

White Racial Identity Development and Work Values

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Contemporary approaches to career development emphasize the psychological and developmental dimensions of the task. This study suggests not only that consideration of race should form an integral part of that process but also that race too needs to be understood in a psychological and developmental way. While some claim that constructs associated with both racial identity theory and career development measure aspects of a client's personality, virtually no research has explored the relation between these two perspectives. In this test using a White sample ($N = 109$), a canonical analysis revealed a significant relation between the psychological variables of "racial identity" and "work values" consistent with the theory of White racial identity development. Suggestions for future research are considered. © 1994 Academic Press, Inc.

In recent years, numerous authors have underscored the crucial role played by culture (that of the client and that of the counselor) both in personal and career development and in the counseling process. Many different approaches have been taken in an effort to better understand the influence of culture from both theoretical and applied points of view. A large part of the discussion about multicultural issues in counseling psychology has focused either on "between-group" or "within-group" cultural differences.

One of the key early contributions of the multicultural perspective was the attention it paid to "between-group" cultural differences. Authors writing from this point of view compared the attitudes, values, and beliefs

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of distinct racial and cultural groups. Comparisons were made across national groups, or, within the United States, between racial groups (e.g., Blacks and Whites; Whites and Asian Americans) or between ethnic groups (e.g., Irish and Italians; Puerto Ricans and Mexicans). One of the (perhaps unanticipated) benefits which emerged from these comparison studies was the increasing attention paid to the attitudes, beliefs, and work and cultural values of White Americans as a group.

Previously, White work and cultural values simply formed the unspoken "normative" assumptions from which a particular group was seen to deviate (Spiegel, 1982). It seemed that White people only had "culture" when they were spoken of as members of a particular ethnic group. A number of authors have outlined the general values which underlie White American culture (e.g., Katz, 1985; Sue & Sue, 1990; Stewart & Bennett, 1991). In her presentation of White American beliefs and cultural values, Katz (1985) suggests several which would seem to have a direct application to the workplace. For instance, she notes as values: "the Protestant work ethic" (hard work results in success), rugged individualism, status and power (especially as measured by economic possessions), competition, action orientation, and a hierarchical decision-making structure. Empirical studies of human, work, and cultural values tend to support these descriptions (see Carter, 1991). Cultural values are expressed in the sphere of career development or behavior as work values.

"Work values" is a construct which represents a person's cultural values in the occupational domain (Nevill & Super, 1989). Work values are fundamental aspirations (acknowledged or unacknowledged) which a person must accomplish to be satisfied in a career. For instance, individuals will assign a particular ranking with differing weights when asked the importance of work values such as creativity, economic security, occupational advancement, and personal development. These rankings and weightings may vary at different points in a given person's development and may vary according to racial or cultural characteristics.

"Work values" may also be seen as expressions of more general values. In fact, some individuals may choose to satisfy some of these values in other life roles outside of work. Thus, there is no simple conversion of particular orderings of values to specific careers. However, insofar as they are an expression of the basic needs which constitute a particular person or client's personality, an assessment of work values would seem an essential component of any effective career development model. For instance, such an assessment of values forms an integral part of Super's Career-Assessment and Counseling model (Super, 1983; Nevill & Super, 1989; Super, Osborne, Walsh, Brown, & Niles, 1992).

Career development theorists have been concerned with psychological variables and have sought to understand career choice as the "implementation of a self-concept" (Super, 1951, 1990; Super, Starishevsky,

Matlin, & Jordaan, 1963). More recently, Gottfredson (1981) has suggested that while self-concept may influence one's expressed occupational preferences, these preferences vary according to age, sex, race, social class, and ability. She hypothesizes that as persons develop they may make compromises or have their career options circumscribed primarily by social and cognitive processes. She notes "differences in content of self-images and preferences . . . are conditioned both by cognitive development and social environment (p.555)." While Gottfredson discussed how individuals make compromises on the basis of sex role and social class, little or no mention was made about race as a factor in compromise or circumscription.

Career development models are beginning to consider sociocultural factors, but few have been psychological in orientation. For instance, when the subject of race appears in the career literature, with few exceptions (e.g., Carter & Cook, 1992; Thompson & Weathers, 1991), it is employed in markedly non-psychological ways (e.g., as a demographic classification). Studies which call attention to the underrepresentation of a certain racial group in a given field (e.g., Hall & Post-Kammer, 1987; Johnson, 1982) or highlight particular cultural characteristics or needs of a racial/ethnic group (e.g., Leonard, 1984; Obleton, 1984) are important in underscoring the importance of race in career development. However, little attention has been given to the psychological experience of membership in a racial/ethnic group. Finally, while some studies have examined what race might mean for career development with persons of color, the authors of this article are unaware of research in which Whites are considered to have any psychological experience of their racial group membership.

