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## **Expressing Pride: The Effects Skin Tone Has On Perceptions Of Agency, Communality, And Interpersonal Hostility For Black Women**

Jessica Aikens

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**EXPRESSING PRIDE: THE EFFECTS SKIN TONE HAS ON PERCEPTIONS OF  
AGENCY, COMMUNALITY, AND INTERPERSONAL HOSTILITY FOR  
BLACK WOMEN**

A Master's Thesis

Presented to

The Graduate College of

Missouri State University

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science, Psychology

By

Jessica Aikens

May 2018

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Psychology

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**ABSTRACT**

This study is a replication and extension of Brosi, Welp, Sporrle, and Heilman's (2016) study that investigates the effects skin tone and emotional expression has on ratings of agency, communality, and interpersonal hostility. A picture of an African American female target was manipulated to depict three skin tones (light, brown, and dark) and expressed either pride or happiness. Data were collected from 399 participants via Amazon Mechanical Turk. Although explicit and implicit measures were used, the implicit measures were unreliable therefore, only the explicit measures were analyzed. Results revealed the brown target rated as more agentic and interpersonally hostile when she expressed pride than the light and dark targets. Implications and directions for future research are discussed.

**KEYWORDS:** skin tone, perceptions, stereotypes, pride, emotions, MTurk

This abstract is approved as to form and content

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Michelle Visio, PhD  
Chairperson, Advisory Committee  
Missouri State University

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May 2018

Approved:

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In the interest of academic freedom and the principle of free speech, approval of this thesis indicates the format is acceptable and meets the academic criteria for the discipline as determined by the faculty that constitute the thesis committee. The content and views expressed in this thesis are those of the student-scholar and are not endorsed by Missouri State University, its Graduate College, or its employees.

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## INTRODUCTION

We all develop perceptions of the people we see. These impressions are influenced by individual's physical characteristics, their verbal and nonverbal behaviors, and the perceived situational context. One complex emotional response that individuals display is pride. Pride is experienced when you accomplish something great, have succeeded against oppositions and tackled obstacles. During this time, you feel good about yourself and it is non-verbally expressed to others. Pride is a recognized nonverbal expression that cues social information about a person (Tracy & Robins, 2004). The purpose of this research is to examine how one feature, skin tone, can alter one's perception of the emotion expressed (such as pride).

Skin tones vary from light to dark. When individuals begin to use skin tone to discriminate against others outside or within their own race it is known as colorism (Marira & Mitra, 2013). Colorism occurs in many countries such as India, China, Japan, Philippines, Brazil, and America. In the African American culture, colorism can be traced to slavery. Throughout this period, light skin blacks were generally treated better than darker blacks. In many cultures, lighter skin is the desired trait. The impact of colorism has led to lighter skin being linked to beauty standards, increased income, increased education, marriage with men with higher education, and lenient sentencing compared to those with darker skin (Hunter, 2002; Kleider-Offutt, Bond, & Hegerty, 2017). Yet, with all this research regarding colorism, it is understudied in the workplace (Marira & Mitra, 2013).

Thus, the purpose of this research is to replicate and extend Brosi, Welpel, Sporrle, and Heilman (2016) study to include targets with different skin tones. Brosi et al.'s (2016) current research focused on the expression of pride and its effects on agency, communality, and stereotype-based gender disparities. Brosi et al. (2016) found that targets expressing pride were ascribed as more agentic and having greater task oriented leadership competence, however, it led to lower ratings of communality and perceptions of people-oriented leadership, and it increased perceptions of interpersonal hostility. In addition, agency judgements when pride was expressed were more pronounced when the target was a female compared to a male. However, this increase in agency perceptions in female targets and decrease in communality did not cause the perception of women being viewed as more interpersonally hostile. Finally, gender stereotypes seemed to have their strongest impact in the happiness condition versus the pride condition (women who were prideful were rated about the same as men).

This extended study will include only female targets with Afrocentric features (light skin blacks, brown skin blacks, and dark skin blacks). Parker and Ogilvie (1996) suggested stereotypes that apply to women differ by race. Such that black women are stereotypically thought to engage in behaviors that are similar to white males. Based on African-American history, it is expected white female stereotypes will apply more to light skin blacks and black female stereotypes will apply more to dark skin blacks.

Colorism is a form of discrimination and due to the consequences of colorism it is important to understand its effects on work related behaviors. Marira and Mitra (2013) called for industrial/organizational psychologists to focus more research on colorism within the workplace, specifically its impact on selection systems. This research seeks to

show differences in ratings regarding skin tones. Understanding how skin tone effects ratings will expand our research on discrimination faced by those with different skin tones in the workplace. Additionally, like mainstream media, research has defaulted to using white targets as the norm. Another goal of this study is to use minority targets with hopes that it will become the norm and not a special situation.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### **Agency**

Agency is defined as one's desire for self-expansion, individualism, and goal attainment (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). Agentic traits include activeness, decisiveness, self-confidence, and efficiency (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007).

