



Reports

Failure is not an option for Black women: Effects of organizational performance on leaders with single versus dual-subordinate identities

Ashleigh Shelby Rosette^{a,*}, Robert W. Livingston^{b,1}

^a The Fuqua School of Business, Duke University, 100 Fuqua Drive, P.O. Box 90120, Durham, NC 27708-0120, USA

^b Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University, 2001 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, IL 60208, USA

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 27 November 2011

Revised 26 April 2012

Available online 11 May 2012

Keywords:

Leadership

Diversity

Double jeopardy

Race

Gender

Intersectionality

ABSTRACT

We contribute to a current debate that focuses on whether individuals with more than one subordinate identity (i.e., Black women) experience more negative leader perceptions than do leaders with single-subordinate identities (i.e., Black men and White women). Results confirmed that Black women leaders suffered *double jeopardy*, and were evaluated more negatively than Black men and White women, but only under conditions of organizational failure. Under conditions of organizational success, the three groups were evaluated comparably to each other, but each group was evaluated less favorably than White men. Further, leader typicality, the extent to which individuals possess characteristics usually associated with a leader role, mediated the indirect effect of leader race, leader gender, and organizational performance on leader effectiveness. Taken together, these results suggest that Black women leaders may carry a burden of being disproportionately sanctioned for making mistakes on the job.

© 2012 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Over the past few decades, the interest in studying female and racial minority leaders has increased significantly. The perceived incompatibility between the female gender role and the leader prototype, which has been traditionally defined as masculine, has been shown to have deleterious effects for women when their leadership capabilities are evaluated (e.g., Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Engen, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 1991, 2002; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Schein, 1973). Similarly, studies have shown that Blacks are generally perceived as less effective leaders than Whites because negative stereotypes are at odds with expected leadership characterizations (Beatty, 1973; Ford, Kraiger, & Schechtman, 1986; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Knight, Hebl, Foster, & Mannix, 2003; Powell & Butterfield, 1997). Because White men are generally viewed as typical leaders (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008), nearly all previous research that has focused concurrently on diversity and leadership has compared White men to White women when considering gender, and has compared White men to Black men when considering race. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of this research has shown that White men have clear advantages over both groups when perceptions of leadership are considered. To date, little research has explicitly investigated how leadership perceptions differ for individuals with dual-subordinate identities (i.e., Black women).

The current study sought to fill that gap and examine whether leader perceptions vary as a function of single- versus dual-subordinate identities. Specifically, our focal question is the following: How do Black women leaders fare relative to Black men leaders or White women leaders? One possibility is that Black women leaders fare worse than either Black men or White women because they possess a dual- as opposed to single-subordinate identity. The term *double jeopardy* has been used to describe the heightened disadvantage of Black women due to the adverse consequences of the *Black* and *female* subordinate identities (Almquist, 1975; Beale, 1970; Bowleg, 2008; Crenshaw, 1989; Epstein, 1973; Settles, 2006). This double jeopardy perspective is consistent with *recognition-based processes of leadership* which focus on the extent to which the characteristics of a particular target are congruent with the characteristics of a typical leader (Lord & Maher, 1991). That is, leader typicality comprises the modal or central tendencies of a leader and those targets whose characteristics are consistent with such tendencies are *recognized* as typical leaders (Lord, Foti, & DeVader, 1984). Conceptually, recognition-based processes are predicated on schema or cognitive representations used to simplify the process by which typical leadership is recognized. Because the schematic representation of a typical leader does not encompass Blacks when race is considered or women when gender is considered, Black women may be disadvantaged relative to other groups that share a greater degree of schematic overlap.

In support of the double jeopardy perspective, empirical studies have found that Whites are perceived as more typical leaders than Blacks (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Rosette et al., 2008) and men are perceived as more typical leaders than women (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989; Heilman et al., 1989; Nye & Forsyth,

* Corresponding author. Fax: +1 919 681 6244.

E-mail addresses: arosette@duke.edu (A.S. Rosette),

rwlivingston@kellogg.northwestern.edu (R.W. Livingston).

