

ENCOURAGING ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP: INTERSECTIONALITY  
AND IDENTITY CUES

By

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## ABSTRACT

### ENCOURAGING ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP: INTERSECTIONALITY AND IDENTITY CUES

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This investigation integrates research on organizational identity safety cues and intersectionality theories by examining whether single-stigmatized (Asian American men, White women) and double-stigmatized identities (Asian American women) react differently to organizational identity safety cues. A series of online experimental surveys were developed to determine if there were differences in responses to cues between Asian American women vs. Asian American men, and Asian American women vs. White women in a leadership context, when presented with a racial or gender identity safety cue, respectively. Results did not reveal differences in how subgroups responded to identity safety cues. A third survey investigated whether Asian American women in a leadership context (a double-stigmatized identity) responded to different types of identity safety cues that tapped either racial, gender, or racial-gender cues. Results did not reveal differences between types of cues. Ultimately, evidence emerged to support anticipated authenticity at work perceptions as a mediator of cue-outcome relationships, specifically for the outcome of feelings of belonging. Furthermore, exploratory analyses revealed that participants' trait authenticity and level of acculturation affect how they perceive and respond to identity safety cues. Limitations and future research directions are discussed.

*Keywords:* cue transfer, double jeopardy, ethnic prominence, organizational identity safety cues, authenticity at work

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This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends  
whose support has been unwavering.

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## INTRODUCTION

Many organizations have turned to diversity management practices in an effort to reap benefits such as a reduced turnover and absenteeism, better qualified job applicants, and greater creativity and problem-solving capacities (Gilbert, Stead & Ivancevich, 1999). Diversity management refers to steps that a company voluntarily takes in order to increase inclusion in the workplace, both formally as well as informally (Gilbert et al., 1999). This may take the form of revamping recruitment efforts to attract diverse job applicants or instituting cultural awareness training. For example, Google is famous for providing employees with unconscious bias training (Feloni, 2017) and a quick perusal of IBM's (n.d.) diversity and inclusion web page indicates resources for a number of stigmatized groups, including women and transgender individuals. The page displays the social media campaign hashtag “#inclusiveIBM.”

Despite the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on diversity initiatives to increase inclusivity (e.g., Google spent \$265 million on diversity efforts in 2014; Kokalitcheva, 2017), the statistics for discrimination in the workplace remain sobering. The Pew Research Center reported in 2017 that 42% of women say they have experienced gender discrimination on the job (Parker & Funk, 2017). A meta-analysis of field studies on racial discrimination in hiring indicates that we have made little to no progress in reducing discrimination for Black and Latino individuals in the last 25 years (Quillian, Pager, Hexel, & Midtbøen, 2017). In fields such as STEM, minorities perceive many obstacles, including a lack of role models and discrimination in recruitment, hiring, and promotions (Funk & Parker, 2018). Women also face similar issues, especially in top leadership positions (Pew Research Center, 2015).

Asian American women are one group that is particularly impacted by a lack of inclusion and diversity in leadership. As aforementioned, women are much less likely to reach leadership

positions. In 2018, less than 5% of Fortune 500 CEOs were women (Zarya, 2018). Additionally, while women in general are prevalent among middle manager ranks, they are encased by “glass walls”, preventing them from continuing up the ladder (Bolton, 2015). Such statistics do not bode well for Asian American women who may also be limited on the dimension of their race/ethnicity.

For example, while Asian Americans are part of the fastest-growing minority group in the U.S., they are severely underrepresented in executive leadership in the U.S. despite high levels of education (including standardized test scores and higher education levels; Chin, 2013). In *Harvard Business Review*, Gee and Peck (2017) commented on how Asian Americans, while hired at large rates for tech jobs, fail to reach upper management in those same fields. Thus, it is possible that Asian American women may perceive stigmatization due to their gender, race, or both.

In seeking to increase representation for members of stigmatized groups, such as Asian American women in leadership, companies may create identity safe environments (i.e., environments that welcome, support, and value an individual’s social identity; Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005). Research has found that *organizational identity safety cues* (i.e., aspects of the environment that signal an individual with a stigmatized identity will not be treated negatively for that identity; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Dittmann, & Crosby, 2008) for one stigmatized group may signal an identity safe environment for other groups that hold a stigmatized identity (i.e., *cue transfer*, Chaney, Sanchez, & Remedios, 2016). Most studies on identity cues and cue transfer only focus on samples with *single-stigmatized identities* (e.g., White women, Black men). However, a *double-stigmatized identity*, such as Asian American women (i.e., they are stigmatized via their race and gender, in certain contexts), may be differentially affected by

identity safety cues. Some perspectives in *intersectionality*, the concept that social identities interact to create unique experiences (Warner, 2008), suggest that this may be the case. For example, the double jeopardy perspective contends that double- or multiple-stigmatized identities will experience compounded negative consequences of prejudice and discrimination (Beale, 1979).

Research on intersectionality is lacking given a traditional emphasis on WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), White, and male samples, as well as convenience samples of college students (Peterson, 2001). This investigation highlights an underrepresented group (Asian American women) while demonstrating whether identity safety cues and cue transfer operate differently for a double-stigmatized identity group (e.g., Asian American women) as compared to a single-stigmatized identity group (e.g., White women, Asian American men). By using a double-stigmatized identity this investigation serves as a replication and extension of prior work by Chaney and colleagues (2016; 2018). This study also provides an opportunity to compare two competing theories in intersectionality, the double-jeopardy perspective and the ethnic-prominence perspective (i.e., women of color will acknowledge racial discrimination over gender discrimination, Levin, Sinclair, Veniegas, & Taylor, 2002). Furthermore, authenticity, the ability to be one's true self (Goldman & Kernis, 2002), is introduced as a competing mediator of cue transfer for double-stigmatized identities, whereas Chaney et al. (2016) position "perceived social dominance orientation" (perceived SDO) as the mediator of cue transfer. Therefore, this investigation seeks to add to the literatures on intersectionality, identity safety cues, and cue transfer.

First, the literature on social identity cues and intersectionality is reviewed, including two popular perspectives on intersectionality (double jeopardy and the ethnic prominence).

Following this, the concept of identity safety cue transfer and how this concept relates to intersectionality and identities that are double-stigmatized (e.g., women of color) is described. Then, authenticity (specifically, situational authenticity) as a possible new mediator for cue-outcome link is introduced. Lastly, prior to introducing hypotheses and methods, the review of the literature will expand upon why Asian American women constitute a double-stigmatized identity, thus making this identity a suitable context in which to study cue transfer.

### **Social Identity Cues**

The root of research on social identity cues is found in the stereotype threat literature. Stereotype threat occurs when an individual's group membership becomes salient, causing an individual to perceive that they can be judged based on a group stereotype, or that they might confirm a group stereotype (Steele, Spencer, & Aronson, 2002, p. 389). The concept was initially studied in the context of African American students performing poorly compared to their White counterparts on academic tests (Steele & Aronson, 1995) and has also been extended to women's performance in male-dominated contexts, like STEM (Hoyt & Murphy, 2016). Given that social stigma theory points to stigma having negative effects on the target individual (Goffman, 1963), yet some research points to more nuanced effects (e.g., stigma acting as a buffer when self-esteem is threatened; Crocker & Major, 1989), attention turned to situational aspects that might be driving suppressed test scores for African Americans and women. Since then scholars have continued to replicate stereotype threat (e.g., Autin, Branscombe, & Croizet, 2014) as well as to investigate different types of identity threat (i.e., social stigma) with consequences beyond testing (e.g., global self-esteem—Crocker & Major, 1989; social fit and comfort—Cundiff,

Ryuk, & Cech, 2018; health disparities in sexual minorities—Fingerhut & Abdou, 2007; learning—Larnell, Boston, & Bragelman, 2014), including physical outcomes (e.g., cortisol responses—Matheson & Cole, 2004; Townsend, Major, Gangi, & Mendes, 2011). At the same time, the effects of stereotype threat have been questioned. Sackett, Hardison, and Cullen (2004) caution against interpreting Steele and Aronson's (1995) original findings (i.e., that differences in performance between White and Black students can be eliminated by reducing stereotype threat) as solely explained by stereotype threat. Nguyen and Ryan's (2008) meta-analysis found a range of stereotype threat effect sizes across minorities and women, but their study was criticized by Zigerell (2017) after a reanalysis demonstrated that the results varied widely when accounting for publication bias. However, in response, Ryan and Nguyen (2017) noted the difference in methodologies used and the advancement of publication bias techniques since the original meta-analysis may have resulted in the differences. Additionally, in a meta-analysis several years after Nguyen and Ryan (2008), researchers demonstrated the effects of gender stereotypes and bias in hiring decisions using more recent methods to examine publication bias as well as a number of contextual moderators (Koch, D'Mello, & Sackett, 2015).

Social identity threat theory (Steele et al., 2002) contends that individuals will become vigilant in a setting where their identity is threatened (e.g., African American students taking an academic test will experience identity threat as a result of the stereotype that their group performs poorly in academics). Additionally, Steele et al. (2002) posited that attending to threatening cues will further heighten this vigilance, depending on the individual. Moreover, there is a tension within individuals; they may deny that bias is affecting them in a setting, yet also recognize social identity threats. This results in a psychological cost; they cannot fully engage in a situation and performance suffers (Steele et al., 2002).

Steele et al. (2002) suggested several remedies to stave off the negative effects of social identity threat. Their “contextual strategies” (p. 429) translate to the organizational level. One remedy is to explicitly note that a setting is unbiased. Organizations can also remedy social identity threat via representation of the stigmatized identity, as well as espousing an ideology that values differences (as opposed to a color-blind ideology where differences are ignored or a neutral ideology). Furthermore, identity threat can be combatted when individuals perceive that authorities (e.g., supervisors, management) are procedurally fair and that they can trust these authorities.

Investigating remedies for social identity threat led to the possibility that one can create environments that are the opposite of identity threatening by using identity safety cues (e.g., greater representation of minority individuals) that signal the environment is identity safe. Settings that are identity safe “[assure] individuals that they are welcomed, supported, and valued whatever their background” (Davies et al., 2005, p. 278). Some studies on identity safety cues confirm what Steele et al. (2002) posited as remedies for identity threat. For example, Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008) found that greater minority representation led to greater identity safety for Black participants. They have also found that framing a testing situation differently can suppress identity threat and increase identity safety in the form of test performance (Autin et al., 2014). Practicing self-affirmation also appears to buffer against identity threat effects on academic performance in Black students and female students (Cook, Purdie-Vaughns, Garcia, & Cohen, 2012; Shnabel, Purdie-Vaughns, Cook, Garcia, & Cohen, 2013). However, not all studies support the effect of these identity safety cues. Company diversity initiatives are especially controversial, as some studies show that they may function as identity-threatening cues (e.g., Cundiff et al., 2018)



Social identity threat has been extended to the concept of social identity contingencies, which are “judgments, stereotypes, opportunities, restrictions, and treatments that are tied to one’s social identity in a given setting,” (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008, p. 615). That is, cues in the setting can trigger *expectations* in the individual about the treatment the individual may face in a given setting (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Depending on whether cues trigger expectations of safety or threat, perceptions such as anticipated feelings of belonging and trust in the setting are increased or decreased, respectively (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). For example, Murphy, Steele, and Gross (2007) demonstrated that low representation of one’s stigmatized group resulted in one feeling a lower sense of belonging and less desire to engage.

At the same time, there is some evidence of stigmatized individuals’ resilience or coping in the face of identity threats. For example, though they did not explicitly study identity cues, Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, and Major (1991) placed participants in situations that would cue threat or the perception that the participant could be stigmatized. Participants then attributed their negative performance feedback to the stigmatized views of the person giving the feedback rather than to their own performance.

Purdie-Vaughns and Walton (2011) state that identity safety theory “seeks to identify the unique identity-based concerns that each disadvantaged group contends with and tailors intervention toward addressing those concerns” (p. 162). They contend that theories of color blindness (i.e., the belief that race does not matter and one does not see color) and multiculturalism (i.e., social groups have different experiences and these differences should be valued) both fail to reduce identity threat. Color blindness ignores the disparate experiences of social groups, and multiculturalism highlights social categories such that stereotyping can be inadvertently strengthened (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). In contrast, identity safety theory

highlights between-group and within-group differences, allowing for an acknowledgment of individual experiences (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). Because this within-group variance can be identified, Purdie-Vaughns and Walton (2011) believe identity safety theory is a useful lens through which to examine multiply stigmatized identities (e.g., they specifically mention African American women and intersectional invisibility). Virtually all people can identify with several groups (e.g., Latinx, gay, middle-class, etc.) and many belong to more than one stigmatized group. However, in order to realize the potential of identity safety theory, researchers need to design studies that include a focus on intersecting identities.

### **Intersectionality**

Intersectionality can be defined as the “idea that social identities such as race, class, and gender interact to form qualitatively different meanings and experiences” (Warner, 2008, p. 454). The term rose to prominence with Crenshaw’s (1989) widely cited Black feminist critique as well as her subsequent writings (e.g., Crenshaw, 1994/2005). Crenshaw (1989) pointed to the erasure of Black women in academia—the scholarly community only referred to gender in terms of White women, and race in terms of Black men. She argued for a multi-axis framework to describe the experiences of Black women, and that simply looking at sexism or racism is not enough.

It is important to recognize that identities can be described in terms of power and status (Baca Zinn & Thornton Dill, 1996; Collins, 1990; Warner, 2008) and that each person has a multitude of identities that result in a mixture of privilege and disadvantage. Identity is not a simple division between the oppressed and the oppressors (Warner, 2008). Collins (1990) referred to this as the matrix of domination. Notably, there is some debate in the literature regarding whether intersectionality is the study of all intersecting identities (i.e., having multiple

identities that are disadvantaged and privileged) or whether intersectionality is chiefly the study of *stigmatized* intersecting identities (Warner & Shields, 2008). The current study does not seek to take a side in this debate, but it does focus on stigmatized intersecting identities.

Studies on intersectional identities have great potential to enrich existing theory and phenomena. A sampling of studies are as follows: unique resiliency strategies in transgender youth of color (Singh, 2013); the relationship between disclosure and depression in lesbians of color (Aranda, Matthews, Hughes, Muramatsu, Wilsnack, Johnson, & Riley, 2015); Asian American women's experience of racial and sexual harassment and psychological well-being (Buchanan, Settles, Wu, & Hayashino, 2018); and differences in consequences for enacting proscribed agentic behaviors in older men vs. older women (Martin, North, & Phillips, 2018). Each of these studies takes psychological constructs and phenomena that have already been established (e.g., resiliency, gender roles) for the general population or for single-stigmatized identities and applies them to social groups that contain more than one stigmatized identity. However, obtaining the samples needed for these types of studies often poses a challenge, especially due to the low base rate of some of these identities (e.g., transgender people with disabilities). Additionally, one can readily see that each group of double- or multiple-stigmatized identities lends a certain uniqueness to that group. This makes it difficult to generalize findings to other groups.

Given the great difficulty associated with studying intersectionality, what is gained from studying it? Does intersectionality have an impact if it has mainly resulted in seemingly disjointed pockets of research on Black women, immigrant women, LGBT religious minorities, etc.? Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) introduced the concept of intersectional invisibility. They asserted that subgroups within master categories (e.g., women) who are more powerful

become the prototypes for their groups (e.g., White women). This renders subordinate subgroups (e.g., Black women, Asian women) effectively invisible. For example, a common stereotype is that women are too emotional, but this stereotype is predominantly attached to White women (Landrine, 1985). Less powerful subgroups of women are attached to stereotypes that appear to go against the broader stereotype that women are too emotional. Instead, Asian women are stereotyped as docile and quiet (Mukkamala & Suyemoto, 2018) and Black women are stereotyped as hostile (Landrine, 1985). Such nuances get lost when we focus on general group stereotypes that reflect the most powerful subgroup.

Several perspectives have attempted to explain intersecting identities. In fact, many theories regarding how intersectionality operates conflict. Two popular theories that are often pitted against each other are the double jeopardy and ethnic prominence perspectives. The double jeopardy perspective suggests there is a compounded disadvantage for those who face multiple identity stigmatizations, such as women of color, resulting in greater experienced discrimination or expectations of discrimination as compared to each identity alone (e.g., Beale, 1979; King, 2003; Klonoff, Landrine, & Scott, 1995; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcarz, Scott, & Wilkins, 1995). Conversely, the ethnic prominence perspective suggests that women of color will prioritize their race/ethnicity compared to their gender when anticipating discrimination (Levin et al., 2002). There is support for both hypotheses in the literature. For example, King (2003) linked negative emotions experienced by individuals with double-stigmatized identities (women of color) to perceiving ethnic prejudice and ethnic-gender prejudice combined, while perceiving gender-related prejudice was not significantly related with negative emotions. In a survey study, Levin et al. (2002) found that men and women of color did not differ in their expectations of discrimination. On the other hand, women of color face greater penalties when encountering

gender bias at work as compared to White women (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Williams, Phillips, & Hall, 2014).

Scholars have also investigated how *observers* perceive individuals with multiple stigmatized identities. For example, Kulik, Roberson, and Perry (2007) introduce a framework using social categorization to understand which identities of a target take primary focus for an observer. They propose that through processes that affect category activation and inhibition, a single, dominant category emerges that observers use to guide their actions. In support of a double jeopardy perspective, Rosette and Livingston (2012) found that Black women leaders were rated more harshly as compared to their White and male counterparts in the context of a failing company. Deros, Ryan, and Nguyen (2012) also demonstrated double jeopardy for Arab women job applicants of high-status jobs. These women were rated less favorably by recruiters as compared to their White and male counterparts. Furthermore, Black women are more likely to go “unnoticed” and “unheard” as compared to their White women and male counterparts (Sesko & Biernat, 2009).

Criticisms levied toward intersectionality research center around the field’s use of social categories. For one, intersectionality research has largely neglected to truly address the fluidity of identity (Warner & Shields, 2008). It has been demonstrated in some studies that sexuality (especially in women) and gender identity are not static (e.g., Diamond, 2003; Diamond & Butterworth, 2008); yet the broader research, much like popular culture, continues to treat LGBT individuals as if this is so. Intersectionality research also often fails to acknowledge the social construction of social categories, which may contribute to strengthening stereotypes (Warner & Shields, 2008). This can be exacerbated when researchers are members of the majority group. For instance, the use of “Asian” as a category often lumps together all peoples from Eastern

regions and ignores the great cultural diversity in those areas. In fact, the very use of any social categories is a drawback in intersectionality research. In a way, the impetus of this area of research was to tear down categories (e.g., tearing down the category of “(White) women” so that women of color could be included), yet researchers still use categories (albeit more specific ones like African American women). Some scholars have called for looking at social identities as social structural processes to capture how context (institutional, political, and societal structures) affects identity (Warner, 2008). Alternatively, in response to the limitations posed by using demographic categories in clinical psychology, Leong, Park, and Kalibatseva (2013) focused on disentangling psychological protective and risk factors from immigrant status. Rather than using one’s designation as an immigrant to indicate mental health risks, they found that mental health risks in Asian and Latino immigrants in the U.S. differed based on variables such as bilingualism, ethnic identity, and family cohesion.

Despite the challenges associated with studying intersectionality, the field has pointed to important differences in the experiences of individuals with intersected identities, such as discrepancies between White women and women of color, or the differences between racial minority immigrants versus their U.S.-born counterparts in Leong et al.’s (2013) study mentioned above. Another phenomenon where intersected identities may experience divergent consequences is identity safety cue transfer.

### **Intersectionality and Identity Safety Cue Transfer**

A recent development in the organizational identity cue literature is organizational identity cue transfer (Chaney et al., 2016). Identity safety cues may transfer such that stigmatized individuals whose identities are not congruent with the presented safety cue will perceive identity safety via perceptions of the company’s endorsement of social hierarchy. According to

Purdie-Vaughns et al. (2008), this work focuses on the effect of identity cues on social identity contingencies (i.e., expectations about how one will be treated based on identity). For instance, Chaney et al. (2016) found evidence that White women perceived identity safety (i.e., greater feelings of acceptance, feelings that one could succeed in the organization, and procedural justice for women) when faced with cues for racial diversity. Furthermore, Black men perceived identity safety when faced with safety cues for gender. Replicating these results, Chaney and Sanchez (2018) demonstrated that gender neutral bathrooms (positioned as a cue for gender-nonconforming folk) served as a cue for identity safety for White women, Blacks, and Latinos. Importantly, in both studies the authors hypothesized and found that White men were unaffected by safety cues. These studies investigate cue transfer for single-stigmatized identities (e.g., White women), but it is unclear whether these results would generalize to individuals with double-stigmatized identities.

Cue transfer as conceptualized by Chaney and colleagues suggests that this may be the case. Perceptions of the organization's social dominance orientation (perceived SDO) were found to mediate identity safety cue-outcome relationships in these studies. Social Dominance Orientation is typically viewed as an individual difference and defined as "one's degree of preference for inequality among social groups" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 741). Chaney and colleagues posit that an individual will make a judgment on the extent to which a company, at the organizational level, conforms to an SDO ideology. This perceived social hierarchy ideology of the organization then signals to all individuals with stigmatized identities the organization's stance on relations between social groups. Perceived SDO can be distinguished from the seemingly similar construct of organizational diversity climate. Diversity climate refers to emergent, socially-shared perceptions between members of an organization that

form as they experience life in the organization (Zohar & Hofmann, 2012). Chaney et al. (2016) asked participants to imagine themselves as potential job applicants to an organization; thus, the focus is on outsider perceptions of the organization rather than the views of members of the organization. The current investigation also takes this perspective.

Perceived SDO can also be distinguished from diversity ideologies. Usually, diversity ideologies refer to whether an organization endorses a multicultural (i.e., differences should be valued) or a color-blind (i.e., differences should not matter) ideology (Purdie-Vaughns & Walton, 2011). Perceived SDO signals an organization's stance on egalitarian values and group equality. It is conceivable that an organization can espouse both color-blind and SDO ideologies (e.g., proclaiming that all individuals should be treated as the same regardless of differences as well as that everyone is equal).

In contrast to this work on cue transfer, Pietri, Johnson, and Ozgumus (2018) found that African American women in STEM did not perceive identity safety when faced with only a gender safety cue (i.e., representation of a White woman scientist at a STEM company). Instead, African American women were more receptive to a racial cue in comparison (i.e., representation of a Black male scientist or a Black female scientist at a STEM company). African American women were only receptive to a White woman scientist safety cue when the White woman scientist espoused specific support for African American women (as opposed to support for general diversity or no mention of support). This relationship was moderated by participants' scores on stigma consciousness (i.e., sensitivity to prejudice). Only those who scored low on stigma consciousness were receptive to the White woman scientist who supported African American women. These results run counter to cue transfer. According to cue transfer, African American women presented with a gender identity safety cue should have perceived identity



safety as a function of perceived SDO of the organization (i.e., a gender safety cue should have signaled to the participants that the organization is low on endorsing social hierarchy, and thus would be more accepting of African American women too).

Perspectives on intersectionality theory may explain why cue transfer did not play out for the double-stigmatized identity in Pietri et al.'s (2018) study as it did for the single-stigmatized identities in the studies by Chaney et al. (2016; 2018). The ethnic prominence hypothesis explains why African American women participants preferred the African American male scientist as a cue compared to the White woman scientists—in this context their race was most salient, so they felt the greatest identity safety when their race was represented (Pietri et al., 2018; Levin et al., 2002). At the same time, the double jeopardy hypothesis (Beale, 1979) was also supported in that African American woman participants were receptive to a White woman scientist only when the White woman espoused support for African American women specifically (as opposed to support for general diversity) and when the participant was low on stigma consciousness. Otherwise, only the presence of a Black woman scientist in the company led to identity safety. Because the participants were not receptive to general diversity cues from the White woman scientist, but rather, specific diversity cues, this implies that participants were perceiving their experience as unique; thus, they preferred acknowledgment of diversity on both race and gender dimensions, as the double jeopardy hypothesis posits. It may be that a key mediator is not present for double-stigmatized individuals when they are faced with an identity safety cue that only taps one dimension of stigmatization (i.e., only race or only gender). The following section elaborates on another possible mediator for cue-outcome relationships.