**Agency and stereotypes.** Agency is related to dominance and competence (Rudman & Glick, 2001) and agentic behavior is primarily associated with men (Conway & Vartanian, 2000). Although women have advanced to express agentic behavior, there are known backlash effects associated with women and the expression of agentic traits, such that attitudes towards agentic women are less favorable than men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, most of this research has been conducted on white females and recent research has offered hints that backlash towards agentic women differ as a function of race. Livingston, Rosette, and Washington (2012) found support that black agentic women are immune to backlash more than white women. In fact, black agentic female leaders modeled the same responses as white males (Livingston et al., 2012). Thus, it is expected that different skin tones will influence stereotype backlash, such that darker women with afro-centric features will be less effected by agency stereotypes versus lighter women with afro-centric features.

### **Communality**

Communality is generally seen as "...strivings to integrate the self in a larger social unit through caring for others..." (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, p. 751). Common

characteristics of communality include caring, cooperation, good-natured, compassionate, and understanding (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

**Communality and stereotypes.** Communality attributes are generally tagged to women. Based on societal history and men's dependence on women, women are expected to be "nice" (Rudman & Glick, 2001). Thus, communal women tend to be liked but are less respected (Rudman & Glick, 2001). This can be detrimental to women in leadership roles, where competence and respect are important for an effective leader. Although black women tend to engage in agentic behavior and are less punished for it, they still possess communal characteristics such as "nurturance" (Parker & Ogilvie, 1996).

### **Pride Expression**

Pride is a critical emotion that plays an important role in psychological functioning and it is generally viewed as an emotional reaction to self (Carver & Johnson, 2011; Tracy & Robins, 2004). Pride is linked to positive social consequences such as social status and acceptance (Tracy & Robins, 2004) and negative consequences such as aggression and antisocial behavior (Tracy, Cheng, Robins & Trzesniewski, 2009). Pride is conceptualized as two dimensions: authentic and hubristic. Authentic pride is a result of internal attributes, unstable, and controllable causes (Tracy & Robins, 2004). Authentic pride is associated with words such as accomplished and confident (Carver & Johnson, 2011). On the other hand, hubristic pride is the result of attributions related to internal, stable, and uncontrollable causes (Tracy & Robins, 2004). It corresponds to words such as arrogance and conceit and is generally viewed as a narcissistic trait (Tracy

et al., 2009). Overall pride is universally recognized across cultures and ages (Tracy & Robins, 2008; Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005). Pride is expressed with a small smile, slight head tilt, visibly expanded posture, and with hands on hip or arms raised above the head (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

**Agency and pride expression.** Since gender stereotypes usually specify women as less agentic than men, the expression of pride is likely to have a strong effect on women (Brosi et al., 2016). However, as already stated, the stereotypes for black women differ in expression of agency. Black women generally display agentic qualities and experience less backlash for it (Livingston et al., 2012; Parker & Ogilvie, 1996).

**Communality and pride expression.** Generally, women are expected to display communal qualities that focus on others rather than self. This is usually an advantage to women in the workplace (Brosi et al., 2016).

**Interpersonal hostility and pride expression.** Expressions of communal traits are known to be an advantage for women because they are viewed as less interpersonally hostile than men (Brosi et al., 2016). There can be negative consequences for women when they express pride. Women can experience negative social sanctions that include personal derogation and dislike, which can be lethal for upward advances (Heilman, 2001). For black women however, the opposite could be at play. Since research supports the idea that African American women receive less backlash for expressing agentic qualities, the ratings of interpersonal hostility could differ based upon skin tone. However, being perceived as interpersonally hostile is possible due to the angry black woman stereotype. Therefore, the relationship between skin tone, interpersonal hostility, and pride expression is exploratory in this study.

## **Hypotheses**

**Hypothesis 1.** In line with Brosi (2016) results, it is expected that targets expressing pride to be viewed as more agentic than when expressing happiness.

**Hypothesis 2.** There will be an interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of agency such that: a) ratings of agency will be higher when a light African American woman expresses pride than a brown and dark brown African American woman express pride and b) light African American women will be viewed as less agentic than brown and dark brown African American women when they express happiness.

**Hypothesis 3.** Targets expressing pride will be viewed as less communal than when they express happiness.

**Hypothesis 4.** There will be an interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of communality such that: a) ratings of communality will be lower when a light African American woman expresses pride than a brown and dark brown African American woman express pride and b) light African American women will be seen as more communal than brown and dark brown African American women when they express happiness.

**Hypothesis 5.** Targets that express pride will be rated as more interpersonally hostile than when they express happiness.

**Hypothesis 6.** The interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of interpersonal hostility is exploratory.

## METHOD

### Participants

Participants consisted of 399 workers from Amazon Mechanical Turk (M-turk). Participation was voluntarily and subjects received 0.60 to 0.75 cents for participating. On average, the study took about 20 minutes to complete. There were 161 females, 237 males, and one individual that identified as other. Age of the sample ranged from 18-70 ( $M = 33$ ,  $SD = 10.2$ ). Participants had an average of 11 years work experience ( $SD = 10.2$ ). The sample consisted of 39% ( $n = 155$ ) Non-Hispanic or Latino Whites, 38% ( $n = 152$ ) Asian, 9% ( $n = 36$ ) Black or African American, 7% ( $n = 29$ ) Hispanic or Latino, 4% ( $n = 16$ ) American Indian or Native Alaskan, 2% ( $n = 9$ ) multi-racial, and 1% ( $n = 1$ ) Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander.