The second of the multicultural foci noted above is that of "within-group" cultural differences. This line of research attempts to account for the fact that not all members of a given racial group are alike. Within each group there is diversity regarding adherence to the values and beliefs thought to be typical of the group. One construct used to understand within-group psychological variability is that of racial identity development. Models based on Racial Identity Theory suggest that individuals pass through a number of stages in their attitudes toward members of their own racial group and toward members of the other group.

Helms (1984, 1990) has proposed a model of White racial identity development in which she suggests that attitudes, values, and beliefs do not depend on race but on a person's stage of racial identity. Knowing a person's racial group is not as important as knowing the psychological impact of membership in his or her ascribed racial group and his or her "investment in" or "distancing from" that group.

In her 1984 model, Helms suggests five stages of White racial identity development: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-indepen-

TABLE 1
White Racial Identity Development Model (Based on Helms, 1984)

Contact
Naive curiosity regarding race. Sees racial differences as interesting but unimportant. Implicitly assumes White behavior, values, and culture as normative. Equates these with competence. Sees self and organization as "colorblind."
Disintegration
Acknowledges his or her membership in the socially dominant race and the consequences for oneself and for members of other races. Attempts to reconcile view of self as a moral person with the expected patterns of cross-racial interaction in society at large and in his or her organization. Employs various strategies to reduce this dissonance.
Reintegration
Retreats into White culture after suffering rebuffs from Whites and/or Blacks in the previous stage. Discontinues voluntary cross-racial contacts. Feels an overt reactive "pride" in White culture and a reflexive depreciation of other races. For instance, Whites may be assumed to have earned their position in the corporate structure, while the presence of members of other races is suspect.
Pseudo-independence
Begins to gain distance from the rigidity and defensiveness of the previous stage. Intellectual curiosity about racial differences. Begins to move away from previous mono-cultural stance, in intellectually acknowledging the validity of other cultural perspectives and values. Does not seek out cross-racial contacts, but is open to them when they occur—perhaps leading to an affective appreciation of difference. Willing to question company policies or practices, to the extent that such discussion does not negatively affect his or her career path.
Autonomy
Affective appreciation of diversity. Values rather than merely tolerates (or feels resigned to) difference. Actively seeks opportunities to learn from other groups. No longer sees White behavior and values as normative, but as one valuable approach among many. Diversity is desired and felt to be a strength in the organization, rather than a impediment to effective functioning.

dence, and Autonomy. In the first few levels, a White person consciously or unconsciously tends to endorse and judge the world using White values as normative (see Table 1). Thus, a White person may journey from an initial obliviousness or naivete about race (Contact) through a struggle to resolve the dissonance created by a growing awareness of the existence of race and racism and its consequences for oneself and others (Disintegration). This dissonance is frequently resolved via a rejection of Blacks and a reactive adherence to societally accepted ways of being perceived as "White" (Reintegration).

After this anger dissipates, a White person may develop an intellectual interest in and willingness to explore Black culture and values (Pseudo-independence). After a time of internalizing the positive aspects of White culture, this may flower into an active appreciation of race as a positive aspect of oneself and others and valuing (rather than merely tolerating) racial and cultural differences (Autonomy). A number of studies offer

evidence in support of the White racial identity model (Carter, 1988, 1990b, 1990c; Carter & Helms, 1992; Clancy & Parker, 1988; Helms & Carter, 1990, 1991; Tokar & Swanson, 1991).

Helms (1986) suggests that the configuration of attitudes associated with each given stage of racial identity development corresponds to a differing "world view," i.e., values, opinions, and concepts which define how a person will perceive and approach situations and tasks in life (Sue & Sue, 1990). Thus, one would expect that the attitudes associated with the different stages should predict something about the cultural and work values which that person is likely to hold. Empirical studies of cultural values have offered confirmation of differences in world views both for persons of different races (Carter, 1990a) and for persons of the same race (Whites and Blacks) with differing levels of racial identity attitudes (Carter & Helms, 1987; 1990).

