

A [K]ink in the Armor: How the Intersection of Gender and Racial Prototypicality Affect
Perceptions of Black Women Aspiring to be Managers

Tarani Joy Merriweather

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Abstract

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Intersectional analyses have made clear that Black women as a group fare far worse in employment outcomes than their race and gender counterparts. However, there is little research that examines differences among Black women. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how Black women are perceived intra-intersectionally, or within the intersection of race and gender. Black women are not monolithic and it is important to illuminate how they are perceived differently from one another. This dissertation explores the effects of differences in skin tone and hair texture among Black women seeking a management position. It was hypothesized that Black women with lighter skin and/or straight hair would be characterized more positively than Black women with darker skin and/or kinky hair; this hypothesis was not supported. However, for negative characteristics, the hypothesis that Black women with darker skin would be characterized more negatively than Black women with lighter skin was confirmed. Further, it was found that hair texture significantly interacts with skin tone such that darker-skinned Black women with kinky hair were characterized more negatively than light-skinned women with kinky hair. There were no significant differences found between the skin tone and hair texture of Black women on salary offers, but there was a marginally significant skin tone effect for perceptions of success in that lighter-skinned Black women are perceived to be more successful than darker-skinned Black women. This study sheds light on the need to look at the intersection of both skin tone and hair texture in order to fully understand how negative stereotypes apply to Black women.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication.....	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature review	10
2.1 Stereotypes of Managers.....	10
2.1.1 Gender Stereotypes of Managers.....	10
2.1.2 Race Stereotypes of Managers.....	12
2.2 Intersectionality.....	15
2.2.1 Intersectional Invisibility	17
2.2.2 Stereotypes of Black Women.....	18
2.2.3 Stereotypes of Black Women Managers.....	19
2.3 Within-Group Differences: Differential Stereotypes of Black Women	22
2.3.1 Colorism and Hair Texture	22
The Present Study	28
Chapter 3: Methodology	32
3.1 Participants.....	32
3.2 Design	33
3.3 Procedure	33

3.4 Experimental Manipulations	34
3.5 Measures	35
Chapter 4: Results	38
4.1 Preliminary Analysis.....	38
4.2 Main Analyses	42
4.2.1 Positive Characteristics	43
4.2.2 Negative Characteristics	43
4.2.3 Success Perceptions Scale.....	45
Chapter 5: Discussion	48
5.1 Theoretical Implications	50
5.2 Practical Implications.....	53
5.3 Limitations	55
5.4 Conclusion	57
References.....	59
Appendix A: Cover Story	73
Appendix B: Stimulus Materials.....	74
Appendix C: Measurement Instruments	75
Appendix D: Demographic Questionnaire.....	78
Appendix E : Purpose of the study	80

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Figure 1: Experimental Manipulations of Candidate Photo by Skin and Hair

Figure 2: Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 56 items of Characteristics

Table 2: Factor Analysis Results for Construction of Scales

Table 3: Items for Positive and Negative Characteristics Scales

Table 4: Dependent Variable Correlation Matrix

Figure 3: Interaction effect for the Negative Characteristics Scale

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of the Independent and Dependent Variables

Table 6: ANOVA Results for the Dependent Variables

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Dedication

To Simone:

You are my *raison d'être*.

May your beautiful brown skin and gorgeous coiled hair always be celebrated.

Chapter 1: Introduction

“Diversity is important, but we won’t lower the bar.”
Twitter’s Vice President of Engineering (2015)

From Silicon Valley to Hollywood, from Capitol Hill to Wall Street, from college campuses to boardrooms across the country, many institutions in many sectors are experiencing a reckoning with regard to a lack of diversity, not only in their workforce, but also in their leadership ranks. At Twitter, for instance, women comprise 28% of the workforce and account for 22% of leadership positions; however, when cutting the data across race, Black women compose less than 1% of employees (at Twitter, as well as Facebook, Google, and Microsoft) and hold 0% of the leadership positions at these organizations (EEO-1 National Aggregate Report, 2014). As such, the tech industry, in tandem with several other fields, remains solidly dominated by White men. The perception among the homogenous leadership at many companies is that diversity will compromise the established standards of leadership. The outcomes of this lack of diversity reverberate to many employee outcomes, such as hiring and promotion, retention and attrition, and wages.

It is often cited in the United States that women earn 79 cents to the dollar of what men earn, highlighting a gender wage gap that is consistent across fields and occupations (Schieder & Gould, 2016). When considering race and gender, White women make 87% of what White men make, yet White women are the main advocates highlighting the 79-cent average statistic. However, if White women were to reach parity with White men, there would still likely be a significant chasm in earning between White women and Black women. In reality, Black women earn even less than the 79% when being compared to White women, making just 77 cents for

every dollar that White women make. A Pew Research Center report (2016) acknowledged the race wage gap, citing that Black people earn on average about 75% of what White people make (Patten, 2016). Facing the brunt of these two stark realities are Black women, who only make 62% of what White men earn according to a report by the National Partnership for Women and Families (2020). The numbers only become more grim the further along Black women are in their careers, as Black women ages 45-64 (arguably in the prime of their careers) make only 59 cents on every dollar that White men make (NWLC, 2016), and even when controlling for occupation, as Black female surgeons make 51% of White male surgeons, it becomes clear that the wage gap persists (Furchtgott-Roth, 1999). This gap is reproduced in a range of employment outcomes, from hiring to promotion. While women as a whole comprise 41.6% of management positions, only 11.9% of Black women are in management positions (Warner, 2014). Even so, Black women seek management positions at a higher rate than their white counterparts (McKinsey & Company, 2015).

There are myriad factors that contribute to the persistence of the glass ceiling that prevents women, and particularly women of color, from reaching top managerial positions (Maume, 1999). This glass ceiling persists even when controlling for various human capital variables, such as occupation, work experience, and job skills (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). One important factor offered to explain the disparity in leadership attainment for women and women of color in particular, is the existence of inequality regimes that maintain and legitimize who holds the power of decision-making in organizations (Acker, 2006, 2009). Scholars have long-noted the gender stereotypes that prevent women from advancing in organizations (Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Schein, 1975). More recently, there has been research on the racial stereotypes that prevent Black people and other people of color from

advancing in organizations (Block, Aumann, & Chelin, 2012; Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Tomkiewicz, Brenner, & Adeyemi-Bello, 1998). Moreover, research has demonstrated that two of the identities of the leader prototype in the United States are to be white and male (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). Taken together, it is not far-reaching to assume that to neither be a man, nor White, results in a serious disadvantage for women of color who do not fit the leader prototype.

As opposed to the glass-ceiling phenomenon that has been observed for all women, women of color may face more of a brick wall (Roberts, 1998; Bell & Nkomo, 2001), when contending against stereotypes about both of the salient identities of race and gender (Roberts, 1998). This brick or “concrete” wall serves as an additional obstacle faced by women of color seeking to attain leadership positions (Parker & ogilvie, 1996). Intersectional analyses have made clear that Black women as a group fare far worse in employment outcomes than their race and gender counterparts. Increasing income equality and persistent wage disparity, compounded by occupational segregation by race and gender all combine to create “interlocking systems of oppression” (The Combahee River Collective, 1982) that benefit those who experience privilege on the basis of racist, sexist, and classist systems, and cost those who live at the nexus of marginalized identities.

In spite of the real impact of race-based and gender-based stereotypes on organizational advancement, little research acknowledges the stereotypes that exist at the intersection of one’s race and gender. These racial and gender stereotypes are likely to have a combined effect on the advancement of Black women. However, thus far, race-based studies tend to focus on Black and White men, while gender-based studies tend to focus on White men and women (Kennelly, 1999; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010; Rosette & Livingston, 2012). In

essence, this rings true the adage that “all the women are White, [and] all the Blacks are men” (Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982). As the collective understanding of both gender and race become increasingly fluid (e.g. Caitlyn Jenner and Rachel Dolezal in recent news cycles), old stereotypes and prototypes are reinforced. Woman-ness is constructed to include visual and stereotypical feminine attributes, such as fairness of skin and long hair; while blackness is legitimated by a darker skin tone and Afrocentric hairstyles.

All of these factors combine to create a situation in which Black women – who are most affected by racial and gender discrimination – are benefitting the least from advocacy aimed at correcting such inequality. This is the foundation for the theory of intersectionality. A theory heralded in law and gender studies, intersectionality is an anti-essentialist identity-based theory, which explores the experiences of those with multiple, intersecting identities (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991; Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005). Intersectionality has been a source of community and power for those with multiple identities who have been subsumed in singular identity movements (Crenshaw, 1991). Relatively nascent in psychological, organizational and management studies (Settles, 2006; Cole, 2009; Holvino, 2008; Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012), intersectionality centers the reality of the marginalized by focusing on their unique plights and perspectives from “when and where [they] enter” (Giddings, 1984).

Of the few studies that have explored the dynamics of race and gender in the workplace, the experiences of Black women and other women of color are subsumed within the larger categories of race or gender (see Maume, 1999). There are even fewer management studies that attempt to address the intersectionality of race and gender in the attainment of managerial positions (Holvino, 2008). Applying an intersectional lens to diversity research is critical to understanding the continued underrepresentation of Black women in leadership roles. Recent

research that has explored Black women in such roles has found that while Black women executives are perceived less negatively when expressing dominant behavior than either White women or Black men (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012), they are unduly penalized both when facing poor organizational performance (Rosette & Livingston, 2012) and when expressing specific dimensions of agency (Rosette, Koval, Mal, & Livingston, 2016). While this line of research focuses on the context in which Black women are perceived once in a leadership role, the fact remains that Black women are still underrepresented in leadership and management roles.

Since decision-makers are the ones who ultimately shape decisions about Black women's organizational advancement, it is necessary to examine the perception of Black women in leadership roles, especially among those who hold decision-making power in organizations, who are generally neither women nor of color (Rosette, et al. 2008). When it comes to organizational outcomes, such as advancement and promotion or hiring and firing, perception on the part of decision-makers is key. In order to better understand the exclusion or inclusion of certain groups with intersectional identities, it is necessary to look at how they are perceived on the basis of those identities. The primary purpose of the present research is to examine how people are perceived within the intersection of race and gender.

Intersectionality illuminates the gap in diversity and demographic research that has long-focused on the differences between groups. The theory implores researchers to look within groups in order to gain a richer understanding of the differences that exist in oft-studied groups, such as the racial differences among women or the gender differences among Black people. In its original conception, intersectionality theory illuminated within-group distinctions, most notably among women and Black people, highlighting the reality that Black women are distinct from

both White women and Black men. What has been overlooked is how the theory can be used to explore differences intra-intersectionally, or within established intersections (Carbado & Gulati, 2013). Black women are not monolithic and it is important to illuminate how Black women are perceived differently from one another. One of the historical markers of within-group differences among Black people is racial prototypicality. Appearing racially prototypical of Blackness (Livingston & Brewer, 2002), that is to say, possessing the immutable characteristic of a darker skin color and the often more mutable characteristic of naturally kinky hairstyles (Caldwell, 1991) has been a source of debate in the workplace since the workforce diversified. Fifty years ago, at the culmination of the Civil Rights Movements, the refrain “Black is Beautiful” celebrated what was considered to be prototypical blackness – that is natural, afro-coifed hair, and brown skin – a respite from the pressures to conform to prototypical whiteness.