### Design

This study is a 2 X 3 between-groups factorial design with emotional expression (pride and happiness) and skin tone of the target (light, brown, and dark brown) as the independent variables. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the six experimental groups. Approval to conduct this study was granted by Missouri State University Institutional Review Board (See Appendix A).

### Procedure

Workers who consented to the study read a scenario of a student that received a highly regarded and desired scholarship to study abroad. The scenario mirrored Brosi et



al. (2016) original study. Participants were told the target received notice of the award online during a break in a lecture she was attending. The scenario described how much of an honor it is to receive the award and the considerable work involved in the written application and intensive interview. The scenario included a picture of the target (happy or prideful) reported to have been taken immediately after the news (See Appendix B). Participants then completed a short questionnaire and Implicit Bias Tests (IATs).

### **Experimental Manipulation**

**Emotion expression.** Written descriptions and pictures were used to manipulate emotion expressions. Pictures mirrored Tracy, Robins, and Schriber (2009) set of emotion expression picture set. The image consisted of a single black female target wearing neutral clothing.

Mimicking Brosi et al. (2016), pride was conveyed with arms akimbo because it is more common in a work place. Also in line with Brosi et al. (2016), targets smiled slightly to communicate pride. Happiness was expressed with broad smile. Pictures were neutral, supplying only target sex, ethnicity, and emotional expression, reflecting Brosi et al. (2016). The target's skin tone was manipulated via Adobe Photoshop to keep target pictures similar in terms of attractiveness, age, and intelligence. Appendix C shows the female target expressing pride and happiness.

**Sex, race, and skin color of target.** This study focused explicitly on African American women. To control for attractiveness and other differences that might influence participant's perceptions, a single African American woman was used in all

conditions. Skin color was manipulated by pictures showing a light skin, brown skin, or dark skin African American woman. Ava was the assigned name of the target.

### **Dependent Measures**

Following Brosi et al. (2016) method, participants were asked to describe what they feel the targets are like on multiple 9-point bipolar adjective scales. Brosi et al. (2016) original study consisted of two parts that had slight revisions to items from study one to study two. In this study items were combined into their respective composite scales. Additionally, participants were asked to complete three IATs.

**Agency-related measures.** A five-item scale was used to measure perceived agency of the target (See Appendix D). This scale uses a 9-point bi-polar adjective scale (not self-confident – self-confident, not forceful – forceful, weak – strong, not authoritative – authoritative). Respondents were asked to select the adjectives that best represents the target. Higher scores indicate higher agency. Internal consistency of the scale was .69.

**Communality-related measures.** Perceived communality was measured using a four item 9-point bipolar adjective scale (not understanding – understanding, not supportive – supportive, insensitive – sensitive, not warm – warm) (See Appendix E). Respondents were asked to select the adjective that best describes the target. Higher scores indicate higher communality. Internal consistency was reported as .88.

**Interpersonal hostility.** A five-item scale measured interpersonal hostility (pushy, egotistic, self-serving, aggressive, threatening) (See Appendix F). Respondents were asked to rate targets based on the extent to which it describes the target. Ratings

were made on a 5-point scale (1 (*to no extent*) to 5 (*to a very great extent*)). Internal consistency was .84.

**Implicit Measures.** In this study IATs were used to measure the strength of the association between the independent variables (skin tone and emotion) and the dependent variables (agentic vs communal and agreeableness vs. interpersonally hostile) (see Appendix G). The stimuli (words and picture) was presented on the middle of the computer screen. Then participants sorted the stimuli into the category the stimulus item belonged by pressing “e” key or “i” key. The IAT score is comprised of the mean reaction times on the sorting task for alternative pairings of categories. Thus, larger IAT mean values indicate the target is viewed as more agentic (vs communal) and more agreeable (vs hostile). Psychometric properties of the IAT were analyzed by conducting a pre-study. Reliabilities for agentic vs. communal IAT were .41 and agreeableness vs hostility were .26.

### **Manipulation check**

To ensure respondents perceived the target as expressing authentic pride, respondents completed an IAT that measured authentic vs hubristic pride (see Appendix H). Smaller mean values indicated the participants viewed the target as expressing authentic pride.

## RESULTS

Data were screened for multivariate assumptions (normality, linearity, homogeneity, and homoscedasticity) all assumptions were met with slight issues regarding homoscedasticity. Given the violation of multivariate homoscedasticity was slight, no transformations of the dependent variables were undertaken. Duplicate and missing data were removed from the dataset. Mahalanobis distance indicated two multivariate outliers for the explicit data only (cutoff  $X^2(3) = 16.27, p = .001$ ). The Mahalanobis distances for the two outliers were slightly beyond the cutoff. It was determined the two outliers did not exhibit undue influence and were not deleted.