¹ Fax: +1 847 491 8896.

1991; Schein, 1973, 2001; Scott & Brown, 2006; Willemssen, 2002). It logically follows that Black women would be perceived as the least typical leaders because neither their race nor their gender overlap with typical leader expectations. Moreover, those leaders whose characteristics are inconsistent with leader typicality are less easily categorized as leaders and are evaluated unfavorably when compared to leaders who possess high leader typicality (Foti, Fraser, & Lord, 1982; Foti & Lord, 1987; Lord, DeVader, & Alliger, 1986; Phillips, 1984; Scott & Brown, 2006). This double jeopardy perspective is most keenly supported by the extreme under-representation of Black women in leader and executive positions (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Blake, 1999; Parker & ogilvie, 1996; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010).

Counter to the double jeopardy paradigm, an alternative perspective is that their double subordinate identities can, in some cases, attenuate bias against Black women relative to White women or Black men. Just as in mathematics the multiplication of two negative integers yields a positive result, the social argument is that having two subordinate identities can actually yield more positive outcomes than having a single-subordinate identity. In particular, the combination of subordinate race and gender identities can produce 'intersectional invisibility' resulting in a peripheral status that is not necessarily accompanied by negative outcomes (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). That is, because Black women do not fit the exemplar of either of their respective subordinate groups, they may be able to escape from negative outcomes directed toward more typical women (i.e., White women) and Blacks (i.e., Black men), and engage in more typical leader behaviors without being perceived negatively for doing so.

Recent findings on leader typicality support this contention. When compared to both White women leaders and Black men leaders who exhibited agentic behaviors and emotions, characteristics consistent with leader typicality (see Eagly & Karau, 2002), Black women leaders were conferred higher leader status (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012). Similarly, Black career women who displayed dominance, another characteristic that is consistent with typical leader characteristics, were shown to be more likeable and more hireable than identically-described White women or Black men (Hall et al., 2012). These findings support the intersectional invisibility paradigm and suggest that the combination of being both Black and female enables Black women to express typical leader behaviors without penalty (in a way that White women and Black men cannot) because of their peripheral status in each of their respective subordinate groups. However, this previous research did not examine whether such favorable perceptions of Black women would occur when one of the most rudimentary functions of leadership is considered: organizational performance (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1985).

According to *inferential-based processes of leadership*, a predominant leadership theory that focuses on organizational performance, leadership is frequently inferred from organizational outcomes ascribed to the individual such that there is a positive associative link between perceived leadership and level of organizational performance (Lord & Maher, 1991; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987; Meindl et al., 1985). Specifically, positive performance has been shown to be linked to leaders whereas negative performance has been shown to be indicative of non-leadership (Rush, Phillips, & Lord, 1981; Shamir, 1992). This suggests that positive organizational performance may be perceived as consistent with a typical leader; whereas negative organizational performance may be perceived as possessing low leader typicality.

As applied to our work, when inference and recognition-based processes are considered concurrently, Black women may be differentially evaluated, relative to other groups, depending on whether their organizational performance is positive or negative. Negative performance can be especially damaging to Black women because their two subordinate identities generally do not allow for a positive attribution for the negative behavior. In other words, the propensity to negatively evaluate

Black women as ineffective leaders when unsuccessful organizational outcomes occur (inference-based processes) will be bolstered by the categorization of Black women as unlikely, atypical leaders (recognition-processes). Because Black women possess not just one, but two, subordinate identities – neither of which has been shown to be particularly typical of the leader role – they will be perceived most negatively in a context of failure when compared to Black men and White women. In particular, three factors – race (Black), gender (women), and performance (failure) – are consistent because none of them is indicative of typical leadership. This system of matching that we predict will occur between recognition- and inference-based processes is consistent with the conceptual framework of comprehension goals whereby prototypical and non-prototypical categorizations are used when they aid comprehension (i.e., when the social category is in agreement with the outcome), but is not applied when comprehension is inhibited (Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

