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Research Article

The Teddy-Bear Effect

Does Having a Baby Face Benefit Black Chief Executive Officers?

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ABSTRACT—*Prior research suggests that having a baby face is negatively correlated with success among White males in high positions of leadership. However, we explored the positive role of such "babyfaceness" in the success of high-ranking Black executives. Two studies revealed that Black chief executive officers (CEOs) were significantly more baby-faced than White CEOs. Black CEOs were also judged as being warmer than White CEOs, even though ordinary Blacks were rated categorically as being less warm than ordinary Whites. In addition, baby-faced Black CEOs tended to lead more prestigious corporations and earned higher salaries than mature-faced Black CEOs; these patterns did not emerge for White CEOs. Taken together, these findings suggest that babyfaceness is a disarming mechanism that facilitates the success of Black leaders by attenuating stereotypical perceptions that Blacks are threatening. Theoretical and practical implications for research on race, gender, and leadership are discussed.*

The paucity of African Americans in high positions of leadership in industry and government has been attributed to material, cognitive, and motivational factors. Some researchers have argued that economic disadvantage makes inaccessible the educational, cultural, and social capital that is critical to the attainment of top leadership positions (Darling-Hammond & Post, 2000; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Others have pointed to cognitive representations of leadership that prescribe Whiteness for prototypical leaders, thereby reducing the fit between Blackness and leadership (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). Researchers have also postulated that dominant-group members are motivated to maintain social hierarchies that preserve their group's status, power, and privilege, and that this motivation results in discriminatory bias against members of lower-status out-groups, who do not "belong" in positions of power (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Although we fully acknowledge these factors in accounting for the dearth of stigmatized individuals in high leadership positions, we conducted the present research in an attempt to provide insight into the mechanisms that enable some Blacks to reach the top echelon of leadership. We hypothesized that, apart from impeccable credentials, demonstrated competence, and tireless diligence, successful Black leaders possess *disarming mechanisms*—physical, psychological, or behavioral traits that attenuate perceptions of threat by the dominant group. There are many disarming mechanisms (e.g., manner of speech or dress, cultural erudition, mixed racial ancestry), but the present study focused on the physical trait of having a baby face, or "babyfaceness."

As Zebrowitz (1997) noted, "a baby's face is disarming" (p. 64). Decades of research have shown that baby-faced adults are perceived as being more warm, trustworthy, and innocent than mature-faced adults (for a review, see Zebrowitz, 1997). They are also treated with greater patience, sensitivity, and compassion. For example, studies have demonstrated that baby-faced offenders tend to receive more lenient sentences than mature-faced offenders for certain types of crimes (e.g., Berry & Zebrowitz-McArthur, 1988). Studies have also found that baby-faced individuals are more persuasive than mature-faced individuals when trustworthiness is uncertain (Brownlow, 1992), and that corporations with baby-faced spokespeople are trusted more than those with mature-faced spokespeople during a mild public-relations crisis (Gorn, Jiang, & Johar, 2008). However, there are costs to the tenderness that a baby face engenders. Like babies, baby-faced adults are perceived as being incompetent and weak. Consequently, research has suggested that babyfaceness may be a liability for people striving to attain high positions of leadership in government (Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2005) and industry (Rule & Ambady, 2008). However, these studies have focused exclusively on White males; the degree to which the results generalize to other social groups is unclear.

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Psychological Science RESEARCH, THEORY, & APPLICATION IN PSYCHOLOGY AND RELATED SCIENCES

We hypothesized that having a baby face is beneficial to Black leaders to the extent that it mitigates the dominant group's association of negative affect with Blacks by increasing perceptions of warmth. According to several theoretical positions, signals of warmth or deference should have special utility for out-groups perceived as threatening (e.g., Blacks), compared with those perceived as less threatening (e.g., women). For example, intergroup-image theory posits that the common *barbaric image* (i.e., low status and high power) of Blacks evokes greater feelings of threat and higher motivation to contain the group than does the common *dependent image* (i.e., low status and low power) of women and children (for detailed discussion, see Alexander, Brewer, & Hermann, 1999, and Alexander, Brewer, & Livingston, 2005). Moreover, social-dominance theory maintains that racial discrimination is disproportionately directed toward out-group males, relative to out-group females, because the former pose a greater threat to the hierarchical status of the dominant group (for discussion, see Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).[1] Because baby-faced individuals evoke feelings of warmth, trust, and cooperation, while minimizing feelings of threat and competition, babyfaceness could benefit Black males who find themselves in intergroup contexts (e.g., corporate America) in which their power or ambition might be perceived as a threat.