Descriptive statistics and reliabilities for implicit and explicit measures are provided in Table 1. Descriptive statistics and reliabilities for the explicit measures only are provided in Table 2. The difference in the number of responses between Table 1 ( $N = 196$ ) and Table 2 ( $N = 399$ ) occurred because Table 1 includes only data from respondents with valid IAT scores. Table 2 shows data from a greater number of respondents after removing the IAT cutoff restriction. Presented in Table 3 are the means and standard deviations of the explicit dependent variables for the experimental conditions. Correlations for explicit measures are shown in Table 4. Because the reliabilities of the IATs were lower than acceptable for research, the hypotheses were primarily analyzed using the explicit measures only.

Although the IATs were not the primary measure used, participants did correctly identify the targets as expressing authentic pride versus hubristic pride ( $M = -.07$ ) using the IAT.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variables for Explicit and Implicit Measures

Variable	<i>N</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	Range	Skew	Kurtosis
Explicit							
Agency	196	5.97	1.21	.69	1 9	-.52	1.52
Communality	196	6.65	1.30	.88	1 9	-.12	-.52
Hostility	196	2.05	.75	.84	1 5	.24	-.84
Implicit							
Agency vs. Communality	196	-.19	.29	.41	N/A	N/A	N/A
Agreeableness vs. Hostility	196	-.03	.27	.26	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Note.* Data from respondents with valid IAT scores.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variables for Explicit Measures

Variable	<i>N</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$	Range	Skew	Kurtosis
Agency	399	6.30	1.27	.71	1 9	-.32	.60
Communality	399	6.80	1.30	.88	1 9	-.40	.29
Hostility	399	2.54	1.02	.86	1 5	.33	-.74

*Note.* Data from respondents after removing the IAT cutoff restriction.

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations for Experimental Conditions

Variable	<u>Happy</u>		<u>Pride</u>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Agency				
Light	78	6.40 (1.13)	61	6.05 (1.24)
Brown	80	6.31 (1.15)	58	6.71 (1.40)
Dark	60	6.26 (1.4)	62	6.07 (1.30)
Total	218	6.33 (1.21)	181	6.27 (1.34)
Communality				
Light	78	6.75 (1.28)	61	6.58 (1.18)
Brown	80	6.71 (1.10)	58	7.12 (1.28)
Dark	60	6.92 (1.48)	62	6.70 (1.44)
Total	218	6.78 (1.27)	181	6.80 (1.32)
Hostility				
Light	78	2.36 (0.94)	61	2.41 (0.93)
Brown	80	2.61 (1.07)	58	2.92 (1.09)
Dark	60	2.68 (1.01)	62	2.32 (0.99)
Total	218	2.54 (1.02)	181	2.54 (1.03)

Table 4. Correlations amongst Independent Variables

Variables	1	2	3
1. Agency	-		
2. Communality	.47**	-	
3. Hostility	.49**	.06	-

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

## Hypotheses Tests

A 2 X 3 between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the three dependent variables of agency, communality, and interpersonal hostility. The independent variables were emotion (happy and pride) and skin tone (light, brown, and dark brown). Using Wilks' criterion, the combined dependent variables were not significantly affected by emotion,  $F(3, 391) = .085, p = .968, \eta_p^2 = .001$ . However, the dependent variables were significantly affected by skin tone,  $F(6, 784) = 2.46, p = .023, \eta_p^2 = .019$ , and the interaction between emotion and skin tone,  $F(6, 782) = 2.46, p = .023, \eta_p^2 = .019$ . Table 5 shows the results of the ANOVAs for each dependent variable.

**Hypothesis 1.** Targets expressing pride were expected to be viewed as more agentic than targets expressing happiness. However, this was not supported,  $t(397) = .44, p = .66, d = .05, 95\% CI [-0.15 - 0.24]$ . Thus, targets expressing pride ( $M = 6.27$ ) were not rated as more agentic than those expressing happiness ( $M = 6.33$ ), which is inconsistent with Brosi et al. (2016) findings.

**Hypothesis 2.** An interaction between color and skin tone on perceptions of agency was predicted for Hypothesis 2. As shown in Table 5, there was a significant interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of agency,  $F(2, 393) = 3.29, p > .038, \eta_p^2 = .016$ , but this pattern was not congruent with direction of hypotheses (See Figure 1).

Hypothesis 2a predicted higher ratings of agency for the light skin target, but this was not supported. Instead, agency ratings for brown skin targets ( $M = 6.71$ ) were higher than light ( $M = 6.05$ ) and dark skin ( $M = 6.07$ ) targets. Post hoc tests with a Bonferroni correction revealed significant mean differences of ratings of agency for pride expression

between light skin targets and brown skin targets,  $p = .02$ ,  $d = 0.50$ , 95%  $CI [0.14 - 0.87]$ . Furthermore, there were significant mean differences between brown skin targets and dark skin targets,  $p = .02$ ,  $d = 0.47$ , 95%  $CI [0.11 - 0.84]$ . However, there were no significant difference between light and dark skin targets,  $p = 1.00$ ,  $d = .02$ , 95%  $CI [-0.34 - 0.37]$ .