In recent years, there has been a resurgence in this reclamation of blackness as beautiful that has reverberated in many industries, with notable consequences in the workforce. For instance, in 2014, the Army came under fire for controversial hair regulations (Army Regulation 670-1, 2014) that seemed to disproportionately target women of color, citing hair that extends two inches from the scalp, in the style of twists or braids, or otherwise unkempt or matted, as unauthorized (Carroll & Millham, 2014). More recently, a federal appeals court unanimously upheld the right of an employer to refuse to hire employees for wearing locs, a notably afro-centric hairstyle, citing hair’s mutability (Gershman, 2016). Around the world, children are being sent home from school consistently (Kim, 2013; Klein, 2013; Finley, 2015; Bennett, 2017; Watson, 2017), job offers are being rescinded, and work opportunities hinge on the disapproval of naturally Black hairstyles (Clutch Magazine, 2015; Estrada, 2015). At the time this was written, a Google search of the words “unprofessional hair” brings up images of Black women

with natural and kinky hairstyles, while a search for “professional hair” brings up images primarily of White women with straight hair. Though this algorithm may be a result of the myriad inquiries that Black women have about the professionalism of their natural hair, it is based in the perception that the default assumption is that natural hairstyles for Black women are unprofessional (Alexander, 2016).

In addition to this bias against natural hairstyles in the workplace, skin tone bias research has confirmed that significant differences among light-skinned and dark-skinned Black people can have just as dire consequences as those between Blacks and Whites (Keith & Herring, 1991). This skin tone bias, commonly referred to as colorism (Okazawa-rey, Robinson, & Ward, 1986), reproduces a privileging of lighter skin tone in communities of color. However, this reality has received relatively scant scholarly attention; and of the studies that examine such differences, perception is primarily evaluated intraracially, i.e. colorism among Black people, failing to acknowledge that differential judgments based on skin tone persist regardless of the perceiver’s own race, whether Black or white (Hunter, 1998; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Recent popular documentaries such as *Good Hair* by Chris Rock Productions (2009) and *Dark Girls* (Berry & Duke, 2011) have illuminated the far-reaching consequences of standards based on such characteristics, though such research has been regarded with derision in the academy (Hochschild, 2006).

While hairstyle and hair color activate stereotypes for women of all races (whether hair is short, curly, blonde, red, etc.), the extreme lack of employment opportunity presents a particular “hair dilemma” for Black women (Rosette & Dumas, 2007), who contend against stereotypes against both their racial and gender identities. However, Black women occupy a space of “intersectional invisibility” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), a social location that is neither

prototypical of race (Black men) nor gender (White women). As such, being perceived as low in racial prototypicality may merely increase gender prototypicality, i.e. approaching more of the female prototype of a White women, which involves another set of stereotypes in the workplace. For some Black women, muting their natural hair results in being perceived on the basis of gender prototypes, yet not doing so is a way of resistance (Weitz, 2001). And this act is not without consequences, as wearing Afrocentric hairstyles in the workplace is deemed as unprofessional (Opie & Phillips, 2015).

While skin color and hair style are often invoked simultaneously to describe a system of advantages and disadvantages among Black women, there has been negligible scholarly attention to how these characteristics of skin tone and hairstyle interact to inform differential perceptions of Black women in the workplace. The little research on within group differences in racial prototypicality, due in part to the intersectional invisibility of Black women, has focused on Black men (Eberhardt, et al., 2006; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Livingston & Pearce, 2009). However, racial prototypicality is consequential for Black women as lighter-skinned Black women are likely to earn significantly more than darker-skinned women (Hunter, 1998, 2002) and are less likely to face the reduced personal and professional penalization that accompanies having darker skin (Maddox & Gray, 2002).

Due to the advent of intersectional research that highlights within-group differences, a greater understanding of the differential outcomes experienced as a function of gender and race has been achieved. However, by virtue of its demand to examine within-group differences, intersectionality has had the unintended effect of reinforcing the idea that those with similar intersectional identities are monolithic. Where intersectionality theory falls short is in highlighting the variation that exists within intersectional groups (Carbado & Gulati, 2001). The

reality is that not all Black women are perceived in the same manner. Thus, the variance in racial and gender prototypicality among Black women could potentially be as great as the variance between Black women and Black men, or White women and men. The focus of this research, therefore, is to examine how Black women are differentially perceived and how these varying perceptions affect employment outcomes. This study will explore the ways in which Black women varying in racial and gender prototypicality are perceived and how this variance affects opportunities and outcomes for leadership. Specifically, the objective of this study is to explore the effects of differences in hair texture and skin tone among Black women seeking a management position.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Stereotypes of Managers

The review of the literature begins with a general overview of stereotypes about gender and race, highlighting the need for an intersectional view of stereotypes. There is then a review of the stereotype content literature for Black women, illuminating the paucity of intra-intersectional investigation.

2.1.1 *Gender Stereotypes of Managers*

The United States is an androcentric nation; therefore, there exists a “people = male” hypothesis such that non-gender-specific terminology results in the assumption that, generally speaking, “people” are male (Merritt & Kok, 1995, Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). It is arguable that this phenomenon occurs more frequently when a particular label has historically been applied to one group of people, i.e. managers being men (“think manager, think male”) (Schein, 1973). Gender stereotypes paint men as being agentic and women as being communal (Rudman & Glick, 2001), stemming from traditional gender roles and views of men working outside of the home and women tending to the home and family, such that men are seen as achievement-oriented while women are more likely to be perceived as strong in communal traits. Men are characterized as independent, decisive, and ambitious, while women are characterized as tender, understanding, and concerned with others (Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995).

Gender stereotype research has illuminated the reality that not only are gender stereotypes at play when one thinks of managers, but also when thinking about the role of manager - a male-typed position - resulting in an assessment of a female manager lacking fit for the role. Since managerial positions are masculinely sex-typed and thereby requiring masculinity, women in general are seen as a lack of fit for higher-level positions. When women

managers demonstrate competence, they experience backlash for not being warm, thereby violating prescriptive gender stereotypes (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This backlash effect is especially evident when women express agency, such as promoting themselves (Rudman, 1998). More recent research has found that assertive women experience backlash in negotiation when engaging in self-advocacy, yet less so when advocating for others (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013).

These stereotypes have been reproduced in the workplace, with men being given more responsibility for leadership than women, since men are perceived to have significantly more in common with successful managers than women (Heilman et al., 1989). Historically, men are disproportionately selected as managers, and as such, the stereotypes for successful managers, such as ambition and competence are masculine stereotypes (Acker, 1990). Even when labeled as successful, women managers are still rated lower than successful men managers on leadership ability and higher on interpersonal hostility (Heilman et al., 1995). Exhibiting the agentic traits necessary to be deemed managerial material puts women managers in a warmth vs. competence double bind of stereotypes, as they need to balance being perceived as both nice and capable (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Women managers are perceived to be competent as evidenced by their success, yet lacking warmth due to the idea that they would need to sacrifice their communal nature and to think and behave more “like a man” in order to be perceived as a leader (Fiske et al., 2002).

In summary, gender stereotypes are powerful and perceived differences between women and men have been subject to much research in a variety of fields. In management literature, women who are seen as competent are no longer seen as warm, so not only do they lack fit for the role of manager, but they are also seen as less of a woman.

In addition to androcentrism, ethnocentrism in the United States, in which being White is seen as the norm or standard (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), results in the notion that people in general are White; and even more so that leaders are White, rendering whiteness a characteristic of the leader prototype in business (Rosette et al., 2008). Though race is not made explicit in many studies about gender differences, it is arguable that the assumed race is White due to the dominance of Whiteness in the United States, as well as the categorization of leader to be raced as White (Rosette et al., 2008). When exploring women in the workplace, especially women managers, by and large, the assumption is made that those women are White.

2.1.2 Race Stereotypes of Managers

The study of racial stereotypes has a long and established history in social psychology; stemming from the seminal study of Katz and Braly (1933) who set out to understand racial and ethnic stereotypes. Though stereotypes are stable and learned associations by definition, following this history of stereotype research reveals that the content of stereotypes depends on historical context. Since the U.S. is an ethnocentric nation in which White Americans are the dominant ethnic group, racial stereotypes serve an entrenched function in order to sustain power relations. And Black people are historically stereotyped as intellectually inferior, while Whites, similar to men, are viewed as competent (Steele & Aronson, 1995).

These general stereotypes are especially active in the workplace. Organizational decisions such as hiring and promotion are often made using largely unconscious processes of schemas and heuristics where stereotyping resides (Heilman et al., 1995). In the case of managers, what it takes to be a successful manager is largely based on available information on who have been managers in the past. Historically in the U.S., the role of manager has been, and still is to a large degree, filled by White men due to the historical reality of segregation.

Therefore, race is an inherent marker of what it takes to be successful as a manager. Rosette et al. (2008) confirmed that whiteness is perceived to be prototypical of a business leader. When a candidate does not fit this mold (Heilman, 1984), i.e. when they are not White, they are not given the same opportunities as someone who appears as congruent with the leader prototype. Therefore, the qualities of competence, ambition, and business acumen are attributed to the race of those given the opportunity to demonstrate them. Evidence suggests that Blacks in general are perceived to have less in common with successful managers than do Whites in general (Tomkiewicz et al. 1998). Such generalized racial stereotypes persist when members of a particular racial group are in specified roles, such as manager (Block et al., 2012). And Black managers, in particular, are seen as less of a fit for the role of manager than White managers (Block et al., 2012).

Similar to the “think manager, think male” phenomenon, there exists simultaneously a *think manager, think White* process (Rosette et al., 2008). Chung-Herrera and Lankau (2005) found that Blacks labeled as managers were perceived as lacking self-confidence, less hard working, less goal-oriented, and desiring less responsibility than White managers when compared to the successful managers. It is thus a reinforcing stereotype that Whites are seen as having more in common with successful managers than people of color (Tomkiewicz et al, 1998; Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005).

Going further, Block et al. (2012) found significant differences between the stereotype content of Black and White managers. White managers were characterized as competent, ambitious, yet manipulative; while Black managers were more likely to be seen as interpersonally skilled, yet unpolished. In this study, it was found that when the managers were also explicitly labeled as successful, the racial differences in achievement-oriented stereotypes of

competence and ambition were eliminated. That is to say, a manager labeled as a *successful* Black manager was no less likely to be viewed as competent and ambitious than a White manager, though they were still seen as being significantly more unpolished and interpersonally skilled. Thus, while success information was sufficient to eliminate differences in competence and ambition, being seen as “polished” is still an important skill for senior leaders in which successful Black managers are seen to be lacking. In addition, while successful Black managers were still seen as more interpersonally skilled than successful White managers, being interpersonally skilled is rooted in communality, a characteristic that is considered to be less critical in leadership roles than agency (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

In sum, stereotypes about race are far-reaching and affect many employment outcomes. History has demonstrated that Black people face more barriers in entering management positions than their White counterparts. Similar to the exclusion of race in studies about gender stereotypes of managers, gender was not made explicit in these studies of racial stereotypes about managers. It is plausible, therefore, that the managers were assumed to be men due to androcentricism and the “think manager, think male” phenomenon (Schein et al., 1996; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Golom & Liberman, 2015). When looking at the race of managers, it is tenable that the people = male hypothesis is also strengthened, such that Black managers are also assumed to be men in this research. Additionally, research focused on the bias faced by minority groups in the workplace exists largely outside of the gender literature; highlighting the lack of intersectional thought that has plagued unidimensional organizational and management research (Ruggs et al., 2013), reinforcing a gap that is only beginning to be filled by intersectional research (Golom & Liberman, 2015).

