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Rising Scholars Conference
Diversity and Intersectionality Student Research Presentations

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Arielle Lewis is a second-year doctoral student of Organization & Management in the Goizueta Business School at Emory University. Currently, her research centers around the efficacy of inclusion strategies for racial and gender minorities as determined by their phenotypicality and socioeconomic status.

ABSTRACT:
White liberals downshift warmth to high (vs. low) status Black partners.

Research Question: In a recent Harvard Business Review, Pedulla (2020) provided several tips for ensuring the success of organizational diversity and inclusion initiatives. The last tip being to "involve managers from the start," thereby highlighting the importance of positive interracial interactions at work. However, recent research suggests that White managers may "downshift" their competence to Black (vs. White) employees due to the implicit presumption that Blacks are lower status and, thus, less competent (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Swencionis & Fiske, 2016).Indeed, prior work finds that White liberals (vs. conservatives) may be particularly inclined to exhibit subtle racial biases when addressing Black targets because of their desire to appear non-biased (Dupree & Fiske, 2019). Nonetheless, the question remains as to whether White liberals' interactions with Black (vs. White) Americans differ when their social status is specified rather than assumed. That is, will White liberals' present themselves as more or less competent and warm when interacting with a stereotypical low-status Black or high-status White partner versus a counterstereotypical high-status Black partner or low-status White partner?

Methods: At present, we have addressed our research question using two different experimental paradigms with a 2(race: Black vs. White) x 2(social status: high vs. low) between-subjects design. Based on an a priori power analysis (G*power; Faul et al., 2007), we surveyed roughly 1,300 (total n = 3,888; M_{age} = 34.70; SD_{age} = 12.18; 55.95% female) self-identifying White-American liberals from Prolific across three preregistered studies. In Studies 1a and 1b, we askedparticipants to imagine they recently joined a book club and were required to send an introductory email and book summary to one of the club's officers. In Study 2, we asked participants to create an online profile and write a brief introduction in response to an alleged previous study participant's online profile.

Results: The results of two pilot studies (n = 50 per pilot) indicated our primary manipulations (i.e., confederate names; Gaddis, 2017) conveyed the intended race (Black vs. White) and social status (high vs. low)[1]. Although Study 1a revealed a (non-significant) effect of race in the expected direction (p = .07; i.e., downshift to Black partners), our findings for competence presentation mostly diverged from Dupree and Fiske (2019; Studies 1b and 2, $p's$ >.700). Study 2 also did not yield significant effects (all p's>.186) for warmth presentation. However, Studies 1a and 1b revealed significant main effects of race, status, and interactions (all p's <.007) which illustrate a warmth downshift to the high-status (vs. low-status) Black (vs. White) partner (p's< .001).

Implications: Practically, this work suggests White managers may not only exhibit racial biases at work by patronizing Black employees who fulfill their (low) status expectations, but by also being cold to those employees who do not. Thus, this study highlights important differences in Black Americans' interracial interactions which may have been overlooked previously because of the tendency to treat racioethnic minorities as monolithic groups. In Study 3, White-American liberals will record video introductions to an ostensible Black (vs. White) low- (vs. high-) status study participant online. Seeking to replicate the previously observed presentation patterns, we will perform content analyses on the video transcripts and code the participants' non-verbal behavior for indicators of warmth and competence (Biancardi, Cafaro, & Pelachaud, 2017).

As expected, repeated-measure GLMs revealed that participants viewed the Black (female: Nia and Lakisha; male: Jalen and DeShawn) names as less (more) stereotypically White (Black; p's <.001) compared to the White (female: Claire and Angie; male: Connor and Ronny) names. Similarly, participants viewed the high-status (Black: Nia and Jalen; White:

Claire and Connor) names as wealthier (*p*'s <.001) and more intelligent (*p*'s < .042) than the low-status (Black: Lakisha and DeShawn; White: Angie and Ronny) names. Consequently, these results suggest the name manipulation signaled the intended confederate race and social status.

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Tosen Nwadei is a 5th year 'micro' PhD candidate in Organizations & Management at Emory University's Goizueta Business School. In his current program of work, he investigates the benefits and costs of authentic cultural expression, both in the workplace and society at large. To do so, he takes an interdisciplinary (i.e., psychology, history, anthropology), multimethod approach to understand how members of underrepresented groups meet their need for authenticity.

ABSTRACT:
Weight of the Crown: Hair-based Stigma and Appearance Labor at Work Among Black Women
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Hair has served as a reoccurring theme in White-Black race relations (Rooks, 1996). As early as the 19th century, in the US, hair texture served as one of the most reliable indicators of racial heritage. People of sub-Saharan African descent commonly have curly, kinky, and wavy hair textures. This differs markedly from the straighter, looser hair textures common to individuals of European (or non-African) ancestry (Aryiku et al., 2015). The implication in the 1800s was simple: much like skin tone, kinky hair textures were a signal of African ancestry, and by extension, Black Americans' inferiority to their White counterparts. It's no wonder, then, that social mobility for Black Americans has often been contingent on portraying a "respectable" appearance, including altering their hair textures with hair straightening or avoiding hair styles that draw attention to their African ancestry (Opie and Phillips, 2015; Opie, 2018).

