Composition of the Workplace and Psychological Well-Being: The Effects of Tokenism on America's Black Elite*

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Abstract

Kanter's theory of proportional representation suggests that tokens should experience more work stress and psychological symptoms than nontokens. We examine the effects of proportional representation by race and by gender on work stress and symptoms. Data come from structured personal interviews with a disproportionate stratified sample of elite black leaders in the U.S. (N = 167). Consistent with expectations, analyses showed that numerical rarity by race and by gender significantly increased symptoms of depression and anxiety, respectively. Numerical rarity by race significantly increases "token stress" (e.g., loss of black identity, multiple demands of being black, sense of isolation, having to show greater competence) and a high degree of gender tokenism increases role overload. Some, but not all, of the total impact of proportional representation is mediated through work stressors since these stressors are themselves directly associated with higher psychological symptoms.

Numerical representation is an influential structural characteristic within most formal work organizations. Research suggests that minority-group size affects attitudes, achievement, and the frequency and quantity of interpersonal contact between majority and minority group members (Izraeli 1983; Konrad, Winter & Gutek 1992; South et al. 1982; Toren & Kraus 1987). Most of this research draws upon Kanter's (1977) theory of proportional representation, which argues that individuals who occupy token positions in their work settings experience three sources of stress: performance pressures, boundary heightening, and role entrapment.

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There are three limitations to this research that we wish to address in this study. First, the hypothesis that proportional representation determines these distinct sources of work stress has not been systematically examined. Second, studies generally focus their attention on gender tokens. As a result, the implications of Kanter's hypothesis for other underrepresented groups have been neglected. And third, studies concentrate on tokens within single occupations without providing a general view of the effects of minority-group size on token experiences across work settings (see Wharton & Baron 1987 for an exception).

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between proportional representation and work-related difficulties. Although Kanter (1977) focuses on the consequences of particular work experiences for tokens' job performance, we argue that these stressors should affect tokens' psychological well-being as well. Relationships are examined using a sample of men and women drawn from the black leadership elite in America. Our extension of Kanter's theory should lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which the structure of relationships within the work setting can affect individual well-being.

Kanter's Theory of Proportional Representation

Discussion of the effects of differences in proportional representation within collectivities is not unique to Kanter. Hughes (1944, 1946, 1958) described the potential perpetuation of status conflict based on stereotyped expectations for behavior, highlighting the particular dilemmas faced by women and blacks who enter male and white occupations, respectively (also see Jackson 1962). Taylor and her colleagues (Taylor & Fiske 1975; Taylor et al. 1978) have focused on the evaluation of numerical minorities in white male-dominated groups. Other observational studies on numerical distinctiveness have been conducted (see Segal 1962; Wolman & Frank 1975; Yoder & Sinnett 1985) and currently the literature on the impact of proportional representation on individual group members is growing (e.g., Abrams, Thomas & Hogg 1990; Alexander & Thoits 1985; Macke 1981; Ruble & Higgins 1978; Spangler, Gordon & Pipkin 1978; Wharton & Baron 1987; Yoder 1994). The area of inquiry is not new, but Kanter provides a useful theoretical framework for it. Her emphasis on the sex composition of the group is important, but it is her elaboration of the stress produced by differences in status characteristics and tokens' reactions to these problems that guides our inquiry here.

According to Kanter (1977), work groups can be characterized as uniform, skewed, tilted, or balanced in proportional representation. Uniform groups are homogeneous; all members hold the same master statuses (e.g., white males). The ratio of majority to minority group members in such groups is 100:0. Stress due to differences in observable master status characteristics is absent in these work settings. In skewed groups, majority group members far outnumber minority group members. Kanter suggests ratios of majority to minority group members ranging from 99:1 through 85:15. She refers to majority group members as "dominants" and minority group members as "tokens" in skewed

