Understanding Hierarchy, Bias, and Social Power

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Ubiquitous

All human societies are structured as group-based social hierarchies (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)
Properties of Social Hierarchy

Stable

• Social hierarchies tend to be stable, consistent, and self-reinforcing.
• Even low status groups are complicit in their  
  (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

Prescriptive

• Hierarchies serve a “sense-making” function
• They not only depict the way things are, they give  
  people a notion of the way that things should be
Two Mechanisms Maintain and Reinforce Social Hierarchy (Social Dominance Theory; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

• 1. Legitimizing Myths
Classic Legitimizing Myths?
Modern Legitimizing Myths?

IF U.S. LAND MASS WERE DIVIDED LIKE U.S. WEALTH

1% WOULD OWN THIS

9% WOULD OWN THIS

30% WOULD OWN THIS

20% WOULD OWN THIS

40% WOULD OWN THIS RED DOT
Two Mechanisms Maintain and Reinforce Social Hierarchy (Social Dominance Theory; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

• 1. Legitimizing Myths

• 2. Institutional Terror
Institutional Terror

"When men are oppressed, it's a tragedy. When women are oppressed, it's tradition." - Letty Cottin Pogrebin
The Myth of the Broken System

There is no such thing as a broken system -

Each system is perfectly aligned to produce the results it currently gets

Heifetz, Linsky, Grashow, 2009
What are the Results?

• Female Fortune 500 CEOs in 2018: 22
  – First Female Fortune 500 CEO: 1972 (Katharine Graham)

• Black Fortune 500 CEOs in 2018: 3
  – First Black Fortune 500 CEO: 1987 (Clifton Wharton)

Roughly 95% of CEOs are both White and Male!
What is unique about Blacks who do make it?

- Competence
- Credentials
- Diligence

- **Disarming mechanisms** (Livingston & Pearce, 2009) — physical, psychological, or behavioral tendencies that mitigate perceived threat by increasing perceptions of warmth, humility, similarity, or deference

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Style of dress</th>
<th>Manner of speech</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lighter skin</td>
<td>Political ideology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiling/deferential behavior</td>
<td>Displays of erudition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whistling Vivaldi</td>
<td>Babyfaceness</td>
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(Steele & Aronson, 1995)
What is Babyfaceness? (Zebrowitz, 1997)

Babyface comprised of features such as:
- Round face
- Large forehead
- Small chin

Universal
- Hard-wired
- Constant across race
- Evident in both sexes
- Evident in all age groups (even babies)

The Teddy Bear Effect (Livingston & Pearce, 2009; Psychological Science)

- **Prediction:** high-ranking Black, but not White, leaders will benefit from disarming features (i.e., babyfaceness) that render them less threatening in appearance
# 4 Groups CEOs & Their Corporations

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

- Black CEOs: 2.05
- Matched White CEOs: 1.9
- Random White CEOs: 1.96
- Female CEOs: Low (not shown in the graph)
Correlations between Babyfaceness and Success (Black and White Males)

- Total Compensation: 0.49
- Salary: 0.30
- Ranking: 0.14
- Revenue: 0.29

- Black CEOs: 
  - Total Comp: 0.49
  - Salary: 0.30
  - Ranking: 0.14
  - Revenue: 0.29

- White CEOs: 
  - Total Comp: -0.22
  - Salary: -0.49
  - Ranking: -0.24
  - Revenue: -0.49
Should Babyfaceness help White women?
Opposite Effect for White Women vs. Black Men

- Black CEOs: 2.05
- Matched White CEOs: 1.90
- Random White CEOs: 1.96
- Women CEOs: 1.70
Babyfaceness hurts White Female Executives

Mature-faceness conveys competence and assertiveness
Stereotypes of “Women”  
(Ghavami & Peplau, 2012)

- EMOTIONAL
- CARING
- SUBMISSIVE
- DEPENDENT
- MOTHERLY
- ATTRACTIVE
- SEXUAL OBJECTS
- MANIPULATIVE
- MATERIALISTIC
## Intersectional Gender Stereotypes

*(Ghavami & Peplau, 2012)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Women</th>
<th>Asian Women</th>
<th>Latina Women</th>
<th>Middle Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has an Attitude</td>
<td>Intelligent</td>
<td>Feisty</td>
<td>Quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loud</td>
<td>Quiet</td>
<td>Curvy</td>
<td>Religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident</td>
<td>Bad Driver</td>
<td>Good cook</td>
<td>Submissive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertive</td>
<td>Shy</td>
<td>Loud</td>
<td>Dependent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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21
Archetypes
Greater Penalties for Mistakes for Women of Color
Greater Penalty for Mistakes
(Rosette & Livingston, 2012; JESP)

- Black Women are more heavily penalized for competence-relevant errors (Rosette & Livingston, 2012; Journal of Experimental Social Psychology)

1. Black women who made mistakes on the job were evaluated more negatively than Black men or White women who made mistakes

2. This double jeopardy penalty was mediated by perceptions of leader typicality
The Origins of Implicit Bias
Aversive Racism Theory (Gaertner & Dovidio)

• People simultaneously possess:
  1. Egalitarian values
  2. Anti-Black Affect (feelings)

• People push their negative feelings into the subconscious to avoid threats to self-integrity.
• However, these feelings linger to affect behaviors in situations that are ambiguous.