Hypothesis 2b predicted that lighter targets would be perceived as less agentic than brown or dark targets when expressing happiness. Instead, lighter individuals were perceived as slightly more agentic when expressing happiness ( $M=6.40$ ) versus brown individuals ( $M=6.31$ ) and dark individuals ( $M=6.26$ ), however these differences were not significant (light versus brown,  $p = 1.00$ , light versus dark,  $p = 1.00$ , brown versus dark,  $p = 1.00$ ). Thus, there was no support for this hypothesis.

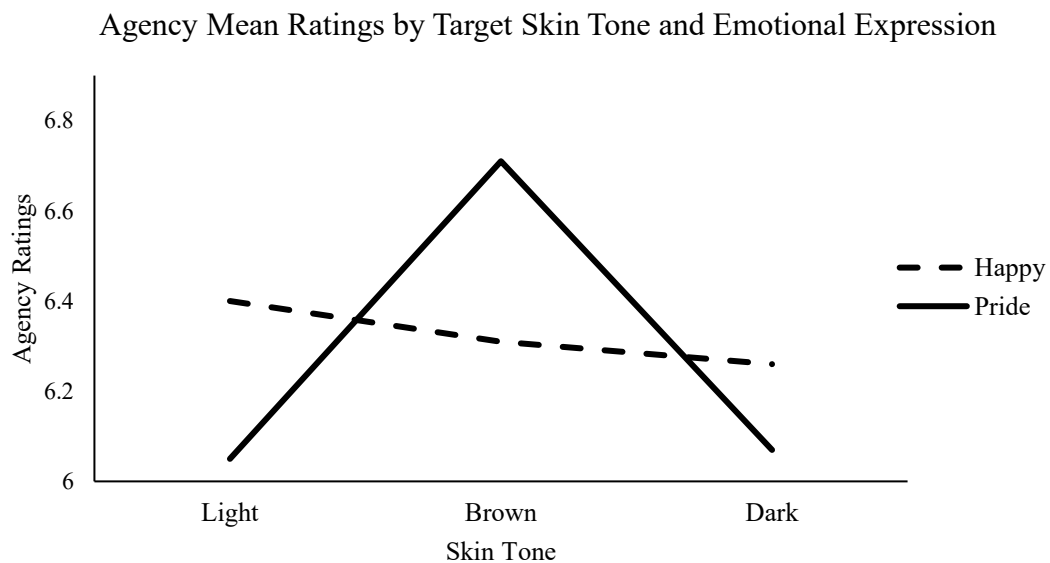


Figure 1. Interaction between emotional expression and skin tone. The full range of the scale (1 to 9) is not shown to clearly depict the interaction.



Table 5

*Summary of the Analysis of Variance for each Dependent Variable*

Source	Agency				Communality				Interpersonal hostility			
	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	$\eta_p^2$	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	$\eta_p^2$	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	$\eta_p^2$
Expressed emotions (EE)	.18	1	.12	.000	.01	1	.01	.000	.00	1	.00	.000
Skin tone (ST)	9.26	2	2.90†	.015	4.22	2	1.26	.006	10.20	2	4.96**	.007
EE X ST	10.49	2	3.29*	.016	8.11	2	2.42†	.012	7.16	2	3.48*	.017
Error	626.52	393			658.02	393			404.41	393		

† $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Hypothesis 3.** It was predicted that targets expressing pride ( $M = 6.80$ ) would be perceived as less communal than when they express happiness ( $M = 6.78$ ). Results did not show support for this hypothesis ( $t(397) = -.112, p = .91, d = 0.02, 95\% CI [-0.18 - 0.21]$ ) which again is inconsistent with Brosi et al. (2016).

**Hypothesis 4.** Hypothesis 4 predicted an interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of communality. As shown in Table 5, there was no support of an interaction between emotional expression and color ( $F(2, 393) = 2.42, p = .09, \eta_p^2 = .012$ ).

There was no support for Hypothesis 4a, in that, ratings of communality for pride expression were not significantly lower when the expresser is a light target ( $M = 6.58$ ) than a brown target ( $M = 7.12$ ) or dark target ( $M = 6.70$ ) (light versus brown,  $p = .078$ ; light versus dark,  $p = 1.00$ ; brown versus dark,  $p = .262$ ). There was no support for Hypothesis 4b, light African American women ( $M = 6.75$ ) were not perceived as more communal than brown ( $M = 6.71$ ) and dark brown ( $M = 6.92$ ) African American women when expressing happiness (light versus brown,  $p = 1.00$ ; light versus dark,  $p = 1.00$ ; brown versus dark,  $p = .969$ ).

**Hypothesis 5.** Targets that expressed pride versus happiness were expected to obtain higher ratings of interpersonal hostility. Results showed no significant difference between pride ( $M = 2.54$ ) and happiness ( $M = 2.54$ ) for interpersonal hostility ( $t(397) = -.05, p = .96, d = 0.00, 95\% CI [-0.20 - 0.20]$ ). However, the IAT data revealed a significant difference such that individuals indicated a stronger association of pride ( $M = -.09, SD = .27$ ) with interpersonal hostility rather than happiness ( $M = .01, SD = .27$ ),

$t(194) = 2.75, p > .006, d = 0.37, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.09 - 0.65]$ ). These results suggest individuals were hiding or unaware of their biases regarding pride expression and perceived hostility.