groups. Those in numerical majority are assumed to control the group and its culture; tokens have very little power in these situations. Tokens are "often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals" (Kanter 1977:208). Tilted groups represent less extreme distributions. Kanter suggests ratios from 84:16 to 65:35, where dominants are still the majority and tokens still the minority. However, due to greater numbers, minority group members are one another's potential allies, can form coalitions, and can affect the culture of the group. As a result, Kanter hypothesizes that minority group members do not experience as much stress as those in skewed groups. Finally, in balanced groups, proportions range from 64:36 to 50:50. Culture and interaction, she argues, become balanced between majority and minority subgroups. In this situation, individual outcomes depend upon structural and personal factors related to the group member rather than group composition per se.[1]

According to the theory of proportional representation, tokens in skewed groups are the most vulnerable to lower levels of emotional well-being from three sources of stress. One discussed by Kanter (1977) is *performance pressure.* Because their "differentness" is highly visible, tokens feel that they are always under scrutiny. Further, because they are symbolic representatives of their "type," tokens experience added pressure to perform well, since this may determine future opportunities for other individuals in their social category. Tokens perceive that their performance ratings are based at least in part on their master status characteristics and not their actual achievements on the job. Thus, tokens may have to put in extra effort to have their achievements noticed. One response to performance pressure is to overachieve; another is to avoid calling attention to oneself or one's accomplishments (and thus potentially to be perceived as less competent or underachieving).

The second source of stress, *boundary heightening,* results from majority group members' tendencies to exaggerate their own commonalities as well as their differences from tokens. Tokens are repeatedly reminded of their difference through jokes, interruptions, exclusion from informal activities, and various "loyalty tests." As responses, tokens can either remain socially isolated or present themselves as exceptions to their category in order to become accepted insiders.

The third source of stress, *role entrapment,* involves typecasting by dominants. Tokens' behaviors are assimilated into existing cultural stereotypes of women (or blacks). Dominants' stereotyped assumptions and mistaken attributions force tokens to play limited and caricatured roles in the organization (e.g., for women, "mother" and "seductress"). Those who resist stereotyped roles are "trapped in a more militant stance than they might otherwise take" (Kanter 1977:236). Either way, "the personal consequence for tokens, of course, is a certain degree of self-distortion" (984).

We assume (as does Kanter) that performance pressures, boundary heightening, and role entrapment are experienced as stressors, i.e., as ongoing difficulties on the job that require behavioral readjustments. Further, tokens' adaptive responses — working harder or "laying low" and thereby suffering lack of recognition, accepting social isolation or turning against one's own (and thus, to some extent, oneself), playing stereotyped roles or combating stereo-

types — are likely to be stressors as well. Consequently, we expect token members in skewed groups to report higher levels of these stressors and of psychological symptoms than those in tilted, balanced, and other groups in which their "type" are the majority.

Kanter's work focused on the situations facing token women in sales management positions and male/female interaction patterns within a large industrial organization. We assume that the dynamics of interaction between "tokens" and "dominants" will be similar across work contexts, at least for leading professionals, government administrators, and chief executives (on whom we focus our analysis here). Tokens are identified by ascribed characteristics (i.e., gender, race, ethnicity). Attached to these characteristics are sets of secondary and informal assumptions about the culture, competence, and behavior of the status occupant. Thus, any interaction will be altered because attention is directed to the master status characteristic or the stereotypes informally attached to the status rather than to the individual's ability to perform a specific task (Hughes 1944; Kanter 1977). In this article, we focus on work stressors associated both with racial and gender tokenism.

Data and Methods

The data for this study come from a research project directed by the third author at Princeton University in 1983. The project was to investigate the network structure of America's black leadership. The primary goals of the study were to collect systematic background information on black elites, to examine the structure of the network links among these leaders, and to describe variations in the political and policy attitudes of the group. Structured personal interviews also elicited information on the gender and race composition of respondents' workplaces, occupational stress, coping responses, and symptoms of psychological distress. There were 167 respondents in the sample.