In contrast, we argue that disarming mechanisms, such as babyfaceness, are unnecessary for prototypical leaders (i.e., White males) because they possess "legitimate" power and entitlement to high-ranking leadership positions (French & Raven, 1959; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In fact, warmth can be counterproductive for prototypical leaders, as suggested by studies showing a negative relationship between babyfaceness and leadership success (Rule & Ambady, 2008). Moreover, research has shown that not expressing warmth benefits White male leaders. For instance, White male executives who expressed anger were conferred higher status, and even a higher salary, than those who did not express anger (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Tiedens, 2001).

We also argue that disarming mechanisms are unnecessary for female leaders because they are already "disarmed" by virtue of their category membership. Because women have traditionally occupied caregiver roles, stereotypes of women include traits associated with warmth and communalism (for a review, see Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Consequently, the challenge of women leaders is to prove that they can be strong, assertive, and agentic in leadership roles. Prior research has shown that successful female leaders must affirm their competence and agency, often at the expense of not being perceived as warm (for a review, see Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003) and at the risk of producing "backlash" because leadership roles contradict prescribed warmth stereotypes (Eagly, 2007; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Indeed, research has shown that being perceived as more warm does not help women as much as being perceived as less competent hurts them (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004).

In short, these theoretical perspectives suggest that disarming mechanisms would benefit Black males, but not White males or females of any race, in high positions of leadership. If babyfaceness facilitates the success of Black male leaders, but not White male leaders, then successful Black male executives should be more baby-faced than equally successful White male executives. Because babyfaceness results in greater perceptions of warmth (Zebrowitz, 1997), we also predicted that Black male chief executive officers (CEOs) would be perceived as being warmer than White male CEOs. However, we predicted that Blacks as a group would be perceived as being less warm than Whites as a group (cf. Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Finally, if babyfaceness facilitates success for Black but not White male executives, then baby-faced Black male CEOs should be more successful than mature-faced Black male CEOs, but baby-faced White male CEOs should be less successful than mature-faced White male CEOs (Rule & Ambady, 2008). Although the primary focus of this article is race, we made the tentative prediction that babyfaceness would not benefit White female CEOs, given past research showing that excessive warmth can be detrimental to female leaders (e.g., Eagly, 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; Rudman & Glick, 1999). All of the CEOs included in this study were from the Fortune 500. At the time of this research, there had never been a Black female CEO of a Fortune 500 company; therefore, the research focused on Black males, White males, and White females.

STUDY 1

Method

Participants

Twenty-one students (10 male and 11 female; 11 White and 10 Asian) participated in Study 1 in exchange for $8.

Stimuli

We investigated systematic differences in the prominence of babyfaceness among CEOs of Fortune 500 companies. Our search yielded 4 Black male and 10 White female CEOs. To increase our pool of Black male CEOs, we included 6 former Fortune 500 CEOs. The 10 Black male CEOs were then matched with 10 White male CEOs from the same corporations: Current Black CEOs were matched with their predecessors, and former Black CEOs were matched with the current CEOs of the respective corporations. We compiled an additional set of control White male CEOs by randomly sampling 10 companies from the remaining Fortune 500 companies. This resulted in a total of 40 CEOs (see Table 1).

Professional photographs of these CEOs, dressed in business attire, were gathered from the Fortune Web site (http://money.

[1] One interesting question for future research is whether Black female leaders require disarming mechanisms. Prior research has shown that racial stereotypes tend to be applied more to men than to women (Eagly & Kite, 1987), suggesting that Black females may not need disarming mechanisms to the same degree as Black males.

