and receive greater respect by media than is warranted (Helms & Carter, 1990). Reintegration attitudes have been found to be related to increased levels of anxiety for males, less desire to initiate or be involved in affiliative activities with others, greater idealization of Whiteness, greater denigration of Blackness, stronger bias against interracial relationships, stronger beliefs that Blacks are inferior to Whites, and stronger beliefs that the government and other

systems favor Blacks over Whites (Helms & Carter, 1990). Higher Pseudo-independent attitudes have been related to greater liberal attitudes in regard to racial issues and greater approval of interracial relationships, but there are mixed findings in terms of preference for race in counseling settings, and it has not been found to be related to levels of affect or reaction to discussions of racial issues (Helms & Carter, 1990). Higher Autonomy attitudes have been related to greater support of full racial integration, greater flexibility regarding acceptance of racial identity attitudes, less preference for White counselors, and less likelihood of feeling supported by counseling interventions (Helms & Carter, 1990). When examining high versus low racial identity attitudes, greater self-actualizing tendencies were associated with more advanced racial attitudes (Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

Construct validity examines the adequacy of the scale in measuring the hypothetical construct of White racial identity. In regards to this measure's construct validity, patterns of subscale correlations suggest that they are consistent with theory. For instance, Contact attitudes represent weakly positive racial identity attitudes that are most similar to Pseudo-independence or intellectualized racial attitudes (Helms & Carter, 1990; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Disintegration attitudes are most strongly related to Reintegration attitudes, and both of these are related in a negative direction to the other three types of attitudes (Helms & Carter, 1990; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Although the Pseudo-independent and Autonomy attitudes are both positively related to Contact attitudes, their strongest positive correlation is with each other. Despite the fact that none of the interscale correlations are high enough to suggest the scales are redundant, the pattern of correlations seems to confirm there are two general styles of White racial

identity attitudes, one which is characterized by reactivity and general discomfort with racial issues, and the other that is characterized by positivity and intellectual/emotional comfort with racial issues (Helms & Carter, 1990).

Factor analysis also offers support for the construct validity of the scale (Helms & Carter, 1990; Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). One study suggested that there are three factors that represent the underlying structure of the WRIAS that include degree of racial comfort, attitudes towards racial equality, and attitudes of racial curiosity (Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). Other studies found that 11 factors emerged that had eigenvalues greater than one and accounted for more than 56% of the item variance (Helms & Carter, 1990).

Criticisms of the WRIAS are quite similar to those of the RIAS. Validity studies comparing multiple measures of White racial identity suggest that White identity is best characterized by four constructs that include degree of racial comfort, attitudes toward racial equality, attitudes of racial curiosity, and lower levels of explored racial identity (Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). Although the WRIAS does not measure all four, there are no validated measures that do. Additionally, the WRIAS measures three of the four constructs, including racial comfort, attitudes of racial curiosity, and attitudes towards racial equality (Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). Studies consistently suggest the utility of the WRIAS as an appropriate measure of White racial identity.

Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale (CDMSES)

The CDMSES is a 50-item measure developed by Taylor and Betz (1983) to measure a variety of self-efficacy expectations related to career decision-making tasks. Respondents rate their degree of confidence that they can complete 50 tasks along a 10-

point Likert-type scale. A total score is calculated by summing the confidence ratings for all 50 items. Initially, Taylor and Betz (1983) provided subscale scores for each of several career choice competency areas, but noted problems with the measurement. Response options range from *no confidence at all* (0 points) to *complete confidence* (9 points). Higher scores reflect higher career decision-making self-efficacy (CDMSE) in each domain. Low levels of CDMSE are believed to lead to avoidance of career decision-making tasks and behaviors, whereas high levels of CDMSE are believed to lead to increased engagement in career decision-making behaviors (Luzzo, 1996).

In the original study, the authors reported an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .97 (Taylor & Betz, 1983). Item-total score correlations were generally high, with correlations between .50 and .80 for 43 of the 50 items. Coefficient alphas for the five subscales, which examined five career choice competency areas, ranged from .86 to .89 (Taylor & Betz, 1983). Further research examining the reliability of the scale suggests Cronbach's alpha of .95 (McWhirter & Paa, 1999). There is a 6-week test-retest reliability coefficient of .83 for the CDMSES (Taylor & Betz, 1983).

Factor analysis suggested that the proposed factor structure, based on the five competency areas and measured by the five subscales, was questionable. Many items that loaded high on one factor had relatively large loadings on several of the other factors as well. As a result, the authors concluded that the CDMSES was more appropriately viewed as a means of assessing self-efficacy expectations with regard to the general domain of career decision-making tasks and behaviors as opposed to looking at various areas of competency (Taylor & Betz, 1983). Therefore, five subscales from the original scale are no longer used.

Taylor and Betz (1983) assessed the theoretical relationship between CDMSE and career indecision by having 346 undergraduates complete the CDMSES and the Career Decision Scale. Results suggested a correlation coefficient of $r = -.40$ between the scales. CDMSES scores were particularly related to the component of career indecision described as a lack of confidence in making career decisions. People who were more confident in their ability to complete tasks required for effective career decision-making were less likely to report being vocationally undecided. There is also evidence of discriminant validity in the form of non-significant correlations between CDMSES scores, SAT scores, and ACT scores (Taylor & Betz, 1983). The relationship between CDMSES scores and gender is non-significant as well. When examining CDMSES scores, verbal ability, and math ability, the strongest predictor of career indecision was CDMSES total scores.

Following the pilot studies, there have been a variety of studies examining the psychometric properties of the CDMSES. Such studies share the concern for the overlap between the five subscales but show a moderate positive relationship between the total CDMSES scores and other measures of occupational self-efficacy (Luzzo, 1996). Combined, the studies suggested that the CDMSES shared a moderate relationship with self-esteem, career decidedness, and vocational identity, along with a weaker (yet significant) relationship with anxiety and locus of control, but no relationship with gender, grade-point average, or career decision-making skills (Luzzo, 1996). The studies also report coefficient alpha of .93, provide item-total score correlations with 46 out of the 50 items above .50, and show a six week test-retest reliability of .83 (Luzzo, 1996).

Currently, there is also a 25-item short form of this scale with similar psychometric properties that is often used (McWhirter, Rasheed, & Crothers, 2000).

Strengths of the CDMSES include the availability of information including the construction and psychometric development of the scale, the consistency of evidence supporting adequate psychometric properties, and the fact that it is based on a clearly defined social cognitive theory (Luzzo, 1996). The most significant weakness is that all of the reliability and validity studies have focused on college students, suggesting the need to assess the psychometric standards with varied populations. Other weaknesses are the failure of researchers to present information regarding the ethnicity of participants, the need for additional investigations of test-retest reliability, and the demonstration of predictive criterion validity (Luzzo, 1996). Despite these limitations, the CDMSES was noted to be an adequate attempt to measure the role of self-efficacy expectations in the career decision-making process (Luzzo, 1996).

Demographic Questionnaire

The demographic questionnaire served several purposes. First, it provided a number of dependent variables, such as parental educational level, for which further examination was conducted. Secondly, it identified questionnaires that could not be used based on non-African American or non-Caucasian racial background. Third, it assisted in obtaining further information about career choice and certainty. The 11-question demographic questionnaire included inquiries regarding age, gender, racial group membership, marital status, academic classification, career and major choice, career certainty, parents' level of education, and expectations regarding one's own level of education.

Procedure

Following review of the Human Subjects Committee, participants were asked after classes by the researcher of the current study to volunteer their participation in the study. An explanation was provided regarding the confidentiality and the voluntary nature of the study. Subjects were informed that they could discontinue the study at any point in time without suffering negative consequences. An explanation was given regarding the general topic of the study and subjects were provided an opportunity to ask questions. Because they received bonus points for participating in the study, students were given the option to complete a short research paper in lieu of the study. Those students who elected to participate in the study received the following instructions.