SAMPLE

To obtain a sampling frame of America's national black leaders, several population lists were compiled. First, institutional sector lists were developed (see Taylor 1992 for a detailed annotation of sources for each institutional sector). Sectors included major executives in both predominantly white and predominantly black businesses, then-current black mayors of major cities (and some former mayors), then-current black members of the U.S. Congress, black federal judges, high-ranking military officers, heads of predominantly black voluntary and civil-rights organizations, black heads of major philanthropic foundations, major media personalities (including columnists, correspondents, editors of major magazines, editors of black newspapers in large cities, entertainers, and athletes), high-ranking labor union officers, major civil service officials, and high-ranking Democratic, Republican, and independent party officers. Other listings included presidents of predominantly black colleges and universities, nationally prominent ministers, scholars and educators, writers and literary figures (intellectuals), and wealthy blacks.

Second, blacks in *Who's Who in America* (WWA; 1982) were enumerated. Because WWA does not indicate individuals' race or ethnicity, *Who's Who among Black Americans* (WWBA; 1980) was used as a cross-check for race. WWBA is by far the longest source list of prominent blacks in the U.S. (17,000 names were included in the 1980-81 edition). There were 960 names common to the two sources.[2] These names were supplemented by lists of national "influentials" published by *Ebony* magazine periodically since 1963 and yearly since 1971.[3] Those names not already on the WWA/WWBA list were added to it.

The WWA/WWBA list was compared to the institutional sector lists; all names on the WWA/WWBA list that did not appear in the institutional sector lists were added to the appropriate institutional listing. Generally, disproportionate (equal frequency) stratified sampling by institutional sector was employed (15-20 persons were drawn from each sector list), with random sampling within sectors. However, *all* black members of the U.S. Congress in 1984 and black heads of major philanthropic foundations were purposively included, given the small number of such individuals in each category. A list of 260 potential respondents resulted from these sampling procedures.

The response rate in the study was 70.5% ($N = 167$), excluding those who, between the time of sampling and contact for interview, had died, moved from the U.S., or were unreachable for other reasons ($N = 23$). This response rate is comparable to rates obtained in other major studies of elites, which range from 40% to 80%, with 60% to 70% being modal (Taylor 1992). The majority of respondents were interviewed by black interviewers.[4]

Table 1 reports the background characteristics of respondents. The majority are middle-aged, male, married, highly educated (95% are college graduates, 63% have advanced degrees), report median family earnings of $82,000 per year, and are in a wide range of prestigious occupations.[5]

Measures

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

Abbreviated symptom scales from the Johns Hopkins Symptom Checklist were used to assess depression and anxiety. For brevity, items were selected if they had high factor loadings on depression and anxiety (Derogatis et al. 1971) and also matched symptom items included in the National Survey of Black Americans (Jackson 1979). Exploratory factor analyses showed that these items formed two factors in this sample. Depression was indicated by the sum of four items: "In the past week, how often did you feel down or depressed, feel hopeless about the future, lack enthusiasm for doing anything, feel lonely?" Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .75. Anxiety consisted of three items: feel tense or keyed up, feel nervous, have your heart pound or race when you were not physically active ($\alpha = .77$). Responses for these items ranged from 1 = never to 5 = very often.

TABLE 1: Descriptive Characteristics of Black Elites

Variable		N
Age		158
Mean age	54.6	
Median age	53.0	
Gender		167
Percent male	76.6	
Marital status		161
Percent married	77.0	
Education		152
Mean years of education	18.1	
Percent some college education	95.4	
Income		127
Mean household income 1985	$107k	
Median household income 1985	$82k	
Occupation		167
Civil servant	15.0	
Major executive	12.6	
Congressperson	10.2	
Labor leader	10.2	
Military leader	8.4	
Foundation head	7.8	
Leader of interest group	7.2	
Intellectual	7.2	
Media personality	6.6	
College president	4.2	
Mayor	3.6	
Political party official	1.8	
Civil rights leader	1.2	
Financial institution	1.2	
Entertainer	1.2	
Religious leader	1.2	