However, when Black women experience success, the combination of (negative) recognition-based processes and (positive) inference-based processes will contradict one another and not fit together. This contradiction should hinder comprehension and limit the incorporation of non-typical characteristics in the evaluative process. Although her performance outcome would be indicative of positive leader characteristics perceived as typical, the social groups to which she belongs may be recognized as ineffective leaders because her subordinate identities are not typical of the leader role. When recognition- and inference-based processes do not align, Black women will be perceived comparably to other social groups who also possess a negative subordinate identity that is not congruent with a positive successful performance. For Black men who succeed, their race will be perceived as incompatible with performance outcomes. Similarly, the same incompatibility will occur for successful White women because of their gender. Thus, Black women, Black men, and White women should be evaluated comparably when successful because for each group, the recognition processes are in contradiction with the inferential process. For White men, however, recognition processes augment inferential processes as three factors – race (White), gender (men), and performance (success) – are all consistent. Thus, White men should be evaluated the most favorably under conditions of organizational success.

In sum, we predict a three-way interaction between leader gender, leader race, and organizational performance such that Black women will be perceived negatively relative to Black men or White women, but only when their organization is not successful. Furthermore, we predict that this proposed moderation will be mediated by leader typicality. That is, the extent to which a target exhibits the characteristics consistent with a leader will mediate the predicted interaction between organizational performance, leader race, and leader gender on perceived leader effectiveness.

Methods

Participants and study design

A total of 228 participants (50% women) which comprised undergraduate students (164), graduate students (41), and working adults (23) were recruited in the student union of a southeastern university to participate in a 35 minute long experimental session including this study in exchange for \$10US. Of these participants, 98 were White, 74 were Black, 35 were Asian, 8 were Hispanic, and 13 classified their race as "Other." Participants' student status, race, and gender did not qualify the results and accordingly will not be considered further. At the time of the study, most of the participants were employed full-time (25%), part-time (45%), or were currently unemployed, but had worked previously (27%). Thus, most participants likely had exposure to leader roles in organizational settings. The participants had an average age of 23.90 (SD = 7.43) years and 5.80 (SD = 6.88) years of work experience. The study consisted of a 2 (organizational performance:

failure, success) \times 2 (race: Black, White) \times 2 (gender: male, female) between-participants factorial design.

Procedure

Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to investigate how people make inferences from the newspaper articles they read. They were informed that they would be reading an article recently printed in a national news outlet and then answer questions about the article. The article was about a corporation, its senior executive officer, and the corporation's recent performance. Thus, the article contained the experimental manipulations for organizational performance, leader gender, and leader race, described below. Participants were randomly assigned to read one of the eight versions of the article before completing the post questionnaire. Participants were then debriefed and dismissed.

Organizational performance

To manipulate the corporation's performance as successful, the company's earnings were described in the article as having increased and a graph noting a positive percentage change in earnings over the past 5 months was also included. For the unsuccessful conditions, the earnings were described as having decreased and the graph depicted a continual decline in earnings over the five-month period.

Leader gender and race

The gender and race of the senior executive were manipulated using headshot photos of professionals dressed in business attire. Each photo was paired with a neutral sounding name. To ensure that the photographs of the executives differed in terms of race but were similar on other physical dimensions, a pre-test was conducted. Twenty-nine participants from the same sample population as the participant pool evaluated 20 photographs of faces (5 Black women, 5 Black men, 5 White women and 5 White men) on race to confirm that the within race categories were perceived to be the same race (i.e., Black men to Black women) and that the between race categories were perceived to be of different races (i.e., White women to Black women). We asked the participants to specifically select the racial category of the person depicted in each of the headshots because racial characteristics can sometimes be ambiguous (Livingston & Brewer, 2002) and we wanted to make sure that the photos selected clearly depicted the racial category that we wanted to manipulate. In addition, participants evaluated the photos on age, physical attractiveness and emotional expression (to ensure comparability). Of the 20 photographs, four photos (one Black woman, one Black man, one White woman, and one White man) were selected because they were clearly recognizable as either Black or White and did not differ on perceived age, physical attractiveness or their emotional expression.