## **Authenticity as a Mediator of Cue-Outcome Relationships**

Authenticity has been defined as “the unobstructed operation of one’s true or core self in one’s daily enterprise” (Goldman & Kernis, 2002, p. 18). This involves individuals having an unbiased awareness of themselves, as well as the ability to express their true selves, especially in interpersonal interactions (Goldman & Kernis, 2002). Authenticity has been linked to positive individual outcomes such as increased psychological well-being, job satisfaction, work engagement, job performance, and optimal self-esteem (Kernis, 2003; Metin, Taris, Peeters, & van Beek, 2016; Wood, Linley, Maltby, Baliousis, & Joseph, 2008) among others, as well as thriving social environments (i.e., environments containing individuals who are self-aware and express their authentic selves) through authentic leadership (Avolio & Gardner, 2005).

As originally conceptualized, authenticity can be thought of as a stable trait that varies from person to person (e.g., Wood et al., 2008). Individuals may have different needs when it comes to the ability to express oneself fully. Others have criticized this perspective stating that the environment has a crucial effect on experienced authenticity (e.g., people feel more authentic in certain roles, Sheldon, Ryan, Rawsthorne, & Ilardi, 1997; van den Bosch & Taris, 2014). Thus, the cultural context of a particular organization may constrain one’s ability to be authentic. Van den Bosch and Taris (2014) specifically propose that individuals will feel authentic at work if the work environment matches closely with the individual’s authentic self.

Perceiving identity safety cues are thought to make individuals feel that they will be welcomed and valued in an environment (Davies et al., 2005). The current study asserts that triggering such feelings will lead an individual to anticipate that they can be authentic (i.e., be their true selves) in that environment, thus leading to more positive consequences (i.e., outcomes including greater anticipated feelings of belonging, person-organization fit, attraction to the

organization, and procedural justice perceptions). Moreover, perceiving a welcoming environment for women and minorities may also lead to greater perceived congruency between the organization and one's authentic self, resulting in greater authenticity perceptions as well (van den Bosch & Taris, 2014).

Chaney et al. (2018) position perceived SDO as a mediating mechanism in cue-outcome relationships. This paper further proposes perceptions of authenticity at work (i.e., an individual's perceptions of his/her ability to be authentic in the work setting; situational authenticity) as a competing mediating pathway. Moreover, Pietri et al. (2018) hypothesized and found evidence for perceived similarity to a visual cue (for example, seeing a Black woman employee) acting as a mediating mechanism for outcome-cue relationships for Black women STEM job applicants. Perceived similarity likely added to the perception that participants felt they could be themselves since another person that looked similar to them was present in that STEM company. However, their effect is specific to a cue involving a specific individual. Authenticity at work as a mediator would generalize to other identity safety cues.

Authenticity may appear to be conceptually similar to psychological safety. Psychological safety has been defined as “perceptions of consequences of taking interpersonal risks in a particular context such as a workplace” (Edmondson & Lei, 2014). Thus, it emphasizes the risks of uncertainty and change (Schein & Bennis, 1965). Because Edmondson (2002, 2003) showed that beliefs of interpersonal climate for psychological safety varied between groups despite strong shared organizational culture, Edmondson and Lei (2014) stated that psychological safety is best studied at the group-level. They assert that this is due, in part, to perceptions formed about a group's supervisor. The current investigation positions participants

as individual job applicants who are not yet part of the organization rather than group members within an organization; hence, psychology safety is not a focus.

### **Asian American Women Leaders as a Double Role Incongruity**

Asian American women are one identity amenable to testing the effectiveness of cue transfer for double-stigmatized identities. In the context of leadership, they present a double role incongruity. First, as women they are violating gender roles; women do not fit leader prototypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Second, Asian Americans are also stereotyped as lacking typical leadership characteristics (in Western contexts; Sy, Shore, Strauss, Shore, Tram, Whiteley, Ikeda-Muromachi, 2010). These effects can be explained by role congruity and implicit leadership theories.

**Role congruity.** Social role theory (Eagly, 1987) posits that society ascribes norms to groups (i.e., roles) which guide the way group members are perceived (e.g., stereotypes) and expected to behave. Women are attributed communal characteristics such as warm, kind, nurturing, and helpful, while men are attributed agentic characteristics such as assertive, independent, ambitious, and confident (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Furthermore, individuals of Asian descent are considered by many in the West to have non-agentic traits such as being submissive (Sy et al., 2010). Leader roles are ascribed agentic characteristics, which match those applied to Western (White) men (Schein, 1975; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989).

Social role theory was extended to role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) to explain resulting prejudice and discrimination in the event that roles combine or clash (e.g., women leaders or Asian American leaders). Women are incongruent with leader norms because women are characterized as communal, and not agentic. Furthermore, when women are in leadership positions and decide to display agentic characteristics (i.e., characteristics of

successful managers), then they become incongruent with gender norms for women. Eagly and Karau (2002) posited and found evidence for prejudice against women for violating both gender and leader norms (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Not only were women less preferred for leadership positions, but they were evaluated less favorably (as compared to men) when they enacted typical leader behaviors (i.e., filled leadership roles). This reflects the “backlash” agentic female leaders face, which is motivated by a desire to defend the traditional gender hierarchy (Rudman, 1998; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012).

Similarly, Asian American leaders are viewed as an incongruity between racial and leader roles. Hyun’s (2005) *Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling: Career Strategies for Asians* refers to the racism, stereotypes, and biases that prevent Asian Americans from rising to top leadership positions as the “bamboo ceiling”. Asian Americans are prescribed non-agentic characteristics, such as being submissive, nonconfrontational, and anti-social, which clashes with typical leadership traits like assertiveness and extraversion (Burris, Ayman, Che, & Min, 2013; Sy et al., 2010; Xin, 2004). Once reaching leadership positions, Asian Americans still face obstacles. Kawahara, Pal, and Chin (2013) interviewed Asian American leaders and found that navigating the stereotypes and perceptions of Asian Americans was a prominent part of their experience. Moreover, Gündemir, Carton, and Homan (2018) demonstrated a glass cliff effect, where Asian American leaders were more likely to be hired at failing companies.

To be explicit, the focus of this research is on Asian *American* individuals, and specifically Asian American women. Thus, this study is primarily focused on ethnically Asian individuals in Western, White-dominated spaces. While there is research supporting the notion that women are subjected to gender-based stereotypes and other unfair norms and social practices around the world (e.g., United Nations, Accessed Oct 24, 2019), we would not expect

that Asian individuals would face a role incongruity between their race/ethnicity and leadership positions in areas where Asian race/ethnicity is the majority. Instead this incongruence between Asian identities and leadership/agent traits is seen as related to Asian Americans' "model minority" status (Xin, 2004). The model minority stereotype paints Asian Americans as hard workers, but also lacking leadership qualities because they are stereotyped as more communal (due to the collectivistic nature of Asian cultures in comparison to Western cultures). Again, communal characteristics are not stereotypically considered as leadership traits in the West.

**Implicit leadership theories.** The leadership literature also supports the idea that often women and Asian Americans are rejected as leaders in the West. Individuals have impressions, or prototypes, of a typical leader, and the extent to which a possible leader matches these prototypes influences how likely that individual is to emerge as a leader (Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982). Leader prototypes are affected by the frequency with which certain characteristics are found in current leaders. Gender and race are among these factors. Women leaders are heavily underrepresented in upper management. For example, in 2018 only 4.8% of Fortune 500 CEOs were women (Zarya, 2018). By the frequency standard, being male is prototypical of leaders. Regarding race, Whites tend to represent the majority of top leaders in U.S. organizations (Jones, 2017); thus, being white may also be considered an aspect of a prototypical leader. Racial minorities in the U.S., such as Asian Americans, would be considered incongruent with a leader prototype based on frequency.

Thus, Asian American women as leaders represent a double role incongruity which is reflected in the severe lack of Asian American women in executive leadership positions in the West. A recent study by the Ascend Foundation (Gee & Peck, 2017) found that Asian women were least likely to become executives as compared to other women of color. To situate this

further, Asian Americans as a whole represent only 5% of executives (Hansen, 2018). Being an Asian American woman in leadership can then be thought of as a double-stigmatized identity and we can examine how cue transfer operates for this identity.

## HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

The goals of the current investigation were to (1) determine whether organizational identity cue transfer operates differently for single vs. double-stigmatized identities, (2) evaluate an alternative mediating mechanism for cue transfer (i.e., authenticity at work) and (3) investigate whether individuals possessing double-stigmatized identities will react differently to single vs. multiple identity safety cues. Study 1 consisted of two parts. In Study 1A, survey responses were gathered from Asian American women and Asian American men. In Study 1B, an almost identical survey was presented to Asian American women and White women. Participants were asked to imagine they are learning about a company in order to decide to what extent they would want to apply to a leadership position at that company. Figure 1 below shows a model of Study 1 hypotheses. In Study 2, a similar survey was used to gather responses from a sample of Asian American women while varying the type of identity safety cues presented. Figure 2 below shows a model of Study 2 hypotheses.

### **Study 1 Hypotheses**

Identity safety cues (e.g., minority representation) are predicted to lead to positive perceptions about being welcomed, supported, and valued in individuals with stigmatized identities (Davies et al., 2005). Purdie Vaughns et al. (2018) showed that identity safe environments possess cues that trigger expectations of social identity contingencies that in turn lead stigmatized individuals to perceive trust and comfort. So, the extent to which an individual believes he or she belongs in a work environment should also indicate identity safety.

Procedural justice refers to fairness in the processes an organization uses to arrive at outcomes such as hiring, firing, promoting, rewarding, etc. (Leventhal, Karuza, & Fry, 1980). In an identity safe environment, we would expect women and minority group members to perceive



that they and their fellow group members will be treated fairly at an organization (i.e., high procedural justice levels) as that would signal that they believe the organization values them.

We may also view person-organization fit as a part of an identity safe environment. Person-organization fit (P-O fit) refers to the extent to which an individual perceives that the organization aligns with one's goals and values (Cable & Judge, 1996). These perceptions affect job choice decisions (as in the Attraction-Selection-Attrition model; Schneider, 1987) and work attitudes (e.g., organizational commitment, likelihood to recommend the organization to others) once an employee enters into an organization (Cable & Judge, 1996).

Likewise, a similar, but distinct concept is attraction to the organization (Highhouse, Lievens, & Sinar, 2003), which refers to not just attitudes one has toward the organization but also intentions one has towards joining that organization (i.e., accepting a job there). It follows that individuals will be more attracted to organizations where they feel that they will be valued and welcomed. Thus, it was hypothesized that

*Hypothesis 1.* Identity safety cues are positively related to identity safety outcomes (i.e., greater anticipated feelings of belonging, greater perceptions of procedural justice, greater perceptions of anticipated P-O fit, and greater perceptions of attraction to the organization).

Other outcomes of identity safety cues are thought to be more proximal. According to the cue transfer phenomenon (Chaney et al., 2016), identity safety cues are related to perceived social dominance orientation (SDO) perceptions. Perceived SDO refers to others' perceptions of the extent to which an organization values the social hierarchy of groups (Chaney et al., 2016). Organizations that score low on perceived SDO would be thought of as supporting equal treatment of groups. The presence of identity safety cues should be associated with lower SDO

perceptions, as demonstrated by Chaney et al. (2016), because they signal that an individual will be welcomed and treated equally despite stigmatized group membership.

*Hypothesis 2.* Identity safety cues will be negatively related to perceived SDO.

This paper proposes that the presence of identity safety cues also signals an environment where one has the ability to be aware of and express one's true self. Thus, identity safety cues should be associated with greater (anticipated) perceptions of authenticity at work.

*Hypothesis 3.* Identity safety cues will be positively related to perceptions of authenticity at work.

Prior studies on identity safety cues have mostly focused on single-stigmatized identities (e.g., White women or Black men). However, according to intersectionality research, the double jeopardy hypothesis would posit that an individual with a double-stigmatized identity might anticipate greater discrimination on account of compounded negative effects for each identity. Greater perceptions of perceived SDO (i.e., endorsement of social inequality) and fewer perceptions of authenticity at work (i.e., the ability to be and express one's true self) would be associated with greater discrimination for disadvantaged groups. Thus, it seems likely that individuals with double-stigmatized identities would perceive higher levels of perceived SDO and lower levels of authenticity at work compared to single-stigmatized identities at an organization. Conversely, considering the ethnic prominence hypothesis leads us to infer that certain identity safety cues may lead double-stigmatized individuals to register levels of perceived SDO and authenticity at work similar to single-stigmatized individuals (e.g., a racial identity safety cue would signal reduced discrimination for Black women, but a gender cue may not since Black women do not prioritize gender discrimination, according to the ethnic prominence hypothesis). However, the literature also demonstrates negative consequences when *observers* perceive a double jeopardy effect (Deros et al., 2012; Rosette & Livingston, 2012), so

we might expect that double-stigmatized individuals would be more likely to take a double jeopardy perspective when anticipating discrimination. Thus, it was hypothesized that an individual's status as a single-stigmatized or double-stigmatized identity will interact with the relationships between identity safety cues and perceived SDO and authenticity at work.

*Hypothesis 4a.* Stigmatized status (single vs. double) will moderate the relationship between identity safety cues and perceived SDO such that the presence (vs. the absence) of an identity safety cue will be associated with a weaker negative relationship for double-stigmatized identities.

*Hypothesis 4b.* Stigmatized status (single vs. double) will moderate the relationship between identity safety cues and authenticity at work such that the presence (vs. the absence) of an identity safety cue will be associated with a weaker positive relationship for double-stigmatized identities.

Chaney et al. (2016) hypothesized and found evidence for perceived SDO of the organization (i.e., perceptions of the extent to which the organization values social hierarchy of groups) mediating cue-outcome relationships. This perception of the organization is thought to lead to generalized prejudice perceptions (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007), thus translating to the belief that if an organization is not prejudiced against one stigmatized group, then it may be more accepting of other groups (Chaney et al., 2016).

However, it is unknown whether perceived SDO would also mediate these relationships for double-stigmatized identities. This mechanism is not fully compatible for double jeopardy and ethnic prominence approaches as both imply that this would not happen in certain situations for double-stigmatized individuals. The double jeopardy perspective (Beale, 1979) would predict that cue transfer would not occur because individuals facing multiple stigmatizations would

anticipate being uniquely impacted by prejudice and discrimination. Therefore, the generalized prejudice perceptions of the organization that are thought to apply to other groups would not necessarily generalize to a double-stigmatized individual. The ethnic prominence perspective (Levin et al., 2002) would predict that cue transfer may occur, but only under certain circumstances (i.e., for women of color, cue transfer would occur if the cue was race-based, but it would not occur if the cue were gender-based). At the same time, it seems likely that perceptions of the extent to which an organization supports an SDO ideology may influence how individuals react to cues regardless of their stigmatized status (single vs. double). Therefore, it was hypothesized that:

*Hypothesis 5.* Perceived SDO of the organization will mediate the cue-outcome relationships for single-stigmatized identities.

And, a research question was posed:

*Research Question 1.* Will perceived SDO mediate the cue-outcome relationships for double-stigmatized identities?

In the current investigation, a competing mediator of cue-outcome relationships was introduced: perceptions of authenticity at work. Perceiving identity safety cues may lead individuals who possess stigmatized identities to believe that they will be able to express their true selves at the workplace if they were to join the organization. Because authenticity at work would be an explicit perception of the individual, rather than a generalized perception like perceived SDO, it is expected that mediation will occur for both single- and double-stigmatized identities.

*Hypothesis 6.* Perceptions of authenticity at work will mediate the cue-outcome relationships for all identities studied (i.e., Asian American women, Asian American men, and White women).

Differences between individuals who are similarly stigmatized are likely to manifest in differences in how those individuals react to identity safety cues. Specifically, there is variance in individuals' levels of stigma consciousness, or how sensitive one is to possible stereotyping or exposure to stigma (Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie-Vaughns, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002; Pinel, 1999). An individual's level of stigma consciousness (high vs. low) may affect the relationships between identity safety cues and perceived SDO and authenticity at work. Those who score highly on stigma consciousness may be less likely to register lower perceptions of SDO when presented with an identity safety cue. Additionally, because they are hyper-vigilant of potential effects of stigma, these individuals may also feel that they cannot be themselves at the organization (i.e., lower authenticity at work) even when presented with an identity safety cue. It was hypothesized that:

*Hypothesis 7a.* Stigma consciousness will moderate the relationship between identity safety cues and perceived SDO such that the presence (vs. the absence) of an identity safety cue will result in a weaker negative relationship for those high on stigma consciousness.

*Hypothesis 7b.* Stigma consciousness will moderate the relationship between identity safety cues and authenticity at work such that the presence (vs. the absence) of an identity safety cue will result in a weaker positive relationship for those high on stigma consciousness.

## **Study 2 Hypotheses**

The second study investigated whether individuals possessing double-stigmatized identities react differently to cues that tap more than one type of stigma at a time (e.g., racial and gender, rather than just racial or gender stigma)<sup>1</sup>. This second study employed a sample of Asian American women.

While the following factors could have been encompassed in Study 1 (i.e., this investigation could have consisted of only one, fully-crossed study), these factors and the questions asked are only pertinent to the identity group that is double-stigmatized (i.e., Asian American women). Asking White women participants to respond to multiple identity safety cues that tap gender and race would not be helpful because their race is not a stigmatized identity (in the West). Similarly, for Asian American men, their gender is not a stigmatized identity. For example, Chaney et al. (2016) found that White men did not perceive any differences in identity safety outcomes when presented with gender and racial identity safety cues versus cues irrelevant to social identities. They suggested that this was because White men are not stigmatized on these dimensions and therefore do not perceive personal benefits from these cues. In fact, Dover, Major, and Kaiser (2016) reported that identity safety cues (i.e., pro-diversity statements) triggered threat towards White individuals rather than safety. Thus, it seems most useful to conduct this experiment with a sample of Asian American women.

Hypothesis 1 in Study 1 stated that identity safety cues would be positively related to identity safety outcomes. Study 2 extends this second hypothesis by examining additional types of cues beyond just racial or just gender identity safety cues. Study 2 did not include a control (no cue) condition.

In light of the double jeopardy hypothesis (Beale, 1979), and the supporting double jeopardy perspective of observers (e.g., Rosette & Livingston, 2012), it follows that the perception of identity safety cues that match each of the multiple identities of multiply stigmatized individuals will have a greater positive effect on cue-outcome relationships as compared to identity safety cues that only match a single dimension of stigmatization. So, identity safety cues that only tap race *or* gender should result in less advantageous outcomes than identity safety cues that tap both race and gender stigmatizations.

*Hypothesis 8a.* Cue conditions that tap both dimensions of stigmatization (race and gender) will result in lower levels of perceived SDO compared to cue conditions that tap only one dimension.

*Hypothesis 8b.* Cue conditions that tap both dimensions of stigmatization (race and gender) will result in higher levels of authenticity at work compared to cue conditions that tap only one dimension.

Identity safety cues that tap both race and gender could take the form of a double cue, where both a racial cue and a gender cue are presented separately (e.g., one company award for racial diversity and one for gender diversity), or they could take the form of an intersected cue, where the racial and gender cues are presented together (e.g., company awards that are specifically for Asian American women). In line with the double jeopardy hypothesis (Beale, 1979), the intersected cue would result in more positive cue outcomes because it acknowledges Asian American women's experiences explicitly.

*Hypothesis 9a.* An intersected cue will result in lower levels of perceived SDO compared to a double cue (i.e., two separate cues for race and gender identities).

*Hypothesis 9b.* An intersected cue will result in higher levels of authenticity at work compared to a double cue (i.e., two separate cues for race and gender identities).

It was expected that individual differences on stigma consciousness would affect relationships between identity safety cue conditions and perceived SDO and authenticity at work such that individuals high on stigma consciousness would experience the most advantageous outcomes in the intersected cue condition. This follows from the double jeopardy hypothesis and Pietri et al.'s (2018) study. It was also expected that individuals high on stigma consciousness would report outcomes that are less advantageous compared to individuals low on stigma consciousness in all other cue conditions. Individuals who are high on stigma consciousness are more aware of the potential of stereotyping and stigmatization (Pinel, 1999). This may lead them to be less trusting of identity safety cues that do not explicitly apply to their multiple stigmatized identities.

*Hypothesis 10a.* Stigma consciousness will interact with identity safety cues such that individuals high on stigma consciousness will register lower perceived SDO scores in the intersected cue condition while registering higher perceived SDO scores in all other conditions compared to individuals low on stigma consciousness.

*Hypothesis 10b.* Stigma consciousness will interact with identity safety cues such that individuals high on stigma consciousness will register higher authenticity at work scores in the intersected cue condition while registering lower anticipated authenticity scores in all other conditions compared to individuals low on stigma consciousness



## PILOT STUDIES

Prior to collecting data for the planned studies, each survey was pilot tested using Michigan State University's HPR SONA student participant pool. The purpose of the pilot testing was to detect any problems with the structure of the survey, to determine the readability of the survey instructions, and to determine whether most respondents were able to recall the study manipulation (i.e., what type of business is the company?; which award(s) does the company hold?). In the consent form, student participants were informed that they would receive 0.5 credit hours for the 15-30 minutes they spent responding to the survey.

In the pilot survey for Study 1A, 10 complete responses from Asian American men were gathered ( $M_{age} = 19.40$ ,  $SD = .84$ ). Initial open-ended responses to the company descriptions indicated that participants understood the information being presented (e.g., "As an organization that has multiple awards, my initial thought process about applying for the marketing position would be fear of being under qualified for the position...."). All participants correctly identified the type of business the company was. Four out of five participants in the racial identity safety cue condition correctly recalled the award the company held. An error in survey construction was uncovered in the no cue condition, so the manipulation check was not correctly recorded for these participants.

In the pilot survey for Study 1B, 10 complete responses from White women were recorded ( $M_{age} = 20.00$ ,  $SD = 1.49$ ). Again, the open-ended responses indicated an understanding of the company information and all participants correctly recalled the industry of the company. Three out of five participants in the gender identity safety cue condition correctly recalled the award, and an error in survey construction prevented conclusions about the no cue condition manipulation check.

For the pilot survey of Study 2, eleven complete responses from Asian American women were recorded ( $M_{age} = 19.73$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ). The open-ended response item indicated an understanding of the directions and all participants correctly identified the company's industry. Eight of the eleven participants correctly recalled the award they were shown.

In all pilot surveys, the multiple-choice item for the cue manipulation check included 3 unique options as well as a fourth option, "Options A and B". As a result of the pilot outcomes, it was decided that the manipulation check for cue condition would be simplified to two choices in each survey.

## STUDY 1 METHOD

The first study was comprised of two parts. In Study 1A, a 2 (Asian American women vs. Asian American men) x 2 (racial identity safety cue vs. no cue) between-subjects factorial experimental design investigated how participants reacted to a company that has received racial diversity awards (i.e., racial identity safety cue) versus not being presented with this information. Participants were also told to imagine that they were applying to a leadership position at this company.

Similarly, in Study 1B, a 2 (Asian American women vs. White women) x 2 (gender identity safety cue vs. no cue) between-subjects factorial experimental design was used to investigate how participants react to knowing that a company has received a gender diversity award (i.e., gender identity safety cue) versus being given no information about this, in light of the fact that they were imagining applying to a leadership position at that company.

A power analysis using G\*Power version 3.1 software (Faul, Erdfeller, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) indicated that 128 participants would be needed for Study 1A and 1B *each* (given 80% power for a medium effect size at .05 statistical significance).

Chaney et al. (2016) also used diversity awards to represent identity safety cues, citing Dove, Major, and Kaiser (2014) who showed that diversity awards led to greater perceptions of the organization's respectful and fair treatment of minorities. Their study also showed this effect for minority participants. In addition, corporate awards in general are accolades that many companies strive for and proudly display in a bid to increase recognition and credibility. It has been shown that companies with such awards generate greater stock values (Hendricks & Singhal, 2001), which supports the idea that awards are important mechanisms by which companies can signal their values to outsiders. In the current studies, diversity awards are also an

aspect that organizational outsiders (i.e., job applicants) would feasibly have information about through a company's website or other recruiting materials. While this information is limited, it is presumably what many real-life job applicants would use to make judgments as outsiders of the organization.

## **Participants**

Besides meeting racial and gender requirements (i.e., Asian American women, Asian American men, White women), participants were required to be 18 years or older, have resided in the U.S. 10 years or more, and be at least moderately proficient in the English language. Participant data was collected via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) for Studies 1A and 1B. Samples of MTurk workers have been demonstrated to have comparable, or greater, quality in terms of diversity, reliability, and attention to instructions as compared to more traditional data samples (e.g., U.S. college students; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010). Additionally, prescreening questions (See Appendix A), attention checks, and manipulation checks were used to better guarantee a sample that was generalizable to the appropriate groups, that properly understood the task, and that was engaged with the task. MTurk workers received \$1.25 USD each for their participation in this online survey. The survey was estimated to take 15 minutes to complete, resulting in an hourly wage rate of \$5.00 USD.