Both career developmental and multicultural counseling perspectives insist that counselors understand a client in the context of his or her psychosocial development (Gottfredson, 1981). If work values and racial identity attitudes both reflect some deeper aspect of an individual's racially based cultural values or world view, then one might reasonably expect to find a relation between them. Specifically for Whites, it would seem that racial identity attitudes associated with strong identification with Whites and Whiteness should be associated with those work values which reflect the kinds of White American values cited by Katz (1985). Similarly it might be expected that racial identity attitudes associated with openness to other races and cultures might be less strongly associated with work values which reflect White American values. The purpose of this study is to test the existence of such relations.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 109 White American college students from a large predominantly White midwestern university. There were 79 women and 30 men in this sample. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 24 ($M = 19.5$, $SD = 1.04$). Participants' class standings ranged from freshman to senior ($M = 2.37$, $SD = .01$). Participants in the study were asked to designate their socioeconomic status on a 5-point scale ranging from lower class = 1 to upper class = 5. The mean socioeconomic status for the sample was middle class ($M = 3.39$, $SD = .83$). Participants described their primary ethnic designation as American ($n = 78$), German ($n = 15$), Italian ($n = 5$), Irish ($n = 4$), Russian ($n = 2$), Polish ($n = 1$), European ($n = 1$), Mediterranean ($n = 1$), and missing ($n = 2$).

Participants reported preferences for preferred occupations in professional/technical fields (64 or 59%), management (15 or 14%), sales (6 or

6%), and the arts (12 or 11%). Parents' education and occupation were also reported. Father's levels of education were reported as ranging from 10 years to 21 years, or some high school to postgraduate training ($M = 15.59$, $SD = 2.83$). Father's occupations were typically sales, management, and professional/technical. Mothers had higher education levels, ranging from 12 years to 21 years ($M = 15$, $SD = 2.2$). However, mothers' occupations were bimodal: 50% reported either none or service and 43% reported clerical, management, and professional ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 3.15$). Two participants did not respond to this item. The participants were solicited through the educational psychology subject pool and received credit toward their course grade through participation in the study.

Instruments

The White racial identity attitude scale (WRIAS). This scale was rationally constructed by Helms and Carter (1990) to measure the five attitudes of White racial identity development theorized by Helms (1984). The attitudes include the following: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, and Autonomy. The White Racial Attitude Identity Scale consists of 50 items assessing Whites' racial attitudes using a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Scale scores are derived by summing the 10 appropriately keyed items for each attitude scale. In this manner each attitude has a scale score that could range from 5 to 50. Carter (1988) reported internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's α s) of .53, .77, .80, .71, and .67 for the Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-independence, and Autonomy scales, respectively. Internal consistency reliabilities for the sample ($n = 109$) reported in the present study are reported in Table 2.

The validity of the scales has received support in studies in which they have been found to be differentially related to cultural values (Carter & Helms, 1990), self-actualization (Tokar & Swanson, 1991), counselor intentions and client reactions (Carter, 1990b), counseling relationship types (Carter & Helms, 1992), mental health (Carter & Parks, 1992), and racism (Carter, 1990c). Additional reliability and validity information is reported by Helms and Carter (1990).

The values scale. The Values Scale (Super & Nevill, 1985) consists of 106 items measuring 21 values or satisfactions sought in life. Each scale consists of five items; one additional item is used only in making international comparisons. Two or three of the items on each scale are intended to relate specifically to work values and two or three seek to correspond to the value in general.

Respondents are instructed to indicate the importance that a particular value holds for them on a scale of 1 ("of little or no importance") to 4 ("very important"). Scores are obtained by summing the scores for the

TABLE 2
Means and Standard Deviations for Work Values and White Racial Identity Attitudes
and Summary of Canonical Correlation Analysis for First Canonical Variate

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Coefficient α reliability	Correlation	Standardized coefficient
White racial identity set					
Contact	32.29	5.62	.66	.07	.48
Disintegration	23.14	6.21	.83	.76	.31
Reintegration	21.70	6.46	.86	.82	.47
Pseudo-independence	37.43	5.67	.75	-.47	-.95
Autonomy	34.88	5.74	.76	-.38	.29
Redundancy				.12	
Work values set					
Ability utilization	21.35	2.50	.75	-.09	-.20
Achievement	21.96	2.35	.71	.38	.42
Advancement	18.28	3.71	.72	.58	.05
Aesthetics	18.40	4.16	.87	-.24	-.23
Altruism	19.22	4.39	.89	-.38	-.42
Authority	16.14	4.00	.84	.38	.28
Autonomy	19.03	2.97	.69	.02	-.37
Creativity	17.76	3.69	.81	-.09	.21
Cultural identity	16.90	4.78	.74	.54	.44
Economic rewards	20.10	3.65	.88	.52	-.22
Economic security	20.84	3.34	.86	.65	.27
Life style	20.46	2.48	.61	.19	.26
Personal development	21.76	2.23	.54	-.27	-.32
Physical activity	15.48	4.03	.78	.13	.14
Physical prowess	8.83	3.13	.65	.20	.18
Prestige	19.69	3.76	.85	.41	.03
Risk	13.17	4.42	.85	-.01	-.07
Social interaction	19.00	3.47	.78	-.05	.04
Social relations	21.06	3.02	.75	.16	-.19
Variety	18.13	3.50	.78	.03	.05
Working conditions	19.40	3.15	.63	.25	.11
Redundancy				.04	
Cannonical correlation .62 Wilks $\lambda = .24, p < .03$					