TABLE 1
Fortune 500 Chief Executive Officers Rated in Studies 1 and 2

Black males	Matched White males	White females	Control (randomly selected) White males
Ronald Williams, Aetna	John Rowe, Aetna	Patricia Woertz, Archer Daniels Midland	Martin Richenhagen, AGCO
Kenneth Chenault, American Express	Harvey Golub, American Express	Irene Rosenfeld, Kraft	Jeff Bezos, Amazon.com
Clarence Otis, Darden	Joe Lee, Darden	Susan Ivey, Reynolds American	Charles Oglesby, Asbury Auto
Rodney O'Neal, Delphi	Robert Miller, Delphi	Mary Sammons, RiteAid	Jeffrey Peek, CIT Group
Franklin Raines, Fannie Mae	Daniel Mudd, Fannie Mae	Paula Reynolds, Safeco	Andrew Liveris, Dow Chemical
E. Stanley O'Neal, Merrill Lynch	John Thain, Merrill Lynch	Brenda Barnes, Sara Lee	Anthony Alexander, First Energy
Aylwin Lewis, Sears	Alan Lacy, Sears	Carol Meyrowitz, TJX	Frank Blake, Home Depot
John Thompson, Symantec	Gordon Eubanks, Symantec	Angela Braly, Wellpoint	Michael McCallister, Humana
Roger W. Ferguson, TIAA-CREF	Herbert Allison, TIAA-CREF	Christina Gold, Western Union	Stephen Angel, Praxair
Richard Parsons, Time Warner	Jeffrey Bewkes, Time Warner	Anne Mulcahy, Xerox	Jay Fishman, Travelers

cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500). All of the photographs were posed, front-view head shots. We standardized the sizes of the photographs, converted them to gray scale, and removed any background props (e.g., American flag) that appeared in them.

Procedure

Participants were told that they would be rating a number of faces on physical appearance and personality traits. We informed them of past research showing that humans are adept at making intuitive judgments about others on the basis of facial appearance alone. The 40 photographs were then presented, one by one, in random order using MediaLab (Jarvis, 2008). Participants first rated all of the CEOs on babyfaceness using a 4-point scale (1 = *not at all baby-faced*, 4 = *very baby-faced*). Subsequently, they rated each of the 40 photographs on traits related to interpersonal warmth (warm or personable, honest) and leadership competence (competent or knowledgeable, tough or aggressive), again using 4-point scales (1 = *not at all*, 4 = *very*).

To confirm that differences in perceptions of CEO warmth or competence were not due to general perceptions of the warmth or competence of the social categories overall, we had participants rate the warmth (warm, polite, honest, trustworthy) and leadership competence (competent, intelligent, aggressive, strong) of each race and gender group label (i.e., "Blacks," "Whites," "men," and "women"; all ratings were made on 4-point scales from *not at all* to *very*).[2] For our analyses, we used ratings for Blacks, Whites, and women only, because past research has found that the default for race is males of the racial group and the default for gender is Whites, unless otherwise specified (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Fiske, 1998). Thus, practically speaking, the ratings for Blacks tapped perceptions of Black males, the rating for Whites tapped perceptions of White males, and the ratings for women tapped perceptions of White women.

[2]We used ratings of the general social groups rather than ratings of ordinary faces within each group because prior research has found no mean differences in the babyfaceness of ordinary Black versus White faces (Zebrowitz, Montepare, & Lee, 1993) and has found either a tendency for female faces to be more neotenous than male faces or no significant gender difference in babyfaceness (Zebrowitz, Olson, & Hoffman, 1993). Thus, our predictions for CEO faces stand in contrast to the results obtained with ordinary Black, White, and female faces.

Results

To test for group differences in CEO babyfaceness, we conducted a 2 (participant's gender) × 2 (participant's race) × 4 (CEO category: Black male, matched White male, control White male, White female) mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA), with the last variable within subjects. This analysis yielded a significant main effect of CEO category, $F(3, 14) = 10.38, p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .69$. As predicted, Black male CEOs were rated as being significantly more baby-faced ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 0.52$) than their matched White counterparts ($M = 1.90$, $SD = 0.44$), $t(19) = 2.31, p < .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$. Babyfaceness differences between the matched White and control White male CEOs did not approach significance, $t < 1, p > .42$. The female CEOs were judged as being less baby-faced ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 0.38$) than the control White male CEOs, $t(20) = 3.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .43$; the matched White male CEOs, $t(20) = 3.22, p < .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .35$; and the Black male CEOs, $t(20) = 4.95, p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$. There were no significant main effects of, or interactions involving, participant's race or gender.