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Two questions assessed occupational group composition for race and for gender. "On a typical work day, do you work with people all of whom are black (female), most of whom are black (female), about half of whom are black (female), most of whom are white (male), all of whom are white (male) except you, or what?" Possible responses were coded: 5 = all are black (female);

4 = most are black (female); 3 = about half are black (female); 2 = most are white (male); 1 = all are white (male) except respondent. Follow-up questions asked, "About what percent would you say are black (female)?" These questions yielded both *ordinal* and *continuous percentage* indicators of black and female proportional representation. As a third measure, continuous percentages were collapsed using Kanter's suggested cut points, distinguishing skewed (1-15%), tilted (16-35%), and balanced (36-50%) groups (which we refer to below as "Kanter's cut points"). For all three indicators of proportional representation, lower values indicated situations in which whites (or males) are numerically dominant, higher values indicated black (or female) numerical dominance in the workplace. For regression analyses, for women respondents only, the percentage of female representation in the workplace was subtracted from 100 to yield the percentage of male representation. Thus, in regressions, the continuous gender percentage measure becomes the percentage of persons in the workplace of the *opposite gender* from the respondent (for both male and female respondents).

A majority of respondents reported working with mostly white and mostly male coworkers. The ordinal measures and Kanter's cut points placed 55-58% of the respondents in white-dominated groups (i.e., in skewed and tilted groups). About 46% of the respondents were in male-dominated workplaces according to the ordinal measures and 50% according to Kanter's cut points. Correlations among the three measures of proportional representation by race were quite high.[6] Given the consistency among these measures, we use the continuous percentage measure below in regressions.

A weakness of these proportional representation questions is their failure to distinguish explicitly between coworkers and clients. Respondents might be including the percentage of black (or female) clients with whom they come into contact each day. However, Kanter (1977) quite clearly states that the interpersonal dynamics that she discusses (performance scrutiny, boundary heightening, role entrapment) occur in contacts with clients as well as colleagues. Consequently, the lack of specificity in these questions should not be a serious drawback and may reflect the realities of relative numerical contacts in the workplace.

WORK STRESSORS

Respondents were asked if their work involved any of 16 pressures. These items included problems identified by Kanter: scrutiny, performance pressures, nonacceptance, and social isolation.[7] Several items tapped another potential stressor not discussed by Kanter, feelings of overload. Tokens presumably are more likely to be asked by their institutions and more generally by their public to serve as symbolic representatives of their "type" on additional committees, on panels, in policy sessions, and so forth. Consequently, tokens should experience multiple demands due to being black, have more demands made on their time in general, and have difficulties juggling their work and private lives.

Respondents indicated whether they experienced each pressure on the job (0 = no, 1 = yes), and if so, how much this pressure bothered them (1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, 3 = very much). The frequency distributions of how much the pressure bothered them were bimodal, with 1 and 3 most frequent. Consequent-

ly, we retained dichotomous indicators for each work stress item (coded 0 = problem is not experienced, 1 = problem is experienced).

Exploratory factor analyses suggested five types of work stress. They included *scrutiny*: scrutiny by colleagues and public scrutiny; *nonacceptance*: experiencing discrimination, value conflicts, nonacceptance by whites, and nonacceptance by blacks; *token stress*: loss of black identity, multiple demands of being black, having to demonstrate more competence than peers, and a sense of isolation; *interpersonal conflict*: hostility from others, political infighting, and conflicting demands from various groups; and *role overload*: too many time demands, juggling private and work life, and too many responsibilities. Items composing each factor were summed as indices of each type of work stress. Because occupations differ greatly in structure (e.g., some jobs involve public scrutiny but not scrutiny by colleagues), we view these work stress measures not as scales but as indices, i.e., as sums of experienced work problems, grouped by type (Heise 1974).