2.2 Intersectionality

In a society that is both ethnocentric and androcentric, in which the schema for leader is more consistent with Whites and men, Black women are potentially at a double disadvantage for being considered leadership material (Rosette & Livingston, 2012). There has been research exploring the idea that women and people of color experience differential organizational advancement than white men, encountering a glass ceiling in male- and white-typed occupations, whereas inversely, white men benefit from a sort of glass escalator in female-typed positions (Maume, 1999; Williams, 1995). One plausible explanation for this is based in the stereotype of what is deemed proper managerial material, which coincides with being not only a man, but also being White. While Black men and white women indeed have intersectional experiences on account of their multiple identities, they rarely face intersectional disempowerment on account of both their race and sex (Crenshaw, 1991). The assimilation model of inequality characterized in women's management and leadership research reinforces the white male standard of leadership: that in order to be a successful manager, one must look, act, think, and manage like a White man (Holvino, 2008; Rosette et al., 2008). The double jeopardy model (Bell & Nkomo, 2001, Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010) asserts that having two subordinated identities results in potentially being doubly-disadvantaged.

Similar to the glass ceiling analogy, Crenshaw (1989) describes a basement containing people who are disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, stacked on top of one another with those who are disadvantaged by multiple factors at the bottom, with the heads of those who are oppressed by only one factor brushing the ceiling, able to see the floor upon which those without any disadvantage stand. Affirmative action and other programs and movements aim to correct this system of inequality by allowing those who, "*but for*" the ceiling, would be on equal

standing with the powers above due to their singularly burdened identity and privileged position in comparison to those at the bottom of the basement, who would have to align themselves with the more privileged groups in order to gain access to the ceiling. The narrow “top down” approach to how discrimination is defined lends itself to this “*but for*” analysis to examine the impact of race and sex discrimination, such that the system privileges individuals who are privileged “*but for*” their race or sex (Crenshaw, 1989).

Crenshaw (1989) advocates a “bottom-up” approach to battling discrimination in the workplace, reasoning that all employees stand to gain more by collective action against hierarchy rather than by waging individual fights in order to protect one’s privilege within the system (Giddings, 1984). She posits that Black women are best positioned to challenge discrimination due to intersectionality, though they are often isolated because those with some privilege in organizations, i.e. white women and Black men, are too busy vying for the few positions available to them (Crenshaw, 1989). Because Black women are more likely to be excluded from informal networks, they face more challenges in leadership than either men or White women (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). When Black women are afforded leadership positions, they are penalized more harshly in the face of organizational failure, as discovered by Rosette and Livingston (2012), who found that Black women leaders are considered as significantly less effective than their white and female counterparts when organizations are depicted as having suffered a decline in earnings. Additionally, Black women are seen as significantly less typical of a leader than Black men and White women, let alone White men (Rosette et al., 2008). These findings clearly illustrate that Black women in leadership bear the brunt of the blame when organizations are not successful.

2.2.1 Intersectional Invisibility

Intersectionality research, born out of the invisibility of Black women, opened the door to exploring within-group differences among women and among Black people. As stereotypes serve to help us simplify and categorize information (Heilman, et al.1995), rarely are such stereotypes treated with the complexity that intersectionality requires. Though we all implicitly and subconsciously hold intersectional stereotypes, the stereotypes of women are usually of White women and the stereotypes of Black people are usually of men. And few researchers have explored the stereotypes associated with the multiple, simultaneous identities of Black women.

Further, the *intersectional invisibility* model (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) illustrates how androcentrism and ethnocentrism operate in the United States and most Western nations, rendering those with multiple, marginalized identities, (e.g. Black women), to become invisible. For being nonprototypical in one respect reinforces the prototypicality of other identities; for as previously stated, because of androcentrism, the prototypical Black person will be perceived to be a man; and due to ethnocentrism, the prototypical woman will be perceived to be White. It follows, therefore, that when multiple, salient identities are considered simultaneously, i.e. race and gender, managers of color will be assumed to be men, while women managers will be perceived as White, often overlooking the study of Black women managers.

In the few studies of Black women leaders, Black women are stereotyped as being more agentic than white women, which is traditionally a masculine characterization (Livingston et al., 2012). Recent intersectional research has illuminated the reality that Black women being agentic is not proscribed (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012), that is to say that Black women can express agency without penalty, whereas such behavior is proscribed from White women. Agency is not proscribed for Black women as it is for White women, so Black women may be

able to “get ahead” with perceived dominance, though not in all circumstances, such as organizational failure (Rosette & Livingston, 2012).

By violating prescriptive stereotypes for women, even if such characteristics are viewed as positive in men, Black women are deemed as less feminine for being more assertive and displaying more agentic characteristics associated with being Black (Higginbotham, 1982; Crenshaw, 1989; Goff, Thomas, and Jackson 2008; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Goff et al. (2008) demonstrated that intersectionality of person perception occurs at two levels: basic categorization and higher-order stereotypicality and attractiveness. They determined that blackness is to maleness as femininity is to whiteness, such that the stereotypes about blackness conjure images of Black males, erasing Black women on a perceptual level. Therefore, increased racial stereotypicality results in more masculine stereotypes.

Following the priming of the 1982 reader, *All the Blacks are Men and All the Women are White*, Goff and Kahn (2013) set out to understand whether gender studies in social psychological science were inherently racist by being about White women, and the current psychological understanding of racism, by default sexist by its exclusive focus on Black men. If race and gender intersect, then the vast majority of instruments created to measure one or the other are essentially eclipsing our collective understanding of Black women.

2.2.2 Stereotypes of Black Women

The traditional stereotypes of Black women include the jezebel (the whore), mammy (the help), and Sapphire (the angry black woman) (The Combahee River Collective, 1982). These tropes have been acknowledged outside of academe for decades in literature and various forms of media, as noted by Patricia Hill Collins (2000) who refers to these depictions as *controlling images*, which exist to justify the continued societal oppression of Black women. Contending

against these stereotypes is akin to sitting in a crooked chair in a *crooked room* and attempting the feat of trying to align oneself vertically (Harris-Perry, 2011). Melissa Harris-Perry (2011) defines each of these negative stereotypes as follows: the Jezebel is the sexually promiscuous woman, created to justify the mistreatment and rape of African enslaved women. It transformed to support the welfare queen stereotype of the licentious single woman with multiple children who depends on the state for her livelihood. Conversely, the Mammy is asexual, overweight, and unattractive, and used to defend the longstanding practice of Black women as caretakers, as depicted in the controversial novel and film *The Help* (Columbus et al., 2011), who exist to care for White families at the expense of their own. The Sapphire, contrary to its label, is a stereotype that depicts Black women as angry, emasculating, and domineering; reiterating a fourth stereotype created and reinforced by Black women themselves: the Strong Black woman, a woman who is independent, resilient, and self-sufficient to such a fault that while she is taking care of everyone else's needs, no one is tending to hers.

Many of these stereotypes combine to fuel the perception of female-headed households, which is often regarded as a result of sexual promiscuity, yet also contributes to the idea that a strong Black woman has to take on the roles of both mother and father, and is thus emasculating and angry. This notion is yet regarded as a central problem in the advancement of the Black community, further pathologizing the Black family and affecting career outcomes for Black women (Moynihan, 1965; Kennelly, 1999). These stereotypes operate in the subconscious of those making decisions for the hiring and promoting of Black women in organizations.

2.2.3 Stereotypes of Black Women Managers

Merriweather & Block (2016) conducted a study aiming to capture the stereotype content of Black women managers as differentiated from White women, Black men, and White men

managers. Looking within gender, the results demonstrate that Black women managers are characterized as more assertive, firm, and community-oriented than White women managers (Merriweather & Block, 2016). Thus, they are considered to be both warm and agentic and, as a result, may indeed benefit from intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) and escape the warmth-competence double bind. However, Black women managers are also perceived to be more talkative, unmannerly, unmotivated, and to speak more loudly than White women managers (Merriweather & Block, 2016), which coincides with the Jezebel narrative, contributing to the pathological idea of Black women being the cause of the breakdown of the Black family (Moynihan, 1965; Harris-Perry, 2011). These negative stereotypes may counter any invisibility advantage that may buffer Black women from experiencing traditional gender discrimination. Consistent with the Strong Black Woman stereotype, Black women managers are seen as strong, self-sufficient, and care-taking (Holvino, 2008; Bell and Nkomo, 2001). The image of Black women as accommodating and warm as in the character of the Mammy is present in the perceptions of Black women managers, who are also seen as honest, loyal, and possessing high moral character in comparison to men managers, both Black and White (Merriweather & Block, 2016).

The different characteristics that emerged to contrast Black and White women managers highlight the importance of applying an intersectional lens to the glass-ceiling phenomenon. Black women are portrayed as strong (e.g. strong-willed, firm, and assertive) while White women are perceived to be more competent (e.g. skilled in business matters, career-oriented, and organized). Further, Black women managers seem to possess many warmth characteristics such as being seen as more community-oriented and talkative than White women. These findings do not fit within the universal warmth/competence dilemma that is discussed in research on women

leaders, where women leaders are thought to be high in competence, but low in warmth (Fiske, et al., 2002), but they are in line with the intersectional findings by Livingston et al. (2012), in which Black women can express agentic traits, such as being assertive and firm, without the penalty of lacking warmth. However, negative stereotypes, such as being seen as loud or unmotivated, may counter any invisibility advantage that may buffer Black women from experiencing discrimination.

Looking within race, Merriweather & Block (2016) found the fewest differences between the perception of Black women managers and the perception of Black men managers, indicating a powerful racial stereotype that exists across gender among Black managers. While Black men were seen as significantly more unmotivated and egotistical (a male-specific trait), Black women were perceived as more strong-willed, talkative, community-oriented, honest and of a higher moral character. Black women managers differed from Black men by not being seen as negatively (e.g. angry), while also possessing more positive characteristics that are important for managers, such as being strong-willed, honest, community-oriented, and moral. This finding further supports the idea that Black women stand to benefit from intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns, & Eibach, 2008). More differentiation was found between Black and White managers, as well as men and women managers, with the most differentiation occurring between Black women and White men managers. While White managers across gender were seen as career-oriented and manipulative compared to Black women, who were seen as more aware of others' feelings, loyal, and straightforward, White men managers were also seen as more logical, ambitious, decisive, and practical. This finding confirms that Black women managers are perceived to have the least characteristics in common with the prototypical leader ideal of the White male leader (Rosette et al., 2008).

2.3 Within-Group Differences: Differential Stereotypes of Black Women

In attempting to examine within-group differences, the above research, though well intended, has contributed to the idea of Black women as monolithic. Whereas the variance in how Black women are perceived on both racial and gender prototypicality could be as variant as when compared to their racial (Black men) and gender (White women) counterparts. Therefore, it is important to illuminate how Black women are perceived differently from one another. One way to examine such within-group differences is through perceptions of racial prototypicality, via differences in skin tone and natural hair.

2.3.1 Colorism and Hair Texture

Occurring globally, colorism is a phenomenon that cannot exist apart from the system of racism (Hunter, 2008), reproducing the privileging of lighter skin tone in communities of color. Being inextricably linked to racism in the United States, colorism is the discriminatory stratification of people by skin color within a particular race (Hunter, 2007; Keith & Herring, 1991). While race is acknowledged as socially constructed, the residual effects of biological distinctions remain and are readily apparent in the practice of colorism (Hunter, 1998). Operating within the larger system of White supremacy, colorism in the United States dates back to the antebellum period of slavery, in which enslaved light-skinned Black people – most often the product of the violent, involuntary sexual relations of White men perpetrated against enslaved Black women, i.e., rape (Edwards, 1973; Hunter, 1998) – were given privileges, i.e. proximity to White people by living inside their homes as opposed to slave quarters, relative to their darker-skinned counterparts (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991). As lighter-skinned Black people were seen as more related – literally – to Whiteness, they were regarded as more

competent and capable than other Blacks and were more often given positions of leadership on plantations as overseers or personal servants (Lester, 2000; Neal & Wilson, Midge, 1989).