We compared judgments of warmth and competence for the CEOs and their groups (i.e., Blacks, Whites, and women). For the sake of simplicity, we combined the two categories of White male CEOs in these analyses. We also combined the trait ratings into two indices: one for interpersonal warmth and one for leadership competence. We then performed a 2 (dimension: warmth vs. competence) × 2 (target type: CEO vs. ordinary group) × 3 (social category: Black men, White men, or

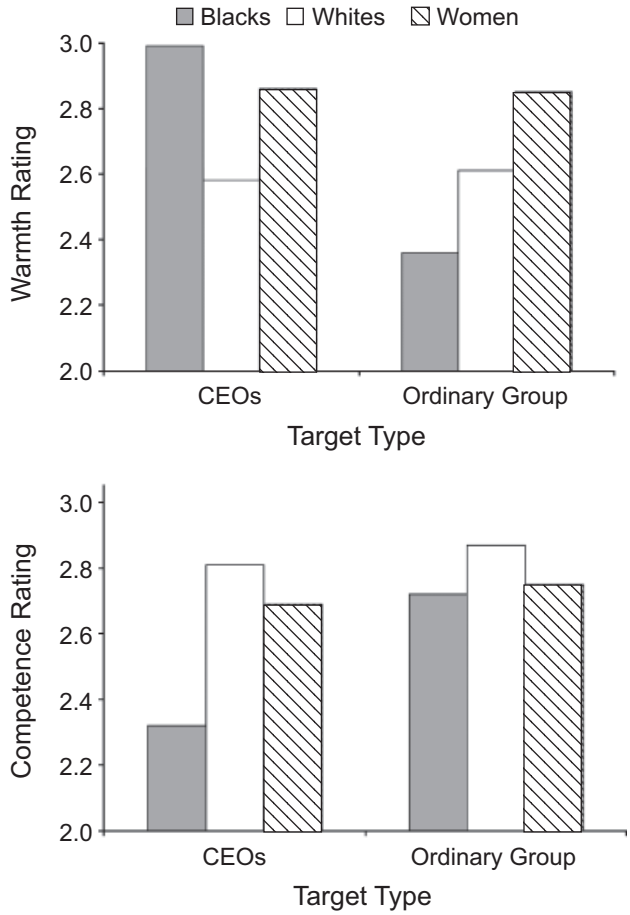

Fig. 1. Warmth ratings (top panel) and competence ratings (bottom panel) as a function of target type (chief executive officer, ordinary group) and social category (Blacks, Whites, women). Among the CEOs, all the Blacks and Whites were men, and all the women were White. The ordinary group ratings for Blacks, Whites, and women tap perceptions of Black males, White males, and White females, respectively, given the defaults demonstrated in previous research (see the text).

White women) within-subjects ANOVA. This analysis yielded a significant three-way interaction, $F(2, 19) = 19.97$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .68$.

We therefore analyzed the data separately by target type. For CEOs, the Dimension × Social Category ANOVA yielded a significant two-way interaction, $F(2, 19) = 23.47$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$ (see Fig. 1). On the one hand, the Black male CEOs were rated as being significantly warmer than the White male CEOs, $t(20) = 5.53$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .61$, and marginally warmer than the White female CEOs, $t(20) = 1.78$, $p < .09$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. The White female CEOs were rated as being significantly warmer than the White male CEOs, $t(20) = 3.16$, $p < .005$, $\eta_p^2 = .33$. On the other hand, the Black male CEOs were rated as being significantly less competent than both the White male CEOs, $t(20) = 5.42$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .60$, and the White female CEOs, $t(20) = 2.60$, $p < .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. Perceived competence did not differ between the White male and female CEOs, $t(20) = 1.13$, $p < .28$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$.

For the ratings of the ordinary groups, the Dimension × Social Category ANOVA also yielded a significant two-way interaction, $F(2, 19) = 5.61$, $p < .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .37$ (see Fig. 1). Blacks were rated as being significantly less warm than women, $t(20) = 2.93$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$, and marginally less warm than Whites, $t(20) = 1.57$, $p < .07$ (one-tailed), $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Blacks and women were rated as marginally less competent than Whites, $t(20) = 1.55$, $p < .07$ (one-tailed), $\eta_p^2 = .11$, and $t(20) = 1.56$, $p < .07$ (one-tailed), $\eta_p^2 = .11$, respectively.