Students were asked to choose one of two questionnaire sets based on their identification to a majority or minority culture. The red questionnaire set was for Caucasians and people of other races who identified most strongly with Caucasians or traditional Caucasian culture. The information provided by non-Caucasians who chose this questionnaire set were not included in the results. The blue questionnaire set was for African Americans and non-African American subjects who identified more closely with being a minority in the general society. The information obtained from non-African Americans who chose this questionnaire set were not included in the final data set. Questionnaire sets included each of the aforementioned instruments based on racial group membership. Subjects did not place their names on papers and returned the questionnaires face-down to classroom instructors in a group format, so that there was no identifying information. Immediately following this, the instructor returned the

questionnaire sets to the author for data entry. This procedure generally required 15 minutes.

Scoring was based on instructions provided in the manuals of each of the measures. Analysis of the racial identity attitude measures used continuous data for hypothesis testing as opposed to categorical data, which is suggested but not required by the authors of these scales (Helms, 1990a; Helms, 1990f). All of the data were recorded in a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences program Version 11.0 for computational analysis (SPSS, 2002). The data were analyzed using multiple regression. Incomplete questionnaires were not included in the study except as required by measures (e.g., the racial identity scales assign scores to missing items). For participants who completed the White racial identity questionnaire set, the prediction of career decision-making self-efficacy based on White racial identity was explored. For those participants who completed the Black racial identity questionnaire set, the prediction of career decision-making self-efficacy based on Black racial identity was explored. The prediction of career certainty based on racial identity also was examined using multiple regression. Additional analyses examined the relationship between demographic factors and the other variables. Significant statistical findings as defined by those with a probability below .05 were noted and will be discussed in the following section.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Results of Black Racial Identity Attitudes Hypotheses

The first hypothesis is that the level of PreEncounter attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy (CDMSE). The second hypothesis is that the Encounter attitude will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. The third hypothesis is that the level of Immersion/Emersion attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. The fourth hypothesis is that the degree of Internalization attitude will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. All of these hypotheses focused on Black racial identity and CDMSE.

The stepwise method of multiple regression was conducted for statistical analysis. All four predictor variables (e.g., levels of PreEncounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization attitudes) were used in this model. The level of career decision-making self-efficacy (CDMSE) as evidenced by the mean of the Total score from the CDMSES was the dependent variable. Results of the correlational matrix suggest that the relationship between career decision-making self-efficacy and PreEncounter attitudes was $-.453$, which indicates a strong negative relationship ($p < .001$). The relationship between CDMSE and Encounter attitudes was $-.209$, which also suggests a negative correlation ($p < .05$). The relationship between CDMSE and Immersion/Emersion attitudes was $-.184$. This relationship is not significant. The relationship between CDMSE and Internalization attitudes was $.440$, which indicates a

positive and significant correlation ($p < .001$). As can be seen from these results, there was a powerful relationship between CDMSE PreEncounter attitudes and a powerful relationship between CDMSE and Internalization attitudes.

When placing all of the variables into the regression equation, there were two significant findings. PreEncounter attitudes were noted to significantly predict career decision-making self-efficacy. R for regression was significantly different from zero, $F(1, 96) = 24.23, p < 0.001$. When compared to the degree of other attitudes, the degree of PreEncounter attitudes was the strongest predictor of CDMSE. PreEncounter attitudes accounted for 20% of the variance. The other significant finding was for Internalization attitudes, which were found to be a significant factor in the prediction of CDMSE. Again, R for regression was significantly different from zero, $F(2, 96) = 19.17, p < 0.001$. Approximately 28% of the variance could be predicted from two predictor variables. Table 1 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), standard error, and standardized regression coefficients (β). Additionally, review of the collinearity statistics suggests that tolerance is high for all variables, indicating that multicollinearity is not a problem in the interpretation of the results.

Results of Statistical Analysis for White Racial Identity Attitudes

This study also focused on the prediction of CDMSE based on White racial identity attitudes, which has never been explored. The fifth hypothesis of this study suggests that Contact attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. The sixth and seventh hypotheses are that Disintegration and Reintegration attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. As an eighth hypothesis, it is believed that

TABLE 1

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Black Racial Identity Variables Predicting Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy (N=96)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i> ²
Step 1			
Pre-Encounter	-.88	.18	-.45**
Step 2			
Pre-Encounter	-.66	.18	-.34*
Internalization	.69	.20	.32*

Note. $R^2 = .21$ for Step 1; $R^2 = .08$ for Step 2 ($ps < .01$)

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$

Pseudo-independent attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy. The final hypothesis is that Autonomy attitudes will predict career decision-making self-efficacy.

Prior to completing regression analysis, correlational analysis was used to determine the presence of significant relationships. Results of the correlational matrix suggest that the relationship between Contact attitudes and CDMSE is .103, which is insignificant. The relationship between Disintegration attitudes and CDMSE is -.181, which indicates a significant negative correlation ($p = .001$). The relationship between Reintegration attitudes and CDMSE is -.114, which is a significantly negative relationship ($p < .05$). There is a significant positive relationship between Pseudo-independent attitudes and CDMSE. This correlation is .274 ($p < .001$). Finally, the relationship between CDMSE and Autonomy attitudes is .227, which suggests another positive relationship ($p < .001$). Using these variables, the most powerful relationships occur between CDMSE and Disintegration, Pseudo-independent, and Autonomy attitudes.

The stepwise method of multiple regression was conducted for statistical analysis. Five predictor variables (levels of Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independent, and Autonomy attitudes) were used in this model. The amount of career decision-making self-efficacy (CDMSE) as evidenced by the mean of the Total score from the CDMSES was the criterion variable. Table 2 displays the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), standard error, and standardized regression coefficients (β). Table 3 provides the correlations between the variables. When placing all of the variables into the regression equation, there was one significant finding, which suggests that only one of the predictor variables contributed significantly to the prediction of CDMSE.

TABLE 2

Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for White Racial Identity Variables Predicting Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy (N=363)

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i> ²
Step 1			
Pseudo-Independence	.55	.10	.27**

Note. $R^2 = .08$. $p < .001$
 ** $p < .001$

TABLE 3

Intercorrelations for BRIAS and WRIAS subscales

BRIAS (n=96)					
Subscale	1	2	3	4	
1. Pre-Encounter	--	.41	.24	-.37	
2. Encounter		--	.64	-.00	
3. Immersion/ Emersion			--	.08	
4. Integration				--	
WRIAS (N=363)					
Subscale	1	2	3	4	5
1. Contact	--	-.30	-.40	.53	.47
2. Disintegration		--	.82	-.57	-.51
3. Reintegration -			--	-.56	-.49
4. Pseudo-Independence				--	.75
5. Autonomy					--

Only for Pseudo-independent attitudes did the R for regression was significantly different from zero, $F(1, 361) = 29.26, p < 0.001$. Pseudo-independent attitudes, then, were noted to significantly predict career decision-making self-efficacy, and they accounted for 7% of the variance.

Unfortunately, these results should be reviewed with care because of problems with multicollinearity. With the value of R^2 being so low (0.072), tolerance values were also low. This suggests that all of the predictor variables were highly correlated with each other, making it difficult to determine the reliability estimates of their regression coefficients. As a result, some of the predictor variables were predicted by other independent variables, which significantly decreased power. The overall results of the regression, then, suggest possible problems with the items of the scale but suggest that Pseudo-independent attitudes may contribute to predicting CDMSE.