Though the initial proliferation of light-skinned Black people slowed following the Civil War, as “it is undoubtedly the case that emancipation and social economic mobility have reduced the exposure of black females to white males - thus minimizing the primary source of light-skinned blacks” (Edwards, 1973; p. 476), light-skinned Black people continued in homogamy (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Hunter, 1998), continuing to be counted as “mulattos” until the 1930 census (Hochschild, 2006). This practice gave way to the *Rule of Hypodescent* – the one-drop rule – which conferred enslaved, and subsequently black status on the offspring of descendants of enslaved Black women (Hunter, 1998), rendering Blacks as a category wholly inferior to Whites. However, skin color stratification continued against and within the Black community, with practices such as the *brown paper bag* test, in which entry into organizations and networks was granted to those with skin lighter than that of a brown paper bag; and *comb* tests, in which inclusion was determined by the ease with which a comb could pass through one’s hair (Hochschild, 2006; Hunter, 1998; Maddox & Gray, 2002).

Research has documented that skin color often operated “as a selection mechanism” through which more occupational prestige, and therefore, wages, were awarded to lighter-skinned Blacks (Hill, 2000; Ransford, 1970). This is not to suggest that lighter-skinned Black people would not experience oppression, as “although all blacks experience discrimination as blacks, the intensity of that discrimination will differ dramatically by skin tone” (Hunter, 2007, p. 238). As darker-skinned Black people face more discrimination, they are considered to be more authentic to their race. Conversely, as lighter skin affords privileges, it delegitimizes racial authenticity, resulting in a “colorism conundrum”. However, “without minimizing the

psychological trauma of exclusion from ethnic communities, it is important to clarify that the disadvantages of dark skin still far outweigh the disadvantages of light” (Ibid, p. 246).

Directly emanating from the Civil Rights movement, and coinciding with the Black feminist movement, the Black Power movement - with the maxim, “Black is Beautiful” (Hraba & Grant, 1970) – shifted the negative perception of Blackness intraracially, resulting in a celebration of the perceived stereotypicality of Blackness – including darker skin as well as “natural” or afro, locked, and braided hairstyles, thus signaling the retirement of the infamous *brown paper bag* and *comb* tests that delineated Black people in the first half of the 20th century. However, this paradigm shift did not occur in all domains, notably in the workplace. Concerning those with decision-making power in organizations, it is likely that these tests continue subconsciously in the minds of those with said power. For lighter-skinned Black people are still significantly further ahead in terms of unemployment, wages, and occupational prestige than darker-skinned Blacks (Hill, 2000; Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991). Just because Black people grew unapologetic of their Blackness does not mean that others also evolved in this appreciation. In fact, quite the opposite occurred as evidenced by the increase in EEOC claims based on discrimination due to such traits as skin color and hair style among Black people, namely Black women (Caldwell, 1991; Hunter, 2002).

When looking at differences among Black women, lighter-skinned Black women are seen as significantly more intelligent, motivated, and self-assured than darker-skinned Black women, who are perceived as lazier, poorer, and less attractive than lighter-skinned Black women (Maddox & Gray, 2002), for whom, “the intersection of gender oppression and the skin color selection process creates a queue of women where the lightest-skinned women are positioned with the highest status at the front of the queue” (Hunter, 1998; p. 522). The status characteristic

of light skin, being directly associated with whiteness, has been put forth as a trait that raises the social capital of Black women (Hunter, 2002). Often talked about in terms of marital status and selection, this capital also has consequences for workplace outcomes.

Just as the “Black is beautiful” movement may have mitigated colorism in the Black community, the resurgent natural hair movement of the last decade may have ameliorated the felt pressure to conform to straight hairstyles among Black women. However, this choice may yet be consequential for Black women with leadership aspirations, who are more harshly subjected to stereotypes. Hairstyle choices among Black women may signal a “survival mechanism” or a source of resistance (Weitz, 2001) “in a culture where social, political, and economic choices of racialized individuals and groups are conditioned by the extent to which their physical characteristics, both mutable and immutable, approximate those of the dominant racial group” (Caldwell, 1991, p. 383). As such, hair is a mechanism by which Black women may choose to highlight or attempt to make invisible their racial identity in order to manage perception and put forth an image deemed professional (Rosette & Dumas, 2007), for drawing attention to one’s race could affect perceived competence (Weitz, 2001). “Because the appearance of hair and some of its characteristics are capable of change, the choice by blacks either to make no change or to do so in ways that do not reflect the characteristics and appearance of the hair of whites, represents an assertion of the self that is in direct conflict with the assumptions that underlie the existing social order” (Caldwell, 1991, p. 384). Challenging this status quo signals a threat to societal and organizational values, potentially resulting in backlash against Black women who choose not to conform to White aesthetic ideals.

While much research and popular media has documented the significant differences experienced by Black women by skin color and hair texture, these differences are often

conflated, as hair itself could be considered a medium that can affect the perception of dark or light skin resulting in a false positive association (Hill, 2000). Many Black women, aware of the negative stereotypes against which they contend, may intentionally straighten (mute) their hair, avoid tanning, or even bleach their skin (Blay, 2011), in an attempt to “cover” (Yoshino, 2002) their racial identity and fend off the associated negative stereotypes (Block, Koch, Liberman, Merriweather, & Roberson, 2011). Further, engaging in such “respectability politics” with the aim of combatting such stereotypes is considered futile (Higginbotham, 1993). Even so, this sought intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010) may not allow all Black women to escape potential backlash. (Eberhardt, et al., 2006).

Physical characteristics, such as skin tone and hair texture, have been demonstrated as being more consequential for Black women than for Black men, such that lighter-skinned Black women are able to escape personal and professional penalization more than darker-skinned Black women (Hunter, 2002; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Unlike skin color, hair is legally considered to be a mutable characteristic (Caldwell, 1991) and has been the subject of recent workplace issues that largely affect Black women in industries from the military to the media, where hairstyles deemed ‘Afrocentric’ (e.g. braids, locs, cornrows, afros, etc.) are viewed as being in violation of professional dress codes, and have cost Black people, mainly Black women, jobs and opportunities. Further, having a darker skin tone, and/or a tightly-coiled hair texture (Okazawa-rey et al., 1986), is more related to racial consciousness than for lighter-skinned individuals (Hochschild, 2006) with straighter hair, potentially creating a double burden for darker-skinned women attempting to mitigate negative stereotypes (Block et al., 2011).

Consider Michelle Obama, for instance, who as the first Black First Lady of the United States, is also a darker-skinned Black woman, has only recently been seen in public with her hair

un-straightened after leaving the White House (Diana, 2017). However, this neither prevented mainstream media from depicting her with an Afro in an effort to portray her as angry or domineering. In the same vein, she has also been photo shopped with a natural hairstyle as a source of beauty and inspiration for Black women.

To date, there is little empirical research on how gender and racial prototypicality varies by the existing stereotyping content of Black women in management roles. *The Hair Dilemma* (Rosette & Dumas, 2007) explores how Black women face different pressures to disarm negative stereotypes than other women or Black men in terms of how they are perceived. As such, Black women face the undue burden of deciding whether to wear their hair naturally kinky or unnaturally straightened, which has been the accepted norm. Opie and Phillips (2015) found that Black women with Afrocentric hairstyles were perceived as more dominant and were penalized more than women, both Black and White, with European hairstyles. Like skin tone, hairstyle is more consequential for women of color, whose decisions to wear their hair in their natural states are loaded with meaning. For instance, Afros are closely associated with political resistance and a Black woman who chooses to wear Afrocentric hair is stereotyped as militant and racially conscious (Weitz, 2001; Davis, 1994). The “Good Hair Study” (Johnson et al., 2017) conducted by the Perception Institute demonstrate through an Implicit Association Test (IAT) that a majority of people possess bias against the hair of women of color, with younger people and women with natural hairstyles holding the least, and White women being the most biased against natural hairstyles (Johnson et al., 2017).

Since Black women managers are stereotyped differently from White women managers (Merriweather & Block, 2016) and Black women managers are able to express agency with less penalty than White women (Rosette & Livingston, 2012), it follows that appearance would also

affect them differently. To reiterate, Black women with kinky hair and Afrocentric hairstyles are perceived to be more dominant, regardless of behavior (Opie & Phillips, 2015). And even though racial prototypicality research favors Black men, skin color is just as consequential for Black women as it is for Black men, such that lighter-skinned Black women are also likely to earn significantly more than darker-skinned Black women (Hunter, 1998, 2002). Stereotypicality has mostly been investigated across race; however, there are also dire differences within race that increase the likelihood of discrimination (Eberhardt et al., 2006), such that Black people with more Black features (darker skin, kinky hair, broader nose, etc.) are more likely to be harshly punished than Blacks with less stereotypically Black physical features. Less so than skin tone, hair is used most notably among Black women as a way to negotiate the visibility of their racial identity (Rosette & Dumas, 2007), as well as a means to resist conformity and regain personal power (Weitz, 2001).

The Present Study

Even though intersectional research has shed light on Black women as overlooked for leadership positions, it has also had the unintended outcome of presenting Black women as unidimensional, relevant only by comparison to other groups, thereby reinforcing stereotypic beliefs about these groups. Intersectionality, however, by default of its demand to examine the differential outcomes among people who are classed together, necessitates the investigation of within-group variance.

Research has demonstrated that Black women differ from their racial and gender counterparts in how they are stereotyped, particularly when in managerial roles (Merriweather & Block, 2016). What is less well-understood is how Black women vary from one another in terms of stereotypes when in managerial roles. It could be that lighter-skinned Black women, and/or

Black women with straighter hair texture are associated with more positive and less negative stereotypes (Maddox & Gray, 2002). Further, it is yet to be examined how hair texture and skin tone may interact to affect perceptions of Black women managers. For instance, darker-skinned Black women with “Afrocentric” hair styles may be seen as more stereotypical than either dark-skinned Black women with straightened hair or light-skinned Black women with any hair style. The extent to which the factors of skin tone and hair texture interact to affect how Black women who aspire to higher positions are perceived remains unknown.

Studied greatly in sociology, the effects of colorism and skin tone bias have yet to be substantially explored in the workplace. This research answers a recent call for I-O psychologists to engage in investigating the deeper, intraracial questions and implications regarding skin tone discrimination in the workplace, including hiring and promoting practices (Marira & Mitra, 2013). Moreover, this study goes further in addressing how skin tone interacts with the significant marker of racial visibility of hair texture, which is believed to be more consequential for Black women than either White women or Black men (Lester, 2000). It is hypothesized that this interaction will result in differential evaluations of Black women, with either dark or light skin and straight or kinky hair, who are applying for a management position.

The purpose of this research is to explore the effects of hair texture and skin tone among Black women applying for a management position. This study will explore the ways in which Black women vary in gender and racial prototypicality, and how this affects how positively or negatively they are characterized.