Perceptions of leadership effectiveness

Participants were asked to evaluate the executive on leader effectiveness (e.g., Manz & Sims, 1987). Leadership effectiveness was measured with four items: "I think that Jones is an effective leader," "I would have confidence in Jones's ability to be successful," "I would recommend Jones for other leader positions," and "An organization lead by Jones would be effective." The four items were measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored by 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). The composite items shared a univariate factor structure and inter-item consistency was high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Scores ranged from 1 to 7 ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.35$).

Perceptions of leader typicality

To assess leader typicality, participants were asked to evaluate the extent to which the executive is typical of a leader. We included only one trait word to assess leader typicality, given that the word "typical"

clearly assesses typicality. This item was measured on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored by 1 (*not at all*) and 7 (*extreme amount*). Scores ranged from 1 to 7 ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.26$).²

Results

Manipulation checks

Prior to assessing perceptions of the executive's leadership ability, participants responded to a manipulation check to confirm the organizational performance manipulation. Responses confirmed that 98% of the participants correctly reported the organization's performance as described in the news article. At the end of the post questionnaire, two checks evaluated the manipulation of leader gender and leader race. These questions were placed near the end of the post-questionnaire so as not to bias the primary dependent variables. Approximately 94% of the participants correctly identified the leader's gender and 93% correctly identified the leader's race. Given the high response accuracy on the manipulation checks, we included all respondents in our final analysis. In addition, analyses removing manipulation check failures revealed the same outcomes.

Leader effectiveness

We conducted an analysis of variance (ANOVA) on leadership effectiveness with organizational performance, leader gender, and leader race as between-participant factors. Analysis revealed a main effect for performance, $F(1,220) = 194.67$, $p = .000$, $r = .68$. Leaders were perceived as more effective after organizational success ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 0.88$) than after organizational failure ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.13$). Analysis also revealed a main effect for leader gender, $F(1,220) = 13.44$, $p = .000$, $r = .24$. Men ($M = 4.52$, $SD = 1.35$) were perceived as more effective than women ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.33$). In addition, the analysis also showed a main effect for race, $F(1,220) = 5.77$, $p = .017$, $r = .16$, such that Whites ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.36$) were perceived as more effective than Blacks ($M = 4.17$, $SD = 1.33$). These main effects were qualified by a three-way interaction, $F(1,220) = 5.02$, $p = .026$, $r = .15$. The three-way interaction is presented in Fig. 1. The first set of bars contains mean leadership effectiveness ratings following organizational success, and the second set contains ratings after organizational failure.

To localize the effects of the three-way interaction, we conducted two-way interactions within each performance condition which showed that within the success condition, only a main effect for race, $F(1,220) = 4.22$, $p = .04$, and a main effect for gender, $F(1,220) = 14.51$, $p = .0002$, were significant. The two-way interaction between leader gender and leader race did not obtain significance, $F(1,220) = 1.38$, $p = .24$. As expected, simple effects analysis revealed that Black women did not differ from Black men, $F(1,220) = 1.98$, $p = .161$, or White women, $F(1,220) = 0.14$, $p = .705$. In addition, White men were perceived as more effective than Black men, $F(1,220) = 3.92$, $p = .049$, and White women, $F(1,220) = 9.17$, $p = .003$.

In the failure condition, the gender main effect was significant, $F(1,220) = 4.16$, $p = .043$; however, this main effect was qualified by a significant two-way interaction, $F(1,220) = 3.97$, $p = .048$. Black women were evaluated as less effective than both Black men, $F(1,220) = 7.99$, $p = .005$, and White women, $F(1,220) = 6.81$, $p = .01$.

Leader typicality

We conducted an ANOVA on leader typicality with the same between-participant factors that were used for leader effectiveness. Analysis revealed a main effect for organizational performance,

² Three participants did not respond to this question.