Results of Statistical Analysis for Career Certainty

In addition to finding significant predictions of CDMSE, the results were also used to examine the prediction of career certainty. First, there was an examination of the Black racial identity attitudes and career certainty. Because PreEncounter and Internalization attitudes were determined to predict CDMSE, it was believed that these variables would also predict career certainty. Therefore, the multiple regression method was used with the Black racial identity attitudes as predictor variables and the reported perception of career certainty as indicated by the demographic questionnaire as the criterion variable.

Using a stepwise method, the results of the multiple regression technique produced some significant findings. The findings suggest that career choice certainty can

be predicted by PreEncounter attitudes. R for regression was significant, $F(1, 93) = 6.08$, $p < 0.05$. PreEncounter attitudes predicted 51% of the variance overall. Additionally, review of the collinearity statistics suggests that tolerance is high for all variables, indicating that multicollinearity is not a problem in the interpretation of the results.

A similar technique was used to examine the prediction of career choice certainty based on White racial identity attitudes. There were no significant findings from this assessment, $F(5, 354) = 1.15$, $p = .17$. None of the White racial identity attitudes were found to predict career choice certainty.

Results of Statistical Analyses for Expected Level of Educational Attainment

Simply for exploratory purposes, other statistical procedures were investigated. One of these such procedures included analysis of variance (ANOVA) to determine if there was an effect of parents' education level on the highest level of college that participants anticipated completing. Both of these variables were examined by questions on the demographic portion of the questionnaire.

Two analyses of variance were completed. The first examined the effect of the participants' mother's highest achieved education level on the highest anticipated education level expected by the participants. The mother's highest level of education, then, was the independent variable. The dependent variable is the highest level of education expected to be attained by the participant. The results suggested a significant effect, $F(5, 452) = 2.48$, $p < .05$. A post hoc test was completed using Bonferroni's method to assess for where significant effects took place. There was one resulting significant effect of $-.5220$ ($p < .05$). Participants whose mothers did not complete high

school scored significantly lower on their expected highest level of education than did participants whose mothers had attained a master's degree.

The second ANOVA examined the effect of the participants' father's highest achieved education level on the highest anticipated education level expected by the participants. The father's highest level of education, then, was the independent variable. The dependent variable is the highest level of education expected to be attained by the participant. The results suggested a significant effect, $F(5, 446) = 2.80, p < .05$. A post hoc test was completed using Bonferroni's method to assess for where significant effects took place. There were two resulting significant effects. The first effect of $-.622$ displayed a difference between fathers who did not complete high school and fathers who received higher than a master's degree ($p < .05$). The second effect of $-.52$ indicated a significant difference between fathers who received a bachelor's degree and fathers who received higher than a master's degree ($p < .05$). Therefore, having a father who achieved higher than a master's degree led to expectations of receiving a higher level of education oneself as opposed to having a father with less than a high school education or having a father whose highest educational level was a bachelor's degree.

Results of Racial Identity Attitudes Measures Using Categorical Data

Other pertinent findings were determined by the study. It should be noted that the authors of the racial identity measures have indicated that there are multiple methods of scoring and analyzing the data. Although the current data were assessed using the method more recommended by the authors of the racial identity scales, it may also be useful to examine the results of the secondary approach to scoring as well. These results are coded into categorical data as opposed to the continuous data that were used to examine the

primary hypotheses of the study. The rationale behind using categorical data is that it allows researchers to determine which stage of racial identity most prominently identifies a person rather than the degree to which someone holds a racial identity attitude. Frequency data of the students who took the RIAS-B suggests that all of these participants were in the Internalization stage of Black racial identity.

Results of the WRIAS were more diverse. Six percent of the people who took this measure fell within the Contact stage of White racial identity. Two percent of the participants fell within the stage identified as Disintegration, and five percent of participants were within the Reintegration stage. Therefore, a minority of the participants indicated attitudes consistent with lower levels of White racial identity. Approximately 40% of the students endorsed attitudes there were consistent with the Pseudo-independent stage, and 32% of participants feel within the Autonomy stage of racial identity. There were 14% of participants who received equally high scores (which determined to which category that they would be placed) in more than one category, which prevented them from being placed in any specific category.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

There were four hypotheses of this study based on the Black racial identity attitude scales. Support was found for three of the nine hypotheses: the hypotheses involving PreEncounter, Internalization, and Pseudo-independent attitudes. Each of these attitudes predicted career decision-making self-efficacy.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis, which examined the prediction of career decision-making self-efficacy (CDMSE) from PreEncounter attitudes, was supported by the results. Prior to completing a multiple regression, a correlational matrix was computed. The results of the correlational matrix suggest a strong relationship between PreEncounter attitudes and CDMSE. This relationship was negative, as was expected. This finding suggests that the more that a person ascribes to PreEncounter attitudes, the weaker the person's CDMSE. Therefore, failure to examine one's racial identity and to explore oneself as being an African American appears to be related to lack of confidence in one's career decisions and in following through on those decisions. In fact, results of the multiple regression suggested that the degree of PreEncounter attitudes can predict the level of CDMSE. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that people with strong PreEncounter attitudes have struggled to determine their identities not only in the racial sense but also in a more generalized sense, leading to a lack of confidence in their decision-making abilities.

Many authors have suggested that people have many different sources of identity which are all important in contributing to their overall self-concept. Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987), for example, indicated eight types of identity statuses that all contribute to a generalized sense of identity including occupation, religion, politics, philosophical lifestyle, friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation. Because a person's overall self-esteem is based on their self-concepts derived from various roles, it is reasonable to conclude that failure to achieve a high sense of self-esteem in any of the identity roles can lead to a decrease in a person's generalized sense of self-esteem or confidence. Therefore, it can be deduced that failure to examine racial identity and to become comfortable with one's own racial background can lead to confusion about oneself and discomfort with oneself. This suggestion, which is consistent with previous findings, implies that failure to examine racial identity can lead to the lack of confidence in numerous facets of life. As a result, it appears that when a person fails to explore their racial identity and to become comfortable with it, they also do not become comfortable with their ability to make career decisions.

This is not a surprising discovery, in that research has consistently shown the importance of racial identity in a variety of aspects of people's lives. Although the earlier pioneers of identity theories may have neglected to recognize the influence of racial identity, other studies have found for African Americans, it may be the most important type of identity to have (Rosenthal, 1986). Studies of its relationship with and effect on occupational issues have found that racial identity has an effect on career choice, the degree of traditionality of career choice, career foreclosure, confidence that career goals will be achieved, career decidedness, occupational attainment, vocational development,

work values, perceived social persuasion for pursuing math and science career options, academic achievement, and perceptions of discrimination regarding career self-efficacy (Gainor & Lent, 1998; Helms & Piper, 1994; Jackson & Neville, 1998; Manese & Fretz, 1984; Singleton, 1996; Thompson, 1985; Turner, 1995; Williams, 2002). Again, it should be stated that higher levels of achieved African-American identity have been found to be related to higher career self-efficacy, whereas lower racial identity statuses have been associated with lower career self-efficacy (Byars & Hackett, 1998; Williams, 2002).

When looking specifically at the effect of PreEncounter attitudes on career, the results from Carter and Cook (1992) support the negative relationship found in this study between PreEncounter attitudes and CDMSE. They suggested that people in the PreEncounter stage depend on White society for definition and approval of acceptable career options. Perhaps the rationale for the negative relationship between PreEncounter attitudes and CDMSE is that in addition to having a decreased feeling of generalized confidence, people with high PreEncounter attitudes have a high desire to make career decisions that are consistent with a culture that they may not be able to fully find acceptance.