We also investigated the relationships between (a) the CEOs' babyfaceness and their employers' corporate prestige and (b) the CEOs' babyfaceness and their financial compensation. We operationalized corporate prestige as the company's Fortune 500 ranking and annual revenue. The ranking was reverse-scored so that the top company was assigned a score of 500. We measured the CEOs' financial compensation by both their salary and their total compensation, which also included bonuses, restricted stock grants, payouts from long-term incentive plans, the value of option grants, and other annual compensation. These four indices are distinct but not completely independent, given that larger firms tend to compensate CEOs more than smaller firms (Tervio, 2008). We obtained these data through Standard & Poor's Compustat/ExecuComp database. We were unable to obtain income data for 6 CEOs across the three categories. Although there were no statistically significant correlations because of the low cell sizes, there was a positive relationship between babyfaceness and both financial compensation and corporate prestige for Black male CEOs, which suggests that relatively baby-faced Black CEOs had more financial and corporate success than did mature-faced Black CEOs (see Fig. 2). However, the opposite trend emerged for White male CEOs.

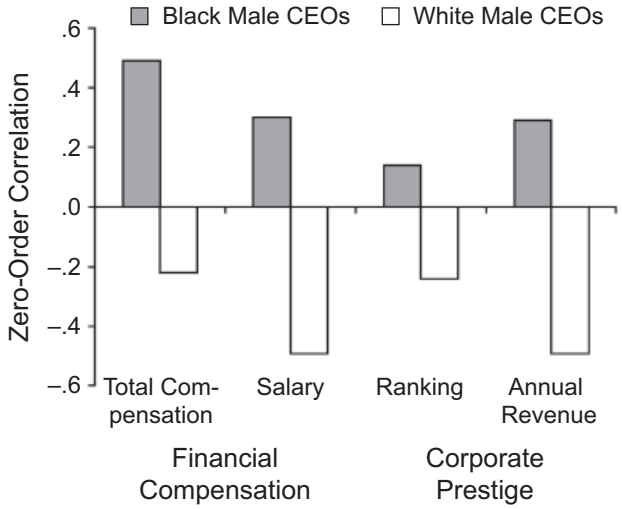

Fig. 2. Correlations between the chief executive officers' babyfaceness and their financial compensation and corporate prestige (ranking, revenue), separately for Black and White male chief executive officers.

STUDY 2

Study 2 was designed to address several shortcomings of Study 1. First, although prior research has not found a significant relationship between attractiveness and babyfaceness among ordinary individuals (Zebrowitz, Montepare, & Lee, 1993; Zebrowitz, Olson, & Hoffman, 1993), we wanted to be sure that attractiveness or another physical dimension (e.g., skin color) did not account for the results in this particular sample of faces. Second, it is not clear whether participants in the first study fully understood the construct of babyfaceness. Although the data showed no relationship between babyfaceness and the actual ages of the CEOs, $r(40) = -.16$, $p > .33$, it is possible that judgments of babyfaceness were based on perceived age. To address these issues, we gave participants in Study 2 information about what babyfaceness is and had them rate the faces for physical attractiveness, age, and skin color. Finally, we asked participants to estimate the salary of the person depicted in each photograph. Using these estimates rather than actual salaries increased statistical power because the degrees of freedom were determined by the number of participants, rather than the number of CEOs.

Method

One hundred six students (38 male and 68 female; 49 White, 37 Asian, and 20 other) participated in the study in exchange for $8. The stimuli were those used in Study 1, and the procedure was similar to that of Study 1, with the exception of a few minor changes. First, we did not include the randomly selected (control) CEOs, given the null difference between them and the matched White CEOs in Study 1. Second, we excluded the ordinary group ratings given the well-established warmth and competence ratings for Blacks, Whites, and women (Fiske et al., 2002) and our demonstration in Study 1 of the divergence of CEO and ordinary-person ratings within subjects. Third, we added a training session (based on information provided by Zebrowitz, 1997) to familiarize participants with the primary features of a baby-faced appearance. During this training, we informed participants what these features are (e.g., round face) and explained that babyfaceness is not specific to a particular race, gender, or age, but rather pertains to the structure of the face. To vividly illustrate this point, we showed participants photographs of baby-faced and mature-faced children and adults, both male and female (obtained from Zebrowitz, 1997).