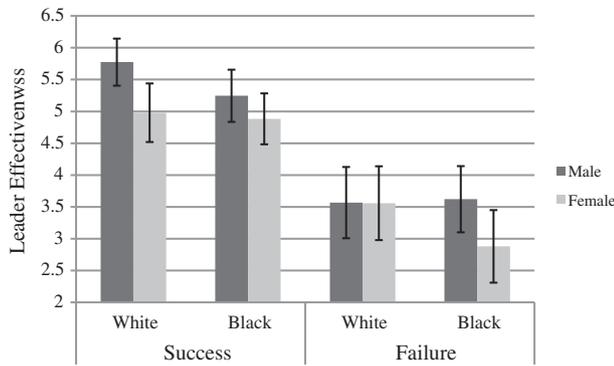


Fig. 1. Mean ratings and standard deviations for leader effectiveness as a function of organizational performance, leader gender, and leader race.

$F(1,217) = 24.74, p = .000, r = .32$, whereby leaders were perceived to be more typical after organizational success ($M = 4.68, SD = 1.22$) than after organizational failure ($M = 3.95, SD = 1.21$). Thus, organizational success was perceived to be more consistent with leader typicality than was organizational failure. Analysis also revealed a main effect for gender, $F(1,217) = 5.79, p = .000, r = .24$. Women ($M = 4.05, SD = 1.28$) were perceived to be less typical leaders than men ($M = 4.59, SD = 1.19, p = .001$). The race main effect was only marginally significant, $F(1,217) = 3.16, p = .07, r = .12$, whereby Blacks ($M = 4.18, SD = 1.20$) were perceived as slightly less typical than Whites ($M = 4.43, SD = 1.31$). In addition, the two-way interaction between success and leader gender was marginally significant, $F(1,217) = 3.45, p = .07, r = .12$. These main effects and interaction were qualified by a significant three-way interaction, $F(1,217) = 4.76, p = .03, r = .17$. The three-way interaction is depicted in Fig. 2.

To localize the source of the three-way interaction, we calculated two-way interactions within the two performance conditions. Within the success condition, the race main effect, $F(1,217) = 3.853, p = .05$, was significant indicating that Blacks were perceived as less typical than Whites. In addition, the gender main effect was significant indicating that women were perceived as less typical than men, $F(1,217) = 15.55, p = .0001$. The two-way interaction between race and gender was not significant, $F(1,217) = 0.67, p = .41$. However, White men were perceived as more typical leaders than White women, $F(1,217) = 11.23, p = .001$, and marginally more typical than Black men, $F(1,217) = 3.65, p = .058$.

Within the failure condition, there were no significant main effects; however, the two-way interaction was significant, $F(1,217) = 5.12, p = .025$. Black women were perceived as less typical than both Black men, $F(1,217) = 6.20, p = .014$, and White women, $F(1,217) = 3.97, p = .048$.

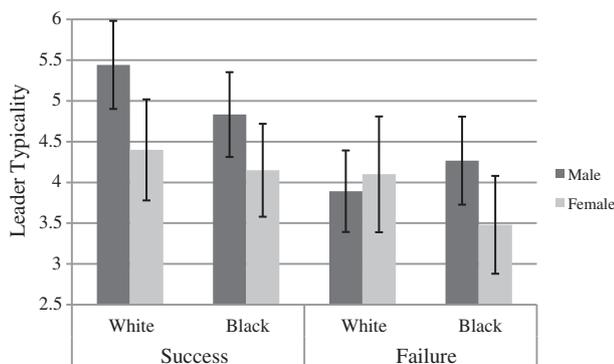


Fig. 2. Mean ratings and standard deviations for leader typicality as a function of organizational performance, leader gender, and leader race.