**Hypothesis 6.** While the interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on perceptions of interpersonal hostility was expected, no specific direction was predicted. This hypothesis was strictly exploratory. As shown in Table 5, a significant interaction was found between emotion and color ( $F(2, 393) = 3.48, p = .03, \eta_p^2 = .017$ ). This interaction is depicted in Figure 2. Post hoc tests with a Bonferonni correction revealed a significant mean difference between light skin targets expressing pride ( $M = 2.41$ ) and brown skin targets expressing pride ( $M = 2.92$ ),  $p = .019, d = 0.50, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.14 - 0.87]$ . Additionally, when targets expressed pride there was a significant mean difference between brown targets ( $M = 2.92$ ) and dark targets ( $M = 2.32$ ),  $p = .005, d = .58, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.21 - 0.94]$ . There was no significant difference between light targets and dark targets when they express pride. These findings suggest brown targets were more likely to be rated as interpersonally hostile.

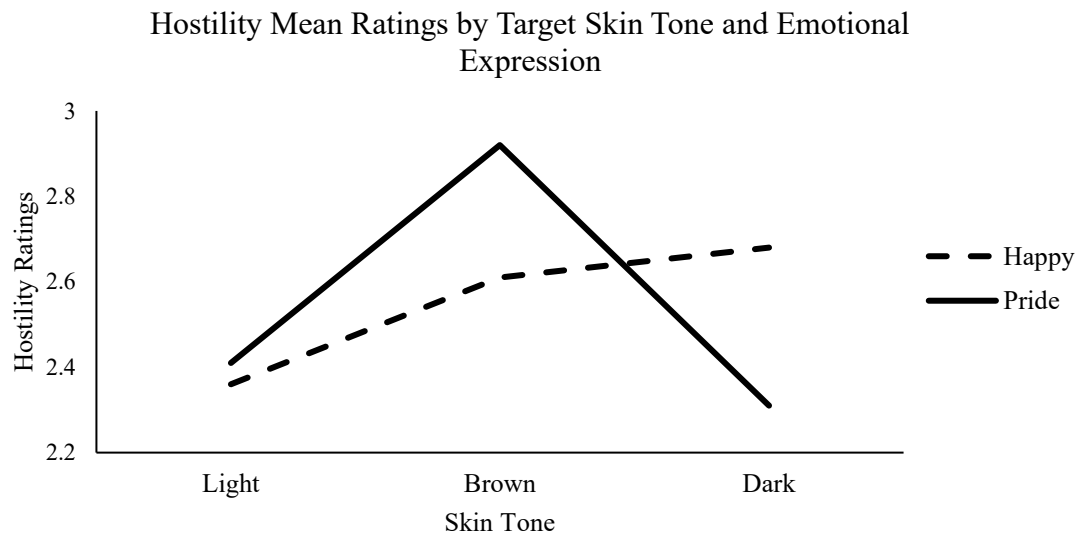


Figure 2. Interaction between emotional expression and skin tone. The full range of the scale (1 to 5) is not shown to clearly depict the interaction.

## DISCUSSION

This study sought to examine the role emotional expression and skin tone have on ratings of agency, communality, and interpersonal hostility. Findings indicated that emotion and skin tone does influence perceptions. Individuals are more likely to perceive pride displays from brown skin targets as agentic and interpersonally hostile compared to light and dark skin targets. Furthermore, pride expression can lead to implicit perceptions of interpersonal hostility.

Unlike Brosi et al. (2016) and Miles (2017), a main effect of emotional expression for agency and communality were not found. However, a main effect for interpersonal hostility was discovered implicitly. This finding suggests that people could unknowingly associate pride expression with interpersonal hostility. Although, Wubben, Cremer, and Dijk (2012) found authentic pride is associated with prosocial behaviors, the current findings suggests authentic pride could be ascribed to antisocial behaviors as well such as interpersonal hostility. Furthermore, since the target was a black woman, the angry black woman stereotype could be at play in a way which individuals are unaware of. However, more research is needed to explore this possibility.

Results indicated a significant interaction between emotional expression and skin tone on ratings of agency. However, this was not in the direction hypothesized. It was expected that lighter targets would obtained higher ratings of agency when expressing pride. Instead, brown targets significantly received higher ratings of agency when expressing pride. While this finding is interesting, it was not anticipated thus more research is necessary to replicate and explain the observed finding.

Additionally, a significant interaction between emotional expression and skin on ratings of interpersonally hostility was observed. While the interaction was expected, the direction was exploratory. Results suggests pride expression displayed by the brown target are more likely to be perceived as interpersonally hostile versus light or dark targets. Uzogara, and Jackson (2016) studied in-group and out-group discrimination self-reported by black women of different skin tones. They found light skin women reported the least amount of out-group discrimination and brown skin women reported the least amount of in-group discrimination. Additionally, dark-skin women reported more in-group and out-group discrimination. While Uzogara and Jackson (2016) research focused on self-report, it could explain why lighter targets in this research received significantly lower ratings of interpersonal hostility than brown targets since most of the raters were outgroup individuals. However, it does not explain why brown targets were rated significantly more hostile than dark targets thus, more research is needed to explain this effect.

