SOCIAL IDENTITY-BASED IMPRESSION MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AMONG BLACK WOMEN OUTCOMES: A LATENT PROFILE ANALYSIS

by

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(Under the Direction of Neal Outland)

ABSTRACT

Black women, like other employees of marginalized identities, often engage social identity-based impression management (SIM) strategies to combat others' negative perceptions due to negative stereotypes of their racial and gender identity (Roberts, 2005). Although there is an abundance of studies exploring SIM techniques among various identities, much of this research has taken a variable-centered approach to assume that individuals solely adopt one strategy, rather than configurations of strategies. In adopting a person-centered approach, the current study explores whether Black women differ in patterns of SIM behaviors as aligned with four major stereotypes of Black women: Mammy, Jezebel, Strong Black Woman, and Angry Black Woman. Results of both exploratory and confirmatory latent profile analyses suggest five configurations of SIM strategy among Black women: *Assimilation Dominant*, *Jezebel Decategorization Dominant*, *Jezebel Confirmation Dominant, Low Jezebel Decategorization*, and *Low Mammy SIM*. However, contrary to what was hypothesized, individuals in the *Assimilation Dominant* profile had the lowest cognitive impairment relative to all other profiles, suggesting that use of other strategies may act as a buffer.

INDEX WORDS: Stereotypes, Black women employees, Identity management, Latent profile analysis

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B.S., The University of Georgia, 2018

M.S., The University of Georgia, 2021

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2024

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August 2024

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Arthur Tremayne Melson, who passed away on June 22nd, 2024—just four days before my dissertation defense. Love you always.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For decades, there has been research exploring how marginalized employees navigate their identities at work (Shih et al., 2013). This process—termed social identity-based impression management (SIM) (also known as identity management in the literature)—is defined as the process of "strategically influencing others' perceptions of one's own social identity to form a desired impression" (Roberts, 2005, p. 694). In drawing from traditional theories of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social categorization (Hogg, 2001), SIM theory proposes that marginalized employees often engage in strategies to reduce perceived discrepancy between their professional selves and negative perceptions (i.e., stereotypes) associated with their stigmatized identities. SIM is expected to be utilized across various marginalized identity groups, ranging from concealable identities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) persons (Button et al., 2001; Chobot-Mason et al., 2001) and people with mental and emotional disabilities (Ragins, 2008; Silver et al., 2022) to more visible identities such as race (Roberts, 2014), gender (Roberts et al., 2009), and physical disabilities (e.g., Lyons et al., 2018). Previous research emphasizes that although concealment or de-emphasizing one's stigmatized identity may be "effective" in increasing perceived hireability and professionalism, this does not come without costs, such as: cognitive depletion (Goh et al., 2019; Madera, 2010; Smart & Wegner, 2000), heightened stress, burnout (Juster et al., 2013; King et al., 2017) and depression (Jones, 2017). In addition to health outcomes, concealment and de-emphasizing one's identity is

associated with negative job attitudes, including decreased job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Newheiser et al., 2017; Ragins, 2008; Shih et al., 2013).

Although SIM theory has been applied to various social identities, some questions remain in terms of how strategies differ across intersecting identity groups (Dhanani et al., 2022; Follmer et al., 2019; Trau & Lyons, 2020). Rather than being thought of as the sum of belonging two marginalized identities (i.e., "double jeopardy" perspective), intersectionality considers how different levels of privilege across various social identities (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, etc.) uniquely interact in terms of experienced discrimination and prejudice (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989 Rosette et al., 2018). Within the context of the intersection of race and gender, Womanist scholars have sought to understand the unique experiences of Black women via Black Feminist Thought (Hill Collins, 2000; Hull et al., 1982). Black women describe being "outsiders within" (Hill Collins, 2000)—being invisible and forgotten in both women's and Black liberation movements. Specifically, in focusing on the blanketed experiences of women (Black people) irrespective of race (gender), the unique experiences individuals have as a result of sharing both experiences are ignored (Hill Collins, 2000). Further, it's important to recognize how individuals may face further ostracization marginalized even within a social movement, as a result of their intersecting identity. For example, in criticizing feminism, Crenshaw (1989) argues "feminists thus ignore how their own race functions to mitigate some aspects of sexism and, moreover, how it often privileges them over and contributes to the domination of other women" (p 154). The present investigation uses an intersectional lens to explore different SIM strategies taken by Black women employees.