In light of this historic legacy and ongoing pressure to achieve a respectable appearance, we posit that Black women in the workplace experience hair-based stigma - negative perceptions, stereotypes, or treatment based on their hair texture or hairstyle. Specifically, given African ancestry produces distinctive hair texture, and may inspire unique beauty rituals and hairstyles (Rooks, 1996), Black (vs. non-Black) women in the workplace may experience more hair-based stigma as a result (**H1**). Additionally, given the significance of hair in Black-White race relations, we posit that racial centrality will strengthen the main effect of race on experiencing hair-based stigma (**H2**).

We recruited 400 Black, 400 White, 400 Asian, and 400 Hispanic women via Prolific and collected data at two time points. At Time 1, we separately measured gender (α = .85) and racial centrality (α = .92) for participants using an adapted centrality scale (Sellers et al., 1998). A week later (Time 2), we invited participants to complete an adapted stigma consciousness scale (Pinel, 1999; α = .88) to measure hair-based stigma at work for women of their racial group. An example item is, "At work, I never worry about my hair being viewed negatively as an Asian woman." Time 2 also included a yes-no question for Black women concerning whether or not they chemically straighten their hair, a beauty ritual for Black women interested in achieving straightened hairstyles (Hooks, 1996). The final sample included 1,172 participants that identified, singularly, as Asian (334), Black (306), Hispanic (205), or White (327) and passed the attention checks (click "strongly agree").

We employed a one-way ANOVA to determine if women of different racial groups differ in their experience of hair-based stigma at work. Following the anticipated significant main effect of participant race, $F(3, 1,168)$ = 170.97, p < .000, we performed planned contrasts. Consistent with our predictions, Black women (*M* = 3.32) experienced more hair-based stigma at work than Asian (*M* = 1.97), $t(638)$ = 19.85, p < .000, Hispanic (*M* = 2.29), $t(509)$ = 12.38, p < .000, and White (*M* = 2.09), $t(631)$ = 17.83, p <.000, women. Moreover, the 237 Black women who did not chemically straighten their hair (*M* = 3.41) reported more stigma than those who did (*M* = 3.04), $t(304)$ = 2.76, p <.006. Further, Black women who used chemical straighteners (*M* = 3.04) experienced more hair based stigma than non-Black women, (*M* = 2.08), $t(933)$ = -9.55, p < .000. Finally, we tested the interaction using a regression model with participant race (Black vs. Non-Black), racial centrality, and the interaction term. The interaction was significant, B = .18, p=.004, and plotting the interaction revealed that Black women higher (vs. lower) on racial centrality reported experiencing more hair-based stigma in the workplace. For non-Black women, racial centrality did not appear consequential to experiencing hair-based stigma at work.

Our findings suggest that although hair is a critical medium of pursuing self-expression and achieving authenticity, Black (vs. non-Black) women may be more restricted in their ability to express who they are at work. This may exacerbate inequality in organizations, even in spite of other D&I efforts.

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Rebecca Ponce de Leon is a 6th-year PhD Candidate at Duke University in the Management & Organizations department. She investigates the roles of social categories, like race and gender, and motivated beliefs, like social dominance ideologies, in shaping diversity-related phenomena in the workplace. Through studying these topics, she hopes to shed light on the mechanisms that stymie progress toward diversity and inclusion in organizations. She is currently on the job market seeking a tenure-track faculty position.

ABSTRACT:
"Invisible" Discrimination:Divergent Outcomes for the Non-Prototypicality of Black Women
Rebecca Ponce de Leon & Ashleigh S. Rosette

Social movements like Black Lives Matter and #MeToo have sparked protests, discussion, and legislation to combat racism and sexism. However, despite increasing awareness about the persistence of racial and gender discrimination, coverage of these movements has tended to highlight the experiences of Black men and White women, respectively (e.g., Onwuachi-Willig, 2018; Ritchie, 2017). Why do people tend to exclude Black women from considerations of racial and gender discrimination? Further, is their relative "invisibility" in this context always disadvantageous? We seek to answer these questions through seven studies spanning experimental methods and analyses of archival data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Specifically, weexamine whether Black women are less prototypical victims of gender and racial discrimination, relative to White women and Black men, and examine unique implications of this non-prototypicality for both the recognition and treatment of victims.We first draw from the intersectional invisibility hypothesis (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), which argues that people who have more than one subordinated group identity (e.g., Black women) are non-prototypical members of their constituent identity groups. In turn, these individuals are often rendered socially "invisible" and are likely to be overlooked. Although this hypothesis has received some support in research on social cognition (e.g., Schug, Alt, & Klauer,2015; Sesko & Biernat, 2010), the effects of intersectional invisibility on consequential workplace phenomena, like discrimination, have been underexplored. Consistent with the predictions of intersectional invisibility, we find that White women are perceived as more prototypical victims of gender discrimination than Black women, and that Black men are viewedas more prototypical victims of racial discrimination than Black women. In turn, experimental and archival results reveal that Black women are believed less than these more prototypical group members when they allege gender and racial discrimination. Although discrimination prototypicality shapes believability, the content embedded within category prototypes shapes behavior (Cuddy, Fiske, Glick, 2007, 2008). Thus, integrating the tenets of the BIAS map (Cuddy et al., 2007, 2008), we also help to explain how the attributesassociated with these groups affect another consequential outcome: the financial remedy awarded in discrimination cases. The BIAS map suggests that attributes, particularly warmth, affect behavior, such that people act against low-warmth groups, but act in favor of high-warmthgroups (Cuddy et al., 2007, 2008). Drawing from this model,