It should also be noted that these questions tap individuals' subjective perceptions of occupational stressors rather than objective conditions of work. Thus, there may be some confounding of perceived work stress with individuals' psychological symptoms (e.g., highly depressed respondents might perceive more sources of occupational stress). We assume here that these successful, highly influential respondents are able to report fairly accurately on the stressors they encounter in their professional lives, but the possibility of reverse causality cannot be dismissed. See Appendix for correlations between work stressors and psychological symptoms.

Background variables include age (measured in years), gender (0 = male; 1 = female), marital status (0 = unmarried; 1 = married), education (measured in years), income (measured in thousands of dollars), and occupation (four dummy variables representing businesspersons, academics, entertainers, and "other" leaders; with politicians as the omitted comparison category).[8]

Results

TOKENISM AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

We expected black leaders who are outnumbered by whites in their work situations to exhibit higher levels of distress than those in balanced situations and situations in which blacks outnumber whites. Similarly, we expected men and women who are outnumbered in their workplaces by the opposite sex to have higher symptom scores than those who are surrounded by equal or greater numbers of the same sex. To examine these hypotheses, we regressed depression and anxiety scores on degree of racial and gender tokenism, holding background variables constant. The results from these baseline models show that our expectations were generally substantiated. As shown in panel A of Figure 1, the degree of race tokenism is marginally significantly related to higher depression scores, while high opposite-gender representation in the workplace is significantly associated with greater anxiety. Squared terms for race and gender representation were then added to each equation to check for possible curvilinearities. Curvilinearity was found in the relationship between

black representation and anxiety (the beta for percent black was 4.83, $p < .10$; the beta for percent black squared was -6.28, $p < .05$), indicating lower symptoms of anxiety at the highest levels of black representation (not shown in Figure 1).[9]

TOKENISM AND WORK STRESS

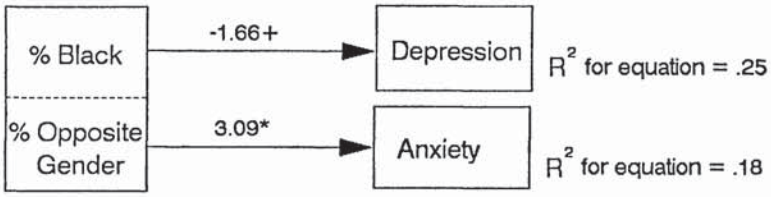
According to the theory of proportional representation, blacks in white-dominated workplaces, men in female-dominated workplaces, and women in male-dominated workplaces should report more work stressors than others whose colleagues and clients share similar master status characteristics. To test this hypothesis, each work stress index was regressed on the proportional representation measures, the other indices of work stress, and the background control variables. The left half of panel B in Figure 1 shows that race proportionality has a significant effect on token stress. Elites who work in predominantly black work settings report fewer problems with token stress than elites in work settings that are not predominantly black, a finding consistent with Kanter's (1977) hypothesis. However, proportional representation by race is not associated with other kinds of work stresses (scrutiny, nonacceptance, interpersonal conflict, role conflict). Elites in workplaces dominated by members of the opposite gender, on the other hand, report significantly more problems with role overload than their peers. Again, however, representation by gender is unrelated to other types of work stress. Thus, we found only partial support for Kanter's general hypothesis that same-status representation in the workplace affects the experience of work problems. That support is limited to certain status compositions of the workplace and particular kinds of occupational problems.[10]