We also added measures of physical attractiveness, perceived age (open-ended), and skin color, given that research has shown that racial prototypicality can affect social judgment and evaluation (e.g., Livingston & Brewer, 2002). After completing these ratings, participants were informed that the individuals they had viewed were actual employees at American corporations and might be at any rank, from trainee to middle manager to CEO. Participants were asked to report how much money they thought each individual earned (in dollars per year). We eliminated responses lower than $10,000 or higher than $10,000,000, which resulted in 1.6% of the data being trimmed. We also probed for suspicion and asked participants to report whether they recognized any of the faces, and if so, who the people were. We eliminated 2 participants who were able to report the names of several CEOs in the photos.

Results

The Black male CEOs were rated as being significantly more baby-faced ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 0.41$) than their matched White counterparts ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.42$), $t(103) = 2.00$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. The female CEOs were rated as significantly less baby-faced ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 0.40$) than both the White male matched CEOs, $t(103) = 3.82$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, and the Black male CEOs, $t(103) = 6.22$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$.[3] There were no main effects of, or interactions involving, participant's gender or race, all Fs < 1.

The patterns of warmth and competence ratings were nearly identical to those in Study 1. The mean warmth ratings were 2.97, 2.53, and 2.87 for Black males, White males, and White females, respectively, and the mean competence ratings were 2.48, 2.90, and 2.84. Unlike in Study 1, the difference in rated warmth for Black male versus White female CEOs was significant, rather than marginal, $t(104) = 3.68$, $p < .0001$. The difference in perceived competence between White males and females was again nonsignificant, $t(104) = 1.43$, $p < .16$.

White male matched CEOs were judged to have significantly higher salaries ($M = \$215{,}989$) than both Black male CEOs ($M = \$167{,}882$), $t(80) = 2.10$, $p < .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, and White female CEOs ($M = \$138{,}474$), $t(84) = 3.65$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Black male CEOs were judged to have higher salaries than White female CEOs, $t(85) = 2.34$, $p < .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Babyfaceness was significantly correlated with judged salary for Black male CEOs, $r(90) = .23$, $p < .04$; baby-faced Black CEOs were perceived as earning higher salaries than mature-faced Black CEOs.[4]

We tested whether this latter relationship remained significant when other variables were controlled by regressing judged salary for Black male CEOs on babyfaceness, attractiveness, perceived age, and skin color. Results of this simultaneous linear regression, $F(4, 86) = 2.63$, $p < .04$, yielded a significant effect

[3]The mean babyfaceness ratings in Study 2 were substantially higher than those in Study 1. We believe that the training session may have reduced participants' reluctance to rate middle-aged adults as being baby-faced. Consistent with this idea, prior research has found that ratings of babyfaceness showed a sharp linear decrease with targets' age, with children being rated well above the midpoint of the rating scale, adolescents being rated near the midpoint, and middle-aged adults being rated well below the midpoint (Zebrowitz, Olson, & Hoffman, 1993).

[4]The reduced degrees of freedom for the correlational analyses exceeds 1.6% of the total number of participants because there were more data points than participants given the large number of ratings that each person completed. Moreover, we calculated the average estimated salary only for participants who provided valid estimates for all the CEOs from a given social category.

of babyfaceness, $\beta = .26$, $p < .02$. There was also a significant effect of perceived age, $\beta = .24$, $p < .04$, such that older individuals were judged to have higher salaries. There were overall group differences in mean perceived age, $F(2, 27) = 8.54$, $p < .001$, and mean attractiveness, $F(2, 27) = 3.94$, $p < .04$. Tukey's post hoc tests revealed that the women were perceived as being significantly younger than the White males, $p < .03$, and more attractive than the White males, $p < .001$. No other differences were significant. The relationships between babyfaceness and the three control variables (attractiveness, skin color, and perceived age) were nonsignificant for all three CEO groups, all ps $> .21$. There were no significant relationships between judged salary and babyfaceness for White male or female CEOs, all ps $> .38$.