The interaction between emotional expression and skin tone and its effect on communality was not supported in this study. However, the direction of this interaction was supported. Although insignificant, ratings of communality of the light target that expressed pride were lower than brown and dark targets. On the other hand, dark targets were viewed as more communal than light and brown targets when expressing happiness. Again, these findings were insignificant but more research should investigate this phenomenon.

Overall, the present study extends prior research on colorism and pride in two ways. First, it is a start of understanding how pride displays effects those of different

skin tones. While research has investigated recognition of pride across cultures (Tracy et al., 2008), not much research has explored how pride demonstrations effects individuals within the culture with different skin tones. This research begins to address that question. Second, it supports the view that pride expression (regardless of authentic or hubristic) can lead to negative social sanctions. Pride is an expression that is universally communicated and being negatively assessed for expressing pride (even if individuals are unaware of their assessments) could possibly hurt the expresser socially or financially.

There were threats to validity in this study. First, the pictures did not accurately distinguish the light skinned target from the brown skinned target. Perhaps a manipulation that ensured individuals viewed the target as the desired skin tone would have been beneficial. Second, the reliabilities of the IATs were low and, generally, are not considered acceptable for research (Nunnally, 1978). However, an effect was revealed even with the low reliabilities indicating something is there. Third, the use of Mturk participants could affect the generalizability of this study. There is a possibility workers did not read the scenario or view the picture but still participated in the study. While there were attempts to avoid this (by using attention grabbing subject lines that encouraged reading the scenario and viewing the picture) it is plausible individuals bypassed these attempts thus responding to the manipulation inaccurately. Another limitation is the manipulation used to examine whether participants viewed the target as expressing authentic or hubristic pride. Two hundred and three participants were eliminated from the IAT data because their IAT scores were invalid. Since an IAT was used as the manipulation, it is unknown whether those participants that were removed

from the IAT restriction but included in the explicit data, perceived targets as expressing authentic or hubristic pride.

The current study focused on demonstrating that skin color does make a difference on ratings of agency, communality, and interpersonal hostility. Future research should investigate the effects skin color has in the workplace directly. It could be fruitful to explore the role skin tone plays amongst selection, leader acceptance, and performance appraisals. Additionally, consider context in which ratings are made. Some research has found context (in-group or out-group) makes a difference with the importance placed on skin tone (Harvey, LaBeach, Pridgen, & Gocial, 2005). Lastly, future research should extend the focus of colorism to other minorities. Colorism extends to Latinos, Asians, Indians, and more, it would be interesting to examine how these results unveil with different minority groups.

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Human Subjects IRB Approval



**Missouri State.**  
UNIVERSITY

**To:**  
Michelle Visio  
Psychology

**RE:** Notice of IRB Approval  
**Submission Type:** Initial  
**Study #:** IRB-FY2018-332  
**Study Title:** EXPRESSING PRIDE: THE EFFECTS SKIN TONE VARIATION HAS ON PERCEPTIONS OF AGENCY AND COMMUNALITY FOR WOMEN  
**Decision:** Approved

**Approval Date:** Dec 3, 2017  
**Expiration Date:** Dec 2, 2018

This submission has been approved by the Missouri State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the period indicated.

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Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. It is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to submit for renewal and obtain approval before the expiration date. You may not continue any research activity beyond the expiration date without IRB approval. Failure to receive approval for continuation before the expiration date will result in automatic termination of the approval for this study on the expiration date.

You are required to obtain IRB approval for any changes to any aspect of this study before they can be implemented. Should any adverse event or unanticipated problem involving risks to subjects or others occur it must be reported immediately to the IRB.

This study was reviewed in accordance with federal regulations governing human subjects research, including those found at 45 CFR 46 (Common Rule), 45 CFR 164 (HIPAA), 21 CFR 50 & 56 (FDA), and 40 CFR 26 (EPA), where applicable.

Researchers Associated with this Project:  
**PI:** Michelle Visio  
**Co-PI:**  
**Primary Contact:** Jessica Aikens  
**Other Investigators:** Jessica Aikens

## Appendix B: Conditions

### Condition: Happy Scenario

Good leadership is composed of many types of behavior—different ones are required in different situations, and leaders typically handle some of these leadership behaviors better than others. Indicators of what type of leader an individual is going to be can be very subtle. Sometimes information from a single instance can provide a sense of what a person is like and the aspects of leadership for which they will excel and the aspects of leadership for which they will not. We are interested in these indicators and how universal they are in producing leadership expectations.

In the following paragraph you will find such a potential instance in form of a scenario, which describes an experience in a management student's life.

This semester Ava has applied for a scholarship to study abroad at a very well-known business school. The scholarship has a very good endowment and therefore, a lot of other students have applied for the scholarship. But, overall only three scholarships are granted.