**Study 1A.** After attention and manipulation checks were used to filter the data, the sample analyzed for Study 1A was  $N = 81$  participants (60.5% male). This final dataset was 44% of the original sample collected. Participants were required to identify as male or female to qualify for the survey. All participants identified as Asian American as this was also a requirement (though they could identify as multiple races at the end of the survey). As such, 42% identified as Far East Asian, 13.6% as North Asian, 46.9% as Southeast Asian, 1.2% as Asian -

Indian subcontinent, and 4.9% as African American, Hispanic or Latino/a, or White. A majority (65.4%) were native-born U.S. citizens, 16% were immigrants or naturalized citizens, and 18.5% were green card holders or long-term residents of the U.S. for 10 years or more. All participants reported that English was their native language (77.8%) or that they were highly proficient in English (22.2%). The mean age of the sample was 30.72 ( $SD = 6.47$ ) years. Most (86.4%) identified as heterosexual/straight. Lastly, 80.2% of participants answered that they are full-time employees, 17.3% as part-time employees, and 2.5% as unemployed.

**Study 1B.** For Study 1B, the total sample analyzed after manipulation and attention checks were used to filter the data was  $N = 246$  participants (63% of the original sample). Participants were required to indicate their gender as female to be eligible for the survey. Most (81.3%) participants identified as primarily White, while 19.5% identified as Asian American. Participants were able to check multiple racial/ethnic identities at the end of the survey. Of participants who identified primarily as White, 3% indicated another race (African American, Far East Asian, North Asian, Asian – Indian subcontinent, Native American/American Indian/Alaskan Native, Middle Eastern – Middle East, or Middle Eastern – North Africa). Of participants who identified primarily as Asian, 52.2% were Far East Asian, 13% North Asian, 34.8% Southeast Asian, 4.3% Asian – Indian subcontinent, and 4.4% White or African American. Most White female participants (97%) were native-born U.S. citizens and indicated English as their native language (98%). Of Asian American women participants, 52.1% were native-born U.S. citizens, 29.2% were immigrants or naturalized citizens, and 18.8% were green card holders or long-term U.S. residents of 10 years or more. Nearly all Asian American women participants indicated that English was their native language (68.8%) or that they were highly proficient in English (29.2%). Mean age in the total sample was 37.39 ( $SD = 11.67$ ) years. Most

(84.4%) participants in the total sample indicated they were heterosexual/straight. Lastly, most participants in the total sample were also full-time employees (68.7%; part-time = 18.3%, unemployed = 12.6%).

## **Procedure**

Both Study 1A and 1B followed the same procedure, only the participant sample and the content of the identity safety cue changed. After passing prescreening questions (see Appendix A), participants read an informed consent page and were told their continued participation was consent to participate (see Appendix B for the informed consent page). Then, participants were asked to read about a company to determine whether they would want to apply to a leadership position there (i.e., Director of Marketing; See Appendix C). They were presented with background information on this company (e.g., it is part of the marketing sector) as well as awards the company has accrued (See Appendices D and E). Some of these awards were irrelevant to the focus social groups (e.g., Best Customer Service Award) while others were manipulations. Participants in Study 1A were randomly assigned to the racial identity safety cue condition or the no safety cue condition. In the racial identity safety cue condition, participants saw that the company was awarded a racial diversity award (e.g., “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives; modeled after Chaney et al., 2016). In the no safety cue condition, participants only saw awards that were irrelevant to social groups. Similarly, participants in Study 1B were randomly assigned to the gender identity safety cue condition or the no safety cue condition. In the gender identity safety cue condition, participants were informed that the company was awarded a gender diversity award (e.g., “One of America’s Top Companies for Executive Women” by the National Association for Female Executives—used in Chaney et al., 2016 and

Kaiser, Major, Jurcevic, Dover, Brady, & Shapiro, 2013). Those in the no safety cue condition viewed company awards that were not associated with a social identity. After seeing the company awards, participants were presented with a job description for Director of Marketing (developed using Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; Workable.com, n.d.; See Appendix F). They were then asked to answer a series of measures pertaining to their anticipated feelings of belonging, the procedural fairness of the company, perceptions of anticipated P-O fit, to what extent the company is perceived as promoting social hierarchy (perceived SDO), their anticipated authenticity at work if they were to join the company, and manipulation and attention checks (See Appendix G for measures and items). Finally, participants were presented with a debriefing form, informing them of the purpose of the study and counseling resources (See Appendix H).

## **Measures**

Study 1A and 1B employed the same measures, though manipulation checks were tailored to specific cue conditions (i.e., racial vs. gender). Please see the appendices at the end for full scales (Appendix G).

**Cue condition.** In Study 1A, participants were either presented with a racial identity safety cue or no identity safety cue. Likewise, in Study 1B, participants were either presented with a gender identity safety cue or no identity safety cue. In MANOVA analyses, cue condition was dummy coded (1 = cue present, 0 = no cue). In regression analyses, cue condition was effect coded (1 = cue present, -1 = no cue present).

**Stigmatized status.** Stigmatized status was determined via the participants' demographics. Individuals who primarily identified as Asian American males or White females were considered single-stigmatized identities, as either their race *or* gender are considered

stigmatized in Western society, but not both. Individuals who identified as Asian American females were considered double-stigmatized identities, as both their race and gender are stigmatized in the U.S. Stigmatized status was dummy coded for MANOVA analyses (i.e., in 1 = double-stigmatized, 0 = single-stigmatized). For regression analyses, double-stigmatized identities were coded as 1 and single-stigmatized identities were coded as -1, as part of an effect coding scheme.

**Anticipated feelings of belonging.** The extent to which participants anticipated feeling like they would belong at the organization was measured using an adapted version of the 9-item social and academic fit scale by Cook et al. (2012; originally developed for school children and reflects social belonging and potential success). Their scale used a 6-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 6 = *strongly agree*) with no mid-point. In the current study participants only completed the 5-item social fit dimension of this scale ( $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .77$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .90$ ). A sample item from Cook et al. (2012) is “People in my school accept me.” The wording was adapted to refer to a workplace context.

**Procedural justice.** The extent to which participants perceived that the organization would be procedurally fair was measured using the procedural justice scale developed by Colquitt, Long, Rodell, and Halvorsen-Ganepola (2015) which distinguishes between justice (fairness) and injustice (violation of fairness). The assessment consists of 14 items and uses a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*To a very small extent*) to 5 (*To a very large extent*). A couple of sample items that demonstrate the justice/injustice dimensions are, “Are you able to express your views during those procedures?” versus “Do your views go unheard during those procedures? (reverse coded)” The wording of these items was adapted to reflect the fact that participants were asked for *anticipated* procedural fairness perceptions as they were potentially



applying to work at this company in the scenario. After reverse scoring the injustice items, the reliabilities were acceptable,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .84$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .90$ .

**Person-organization fit.** The extent to which participants perceived that their personal attributes and values were congruent with those of the organization was assessed using a 3-item measure by Cable and Judge (1996;  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .84$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .96$ ) on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *completely*). A sample item is “To what degree do you feel your values ‘match’ or fit this organization and the current employees in this organization?”

**Attraction to the Organization.** The extent to which an individual was generally attracted to, has intentions to pursue a job with, and believes in the prestige of the organization was assessed with a 15-item measure for organizational attractiveness from Highhouse et al. (2003) on 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Sample items from the three dimensions (attraction, intention to pursue, and prestige) include “For me, this company would be a great place to work,” “I would accept a job offer from this company,” and “Employees are proud to say they work at this company.” The reliability for the entire measure was calculated as one dimension resulting in relatively high internal consistency,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .93$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .95$ .

**Perceived social dominance orientation (SDO).** The extent to which participants perceived that the organization promotes social hierarchy (i.e., unequal groups) was measured using the 16-item Social Dominance Orientation scale by Pratto et al. (1994;  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .93$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .96$ ). A sample item is “Inferior groups should stay in their place.” Participants were asked to answer these questions from the vantage point of a current manager at the company. Thus, the response scale was 1 (*A manager would strongly oppose*) through 7 (*A manager would strongly favor*). This is similar to the method used in Chaney et al. (2016).

**Authenticity at work (situational authenticity).** The extent to which participants anticipated the ability to be their true selves at work in the organization was measured using van den Bosch and Taris' (2014) 12-item Individual Authenticity Measure at Work ( $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .85$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .88$ ) where a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *does not describe me at all*, 7 = *describes me very well*) was used. A sample item is "I am true to myself at work in most situations." These items and the response scale were adapted to reflect the fact that participants were asked to imagine themselves potentially working at this company.

**Stigma consciousness for gender and race.** The extent to which participants are sensitive to possible prejudice or discrimination based on their identity (gender, race, or gender-race combined) was measured similarly to the study by Pietri et al. (2018). Pietri et al. (2018) took five items from Pinel (1999) and adapted them to fit the identity being emphasized (i.e., woman/Black individual/Black woman). A sample item used was "Stereotypes about women [Black people] [Black women] have not affected me personally" (reverse coded). In this study, these measures were replicated using pertinent identities (Asian American, woman). Participants were asked to answer one of the 5-item measures on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). In Study 1A, participants received a stigma consciousness measure for race/ethnicity (specifically Asian American identity;  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .72$ ). In Study 1B, participants received a stigma consciousness measure for gender (women;  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .83$ ). Stigma consciousness was measured after all other key variables.

**Manipulation and attention checks.** Participants completed several items to indicate whether they realized which cues were presented to them. They were asked random response questions (e.g., Choose 'strongly agree') amongst scale items to ensure they were reading carefully. Participants who failed to correctly answer manipulation and attention checks were

excluded from analyses. Participants were also excluded if answers to an open-ended question (“...please describe your initial thoughts about the organization and the job position”) appeared to be nonsensical.

**Demographics.** Participants were initially screened for race, gender, age (18+ years), length of residency in the U.S., and proficiency in English language in order to qualify for the study. At the end of the survey, participants were asked for their exact age, gender identity, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity (check all that apply), and employment status.

### **Other Measures**

The following measures were added as variables for exploratory analyses after hypotheses were formulated.

**Trait authenticity (dispositional authenticity).** Authenticity can also be conceptualized as a personal disposition or trait. One’s authenticity as an individual difference was measured using Wood et al.’s (2008) 12-item dispositional authenticity scale ( $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .87$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .89$ ), with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *does not describe me at all*, 7 = *describes me very well*). A sample item is “I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.”

**Acculturation.** Acculturation refers to the extent to which an individual adopts another culture, often the host-culture. The acculturation measure by Chung, Kim, and Abreu (2004) is a three-dimensional measure focusing on acculturation toward the culture of (1) one’s country of origin, (2) Asian American culture broadly, and (3) European-American culture. Chung et al. (2004) claim that unidimensional scales treat acculturation as a “zero-sum process” where adopting parts of another culture implies discarding parts of one’s original culture. Including a dimension of acculturation toward one’s country of origin allows for representation of biculturation wherein individuals can hold aspects of both cultures at once. Chung et al. (2004)

also include a third dimension (i.e., pan-Asian American culture) to reflect the existence of pan-ethnic culture (in the U.S.) emerging from categorization by the majority group (i.e., the majority group treating all Asian American cultures as a monolith). The current study used the original 6-point scale, 1 = not very much to 6 = very much. The original measure used 15 items, but the current study used a relevant subset of 10 of these items. A sample item is “How much do you actually practice the traditions and keep the holidays of the following groups? [Your culture of origin, Other Asian Americans, European Americans]. For acculturation toward one’s country of origin the reliabilities were acceptable,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .85$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .78$ . For acculturation toward Asian Americans broadly the reliabilities were also within standards,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .81$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .84$ . For acculturation towards European Americans the reliabilities were  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .79$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .84$ . In Study 1B, White women participants did not fill out the acculturation measures.

**Perceived workplace flexibility.** This variable was intended to measure a construct that would be unrelated to cue condition (i.e., the predictor) in this study in order to establish discriminant validity. This 2-item measure was originally used by Jones, Scoville, Hill, Childs, Leishman, and Nally (2008) with a 4-point scale, 1 = none to 4 = a large degree of control. A slightly adapted sample item is “If you were to work at Smith & Johnson, how much control do you think you would have over...WHEN you would be able to work.” The reliabilities were as follows:  $\alpha_{\text{Study1A}} = .77$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{Study1B}} = .75$ .

## STUDY 1 RESULTS

### Study 1A Results

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of variables are displayed in Table 1. Notably, the identity safety outcome variables (feelings of belonging, procedural justice, P-O fit, and attraction to organization) were highly intercorrelated (.41 to .77). An exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring was conducted with items from all four outcome variable measures. Based on eigenvalues greater than 1.0, eight factors were extracted accounting for 75% of the variance. The first 4 factors accounted for 60% of the variance explained. Additionally, when examining the factor loadings, a majority of the 37 items loaded onto the first 4 factors strongly, while the latter 4 factors only had zero to 2 items primarily loading onto each of them, in no discernable pattern. Moreover, the sample size for Study 1B ( $N = 246$ ) was much larger compared to Study 1A ( $N = 81$ ). An EFA conducted with Study 1B data yielded 4 factors based on eigenvalues greater than 1.0. Thus, in an effort to align both studies, the analyses for Study 1A proceeded for the four outcome variables as planned.

Multivariate ANOVA was conducted to determine whether there were statistically significant relationships between cue condition (i.e., presence of a racial safety cue vs. no cue), stigmatized status (Asian American woman vs. Asian American man), and outcomes (feelings of belonging, procedural justice, PO fit, attraction to the organization). Feelings of belonging [ $F(1,75) = .10$ ,  $MSE = .08$ ,  $p = .754$ ], procedural justice [ $F(1,75) = .14$ ,  $MSE = .06$ ,  $p = .711$ ], P-O fit [ $F(1,75) = .18$ ,  $MSE = .13$ ,  $p = .669$ ], and attraction to the organization [ $F(1,75) = .67$ ,  $MSE = .29$ ,  $p = .417$ ], were not significantly different by condition. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported. Table 2 displays mean outcomes by conditions and  $t$ -tests between conditions. Note

that the means in Table 2 may be slightly different than those presented in the text, as MANOVA statistics are presented in the text while *t*-test statistics are presented in Table 2.

Furthermore, there were no significant differences for feelings of belonging [ $F(1,75) = .72, MSE = .57, p = .398$ ], procedural justice [ $F(1,75) = .05, MSE = .02, p = .817$ ], P-O fit [ $F(1,75) = .01, MSE = .01, p = .927$ ], and attraction to the organization [ $F(1,75) = .19, MSE = .08, p = .667$ ] by stigmatized identity of the participant. There were also no significant interactions between cue condition and stigmatized identity based on MANOVA analyses [feelings of belonging:  $F(1,75) = .11, MSE = .00, p = .741$ ; procedural justice:  $F(1,75) = .00, MSE = .00, p = .959$ ; P-O fit:  $F(1,75) = .01, MSE = .01, p = .931$ ; attraction to organization:  $F(1,75) = .69, MSE = .29, p = .410$ ]. Please refer to Table 2 for mean variable scores by condition as well as independent *t*-test results between the two cue conditions and genders.

While not hypothesized, independent *t*-test results indicated that participants in the cue condition reported significantly [ $t(79) = 3.04, p = .003$ ] higher levels of stigma consciousness for race ( $M = 3.02, SD = .77$ ) compared to those in the ‘no cue’ condition ( $M = 2.47, SD = .84$ ). This result could be expected given that participants in the cue condition were shown a racial identity safety cue and then asked to answer stigma consciousness items at the end of the survey.

A second MANOVA was conducted to establish relationships between cue condition, stigmatized status, and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work; see Table 2 for means by condition). Neither the cue–perceived SDO link [ $F(1,78) = .08, MSE = .14, p = .780$ ] nor the cue–authenticity at work link [ $F(1,78) = .03, MSE = .03, p = .872$ ] was significant. Perceived SDO [ $F(1,78) = 1.55, MSE = 2.70, p = .217$ ] and authenticity at work [ $F(1,78) = .02, MSE = .02, p = .894$ ] did not significantly differ by stigmatized identity as well, and neither were there any significant interactions between cue condition and stigmatized identity using

MANOVA [perceived SDO:  $F(1,78) = .55$ ,  $MSE = .96$ ,  $p = .459$ ; authenticity at work:  $F(1,78) = .23$ ,  $MSE = .27$ ,  $p = .632$ ]. Thus, Hypotheses 2 and 3 were not supported.

Hypothesis 4a proposed that stigmatized status (single vs. double) would moderate the relationship between identity safety cues and perceived SDO such that the relationship strength would be attenuated for double-stigmatized identities. A hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition, stigmatized status, Step 2: interaction term; both predictors were effect coded) revealed that the interaction between stigmatized status and cue condition was not significant,  $b = .11$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $p = .470$ . Hypothesis 4a was not supported (see Table 3). Similarly, Hypothesis 4b proposed that stigmatized status would moderate the relationship between safety cues and authenticity at work such that the relationship would be attenuated for double-stigmatized identities. Another hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition, stigmatized status, Step 2: interaction term; both predictors were effect coded) was conducted and the interaction term was not significant,  $b = -.07$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $p = .592$ . So, Hypothesis 4b was not supported. See Table 3 for this set of regression analyses as well.

Analyses for Hypothesis 5a, Research Question 1, and Hypothesis 6 were not pursued because neither perceived SDO nor authenticity at work had a significant relationship with cue condition based on the initial MANOVA.

Hypothesis 7a stated that racial stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between cue condition and perceived SDO such that this relationship would be attenuated for those high on racial stigma consciousness. A hierarchical regression (Block 1: cue condition, racial stigma consciousness, Block 2: interaction term; cue condition was effect coded, racial stigma consciousness was grand mean-centered) determined the interaction between racial stigma consciousness and cue condition was not significant,  $b = .06$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $p = .732$ .

Hypothesis 7a was not supported (see Table 4 for further statistics). Notably, the main effect of racial stigma consciousness predicting perceived SDO was marginally significant ( $b = -.35$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $p = .05$ ). This relationship suggests that greater awareness of racial stigma in general predicted lower perceived SDO of the company. That is, one's awareness of racial stigma made it more likely that he/she would score the company as valuing group hierarchy to a lesser extent.

Hypothesis 7b stated that racial stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between cue condition and authenticity at work such this relationship would be attenuated for those high on racial stigma consciousness. A hierarchical regression (Block 1: cue condition, racial stigma consciousness, Block 2: interaction term; cue condition was effect coded, racial stigma consciousness was grand mean-centered) determined the stigma consciousness by cue condition interaction was not significant,  $b = .03$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $p = .860$ . Hypothesis 7b was not supported. See Table 4 for these regression coefficients.

### **Study 1A Exploratory Analyses**

Trait authenticity, acculturation, and perceived workplace flexibility were measured but relationships were not hypothesized. See Table 5 for variable means by condition for trait authenticity and acculturation.

Trait authenticity, an individual difference, was positioned as a moderator of the link between cue condition and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work), similar to stigmatized status. A hierarchical regression with steps very similar to Hypothesis 7 displayed no significant interaction effects (cue condition was effect coded, trait authenticity was grand mean-centered), but trait authenticity remained a significant predictor of both perceived SDO ( $b = -.52$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $p = .000$ ) and authenticity at work ( $b = .74$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $p = .000$ ), after accounting for the nonsignificant interaction effects. Specifically, predisposition toward being authentic led



individuals to perceive lower SDO and higher authenticity at work. This latter result is unsurprising given that we would expect trait authenticity to predict one's authenticity in the workplace. See Table 6 for these regression analyses.

Acculturation was also analyzed as a moderator of the relationship between cue condition and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work) using hierarchical regression with steps similar to Hypothesis 7 (cue condition was effect coded, acculturation dimensions were each grand mean-centered). Each cultural dimension of acculturation (country of origin, Asian Americans, European Americans) was analyzed in a separate regression equation. Of the six equations, the only significant *main* effect was that acculturation for one's country of origin significantly predicted perceived SDO ( $b = -.43$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $p = .008$ ) in the presence of the interaction term (See Table 7). That is, being more acculturated toward one's country of origin was associated with lower perceptions of SDO for the company, meaning individuals felt the company was promoting group hierarchy (group inequality) to a lesser extent.

The only significant *interaction* effect was found in the regression equation where cue condition and acculturation for European American culture predicted authenticity at work ( $b = .35$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $p = .026$ ; See Table 8 and Figure 3). Simple slopes showed that individuals *highly* acculturated toward European American (Western) culture who saw the racial identity safety cue were more likely to believe they could be authentic in the imagined workplace compared to individuals also highly acculturated toward European American culture but who did not see an identity safety cue. In a reversal of this pattern, individuals *low* on acculturation toward European American culture who saw the racial identity safety cue were less likely to perceive authenticity at work compared to individuals also low on acculturation for European American culture who did not see a racial cue. Put another way, being presented with a racial identity

safety cue (vs. not) led individuals highly immersed in Western culture to perceive they could be themselves at the workplace to a greater extent. On the other hand, being presented with a racial identity safety cue (vs. not) led individuals who were less immersed in Western culture to perceive less ability to be themselves at work.

Perceived workplace flexibility was not analyzed because the other outcomes in this study did not differ by cue condition. As a result, there was no need to use this variable to establish discriminant validity.

### **Study 1B Results**

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of variables are displayed in Table 9. As in Study 1A, the identity safety outcome variables in Study 1B were highly intercorrelated. An exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring of items from all four measures extracted four factors based on eigenvalues greater than 1.0 that accounted for 70% of the variance, so analyses for the original four outcome variables proceeded as planned.

Multivariate ANOVA was conducted to determine whether there were statistically significant relationships between cue condition (i.e., presence of a gender safety cue vs. no cue), stigmatized status (Asian American woman vs. White woman), and outcomes (feelings of belonging, procedural justice, attraction to the organization). Only feelings of belonging [ $F(1,221) = 4.76, MSE = 4.55, p = .030$ ] was significantly different by cue condition, while procedural justice [ $F(1,221) = 3.16, MSE = 1.43, p = .077$ ], P-O fit [ $F(1,221) = 2.75, MSE = 2.52, p = .099$ ], and attraction to the organization [ $F(1,221) = 1.57, MSE = .76, p = .211$ ] were not significantly different by cue condition. Mean feelings of belonging were higher in the gender safety cue condition ( $M = 4.75, SD = .93$ ) compared to the no cue condition ( $M = 4.50, SD = 1.02$ ). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was partially supported. Additionally, procedural justice

perceptions based on stigmatized status (Asian American woman vs. White woman) were significantly different [ $F(1,221) = 7.81, MSE = 3.55, p = .006$ ] such that Asian American women ( $M = 3.55, SD = .63$ ) perceived lower procedural justice compared to White women ( $M = 3.87, SD = .67$ ). Feelings of belonging [ $F(1,221) = .95, MSE = .91, p = .331$ ], P-O fit [ $F(1,221) = .11, MSE = .10, p = .743$ ], and attraction to the organization [ $F(1,221) = .26, MSE = .13, p = .608$ ] did not show significant differences by stigmatized status in the multivariate analyses. Based on MANOVA, there were no significant interaction effects for cue condition by stigmatized identity [feelings of belonging:  $F(1,221) = 1.24, MSE = 1.18, p = .267$ ; procedural justice:  $F(1,221) = 1.16, MSE = .53, p = .282$ ; PO fit:  $F(1,221) = .90, MSE = .83, p = .343$ ; attraction to the organization:  $F(1,221) = 1.49, MSE = .72, p = .224$ ]. Mean scores for variables by condition are displayed in Table 10 as well as independent *t*-test statistics between cue conditions and race. Note that the means in Table 10 may be slightly different than those presented in the text, as MANOVA statistics are presented in the text while *t*-test statistics are presented in Table 10.

A second MANOVA was conducted to establish relationships between cue condition, stigmatized status, and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work). Only authenticity at work was significantly different by cue condition [ $F(1,235) = 4.50, MSE = 5.15, p = .035$ ]. Mean authenticity at work was higher for individuals presented with the gender safety cue ( $M = 5.09, SD = 1.02$ ) than for those presented with no cue ( $M = 4.79, SD = 1.14$ ). Hypothesis 2 was not confirmed, but Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. Additionally, authenticity at work was significantly different by stigmatized identity [ $F(1,235) = 7.76, MSE = 8.87, p = .006$ ]. Mean authenticity at work was lower for Asian American women compared ( $M = 4.56, SD = 1.05$ ) to White women ( $M = 5.03, SD = 1.08$ ). The interaction effects for cue condition by stigmatized

identity predicting perceived SDO and authenticity at work were not significant [perceived SDO:  $F(1,235) = .93$ ,  $MSE = 1.87$ ,  $p = .337$ ; authenticity at work:  $F(1,235) = .30$ ,  $MSE = .34$ ,  $p = .586$ ].