It is also particularly interesting to note that a previous study found that although people with high PreEncounter attitudes report a greater interest in pursuing math and science occupations (which are not traditionally popular occupations within the Black society), they also report lower perceived social persuasion for pursuing math and science career options (Gainor & Lent, 1998). In other words, although people with high PreEncounter attitudes were more likely to report a desire for non-traditionally Black

occupations, they did not receive much social support to pursue such occupations, which could also affect their CDMSE. Studies have consistently noted that perceptions of low social persuasion appear to lead to low self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). These findings suggest that three factors account for the prediction of CDMSE from PreEncounter attitudes. These three factors include overall lowered confidence based upon poor identity development, greater desire to make career decisions based on a culture that is inconsistent with one's own racial background, and lowered social support to pursue occupations that are inconsistent with one's racial background.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis examined the prediction of CDMSE based on Encounter attitudes. Prior to completing the regression equation, a correlational matrix was computed. It was believed that there would be a negative relationship between Encounter attitudes and CDMSE. Although Encounter attitudes did not predict CDMSE, a significant negative relationship was found. Therefore, the greater a person's Encounter attitudes, the lower their CDMSE. People who are struggling to determine their identity as a Black person and who are not sure about where they fit have greater difficulty exhibiting confidence in their ability to make career decisions.

Again, this finding is not surprising. People who are struggling to manage strong stressors or emotions as is characterized by the Encounter stage may be more likely to have difficulty displaying confidence in general, and it is often difficult to make decisions under stress (Helms & Parham, 1990). To exhibit confidence in those decisions may be especially difficult. Studies suggest that affective states greatly influence self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). The stronger the negative affect, the lower the self-efficacy. These

findings are also supported by other studies that suggest that the marked feelings of confusion and conflict about racial group membership cause people to be unsure about their capabilities (Carter & Cook, 1992).

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis suggested that CDMSE could be predicted by Immersion/Emersion attitudes. Again, a correlational matrix was computed prior to completing the regression equation. It was hypothesized that there would be a negative relationship between Immersion/Emersion attitudes and CDMSE. Results of the correlational matrix suggest that there is no significant relationship between Immersion/Emersion attitudes and CDMSE. Because there was no significant relationship, there was no support for this hypothesis.

Previous studies suggest that there may be a relationship between Immersion/Emersion attitudes and career development. Carter and Cook (1992) suggested that active rejection of the dominant culture may lead to one's viewing career options as limited by racial or cultural factors. Similarly, Williams (2002) found that having a core African-American identity was related to greater perceptions of discrimination regarding career self-efficacy. Students who are low achievers in school and who may feel low in self-efficacy on academic and occupational-related issues, tended to have higher Immersion/Emersion scores than are high achievers (Turner, 1995). Therefore, studies have suggested that Immersion/Emersion attitudes often are related to lower self-efficacy regarding career issues. Additionally, the defining characteristics of this stage, such as behaving in stereotypically "Black" mannerisms and withdrawing into a solely Black

culture, would suggest limitations in both views and perceived options that would likely lower CDMSE.

Nonetheless, in no known studies has the relationship between racial identity and career development been as strong for Immersion/Emersion attitudes as the other three types of attitudes. Whereas other studies have consistently found significant relationships between career factors and all of the racial identity statuses, there are generally less significant or insignificant findings for the Immersion/Emersion attitudes. There could be many reasons for this. Although problems with the measurement of this scale could account for the differences, review of reliability and validity studies suggest that the measurement of this scale is adequate. Another possible explanation is that whereas Immersion/Emersion attitudes may be related to limited career options, people with high Immersion/Emersion attitudes still perceive that they are well-equipped to make proactive career decisions. Another explanation is that withdrawal into a Black culture, which is often an adaptive technique for buffering the effects of perceived discrimination and injustices, is effective in fostering a sense of confidence in one's ability to make good career decisions. Finally, it may be that people with high Immersion/Emersion attitudes may feel more socially supported by people from similar cultural backgrounds in the career decisions that they make, which can lead to greater feelings of self-efficacy.

Hypothesis 4

The final hypothesis involving the Black racial identity attitudes was that Internalization attitudes would predict CDMSE. The correlational matrix suggested a significant positive relationship between Internalization and CDMSE. The relationship between Internalization attitudes and CDMSE was quite strong ($r = .44, p < .001$). This

suggests that greater endorsement of a stable and non-externally defined (or non-stereotypic) Black identity is associated with greater confidence in making career decisions. Additionally, the results of the regression equation suggested that CDMSE can be predicted by Internalization attitudes. Therefore, there was support for this hypothesis.

Previous studies have shown similar results. Internalization attitudes have been associated with positive vocational attitudes (Manese & Fretz, 1984). Internalization attitudes also have been associated with greater vocational development (Jackson & Neville, 1998). Students who were high achievers have been noted to have higher Internalization scores (Turner, 1995). Gainor and Lent (1998) found that Internalization attitudes were positively related to perceived social persuasion regarding math and science options, and again, there is a strong relationship between social persuasion and self-efficacy. Internalization of one's racial identity significantly related to greater vocational hope, which would also be expected to lead to higher self-efficacy (Jackson & Neville, 1998).

The findings of those studies appear to support the findings of this study. It is likely that people with higher Internalization attitudes have greater career decision-making confidence for a number of reasons. First, lack of negative affective states such as anxiety and depression are generally consistent with higher confidence. Although people with higher Internalization attitudes may experience negative affect, negative affective states are not as characteristic of this stage as compared to other stages. Secondly, people with higher Internalization attitudes may have greater overall developed identity, which could lead to higher confidence in their career decision-making skills. Because such people may experience greater comfort with themselves, with people who share similar

cultural heritage, and with people of other cultural heritage, they may feel more comfort in other aspects of life. The third reason is that studies have shown greater social support for vocational development in people with higher Internalization attitudes, at least in some fields of study, and social support appears to lead to the ability to experience greater self-efficacy in career decisions (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000; Lent et al., 2001).

Hypothesis 5

The remaining five hypotheses involved the prediction of CDMSE based on White racial identity attitudes. These hypotheses were exploratory in nature because there had been relatively little research to provide sufficient support for them. Nonetheless, review of studies that examined the White racial identity attitudes suggested some traits that may have had an effect on CDMSE.

The fifth hypothesis of this study suggested that Contact attitudes would predict CDMSE. It was expected that there would be a negative relationship between Contact attitudes and White racial identity. This is based on a study of the White racial identity attitudes in which Contact attitudes were negatively related to self-reliance, indicating that people with strong Contact attitudes tended to rely more on others for direction (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). These people would be expected to have less CDMSE because of their difficulties with making decisions autonomously. Furthermore, the study found that Contact attitudes were negatively related to the ability to develop close interpersonal relationships with others, regardless of the racial group membership of others. Because social persuasion is one of the components for high self-efficacy, it was further expected that people who had greater Contact attitudes would have less CDMSE.

The correlational matrix suggested no significant relationship between the two variables. Therefore, Contact attitudes did not predict CDMSE. Apparently, there is a need for further research in this area.

Hypothesis 6

The sixth hypothesis indicates that Disintegration attitudes will predict CDMSE. Results of the correlational matrix suggest a significant negative relationship between Disintegration attitudes and CDMSE. This suggests that the greater one's Disintegration attitudes, the lower one's confidence in making career decisions. However, review of the multiple regression statistics suggests that Disintegration attitudes do not predict CDMSE. Therefore, although there was no support for this hypothesis, the overall study of these two variables produced significant findings.