Historical review and empirical analysis suggest that categorical stereotypes have emerged to further "other" Black women from identities that share one of their marginalized

identities (i.e., Black men and White women; Crenshaw, 1989). In reviewing the stereotyping and SIM literature, the present study argues that previous identity management research has taken an "either, or" approach to identity, thereby generalizing racial stereotypes across gender identity groups. However, research suggests that stereotypes specific to Black women may not perfectly align with general anti-Black stereotypes (Abrams, 2014; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995, 2008). For example, one of the most pervasive anti-Black stereotypes is that of intellectual inferiority, which portrays Black people as less intelligent and capable than White people (Kendi, 2016); and is often cited as a stereotype that Black students and employees must actively avoid confirming (Forscher et al., 2019). However, Black people at the intersection of other identities, may have different experiences with this overarching stereotype. More specific to Black women, many report feeling pressure to conform to "Black Girl Magic" and "Strong Black Woman" stereotypes, both portraying Black women as exceptional, highly capable, resilient, and self-reliant (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2007; Thomas et al., 2022; Woods-Giscombe, 2005). Contrasting traditional stereotypes of Black intellectual inferiority, this group of stereotypes is framed more positively (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). As this example illuminates, targeted stereotypes and resulting identity management strategies are likely to differ even among individuals sharing a racial identity.

The paper begins with a review of contemporary stereotypes of Black women within the United States: The Mammy, the Strong Black Woman, the Sapphire/Angry Black Woman, and the Jezebel. Next, the process of SIM (Roberts, 2005) will be outlined, including how these strategies aim to reduce potential social categorization and negative stereotyping. In reviewing previous research within the SIM literature, this current study argues for stereotype-specific SIM to better understand different patterns in behaviors among Black women.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Stereotypes of Black Women

Stereotypes are broad and often negative generalizations of a marginalized group and its members (Kite & Whitley, 2016; Mio et al., 2006). These generalizations often originate from socio-cultural trends in the systemic oppression of that marginalized group (for a review see Melson-Silimon et al., 2023). For example, one of the most pervasive stereotypes in the U.S. is the "Welfare Queen" which portrays Black women being lazy yet calculating only having babies to receive government assistance (Foster, 2017). The image of the Welfare Queen was purposefully crafted by the Ronald Reagan administration to reduce public support of welfare programs during the 1970s (Cammett, 2014; Collins, 2004; Demby, 2013; Kohler-Hausman, 2015). Unfortunately, in propagating the notion that Black mothers were disingenuous and undersevering, there have been major cuts in welfare spending, as well as stricter requirements for eligibility (Foster, 2017; Kitty & Segal, 2006).

Stereotypes continue to have pervasive effects—not only in terms of how individuals are perceived, but in how they are internalized within communities (Melson-Silimon et al., 2023; Nadal et al., 2021). Through early socialization, Black girls are taught to internalize negative stereotypes of their identity, thereby being pressured to act in stereotype-disconfirming ways (Anderson & Martin, 2018). An example of this is seen through the adultification of Black girls via the "fast-tailed stereotype" (Curtis et al., 2022; Epstein, 2017). This stereotype portrays Black girls as dressing in revealing clothes, being sexually promiscuous, and otherwise engaging

in behaviors that are "inappropriate" for her age group (Curtis et al., 2022). This stereotype emerged within the Black community as a form of respectability politics (Kendall, 2020; Leath & Mims, 2023), with the thought that in behaving and dressing more modestly, Black girls can be protected from potential sexual exploitation (Curtis et al., 2022; Parker, 2018). However, this stereotype only furthered the narrative that Black girls are more promiscuous, sexually developed and "mature" than children of similar ages, and thus requiring less protection (Epstein et al., 2017). As such, the fast-tailed trope continues to be used to doubt or blame Black girls who are survivors of childhood sexual assault (Curtis et al., 2022; Kendall, 2020). Black girls therefore learn from a very young age that they must be hyper aware of their dress and mannerisms—especially when in the presence of men (Anderson et al., 2018).