Despite the relatively restricted age range of Fortune 500 CEOs, there was a strong relationship between perceived age and actual age, $r(30) = .74$, $p < .0001$. Even the correlation between judged salary and actual compensation, $r(24) = .31$, $p = .14$, reached the magnitude of correlations reported in prior research on accuracy in face perception (Rule & Ambady, 2008). It is interesting to note that participants judged White female executives to have smaller salaries than White male executives despite the fact that the two groups were judged to be equally competent. These findings are consistent with recent research on the *performance-reward bias*, which indicates that women are compensated less than men despite equal performance evaluations (Castilla, 2008).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

These studies indicate that the success of Black male leaders is linked to facial cues of warmth in a way that the success of White male or female leaders is not. One interpretation of the results is that these cues of warmth mitigate feelings of anger, envy, or resentment among Whites who might otherwise feel threatened by powerful Black males. Yet prior research has shown that emotions that convey the opposite of warmth, such as anger, can communicate strength, competence, and status for White males (Labott, Martin, Eason, & Berkey, 1991; Tiedens, 2001), and can be an effective tool in leadership and negotiation settings (Adler, Rosen, & Silverstein, 1998; Tiedens, 2001). Although angry, authoritative, or otherwise agentic leadership styles can benefit White male leaders (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Tiedens, 2001), these tactics can backfire for nonprototypical leaders (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008). Being members of a low-diffuse-status group in positions of high power (Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972), high-ranking Black leaders may have less liberty than White male leaders to express anger, pound their fists, issue ultimatums, or make defiant decisions. In short, the current findings suggest that Black males may be more constrained in their leadership style compared with White males. One negative potential consequence of this constraint on leadership style is an increase in self-monitoring behavior among Black male leaders, which in turn could increase cognitive load and result in impaired executive functioning (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Richeson & Shelton, 2003; von Hippel, 2007).

An interesting question for future research is whether the teddy-bear effect—the benefit afforded to Black male leaders who appear warmer and more baby-faced—generalizes to Black male leaders in lower-level management positions, to high-ranking Black male leaders in predominantly Black contexts, or to Black female leaders in any context. We believe that disarming mechanisms are beneficial to powerful Blacks because they reduce the perception of "threat"—whether threat is experienced as fear or intimidation due to an out-group individual possessing high levels of power (i.e., realistic threat), or as anger, resentment, or discomfort due to the perceived illegitimacy of a low-diffuse-status individual holding a hegemonic position (i.e., symbolic or "worldview" threat; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In either case, powerful Blacks engender more threat than less powerful Blacks. Consequently, we expect that disarming mechanisms are less necessary for Blacks who are in lower positions of power. Because of the intergroup nature of perceived threat, we do not expect that disarming mechanisms are necessary for powerful Black leaders in predominantly Black contexts. Consistent with this idea, anecdotal evidence suggests that intense, fiery, assertive leaders are popular in some predominantly Black contexts. It is also possible that there may be individual differences in how Whites respond to Black leaders. For example, nonprejudiced Whites may be relatively indifferent to physical appearance or leadership style among Blacks (Livingston & Drwecki, 2007).

This is the first study to examine the role of disarming mechanisms for Black males in high positions of leadership. The goal of our future research will be to gain a deeper understanding of the unique qualities of top-ranking Black male leaders and the leadership styles that they might adopt in order to effectively navigate the corporate landscape. Although we have focused on babyfaceness, there are numerous traits and behaviors that might function as disarming mechanisms, such as modifying style of speech or dress, adopting assimilationist ideologies, having a goofy appearance (e.g., big ears), smiling, or even "whistling Vivaldi" (Steele & Aronson, 1995, p. 803). However, our findings suggest that there might be hidden costs to certain disarming mechanisms. Even those individuals who capitalize on the boon of babyfaceness may incur the cost of lower perceived competence, which may force them to redouble their efforts in order to gain respect. Consistent with this idea, prior research has found that more baby-faced boys show higher levels of scholastic achievement, perhaps because of the effort that they invest in contradicting perceptions of their ineptitude (Zebrowitz, Androletti, Collins, Lee, & Blumenthal, 1998). Nonetheless, the present study demonstrates that babyfaceness can have a positive impact on leadership attainment for mem-

bers of stigmatized groups, who might otherwise be perceived as being too threatening to occupy positions of high power.

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