Previous studies have noted that Disintegration attitudes have a positive relationship with traditional White American values of status and power and a negative relationship with altruism (Carter et al., 1994). This same study suggested that Disintegration attitudes were also associated with preference for individualistic rather than collectivistic attitudes. Social persuasion, then, may not be as important in developing self-efficacy for people with high Disintegration attitudes, and other determinants of self-efficacy such as performance accomplishments and affective states may play a larger role in the degree of self-efficacy that is developed. Multiple studies have noted greater affective states such as neuroticism and depression in people with higher Disintegration attitudes, which are expected to have a negative effect on self-efficacy (Helms, 1990f; Sylvestri & Richardson, 2001). Therefore, results of previous studies provided evidence that is fairly consistent with the obtained results from this

study. CDMSE is lower in people with greater Disintegration attitudes, which appears to be due to greater negative affective states; yet, Disintegration attitudes do not predict CDMSE.

Hypothesis 7

The seventh hypothesis indicates that Reintegration attitudes will predict CDMSE. The obtained results were quite similar to those in the previous hypothesis. Results of the correlational matrix suggest a significant negative relationship between Reintegration attitudes and CDMSE. Therefore, stronger Reintegration attitudes are related to lower confidence in career decision-making abilities. However, review of the multiple regression statistics suggests that Reintegration attitudes do not predict CDMSE. Again, there was no support for this hypothesis, but the correlational study of these two variables does support the existence of an inverse relationship.

Support for these findings is also quite similar to those of the Disintegration attitudes. Just like the Disintegration status, Reintegration attitudes have a positive relationship with traditional White American values of status and power and a negative relationship with altruism. Reintegration attitudes also have associated with preference for individualistic rather than collectivistic attitudes (Carter et al., 1994). As a result, social persuasion may not be as important in developing self-efficacy, and other determinants of self-efficacy such as performance accomplishments and affective states may play a larger role in the degree of self-efficacy that is developed. Similar to the Disintegration attitudes, neuroticism also appears to be positively related to high Reintegration attitudes, which could account for lowered CDMSE (Sylvestri & Richardson, 2001). Also, Reintegration attitudes have been found to predict a belief in

past time as opposed to having a future or present orientation, which may play a role in the difficulty with displaying CDMSE for future occupational decisions (Carter & Helms, 1990; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Difficulty with CDMSE may also be due to the fact that Reintegration attitudes have been found to be significant negative predictors of openness and agreeableness (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). Therefore, people with high Reintegration attitudes may not be as open or agreeable to career possibilities, causing career foreclosure which could negatively affect confidence in making career decisions.

Based on these findings, it appears that the relationship between Reintegration attitudes and CDMSE could be indicative of a number of factors. Most of the factors appear to be related to the fact that people with greater Reintegration attitudes have self-efficacy that is being driven more by affective states than by social persuasion. Yet these people experience more negative affective states which may be the cause of the lowered CDMSE. Their lack of openness may also be related to the lowered CDMSE.

Hypothesis 8

The eighth hypothesis examined the prediction of CDMSE from Pseudo-independent attitudes. Review of the correlational matrix found a significant positive correlation between Pseudo-independent attitudes and CDMSE. The greater a person's Pseudo-independent attitudes, the greater the person's CDMSE. Additionally, the results of the regression equation indicated that CDMSE could, in fact, be predicted by Pseudo-independent attitudes. The results found support for this hypothesis.

The rationale for this hypothesis may lie in the significant positive relationship between Pseudo-independent attitudes and a belief in one's mastery over nature (Carter & Helms, 1990). Based on this study, people with higher Pseudo-independent attitudes were

found to see their ability and effort as internal and within their control, which would suggest greater perceptions of self-efficacy. With the exception of this study, however, it was difficult to find supporting data for this finding. Generally speaking, results of studies show various positive and negative traits that could affect CDMSE in people with high Pseudo-independent attitudes. For instance, one study suggested that people with higher Pseudo-independence experienced anger more frequently, which is indicative of a negative affective state that would normally be related to lower CDMSE (Perez-Riviera, 2002). Another study found Pseudo-independent attitudes to be a significant negative predictor of openness, which would also suggest lower CDMSE (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). This result is complicated by the fact that Pseudo-independent attitudes appear to be the most difficult to measure. It may also be that affective states and other intrapersonal characteristics such as openness should be reviewed in conjunction with other factors such as social persuasion or other social factors to determine its role in CDMSE. Because no such findings are known to this author, additional research is warranted to explore the relationship.

Hypothesis 9

The final hypothesis stated that CDMSE could be predicted by Autonomy attitudes. Similar to the other hypotheses, a correlational matrix was computed prior to completing multiple regression. Review of the correlational matrix found a significant and powerful positive correlation between Autonomy attitudes and CDMSE. Therefore, in general, the greater a person's Autonomy attitudes, the greater that person's CDMSE. When computing the regression equation, however, there was no support for the hypothesis. Autonomy attitudes were not found to predict CDMSE.

Review of the relationship between CDMSE and Autonomy attitudes appears to be fairly supported by the data on Autonomy attitudes. Autonomy attitudes have also been found to be positively related to reliance on oneself, indicating that people with strong Autonomy attitudes can rely on themselves in making decisions (Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Autonomy has been found to be a significant positive predictor of openness (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). Autonomy attitudes were positively correlated with extraversion and were believed to be associated with greater interpersonal comfort (Sylvestri & Richardson, 2001). Therefore, the relationship between Autonomy attitudes and CDMSE appears to be based on the lack of negative affective states and the tendency towards being generally independent and comfortable.

Additional Findings

This study highlighted other notable findings that will be addressed briefly at this time. The results of an ANOVA suggested that participants whose mothers did not complete high school scored significantly lower on their expected level of obtained education than did participants whose mothers had attained a master's degree. Despite this, it should be noted that having a mother who attained higher than a master's degree did not appear to add more to the expectation of the student regarding the student's education level. Nonetheless, these results suggest that maternal education level can have an effect on the expected level of college attainment in the child.

The second ANOVA examined the effect of the participants' father's highest achieved education level on the highest anticipated education level expected by the participants. There were significant findings of this measurement. The results suggested that having a father who achieved higher than a master's degree led to expectations of

receiving a higher level of education oneself as opposed to having a father with less than a high school education. Having a father who achieved higher than a master's degree also led to expectations of receiving a higher level of education oneself as opposed to having a father whose highest educational level was a bachelor's degree. These results suggest that paternal education level also has an effect on the expected level of college attainment of the child. Students whose parents received higher education levels expected to go further in schools themselves. Although not a surprising finding, this is a significant finding based on the fact that minorities have historically been under-represented within most college populations. These findings relate to this study because lower expectation levels regarding education can be related to lower confidence in seeing career opportunities and making career decisions (Graham et al., 1998; Wilson, 2002).

The final analyses completed during this study reviewed the secondary scoring approaches for the RIAS-B and WRIAS scales. Helms (1990e) indicated that there were two approaches to scoring the measures. The preferred method was to not place participants in categories; instead, it was suggested that researchers utilize the data from all of the racial identity attitudes to determine a person's degree of racial identity. The rationale for this type of scoring procedure involved the fact that all of the stages contributed to various attitudes, and all people have a certain degree of every attitude, so researchers should examine the subject's scores on all of the scales. Based on this suggestion, this was the scoring approach utilized in the hypothesis testing by the researchers of the current study. However, the other approach to scoring the results was also considered acceptable and was noted to, in fact, assist in determining other interpretations of the results. This method involved examining which of the four or five

categories of the measure that a person scored highest on and assigning that person to that classification. For example, if an African American received the highest score on the Encounter questions, that person would be considered to be in the Encounter stage of racial identity.