Hypothesis 4a proposed that stigmatized status (single vs. double) would moderate the relationship between safety cues and perceived SDO such that the relationship strength would be attenuated for double-stigmatized identities. A hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition, stigmatized status, Step 2: interaction term; both predictors were effect coded) revealed that the interaction between stigmatized status and cue condition was not significant ( $b = -.12$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $p = .361$ ). Hypothesis 4a was not supported. See Table 11 for these regression statistics.

Hypothesis 4b proposed that stigmatized status would moderate the relationship between safety cues and authenticity at work such that the relationship would be attenuated for double-stigmatized identities. Another hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition, stigmatized status, Step 2: interaction term; both predictors were effect coded) was conducted to determine whether the interaction between stigmatized status and cue condition would significantly predict authenticity at work. Hypothesis 4b was not supported as the interaction term was not significant ( $b = .06$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .489$ ). See Table 11 for the full results. Both cue condition ( $b = .18$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .041$ ) and stigmatized status ( $b = -.25$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .005$ ) remained significant predictors after adding the interaction term in step 2. This aligns with the MANOVA results above.

Hypothesis 5a and the research question were not considered because perceived SDO did not have a significant relationship with cue condition based on the MANOVA.

Hypothesis 6 stated that authenticity at work would mediate the relationship between cue condition (dummy coded) and various identity safety variables. Mediation analyses using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS Macro SPSS syntax for Model 4 were conducted for the identity safety variable that had a significant relationship with cue condition in Hypothesis 1 (feelings of

belonging; see Table 12). Authenticity at work was a significant mediator (i.e., no zero in the 95% confidence interval) of the relationship between cue condition and feelings of belonging ( $b = .13$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $CI = .003, .277$ ). After accounting for the indirect effect, the direct effect contained a zero in the confidence interval ( $b = .12$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $CI = -.09, .34$ ), indicating that anticipated authenticity fully mediated the link between cue condition—feelings of belonging. Approximately, 28% of the variance was accounted for by the mediator ( $R^2 = .28$ ).

Hypothesis 7a stated that gender stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between cue condition and perceived SDO such that this relationship would be attenuated for those high on gender stigma consciousness. A hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition – effect coded at 1 = cue present, -1 = no cue, gender stigma consciousness – grand mean-centered, Step 2: interaction term) determined the interaction between gender stigma consciousness and cue condition was not significant ( $b = -.02$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .830$ ). Hypothesis 7a was not supported. Please see Table 13 for full results.

H7b stated that gender stigma consciousness would moderate the relationship between cue condition and authenticity at work such this relationship would be attenuated for those high on gender stigma consciousness. A hierarchical regression (Step 1: cue condition – effect coded at 1 = cue present, -1 = no cue, stigma consciousness – grand mean-centered, Step 2: interaction term) determined the stigma consciousness by cue condition interaction was not significant ( $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $p = .532$ ). Hypothesis 7b was not supported. See Table 13 for full results.

### **Study 1B Exploratory Analyses**

Although relationships were not hypothesized, trait authenticity, acculturation, and perceived workplace flexibility variables were measured. Please refer to Table 14 for means scores for trait authenticity and acculturation by condition, as well as  $t$ -tests for differences

between conditions. Only trait authenticity exhibited a significant difference between racial groups. Asian American women ( $M = 5.12$ ,  $SD = 1.18$ ) registered significantly lower trait authenticity scores than White women [ $M = 5.64$ ,  $SD = .90$ ;  $t(239) = -3.37$ ,  $p = .001$ ].

As an individual difference, trait authenticity was analyzed as a moderator of the link between cue condition and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work) using hierarchical regression with steps very similar to Hypothesis 7 (cue condition was effect coded, trait authenticity was grand mean-centered). As in Study 1A, results indicated no significant interaction effects, but trait authenticity remained a significant predictor of both mediators when accounting for the nonsignificant interaction effects (perceived SDO:  $b = -.44$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .000$ ; authenticity at work:  $b = .65$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Specifically, those higher on trait authenticity were less likely to view the company as endorsing social hierarchy and more likely to anticipate being able to be authentic at work. See Table 15 for these regression analyses.

Similar to trait authenticity, acculturation was analyzed as a moderator of the relationship between cue condition and the mediators (perceived SDO, authenticity at work) using hierarchical regression with steps similar to Hypothesis 7 (cue condition was effect coded, each acculturation dimension was grand-mean centered). Each cultural dimension of acculturation (country of origin, Asian Americans, European Americans) was analyzed separately. While no interaction terms were significant when predicting either mediator, results showed that acculturation toward European American culture (Western culture) remained a significant predictor of both perceived SDO ( $b = -.62$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $p = .012$ ) and authenticity at work ( $b = .56$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $p = .004$ ) after accounting for the interaction effects (See Table 16). Additionally, acculturation for country of origin was a significant predictor of authenticity at work in Step 1 ( $b = .42$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $p = .043$ ) but was not significant after accounting for the interaction term in Step

2 ( $b = .38$ ,  $SE = .21$ ,  $p = .078$ ; See Table 17). Lastly, while acculturation toward Asian American culture was not predictive of authenticity at work, in that same regression model cue condition was a *marginally* significant predictor of authenticity at work in Step 1 ( $b = .32$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $p = .055$ ). When the interaction term (acculturation toward Asian American culture by cue condition) was added in Step 2, cue condition became a significant predictor of authenticity at work ( $b = .33$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $p = .046$ ). Please see Table 18 for the full model.

Again, perceived workplace flexibility was not examined as almost all outcomes did not relate to cue condition.

## STUDY 1 DISCUSSION

Study 1 was unable to establish strong findings regarding the link between identity safety cues and most outcomes (i.e., feelings of belonging, procedural justice, person-organization fit, and attraction to the organization) and the hypothesized moderators failed to yield significant interactions. Analyses in Study 1A indicated that stigma consciousness for race was significantly higher in the racial cue condition compared to no cue, which may indicate that viewing the identity safety cue may have made participants in Study 1A more aware of racial stigma. Importantly, in Study 1B the relationship between identity safety cue and the outcome of feelings of belonging was fully mediated by individuals' anticipated perceptions of authenticity in the workplace.

Also in Study 1B, outcome mean scores by stigmatized identity (double-stigmatized vs. single-stigmatized, i.e., Asian American women vs. White women) indicated that for procedural justice perceptions and authenticity at work, Asian American women (double-stigmatized identity) perceived less identity safety than White women single-stigmatized identity, as represented by these variables.

Study 1B exhibited more of the hypothesized effects than Study 1A, specifically the mediation effect of authenticity at work on the relationship from identity safety cue to feelings of belonging. This may have been fueled by the current national concerns around gender equality and sexual harassment in the workplace. Movements such as "Time's Up" and "#MeToo" highlight disadvantages and harmful situations that women may encounter in the workplace despite high status positions (Langone, 2018). Such a spotlight may have affected the way female participants thought about identity safety cues and how their perceptions of the ability to be authentic at work relate to feeling welcomed in the workplace. Notably, at the time of the



study, there did not appear to be a movement for Asian American workers that matched the scope of ongoing women's movements.

Ultimately, the majority of hypotheses were not supported. This may be due to a number of limitations. First, obtaining Asian American participants for both parts of Study 1 proved difficult. Overall, Study 1A ( $N = 81$ , Asian American men and women) was underpowered given that an a priori power analysis for a medium effect size at  $\alpha = .05$  indicated that a sample of 128 participants was needed. Moreover, Study 1B had an adequate sample size overall ( $N = 246$ ), but the sample of Asian American women within Study 1B was small ( $n = 48$ ; less than 30 in each cue condition). Thus, analyses of differences between Asian American women in the cue and no cue conditions may have been underpowered.

Second, the identity safety cue manipulations may not have been strong enough to evoke identity safety, or the manipulations may not have been trusted. Though company diversity awards are commonly displayed at top companies, the manipulation, lacking context because it was an imaginary company, may have failed to convince participants that this company would support an identity safe environment. At the same time, other researchers have used similar manipulations and achieved the hypothesized effects (e.g., Chaney et al., 2016). However, these studies did not use a sample of Asian Americans or Asian American women, though they used other single-stigmatized identities (e.g., women, Black or Latino men). Speculating, there may be a unique aspect of Asian American or Asian American women's identity that suppresses the intended effects of company awards as identity safety cues. Additionally, it may be that cues that tap only one dimension (race or gender) of a double-stigmatized identity like 'Asian American woman' do not trigger any identity safety outcomes to a greater extent than the absence of these cues.

Exploratory analyses uncovered several findings. In Study 1A, there was a significant interaction between cue condition (race cue vs. no cue) and acculturation for European American (Western) culture. Individuals highly acculturated to Western culture perceived greater ability to be authentic at work when shown the racial identity safety cue compared to no cue, while individuals minimally acculturated to Western culture perceived less ability to be authentic at work when shown the racial identity safety cue compared to no cue. Speculating, it could be that individuals more immersed in Western culture are more trusting of blatant identity safety cues (i.e., the racial award) while those less acculturated to the West are unaffected or suspicious of the presentation of blatant cues.

It may also be important to note that in Study 1B Asian American women on average scored significantly lower on trait authenticity, as well as authenticity at work, as compared to White women. This aligns with the hierarchical regression that found stigmatized status predicted authenticity at work in Study 1B only. Regression analyses also demonstrated that trait authenticity predicted lower perceived SDO and greater authenticity at work; however, trait authenticity did not moderate the effect of cue condition. Thus, if Asian American women on average are less likely to feel they can be authentic (by disposition or situationally), it may be that they need to be treated differently than White women when attempting to enact identity safety cues, given that authenticity at work mediated the relationship between the identity safety cue and feelings of belonging, and trait authenticity predicted authenticity at work. Relatedly, the literature on impression management and culture points to differences in attitudes towards faking (Fell, König, & Kammerhoff, 2016) and differences in use of impression management tactics between ethnic minorities and majorities (Deros, 2017), which signals a need to look further into felt authenticity and culture. Such a difference in authenticity was not found between Asian

American women and men (Study 1A). Speculating, it may be that managing a gender identity, as opposed to a racial identity, is more easily done.

Study 1 did not find differences between how individuals with single-stigmatized and double-stigmatized identities react to identity safety cues. One possible interpretation of this finding is that identity safety cues that tap only one identity do not affect Asian American men, White women, or Asian American women. That is, for all study participants, a cue that only tapped their racial or gender identity was not enough to make them feel more identity safety than a non-cue situation. It could still be that Asian American women respond to various types of identity safety cues (ones that tap more than race or gender identities separately) in different ways. Study 2 primarily explored whether different types of identity safety cues would have differential effects on Asian American women, a double-stigmatized identity.

## STUDY 2 METHOD

Study 2 was designed to explore how individuals possessing double-stigmatized identities react to single vs. multiple identity safety cues (the procedure was similar to Study 1). Thus, the type of identity safety cues presented were manipulated. This was a 4 (cue type presented: racial cue vs. gender cue vs. double cue vs. intersected cue) x 1 between-subjects experimental survey design using a sample of Asian American women.<sup>2</sup> Given 80% power for a medium effect size at .05 statistical significance, at least 179 participants were needed to power the 4 x 1 design for Study 2 based on a priori calculations using G\*Power version 3.1 software (Faul et al., 2007).

### **Participants**

Similar to Study 1, participants met racial and gender requirements (i.e., were Asian American women) via prescreening questions, were 18 years or older, and were at least moderately proficient in English language (See Appendix A for prescreening questions). In Study 1, participants were required to have resided in the U.S. for 10 years or more; however, because it was hard to attract more Asian American women participants in Study 2 this requirement was dropped to 5 years or more. This sample was recruited via an email blast to students who identify as Asian and female at a large midwestern university. The email recipients were encouraged to take the survey themselves, as well as to send the survey to others who would also be eligible (i.e., Asian American women). A similar email message was also sent to the listserv of the Asian American Psychological Association at the same time. Thus, this data collection was in part a snowball method effort. Participants were told that the first 120 individuals to answer the survey and pass all prequalifying and attention checks would receive \$5.00 USD gift cards to the online retailer Amazon.

Attention and manipulation checks were used to filter the data as in Study 1. The final sample analyzed for Study 2 was  $N = 212$  participants (purposely all female-identifying) which was 31.8% of the original sample. Participants identified as Asian American but could identify as multiple races/ethnicities at the end of the survey. As such, 43.9% identified as Far East Asian, 5.2% as North Asian, 42.9% as Southeast Asian, 13.2% as Asian - Indian subcontinent, and a combined 18.5% as African American, Hispanic or Latino/a, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Native American or American Indian, White, or Other. About 67.5% reported being native-born U.S. citizens, 21.7% were immigrants or naturalized U.S. citizens, and 10.9% were green card holders or long-term U.S. residents who had resided in the U.S. for 5 years or more. The majority (81.6%) indicated that English was their native language. For age,  $M = 23.48$  ( $SD = 6.30$ ) years. Most participants (83.1%) identified as heterosexual. Participants had a mix of employment levels, with 25% indicating full-time employment, 38.7% indicating part-time employment, and 34.4% indicating unemployment.

## **Procedure**

Study 2 procedures were nearly identical to the procedures used in Study 1. The appendices noted previously for Study 1 apply to Study 2. Places where the procedure diverged are noted in the text below and in the appendices.

In Study 2, after viewing an informed consent page (See Appendix B), participants were presented with information on a fictional company and told to imagine they may possibly apply for a leadership position at this organization for which they are hypothetically qualified (See Appendix C). Participants were provided with further background information on the company (e.g., how long the company has been in business; See Appendix D) as well as awards the company has accrued (i.e., identity safety cues; See Appendix E). Some of these awards were

irrelevant to the focus social groups (e.g., #1 in Customer Acquisition or Retention) while others were specific manipulations. Unlike Study 1A and 1B, which only showed racial or gender identity safety cues versus no identity safety cues, participants in Study 2 were randomly assigned to one of four different identity safety cue groups when viewing awards. They were informed that the company was awarded either a racial diversity award (e.g., “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives), a gender diversity award (e.g., “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives—used in Chaney et al., 2016 and Kaiser et al., 2013), both racial and gender diversity awards (i.e., they were told the company has won awards for these two domains separately), or an award specific to Asian American women (e.g., “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Women Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Women Executives). After, participants were presented with a job description for Director of Marketing (developed using Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; Workable.com, n.d.; See Appendix F). They then answered a series of measures pertaining to their anticipated feelings of belonging at the company, the procedural fairness of the company, anticipated P-O fit, to what extent the company is perceived as promoting social hierarchy (perceived SDO), their anticipated authenticity at the workplace, and manipulation and attention checks (See Appendix G). Lastly, participants viewed a debriefing form (See Appendix H).

## **Measures**

Study 2 employed the same measures as Study 1, including the demographic items used to screen participants and manipulation checks (specifically tailored for the cue conditions in Study 2). Stigmatized status was not a variable in Study 2 because all participants were Asian

American women. Study 2 reliabilities for each measure on a Likert scale are provided in Table 19 along with means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations. Please see the appendices at the end for full scales.

**Cue condition.** Study 2 contained 4 cue conditions where either a racial cue, gender cue, two cues (one racial, one gender; also called the double cue condition), or an intersected cue (one cue reflecting race and gender) were presented. Cue condition was dummy coded for MANOVA analyses and effect coded for regression analyses with the referent category being the intersected cue condition.

**Stigma consciousness for gender, race, and gender-race combined.** In Study 2, participants (Asian American women) received 3 stigma consciousness measures for identity as a woman, as an Asian American, and as an Asian American woman modelled from those used in Study 1. Respectively,  $\alpha_{\text{gender}} = .78$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{race}} = .77$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{gender-race}} = .77$ . These three measures were significantly correlated ( $p < .01$ ), with intercorrelations ranging from  $r = .59$  to  $.88$ . Examining the internal consistency of all three measures combined into one measure, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .90$  (indicated in Table 19). Thus, this combined score was used in analyses involving the variable stigma consciousness for Study 2, rather than analyzing each shorter measure separately.

## STUDY 2 RESULTS

Descriptive statistics, including means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations between variables for the overall sample are displayed in Table 19. Please refer to Table 20 for means and standard deviations of mediators and outcomes by cue condition. As in Study 1, the identity safety outcome variables were highly intercorrelated. An exploratory factor analysis using principal axis factoring determined there were 7 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 that accounted for 65% of the variance. The first four factors accounted for 55% of the variance. A majority of the 37 items primarily loaded onto the first 4 factors. The latter 3 factors had 4 (with one item loading .3 to .4 for 5 factors), 2, and zero items primarily loading onto them, respectively. In an effort to keep the analyses for all three datasets in the current investigation aligned, and because the first 4 factors accounted for most of the variance, the four outcome variables were tested as hypothesized in Study 2.

Multivariate ANOVA analyses determined that there were no significant differences in identity safety outcomes (feelings of belonging:  $F(1,206) = .76$ ,  $MSE = .54$ ,  $p = .521$ ; procedural justice:  $F(1,206) = 1.07$ ,  $MSE = .29$ ,  $p = .363$ ; P-O fit:  $F(1,206) = 1.29$ ,  $MSE = .87$ ,  $p = .280$ ; attraction to the organization:  $F(1,206) = .24$ ,  $MSE = .09$ ,  $p = .871$ ) by cue condition.

Hypotheses 8a and 8b stated that double cue and intersected cue conditions would result in lower levels of perceived SDO and higher levels of authenticity at work compared to racial cue and gender cue conditions. Analyses did not support these hypotheses. Independent  $t$ -tests indicated that there were no differences on perceived SDO,  $t(207) = -.39$ ,  $p = .697$ , or authenticity at work,  $t(208) = 1.04$ ,  $p = .300$ , between the double cue and intersected cue conditions. Refer back to Table 20 to see variable means by condition.

Hypotheses 9a and 9b predicted that the intersected cue condition would result in lower levels of perceived SDO and higher levels of authenticity at work compared to a double cue.



These hypotheses were not supported as independent  $t$ -tests demonstrated no significant differences between these two conditions on perceived SDO,  $t(107) = .30, p = .765$ , and authenticity at work,  $t(110) = .21, p = .834$ . Again, please refer back to Table 20 to see means by condition.

Hypothesis 10a stated that stigma consciousness would interact with identity safety cues such that individuals high on stigma consciousness would register lower perceived SDO scores in the intersected cue condition while registering higher perceived SDO scores in all other conditions compared to individuals low on stigma consciousness. Stigma consciousness was represented by combining the stigma consciousness measures for gender (woman), race (Asian American), and gender-race (Asian American woman) as these three were highly intercorrelated and had high internal consistency when combined. Stigma consciousness was also grand-mean centered. Cue condition was effect coded with the intersected cue condition as the referent (-1, -1, -1) group. A hierarchical linear regression with two steps (Step 1: stigma consciousness and race cue, gender cue, and double cue effect coded variables; Step 2: stigma consciousness and effect coded race cue x stigma consciousness, gender cue x stigma consciousness, and double cue x stigma consciousness interaction variables) was conducted. This regression did not yield any significant interaction terms. Please refer to Table 21 for regression coefficients.

Hypothesis 10b stated that stigma consciousness would interact with identity safety cues such that individuals high on stigma consciousness will register higher authenticity at work scores in the intersected cue condition while registering lower authenticity at work scores in all other conditions compared to individuals low on stigma consciousness. These analyses were carried out in an identical procedure to Hypothesis 10a, predicting authenticity at work scores in

place of perceived SDO. This regression also did not result in significant interaction terms. Table 22 displays full regression results.

### **Exploratory Analyses**

Exploratory analyses included the variables of trait authenticity and acculturation. Mean scores of these variables by cue condition are displayed in Table 23.

Trait authenticity was examined as a moderator of the link between cue condition and perceived SDO (Table 24). A hierarchical linear regression with two steps (Step 1: trait authenticity and race cue, gender cue, and double cue effect coded variables; Step 2: trait authenticity and the three interaction terms) indicated that trait authenticity negatively predicted perceived SDO in the presence of the interaction terms ( $b = -.35$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $p = .000$ ), but no other predictors were significant. That is, individuals predisposed to authenticity perceived the company as endorsing social hierarchy less.

Trait authenticity was also analyzed as a moderator of the cue condition – authenticity at work link. A hierarchical linear regression (shown in Table 25) with two steps (Step 1: trait authenticity, and race cue, gender cue, and double cue as effected coded variables; Step 2: trait authenticity, and the three interaction terms) revealed that the double cue interaction term (double cue effect coded by trait authenticity) was a significant predictor of authenticity at work ( $b = .20$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $p = .048$ ). This suggests that the effect of cue condition differs by level of trait authenticity.

To analyze simple slopes for this interaction, the hierarchical linear regression was run four more times using dummy coded variables. Each group was treated as the comparison group once (Aiken & West, 1991). These simple regression results are presented in Table 26. Figure 4 depicts the interaction between cue condition and trait authenticity. The trait authenticity variable

is presented at one standard deviation above and below the mean. Taken together, Table 26 and Figure 4 demonstrate that for all cue conditions, individuals high on trait authenticity reported higher levels of anticipated authenticity at work; however, this relationship was especially pronounced for the double cue condition. That is, for individuals low on trait authenticity the double cue (separate identity safety cues for race and gender presented simultaneously) is not leading individuals to feel they can be authentic.

The three acculturation dimensions (country of origin, Asian Americans, and European Americans) were also analyzed as moderators of the cue condition – perceived SDO and cue condition – authenticity at work links. The same hierarchical regression analyses used to examine trait authenticity as a moderator were used for these analyses by substituting the acculturation variables in place of trait authenticity. None of these analyses yield significant changes in  $R^2$ . However, a regression analysis predicting *authenticity at work* demonstrated significant regression coefficients.

A hierarchical linear regression with two steps including European American acculturation and cue condition (Step 1: European American acculturation and race cue, gender cue, and double cue effect coded variables; Step 2: European American acculturation and the three interaction variables) found that the interaction term for European American acculturation by effect coded gender identity safety cue condition was a significant predictor of authenticity at work ( $b = .271$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $p = .027$ ). Full regression coefficients are displayed in Table 27. This suggests that anticipated authenticity at work differed depending on an individual's level of acculturation toward European American culture. To interpret this further, simple slope analyses were conducted whereby the regression was run four additional times using dummy codes with each cue condition treated as the comparison group one at a time (Aiken & West, 1991). These

simple slope analyses are displayed in Table 28. Figure 5 depicts the interaction between cue condition and acculturation toward European American culture. Table 28 and Figure 5 indicate that at higher levels of Western acculturation, individuals in the gender cue and intersected cue conditions reported higher levels of anticipated authenticity at work than individuals lower on Western acculturation; yet, for individuals in the racial cue and double cue conditions this relationship was reversed (though the relationship was very small for the racial cue condition). For these individuals, higher levels of acculturation were associated with lower levels of anticipated authenticity at work compared to individuals with lower levels of acculturation. However, only the coefficient for the slope of the gender cue condition was significant. Thus, the key finding in Figure 3 is that individuals in the gender identity safety cue condition who are low on Western acculturation report significantly lower anticipated authenticity at work compared to those high on Western acculturation.

## STUDY 2 DISCUSSION

Results from Study 2 did not support the hypothesized effects. Previously, Study 1 was also not able to show any significant differences for Asian American women between cue conditions. It may be that Asian American women as a group are simply not very receptive of identity safety cues in the form of company awards.

Nevertheless, exploratory analyses revealed interesting interactions between cue condition and multiple individual differences (trait authenticity and acculturation toward European American culture). The unsurprising main effect of trait authenticity on authenticity at work was that those low on trait authenticity were also lower on authenticity at work compared to those with high levels of trait authenticity. However, this main effect differed based on cue condition. At high levels of trait authenticity, individuals' anticipated authenticity at work was relatively similar, but at low levels of trait authenticity single identity safety cues (race or gender cues) were associated with greater authenticity at work compared to double or intersectional cues, especially the racial safety cue. This effect may reflect support for the ethnic prominence perspective—Asian American women may react most favorably to racial cues (i.e., anticipate greater ability to be authentic at work) if they are low on trait authenticity.