The study will therefore explore the following hypotheses:

H1a: *Black women applicants with lighter skin will be characterized more positively than Black women applicants with darker skin.*

H1b: *Black women applicants with straight hair will be characterized more positively than Black women applicants with kinky hair.*

H1c: *For Black women applicants with lighter skin, those with straight hair will be characterized more positively than those with kinky hair.*

H1d: *For Black women applicants with darker skin, those with straight hair will be characterized more positively than those with kinky hair.*

H2a: *Black women applicants with darker skin will be characterized more negatively than Black women applicants with lighter skin.*

H2b: *Black women applicants with kinky hair will be characterized more negatively than Black women applicants with straight hair.*

H2c: *For Black women applicants with lighter skin, those with kinky hair will be characterized more negatively than those with straight hair.*

H2d: *For Black women applicants with darker skin, those with kinky hair will be characterized more negatively than those with straight hair.*

H3a: *Black women applicants with lighter skin will be perceived as more successful than Black women applicants with darker skin.*

H3b: *Black women applicants with straight hair will be perceived as more successful than Black women applicants with kinky hair.*

H3c: *For Black women applicants with lighter skin, those with straight hair will be perceived as more successful than those with kinky hair.*

H3d: *For Black women applicants with darker skin, those with straight hair will be perceived as more successful than those with kinky hair.*

H4a: *Black women applicants with lighter skin will be offered a higher salary range than Black women applicants with darker skin.*

H4b: *Black women applicants with straight hair will be offered a higher salary range than Black women applicants with kinky hair.*

H4c: *For Black women applicants with lighter skin, those with straight hair will be offered a higher salary range than those with kinky hair.*

H4d: *For Black women applicants with darker skin, those with straight hair will be offered a higher salary range than those with kinky hair.*

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Participants

Participants were drawn broadly, as perception and stereotypes by definition are beliefs held by a general consensus. Participants were recruited online through Amazon's MTurk and were remunerated \$1.50 for participating. A sample of 195 participants were retained to allow for tests of statistical significance ($\alpha=.05$; $\beta=.2$) for each condition. Sixty-one percent of participants were men ($n=119$) and 39% were women ($n=76$). The sample consisted of 87.6% White participants ($n=172$), followed by 6.7% Black participants ($n=13$), 2.6% Asian participants ($n=5$), and two percent of the sample identified as Latino ($n=1$), Native ($n=1$), Pacific Islander ($n=1$), or Multiracial ($n=1$). The majority of participants (89.7%) were employed full-time ($n=175$), averaging 11.5 years of work experience and 6.5 years of managerial experience. See Table 1 below for complete participant demographics, including age, education level, employment status, as well as a self-report of having normal or corrected eyesight.

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Sample

Demographic	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Men	119	61
Women	76	39
Race		
White	172	87.6
Black	13	6.7
Asian	5	2.6
Latino	1	0.5
Native American	1	0.5
Pacific Islander	1	0.5
Multiracial	1	0.5
Age		
18-24	19	9.7
25-34	109	55.9
35-44	51	26.2
45-54	10	5.1
55-64	4	2.1

65-74	2	1
Education Level		
High School	21	10.8
Some College	21	10.8
Associate	16	8.2
Bachelor	93	47.7
Master	44	22.6
Employment		
Full-time	175	89.7
Part-time	11	5.6
Unemployed Looking	4	2.1
Unemployed Not looking	1	0.5
Retired	2	1
Student	2	1
Management Experience		
Yes	111	56.9
No	84	43.1
Normal or Corrected Vision		
Yes	185	94.9
No	10	5.1

3.2 Design

The study is a 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) between-subjects factorial design in which the independent variables are candidate skin tone (darker, lighter) and hair texture (kinky, straight).

3.3 Procedure

Participants consented to taking an online survey. An introduction to the study informed participants that they were taking part in a study about impressions based on photos of job applicants. Participants were told in this cover story (Appendix A) that this was due to the new reality that in this digital age, job search candidates can expect to be googled and often times impressions are formed based on images found. They were then asked to assume that the provided photo was acquired by searching the name of a candidate for a project manager position for a multimedia tech startup company (job description in Appendix B). The job and industry were intentionally chosen to be White-male-typed in order to highlight a stark juxtaposition with

the candidate. Participants were then provided with a photo of an applicant and asked to rate that applicant on a series of characteristics. As an attention check, participants were asked to identify the race and gender of the candidate in the photo they rated. Demographic information was collected after the ratings were made (see Appendix E), and the final page of the survey provided a debrief (see Appendix F), explaining the purpose of the study.

3.4 Experimental Manipulations

The independent variables of interest, the candidate's skin tone and hair texture, were manipulated by a software tool, Modiface, that took the same photo and varied both the skin tone (darker and lighter) and hair texture (straight and kinky). Variations of both skin tone and hair are shown below (see Figure 1):

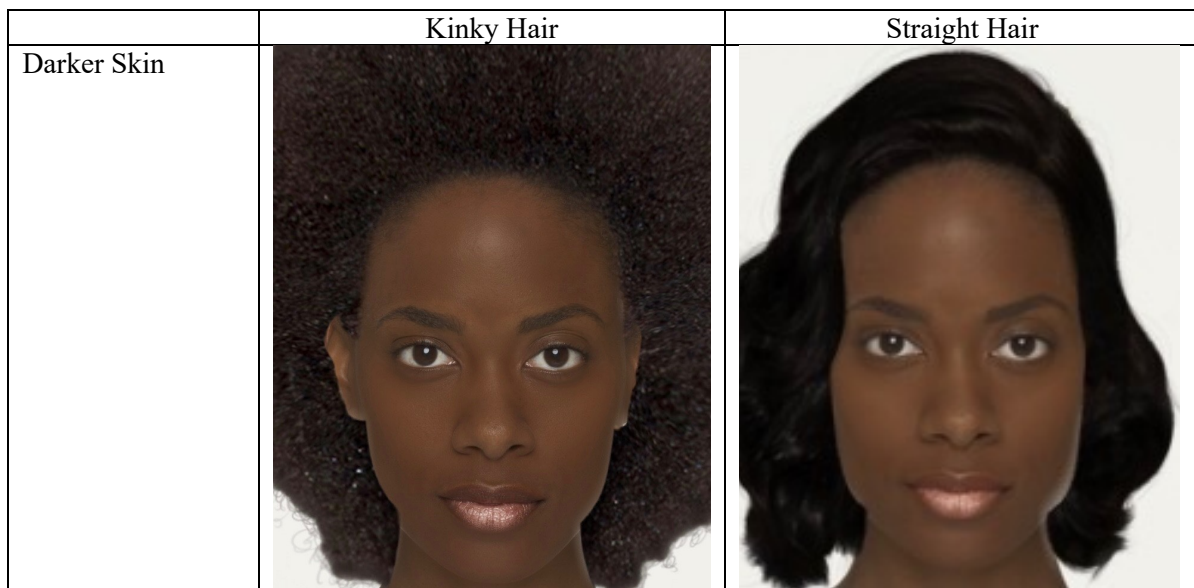




Figure 1: Experimental Manipulations of Candidate Photo by Skin and Hair

Studies utilizing target pictures are often criticized for differing with respect to some other aspect besides what is being studied – even when matched for physical attractiveness, as doing so does not eliminate other confounding differences (Grant & Mizzi, 2014). Further, as skin tone and hair texture are often used in determining physical attractiveness, matching candidates on this dimension would not necessarily lead to more control in this study. By substantially manipulating the same photo of one woman, it is hoped that the target pictures differ enough to yield significantly different ratings.

3.5 Measures

Managerial Characterizations: The Descriptive Index

Our measure of managerial characteristics was derived from previous research that focused on assessing the stereotypes of men and women managers (Heilman et al., 1989; Schein, 1975). We used a modified version of the Descriptive Index (Heilman et al., 1989; Schein, 1975). Since the original Descriptive Index was developed to assess gender stereotypes of men and women managers, we modified this index to include descriptors of racial stereotypes,

focusing on Black and White managers, as developed by Block and colleagues (2012), as well as descriptors developed by Merriweather & Block (2016) to assess specific characteristics that focus on stereotypes of Black women. These 56 characteristics comprise our assessment of characterizations (see Appendix C).

Participants were asked to rate the applicant based on how they thought *others* would characterize the candidate, emphasizing that it was not a survey of their personal beliefs in order to limit the demand characteristic of being motivated to respond without prejudice (Block et al., 2012; Golom & Liberman, 2015).

Additionally, instead of a traditional Likert-type scale, in which responses capture the extent of agreement with a statement, we utilized a scale of probability of 0-100. Using such a scale helps to reduce bias as one may feel uncomfortable saying *they* disagree that Black women are ambitious, for instance.

Following the Descriptive Index instructions, they were instructed to:

Please think about how others would characterize the person in the photograph. This is NOT a survey of your personal impressions.

Please indicate the extent to which people would say that the candidate in the photograph typically possesses each of the following characteristics.

Work as quickly and accurately as possible without skipping any items.

% (0-100) of people who would say this candidate is:

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Participants used a sliding scale (with every tenth point labeled for reference as above) in order to rate the candidate on the list of characteristics presented in randomized order.

In order to better understand the underlying structure of the 56 items, a factor analysis was performed, the results of which are outlined in the next chapter.

Perceptions of Success

Perceptions of success were measured using a 4-item 9-point Likert response scale based on Heilman (1980; 1984), comprised of the following items: (1) How likely is it that you would recommend hiring this candidate (very unlikely - very likely)? (2) How much potential would you say this candidate has for advancement (very little - very much)? (3) How would you expect this candidate to perform on the job (very unsuccessfully - very successfully)? (4) All in all, how qualified do you think this applicant is for the position (very unqualified - very qualified)? A reliability analysis for the Success Perceptions Scale yielded a coefficient alpha of .94.

Salary

Finally, in order to gauge salary recommendations, participants were asked how much they think the applicant should earn in the position if hired, given ranges of (1) less than \$30,000; (2) \$30,000-50,000; (3) \$50,000-75,000; (4) \$75,000-100,000; and (5) more than \$100,000. The job description (Appendix B) primed that the position paid \$52,000.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Preliminary Analysis

An Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted using a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) extraction method in order to determine the shared and unique variance (Costello & Osborne, 2005) of the 56 items of perceived characteristics. The Scree test revealed that over 60% of the total variance is accounted for by two factors (see Figure 2). After a Varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization, items that loaded cleanly above the .30 minimum with few or no other crossloadings as advised in Costello & Osborne (2005) were included in the scale construction of positive and negative characteristics (see Table 2 for factor loading of the items).