After placing each of the African-American participants into categories, the following results emerged. Surprisingly, 100% of the African-American students were within the Internalization stage on the scale. Therefore, no further analysis could be conducted comparing people in one group to those in another group. It is believed that this may have occurred as a result of the environment. All of the participants attended a predominantly Caucasian university. In such an environment, it may be adaptive to endorse Internalization attitudes as opposed to the other types of attitudes. Because African Americans are a minority, it may be impossible to continue to be within the PreEncounter stage, as the students may be faced to encounter racial situations while attending a predominantly Caucasian university. High Encounter attitudes are unlikely to be assistive within this environment based on the degree of anxiety that occurs in this stage. It may be difficult to endorse high levels of Immersion/Emersion attitudes when in an environment dominated by other cultural groups. Therefore, there may be a push to go through the stages very quickly and develop Internalization attitudes. Social desirability may also play a role in this finding. However, it also should be mentioned that some of the scores across the stages were very close, indicating undifferentiated attitudes.

Another possible reason for such a finding is that people with higher Internalization attitudes are less concerned with having a minority status, and may have chosen universities accordingly. Because they are comfortable regardless of the racial

background of the people around them, they are more likely to have used other criteria in choosing a university. People with more Encounter or Immersion/Emersion attitudes, then, may find it easier and more desirable to attend universities in which they are not minorities.

It should be noted, however, that previous studies have found mixed results on this facet. One study produced results that significantly contradicted the findings of this study. In that study, students at institutions in which Caucasians comprised the majority of the population scored significantly higher in Encounter and Immersion/Emersion attitudes than did students at universities in which African Americans were a majority (McCowan & Alston, 1998). In other studies, however, there were results similar to those produced by the current study. Cheatham, Slaney, and Coleman (1990) suggested that despite the belief that being in a traditionally Black college/university would be more conducive to the exploration of African-American identity, there was no support for this contention. Instead, the findings of that study suggested that students at traditionally Black institutions tended to possess more Encounter and Immersion/Emersion attitudes, whereas African-American students in predominantly White institutions reported more active involvement in a variety of cultural activities.

There was a similar frequency analysis to determine the stages in which participants fell into on the White racial identity stages. Although there was more diversity than in the Black racial identity analysis, there were not enough people in the lower White racial identity stages to conduct further analysis. Again, it should be noted that 6% of the participants fell within the Contact stage of White racial identity. Two percent of the participants fell within the Disintegration stage, and five percent of

participants were within the Reintegration stage. Approximately 40% of the students endorsed attitudes that were consistent with the Pseudo-independent stage, and 32% of participants fell within the Autonomy stage of racial identity. There were 14% of participants whose highest score was in more than one category, which prevented their placement in any specific category. These results suggest that the majority of Caucasian participants were within the higher stages of White racial identity.

It is difficult to determine the ramifications of such findings, however, because there are no other studies with which to compare them. There are no studies known to this author that have placed participants on stages of White racial identity and examined the proportion of people who fell in each stage. It is impossible to know, then, if these are significant findings. Certainly, they are surprising, in that one would expect a higher degree of diversity. At the same time, because the higher stages of White racial identity are seen as more healthy, these results are also promising.

Limitations

There are a few limitations of this study. Most important are the deficits in the psychometric properties of the measures used in this study. The CDMSES appears to have good reliability and validity. On the whole, its psychometric properties are quite strong. However, the fact that the subscales of the measure should not be used based on the overlap of one subscale to another suggests the need for modification. The need for modification also exists for both the RIAS-B and the WRIAS. There are concerns with both measures despite the fact that the psychometric properties are strong enough to support the findings of this study. With the RIAS-B, the major issue appears to be in the Encounter scale. Reliability estimates often suggest that the internal consistency of this

scale does not meet the minimum requirement for what is considered adequate. Validity measures also suggest that Encounter attitudes are difficult to conceptualize and measure. Studies also show that social desirability may be an issue for some of the scales of the RIAS-B, but not others. With the WRIAS, there is support for the reliability of the scales, but the current study noted the presence of multicollinearity when examining it further. Similar to most research studies, the results of this one are limited by the flaws in the measurement tools. Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that the results of numerous psychometric evaluations deemed that all of these measures were useful for research purposes.

The second limitation is that all of the participants came from a single university. When a factor as sensitive to the environment as racial identity is being measured, it appears pertinent to examine these factors in numerous environments throughout several areas of the country prior to coming to conclusions. In the future, studies should take place at a variety of universities and environments within all areas of the United States. There should also be studies examining racial identity in students at both predominantly Caucasian and predominantly minority schools.

Finally, this study is limited by the lack of research on other racial and ethnic groups. Based on the availability of African-American and Caucasian subjects, and the lack of availability of subjects within other ethnic groups, it was determined that these would be the only two racial groups to be studied. However, as was noted earlier, racial identity attitudes are particularly important for minorities (Rosenthal, 1986). There appears to be the need to examine how racial identity effects career decision-making self-efficacy in other cultures.

Future Research

There is a need for greater research on the subject of White racial identity. Thus far, it appears that White racial identity has been examined in relation to cultural values, preference for counselor of similar/different racial background, social interactions with people of same/different racial memberships, perceptions of others, anxiety, anger, self-esteem, and various other personality characteristics (Carter & Helms, 1990; Helms, 1990e; Silvestri & Richardson, 2001; Tokar & Swanson, 1991). Regarding the relationship between White racial identity and career issues, it appears that White racial identity is related to work value and type of career choice (Carter & Helms, 1990). This appears to be the only study conducted on White racial identity attitudes and career development.

Despite this, the significant findings in the other White racial identity attitude studies suggest that they need to be examined more closely. If White racial identity is related to all of these factors, it is likely to relate to other factors as well that have yet to be researched. Because the minority population is rapidly growing in the United States, this makes such studies even more important. It is when a Caucasian person is faced with interactions with minorities that his or her White racial identity becomes quite important and will direct his or her cognitions and behaviors. In the near future, it is likely that most Caucasians will engage in interactions with minorities on a daily basis.

In addition to future research on White racial identity attitudes, there appears to be a need to further understand the role of various factors on CDMSE. There is certainly a relationship between racial identity and CDMSE. However, until more is known about the factors that play a role in the development of CDMSE, it is difficult to understand

why this relationship exists. CDMSE appears to be important in factors such as general self-esteem, general identity development, job satisfaction, school retention, outcome expectations, number of career choice changes, number of actual job changes, and perception of career barriers. All of these factors are important in career development and career maturity.

Summary

The overall results of this study appear to have produced findings that are useful in assisting with career development of both minority and majority college students. The first set of hypotheses focused on Black racial identity and career decision-making self-efficacy. The results indicated that the CDMSE could be predicted by PreEncounter and Internalization attitudes. PreEncounter and Encounter attitudes were negatively correlated with CDMSE, and Internalization attitudes were positively correlated with CDMSE. There was no significant relationship between Immersion/Emersion attitudes and CDMSE. These results inform the career counselor of the importance of racial identity when examining career development. Students who have low CDMSE will need to develop greater CDMSE in order to feel successful within the occupational (and possibly within the school) environment; however, counselors may also need to examine racial identity in African Americans who have low CDMSE. The counselor may find that having high PreEncounter and Encounter attitudes are affecting the student's ability to make confident career decisions with great certainty. This would mean that the counseling sessions would require an exploration of racial beliefs and ideas. If a student does not have high CDMSE, that student is likely to be at greater risk of frequently changing majors (which leads to longer periods of time in college), higher anxiety

affecting decisions (which could also affect proactive behaviors such as interviewing for jobs), and greater risk of dropping out of school.

The last five hypotheses focused on White racial identity and CDMSE. It was determined that White racial identity was an important factor in Caucasian Americans, and was becoming increasingly important based on the growing number of minority students within the United States. The study found that Pseudo-independent attitudes predicted CDMSE, though there were noted problems with multicollinearity that may have affected these results. Correlational studies suggested that CDMSE was negatively correlated with Disintegration and Reintegration attitudes. CDMSE was positively correlated with Pseudo-independent and Autonomy attitudes. These findings suggest that White racial identity may also play a role in developing positive career development in Caucasians and should be addressed when there are concerns about CDMSE in career counseling clients.