TOKENISM, WORK STRESSORS, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS

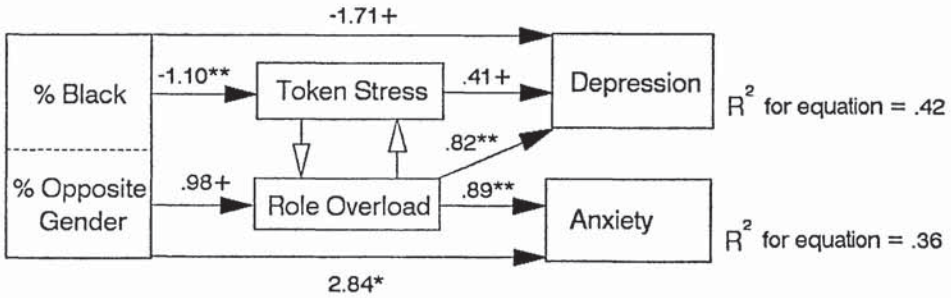
The final step in the analysis examined the relationships among proportional representation, work stressors, and psychological symptoms. Does the experience of specific work stressors explain the higher depression and anxiety scores of elites who are outnumbered by whites and the opposite sex, respectively? Depression and anxiety scores were regressed on the proportional representation measures, the five types of work stress, and the background control variables. The results are presented in the right half of panel B, Figure 1. As shown, the degree of race tokenism continues to be a significant predictor of depression, even when token stress and other work stressors are controlled. Similarly, the direct effect of opposite-gender representation on anxiety remains statistically significant when role overload and other stressors are held constant. Again we see that proportional representation in the workplace has significant impacts on psychological well-being, as initially hypothesized. Moreover, these impacts are both direct and indirect through specific work stressors. Elite blacks who are outnumbered by whites report more token stress and token stress, in turn, increases depression. Elite men and women who are outnumbered by the opposite gender report more role overload and role overload, in turn, increases both depression and anxiety.[11] When squared terms for percent black and percent opposite-gender representation were added to these equations, again the inverse U-shaped relationship between percent black and anxiety appeared (the

FIGURE 1: Regression Results — Symptoms and Work Stressors for Race and Gender Tokens[a]

A. Proportional Representation and Psychological Distress



B. Proportional Representation, Work Strain, and Psychological Distress



(N = 124)

[a] Unstandardized coefficients are presented. See text for other variables controlled in each equation.

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

B for percent black was 4.23, p = ns; the *B* for percent black squared was -6.39, $p < .05$), indicating lower anxiety at the highest levels of black representation, net of work stressors (not shown in Figure 1).[12]

Discussion and Conclusions

Kanter's (1977) theory of proportional representation suggests that individuals who hold token positions will experience distinct problems at work compared to peers working in settings that are balanced in status composition or dominated by members of the same gender or race. Kanter's analysis also implies that tokens should experience greater symptoms of psychological distress due to work pressures. This article provided an empirical test of these hypotheses within a sample of black elite leaders.

We found limited support for the argument that a variety of work stressors are associated with proportional representation. Consistent with the theory, the higher the black percentage in the work setting, the fewer problems elites

reported due to the salience of their black identity (specifically, loss of black identity, multiple demands of being black, having to demonstrate more competence than peers, and a sense of isolation). In addition, high opposite-gender representation was associated with experiences of role overload. However, problems due to scrutiny, nonacceptance, and interpersonal conflict did not vary with the racial or gender composition of the workplace. It appears that proportional rarity produces a more restricted range of difficulties than Kanter suggested, at least within this elite sample.

The finding that racial tokenism increases experiences of token stress is consistent with the larger theoretical and empirical literature on gender tokenism (Blau 1977; Kanter 1977; Macke 1981; McGuire et al. 1978), although our gender tokens did not report an excess of these problems (perhaps because a number of the work stress items were worded in ways that referred to racial and not gender identity). Furthermore, both men and women in situations dominated by the opposite sex experienced role overload. This finding contrasts with research that suggests that male tokens are not exposed to the same stressful work conditions as female tokens (Blau 1977; Gutek 1985). We suspect that women and men who are numerically rare in their work settings may be finding themselves in a position where they are often asked to represent their gender "type."[13]

Although the range of difficulties reported by elite tokens was more delimited than expected, these difficulties nevertheless had significant psychological consequences (as did proportional representation itself). Elites experiencing the pressures associated with token status or role overload suffered higher depression or anxiety, respectively. Even when these sources of work stress were controlled, workplace composition directly affected individuals' psychological symptoms. In workplaces dominated by blacks, black elites' symptoms of depression (and anxiety) were lower. In workplaces dominated by the opposite gender, elites' symptoms of anxiety were higher.