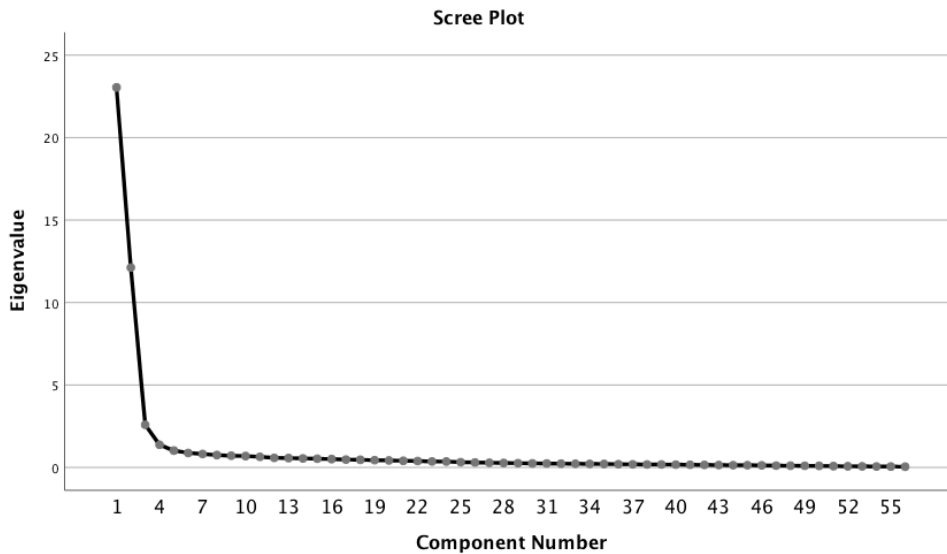


Figure 2: Scree Plot of Eigenvalues for 56 items of Characteristics

Table 2: Factor Analysis Results for Construction of Scales

Factor	1	2	3	4	5
Consistent	.78	-.04	.14	.19	.26
Vigorous	.51	.27	.14	.01	.63
Creative	.66	.27	-.03	.34	-.13
Head of Household	.51	.48	.05	-.17	-.09
Practical	.85	.07	-.01	-.00	.05
Respectful	.84	.03	-.12	.06	.06
Unmotivated	.06	.88	-.23	.02	.10
Poorly-groomed	.05	.84	-.30	.10	.12
Deceitful	.09	.87	-.23	-.00	.03
Leadership Ability	.84	.09	.18	.09	-.09
Self-Controlled	.84	-.04	-.07	-.07	.04
Aware of Others' Feelings	.74	.06	-.21	.33	.10
Independent	.68	.01	.44	-.03	.01
Straightforward	.68	.10	.32	-.04	.23
Career-Oriented	.81	-.03	.32	.03	-.12
Competent	.85	-.11	.19	.10	-.06
Skilled in Business Matters	.88	.01	.06	.04	-.13
Firm	.51	.20	.50	.09	.34
Bitter	.01	.89	-.01	.04	.02
Strong-Willed	.67	.12	.47	.02	-.03
Talkative	.31	.35	.13	.71	-.03
Self-Reliant	.78	-.03	.33	.02	.00
Logical	.85	.03	-.09	-.07	.15
Ambitious	.80	.02	.29	.12	.06
Speaks Loudly	.06	.69	.36	.13	-.14
High Moral Character	.85	.02	-.07	.10	.11
Naïve	.15	.80	-.30	.17	-.04
Persistent	.65	.12	.34	.21	.24
Open-Minded	.72	.15	-.30	.24	.15
Desiring Responsibility	.79	.08	.22	.11	-.02
Objective	.73	.21	-.01	.01	.03
Honest	.80	-.02	.09	.20	-.13
Industrious	.75	.22	.05	-.10	.21
Knows Ways of World	.76	.06	.18	-.01	.18
Moody	-.08	.85	.19	.02	.04
Angry	-.03	.90	.12	.02	.05
Critical	.13	.74	.30	-.02	.08

Decisive	.67	.20	.35	.09	.14
Well-informed	.90	.03	.02	.10	-.12
Assertive	.42	.35	.49	.07	.16
Emasculating	.11	.85	-.00	.01	.02
Loyal	.76	.11	-.00	.30	.05
Domineering	.18	.78	.25	-.13	.12
Curious	.69	.18	-.18	.35	.20
Stubborn	.03	.79	.33	.04	.03
Manipulative	.06	.90	-.01	.04	-.01
Organized	.84	.01	.11	.03	.10
Egotistical	.09	.85	.16	.17	-.09
Resourceful	.79	.07	.02	.14	.03
Argumentative	.01	.83	.20	.02	.08
Irrational	-.05	.90	-.06	.14	.01
Authoritative	.56	.35	.39	.05	-.08
Unmannerly	-.03	.89	-.14	.10	.06
Sociable	.56	.10	-.00	.64	-.02
Demanding	.29	.66	.34	.00	-.05
Community-Oriented	.59	.15	.07	.45	.25

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 8 iterations.

For the first factor, accounting for 36.39% of the variance, 36 items were retained. Factor 2 accounts for 24.07% of the variance, of which 17 items were retained. Reliability analyses were then conducted on each factor to confirm that the characteristics hold together. The Positive Characteristics Scale (Factor 1) has a reliability estimate alpha level of .98. The Negative Characteristics Scale (Factor 2) has a reliability estimate alpha level of .97. See Table 3 for the items for each scale.

Table 3: Items for Positive and Negative Characteristics Scales

Factor 1: Positive Characteristics	Factor 2: Negative Characteristics
Consistent	Unmotivated
Vigorous	Poorly-groomed
Creative	Deceitful
Head of Household	Bitter
Practical	Speaks Loudly
Respectful	Naïve
Leadership Ability	Moody
Self-Controlled	Angry
Aware of Others' Feelings	Emasculating
Independent	Domineering
Straightforward	Stubborn
Career-Oriented	Manipulative
Skilled in Business Matters	Egotistical
Firm	Argumentative
Strong-Willed	Irrational
Talkative	Unmannerly
Self-reliant	Demanding
Logical	
Ambitious	
High Moral Character	
Persistent	
Openminded	
Desiring Responsibility	
Objective	
Honest	
Industrious	
Knows Ways of the World	
Decisive	
Well-informed	
Loyal	
Curious	
Organized	
Resourceful	
Authoritative	
Sociable	
Community-Oriented	

Correlations for the dependent variables of the Positive and Negative Characteristics Scales as well as the Success Perceptions Scale and Salary Range are presented in Table 4 below. The Positive Characteristics Scale is positively correlated to all of the other dependent variables, most strongly to the Success Perceptions Scale with Pearson's $r(193) = .68, p < .01$. The Negative Characteristics Scale is weakly correlated to the Positive Characteristics Scale $r(193) = .22, p < .05$, with no significantly detectable correlation to neither the Success Perceptions Scale nor Salary Range.

Table 4: Dependent Variable Correlation Matrix

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Positive Characteristics Scale	66.86	15.10	1			
2. Negative Characteristics Scale	39.87	19.57	.22*	1		
3. Success Perceptions Scale	6.86	1.49	.68**	.00	1	
4. Salary Range	2.83	0.68	.19**	-.04	.31**	1

*Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).

**Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

4.2 Main Analyses

In order to explore the central hypotheses, univariate 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) analyses of variance were conducted separately for the dependent variables, including the Positive and Negative Characteristics scales, as well as the Success Perceptions scale and the Salary item. When a significant interaction was found, simple effects tests were analyzed to determine which mean differences account for the significant interaction. See Table 5 for the means and standard deviations of each condition for each dependent variable. The results for each ANOVA by dependent variable are described below and outlined in Table 6.

4.2.1 Positive Characteristics

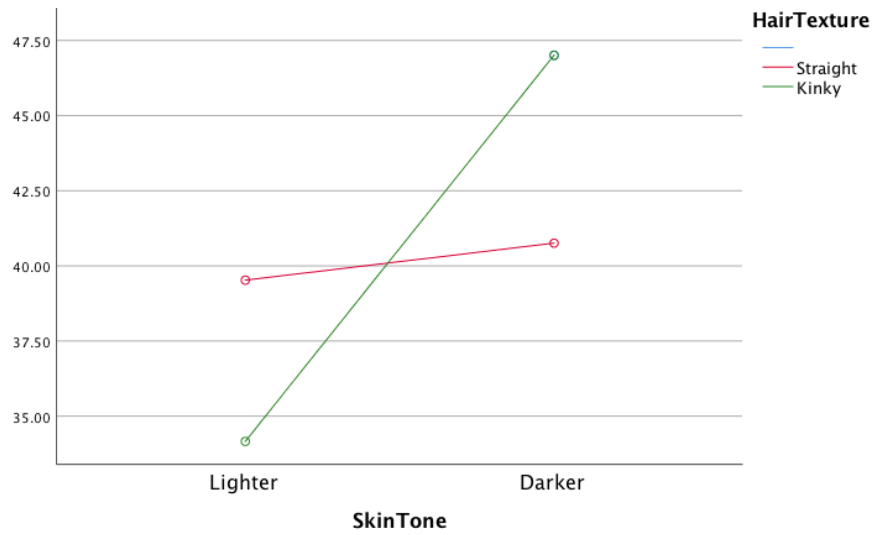
A univariate 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) analysis of variance conducted on the Positive Characteristics Scale revealed no significant differences for Skin Tone, $F(1,194) = 0.13$, ns., Hair Texture, $F(2,194) = 1.85$, ns., or their interaction $F(2,194) = 0.20$, ns. Thus, hypothesis 1a that Black women applicants with lighter skin would be characterized more positively than Black women applicants with darker skin was not supported. In addition, Hypothesis 1b that Black women applicants with straight hair would be characterized more positively than Black women applicants with kinky hair was not supported. Finally, Hypothesis 1c that Black women applicants with lighter skin and straight hair would be characterized more positively than applicants with kinky hair was also not supported, nor was Hypothesis 1d, which purported that Black women applicants with darker skin and straight hair would be characterized more positively than Black women applicants with kinky hair. Contrary to the hypotheses, the women were rated similarly positively regardless of their skin tone and hair texture.

4.2.2 Negative Characteristics

A univariate 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) analysis of variance of the Negative Characteristics Scale revealed a significant main effect for Skin Tone, $F(1,194) = 6.38$, $p = .012$, $\eta^2_p = .03$, such that Black women applicants with darker skin ($M=43.62$) were seen as possessing more negative characteristics than those with lighter skin ($M=36.39$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2a that Black women applicants with darker skin would be characterized more negatively than the Black women applicants with lighter skin was supported. There was no significant main effect for Hair Texture, $F(2,194) = 0.49$, ns., so Hypothesis 2b that Black women applicants with kinky hair would be characterized more negatively than Black women applicants with straight hair was not supported.

The 2x2 ANOVA also revealed a significant interaction effect for Skin Tone and Hair Texture, $F(1,194) = 4.342, p = .039, \eta^2_p = .02$, as illustrated in Figure 3. In order to determine which of the mean differences resulted in the significant interaction, a post hoc comparison Simple Effects test was conducted. The results reveal that the magnitude of the difference between the means for Skin Tone depends in part on Hair Texture. If the applicant's skin was lighter, whether she had straight hair ($M=39.53$) or kinky hair ($M=34.16$), did not yield any significant difference. Therefore, Hypothesis 2c that lighter-skinned Black women applicants with kinky hair would be characterized more negatively than Black women applicants with straight hair was not supported. However, darker-skinned Black women with kinky hair ($M=47.01$) are viewed significantly more negatively than lighter-skinned Black women with kinky hair ($M=34.16$), $F(1,190) = 10.97, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .06$, such that kinky hair accounts for the significant mean difference of 12.85. Therefore, Hypothesis 2d that for Black women applicants with darker skin, having kinky hair results in being characterized more negatively than having straight hair is supported.

Figure 3: Interaction effect for the Negative Characteristics Scale



4.2.3 Success Perceptions Scale

A univariate 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) was conducted on this Success Scale, in which there was not a main effect for Hair Texture, but there was a marginally significant main effect for Skin Tone, $F(1,194) = 3.59$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2_p = .019$, such that lighter-skinned Black women applicants are seen as marginally more successful than darker-skinned Black women applicants. While Hypothesis 3a, that Black women applicants with lighter skin would be perceived as more successful than Black women applicants with darker skin was marginally supported, Hypothesis 3b that Black women applicants with straight hair would be perceived as more successful than Black women applicants with kinky hair was not supported. There was no significant interaction effect, so Hypothesis 3c that Black women applicants with lighter skin and straight hair would be perceived as more successful than Black women applicants with kinky hair was not supported, nor was Hypothesis 3d that Black women applicants with darker skin and straight hair would be perceived as more successful than darker-skinned Black women applicants with kinky hair.