Cue condition also interacted with acculturation toward European American culture. For racial cue and double cue conditions, individuals low on acculturation (toward European American culture) reported greater anticipated authenticity at work compared to gender cue and intersected cue conditions. Notably, for individuals high on Western acculturation the gender cue condition was associated with the greatest levels of anticipated authenticity at work. Yet, for individuals low on Western acculturation, the gender cue elicited the least authenticity at work across conditions. This effect indicates that gender identity safety cues may play out very

differently for individuals of different cultures. This may be expected as gender egalitarianism (gender equality) is a national value often used to differentiate cultures (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002).

Study 2 had its own limitations as well. For one, Study 2 lacked a control condition; all participants saw some sort of identity safety cue, so the study was not able to replicate the mediation of the cue – outcome relationship by authenticity at work that was found in Study 1B. Second, Study 2 used a different source for participants. Participants were recruited from a large, midwestern university via email blast, so it is likely that a large number of participants were college students. Indeed, the mean age is markedly lower than that of Study 1. Having a largely student sample is problematic because participants may not have much work experience. Older workers may be able to more vividly envision a hypothetical workplace and how they would feel given the context of the vignette.

While the study hypotheses were not supported, Study 2 sheds light on important individual differences (trait authenticity and acculturation toward European American culture) that interact with different types of identity safety cues.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

This series of studies investigated whether organizational identity cues operate differently for single vs. double-stigmatized identities, as well as whether different types of identity cues resulted in different outcomes for a double-stigmatized identity (i.e., Asian American women). It also examined the possibility of anticipated authenticity at work as an alternative mechanism for cue transfer. Results did not reveal differences between reactions to cues based on single- or double-stigmatized identities (Study 1) nor different reactions based on the type of cue (Study 2). Some evidence for anticipated authenticity at work as a mediator of the cue – outcome relationship was found.

Specifically, the relationship between cue and the identity safety outcome of feelings of belonging was fully mediated by individuals' anticipated authenticity at work for the all-female sample (White women and Asian American women) in Study 1B. Previously, Chaney et al. (2016) hypothesized and found evidence for the perceived Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) of the target organization mediating the relationship between cue and outcomes in the context of cue transfer. Cue transfer refers to perceiving identity safety as a result of a cue that is incongruent with one's identity (Chaney et al, 2016). Perceived SDO is a more distal mediator in comparison to one's perceptions of the ability to be authentic at work. Perceived SDO as a mediator presumes that individuals would have formed certain beliefs about the organization at the unit level based on the information available, and that this information then influences the beliefs they have about whether they would feel welcome in the organization as an individual. In contrast, authenticity at work directly refers to an individual's beliefs about how he/she will be able to act in the workplace. Thus, authenticity at work is more proximal to outcomes of individuals' identity safety (e.g., individual-level feelings of belonging) than unit-level perceived

SDO. The finding in Study 1B that authenticity at work fully mediates the relationship between cue and feelings of belonging indicates that authenticity at work may be an important path to further examine.

While there was little support for hypothesized effects, exploratory analyses revealed significant effects of trait authenticity and Western acculturation (acculturation toward European American culture). Beginning with trait authenticity, it was found that trait authenticity positively predicted authenticity at work and negatively predicted perceived SDO across Study 1A and Study 1B. The former is an expected relationship: individuals who are naturally inclined to act authentically believe they will be more likely to act authentically in the workplace. The latter relationship suggests that a natural inclination toward authenticity is associated with perceiving the company as having less of a social dominance orientation. In a search of the literature, no studies were found directly testing the relationship between trait authenticity and social dominance orientation; however, a study by Pinto, Maltby, Wood, and Day (2012) found that individuals who behave authentically are less-likely to be aggressive in unfair situations compared to individuals who live less authentically. This may explain why individuals high on trait authenticity in the current study were less likely to endorse the company as high on SDO. That is, rating the company as high on perceived SDO may be seen as an aggressive action (at some level they would have been accusing the company of being unfair or supporting unequal groups), so individuals high on trait authenticity avoided appearing aggressive by rating the company low on perceived SDO.

In Study 2, a similar pattern for trait authenticity across cue conditions emerged. Overall, individuals higher on trait authenticity also perceived higher authenticity at work. However, this main effect was qualified by cue condition. At high levels of trait authenticity, authenticity at



work was relatively similar for all cue conditions, but at low levels of trait authenticity, the intersected and double cue conditions (where both racial and gender identities were tapped) were associated with the lowest levels of authenticity at work. The racial cue condition was associated with the highest level of authenticity at work at low levels of trait authenticity. These analyses point to the racial identity safety cue being the most effective cue for those low on trait authenticity, providing support for the ethnic prominence perspective (prominence of race over gender identity in women of color) under certain conditions (i.e. low trait authenticity).

Turning to acculturation as a moderator, multiple effects emerged across studies. These effects were only determined for Asian American participants as White women participants did not complete the acculturation measures. In this study, acculturation was assessed along three dimensions: toward country of origin, toward Asian American culture broadly (pan-ethnic), and toward European American culture (Western acculturation). Acculturation toward a pan-ethnic Asian American culture did not produce any significant effects, but acculturation toward country of origin was a positive predictor of authenticity at work (Study 1B only; note that Study 1B includes scores from only Asian American women) and a negative predictor of perceived SDO (Study 1A only; note that Study 1A includes scores from Asian American men and women). Additionally, Western acculturation showed similar effects in Study 1B (again, only Asian American women scores) for authenticity at work and perceived SDO. Taken together, it seems that acculturation toward country of origin and Western acculturation both lead to favorable outcomes for identity safety (less perceived SDO, greater authenticity at work). While the implications of this finding are unclear, it may suggest that how confident one is in one's identity, as reflected by how strongly one is acculturated to a culture, may result in greater identity safety outcomes.

Furthermore, Western acculturation produced two interaction effects. First, in Study 1A (sample: Asian American men and women) authenticity at work differed as a function of cue condition and Western acculturation. Individuals high on Western acculturation responded more positively (i.e., greater authenticity at work perceptions) in the racial identity safety cue condition compared to the no cue condition. Meanwhile, those low on Western acculturation showed the opposite pattern. They responded more positively in the no cue condition compared to the racial identity safety cue condition. This may indicate that a racial identity safety cue is only effective for Asian American individuals highly acculturated to Western culture.

In Study 2 (sample: Asian American women) authenticity at work also differed as a function of cue condition and Western acculturation. Interestingly, racial and double cue conditions had opposite relationships with Western acculturation compared to gender and intersected cue conditions. The former categories predicted higher authenticity at work for those low on Western acculturation (vs. high), and the latter categories predicted higher authenticity at work for those high on Western acculturation (vs. low). However, the slope for the racial cue condition demonstrated little to no relationship. On the other hand, the gender cue condition demonstrated the strongest difference between individuals with low and high Western acculturation. Taken together with Study 1A (sample: Asian American men and women), these results suggest that identity safety cues operate differently for Asian American individuals based on how acculturated they are to a Western way of life. Though less research on diversity exists outside of the U.S. context, a study by Holladay and Quiñones (2005) indicates that workers from collectivistic cultures perceive diversity training less favorably than those from individualistic cultures. This thinking could extend to other aspects of diversity and inclusion that U.S. companies try to signal. Eastern cultures are generally regarded as more collectivistic

than Western cultures, thus the Asian American participants in the current study who were more acculturated to Western culture may have been more receptive to certain identity safety cues. Further, perhaps this indicates that identity safety cues that tap cultural values (e.g., collectivism) may add value beyond racial and/or gender cues.

Moreover, the strongest difference between those high and low on Western acculturation was demonstrated in the gender cue condition. Individuals low on Western acculturation were less likely to anticipate being authentic at work compared to those high on Western acculturation in the gender cue condition. This result is consistent with the finding that Western cultures generally endorse the cultural value of gender egalitarianism at greater levels compared to African and Asian cultures (Stankov, 2015). That is, individuals less acculturated to the West may also endorse gender equality to a lesser degree than those more acculturated to the West, leading them to ignore the gender identity safety cue.

Though many of the hypothesized identity safety cue effects were not supported, the exploratory analyses discussed above support the idea that identity cues still have important implications for organizations. Members within disadvantaged groups hold individual differences (e.g., acculturation levels and trait authenticity) that affect how they perceive the cues or signals that an organization gives off, even if the organization gives these off unintentionally (Emerson & Murphy, 2014). Therefore, organizations must acknowledge that identity safety cues meant to signal inclusion for individuals of a certain demographic may not uniformly impact perceptions. Organizations may seek to harness the power of identity cues, and at the very least they should be aware of the consequences of cues they already give off (Emerson & Murphy, 2014).

It is also interesting to note that the reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) for feelings of belonging and stigma consciousness were markedly lower for Study 1A compared to Study 1B. Women are stereotypically more likely to be concerned with communal aspects at work than men, so they may have more similar responses to a measure of feelings of belonging than men (Study 1B was entirely female while Study 1A was a mixture of male and female participants). For stigma consciousness, the fact that women's movements are at the forefront of news and media in recent times (e.g., "Time's Up" and #MeToo; Langone, 2018) may have influenced stigma consciousness scores in Study 1B which sampled only women. In contrast, Study 1A stigma consciousness was directed at race (Asian American identity) and at the time of the study there did not appear to be a comparable national conversation around Asian American identity. These attributions make further sense in light of the fact that the reliability values of feelings of belonging and stigma consciousness in Study 2 (a sample of Asian American *women*) are closer to the reliability values in Study 1B.

### **Theoretical Implications**

One theoretical contribution of the current study is the finding that authenticity at work served as a mechanism of cue transfer. The initial goal of this work was to examine cue transfer in the context of double-stigmatized identities, specifically Asian American women. However, there is an issue as to whether a racial identity safety cue or a gender identity safety cue can create the conditions for cue transfer in Asian American women. Intersectionality research is rooted in Crenshaw's (1989) seminal work which highlights the erasure of women of color when referring to gender (i.e., gender diversity is presumed to refer to women of the dominant group). Thus, if one subscribes to the double jeopardy perspective, a racial or gender identity safety cue could trigger cue transfer since the 'Asian American woman' identity would be considered

unique from ‘woman’ (i.e., ‘woman’ would refer to women of the majority—White women). Otherwise, if these two identities are not viewed as unique, then Study 1’s design only investigates how racial identity safety cues operate across gender groups and how gender identity safety cues operate across racial groups (no differences were found across cue conditions so the manipulation may not have worked). With this particular perspective, a limitation of this study is that there was no condition with an identity safety cue that did not match the general Asian American woman identity (e.g., disabled LGBT identity; or at least a cue that was ‘further’ away from ‘Asian American woman’ in psychological space); thus cue transfer could not happen and the current study is an investigation of different identity safety cues rather than specifically cue transfer (the identity safety effects of cues incongruent with identity).

The current study also contributes to existing research surrounding double jeopardy and ethnic prominence perspectives on multiply stigmatized identities. While Study 1A (sample: Asian American men and women) demonstrated null results for all differences between single- and double-stigmatized identities, Study 1B (sample: White women and Asian American women) displayed significant differences by stigmatized identity for procedural justice perceptions and anticipated authenticity at work (though stigmatized identity was not a significant moderator of the cue-authenticity at work link). Asian American women registered significantly lower levels of procedural justice and authenticity at work compared to White women. The lack of differences in identity safety variables between Asian American women and Asian American men and the presence of differences between White women and Asian American women suggest support for the ethnic prominence perspective (i.e., women of color prioritize racial identity over gender identity; Levin et al., 2002).

The exploratory analyses also provided some support for the ethnic prominence perspective. Again, in Study 2 (Asian American women) at high levels of trait authenticity, individuals' anticipated authenticity at work was relatively similar, but at low levels of trait authenticity single identity safety cues (race cue or gender cue) were associated with greater authenticity at work compared to double or intersectional cues, especially the racial safety cue. As mentioned above, one of the initial goals of this study was to compare ethnic prominence and double jeopardy perspectives. Although these results were not hypothesized, they indicate support for the ethnic prominence perspective over the double jeopardy perspective.

While this investigation hypothesized support for the double jeopardy perspective, there is a body of support for the ethnic prominence perspective (e.g., Apfelbaum, Stephens, & Reagans, 2016; Bartkoski, Lynch, Witt, & Rudolph, 2018; Foynes Shipherd, & Harrington, 2013; Gay & Tate, 1998; Levin et al., 2002), including studies that simultaneously show evidence for double jeopardy and ethnic prominence perspectives (e.g., Buchanan & Fitzgerald, 2008; Deros et al., 2012; Johnson, Pietri, Fullilove, & Mowrer, 2019; Malcarne, Chavira, Fernandez, & Liu, 2006; Settles, 2006; Kang & Chasteen, 2009; Taylor, Charlton, & Ranyard, 2012). Additionally, Kulik et al. (2007) and Rattan, Steele, and Ambady (2019) indicated that, at least for observers, individuals are likely to activate only one dominant category of identity that primarily influences behavior such as hiring decisions. Therefore, the findings of the current investigation fall in line with established literature.

The double jeopardy perspective is a popular hypothesis in intersectionality literature, but the prevalence of evidence for competing perspectives such as the ethnic prominence hypothesis, as seen in the current study and others, sways support away from it. Despite this, the concept of double jeopardy has taken off in popular media spaces and is arguably conflated with

intersectionality itself when explaining ideas of intersectional feminism (e.g., see a blogpost by popular website Upworthy, Ramsey, 2015; and an article about ‘double discrimination’ featured in BuzzFeed.News, Ashton, 2018). However, the assumption that the intersectionality of stigmatized identities always results in additive or multiplicative negative effects does not leave room for studies that find that holding multiple stigmatized identities buffers against negative effects (e.g., Martin et al., 2018) or studies like the current investigation which fail to find differences between genders within racial minorities.

### **Practical Implications**

Practically, the results across studies can guide organizations in how to create identity safety for workers. For one, the finding that authenticity at work fully mediates cue transfer indicates that organizations may be able to influence the identity safety that individuals experience by affecting variables more proximal to the individual, rather than only trying to affect perceived SDO, individuals’ perceptions of the organization overall.

Second, this study suggests that women of color, a double-stigmatized identity (in this case, Asian American women), may be more likely to respond to identity safety cues that tap racial identity (i.e., the ethnic prominence perspective). That is, Asian American women may experience more positive identity safety outcomes if an emphasis on including Asian Americans (rather than women generally or Asian American women specifically) is made. Thus, organizations may be able to make environments more welcoming for Asian American men and women without having to use different cues for these groups.

More broadly, the outcomes of this investigation may suggest that individuals with intersected identities are more responsive to cues tapping one of their identities rather than multiple identities simultaneously. The ethnic prominence perspective highlights the intersection

of race and gender, but for other identities, such as LGBT women, research provides much less guidance on which of these identities is expected to take center stage.

Third, Western acculturation matters. Companies should acknowledge that identity safety cues may not operate in the same manner for Asian Americans high and low on Western acculturation. This differentiation is beyond Asian immigrants and U.S.-born Asian Americans. Asian Americans can differ in how acculturated they are to Western culture in a variety of ways. For example, Asian Americans who live in cultural enclaves (e.g., Chinatowns) may have very different perspectives than those who live as a minority in areas dominated by the majority or other racial minority groups. Again, thinking more broadly, this may also indicate that companies need to accommodate differences in Western acculturation for all immigrant groups and even those considered “1.5 generation” or “second generation” (i.e., the children or grandchildren of immigrants) as these groups might still be expected to vary in their acculturation levels.

Fourth, a notable feature of this study was its focus on Asian American women in leadership. As expanded upon in the introduction, representation of Asian American women in leadership positions in the U.S. is abysmal, which already cues identity threat for Asian American women leadership candidates. The results of this study provide some information on whether a blatant identity safety cue such as a company award would be useful for attracting Asian American women to leadership positions. Moreover, this study found differences in company perceptions between White women and Asian American women. Organizations should consider that while both groups are female, they may have diverging responses to aspects of the company. This potentially impacts beyond the leadership context and White and Asian American



women. For example, this research should cause STEM companies to consider whether Black men and Black women perceive companies differently.

Lastly, a practical challenge facing those attempting to address intersectional identities in the workplace is the sheer number of unique intersected identities that may exist. As noted by Ryan and Briggs (2019), company work-life policies that would attempt to cover all identities with broad language may be seen as less supportive (e.g., a color-blind ideology), but attempting to acknowledge all possible identities is likely impossible. One can see how this could be extended to other identity safety cues. For one, a company may receive an award for its laudable treatment of minority employees, but this may not signal identity safety to specific minority groups under the double jeopardy perspective. On the other hand, garnering company awards for every single specific minority group does not seem feasible. The ethnic prominence perspective (as well as cue transfer) would perhaps provide a more positive outlook for these efforts because they would predict that an organization does not need to signal support for every single intersection of identity.

## **Limitations**

Importantly, the current study had a number of limitations. First, it consisted of multiple cross-sectional, vignette experiments. This limitation prevents any conclusions about causality and calls into question how realistic the experimental scenarios were for participants. Additionally, all measures were self-reported, putting responses at risk of single source bias. Nevertheless, this study was able to obtain samples of Asian American men and women—populations that are understudied, partly because they are hard to reach in certain geographic areas.

Indeed, sampling Asian American men and women proved difficult, so the current study did not reach the preferred sample sizes based on a priori power analyses. Participants from Studies 1A and 1B were recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform; however, in order to obtain a large enough sample of Asian American women for Study 2, an email was sent to all individuals flagged as Asian and female in the records of a large, midwestern university. As a result, many Study 2 respondents were likely college students. This speculation is supported by the low mean age of respondents in Study 2 compared to the previous two studies. Additionally, about a third of Study 2 respondents were unemployed. This difference makes comparisons between Study 1 and 2 more difficult. It is possible that students do not consider the same aspects of a company that more experienced, older workers do.

In addition, it is important to acknowledge that Asian Americans are not a monolith and come from a variety of different backgrounds. While this study asked for more fine-grained categorizations of Asian American identities in its demographic questions, analyses were not possible between Asian American subgroups. Relatedly, the focus on Asian Americans makes the perspective of this study a decidedly U.S./Eurocentric one, so the conclusions drawn may not be generalizable to other contexts.

As addressed in previous discussion sections, it is possible that the identity safety cue manipulations were not strong enough to elicit differences between cue and no cue conditions in Study 1, though similar manipulations appeared to influence results in other researchers' studies (e.g., Chaney et al., 2016). Yet, these other studies did not utilize samples of Asian Americans. Instead, samples of white women and men of color (Black and Latino) were used. Due to the national conversations of recent years surrounding women's movements (e.g., Langone, 2018), the treatment of black and brown men by the U.S. justice system (e.g., the Netflix documentary

“13<sup>th</sup>”; Kruger, 2016), and the passage of undocumented Latino migrants and asylum seekers at the southern U.S. border (e.g., *The Conversation*, 2019), racial identities such as these have been thrust into the spotlight. At the time of the current study (summer and early fall of 2019), there did not appear to be attention on Asian Americans in the same way. Thus, perhaps the groups used in other studies in the literature felt that their identities were more likely to affect their treatment in the workplace because of these national conversations. In comparison, Asian American men and women as a group may not have felt their identities would be as impactful on the way others treat them at the time.

An aspect to further consider is whether the identity safety cue (a situational cue) manipulation in this study was enough to override one’s trait authenticity. Results did show in one instance (Study 2) that trait authenticity interacted with cue condition to predict authenticity at work. Thus, there is some support for identity safety cues having an effect beyond trait authenticity.

Additionally, the ‘no cue’ conditions may not be considered “neutral” conditions. They were awards related to customer service or customer retention. The very fact that the company received awards at all could have boosted the positive valence surrounding the company, making it less likely to detect differences in the perceptions between cue conditions.

Pivoting away from the identity safety cue itself, another point to contemplate is whether the leadership context (i.e., participants were told they were to imagine applying to a leadership position in the company) produced the identity threat effect that was intended. Earlier in this paper, research on role incongruities and implicit leadership theories were referenced to support a leadership context as threatening to Asian American women per their race and gender

identities. It could be the case that the identity safety cues had no effect because an identity threat situation was not perceived.

It may also be important to note that in the studies by Chaney et al. (2016; Chaney & Sanchez, 2018), there was no manipulated threat context. The studies compared women and minorities' perceptions of inclusion, fairness, and group hierarchy (perceived SDO) in general rather than in response to a manipulated threat context like in the current study. This difference could account for the current study's lack of findings as the threat manipulation could have suppressed differences between cue conditions.

Addressing the lack of interaction effects hypothesized for stigma consciousness, it is key to note that the stigma consciousness measures were mostly uncorrelated with other variables. The measure of stigma consciousness used in the current investigation was nearly identical to the measure used in Pietri et al. (2018), with the exception of substituting focal social identity groups. Pietri et al. (2018) had adapted the measure from Pinel (1999). At least in Study 1A, the lack of effects may be due to the mean value of stigma consciousness being relatively low compared to the scores garnered in Pietri et al.'s (2018) study. The mean in Study 1A was 2.76, while the means in Pietri et al. (2018) ranged from 3.25-3.41. Current studies 1B and 2 had similar or higher means for stigma consciousness compared to Pietri et al. (2018).

High intercorrelations between identity safety outcome variables (i.e. feelings of belonging, procedural justice, person-organization fit, attraction to the organization) also limit interpretations of the current study. The decision was made to proceed with the four hypothesized outcome variables based on the eigenvalue rule-of-thumb (i.e., eigenvalues over 1.0). Study 1B, with the largest sample size, indicated 4 factors based on this guideline, and because items did not load onto factors in a consistent pattern in the other studies, the decision

was made to keep the number of variables consistent across studies. Additionally, the scree plot rule-of-thumb (number of factors above the “scree” or elbow of the graph) indicated that in each study there were at least 2 factors, though the items did not load primarily onto any two factors. This combined with results from the eigenvalue guideline support the conclusion that the outcome variables were not one general factor.

Future studies may consider other potential identity safety outcome variables to measure. For example, psychological safety (perceptions of interpersonal risks at work) was distinguished from authenticity earlier in this paper. Due to the design of this study, psychological safety was not an appropriate focus (i.e., the current focus was on potential job applicants, whereas psychological safety is best studied via organizational insiders; Edmondson & Lei, 2014). Nevertheless, psychological safety may still be an important proximal outcome of identity safety cues for individuals who are already part of an organization, and it is considered an antecedent of important outcomes such as employee voice and engagement (Edmondson & Lei, 2014).

Lastly, this study was also limited in that there was a lack of continuity across experiments. As aforementioned, Studies 1A and 1B used MTurk samples, while Study 2 utilized a university sample. Additionally, Studies 1A and 1B were designed with a control condition (no cue condition) allowing testing for mediators (Perceived SDO and authenticity at work) between cue and identity safety outcomes. Study 2 lacked this control condition so mediation analyses could not be pursued.

### **Future Directions**

Future research can build upon the current study by improving the study design and addressing the limitations mentioned above. Two important directions for research include investigating the potential nuances of Asian American women as a double-stigmatized identity

and clarifying when and where the cue transfer, double jeopardy, and ethnic prominence perspectives operate.

Research using Asian American samples is sparse compared to White samples, and oftentimes research utilizing Asian individuals uses an international sample rather than Asian Americans. Moreover, research on diversity in the U.S. rarely focuses on Asian Americans. The fact that many of the study's hypotheses were not supported may be due to unique circumstances surrounding Asian American identity. For example, in contrast to Black American identities which are more often studied in the literature, Asian Americans are often referred to as a "model minority". Leong and Grand (2008) described the model minority thesis as a positive stereotype that represents Asian Americans as high-achieving, industrious, and determined individuals. However, such representation can result in negative consequences, such as being perceived as "robotic" (unemotional), being held to unrealistic performance standards, and being seen as competition for jobs (Leong & Grand, 2008).

Further research on identity cues can also uncover when and where cue transfer, double jeopardy, or ethnic prominence perspectives dominate. The findings Pietri et al. (2018) seem to align with the double jeopardy perspective. These researchers found that the most effective identity safety cue for a Black woman was an image on a company's website of a Black woman or an image of a White woman explicitly supporting Black women. Yet, in the current study, there was no evidence of a similar intersectional cue having a more positive effect for Asian American women over single identity cues. Instead there is some support for an ethnic prominence perspective in that the racial identity safety cue showed the strongest effect on authenticity at work for individuals low on trait authenticity in Study 2 (sample: Asian American women). Although, it is important to note that Pietri et al. (2018) used a more personal, image-

based identity safety cue in contrast to the textual, company award identity safety cue used in the present investigation. It is likely pertinent that more research examines the differential effects of cue types (i.e., image vs. text, etc.).