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APPENDIX A
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ms. Jennifer Montgomery and Dr. Tony Young

FROM: Barbara Talbot, University Research

SUBJECT: HUMAN USE COMMITTEE REVIEW

DATE: 12/07/05

In order to facilitate your project, an EXPEDITED REVIEW has been done for your proposed study entitled:

“The Relationship Between Black or White Racial Identity and Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy”

HUC-213

The proposed study's revised procedures were found to provide reasonable and adequate safeguards against possible risks involving human subjects. The information to be collected may be personal in nature or implication. Therefore, diligent care needs to be taken to protect the privacy of the participants and to assure that the data are kept confidential. Informed consent is a critical part of the research process. The subjects must be informed that their participation is voluntary. It is important that consent materials be presented in a language understandable to every participant. If you have participants in your study whose first language is not English, be sure that informed consent materials are adequately explained or translated. Since your reviewed project appears to do no damage to the participants, the Human Use Committee grants approval of the involvement of human subjects as outlined.

Projects should be renewed annually. This approval was finalized on December 7, 2005 and this project will need to receive a continuation review by the IRB if the project, including data analysis, continues beyond December 7, 2006. Any discrepancies in procedure or changes that have been made including approved changes should be noted in the review application. Projects involving NIH funds require annual education training to be documented. For more information regarding this, contact the Office of University Research.

You are requested to maintain written records of your procedures, data collected, and subjects involved. These records will need to be available upon request during the conduct of the study and retained by the university for three years after the conclusion of the study. If changes occur in recruiting of subjects, informed consent process or in your research protocol, or if unanticipated problems should arise it is the Researchers responsibility to notify the Office of Research or IRB in writing. The project should be discontinued until modifications can be reviewed and approved.

If you have any questions, please contact Dr. Mary Livingston at 257-4315.

APPENDIX B
HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

HUMAN SUBJECTS CONSENT FORM

The following is a brief summary of the project in which you are asked to participate. Please read this information before signing the statement below.

TITLE OF PROJECT: The Relationship Between Black and White Racial Identity and Perception of Barriers, Coping Efficacy, and Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy

PURPOSE OF STUDY/PROJECT: The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between Black racial identity and perception of barriers, coping efficacy, and career decision-making self-efficacy for African Americans. It also serves to determine if a relationship exists between White racial identity and perceptions of barriers, coping efficacy, and career decision-making self-efficacy for Caucasians.

PROCEDURE: The expected subject pool includes approximately 300 students enrolled in psychology classes at Louisiana Tech University. There are expectations of 150 African-American students and 150 Caucasian students. Subjects will be asked to voluntarily complete a packet of self-report inventories including measures of racial identity attitudes, perceptions of barriers to career and educational success, confidence in overcoming barriers (coping efficacy), and career decision-making self-efficacy. Should they choose not to participate in this project, they will be offered an alternate method of receiving extra credit per American Psychological Association guidelines.

INSTRUMENTS: The instruments include an 11-question demographic form focusing on the subject's background information and career/ educational expectations. The 50-question Racial Identity Attitudes Scale will be utilized to measure racial identity attitudes. The Black version, to be used with African-American subjects, was designed by Janet Helms in 1990. The White version, to be used with Caucasian subjects, was designed by Helms and Carter in 1990. Also included is a 64-question measure of barriers and coping efficacy developed by Luzzo and McWhirter (2001). The combined measure is entitled Perception of Barriers and Coping with Barriers. Another instrument is the Career Decision-Making Self-Efficacy Scale – Short Form, a 25-item instrument designed by Taylor and Betz (1983). To ensure confidentiality, packets will be returned to the researcher face-down and sorted immediately. All information will remain confidential and can only be viewed.

RISKS/ALTERNATIVE TREATMENTS: There are no risks associated with participation in this study. It requires completion of a survey composed of the aforementioned instruments. There are no alternative treatments. Participation is voluntary.

BENEFITS/COMPENSATION: None

I, _____, attest with my signature that I have read and understood the following description of the study and its purposes and methods. I understand that my participation in this research is strictly voluntary and my

participation or refusal to participate in this study will not affect my relationship with Louisiana Tech University. Further, I understand that I may withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any questions without penalty. Upon completion of the study, I understand that the results will be freely available to me upon request. I understand that the results of my survey or other data will be confidential, accessible only to the principal investigators, myself, or a legally appointed representative. I have not been requested to waive nor do I waive any of my rights related to participating in this study.

Signature of Participant

Date

CONTACT INFORMATION: The principal experimenters listed below may be reached to answer questions about the research, subjects' rights, or related matters.

Tony R. Young, Ph.D. (318-257-3229)

Jennifer Montgomery, M.S. (832-661-3936)

Members of the Human Use Committee of Louisiana Tech University may also be contacted if a problem cannot be discussed with the experimenters:

Dr. Les Guice (257-4647)

Dr. Mary M. Livingston (257-2292)

APPENDIX C
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Please provide the following information about yourself to help us study how different people respond to psychological questionnaires and inventories. The information that you provide is strictly confidential and will not be used in any way that will identify you.

Instructions: For each item, please fill in the blank or choose the response that best fits you. Please answer each item.

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your sex? (circle one) Male Female
3. With what ethnic group do you most identify?

A. African American/Black	E. Hispanic/Latino/a
B. American Indian	F. Middle East American
C. Asian or Pacific Islander	G. Other _____
D. European American/White	
4. What is your relationship status?

A. Single/Never Married	D. Separated/Divorced
B. Engaged	E. Widowed
C. Married/Partnered	F. Other _____
5. What year are you in school?

A. First year	D. Senior
B. Sophomore	E. Graduate Student
C. Junior	F. Other _____
6. Currently, what is your primary career choice? _____
7. How certain are you about this career choice?

A. Very certain	C. Somewhat uncertain
B. Fairly certain	D. Very uncertain
8. Currently, what is your second career choice? _____
9. What is your mother's highest level of education?

A. Some high school	D. Bachelor's degree
B. High school diploma	E. Master's degree
C. Some college	F. Higher than a Master's degree
10. What is your father's highest level of education?

A. Some high school	D. Bachelor's degree
B. High school diploma	E. Master's degree
C. Some college	F. Higher than a Master's degree
11. What is the highest level of education you anticipate completing?

A. Some college	C. Master's degree
B. Bachelor's degree	D. Higher than a Master's degree

APPENDIX D
BLACK RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE SCALE

Social Attitudes Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet, blacken the number of the box that describes how you feel.