4.2.4 Salary Range

A univariate 2 (skin tone) x 2 (hair texture) analysis of variance conducted on Salary Range resulted in no significant differences for Skin Tone, $F(1,194) = 0.54$, ns., Hair Texture, $F(2,194) = .15$, ns., nor their interaction $F(2,194) = 0.08$, ns. Thus, Hypothesis 4a that Black women applicants with lighter skin would be offered a higher salary than Black women applicants with darker skin was not supported. In addition, Hypothesis 4b that Black women applicants with straight hair would be offered a higher salary range than Black women applicants with kinky hair was not supported. Hypothesis 4c that Black women applicants with lighter skin and straight hair would be offered a higher salary than Black women applicants with kinky hair was also not supported. Finally, Hypothesis 4d, which predicted that Black women applicants with darker skin and straight hair would be offered a higher salary than Black women applicants with kinky hair was not supported.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of the Independent and Dependent Variables

Skin Tone Hair Texture	Darker ($n=93$)		Lighter ($n=101$)	
	Kinky ($n=42$)	Straight ($n=51$)	Kinky ($n=59$)	Straight ($n=42$)
<i>Positive Characteristics</i>				
Mean	67.99	65.25	67.78	67.02
SD	16.65	14.34	14.89	14.59
<i>Negative Characteristics</i>				
Mean	47.01	40.76	34.16	39.52
SD	20.42	17.33	20.55	18.19
<i>Success Perceptions</i>				
Mean	6.65	6.66	7.02	7.12
SD	1.74	1.57	1.37	1.28

Salary Range

Mean	2.79	2.80	2.83	2.90
SD	.52	.78	.67	.73

Table 6: ANOVA Results for the Dependent Variables

<i>Positive Characteristics</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2_p	<i>p</i>
Skin Tone	1	0.127	.001	.72
Hair Texture	2	1.845	.019	.16
Skin Tone * Hair Texture	1	0.204	.001	.65
<i>Negative Characteristics</i>				
Skin Tone	1	6.378	.032	.01
Hair Texture	2	0.026	.000	.97
Skin Tone * Hair Texture	1	4.342	.039	.04
<i>Success Characteristics</i>				
Skin Tone	1	3.591	.019	.06
Hair Texture	2	0.475	.005	.62
Skin Tone * Hair Texture	1	0.048	.000	.83
<i>Salary Range</i>				
Skin Tone	1	0.538	.003	.47
Hair Texture	2	0.152	.005	.86
Skin Tone * Hair Texture	1	0.080	.000	.78

Chapter 5: Discussion

This work extends the framework of intersectionality in order to analyze the layers of workplace discrimination facing Black women. Applying an intersectional lens to this issue is critical, not only to illuminating the reality that Black women have different opportunities than White men and women or Black men, which has been established in the field, but also in understanding the intra-intersectional differences in perception among Black women on account of the immutable (skin color) and mutable (hair) physical traits that may prevent them from advancing in organizations. Previous research has painted Black women with a broad stroke, and it is necessary to push the envelope to better understand differences among Black women. Colorism or skin tone bias is a result of racism that disadvantages those with darker skin and privileges those with lighter skin. Hair discrimination is a reality that is only just recently being protected by law (the CROWN Act) but is something that Black women specifically have contended against since entering the workforce and have suffered penalties for whether they choose to either mute their hair or to wear it naturally. This study sought to investigate the interaction between these two racial markers that are known to have separate, dire consequences for Black women.

Due to the colorism that privileges lighter-skinned Black women, who are expected to fare better than their darker counterparts on employment outcomes, we expected lighter-skinned Black women applicants to be characterized more positively than darker-skinned Black women applicants. However, we did not find a significant main effect for skin tone on the Positive Characteristics Scale, suggesting that Black women are likely to be viewed just as positively regardless of skin tone. On the other hand, where negative characteristics were concerned, there was a significant skin tone main effect, such that darker-skinned applicants were more likely to be characterized negatively than lighter-skinned applicants, as hypothesized. In addition, there

was a marginally significant main effect for skin tone on perceptions of success in a management role such that lighter-skinned applicants were perceived as more successful than darker-skinned applicants, as hypothesized. There was not a significant main effect for skin tone on salary offers, contrary to what was hypothesized.

While natural hairstyles are enjoying a resurgence among Black women, the total acceptance of naturally kinky hair in the workplace remains controversial. In this study, we hypothesized that when applying for managerial positions, Black women applicants with straight hair would be characterized more positively than those with kinky hair and that hypothesis was not confirmed. Nor was there a significant main effect for hair texture on how Black women fared on the Negative Characteristics Scale, contrary to the hypothesis that Black women with kinky hair would be characterized more negatively than those with straight hair. There was not a significant main effect of hair texture for perceptions of Black women's success or salary offers, both contrary to our hypotheses. Thus, it seems as though hair texture alone does not affect how Black women are characterized differentially from other Black women.

However, when looking at skin tone and hair texture separately, we miss the ways in which these two dimensions interact to determine how Black women applicants are characterized. This is the first study we know of that investigates how these two markers of identity intersect to determine how Black women managerial candidates are perceived. While there was no significant interaction effect for the Positive Characteristics Scale, there was a significant interaction between skin tone and hair texture for how Black women applicants are negatively characterized. We found that hair texture only made a significant difference for the darker-skinned Black woman applicant. Specifically, if a darker-skinned Black woman had kinky hair, she was characterized more negatively than the lighter-skinned Black woman with kinky hair, over and above

having straight hair herself. This was not the case for the lighter-skinned Black woman: her hair choice did not significantly influence how negatively she was perceived. As expected, it is apparent that in order to understand the full story of how Black women are perceived on account of their skin tone and hair texture, it is necessary to look at both in tandem.

Finally, contrary to our hypotheses, there were no significant interaction effects found on the Success Perceptions Scale nor salary offer recommendations for either of the independent variables of skin tone and hair texture.

5.1 Theoretical Implications

The significant main effect for skin tone on the Negative Characteristics Scale confirms what we expected to find in terms of the darker-skinned Black woman candidate being characterized more negatively than the lighter-skinned Black woman. Being more prototypical of Blackness, darker-skinned Black women are expected to face more employment discrimination in a white, capitalist, patriarchal society. The negative characterizations confirm what Hunter (2007) asserted, that the *intensity* of discrimination would be greater for darker-skinned Black women than for lighter-skinned women. Interestingly enough, the inverse was not confirmed – lighter-skinned Black women were not found to be characterized significantly more positively than darker-skinned applicants. This finding points to the idea that while darker-skinned Black women may not differ from lighter-skinned Black women in terms of positive characterizations, lighter-skinned Black women may not have to contend with the same negative stereotypes as do darker-skinned Black women. Studies that investigated the employment outcomes, such as pay and prestige, of Black people by skin tone (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991) found that having lighter skin resulted in being further ahead. We illuminated in this research

that such disparity may not only widen as Black women proceed in their careers, but may start before they are even hired.

A lot of the messaging about how to be respectable and digestible is passed down in the Black community and we are only beginning to emerge from the reality that previous generations endured for not being light enough (e.g. brown paper bag tests) or not having straight enough hair (e.g. comb tests). Just as colorism is propagated intraracially, so are hair expectations. Opie and Phillips (2015) found that Black people are likely to be more critical of afrocentric hairstyles than are White people, and that afrocentric hairstyles alone resulted in being characterized as dominant. However, that seems to be only part of the story. In this study, while we did not find a significant main effect for hair texture, “The Hair Dilemma” that Rosette and Dumas (2007) put forward was found for darker-skinned Black women applicants only. The findings of this significant interaction effect suggest that lighter-skinned Black women may not face the same hair dilemma that darker-skinned Black women may face. Acknowledging that it is the mutable characteristic of hair that results in the uptick of negative characterizations for darker-skinned Black women, it is almost as if only one strike (dark skin) is allowed, but two strikes (dark skin + hair texture) is the tipping point. Since skin color is generally believed to be immutable (Caldwell, 1991) and outside of one’s control, darker-skinned women choosing not to mute other markers of one’s blackness, such as natural hair, may increase their racial salience, resulting in being seen as more prototypical of their race and therefore more discriminated against. For lighter-skinned Black women who do not have to fend off the same negative characterizations as darker-skinned Black women, more allowance with hair may be given such that they can choose to mute (straighten) their natural hair, or not, and not suffer the same consequences. For if a

Black woman has lighter skin, she is characterized less negatively for unmuting her hair, wearing it in an afro, and potentially less penalized than if she has darker skin.

Rosette and Livingston (2012) found evidence that while Black women were allowed to demonstrate more dominance, there were certain conditions under which this permissibility backfired, such as failure. Another such condition might be how Black women present themselves to increase their visibility. If Black women are able to get away with expressing more dominant characteristics, it could be that this is only the case for lighter-skinned Black women who are not seen as negatively in the first place. Perhaps being darker-skinned, with kinky hair makes Black women appear to be too dominant. This is an issue for future research to address.

That significant differences were found for negative characteristics and not for positive characteristics suggests that Black women are seen just as positively regardless of skin tone and hair texture. Rosette et al. (2008) found that racial bias is more likely to occur due to positive rather than negative characterizations, suggesting that negative characteristics are less relevant to a business context. However, taking intersectionality into account illuminates that this may not be the case for Black women, especially darker-skinned Black women with kinky hair, who we found are more likely to be characterized negatively. The fact that only the negative characteristics scale resulted in significant differences suggests that such characteristics are more likely to be called upon when racial prototypicality is heightened.

Interestingly enough, the two scales (positive and negative characteristics) were also positively correlated. It may be that people, let alone leaders, are seen as possessing both positive and negative characteristics as Block et al. (2012) found when examining stereotypes of Black and white managers. In this study, however, only positive characteristics were related to perceptions of success and salary outcomes. Perhaps other experimental manipulations would

result in the positive and negative characteristics scales being differently correlated, such as adjusting the perceived attractiveness of the candidate with other traits, such as body size.

It is also important to highlight that there were no significant differences found in the positive characterizations of Black women by skin tone and/or hair texture. In using the 0-100 probability scale, the average percentage of people who would characterize Black women positively was greater than 50%. As for the negative characteristics, although the darker-skinned women – particularly with kinky hair – were characterized more negatively, the average percentage of people who would do so was less than 50%. This demonstrates that by and large Black women of all shades and hairstyles are seen more positively than negatively, and that is progress to be noted.

Some of the positive characterizations fit within the traditional stereotypes of Black women being the *Mammy* (*loyal, honest, community-oriented, etc.*) or being a *Strong Black Woman* (*e.g. strong-willed, firm, ambitious*). Based on our results in which no significant differences were found, such stereotypes seem to be used to characterize Black women regardless of skin tone or hair texture. Some of the negative characteristics also fit within the traditional stereotypes of Black women, such as those of the *Jezebel* or *Sapphire* (*e.g. unmotivated, poorly-groomed, or emasculating*). However, these negative stereotypes may only be applied to darker-skinned Black women, particularly those with kinky hair. Such stereotypes may not be escapable, and it is important for perceivers to recognize how certain attributes may trigger more of the negative characteristics based on the interaction of skin tone and hair texture.

5.2 Practical Implications

The CROWN Act (2019) is legislation that bans hair discrimination in the workplace. It has been adopted by a handful of states (California, New York, New Jersey, Colorado, Virginia,

and Washington) and cities (Cincinnati, OH and Montgomery, MD) around the country and was introduced to Congress at the end of 2019, to take effect in August of 2020. The onus should not be on Black women to fret over whether to straighten their hair for an interview, only to show up on their first day of work with their hair in a more natural state and then being asked to return home for violating arbitrary dress codes. Instead, organizations need to recognize the implicit bias inherent in some of these dress codes. Just as the Army rescinded their stipulations for limiting hairstyles which unduly targeted Black women, other institutions should also look toward their policies and update the ones that put more of a burden on Black women, especially darker-skinned Black women. As opposed to codes that deem afrocentric hair as unprofessional or as a distraction, it is time for natural hair to be celebrated in the workplace. In addition, organizations may also want to incorporate these concepts into diversity training about the microaggressions that Black women frequently encounter regarding their hair, such as the desire to comment on, touch, or be otherwise intrusive about their hair.