Additionally, an original goal of this study was to manipulate the context of the vignette such that there would be a condition in Study 2 where only one identity held by Asian American women would be threatened. This would be accomplished by changing the company in the vignette from marketing to engineering (STEM). Because Asian Americans are well-represented in STEM, it would be expected that applying for a leadership position in a STEM company would only threaten Asian American women in terms of their gender identity. Unfortunately, the current endeavor could not recruit enough Asian American women participants to carry out the full study design and the sample for this condition as not collected. Nevertheless, future research attempts could utilize a similar study design with this condition, allowing for a test of whether a cue transfer or double jeopardy perspective holds. A purely cue transfer perspective would predict that any cue condition would lead to identity safety because perceptions of the organization's treatment of one group should generalize to others. Yet, a double jeopardy perspective would predict a significant difference between the effects of double identity safety cues (double and intersected cues) and single identity safety cues (racial and gender cues) such that the double cues would have more favorable outcomes.

Another future research direction would be to incorporate the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) by Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998). This model is primarily concerned with African American racial identity, but it is noted by the authors that parts can be generalized to other groups. The MMRI defines racial identity as "the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial

group within their self-concepts.” (p. 23; Sellers, et al., 1998). The MMRI posits four dimensions of racial identity: salience, centrality, regard, and ideology. Salience and centrality focus on how individuals define themselves, while regard and ideology focus on how the individuals perceive their racial group and how individuals perceive others view their racial group. The MMRI assumes that identities can be influenced by the environment and that an individual holds multiple identities which are then ranked in importance. Thus, identity safety cues fit within this framework, specifically under the salience dimension which refers to the degree to which race is relevant in a given moment based on the interaction of situational cues and individual differences. Further research using the MMRI framework may be particularly informative, especially in light of the relationships between acculturation and identity safety outcomes (i.e., authenticity at work, perceived SDO) found in the current investigation which can be interpreted as hinting at the importance of identity salience or centrality.

A third way to improve upon the study design, and that may account for some of the observed effects of the current investigation, would be to use more culturally appropriate measures of authenticity. In their seminal article, Markus and Kitayama (1991) elaborated on independent (i.e., self is derived from one’s unique configuration of internal attributes) and interdependent (i.e., self is derived from social relationships and contingent on context) self-construals that characterize Western and Eastern societies, respectively. While their assumptions have been met with some criticism (Matsumoto, 1991), Markus and Kitayama (1991) highlight the importance of possible cultural differences in how individuals interpret and respond to the same information (e.g., survey materials). Thus, we would be unable to interpret the findings of Study 1B in the way hypothesized if the authenticity measures used were not measuring the “same” authenticity construct in Asian American and White women participants (i.e., construct



validity in one culture should not lead one to assume a measure has construct validity in another culture). Indeed, Markus and Kitayama (1991) would assert that while White women would have responded to the authenticity measures as intended, as the measures were created by Western researchers, Asian American women, possessing more interdependent self-construals, would fundamentally understand the items in a different way as they would be based on context (e.g., who is asking me to take this survey). In some support of this, results of the current study indicated that White women scored significantly higher than Asian American women on both situational and dispositional authenticity measures. This line of thinking could also be applied to the identity safety cue manipulations used. Previous studies (e.g., Chaney et al., 2016), showed that these manipulations were effective, but only in non-immigrant U.S. samples. Thus, interdependent self-construals may have led the Asian American participants in the current investigation to respond differently to cue manipulations.

## **Conclusion**

The current study contributes to the existing literature evidence that authenticity at work is a viable mediator for cue—identity safety outcome relationships. The study design also focused on Asian American women, an underrepresented group in research. Furthermore, the current research compares multiple theoretical perspectives (cue transfer, double jeopardy, ethnic prominence) on the issue of multiple stigmatized identities. While strong evidence did not emerge for any of these perspectives, important questions are raised as to when and where each perspective is most likely to find support. Lastly, it is important to consider whether there are any unique aspects of Asian American identity that may have resulted in these findings. Notably, Asian Americans are a diverse ethnic group within the U.S. which may muddle interpretations of findings as well as diverge from our understandings of Asian individuals internationally.

## ENDNOTES

1. Originally, Study 2 was also meant to investigate whether individuals with double-stigmatized identities will maintain a double jeopardy expectation despite being in a context that supposedly should not pose an identity threat to one dimension of their identity. Determining what the differences across cue conditions are for a work context that is ostensibly only a threat to one stigmatized identity of a double-stigmatized individual may strengthen or weaken support for cue transfer and the double jeopardy hypothesis.

The study design called for varying whether participants (i.e., Asian American women) were presented with a marketing or STEM leadership position for which they could possibly apply. A marketing context would involve a double identity threat and in turn, according to the double jeopardy hypothesis, the need for identity cues that tap both stigmatizations (racial and gender). A STEM context differs in that Asian American women may not feel that their racial identity is threatened as STEM fields have a strong representation of Asian scientists (Leong & Gupta, 2007; Sy et al., 2010), though their gender identity may still be threatened due to the low representation of women in STEM. What would this mean for the effect of different cues?

Cue transfer phenomenon (Chaney et al., 2016) would posit that any of the cue conditions would lead to identity safety in either marketing or STEM because perceptions of the organization's treatment of one group should generalize to other groups. The double jeopardy hypothesis would be more specific and predict that the double cue and particularly the intersected cue conditions would lead to more advantageous identity safety outcomes, even for the STEM condition. That is to say, evidence for the double jeopardy hypothesis would be demonstrated if both the marketing and STEM conditions

showed that double cue and intersected cue conditions resulted in greater advantageous outcomes (i.e., proximal outcomes such as perceived SDO and authenticity at work) compared to racial cue and gender cue conditions. This result would support the idea that Asian American women see their experience as unique, so even though STEM may have a representative population of scientists of Asian descent, they would not see this racial cue as supporting them. Given these competing predictions, the following question would have been posed:

*Research Question 2.* Will there be an effect of context on the relationships between identity safety cues and perceived SDO and anticipated authenticity?

Again, this question could not be tested due to limitations in data collection which led to dropping this leadership context manipulation.

2. Extreme difficulties in obtaining samples of Asian Americans using Amazon's Mechanical Turk in Study 1 precipitated the need to find other participant pools of Asian American women for Study 2. In one attempt, Asian American interest groups were contacted and asked to take the survey in exchange for donations to charity, but this effort yielded only 8 usable responses, as the majority of attempted responses were ineligible based on the screening questions.

The final attempt to obtain a sample of Asian American women involved contacting university email addresses of individuals flagged as Asian American and female by the registrar's office at a large midwestern university. At the same time, an identical message was sent out to the listserv of the Asian American Psychological Association. Because the 8 responses from the previous attempt were such a small amount and from a different source, these were not included in the final analyses.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

### Prescreening Questions

Participants in Study 1A/B were asked questions 1-5. Participants in Study 2 were asked questions i-5, and in Question 2 the wording was changed to [5 years].

Because Study 2 could not be recruited via Amazon's Mechanical Turk like in Study 1, participants in Study 2 were asked to confirm that they had not seen an image from the study before (question i) and to confirm that they had not completed any HITs on Amazon's Mechanical Turk in the prior 3 months (question ii).



- i. Have you seen this image, or one very similar to this image, before?
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
    - c. I don't remember
  - ii. Have you completed any work (i.e., HITs) on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform in the last 3 months?
    - a. Yes
    - b. No
- 
1. Are you 18 years of age or older?
    - A. Yes
    - B. No
  2. Which of the following describes you?
    - A. Native-born U.S. citizen
    - B. Immigrant or Naturalized U.S. citizen
    - C. Green card holder and has resided in the U.S. for 10 [5] years or more
    - D. Green card holder and has resided in the U.S. for less than 10 [5] years
    - E. Long term U.S. resident (has resided in the U.S. for 10 [5] years or more)
    - F. Short term U.S. resident (has resided in the U.S. for less than 10 [5] years)
  3. Which of the following best describes you?
    - A. Native English language speaker

- B. Highly proficient in the English language
  - C. Moderately proficient in the English language
  - D. Knows basic English language
  - E. Does not know English language
4. Which gender do you prefer to identify as?
- A. Man
  - B. Woman
  - C. Transgender
5. What is your primary race/ethnicity?
- A. African-American
  - B. Hispanic or Latino/a
  - C. Asian (Far East Asian)
  - D. Asian (North Asia)
  - E. Asian (Southeast Asian)
  - F. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
  - G. Native American or American Indian or Alaska Native
  - H. Middle Eastern (Middle East)
  - I. Middle Eastern (North Africa)
  - J. Middle Eastern (Arab world)
  - K. White/Caucasian (Not of Hispanic or Latino/a origins)

## APPENDIX B

### Informed Consent



## **Participants in Study 1A and 1B saw the following informed consent:**

### **Informed Consent**

#### **Perceptions of Organizations and Leadership Positions**

The purpose of this research study is to understand how people perceive organizations and leadership positions and what affects these perceptions. In this study, you will read and answer questions about a company and whether you would like to apply to a leadership job at this company. At the end, you will be asked to fill out a few demographic questions, such as how old you are.

This research study will take approximately 15 minutes to complete, and you will receive a one-time payment of \$1.25 for your participation at the end of the session which will be delivered via the Amazon Mechanical Turk system. Your participation is voluntary and greatly appreciated. If you choose not to participate, simply return this HIT. You may refrain from participating in certain procedures or answering certain questions, and you may discontinue your participation at any time throughout the survey. Doing so will not affect the treatment you will receive; however, your payment may be impacted if one of the 'Compensation Rules' below is violated. Also, you have the right to request that your responses not be used in the data analyses.

#### **Compensation Rules**

The following are reasons why we would not be able to compensate you for your participation. By following these compensation rules, we hope to be as fair as possible to survey respondents who meet the study criteria, who access the survey only once, and who provide quality data for our study. Please note:

- If you do not include your MTurk ID in the online survey we cannot identify you and so you will not be compensated if you fail to correctly enter your Mturk ID in the online survey. If we have no record of your Mturk ID in our data, we cannot compensate you.
- If you are not eligible to take this research survey based on the prescreening questions, we cannot compensate you for your participation. The quality of our scientific study depends on participants meeting these criteria. If we find that you have re-entered the survey multiple times after initially failing the prescreening questions, we also cannot compensate you.
- If your survey responses include poor qualitative (written) responses, we cannot compensate you for your participation. Poor quality qualitative responses include, but are not limited to, nonsensical text or lines copied and pasted from other internet sources. The rigor of our scientific study depends on high quality data.
- If you type the wrong survey code into the Mturk survey code box, we cannot compensate you for your participation as we cannot ensure you are a human participant who is eligible for this research survey.

- If you fail the CAPTCHA check, we cannot compensate you for your participation as we cannot ensure you are a human participant who is eligible for this research survey.
- If you do not correctly answer attention check items, we cannot compensate you for your participation as we cannot be sure you have provided quality data.

Participation in this research study does not involve any foreseeable risks. The benefit of participating in this research study, however, is that you have the opportunity to learn more about the research process and also help contribute to scientific advancement.

This study is confidential. Your answers will only be associated with an anonymous ID. To help us protect your confidentiality, please do not write or give your name or any other identifying information during the study. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowed by law. All data will be stored on the hard drive of a secure computer and will only be accessed by trained experimenters. Data will be stored for five years after the publication of research stemming from this project---as specified by the American Psychological Association.

At the conclusion of this research, you will be provided with an explanation of the survey. It is our goal that you learn about the research you participated in today. Furthermore, the investigator will be happy to answer any questions you have about the research.

Caitlin Briggs, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Michigan State is conducting this scientific study under the advisement of Dr. Ann Marie Ryan, a professor in the Department of Psychology. If you have questions about the study, contact Ann Marie Ryan, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, phone: 517-353-8855, e-mail: ryanan@msu.edu. If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 4000 Collins Rd., Suite 136, Lansing, MI 48910.

Your continued participation in this survey indicates your consent to participate in this study.

**Participants in Study 2 saw the following informed consent page:**

**Informed Consent**

**Perceptions of Organizations and Leadership Positions**

The purpose of this research study is to understand how people perceive organizations and leadership positions and what affects these perceptions. In this study, you will read and answer questions about a company and whether you would like to apply to a leadership job at this company. At the end, you will be asked to fill out a few demographic questions, such as how old you are.

This research study will take approximately 10-15 minutes to complete. Several strategies are being used to recruit participants. In the final stages of data collection, some participants will be compensated via a \$5.00 electronic gift card. Earlier in the stages of data collection, some participants will be compensated via a donation to charity. At the start of data collection, participants received a one-time payment of \$1.25 for participation delivered via the Amazon Mechanical Turk system. Participation is voluntary and greatly appreciated. If you are an MTurk worker and choose not to participate, simply return this HIT.

Any participant may refrain from participating in certain procedures or answering certain questions, and you may discontinue your participation at any time throughout the survey. Doing so will not affect the treatment you will receive; however, your compensation may be impacted if one of the 'Compensation Rules' below is violated. Also, you have the right to request that your responses not be used in the data analyses.

**Compensation Rules for Participants Compensated by Gift Card**

The following are reasons why we would not be able to compensate you (i.e., donate to charity) for your participation. Having these rules ensures the scientific rigor of our study. Please note:

If you are not eligible to take this research survey based on the prescreening questions, we cannot compensate you for your participation.

The quality of our scientific study depends on participants meeting certain criteria. If we find that you have re-entered the survey multiple times after initially failing the prescreening questions, we also cannot compensate you.

If your survey responses include poor qualitative (written) responses, we cannot compensate you for your participation. Poor quality qualitative responses include, but are not limited to, nonsensical text or lines copied and pasted from other internet sources. The rigor of our scientific study depends on high quality data.

If your survey responses include poor quantitative (multi-choice) responses, we cannot compensate you for your participation. Poor quantitative responses include patterned responding, such as choosing the same answers for a great number of items in a row when the wording of the items would suggest that this would not be possible (i.e., some items are positively worded and some are negatively worded). The rigor of our scientific study depends on high quality data.

If you fail the CAPTCHA check, we cannot compensate you for your participation as we cannot ensure you are a human participant who is eligible for this research survey.

If you do not correctly answer attention check items, we cannot compensate you for your participation as we cannot be sure you have provided quality data. If you have completed HITs on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform in the past 3 months, we cannot compensate you for participation because we cannot ensure you haven't already taken a version of this experimental survey.

Participation in this research study does not involve any foreseeable risks. The benefit of participating in this research study, however, is that you have the opportunity to learn more about the research process and also help contribute to scientific advancement.

This study is confidential. Your answers will only be associated with an anonymous ID. To help us protect your confidentiality, please do not write or give your name or any other identifying information during the study. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowed by law. All data will be stored on the hard drive of a secure computer and will only be accessed by trained experimenters. Data will be stored for five years after the publication of research stemming from this project---as specified by the American Psychological Association.

At the conclusion of this research, you will be provided with an explanation of the survey. It is our goal that you learn about the research you participated in today. Furthermore, the investigator will be happy to answer any questions you have about the research.

Caitlin Briggs, a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at Michigan State is conducting this scientific study under the advisement of Dr. Ann Marie Ryan, a professor in the Department of Psychology. If you have questions about the study, contact Ann Marie Ryan, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, phone: 517-353-8855, e-mail: ryanan@msu.edu. If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at 4000 Collins Rd., Suite 136, Lansing, MI 48910.

Your continued participation in this survey indicates your consent to participate in this study.

## APPENDIX C

### Initial Directions for Participants

*Participants in Study 1A/B and Study 2 read:*

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Please read all sections carefully as you will be quizzed on this information later in the survey.

In the following sections you will be provided with information about a company called the Smith & Johnson Corporation. You will be asked to imagine that you may potentially apply for a leadership position at Smith & Johnson Corporation and you will be given a job posting about this position. The questions that follow will pertain to your impressions of Smith & Johnson Corporation and how you feel regarding potentially working for this company.

## APPENDIX D

### Company Description

*The following manipulation was shown to all participants in Studies 1A/B and 2.*

*Participants read:*

Below is a screenshot of a page on Smith & Johnson Corporation's website. Smith & Johnson Corporation is a marketing firm.

Figure 1. Company Description Presented in All Surveys





## APPENDIX E

### Manipulations for Cue Conditions

*Participants read:* Below is a screenshot of an awards page on Smith & Johnson Corporation's website to give you a better idea of how the company performs.

*Study 1A manipulations:* Participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 2 cue conditions:

Figure 2. Study 1A No Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



Figure 3. Study 1A Racial Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



*Study 1B manipulations: Participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 2 cue conditions:*

Figure 4. Study 1B No Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



Figure 5. Study 1B Gender Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



*Study 2 manipulations: Participants were randomly assigned to 1 of 4 cue conditions below:*

Figure 6. Study 2 Racial Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



Figure 7. Study 2 Gender Identity Safety Cue Manipulation



Figure 8. Study 2 Double Identity Safety Cue (Race and Gender Cues Separate) Manipulation



Figure 9. Study 2 Intersected Identity Safety Cue (Cue Specific to Asian American Women) Manipulation



## APPENDIX F

### Job Description

*Participants in Study 1A/B and Study 2 were shown a job posting for Director of Marketing.*

Posting: Director of Marketing (developed from Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018a; Workable, n.d.)

This role will require an individual who is capable of fulfilling the duties outlined below:

- Initiate, lead, and develop new projects such as promotional and advertising campaigns
- Hire and supervise departmental staff, including providing guidance and feedback
- Coordinate work with staff and managers from other departments
- Propose budgets for projects and programs
- Evaluate project progress made by staff

## APPENDIX G

### Items and Measures



**Item wording has been adapted for use in this study as described in the Measures section. The order of measures presented here is the order in which they were presented to participants.**

**Participants in Study 1A/B and Study 2 saw the same items and measures, except where noted (see manipulation checks, stigma consciousness measures, and acculturation measures).**

*Participants read:* The next section will ask you questions related to your perceptions of the organization you just learned about. Please read carefully as there are attention checks to make sure you have fully understood the question.

### Open-Ended Item

Participants were first asked to answer an open-ended question about their initial thoughts toward the organization and job. This item also served as an attention check (i.e., nonsense and gibberish answers were screened out).

*Participants read:*

Imagine you are potentially applying for the leadership position at Smith & Johnson described in the posting you just read. In 2-3 sentences below, please describe your initial thoughts about the organization and the job position.

### Anticipated Feelings of Belonging (adapted from Cook et al., 2012)

#### Social Belonging Dimension Only

1. People in this organization would accept me.
2. I feel like I would belong in this organization.
3. I would feel like an outsider at this organization. (R)
4. I would feel comfortable at this organization.
5. People at this organization are a lot like me.

Scale: 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*); no midpoint

### Procedural Justice (adapted from Colquitt et al., 2015)

Instructions: The questions below refer to the procedures Smith & Johnson Corporation uses to make decisions about pay, rewards, evaluations, promotions, and so forth. If you were to work at this organization, to what extent:

1. Would you be able to express your views during those procedures?
2. Would your views go unheard during those procedures? (R)
3. Could you influence the decisions arrived at by those procedures?
4. Will the decisions arrived at by those procedures lack your input? (R)

5. Would those procedures be applied consistently?
6. Would those procedures be applied unevenly? (R)
7. Would those procedures be free of bias?
8. Would those procedures be one-sided? (R)
9. Would those procedures be based on accurate information?
10. Would those procedures be based on faulty information? (R)
11. Would you be able to appeal the decisions arrived at by those procedures?
12. Would the decisions arrived at by those procedures be “set in stone”? (R)
13. Would those procedures uphold ethical and moral standards?
14. Would those procedures be unprincipled or wrong? (R)

Scale: 1 (*To a very small extent*) to 5 (*To a very large extent*)

#### Person-Organization Fit (Cable & Judge, 1996)

Instructions: The questions below refer to your perceptions of Smith & Johnson Corporation

1. To what degree do you feel your values ‘match’ or fit this organization and the current employees in this organization?
2. My values match those of current employees in the organization?
3. Do you think the values and ‘personality’ of this organization reflect your own values and personality?

Scale: 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*completely*)

#### Attraction to the Organization (Highhouse et al., 2003)

Instructions: The questions below refer to your perceptions of Smith & Johnson Corporation.

1. For me, this company would be a great place to work.
2. I would not be interested in this company except as a last resort.
3. This company is attractive to me as a place for employment.
4. I am interested in learning more about this company.
5. A job at this company is very appealing to me.
6. I would accept a job offer from this company.
7. I would make this company one of my first choices as an employer.
8. If this company invited me to a job interview, I would go.
9. I would exert a great deal of effort to work for this company.
10. I would recommend this company to a friend looking for a job.
11. Employees are proud to say they work at this company.
12. This is a reputable company to work for.
13. This company has a reputation for being an excellent employer.
14. I would find this company a prestigious place to work.
15. There are probably many who would like to work at this company.

Scale: 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

### Perceived Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al., 1994)

Instructions: The statements below refer to the values of Smith & Johnson Corporation or its employees. Please indicate how you think a manager at this company would perceive these statements.

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.
2. Some people are just more worthy than others.
3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
4. Some people are just more deserving than others.
5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
6. Some people are inferior to others.
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
8. Increased economic equality.
9. Increased social equality.
10. Equality.
11. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
12. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.
13. We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible.
14. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.

Scale: 1 (*A manager would strongly oppose*) to 7 (*A manager would strongly favor*)

### Anticipated Authenticity at work (adapted from van den Bosch & Taris, 2012)

Instructions: Please imagine how you would feel and behave if you were to work at Smith & Johnson Corporation.

1. I would be true to myself at work in most situations.
2. At work, I would always stand by what I believe in.
3. I would behave in accordance with my values and beliefs in the workplace.
4. I would find it easier to get on with people in the workplace when I'm being myself.
5. At work, I would feel alienated.
6. I would not feel who I truly am at work.
7. At work, I would feel out of touch with the "real me".
8. In my working environment I would feel "cut off" from who I really am.
9. At work, I would feel the need to do what others expect me to do.
10. I would be strongly influenced in the workplace by the opinions of others.
11. Other people would influence me greatly at work.
12. At work, I would behave in a manner that people expect me to behave.

Scale: 1 ("does not describe me at all") to 7 ("describes me very well").

### Manipulation Checks

*Participants read:* The next section will ask you questions related to the information you have seen previously.

*Study 1A and 1B – all participants*

What type of business is Smith & Johnson Corporation?

- A) marketing
- B) engineering

*Study 1A – participants in the racial identity safety cue condition*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson corporation hold?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives

*Study 1A – participants in the no cue condition*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson corporation hold?

- A) “Agency of the Year” by CIM Marketing Excellence Awards
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives

*Study 1B – participants in the gender identity safety cue condition*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson corporation hold?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for LGBT Executives” by the National Association for LGBT Executives

*Study 1B – participants in the no cue condition*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson corporation hold?

- A) “Agency of the Year” by CIM Marketing Excellence Awards
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for LGBT Executives” by the National Association for LGBT Executives

*Study 2 – all participants*

What type of business is Smith & Johnson Corporation?

- A) marketing
- B) engineering

*Study 2 – racial identity safety cue condition manipulation check*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson Corporation hold (read the choices carefully)?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives

*Study 2 – gender identity safety cue condition manipulation check*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson Corporation hold (read the choices carefully)?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives

*Study 2 – double identity safety cue condition manipulation check*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson Corporation hold (read the choices carefully)?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Women Executives” by the National Association for Female Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for LGBT Executives” by the National Association for LGBT Executives

*Study 2 – intersected identity safety cue condition manipulation check*

Which award does the Smith & Johnson Corporation hold (read the choices carefully)?

- A) “One of America’s Top Companies for Asian American Women Executives” by the National Association for Asian American Executives
- B) “One of America’s Top Companies for LGBT Executives” by the National Association for LGBT Executives

Trait (Dispositional) Authenticity (Wood et al., 2008)

Instructions: The next section will ask you to think about how well each statement describes you personally.

1. I feel as if I don’t know myself very well.
2. I feel out of touch with the “real me.”
3. I feel alienated from myself.
4. I don’t know how I really feel inside.
5. I always stand by what I believe in.
6. I am true to myself in most situations.
7. I think it is better to be yourself, than to be popular.