The application procedure consisted of a written application and a very intensive interview, which took place about one month ago—since then, the probability that the names of the scholarship receivers are published, has risen with every day. When the list is finally published, Ava is sitting in a big lecture. After one student has noticed the list, all students, who applied for the scholarship, begin to retrieve the list..



When Ava sees the list, she realizes that she received the highly sought-after scholarship. She has to take a second look at the list before she turns to the other students to tell them the news.

In this moment Ava is very happy about her achievement. Ava expresses a big smile and looks as if not being able to contain her happiness.

Please try to visualize the situation as detailed as possible.

### **Condition: Pride Scenario**

Good leadership is composed of many types of behavior—different ones are required in different situations, and leaders typically handle some of these leadership behaviors better than others. Indicators of what type of leader an individual is going to be can be very subtle. Sometimes information from a single instance can provide a sense of what a person is like and the aspects of leadership for which they will excel and the aspects of leadership for which they will not. We are interested in these indicators and how universal they are in producing leadership expectations.

In the following paragraph you will find such a potential instance in form of a scenario, which describes an experience in a management student's life.

This semester Ava has applied for a scholarship to study abroad at a very well-known business school. The scholarship has a very good endowment and therefore, a lot of other students have applied for the scholarship. But, overall only three scholarships are granted.

The application procedure consisted of a written application and a very intensive interview, which took place about one month ago—since then, the probability that the names of the scholarship receivers are published, has risen with every day. When the list is finally published, Ava is sitting in a big lecture. After one student has noticed the list, all students, who applied for the scholarship, begin to retrieve the list.



When Ava sees the list, she realizes that she received the highly sought-after scholarship. She has to take a second look at the list before she turns to the other students to tell them the news.

In this moment Ava is very proud of herself and her achievement. Ava expresses a small smile and looks as if swelling with pride.

Please try to visualize the situation as detailed as possible.

## Appendix C: Target Photos

### Happy Pictures

Light



Brown



Dark



**Pride Pictures**

Light



Brown



Dark



## Appendix D: Agency Scale

### Agency Scale

Questions are rated on a 9-point bi-polar adjective scale.

Directions: On the scales below, please indicate your feelings about Ava using the slider.

(Participants will see a slider bar instead of discrete numbers)

AGENCY (This title is not presented to participants)

Not self-confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Self-confident
Not Forceful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Forceful
Weak	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Strong
Not Authorative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Authorative

## Appendix E: Communality Scale

### Communality Scale

Questions are rated on a 9-point bi-polar adjective scale.

Directions: On the scales below, please indicate your feelings about Ava using the slider.

(Participants will see a slider bar instead of discrete numbers)

Not understanding    1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Understanding

Not supportive        1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Supportive

Insensitive            1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Sensitive

Not warm              1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   Warm



## **Appendix F: Interpersonal Hostility Scale**

### **Interpersonal Hostility Scale**

Questions are rated on a 5-point scale, with ratings from (1) very little extent, (2) Little Extent, (3) Some Extent, (4) Great Extent, (5) Very great extent.

Directions: For each descriptor, rate the extent you think it describes Ava.

Pushy

Egotistic

Self-serving

Aggressive

Threatening

## Appendix G: Implicit Association Tests

### IATs

Information Presented through the Implicit Association Test

Instructions – All Versions of IAT

Put your middle or index fingers on the E and I keys of your keyboard. Pictures or words representing the categories at the top will appear one-by-one in the middle of the screen. When the item belongs to a category on the left, press the E key; when the item belongs to a category on the right, press the I key. Items belong to only one category. If you make an error, an X will appear - fix the error by hitting the other key.

This is a timed sorting task. GO AS FAST AS YOU CAN while making as few mistakes as possible. Going too slow or making too many errors will result in an uninterpretable score. This task will take about 5 minutes to complete."

IAT VERSION ONE and TWO

Category = "Agentic" and "Communal". These words will be shown on the top left and top right of the screen. Participants will be presented with one of the following eight words.

"Confident"

"Forceful"

"Strong"

"Authoritative"

"Understanding"

"Supportive"

"Sensitive"

"Warm"

The target picture will be association with the Agentic category for one IAT and the Communal category for the other IAT

## IAT VERSION THREE and FOUR

Category = "Hostile" and "Agreeable" These words will be shown on the top left and top right of the screen. Participants will be presented with one of the following eight words.

"Kind"

"Nice"

"Pleasant"

"Friendly"

"Pushy"

"Threatening"

"Aggressive"

"Mean"

The target picture will be association with the Hostile category for one IAT and the Agreeable category for the other IAT

## **Appendix H: Manipulation Check**

### **Manipulation Check**

IAT VERSION FIVE and SIX

Category = “Hubristic Pride” and “Authentic Pride” These words will be shown on the top left and top right of the screen. Participants will be presented with one of the following eight words.

"Arrogant"

"Pompous"

"Smug"

"Conceited"

"Productive"

"Fulfilled"

"Confident"

"Successful"

The target picture will be association with the Hubristic category for one IAT and the Authentic category for the other IAT