items on each scale, so scale scores may range from 5 to 20. The authors report α coefficients for a university sample ($N = 2,140$) ranging from .62 to .84. The test-retest reliabilities for a university sample ($N = 140$) range from .59 to .82. Internal consistency reliability coefficients for the sample used in this study ($n = 109$) are reported in Table 2.

Personal data sheet. A personal data sheet was used to investigate participants' personal characteristics and family background. Participants were asked to indicate their class standing, age, sex, considered occu-

pation, race, primary ethnic designation, socioeconomic status, father's and mother's levels of education, and father's and mother's present occupations.

Procedure

The questionnaire packet was administered by one of the experimenters. Each participant received a questionnaire and answer sheet packet after signing an informed consent. The order of the questionnaires was counterbalanced. The participants were instructed to respond first to the personal data sheet and then to the set of two measures which they had received. After completing the questionnaires, the participants received a written statement describing the aim of the study.

RESULTS

A canonical correlation analysis of the data was conducted to examine the relations between White racial identity attitudes and work values. Assumptions regarding multivariate normality were met and five pairs of variates were generated from the data. A dimension reduction analysis showed the first of these to be significant (Wilks $\lambda = .24$; $p < .03$). The canonical correlation for that pair was .62 (38% of the variance).

To establish which White racial identity attitudes and work values contributed most strongly to the overall relationship between racial identity and work values, the canonical relationship for the significant pair was examined. A cutoff of a .3 loading on the structure matrix was established for interpretation, following convention (c.f. Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). The racial identity attitudes which contributed most powerfully to the relationship were Reintegration (.82), Disintegration (.76), Pseudo-independent (-.47), and Autonomy (-.38). This canonical variate suggests a dimension which might be described as "White superiority" attitudes. The redundancy analysis revealed that this dimension explained 12% of the variance in the work values. Among the work values, Economic Security (.65), Advancement (.58), Cultural Identity (.53), Economic Reward (.52), Prestige (.41), Authority (.38), Altruism (-.38), and Achievement (.38) contributed most strongly. This canonical variate might be said to represent a dimension of "get ahead/work ethic" attitudes. This dimension accounted for only 4% of the variance in racial identity attitudes.

DISCUSSION

Contemporary career development theory highlights the psychosocial reality underlying any career decision. At issue is not merely helping the client to find a job, but rather assisting the client to make a choice consonant with his or her self-concept and sociocultural reality. In order to do this, effective career theory and counseling approaches must be based on a psychosocially and culturally sophisticated understanding of

the client. This study compares two racially and culturally related psychological variables: racial identity attitudes and work values. If in fact each measures an aspect of a person's fundamental cultural and psychological approach to life and work, one would expect to find a relationship between them consistent with the theory of White racial identity development outlined above. Insofar as they illuminate different aspects of a given person's world view and personality, each may contribute to helping the counselor derive an adequate portrait of a particular client.

The results of this study suggest that while these two variable sets are largely independent, there is a significant underlying dimension which indicates a relation consistent with White racial identity theory. As reported above, one pair of variates was found to be significant. The canonical variate from the work values set was interpreted as representing a dimension of "getting ahead." The canonical variate from the racial identity set suggested a "White superiority" dimension. Among the variables contributing most strongly to the relationship between the variate pair, White racial identity attitudes associated with Reintegration and Disintegration on the one side were found to be positively related to the work values of Economic Security, Advancement, Economic Reward, Prestige, Cultural Identity, Achievement, and Authority on the other. They were negatively related to the work value of Altruism and to Pseudo-independent and Autonomy racial identity attitudes.