Mediation testing

To test whether leader typicality mediated the relationship between leader gender, leader race, and leader effectiveness as predicted, we tested the overall significance of the indirect effect (i.e., the path through the mediator) by using bootstrapping to construct bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals (Hayes, 2009; Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Stine, 1989). If zero falls outside the confidence interval, the indirect effect is deemed significant and mediation can be said to be present. Our model included leader race and organizational performance as two moderators of the path from leader gender to leader typicality (i.e., organizational performance moderated leader race and leader race moderated the path from leader gender to typicality). Hence, we tested mediated moderation which assessed the indirect effect of leader gender, leader race, and organizational performance on leader effectiveness through leader typicality. The indirect effect of leader gender on leader effectiveness, mediated through typicality for White leaders with successful organizational performance [CI: $-1.11, -.31$], Black leaders with successful organizational performance [CI: $-.83, -.08$], and most importantly, Black leaders with poor organizational performance [CI: $-.93, -.09$]. Specifically, leader typicality mediated the relationship between Black men and Black women when organizational performance was poor. Typicality did not mediate the relationship for Whites with poor organizational performance [CI: $-.32, .52$]; however, this was expected given that White men did not differ significantly from White women on leader effectiveness in the failure condition, $F(1,220) = .01, p = .97$.

Discussion

We examined the conditions under which double jeopardy would be experienced by Black women in leader roles, informed largely by research on recognition-based and inference-based processes of leadership. Our results indicate that double jeopardy was more likely to occur under conditions of organizational failure as opposed to success because their two subordinate identities were better matched to subpar as opposed to successful outcomes. Stated differently, White women and Black men benefited from at least one predominant identity that is congruent with the leader role (i.e., being White or male) and therefore were not evaluated as harshly as Black women whose race and gender aligned succinctly with failure.

However, when Black women leaders were successful, their two subordinate identities did not result in double jeopardy as Black women were evaluated comparably to leaders with single-subordinate identities—White women and Black men. The fact that Black women were evaluated comparably to White women and Black men in the context of success underscores the idea that there was not a clear alignment between recognition-processes and inference processes for these three groups and thus, they were evaluated comparably to each other. This idea is further bolstered by the fact that White men were shown to benefit separately from their race and their gender (i.e., an additive effect) resulting in more favorable evaluations than Black men and White women during organizational success. In addition, leader typicality mediated the indirect effect of race, gender, and organizational performance on leader effectiveness which suggests that recognition processes can partially account for the negative evaluations of Black women leaders when organizational performance was low and for the positive evaluations of White male leaders when performance was high. Our findings add to existing research that examines both recognition and inference based processes in tandem (i.e., Carton & Rosette, 2011; Rosette et al., 2008) by examining how leadership perceptions differ for groups with single- versus dual-subordinate identities (a comparison that has been frequently overlooked in previous leadership research) when performance outcomes are considered.

Our research also contributes to the burgeoning literature that examines the advantages and disadvantages that accrue to individuals with multiple subordinate identities (Durik et al., 2006; Livingston

et al., 2012; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Richardson & Loubier, 2008; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010; Settles, 2006). On the one hand, proponents for subordinate intersectionality (i.e., multiple subordinate identities) argue that individuals with single-subordinate identities are the most oppressed as they represent the archetype of their social group (Livingston et al., 2012; Remedios, Chasteen, Rule, & Plaks, 2011). On the other hand, advocates of a double or even triple jeopardy paradigm contend that individuals with multiple subordinate identities fair far worse than their single-subordinate brethren (e.g., Bowleg, 2008). Our results contribute to this debate by suggesting that it is important to consider the context under which multiple identities are examined. For example, Black women leaders may be permitted to show greater agency than White women leaders and Black male leaders without penalty (Livingston et al., 2012). However, they may not be permitted to err as frequently without reprimand.

In addition to contributing to research on leadership and diversity, our findings have practical implications too. Black women executives may have to work exceptionally hard to minimize mistakes made on the job as their penalty for doing so may be greater than consequences experienced by White women and Black men. Given that atypical leaders, in general, are often expected to fail and are frequently evaluated more negatively when they make mistakes (Brescoll, Dawson, & Uhlmann, 2010), Black women may have to be exceptionally diligent when managing subpar outcomes. That is, they should take special care when organizational goals are not met (perhaps due to conditions beyond their control) to clearly communicate the circumstances to management, their peers, and even their subordinates. For their part, managers should be aware that such unfavorable bias may persist and take measures to make sure that leaders possessing more than one subordinate identity are evaluated fairly when goals are not achieved. Future research should examine how leaders who possess other subordinate identities (e.g., class, age, sexuality) are evaluated in a leadership context. In addition, future research should also examine contextual factors other than performance that may influence whether double jeopardy or intersectional invisibility is experienced by individuals who possess more than one subordinate identity.