In sum, proportional representation by race and by gender did affect elites' psychological well-being both directly and indirectly through work stress. The direct effects of proportional representation on symptoms are important because the phenomenon of tokenism transcends the work setting and influences the dynamics of group interaction more generally. The findings also raise the question of how race and gender tokens cope with the work stressors created or exacerbated by their status. Perhaps effective sources of social support can alleviate the negative impact these particular stressors have on psychological well-being. These issues await future study.

The limitations of this study must, however, be underscored. This was a very select sample of black leaders. Individuals in elite positions represent 1% of the U.S. population and black elites constitute a small fraction of this group. Therefore, the results from this study cannot be generalized beyond such elites. Furthermore, the large number of busy respondents for whom the key variables of interest were skipped is a concern. Finally, the data are cross-sectional, leaving open the possibility of alternative causal orderings of key variables (e.g., token elites may report more sources of work stress if they are depressed or anxious).[14] An important aspect of theory building, nonetheless, involves testing the applicability of the theory to various segments of the population. This

sample of eminent, successful blacks offered a unique opportunity to examine the relevance of Kanter's well-known theory of proportional representation. Additional research will be needed to verify that tokenism, with its accompanying occupational pressures, influences psychological well-being in the general working population. Future research should also explore how elites cope with stressful work conditions.

Notes

1. Kanter offers these ratios as tentative cut points and discusses the concept of "tipping point." Unanswered questions include: How many of a category are enough to change a person's status from token to full group member? When does a group move from skewed to tilted to balanced? We use her suggested ratios as qualitative cut points, but in recognizing that cut points might be set higher or lower, we also examine a continuous measure of proportional representation.

2. Because WWBA includes a large number of locally prominent leaders, it is not an appropriate population list of national influentials. WWA is a key source list because it includes not only government and business leaders but literary figures, academics, entertainers, and sports figures as well (Lieberson & Carter 1979). Our matched list of 960 names is very close to a rough statistical calculation that there are about 1,000 blacks in WWA, which can be derived from estimates in Lieberson and Carter (1979).

3. *Ebony* editors select each year's names. *Ebony* lists tend to overrepresent heads of fraternal organizations and underrepresent literary figures and academics (Henry 1981).

4. Interviews were in person and consisted of both structured and open-ended questions. The average interview lasted two and one-half to three hours (range 1 to 5 hours). Interviews occurred between September 1984 and the spring of 1987, with the majority of interviews completed by the summer of 1985. The response rate varied from sector to sector. Eighty percent of the 21 black members of Congress and 70% of 20 sampled military officers participated. Big-city mayors and federal judges were the most difficult to interview, with response rates of 30% and 45%, respectively, out of 20 in each category. Judges in particular cited the constraints of the law as reasons for refusal.

5. Approximately 30 respondents have missing data on the work stress and psychological symptom scales. Because a number of respondents were extremely pressed for time, interviewers were instructed in such cases to skip specific blocks of interview questions, including psychological distress, work stress, and coping items. Respondents for whom these questions were skipped are quite similar demographically to other respondents in the study. Most are older males (the average age is 55), highly educated (66% report an advanced degree), married (85%), and earn high incomes. Many of these respondents work in Congress ($N = 13$; 43%), suggesting that these politicians were probably the most pressed for time.

6. The ordinal measure of race representation is correlated with the continuous percentage measure at $r = .89$ ($p < .001$) and with the cut points measure at $r = .89$ ($p < .001$). Not surprisingly, the continuous version of the race measure is almost perfectly correlated with Kanter's cut points ($r = .99$, $p < .001$). Similarly high correlations were obtained among the gender indicators. Among men, correlations between the ordinal and interval measures of gender, the ordinal and Kanter measures, and the interval and Kanter measures are .86, .80, and .97, respectively. For women, corresponding correlations are .90, .85, and .98, respectively.