• e.g., Helping Study, Hiring Study (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1996)
Personnel Decisions

Recommendations

Strong    Moderate
Qualifications

1989

Black Candidate
White Candidate

1999

2005

Strong Qualifications
Moderate Qualifications
Actual Racial Disparities

- Wealth
- Income
- Mortality
- Health Care
- Nutrition
- Housing
- Unemployment
- Leadership
- Police Brutality
- Incarceration
The Systemic Racism Alternative: Inherent Differences in Race

“White Nationalist” Perspective

- 1. Active Discrimination against White people by the government/society

- 2. Biological Racial Differences
Does Race Even Exist? Yes and No.
Realities of Race

• 1. More variability within race than between race (e.g., the two most genetically disparate groups are both African)

• 2. Skin color primarily determined by environment and is a relatively recent mutation
Which two animals are more genetically similar?

- Polar Bear
- Arctic Fox
- Grizzly Bear
Whose offspring might be susceptible to sickle cell anemia?

Nelson Mandela  Aristotle Onassis  John Lewis
If Blacks Aren’t Different, Why Have There Been No Advanced Black Civilizations? (e.g., Ancient Kush, Great Zimbabwe, Awkar)
Are Black Individuals Competent?

George Washington Carver

Matthew Henson

Mary Jackson, Katherine Johnson, Dorothy Vaughan

Vivien Thomas

Lonnie Johnson
Then Why Are the Test Scores So Low?

Burakumin
Overcoming Systemic Bias through Self-Empowerment
What is Power?
Two Types of Power

Two distinct types of power: **Prestige** and **Dominance**

**Prestige**—power that is freely conferred by the others

**Dominance**—power derived from coercion or perceived threat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prestige</th>
<th>Dominance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Given by Others</td>
<td>Imposed on Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiration, Inspiration</td>
<td>Fear, Deference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach/Affiliation</td>
<td>Avoidance/Submission</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tale of Three Cousins: Law Partner, Public Defender, Musician
Building Power Through Others
Understanding the Dynamics of Social Networks

Before we begin...

1. Write down the name of any famous person in the world that you admire or would like to meet (actor, politician, business executive, spiritual leader, author, musician, etc.)
Dynamics of Social Networks: Milgram Study
Milgram’s “other” classic study

• Inspired by his travel experiences
• **Objective:** 128 people in Omaha get a letter to a randomly chosen person in Boston
• **Instructions:** If you know the person send it to him. If not, send it to someone who might be able to get it to him.
• **Findings:** Most letters reached the Boston lawyer. It took an average of 6 links. Remarkably over 50% over letters went through same 4 people!
Two Ambitious Conclusions

• 1. Everyone is connected
  • (by an average “Six Degrees of Separation”)

• Is this true?

• Play Six Degrees of Separation game!
Can we connect to anyone in the world in less than 6 links?
Two Ambitious Conclusions

• 1. Everyone is connected
  • (by an average “Six Degrees of Separation”)

• 2. Less famous than first finding, but perhaps more important—there are different **types** of social networks
  (e.g., clique vs. broker)
Types of Networks

Clique Networks:
How many of your friends are friends of each other?
Broker Networks:
socially central individuals connect many disparate groups
Historical Examples

Revere’s Ride

Dawes’ Ride
Raising What you Know to the Power of Who You Know: Revere and Dawes

Brokers in Charleston

Brokers in Medford

Redundant Ties in Roxbury

Redundant Ties in Cambridge

Wm. Dawes

Paul Revere
Hollywood Examples
Potential Dangers of Brokers as Well:

“The Most Dangerous Woman in America”

Soup Kitchen Downtown
Nurse in Hospital
Maid for Upper Class Family
Mentors vs. Sponsors (Ibarra, Carter, & Silva, 2010)

- **Mentors** give you knowledge, training, and social support.
- **Sponsors** give you visibility, access, and power.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mentors</th>
<th>Sponsors</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can be at any level</td>
<td>Must be senior managers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide feedback, emotional support</td>
<td>Give exposure to other top executives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase mentee’s sense of competence and self-worth</td>
<td>Protect protégé from negative publicity or damaging contact with senior execs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus on professional development</td>
<td>Fight to get their people promoted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Women and People of Color tend to be over-mentored and under-sponsored.
How to Find a Sponsor

- You don’t, at least not directly

- But you **do** ask for meetings, advice, and assistance

- Focus on **Mastery** as well as Performance (not the same)

- Let **Others** Promote You

- **Expand** your network and relationships
Barriers to Developing Social Capital

- We tend to overbuild “William Dawes” type clique networks with people who are:
  1. Similar
  2. Proximal
  3. Comfortable

- Benefit: Trust is high
- Disadvantage: Diversity is low
How to Find a Sponsor

- You don’t, at least not directly
- But you do ask for meetings, advice, and assistance
- Focus on Mastery as well as Performance (not the same)
- Let Others Promote You
- Expand your network and relationships
- Finally, sponsors do not have to look like you (although mentors often do)
Building Power Through Yourself

1. **Sociability**—be engaging, outgoing, and personable. *This is highly correlated with leader emergence* (Halevy et al., 2012).

2. **Competence**—show what you know (not in an ostentatious manner).

3. **Confidence**—assertiveness and dominance increase perceptions of competence independent of competence (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009).

4. **Generosity**—making costly contributions to the group improves status (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2004).

5. **Resilience and Self-Compassion**—Always recover after a stumble and don’t beat yourself up (Neff, 2012).
Even Where You Sit Can Affect Your Power

Seating Arrangements

- 30% Leader Selection
- 70% Leader Selection

- 25% Seating Arrangements
- 22% Seating Arrangements
- 70% Seating Arrangements
- 30% Seating Arrangements
Conclusion

- 1. Find the Right Organization (Mafia vs. Buddhism)
- 2. Find the Right Position (Dean or President)
- 3. Build a Coalition within the Organization
- 4. Be Confident and Resilient
- 5. Build Credentials → Credibility → Presumed Competence