Conclusion

Research on Black women leaders has received scant attention by leadership scholars in the past. Perhaps this oversight has occurred because of the negligible representation of Black women leaders in top positions. For example, in July 2009, Ursula Burns became the first Black woman leader of a Fortune 500 company. If we are to rectify the underrepresentation of Black women and others with more than one subordinate identity in top positions, it is important to understand the processes that disproportionately disadvantage them.

References

Almquist, E. M. (1975). Untangling the effects of race and sex: The disadvantaged status of Black women. *Social Science Quarterly*, 56, 129–142.

Beale, F. (1970). Double jeopardy: To be Black and female. In T. C. Bambara (Ed.), *The Black woman: An anthology* (pp. 90–100). New York: Signet.

Beatty, R. W. (1973). Blacks as supervisors: A study of training, job performance, and employers' expectations. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 16, 196–206.

Bell, E., & Nkomo, S. (2001). *Our separate ways: Black and White women and the struggles for professional identity*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Blake, S. (1999). At the crossroads of race and gender: Lessons from mentoring experiences of professional Black women. In A. J. Murrell, F. J. Crosby, & R. J. Ely (Eds.), *Mentoring dilemmas: Developmental relationships within multicultural organizations* (pp. 83–104). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black + lesbian + woman (does not equal) Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles*, 59, 312–325.

Brenner, O. C., Tomkiewicz, J., & Schein, V. E. (1989). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics revisited. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 32, 662–669.

Brescoll, V. L., Dawson, E., & Uhlmann, E. L. (2010). Hard won and easily lost: The fragile status of leaders in gender-stereotype-incongruent occupations. *Psychological Science*, 21, 1640–1642.

Carton, A., & Rosette, A. S. (2011). Explaining bias against black leaders: Integrating theory on information processing and goal-based stereotyping. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54, 6.

Chung-Herrera, B., & Lankau, M. (2005). Are we there yet? An assessment of fit between stereotypes of minority managers and the successful-manager prototype. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(10), 2029–2056.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–167.

Durik, A. M., Hyde, J. S., Marks, A. C., Roy, A. L., Anaya, D., & Schulz, G. (2006). Ethnicity and gender stereotypes in emotion. *Sex Roles*, 54, 429–445.

Eagly, A., Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C., & van Engen, M. L. (2003). Transformational, transactional, and laissez-faire leadership styles: A meta-analysis comparing women and men. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 569–591.

Eagly, A., & Karau, S. (1991). Gender and the emergence of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(5), 685–710.

Eagly, A., & Karau, S. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573–598.

Epstein, C. F. (1973). Black and female: The double whammy. *Psychology Today*, 89, (pp. 57–61).

Ford, J., Kraiger, K., & Schechtman, S. (1986). Study of race effects in objective indices and subjective evaluations of performance: A meta-analysis of performance criteria. *Psychological Bulletin*, 99, 330–337.

Foti, R., Fraser, S., & Lord, R. (1982). Effects of leadership labels and prototypes on perception of political leaders. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67(3), 326–333.

Foti, R., & Lord, R. (1987). Prototypes and scripts: The effects of alternative methods of processing information on rating accuracy. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 39, 318–340.

Greenhaus, J., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experiences, job performance. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 33(1), 64–87.

Hall, E. V., Phillips, K. W., Rudman, L. A., Glick, P., Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., and Washington, E. F. (2012). Unpublished data. Northwestern University.

Hayes, A. F. (2009). Beyond Baron and Kenny: Statistical mediation analysis in the new millennium. *Communication Monographs*, 76, 408–420.

Heilman, M. E., Block, C., Martell, R., & Simon, M. (1989). Has anything changed? Current characterizations of men, women, and managers. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 74(6), 935–942.