8. I live in accordance with my values and beliefs.
9. I usually do what other people tell me to do.
10. Other people influence me greatly.
11. I am strongly influenced by the opinions of others.
12. I always feel I need to do what others expect me to do.

Stigma Consciousness (adapted from Pietri et al., 2018; Pinel, 1999)

*Participants read:* The next section will ask you questions related to your perceptions of the world in general.

Participants in Study 1A took the stigma consciousness measure only once and only for racial stigma consciousness. Participants in Study 1B took the stigma consciousness measure only once and only for gender stigma consciousness. Participants in Study 2 took all three versions of this 5-item scale corresponding to their race, gender, and race and gender combined.

*Racial Stigma Consciousness*

1. Stereotypes about [Asian Americans] have not affected me personally. (R)
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of [Asian Americans]. (R)
3. When interacting with people, I feel like they interpret all of my behaviors in terms of my [race].
4. Most people do not judge other people on the basis of their [race]. (R)
5. Being a [Asian American individual] does not influence how people act with me. (R)

*Gender Stigma Consciousness*

1. Stereotypes about [women] have not affected me personally. (R)
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of [women]. (R)
3. When interacting with people, I feel like they interpret all of my behaviors in terms of my [gender].
4. Most people do not judge other people on the basis of their [gender] [. (R)
5. Being a [woman] does not influence how people act with me. (R)

*Race and Gender Combined Stigma Consciousness (Asian American Women)*

1. Stereotypes about [Asian American women] have not affected me personally. (R)
2. I never worry that my behaviors will be viewed as stereotypical of [Asian American women]. (R)
3. When interacting with people, I feel like they interpret all of my behaviors in terms of my [gender and race].
4. Most people do not judge other people on the basis of their [gender and race]. (R)
5. Being a [Asian American woman] does not influence how people act with me. (R)

Scale: 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

Acculturation (adapted from Chung et al., 2004)

In Study 1A and Study 2, all participants took the acculturation measures because they identified as Asian American. In Study 1B, only participants who identified as Asian American took the acculturation measures (i.e., White women did not take the acculturation measures).

*Participants read:* Please write-in the name of the culture that you consider your culture of origin (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean)

Below you will be asked to answer each question in reference to 3 different groups:

- your culture of origin
  - other Asian Americans in general
  - European Americans
- 
1. How much do you feel you have in common with people from the following groups?
  2. How much do you interact and associate with people from the following groups?
  3. How much do you identify with the following groups?
  4. How much would you like to interact and associate with people from the following groups?
  5. How much would you like to interact and associate with people from the following groups?
  6. How negative do you feel about people from the following groups?
  7. How knowledgeable are you about the culture and traditions of the following groups?
  8. How knowledgeable are you about the history of the following groups?
  9. How much do you actually practice the traditions and keep the holidays of the following groups?
  10. How often do you listen to music or look at movies and magazines of the following groups?

Scale: 1 (not very much) to 6 (very much)

Perceived Workplace Flexibility (Jones et al., 2008)

Please answer the following questions with what you know about Smith & Johnson Corporation.

If you were to work at Smith & Johnson, how much control do you think you would have over....

WHERE you would be able to work

WHEN you would be able to work

Scale: 1 (none) to 4 (a large degree of control)

## Demographic Items

What is your age in years? (please type you answer below)

\_\_\_\_\_

Which gender identity is yours?

- A. Man
- B. Woman
- C. Transgender
- D. Nonbinary
- E. Please write-in an answer if you prefer: \_\_\_\_\_
- F. Prefer not to answer

What is your sexual orientation (e.g., straight, gay, lesbian,, bisexual)? Please write-in your answer below.

\_\_\_\_\_

What is your race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply)

- A. African-American
- B. Hispanic or Latino/a
- C. Asian (Far East)
- D. Asian (North Asia)
- E. Asian (Southeast Asia)
- F. Asian (Indian subcontinent)
- G. Native American or American Indian or Alaskan Native
- H. Middle Eastern (Middle East)
- I. Middle Eastern (North Africa)
- J. Middle Eastern (Arab world)
- K. White/Caucasian (Not of Hispanic/Latino/a origins)
- L. Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- M. Prefer not to answer

Are you currently employed?

- 1. Part-time
- 2. Full-time
- 3. Unemployed



## APPENDIX H

### Debriefing Form

All participants in Study 1A/B and Study 2 viewed the debriefing form below:

### Debriefing Form

Thank you for participating in this study. Below you will find more information about the purpose of this study as well as a list of counseling and informational resources.

The purpose of this study was to examine how identity safety cues, things like the company diversity awards presented in this study, affect different people's perceptions of an organization. These perceptions included things such as how much the organization values group equality, whether a person feels they can be authentic at this organization, and whether the organization appears to have fair procedures. Your responses in this study will help inform researchers of the psychological mechanisms that could potentially affect how identity safety cues operate for different groups of people.

If for any reason the study questions or participation made you feel in need of advice or counseling, please see the national resource listed below.

Crisis Text Line - 24/7 Support

Text 741741 for help

<https://www.crisistextline.org/>

Crisis Text Line is free, 24/7 support for those in crisis. Text 741741 from anywhere in the US to text with a trained Crisis Counselor.

We would like to thank you again for your participation. Participants who are interested in learning more about the results of this study may send the researchers a request for a summary of the findings via email at [briggs25@msu.edu](mailto:briggs25@msu.edu). They may also send any comments, questions or concerns regarding the study to the principal investigator, Dr. Ann Marie Ryan at: Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824, E-mail: [ryanam@msu.edu](mailto:ryanam@msu.edu).

To complete this survey, please press the arrow below.

## APPENDIX I

### Tables and Figures

Figure 1. Model of Study 1 Hypotheses

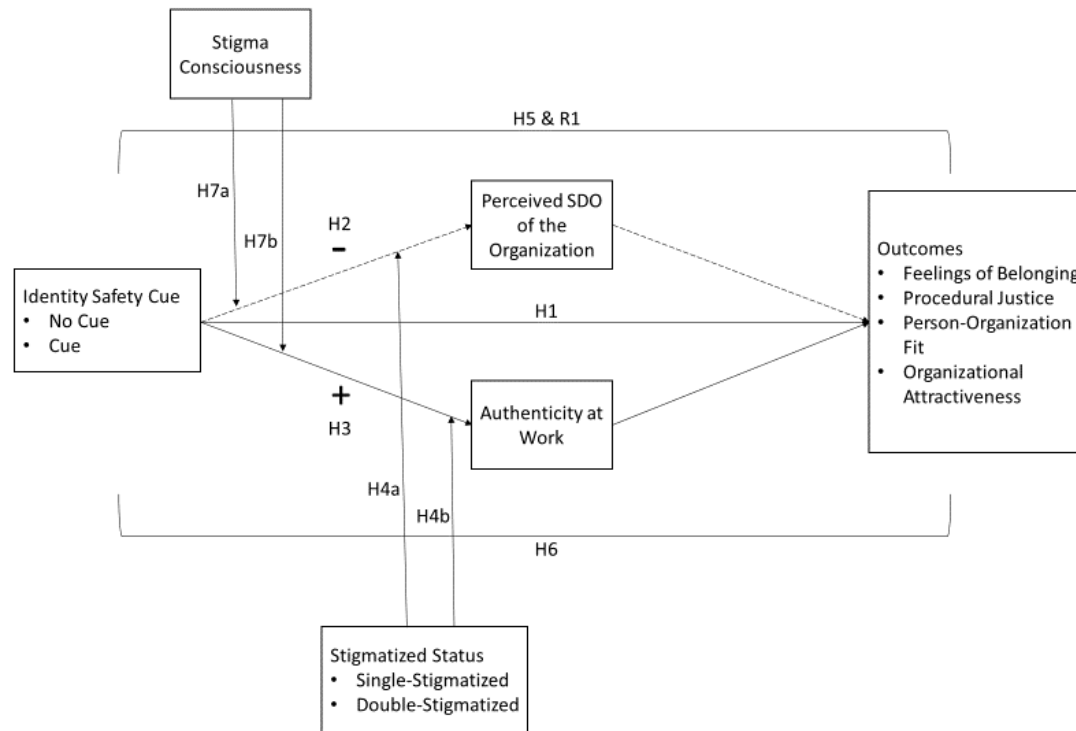
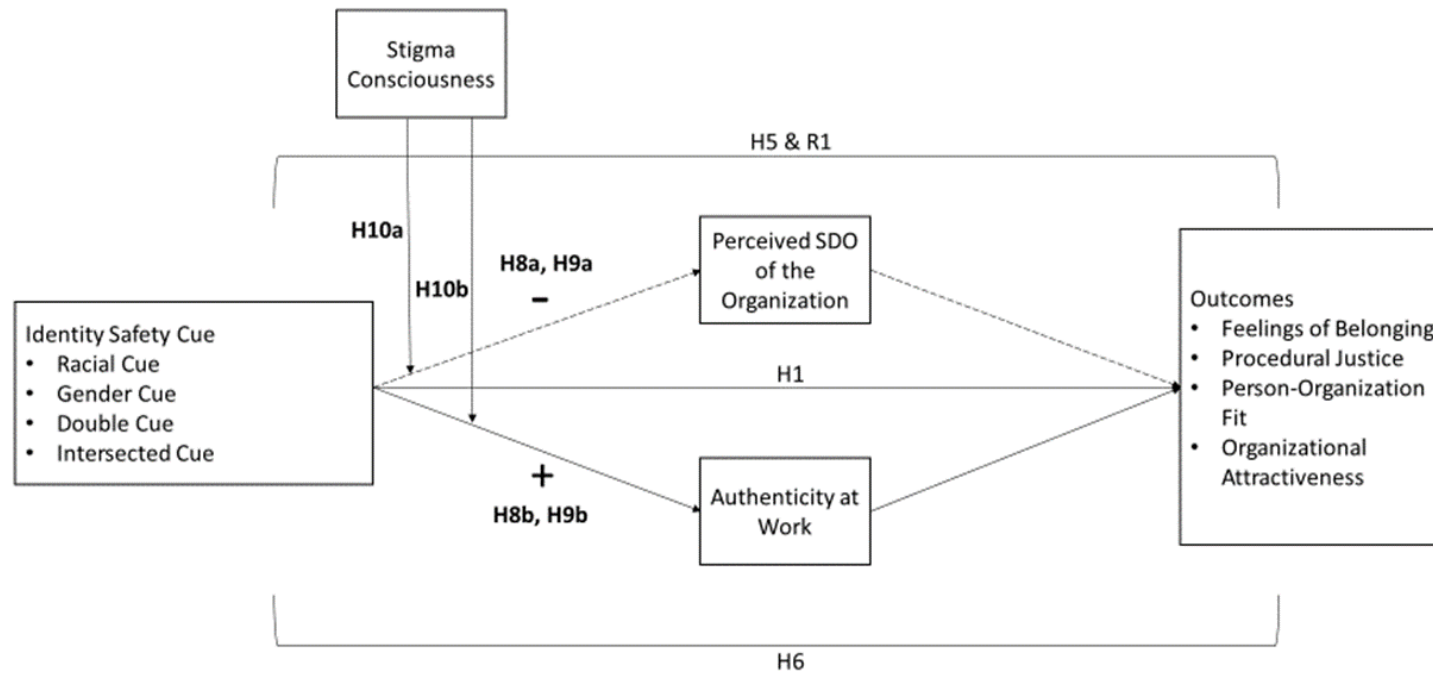


Figure 2. Model of Study 2 Hypotheses



*Note.* Bolded hypotheses are new hypotheses addressed in Study 2

Table 1. Study 1A Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

	Variable	<i>M(SD)</i>	Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Feelings of Belonging	4.60(.86)	6 pt													
2	Procedural Justice	3.68(.61)	5 pt	.55**												
3	Person-Organization Fit	3.81(.81)	5 pt	.77**	.41**											
4	Attraction to Organization	4.05(.65)	5 pt	.70**	.61**	.68**										
5	Perceived Social Dominance Orientation	2.91(1.33)	7 pt	-.45**	-.49**	-.45**	-.42**									
6	Authenticity at the Workplace	4.69(1.07)	7 pt	.52**	.60**	.33**	.42**	-.52**								
7	Trait Authenticity	5.09(1.10)	7 pt	.37**	.62**	.20	.45**	-.40**	.76**							
8	Stigma Consciousness for Race	2.76(.85)	5 pt	.16	.06	.08	.09	-.21	.11	.03						
9	Country of Origin Acculturation	4.40(.96)	6 pt	.49**	.07	.42**	.35**	-.33**	.16	.07	.17					
10	Asian American Acculturation	4.22(.83)	6 pt	.43**	.17	.50**	.35**	-.10	.04	-.06	.10	.64**				
11	European American Acculturation	4.07(.84)	6 pt	.09	.09	.22	.23*	.10	-.02	.08	-.20	.11	.27*			
12	Work Flexibility	2.88(.75)	4 pt	.32**	.05	.45**	.32**	-.11	.11	.11	-.05	.25**	.38**	.17		
13	Cue Condition	.53(.50)	n/a	.03	.04	.05	.06	-.03	-.03	-.05	.32**	.04	.02	-.15	.09	
14	Stigmatized Status (Gender)	.60(.49)	n/a	-.11	-.05	-.02	-.03	.11	-.03	-.03	-.03	.01	.11	.04	.09	.05

### Table 1 (cont'd)

*Note.* All Likert scales oriented such that higher numbers equal greater levels of the variable. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Racial cue presented,” 0 = “No cue presented”. Stigmatized Status coded as 1 = double-stigmatized (Asian American women), 0 = single-stigmatized (Asian American men). Significant correlations are bolded.

\* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$

Table 2. Study 1A Mean Outcome and Mediator Scores by Condition with t-Tests

Measure/Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>t(df)</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Feelings of Belonging</i>				
Racial Cue	43	4.62(.86)	.29(78)	.775
No Cue	37	4.57(.87)		
Female	31	4.72(.86)	.98(78)	.330
Male	49	4.52(.86)		
<i>Procedural Justice</i>				
Racial Cue	42	3.70(.68)	.30(76)	.762
No Cue	36	3.65(.53)		
Female	31	3.72(.57)	.453(76)	.652
Male	47	3.65(.64)		
<i>Person-Organization Fit</i>				
Racial Cue	43	3.85(.77)	.45(79)	.652
No Cue	38	3.76(.86)		
Female	32	3.82(.82)	.15(79)	.884
Male	49	3.80(.81)		
<i>Attraction to Organization</i>				
Racial Cue	42	4.08(.67)	.54(77)	.591
No Cue	37	4.00(.63)		
Female	32	4.07(.65)	.29(77)	.776
Male	47	4.03(.65)		
<i>Perceived SDO</i>				
Racial Cue	42	2.87(1.41)	-.30(78)	.769
No Cue	38	2.96(1.24)		
Female	32	2.73(1.20)	-1.00(78)	.319
Male	48	3.04(1.40)		



Table 2 (cont'd)

<i>Authenticity at the Workplace</i>				
Racial Cue	42	4.66(1.06)	-.24(77)	.813
No Cue	37	4.72(1.08)		
Female	32	4.72(1.11)	.23(77)	.822
Male	47	4.66(1.04)		
<i>Stigma Consciousness for Race</i>				
Racial Cue	43	<b>3.02(.77)</b>	<b>3.04(79)</b>	<b>.003</b>
No Cue	38	<b>2.47(.84)</b>		
Female	32	2.79(.86)	.26(79)	.793
Male	49	2.74(.85)		

*Note.* Note that the means in this table may be slightly different than those presented in the text, as MANOVA statistics are presented in the text while *t*-test statistics are presented here. Perceived SDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation. Significant differences are bolded.

Table 3. Study 1A Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Stigmatized Status

Outcome: Perceived SDO	Step 1	Step 2
	<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept	<b>2.89(.15)***</b>	<b>2.88(.15)***</b>
Cue Condition	-.05(.15)	-.07(.15)
Stigmatized Status	.15(.15)	.15(.15)
Cue Condition* Stigmatized Status		.11(.15)
R <sup>2</sup>	.01	.01
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	.02	.01
Outcome: Authenticity at Work		
	<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept	<b>4.69(.12)***</b>	<b>4.70(.13)***</b>
Cue Condition	-.03(.12)	-.02(.13)
Stigmatized Status	-.03(.12)	-.02(.13)
Cue Condition* Stigmatized Status		-.07(.13)
R <sup>2</sup>	.01	.01
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	.01	.00

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Racial cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 4. Study 1A Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Racial Stigma Consciousness

<b>Outcome: Perceived SDO</b>		<b>Step 1</b>	<b>Step 2</b>
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>2.91(.15)***</b>	<b>2.89(.16)***</b>
Cue Condition		.05(.16)	.05(.16)
Racial Stigma Consc		-.35(.18) <sup>†</sup>	-.35(.18) <sup>†</sup>
Cue Condition* Racial Stigma Consc			.06(.18)
R <sup>2</sup>		.05	.05 <sup>†</sup>
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.05	.00

<b>Outcome: Authenticity at Work</b>			
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>4.69(.12)***</b>	<b>4.68(.13)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.07(.13)	-.07(.13)
Racial Stigma Consc		.17(.15)	.17(.16)
Cue Condition* Racial Stigma Consc			.03(.16)
R <sup>2</sup>		.02	.02
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.02	.00

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Racial cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Racial Stigma Consc = Racial Stigma Consciousness. Racial Stigma Consc = Racial Stigma Consciousness (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.

<sup>†</sup> $p=.05$ , \*\*\* $p<.001$

Table 5. Study 1A Exploratory Variable Means by Condition with t-Tests

Measure/Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>t(df)</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Trait Authenticity</i>				
Racial Cue	41	5.04(1.17)	-.39(74)	.695
No Cue	35	5.14(1.03)		
Female	31	5.13(1.13)	.25(74)	.807
Male	45	5.06(1.09)		
<i>Country of Origin Acculturation</i>				
Racial Cue	43	4.44(1.02)	.39(77)	.700
No Cue	36	4.35(.90)		
Female	31	4.39(.82)	-.09(77)	.932
Male	48	4.41(1.05)		
<i>Asian American Acculturation</i>				
Racial Cue	42	4.24(.93)	.13(77)	.895
No Cue	37	4.21(.72)		
Female	31	4.12(.85)	-.93(77)	.358
Male	48	4.29(.82)		
<i>European American Acculturation</i>				
Racial Cue	42	3.95(.86)	-1.31(76)	.194
No Cue	36	4.20(.81)		
Female	29	4.03(.68)	-.34(76)	.738
Male	49	4.09(.93)		
<i>Note.</i> Perceived SDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation				

Table 6. Study 1A Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Trait Authenticity

<b>Outcome: Perceived SDO</b>		<b>Step 1</b>	<b>Step 2</b>
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>2.89 (.15)***</b>	<b>2.90 (.15)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.08 (.15)	-.09 (.15)
Trait Authenticity		<b>-.49 (.13)***</b>	<b>-.52 (.13)***</b>
Cue Condition* Trait Authenticity			.16 (.13)
R <sup>2</sup>		.16	.18
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.16***	.02

<b>Outcome: Authenticity at Work</b>			
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>4.72 (.08)***</b>	<b>4.72 (.08)***</b>
Cue Condition		.03 (.08)	.03 (.08)
Trait Authenticity		<b>.73 (.07)***</b>	<b>.74 (.08)***</b>
Cue Condition* Trait Authenticity			-.07 (.08)
R <sup>2</sup>		.58	.58
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		<b>.58***</b>	.00

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Racial cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Trait Authenticity was grand mean-centered. Significant values are bolded..

\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 7. Study 1A Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward Country of Origin

Outcome: Perceived SDO	Step 1	Step 2
Intercept	<b>2.94 (.15)***</b>	<b>2.94 (.15)***</b>
Cue Condition	-.03 (.15)	-.03 (.15)
AccultOriginC	<b>-.45 (.15)**</b>	<b>-.43 (.16)**</b>
Cue Condition* AccultOriginC		-.11 (.16)
R <sup>2</sup>	.11	.11
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	<b>.11**</b>	.01

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. AccultOriginC = acculturation toward country of origin (grand mean-centered). Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Racial cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

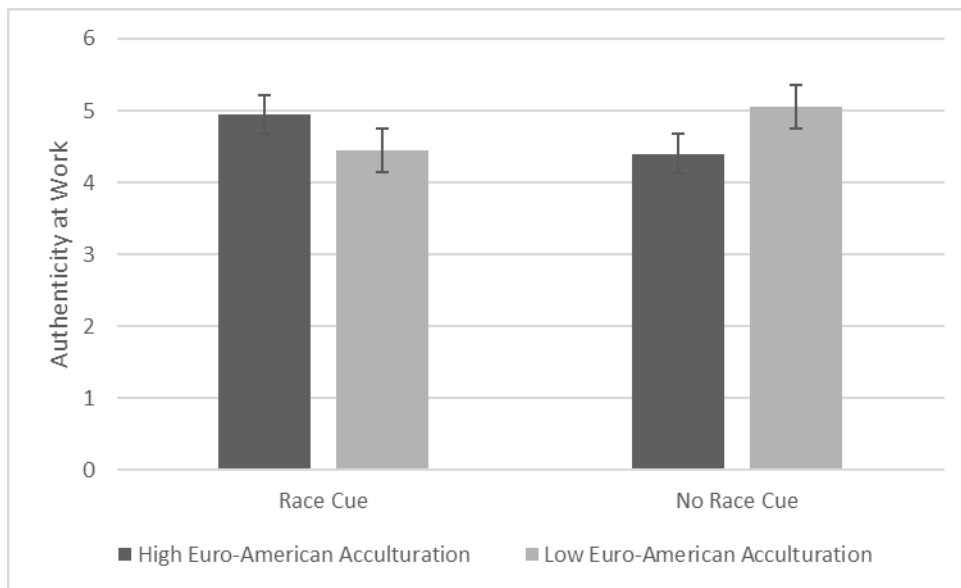
Table 8. Study 1A Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward European American Culture

Outcome: Authenticity at Work	Step 1	Step 2
	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept	<b>4.68 (.13)***</b>	<b>4.71 (.12)***</b>
Cue Condition	-.01 (.13)	-.02 (.12)
AccultEuroC	-.03 (.16)	-.05 (.15)
Cue Condition* AccultEuroC		<b>.35 (.15)*</b>
R <sup>2</sup>	.00	.07
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	.00	<b>.07*</b>

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. AccultEuroC = acculturation toward European American culture (grand mean centered). Cue Condition effect coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Figure 3. Study 1A: The Interaction Between Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward European-American Culture on Perceived Ability to be Authentic in the Workplace



*Note.* Standard error bars depicted.



Table 9. Study 1B: Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

	Variable	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Feelings of Belonging	4.65(.99)	6 pt													
2	Procedural Justice	3.83(.68)	5 pt	.71**												
3	Person-Organization Fit	3.76(.96)	5 pt	.80**	.60**											
4	Attraction to Organization	4.15(.70)	5 pt	.79**	.65**	.79**										
5	Perceived Social Dominance Orientation	2.56(1.42)	7 pt	-.57**	-.71**	-.51**	-.54**									
6	Authenticity at the Workplace	4.94(1.09)	7 pt	.53**	.65**	.46**	.52**	-.61**								
7	Trait Authenticity	5.54(.98)	7 pt	.12	.30**	.01	.10	-.30**	.59**							
8	Stigma Consciousness for Gender	3.15(.99)	5 pt	-.06	-.16*	-.11	.04	.02	-.10	-.08						
9	Country of Origin Acculturation	4.65(.76)	6 pt	.28	.32*	.27	.46**	-.27	.33*	.18	.03					
10	Asian American Acculturation	4.24(.89)	6 pt	.18	.22	.17	.25	-.21	.15	.16	.06	.52**				
11	European American Acculturation	4.01(.96)	6 pt	.47**	.49**	.33*	.38*	-.41**	.45**	.23	-.09	.35*	.46**			
12	Work Flexibility	2.46(.71)	4 pt	.45**	.33**	.52**	.41**	-.30**	.22**	-.15*	-.22**	.22	.33*	.26		
13	Cue Condition	.49(.50)	n/a	.12	.09	.07	.05	-.07	.12	.07	.03	.08	-.25	.15	.17*	
14	Stigmatized Status (Race)	.20(.40)	n/a	-.07	-.19*	-.02	-.04	.04	-.17*	-.21**	-.07	c	c	c	.16*	.03

*Note.* All Likert scales oriented such that higher numbers equal greater levels of the variable. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” 0 = “No cue presented”. Stigmatized Status coded as 1 = double-stigmatized (Asian American women), 0 = single-

## Table 9 (cont'd)

stigmatized (White women). Significant correlations are bolded.

\* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$

c = variable was a constant; Acculturation measures were only given to Asian American participants so there is no correlation between identity and acculturation variables.

Table 10. Study 1B: Mean Outcome and Mediator Scores by Condition with t-Tests

Measure/Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	<i>t</i> ( <i>df</i> )	<i>p</i>
<i>Feelings of Belonging</i>				
Gender Cue	120	4.77(.91)	-1.92(241)	.056 <sup>†</sup>
No Cue	123	4.53(1.06)		
Asian American	47	4.50(.87)	-1.15(241)	.251
White	196	4.67(1.02)		
<i>Procedural Justice</i>				
Gender Cue	118	3.89(.66)	-1.03(236)	.193
No Cue	120	3.78(.70)		
Asian American	45	<b>3.57(.62)</b>	<b>-2.90(236)</b>	<b>.004**</b>
White	193	<b>3.89(.68)</b>		
<i>Person-Organization Fit</i>				
Gender Cue	121	3.83(.87)	-1.11(244)	.268
No Cue	125	3.69(1.04)		
Asian American	48	3.72(.96)	-.34(244)	.735
White	198	3.77(.96)		
<i>Attraction to Organization</i>				
Gender Cue	114	4.18(.71)	-.01(227)	.421
No Cue	115	4.11(.70)		
Asian American	46	4.09(.55)	-.56(227)	.575
White	183	4.16(.73)		
<i>Perceived SDO</i>				
Gender Cue	118	2.46(1.44)	1.08(237)	.28
No Cue	121	2.66(1.40)		
Asian American	47	2.68(1.27)	.65(237)	.516
White	192	2.53(1.45)		

Table 10 (cont'd)

<i>Authenticity at the Workplace</i>				
Gender Cue	119	5.07(1.02)	-1.93(240)	.055 <sup>‡</sup>
No Cue	123	4.80(1.13)		
Asian American	47	<b>4.56(1.04)</b>	<b>-2.70(240)</b>	<b>.007**</b>
White	195	<b>5.03(1.08)</b>		
<i>Stigma Consciousness for Gender</i>				
Gender Cue	120	3.17(.95)	.43(241)	.668
No Cue	123	3.12(1.04)		
Asian American	47	3.01(.79)	-1.06(241)	.292
White	196	3.18(1.03)		

*Note.* Note that the means in this table may be slightly different than those presented in the text, as MANOVA statistics are presented in the text while *t*-test statistics are presented here. Significant differences are bolded. Perceived SDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation

<sup>‡</sup> $p = .05$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

Table 11. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Stigmatized Status

Outcome: Perceived SDO		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept		<b>2.60(.12)***</b>	<b>2.61(.12)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.10(.09)	-.17(.12)
Stigmatized Status		.08(.12)	.09(.12)
Cue Condition* Stigmatized Status			-.12(.12)
R <sup>2</sup>		.01	.01
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.00	.00

Outcome: Authenticity at Work		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept		<b>4.80 (.09)***</b>	<b>4.79 (.09)***</b>
Cue Condition		<b>.14 (.07)*</b>	<b>.18 (.09)*</b>
Stigmatized Status		<b>-.24 (.09)*</b>	<b>-.25 (.09)**</b>
Cue Condition* Stigmatized Status			.06 (.09)
R <sup>2</sup>		0.05	0.05
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		<b>.03**</b>	.00

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Stigmatized Status coded as 1 = double-stigmatized (Asian American women), -1 = single-stigmatized (White women). Significant values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 12. Study 1B: Authenticity at Work as a Mediator of the Relationship Between Identity Safety Cue and Feelings of Belonging

<b>Models</b>	<b>Variables</b>	<b><i>b</i></b>	<b><i>Std. Error</i></b>
Model 1	Constant	<b>4.80**</b>	.10
	Cue Condition	<b>.28*</b>	.14
Model 2	Constant	<b>2.25**</b>	.26
	Cue Condition	.12	.11
	Authenticity at Work	<b>.48**</b>	.05

*Note.* Cue Condition dummy coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” 0 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 13. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Gender Stigma Consciousness

<b>Outcome: Perceived SDO</b>		<b>Step 1</b>	<b>Step 2</b>
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>2.56(.09)***</b>	<b>2.56(.09)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.10(.09)	-.10(.09)
Gender Stigma Consc		.03(.09)	.02(.09)
Cue Condition* Gender Stigma Consc			-.02(.09)
R <sup>2</sup>		.01	.00
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.01	.00

<b>Outcome: Authenticity at Work</b>			
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>4.93(.07)***</b>	<b>4.93(.07)***</b>
Cue Condition		.13(.07)	0.13(.07)
Gender Stigma Consc		-.11(.07)	-.11(.07)
Cue Condition* Gender Stigma Consc			-.05(.07)
R <sup>2</sup>		.02	.03
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.01	.00

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Gender Stigma Consc = Gender Stigma Consciousness. Significant values are bolded.

\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 14. Study 1B: Exploratory Variable Means by Condition with t-Tests

Measure/Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M(SD)</i>	<i>t(df)</i>	<i>p</i>
<i>Trait Authenticity</i>				
Gender Cue	119	5.60(.98)	-1.03(239)	.305
No Cue	122	5.47(.98)		
Asian American	47	<b>5.12(1.18)</b>	<b>-3.37(239)</b>	<b>.001</b>
White	194	<b>5.64(.90)</b>		
<i>Country of Origin Acculturation</i>				
Gender Cue	22	4.71(.66)	-0.51(42)	.614
No Cue	22	4.59(.87)		
Asian American	44	4.65(.76)		
White	n/a			
<i>Asian American Acculturation</i>				
Gender Cue	22	4.01(.98)	1.70(42)	.096
No Cue	22	4.46(.73)		
Asian American	44	4.24(.89)	0.89332	
White	n/a			
<i>European American Acculturation</i>				
Gender Cue	21	4.15(1.19)	-.93(40)	.359
No Cue	21	3.87(.67)		
Asian American	42	4.01(.96)		
White	n/a			
<i>Note.</i> White women participants did not take the acculturation measures. Significant differences are bolded.				



Table 15. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Trait Authenticity

Outcome: Perceived SDO		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>2.57 (.09)***</b>	<b>2.57 (.09)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.06 (.09)	-.06 (.09)
Trait Authenticity		<b>-.44 (.09)***</b>	<b>-.44 (.09)***</b>
Cue Condition* Trait Authenticity			-.04 (.09)
R <sup>2</sup>		0.09	0.09
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.09***	.00

Outcome: Authenticity at Work		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b(SE)</i>	
Intercept		<b>4.94 (.06)***</b>	<b>4.94 (.06)***</b>
Cue Condition		.08 (.06)	.08 (.06)
Trait Authenticity		<b>.65 (.06)***</b>	<b>.65 (.06)***</b>
Cue Condition* Trait Authenticity			-.00 (.06)
R <sup>2</sup>		.35	.35
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		<b>.34***</b>	.00

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 16. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward European American Culture

Outcome: Perceived SDO		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept		<b>2.77 (.19)***</b>	<b>2.75 (.19)***</b>
Cue Condition		-.17 (.19)	-.16 (.19)
AccultEuroC		<b>-.53 (.20)*</b>	<b>-.62 (.23)*</b>
Cue Condition* AccultEuroC			.17 (.23)
R <sup>2</sup>		.19	.20
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		.15*	0.01

Outcome: Authenticity at Work		Step 1	Step 2
		<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept		<b>4.46 (.15)***</b>	<b>4.48 (.15)***</b>
Cue Condition		.19 (.15)	.18 (.15)
AccultEuroC		<b>.45 (.15)**</b>	<b>.56 (.18)**</b>
Cue Condition* AccultEuroC			-.20 (.18)
R <sup>2</sup>		.23	.26
ΔR <sup>2</sup>		<b>.18**</b>	.03

*Note.* AccultEuroC = European American Acculturation (grand mean-centered). Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. Significant values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 17. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward Country of Origin

Outcome: Authenticity at Work	Step 1	Step 2
	<i>b</i> ( <i>SE</i> )	
Intercept	<b>4.54 (.15)***</b>	<b>4.55 (.15)***</b>
Cue Condition	.22 (.15)	.22 (.15)
AccultOriginC	<b>.42 (.20)*</b>	.38 (.21)
Cue Condition* AccultOriginC		-.17 (.21)
R <sup>2</sup>	.15	.17
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	<b>.09*</b>	.01

*Note.* AccultOriginC = Country of Origin Acculturation (grand mean-centered). Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. AccultOriginC = acculturation toward country of origin (grand mean centered). Significant predictor coefficients are bolded.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 18. Study 1B: Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward Asian American Culture

Outcome: Authenticity at Work	Step 1	Step 2
Intercept	<b>4.53 (.16)***</b>	<b>4.48 (.16)***</b>
Cue Condition	.32 (.16) <sup>†</sup>	<b>.33 (.16)*</b>
AccultAAC	.27 (.18)	.33 (.19)
Cue Condition* AccultAAC		-.19 (.19)
R <sup>2</sup>	.11	.13
ΔR <sup>2</sup>	.05	.02

*Note.* AccultAAC = Asian American Acculturation (grand mean-centered). Standard errors in parentheses. Cue Condition coded as 1 = “Gender cue presented,” -1 = “No cue presented”. AccultOriginC = acculturation toward country of origin (grand mean centered). Significant values are bolded.

<sup>†</sup> $p = .05$ , \* $p < .05$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 19. Study 2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

	Variable	<i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Likert Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Feelings of Belonging	4.28(.85)	6 pt	(.86)										
2	Procedural Justice	3.53(.52)	5 pt	<b>.59**</b>	(.86)									
3	Person-Organization Fit	3.14(.83)	5 pt	<b>.70**</b>	<b>.63**</b>	(.89)								
4	Attraction to Organization	3.64(.62)	5 pt	<b>.73**</b>	<b>.56**</b>	<b>.74**</b>	(.93)							
5	Perceived Social Dominance Orientation	2.47(1.16)	7 pt	<b>-.40**</b>	<b>-.53**</b>	<b>-.43**</b>	<b>-.36**</b>	(.93)						
6	Authenticity at the Workplace	4.63(.95)	7 pt	<b>.56**</b>	<b>.58**</b>	<b>.50**</b>	<b>.49**</b>	<b>-.57**</b>	(.89)					
7	Stigma Consciousness	3.79(.76)	5 pt	-.05	<b>-.17*</b>	-.13	-.05	.02	-.07	(.90)				
8	Trait Authenticity	5.05(.89)	7 pt	<b>.19**</b>	<b>.31**</b>	<b>.12*</b>	<b>.16*</b>	<b>-.28**</b>	<b>.52**</b>	.02	(.86)			
9	Country of Origin Acculturation	4.18(1.07)	6 pt	.04	.05	.11	.08	-.06	<b>.14*</b>	-.07	-.02	(.89)		
10	Asian American Acculturation	3.90(1.00)	6 pt	.03	.01	.09	.08	-.04	.01	.03	-.03	<b>.42**</b>	(.87)	
11	European American Acculturation	3.76(1.00)	6 pt	.07	.06	.06	-.01	-.04	.08	<b>-.16*</b>	-.04	<b>-.21**</b>	-.08	-.83
12	Work Flexibility	2.49(.66)	4 pt	<b>.48**</b>	<b>.48**</b>	<b>.43**</b>	<b>.44**</b>	<b>-.34**</b>	<b>.43**</b>	<b>-.16*</b>	.11	.11	.05	.05 (.77)

\* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$

Table 20. Study 2 Mean Outcome and Mediator Scores by Condition

<b>Measure/Condition</b>	<b><i>n</i></b>	<b><i>M</i></b>	<b><i>SD</i></b>
<i>Feelings of Belonging</i>			
Racial Cue	48	4.43	.69
Gender Cue	52	4.34	.88
Double Cue	55	4.23	.85
Intersected Cue	57	4.15	.93
<i>Procedural Justice</i>			
Racial Cue	47	3.62	.44
Gender Cue	51	3.57	.52
Double Cue	55	3.44	.58
Intersected Cue	57	3.49	.51
<i>Person-Organization Fit</i>			
Racial Cue	48	3.35	.70
Gender Cue	52	3.18	.86
Double Cue	55	3.01	.86
Intersected Cue	57	3.06	.85
<i>Attraction to Organization</i>			
Racial Cue	47	3.71	.58
Gender Cue	51	3.64	.61
Double Cue	54	3.60	.65
Intersected Cue	56	3.61	.64
<i>Perceived SDO</i>			
Racial Cue	48	2.37	1.03
Gender Cue	52	2.50	1.31
Double Cue	54	2.53	1.13
Intersected Cue	55	2.47	1.16

Table 20 (cont'd)

<i>Authenticity at the Workplace</i>			
Racial Cue	48	4.75	.77
Gender Cue	50	4.66	1.01
Double Cue	55	4.59	.98
Intersected Cue	57	4.55	1.01
<i>Stigma Consciousness</i>			
Racial Cue	47	3.63	.84
Gender Cue	51	3.67	.76
Double Cue	53	3.87	.65
Intersected Cue	55	3.98	.75

*Note.* There were no significant differences by cue condition based on MANOVA. Perceived SDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation. Double cue refers to the condition where participant was simultaneously presented with separate racial and gender identity safety cues. Intersected cue refers to the condition where participant was presented with one cue that tapped both race and gender (i.e., Asian American female)

Table 21. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Stigma Consciousness (Outcome: Perceived SDO)

Model	Outcome: Perceived SDO	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
1	(Constant)	2.44	.08	<b>.000</b>		
	StigConscC	.02	.11	.877		
	Race Cue	-.09	.15	.553	.00	.00
	Gender Cue	.03	.14	.810		
	Double Cue	.01	.14	.971		
2	(Constant)	2.42	.08	<b>.000</b>		
	StigConscC	.04	.11	.731		
	Race Cue	-.10	.15	.507		
	Gender Cue	.05	.14	.712		
	Double Cue	.00	.14	.988	.01	.01
	StigConscC*Race Cue	-.26	.18	.154		
	StigConscC*Gender Cue	-.02	.19	.925		
	StigConscC*Double Cue	.21	.21	.306		

*Note.* Dependent Variable: PercSDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation. StigConscC = combined stigma consciousness measures for gender, race, and gender-race (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.



Table 22. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Stigma Consciousness (Outcome: Authenticity at Work)

Model	Outcome: Authenticity at Work	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	R <sup>2</sup>	ΔR <sup>2</sup>
1	(Constant)	4.66	.07	<b>.000</b>		
	StigConscC	-.07	.09	.410		
	Race Cue	.08	.12	.518	.01	.01
	Gender Cue	.02	.12	.842		
	Double Cue	-.03	.11	.829		
2	(Constant)	4.65	.07	<b>.000</b>		
	StigConscC	-.08	.09	.372		
	Race Cue	.09	.12	.442		
	Gender Cue	.02	.12	.897		
	Double Cue	-.01	.12	.925	.02	.01
	StigConscC*Race Cue	.06	.15	.683		
	StigConscC*Gender Cue	-.17	.16	.284		
	StigConscC*Double Cue	-.03	.17	.845		

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Authenticity at Work. StigConscC = combined stigma consciousness measures for gender, race, and gender-race (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.

Table 23. Study 2 Exploratory Variable Means by Condition

Measure/Condition	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Trait Authenticity</i>			
Racial Cue	48	4.88	.86
Gender Cue	52	5.20	.77
Double Cue	54	5.05	.99
Intersected Cue	56	5.06	.91
<i>Country of Origin Acculturation</i>			
Racial Cue	48	4.50	.87
Gender Cue	52	4.03	1.16
Double Cue	55	3.99	1.06
Intersected Cue	57	4.24	1.12
<i>Asian American Acculturation</i>			
Racial Cue	46	4.13	.84
Gender Cue	52	3.76	1.07
Double Cue	55	3.81	1.03
Intersected Cue	57	3.90	1.02
<i>European American Acculturation</i>			
Racial Cue	48	3.76	.88
Gender Cue	52	3.96	.95
Double Cue	54	3.64	1.13
Intersected Cue	56	3.70	1.00

*Note.* Perceived SDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation. Double cue refers to the condition where participant was simultaneously presented with separate racial and gender identity safety cues. Intersected cue refers to the condition where participant was presented with one cue that tapped both race and gender (i.e., Asian American female)

Table 24. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Trait Authenticity (Outcome: Perceived SDO)

Model	Outcome: Perceived SDO	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
1	(Constant)	2.47	.08	<b>.000</b>	.09	<b>.09**</b>
	AuthTraitC	-.38	.09	<b>.000</b>		
	Race Cue	-.17	.14	.225		
	Gender Cue	.08	.14	.539		
	Double Cue	.06	.13	.651		
2	(Constant)	2.47	.08	<b>.000</b>	.10	.01
	AuthTraitC	-.35	.09	<b>.000</b>		
	Race Cue	-.15	.14	.290		
	Gender Cue	.05	.14	.699		
	Double Cue	.07	.13	.627		
	AuthTraitC*Race Cue	.06	.16	.724		
	AuthTraitC*Gender Cue	.21	.17	.228		
	AuthTraitC*Double Cue	-.16	.14	.273		

*Note.* Dependent Variable: PercSDO = Perceived Social Dominance Orientation. AuthTraitC = Trait Authenticity (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.

\*\* $p < .01$

Table 25. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Trait Authenticity (Outcome: Authenticity at Work)

Model	Outcome: Authenticity at Work	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
1	(Constant)	4.63	.06	<b>.000</b>	.28	<b>.28***</b>
	AuthTraitC	.56	.06	<b>.000</b>		
	Race Cue	.22	.10	.032		
	Gender Cue	-.05	.10	.637		
	Double Cue	-.04	.10	.678		
2	(Constant)	4.63	.06	<b>.000</b>	.30	.02
	AuthTraitC	.53	.06	<b>.000</b>		
	Race Cue	.19	.10	.066		
	Gender Cue	-.02	.10	.820		
	Double Cue	-.04	.10	.702		
	AuthTraitC*Race Cue	-.16	.12	.162		
	AuthTraitC*Gender Cue	-.12	.12	.342		
	AuthTraitC*Double Cue	.20	.10	<b>.048</b>		

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Authenticity at Work. AuthTrait = Trait Authenticity (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.

\*\*\* $p < .001$

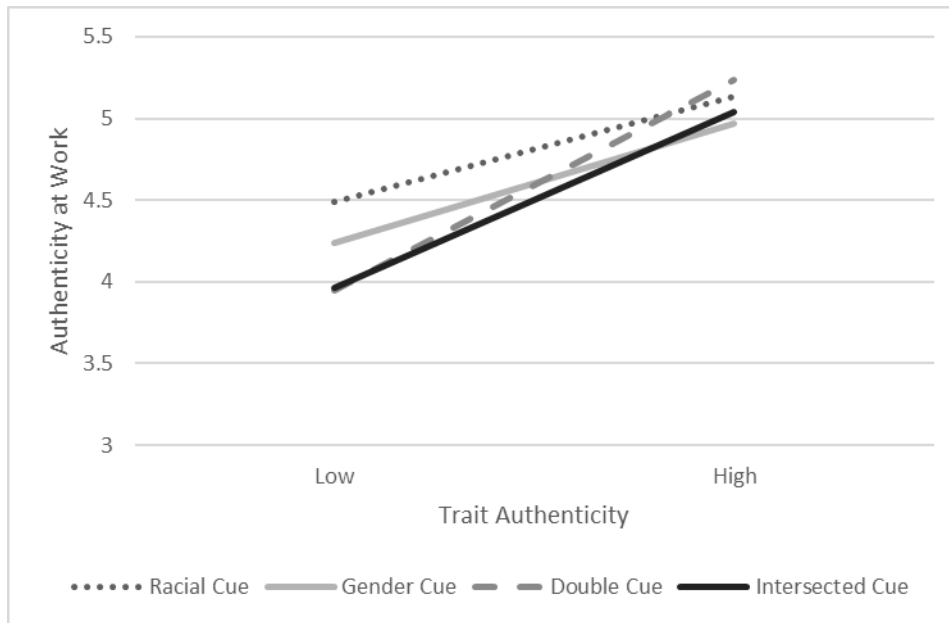
Table 26. Study 2: Simple Regression Results for Predicting Authenticity at Work for Each Cue Condition

	Racial Cue	Gender Cue	Double Cue	Intersected Cue
Intercept	4.81	4.60	4.59	4.50
Slope for Trait Authenticity	.36	.41	<b>.73*</b>	.60

*Note.* Trait authenticity was grand mean-centered prior to analyses. Significant slope values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$

Figure 4. Study 2: Predicting Authenticity at Work as a Function of Trait Authenticity Separately for Cue Condition



*Note.* Low trait authenticity is defined as 1 SD below the mean and high trait authenticity is defined as 1 SD above the mean

Table 27. Study 2 Hierarchical Regression Testing the Interaction of Cue Condition and Acculturation Toward European American Culture

Model	Outcome: Authenticity at Work	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$
1	(Constant)	4.63	.07	<b>.000</b>		
	AccultEuroC	.07	.07	.305		
	Race Cue	.12	.12	.308	.01	.01
	Gender Cue	.02	.12	.866		
	Double Cue	-.04	.11	.759		
2	(Constant)	4.61	.07	<b>.000</b>		
	AccultEuroC	.09	.07	.206		
	Race Cue	.14	.12	.234		
	Gender Cue	-.02	.12	.874		
	Double Cue	-.04	.11	.736	.05	.03
	AccultEuroC*Race Cue	-.11	.13	.396		
	AccultEuroC*Gender Cue	.27	.12	<b>.027</b>		
	AccultEuroC*Double Cue	-.19	.11	.068		

*Note.* Dependent Variable: Authenticity at Work. AccultEuroC = Acculturation toward European American Culture (grand mean-centered). Significant values are bolded.

Table 28. Study 2: Simple Regression Results for Predicting Authenticity at Work for Each Cue Condition

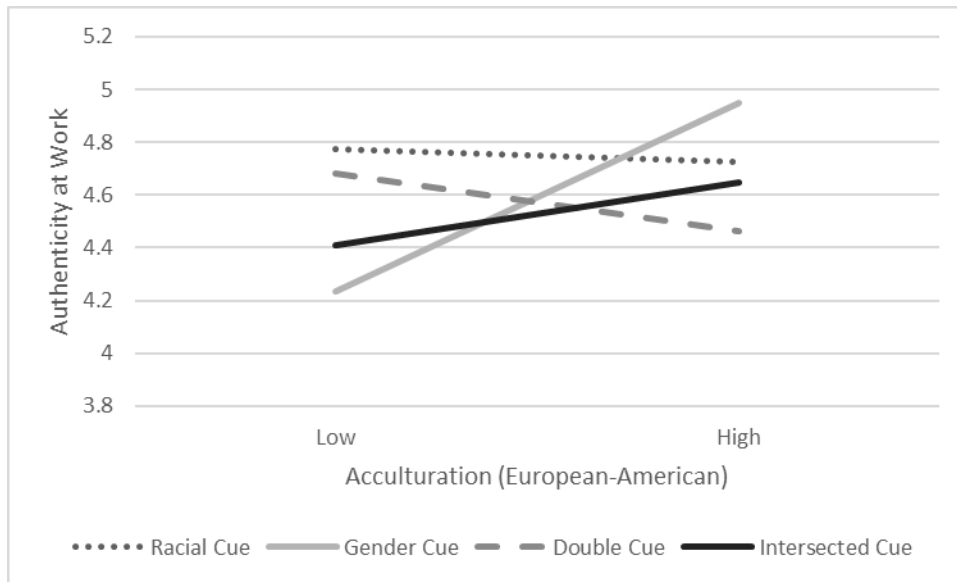
	Racial Cue	Gender Cue	Double Cue	Intersected Cue
Intercept	4.75	4.59	4.57	4.53
Slope for Acculturation	-.02	<b>.36*</b>	-.11	.12

*Note.* Acculturation (i.e., toward European American culture) was grand mean-centered prior to analyses. Significant slope values are bolded.

\* $p < .05$



Figure 5. Study 2: Predicting Authenticity at Work as a Function of Acculturation Toward European American Culture Separately for Cue Condition



*Note.* Low acculturation toward European American culture is defined as 1 SD below the mean and high acculturation is defined as 1 SD above the mean

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