we find divergent effects for Black women, depending on whether they allege gender, versus racial, discrimination. Because Black women are attributed less warmth than prototypical victims of gender discrimination, they are awarded less financial remedy than White women. Conversely, as Black women are attributed more warmth than prototypical victims of racial discrimination, they are awarded more financial remedy than Black men. In exploring how race and gender interactively affect discrimination victims, we offer insight into the complexities of social categorization and the importance of considering differences within social groups and for distinct outcomes. By focusing on non-prototypicality at both the categorical and attribute levels, we also help to disentangle when multiply subordinated individuals may experience intersectional advantages (e.g., Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) versus double jeopardy (e.g., Beal, 1970; Berdahl & Moore, 2006).

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Brittany Torrez is a fourth year doctoral student in Organizational Behavior at the Yale School of Management. Her research primarily investigates the psychological factors that contribute to the reproduction of race and class inequality in organizations.

ABSTRACT:

<div align="center">
Misperceptions of Organizational Racial Progress
Brittany Torrez, LaStarr Hollie, & Michael Kraus
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Despite America's checkered racial history (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Massey & Denton, 1993), people generally believe the nation has made steady, incremental progress toward achieving racial equality (DeBell, 2017; Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Fisman, Jakiela, Kariv, & Markovits, 2015). Prior research has found this pattern of overestimation of racial progress in the domains of wealth and income between racial minority groups and White Americans (Kraus, Rucker, & Richeson, 2017; Kraus, Onyeador, Daumeyer, Rucker, & Richeson, 2019). In this paper, I argue that this American racial progress narrative will extend to how the workforce views organizational efforts surrounding diversity, equity, and inclusion. I predict that American workers will overestimate the success of organizational diversity policies across the domains of benefits, compensation, and executive representation (Hypothesis 1; Studies 1 and 2), and that these progress narratives will explain why American workers often fail to account for the relative ineffectiveness of these policies in ways that undercut equity goals (Hypothesis 2; Studies 2 and 3). To test our hypotheses, I have collected data on the gap between Black and White high school and college-educated wage earnings gap and the employer-provided health benefits gap from the

federal government's current population survey. I also collected data on the gap between Black and White representation in executive roles in private industry, in elementary school principals, and in representation as CEOs in Fortune 500 and S&P 500 companies in the past and present.

I compared these population statistics to perceptions made by a sample of 229 full-time employed participants collected using a re-analysis of data from Kraus et al., 2017 (Study 1) and a sample of 602 full-time employed participants from Prolific Academic (Study 2). Consistent with ourfirst hypothesis, when comparing estimates to the federal data, I found that full-time employees overestimated progress toward equitable high school wages, college wages, employer-provided health benefits, executive representation among CEOS, managers, and elementary school principals (ts >14, ps < .001). In Study 2 participants were asked about the effectiveness of a series of workplace policies for achieving organizational representation goals which I analyzed as two separate composites: ineffective (e.g., diversity training) and effective D&;I strategies (e.g., targeted recruitment), based on existing empirical evidence (Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006). Overall, participants perceptions of the effectiveness of these ineffective D&;I strategies was a significant positive predictor of overestimates of racial equity in society and the workplace, β = .15, 95% CI = [.07, .22], $t(586)$ = 3.84, p = <.001. A final pilot experiment provided causal evidence in favor of our second hypothesis: In the study, I asked 434 Mechanical Turk respondents to estimate future progresstoward Black representation in management if private industry engaged in three randomly assigned diversity and inclusion policies varying in effectiveness based on prior research (Kalev et al., 2006)--a continuation of current policy (n = 136), implementation of a weak policy (e.g., racial bias training; n = 143), or a strong policy (e.g., targeted recruitment; n = 155). Our respondents thought the weak and strong policy would be equally as effective in improving Black representation in management roles over time, $F(2, 862)$ = 236.30, p <.001.

To conclude, diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts within organizations can be important to how firms move towards racial justice, but these efforts are far from being certain of ensuring progress despite what modern employees tend to believe. In this work, I bring to bear insights from sociology, social psychology, and organizational behavior to forge an integrative understanding of how organizations encounter barriers on their paths to progress—namely, overestimated beliefs about how much progress is being made. Institutions must commit significant resources, will, and effort to these practices and not count on racial progress to naturally and automatically take hold within the organization or among their workers and managers.