Knight, J. L., Hebl, M. R., Foster, J. B., & Mannix, L. M. (2003). Out of role? Out of luck: The influence of race and leadership status on performance appraisals. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies*, 9(3), 85–93.

Kunda, Z., & Spencer, S. (2003). When do stereotypes come to mind and when do they color judgment? A goal-based theoretical framework for stereotype activation and application. *Psychological Review*, 129(4), 522–544.

Livingston, R. W., & Brewer, M. B. (2002). What are we really priming? Cue-based versus category-based processing of facial stimuli. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 5–18.

Livingston, R. W., Rosette, A. S., & Washington, E. F. (2012). Can an agentic Black woman get ahead? The impact of race and agentic emotional expression on female leader status. *Psychological Science*, 23(4), 354–358.

Lord, R., DeVader, C. L., & Alliger, G. M. (1986). A meta-analysis of the relation between personality traits and leadership perceptions: An application of validity generalization procedures. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 71, 402–410.

Lord, R., Foti, R., & DeVader, C. (1984). A test of leadership categorization theory: Internal structure, information processing, and leadership perception. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 34, 343–378.

Lord, R., & Maher, K. (1991). *Leadership and information processing*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Manz, C. C., & Sims, H. P. (1987). Leading workers to lead themselves: The external leadership of self-managing work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 32, 106–129.

Meindl, J. R., & Ehrlich, S. B. (1987). The romance of leadership and the evaluation of organizational performance. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 30, 91–109.

Meindl, J. R., Ehrlich, S. B., & Dukerich, J. M. (1985). The romance of leadership. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30, 78–102.

Nye, J., & Forsyth, D. (1991). The effects of prototype-based biases on leadership appraisals: A test of leadership categorization theory. *Small Group Research*, 22, 360–379.

Parker, P. S., & ogilvie, d. t. (1996). Gender, culture, and leadership: Toward a culturally distinct model of African-American women executives' leadership strategies. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 7, 189–214.

Phillips, J. (1984). The accuracy of leadership ratings: A cognitive categorization perspective. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 33, 125–138.

Powell, G., & Butterfield, A. (1997). Effect of race on promotions to top management in a federal department. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 40(1), 112–128.

Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2004). SPSS and SAS procedures for estimating indirect effects in simple mediation models. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers*, 36, 717–731.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. *Sex Roles*, 59, 377–391.

Remedios, J. D., Chasteen, A. L., Rule, N. O., & Plaks, J. E. (2011). Impressions at the intersection of ambiguous and obvious social categories: Does gay + Black = likable? *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47, 1312–1315.

Richardson, A., & Loubier, C. (2008). Intersectionality and leadership. *International Journal of Leadership Studies*, 3(2), 142–161.

Rosette, A. S., Leonardelli, G., & Phillips, K. W. (2008). The white standard: Racial bias in leader categorization. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93(4), 758–777.

Rush, M. C., Phillips, J. S., & Lord, R. G. (1981). Effects of a temporal delay in rating on leader behavior descriptions: A laboratory investigation. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, 66, 442–450.

- Sanchez-Hucles, J. V., & Davis, D. D. (2010). Women and women of color in leadership: Complexity, identity, and intersectionality. *The American Psychologist*, *65*(3), 171–181.
- Schein, V. E. (1973). The relationship between sex role stereotypes and requisite management characteristics. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, *57*, 95–100.
- Schein, V. E. (2001). A global look at psychological barriers to women's progress in management. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 675–688.
- Scott, K., & Brown, D. (2006). Female first, leader second? Gender bias in the encoding of leadership behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *101*, 230–242.
- Settles, I. H. (2006). Use of an intersectional framework to understand Black women's racial and gender identities. *Sex Roles*, *54*, 589–601.
- Shamir, B. (1992). Attribution of influence and charisma to the leader: The romance of leadership revisited. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *22*, 386–407.
- Stine, R. (1989). An introduction to bootstrap methods. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *18*, 243–291.
- Willemssen, T. M. (2002). Gender typing of the successful manager — a stereotype reconsidered. *Sex Roles*, *46*(11/12), 385–391.