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

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I believe that being Black is a positive experience. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. I know through experience what being Black in America means. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. I feel unable to involve myself in white experiences and am increasing my involvement in Black experiences. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. I believe that large numbers of Blacks are untrustworthy. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. I feel an overwhelming attachment to Black people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. I involve myself in causes that will help all oppressed people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. I feel comfortable wherever I am. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. I feel very uncomfortable around Black people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. I feel good about being Black, but do not limit myself to Black activities. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. I often find myself referring to White people as honkeys, devils, pigs, etc. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. I believe that to be Black is not necessarily good. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

- | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27. I believe that everything Black is good, and consequently, I limit myself to Black activities. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 28. I am determined to find my Black identity. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 29. I believe that White people are intellectually superior to Blacks. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 30. I believe that because I am Black, I have many strengths. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 31. I feel that Black people do <u>not</u> have as much to be proud of as White people do. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 32. Most Blacks I know are failures. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33. I believe that White people should feel guilty about the way they have treated Blacks in the past. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 34. White people can't be trusted. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 35. In today's society if Black people don't achieve, they have only themselves to blame. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 36. The most important thing about me is that I am Black. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 37. Being Black just feels natural to me. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 38. Other Black people have trouble accepting me because my life experiences have been so different from their experiences. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 39. Black people who have any White people's blood should feel ashamed of it. | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40. Sometimes, I wish I belonged to the White race. | | | | |

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. The people are respected most are White. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 42. A person's race usually is not important to me. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 43. I feel anxious when white people compare me to other members of my race. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 44. I can't feel comfortable with either Black people or White people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 45. A person's race has little to do with whether or not he/she is a good person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46. When I am with Black people, I pretend to enjoy the things they enjoy. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 47. When a stranger who is Black does something embarrassing in public, I get embarrassed. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 48. I believe that a Black person can be close friends with a White person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 49. I am satisfied with myself. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 50. I have a positive attitude about myself because I am Black. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

APPENDIX E
WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY ATTITUDE SCALE

Social Attitudes Scale

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. On your answer sheet, blacken the number of the box that describes how you feel.

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

1. I hardly think about what race I am.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
2. I do not understand what Blacks want from Whites.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
3. I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
4. I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
5. I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
6. I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
7. I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
8. There is nothing that I want to learn from Blacks.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
9. I seek out new experiences even if I know a large number of Blacks will be involved in them.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
10. I enjoy watching the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
11. I wish I had a Black friend.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---
12. I do not feel that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively.

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

13. A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something.
1 2 3 4 5
14. When a Black person holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my viewpoint.
1 2 3 4 5
15. Sometimes jokes based on Blacks people's experiences are funny.
1 2 3 4 5
16. I think it is exciting to discover the little ways in which Black people and White people are different.
1 2 3 4 5
17. I used to believe in racial integration, but now I have my doubts.
1 2 3 4 5
18. I'd rather socialize with Whites only.
1 2 3 4 5
19. In many ways Blacks and Whites are similar, but they are also different in some important ways.
1 2 3 4 5
20. Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.
1 2 3 4 5
21. For most of my life, I did not think about racial issues.
1 2 3 4 5
22. I have come to believe that Black people and White people are very different.
1 2 3 4 5
23. White people have bent over backwards to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks, now it is time to stop.
1 2 3 4 5
24. It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.
1 2 3 4 5
25. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Blacks that they can't learn from other Whites.
1 2 3 4 5

26. I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other.

1 2 3 4 5

27. I limit myself to White activities.

1 2 3 4 5

28. Society may have been unjust to Blacks, but it has also been unjust to Whites.

1 2 3 4 5

29. I am knowledgeable about which values Blacks and Whites share.

1 2 3 4 5

30. I am comfortable wherever I am.

1 2 3 4 5

31. In my family, we never talked about racial issues.

1 2 3 4 5

32. When I must interact with a Black person, I usually let him or her make the first move.

1 2 3 4 5

33. I feel hostile when I am around Blacks.

1 2 3 4 5

34. I think I understand Black people's values.

1 2 3 4 5

35. Blacks and Whites can have successful intimate relationships.

1 2 3 4 5

36. I was raised to believe that people are people regardless of their race.

1 2 3 4 5

37. Nowadays, I go out of my way to avoid associating with Blacks.

1 2 3 4 5

38. I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites.

1 2 3 4 5

39. I believe I know a lot about Black people's customs.

1 2 3 4 5

40. There are some valuable things that White people can learn from Blacks that they can't learn from other Whites.
1 2 3 4 5
41. I think that it's okay for Black people and White people to date each other as long as they don't marry each other.
1 2 3 4 5
42. Sometimes I'm not sure what I think or feel about Black people.
1 2 3 4 5
43. When I am the only White in a group of Blacks, I feel anxious.
1 2 3 4 5
44. Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.
1 2 3 4 5
45. I am not embarrassed to admit that I am White.
1 2 3 4 5
46. I think White people should become more involved in socializing with Blacks.
1 2 3 4 5
47. I don't understand why Black people blame all White people for their social misfortunes.
1 2 3 4 5
48. I believe that White people look and express themselves better than Blacks.
1 2 3 4 5
49. I feel comfortable talking to Blacks.
1 2 3 4 5
50. I value the relationships that I have with my Black friends.
1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX F
CAREER DECISION-MAKING SELF-EFFICACY SCALE

INSTRUCTIONS: For each statement below, please read carefully and indicate how much confidence you have that you could accomplish each of these tasks by marking your answer according to the following 10-point continuum. Mark your answer by filling in the correct circle on the answer sheet.

No Confidence Very Little Confidence Some Confidence Much Confidence Complete Confidence
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Example: How much confidence do you have that you could:

- a. Summarize the skills you have developed in the jobs you have held?

If your response on the 10-point continuum was 5, “some confidence,” you would fill in the number 5 on the answer sheet.

HOW MUCH CONFIDENCE DO YOU HAVE THAT YOU COULD:

1. List several majors that you are interested in.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2. Find information in the library about occupations you are interested in.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3. Select one major from a list of potential majors you are considering.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4. Make a plan of your goals for the next five years.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5. Determine the steps to take if you are having academic trouble with an aspect of your chosen major.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
6. Accurately assess your abilities.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
7. Find information about companies who employed people with college majors in English.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
8. Select one occupation from a list of potential occupations you are considering.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
9. Determine the steps you need to take to successfully complete your chosen major.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10. Persistently worked at your major or career goal even when you get frustrated.
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. List several occupations that you are interested in.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
12. Find information about educational programs in engineering.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
13. Choose a career that will fit your preferred lifestyle.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
14. Prepare a good resume.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
15. Change majors if you did not like your first choice.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
16. Determine what your ideal job would be.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
17. Talk to a faculty member in that department you are considering for a major.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
18. Make a career decision and then not worry about whether it was right or wrong.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
19. Get letters of recommendation from your professors.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
20. Change occupations if you are not satisfied with the one you enter.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
21. Decide what you value most in an occupation.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
22. Ask a faculty member about graduate schools and job opportunities in your major.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
23. Choose a major or career that you parents do not approve of.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
24. Get involved in a work experience relevant to your future goals.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
25. Resist attempts of parents or friends to push you into a career or major you believe is beyond your abilities.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
26. Figure out whether you have the ability to successfully take math courses.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
27. Describe the job duties of the career/occupation you would like to pursue.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

28. Choose a career in which most workers are the opposite sex.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
29. Find and use the Placement Office on campus.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
30. Move to another city to get the kind of job you would really like.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
31. Determine the academic subject you have the most ability in.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
32. Find out the employment trends for an occupation in the next decade.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
33. Choose a major or career that will fit your interests.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
34. Decide whether or not you will need to attend graduate or professional school to achieve your career goals.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
35. Apply again to graduate school after being rejected the first time.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
36. Determine whether you would rather work primarily with people or with information.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
37. Find out about the average yearly earnings of people in an occupation.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
38. Choose a major or career that will suit your abilities.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
39. Plan coursework outside of your major that will help you in your future career.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
40. Identify some reasonable major or career alternatives if you are unable to get your first choice.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
41. Figure out what you are and are not ready to sacrifice to achieve your career goals.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
42. Talk with a person already employed in the field you are interested in.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
43. Choose the best major for you even if it took longer to finish your college degree.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

44. Identify employers, firms, institutions relevant to your career possibilities.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
45. Go back to school to get a graduate degree after being out of school 5-10 years.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
46. Define the type of lifestyle you would like to live.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
47. Find information about graduate or professional schools.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
48. Choose the major you want even though the job market is declining with opportunities in this field.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
49. Successfully manage the job interview process.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
50. Come up with a strategy to deal with flunking out of college.
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9