Organizations should also be aware that though a mutable characteristic, having straight hair for Black women has more dire consequences than for women of other races. Chemical relaxers, weaves, and wigs can not only result in scalp and hair injury and loss, but they are also quite expensive. For instance, to install a weave can cost up to several thousand dollars. The costs are not only emotional, but also financial. It is not solely Black women's responsibility to avoid being characterized negatively, organizational leaders and decision-makers should become aware of these biases in order to actively avoid applying them. Instead of outdated policies promoting uniformity, organizations can update their policies to encourage authenticity, creativity and freedom of expression, encouraging Black women to bring their whole selves and hair to work.

The white-male typed job of a multimedia tech start-up was intentionally chosen as a boundary condition of our study in order to conjure a certain profile (white and male) of a candidate for participants, specifically so that the candidate being a Black woman might elicit stronger responses about characteristics and perceptions for success in such a role. As such, the findings are not quite generalizable beyond the tech industry. However, it would be interesting to investigate whether these same characterizations would occur in other jobs that are more female-typed which employ many Black women, such as education, health, and social service work.

5.3 Limitations

Consistent with previous research assessing the content of racial and gender stereotypes (Merriweather & Block, 2016; Block et al., 2012; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999), participant data was collapsed across demographic groups such as race, gender, age, and employment status, taking into account the reality that everyone possesses gender and racial stereotypes, whether or not they identify with the groups being assessed. Since participants were recruited online from Amazon's MTurk and the majority of our sample was white and male, it is likely that our findings are explained by the reality that whites and men likely have less experience with Black women colleagues and are more likely to rely on stereotypes when assessing them. The results could be strengthened by having more participants of different racial groups to compare results to White participants, and also to one another. An analysis of variance with only white participants was conducted and revealed the same results as with all participants included. Future research should seek a more representative sample of participants, particularly Black participants, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how these characterizations of Black women vary by race.

Due to participants being sampled on the internet, we included an attention check. This attention check was used to verify that participants were able to identify the race and gender of the candidate they were evaluating. We did not, however, include a manipulation check asking whether participants were able to decipher the skin tone and hair texture of the candidate in the photos. Variance in screen brightness could have determined how clearly participants saw the photos. Future research should validate this manipulation to make sure that differences in skin tone and hair texture could be seen on various technological devices.

Recent research has revealed that Black women earn less money than White men and women, and one research question in this study was about whether Black women's initial suggested salary varied based on skin tone and hair texture. The item we used to capture suggested salary was likely not sensitive enough to detect any significant differences. Participants were informed of the salary for the position as part of the job description before filling out the salary measure, thus it is likely that they remembered what they read and chose this option. In addition, the item may not have been sensitive enough to capture any significant variation because the salary ranges presented to participants in each response option were too wide (e.g. \$30,000-\$50,000; \$50,000-\$75,000). Finally, there were only five response options, which may not have been enough to capture sufficient variance. Future research should have more robust items that include narrower salary ranges or use an open-ended response format that allows participants to recommend a salary. Moreover, as this was not a real salary decision, most participants may have just tried to match the primed salary offer and may not have responded as they would if they were making actual hiring decisions. Or, it could be that race and gender wage gaps are exacerbated as some (White men) are promoted over and above others, not necessarily at the hiring

stage. Future research should investigate whether the mechanisms contributing to this wage gap vary among Black women due to the interaction of skin tone and hair texture.

5.4 Conclusion

In Jennifer Eberhardt's seminal article on stereotypicality (2006), she and her colleagues investigated "death-worthiness" of Black subjects. They found that darker-skinned Black defendants were more likely to be given the death penalty. In reviewing the grim roll call of Black people killed by the police and other vigilantes, it is harrowing that by and large the victims are darker-skinned. In a world where Black people are universally regarded as expendable, Black women are still invisible. Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined intersectionality over thirty years ago, started along with her colleagues the #SayHerName campaign in 2015 to highlight the reality that Black women too are terrorized by systemic police violence. Even though Black women and girls are too often murdered and brutalized by the police, the majority of the rhetoric addressing police violence focuses on Black men, who are indeed being killed most disproportionately, but we should also speak the Black women's names who are also killed by the police.

This intersectional invisibility in which Black men are seen as the prototypical Black person results in the erasure of Black women's experiences. The more prototypical Black women become, via darker skin tone and kinkier hair texture, the more likely they are subject to negative characterizations, which has consequences in many aspects of Black women's lives, including at work. Many organizations are issuing statements against racism in the wake of the most recent influx of Black deaths by the hands of police and committing themselves to diversifying their executive and corporate boards. Even so far as renouncing their own seats to allow Black people a seat at the table (e.g. Alexis Ohanian, co-founder of Reddit). Going further, organizations could ensure that it is not only a Black woman with a seat, but one who is not racially ambiguous, but

has darker skin and natural hair. The most recent lives struck down too soon – Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, Nina Pop, Tony McDade and others whose names are yet to be hash-tagged – do not fit into respectable versions of blackness, whether dark or trans – are painful reminders that there are certain black lives not worthy of respect and honor until they are no longer alive, necessitating the refrain that Black Lives Matter. This movement was started by three queer Black women – Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, and Patrisse Khan-Cullors – who were labeled terrorists (Khan-Cullors & Bandele, 2018), and who all have darker skin and natural hair. There is a lot of rhetoric about who will lead us in this moment: *who will be this generation's MLK? Is it Barack Obama?* Essentially asking, *what Black man will we all follow to freedom?* The answer is: Black women who already wear the crown.

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Appendix A: Cover Story

Background of Study: *Are photos worth a thousand words?*

When applying for jobs in this digital age, it is becoming increasingly common - even expected that candidates for positions will be googled and that the information gathered from their online presence contribute to the formation of impressions of the applicants. Most profiles, unlike traditional resumes, include a photo of the candidate. Photos, therefore, serve as heuristics for job fit, even on a subconscious level.

For this study, imagine that you were asked to be on the hiring committee for a middle manager position at a tech startup. On the following pages, you will be randomly assigned to the profile of a candidate who has applied for the position.

However, instead of looking at their application materials, you will react to one piece of information available in a typical online search: a photo. Based on the photo of your candidate, you will then be asked to rate them on a number of dimensions for the position.

For this study, we are interested in initial reactions based on limited information in order to assess the impression formation that occurs very quickly. We are especially interested in how photos specifically facilitate perceivers' impression formation. Please move quickly through the items (not giving too much thought to your answers), but be sure to answer every one even if you do not feel you possess adequate information.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix B: Stimulus Materials

Job Description

Company: InSite

Role: Project Manager

Salary: \$52,000

Description:

InSite is a growing multimedia tech startup looking for a motivated, team member to serve as a project manager. Not only will this role involve significant client interface, but also the management of various team projects.

Main job tasks and responsibilities:

- Supervise direct reporting staff
- Set employee goals and objectives
- Allocate use of available resources
- Formulate policies and practices

Requirements:

- Bachelor's degree
- 5 years' experience

Appendix C: Measurement Instruments

Instructions:

Please think about how others would characterize the person in the photograph. This is NOT a survey of your personal impressions.

Please indicate the extent to which people would say that the candidate in the photograph typically possesses each of the following characteristics.

Work as quickly and accurately as possible without skipping any items.

% (0-100) of people who would say this candidate is:

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

(Participants utilized the sliding scale to rate each item, presented below in alphabetical order):

1. Ambitious
2. Angry
3. Argumentative
4. Assertive
5. Authoritative
6. Aware of others' feelings
7. Bitter
8. Career-oriented
9. Community-oriented
10. Competent
11. Consistent
12. Creative
13. Critical
14. Curious
15. Deceitful
16. Decisive
17. Demanding
18. Desiring Responsibility
19. Domineering
20. Egotistical
21. Emasculating
22. Firm
23. Head of household

24. High moral character
25. Honest
26. Independent
27. Industrious
28. Irrational
29. Knows ways of the world
30. Leadership ability
31. Logical
32. Loyal
33. Manipulative
34. Moody
35. Naive
36. Objective
37. Open-minded
38. Organized
39. Persistent
40. Poorly-groomed
41. Practical
42. Resourceful
43. Respectful
44. Self-controlled
45. Self-reliant
46. Skilled in business matters
47. Sociable
48. Speaks loudly
49. Straightforward
50. Strong-willed
51. Stubborn
52. Talkative
53. Unmannerly
54. Unmotivated
55. Vigorous
56. Well-informed

Success Items

1. How likely is it that you would recommend hiring this candidate ?

1 Very Unlikely 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Likely to Recommend

2. How much potential would you say this canddiate has for advancement ?

1 Very Little 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Much Potential

3. How would you expect this canddiate to perform on the job ?

1 Very unsuccessfully 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Successfully

4. All in all, how qualified do you think this applicant is for the position ?

1 Very unqualified 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Very Qualified

Salary Item

If hired, how much do you think this person should earn in this position ?

- Less than 30,000
- 30,000-50,000
- 50,000-75,000
- 75,000-100,000
- More than 100,000

Appendix D: Demographic Questionnaire

Please provide some information about yourself:

How old are you ?

- Under 18
- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65-74
- 74-84
- 85 or older

What is your gender ?

- Man
- Woman
- Nonbinary

What is your race ?

- White
- Black
- Latino/a
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Multiracial

What is your nationality ? _____

Do you have normal or corrected vision (check one)?

___ Yes

No

What is the highest level of education you have obtained (check one)?

Less than high school

High school graduate

Some college

2 year degree

4 year degree

Professional degree

Doctorate

Are you currently employed (check one)?

Employed full time

Employed part time

Unemployed looking for work

Unemployed not looking for work

Retired

Student

Disabled

What industry do you work in ? _____

How many years of work experience do you have ? _____

Do you have any management experience ?

Yes. If so, how many years of management experience do you have ? _____

No

What position do you hold in your organization ? _____

Appendix E : Purpose of the study

Principal Investigator : Tarani Joy Merrweather
E-mail : tjm2121@tc.columbia.edu

Thank you for your participation in this study. The purpose of this research study is to explore the effects of hair texture and skin tone among Black women applying for a management position. This study explores the ways in which Black women vary in gender and racial prototypicality, and how this affects opportunities and outcomes for management. This study's aim is to examine how the stereotypicality of Black women may influence how they are perceived for leadership.

You were asked to rate one target photo on a number of characteristics. It is hypothesized that Black women applicants with lighter skin will be associated with more positive characteristics than those with darker skin. And those with straight hair will be associated with more positive characteristics than Black women applicants with kinky hair. Few studies have looked at the interaction effect of hair style and skin tone, therefore, it is further hypothesized that Black women applicants with lighter skin and straight hair will be associated with more positive characteristics than those with lighter skin and kinky hair. And those with darker skin and straight hair will be associated with fewer negative characteristics than Black women managers with dark skin and kinky hair.

This work extends the framework of intersectionality in order to analyze the layers of workplace discrimination facing Black women. Applying an intra-intersectional lens to this issue is critical to understanding the differences in perception among Black women on account of the immutable and mutable physical traits that may prevent them from advancing in organizations.

For further reading please see :

Carbado, D. W., & Gulati, M. (2013). the Intersectional Fifth Black Woman. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 10(2), 527–540.
<http://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000301>

Opie, T. R., & Phillips, K. W. (2015). Hair penalties: the negative influence of Afrocentric hair on ratings of Black women's dominance and professionalism. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6(August), 1–14. <http://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01311>