With the exception of Cultural Identity and Altruism, the work values which load on the canonical variate for the work value set represent the kinds of values which Katz (1985) has categorized as components of White culture. Specifically, they seem illustrative of the value placed on "status and power" in traditional White American culture which, according to Katz, is expressed in "credentials, titles, and positions" and "measured by economic possessions." In addition, they may be seen to reflect the traditional White American culture's emphasis on the individual, as well as a preference for a "pyramid structure" or hierarchical approach to authority in organizational settings (Katz, 1985).

Thus the dimension described by the first canonical variate seems to reflect adherence to a "traditional" White world view both about race and about work. According to Helms' model of White racial identity development, the kinds of racial identity attitudes which load on the "White superiority" variate suggest a reactive affirmation of White culture in response to feelings of discomfort which grew out of cross-racial contacts. It may be that for any number of reasons such individuals found their attempts at cross-racial interaction too painful or confusing and retreated to a position more consistent with societal and institutional racism (and therefore less conflictual). The "flight into Whiteness" suggested by the variables which load on the "White superiority" canonical variate is also expressed in the adoption of "traditional" White work

values such as those which loaded on the "getting ahead" canonical variate.

The focus of the dimension suggested by the "White superiority/getting ahead" variate pair seems to be very much individualistic and inward, with little room for consideration of others, either vocationally or racially. Conversely, a person who is actively forging a non-racist White identity and coming to terms with institutional racism in the world of work cannot be driven exclusively by concerns about self. This point is underscored by the three variables which load negatively on the canonical variates, namely, Pseudo-independence and Autonomy attitudes from the racial identity set and Altruism from the work values set. The attitudes associated with the Pseudo-independence and Autonomy stages reflect a degree of intellectual and affective openness to other races and cultures, and a lessening of the exclusive investment in White culture. The focus of these racial identity attitudes is outward.

From the variables which loaded on each of the variates, it is possible to infer that Whites with higher levels of Reintegration and Disintegration attitudes would be more likely to seek careers which would afford them higher levels of economic security, advancement, economic reward, prestige, authority, achievement, and contact with people who are culturally like themselves. They might be less inclined to value career choices which offer possibilities for helping others. On the other hand, Whites with higher levels of Pseudo-independent and Autonomy attitudes would be less likely to be motivated by personal gain and contact with people who are culturally like themselves and more likely to be motivated by altruism in making a career choice.

These results indicate the need for further research in the area of racial identity development and career development. Further empirical studies on Whites will need to operationalize and include the stage (Immersion/Emersion) which Helms (1990) added in her most recent elaboration of the White racial identity development model. Research is especially needed on how Black racial identity development and the cultural identity development of other visible racial/ethnic groups in this country affect career development. Research on samples which include persons actually in the work force is needed.

Given the importance of gender and social class noted above (e.g., Gottfredson, 1981), future studies should explore sex and class differences in both racial identity attitudes and work values. The sample used for this study did not permit such exploration insofar as it was virtually homogeneous with respect to social class and included an inadequate number of male subjects ($n = 30$) for further analysis.

While the results of the present study are encouraging, they are only a beginning and should be interpreted with caution. Additional empirical investigation is essential to confirm and further clarify the exact patterns

of the relations between attitudes associated with specific racial identity stages and particular sets of work values. For example, was the failure of Contact attitudes to load on the canonical variate an artifact of testing with this particular sample, or does it represent a pattern which requires interpretation?

Additional research testing the application of racial identity theory to other workplace and career development variables is important to achieve a more complete theoretical understanding of how race influences both career development and work environments. For instance, Watts and Carter (1991) have explored various psychological dimensions of racism in organizational settings. Block and Carter (1992) have investigated how White racial identity attitudes influence personnel selection decisions. More studies are needed to assess how racial identity attitudes influence perceptions, attitudes, and expectations at work, and variables such as job satisfaction, individual and group job performance, absenteeism, and turnover. Another area needing research is the effect of racial identity attitudes on cross-racial and same-race interactions, communication, competition, and cooperation in the workplace. For example, what are the consequences of racial identity attitudes for the interactions essential to team building?

This article suggests that not only does race need to be included in the process of career development but it also needs to be understood in a psychological and developmental way. The results offer initial confirmation of a relation consistent with the theory of White racial identity development and suggest the need for more extensive investigations of the relationship between racial identity development and career development. As the workplace increasingly becomes the nation's arena for multicultural interaction, it is imperative that vocational psychologists and other professionals help clients understand the psychological consequences of race and help them anticipate its impact on their future career development.

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