7. Indicators of role entrapment are not in the list; appropriate brief questions tapping this problem were hard to generate.

8. Respondents whose income was missing were assigned the median income category. In addition, there were 14 millionaires in the sample; one reported a net worth of just over 100 million dollars. The income of these respondents was recoded at $50,000 higher than the highest reported income to lessen the impact these outliers would have on our estimates. In

APPENDIX: Correlations of Work Stressors and Psychological Symptoms among Black Elites

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	Mean	S.D.	N
(1) Percent Black	1.00	.12	-.06	.13	-.13	.09	.09	-.09	-.07	-.03	-.07	.35	.30	130
(2) Percent O-Gender		1.00	.02	.08	-.05	-.01	.11	.08	.16	-.05	.05	.44	.23	167
(3) Scrutiny			1.00	.31**	.27**	.33**	.27**	.13	.06	.03	.08	1.45	.73	138
(4) Nonacceptance				1.00	.45**	.51**	.26**	.22*	.17	.15	.21*	1.68	1.46	136
(5) Token stress					1.00	.36**	.27**	.31**	.27**	.28**	.33**	1.74	1.23	133
(6) Interpersonal conflict						1.00	.33*	.10	.15	.09	.13	1.68	1.08	135
(7) Role overload							1.00	.27**	.37**	.31**	.37**	1.88	1.03	138
(8) Depression								1.00	.56**	.58**	.82**	6.69	2.69	137
(9) Anxiety									1.00	.60**	.81**	5.72	2.41	137
(10) Somaticism										1.00	.60**	10.34	3.71	137
(11) Generalized distress											1.00	22.75	7.50	137

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

terms of occupational category, politicians included members of Congress, political party officials, civil servants, mayors, civil rights leaders, labor leaders, and leaders of interest groups. Businesspersons included foundation heads, heads of financial institutions, and major executives. Entertainers included actors, athletes, and media personalities. Academics included intellectuals and college presidents. "Other" leaders were in religious and military positions.

9. We also explored the effects of "double tokenism," i.e., being outnumbered both by race *and* by gender in the workplace. Although we have suggestive evidence that double tokens experience higher symptoms of depression and anxiety, the number of these individuals was too small ($N = 17$) to enable meaningful analysis.

10. In each of the regression equations where work stress was the dependent variable, we also examined the impact of proportional representation, *excluding* the other indices of work stress. This approach failed to change the pattern of results reported in the body of the article, therefore, we present the full regression model which controls for other work stressors.

In addition, two interaction terms were added to the equations to assess whether the impact of group representation on work stress (and psychological well-being) differs by gender (i.e., gender*percent black; gender*percent opposite-gender). Only one interaction term was significant. Women who are in predominantly black workplaces report fewer problems with acceptance than other elites ($\beta = -2.01$, $p < .10$).

11. Results from all regression models are available upon request.

12. To further examine the nonlinearities in the effects of proportional representation on anxiety, we regressed anxiety on four dummy variables that indicated the intervals of proportional representation suggested by Kanter (see text), using the balanced group as the comparison category. According to these results, it would appear that the "tilted to black" (i.e., 65:35) category represents the point at which increases in representation begin to reduce anxiety. We would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for recommending this exploration.

13. As noted by one reviewer, this interpretation raises the possibility that the relationship between gender representation in the workplace and psychological well-being may be a gender effect. However, there was no significant relationship between gender and proportional representation. In fact, contrary to expectations, over half of the women work in settings that are either balanced in gender proportions or are predominantly female.

14. We did examine, however, the latter two models holding constant the depression and anxiety scores. The patterns reported in the body of the paper remained significant even under these conditions.

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