The early experiences of Black girls and adultification bias foreshadow the ways in which Black women are left unprotected, surveilled and at risk. Several studies have demonstrated that when Black women are in a vulnerable state and at risk for sexual assault, bystanders rarely interpret the situation as risky and, in some studies bystanders, perceive intoxicated Black women as willing and that the interaction is pleasurable (e.g. Katz, Merrilees, Hoxmeier & Motisi, 2017; Katz, Merrilees, LaRose & Edgington, 2018). Black women encounter similar responses to their mistreatment in the workplace, even by White women. Bell and Nkomo's (2003, 2021) classic volume, *Our Separate Ways,* links cultural stereotypes of Black women to experienced workplace discrimination and harassment. Similarly, a review by Reynolds-Dobbs and colleagues (2008) provides examples of historical stereotypes of Black women and how they are likely to affect employment opportunities, workplace assault, and alienation. Among these reviewed stereotypes include the Mammy, Sapphire/Angry Black Woman, Strong Black Woman, and the Jezebel. In the following paragraphs, these stereotypes

are reviewed in greater detail—including their historical origin, media portrayals, and their implications for workplace prejudice and discrimination toward Black women.

Mammy

One of the earliest stereotypes of Black women is that of the "Mammy" (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995). This stereotype emerged during the antebellum period to justify slavery, arguing that enslaved Black women were content with their role in society (Pilgrim, 2000). One of the most cited examples of the Mammy stereotype in the media is that of Hattie McDaniel's character in *Gone in the Wind* (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Within the film, her character is portrayed as loyal, dutiful, and self-sacrificing, always prioritizing the wants and needs of those she serves above her own (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Collins, 1990; Jewell, 1993; West, 1995; 2008; Woodard & Mastin, 2005). Early media depicts the Mammy as a maternal figure, often characterized as doting on her enslaver's children. To further reinforce this image, the Mammy is often shown cooking, cleaning, and performing other forms of domestic work (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Additionally, the Mammy also portrays Black women as darker-skinned, older, having a larger physique and more afrocentric features, as well adopting frumpy dress when compared to White women (West, 1995). Through this imagery, society painted the picture that Black women are undesirable under White norms of femininity (West, 1995).

As discussed by Reynolds-Dobbs et al. (2008), the Mammy stereotype in the workplace depicts Black women as nurturing, supportive and sacrificing, often taking a maternal role toward their subordinates (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Jewell, 1993). Within their review of this stereotype, authors argue that Black women who are perceived under this stereotype are more likely to be assigned support roles, rather than being recognized for their task-related capability (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Indeed, in recent research conducted by the Center for Worklife

Law and Society of Women Engineers (Williams et al., 2016) women of color were more likely to be given house-keeping duties such as making sure there is coffee, acknowledging birthdays or deaths, mentoring activities, and increasingly, DEI roles, when compared to both White women and men. In being placed in peripheral roles, women of color were less likely to be assigned "glamour" work—that is, more visible group assignments, that when successful, are associated with greater chance for recognition and promotion (Williams et al., 2016; Williams & Multhaup, 2018) Williams and colleagues (2016, 2018) cite activation of stereotypes, such as the Mammy, as a potential cause for unequal task allocation.

Sapphire (Angry Black Woman)

The "Angry Black Woman" (ABW) stereotype—or the "Sapphire"—is named after the character Sapphire Stevens in the popular 1950s television show, *Amos n' Andy* (West, 1995). Sapphire's character was loud, overly assertive, hostile, and emasculating to her husband (Jewell, 1993; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2004; West, 1995). The Sapphire was meant to contrast Black women from White ideals of femininity (Ashley, 2014; Grayman-Simpson, 2005; Morgan & Bennett, 2006; Motro et al., 2022; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995). Moreover, the Sapphire was used to dismiss legitimate anger, resentment, and protest of Black women, arguing that instead their defiance was due to an innate character flaw (Motro et al., 2022). Within the workplace, ABW is used to portray Black women as using "the race card" when expressing, often warranted, workplace complaints (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). To this day, Black women continue to be portrayed as aggressive, inexplicably angry, and masculine (Ashley, 2014; Motro et al., 2022; Salerno et al., 2019; Skinner et al., 2020; Walley-Jean, 2009).

From a stereotype content perspective, the ABW is perhaps most aligned with perceptions of low warmth (Fiske et al., 2002), as it portrays Black women as being unfriendly,

abrasive and lacking camaraderie (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Previous research suggests that Black women are viewed by their peers as being more hostile when compared to White women, even when controlling for content and language used (Rasinski & Czopp, 2010). Further, recent research conducted by Motro and colleagues (2022) found significant differences in the attributions participants made for employees' emotional expression based on employee race and gender. Whereas participants in the angry White woman condition rated the employee's negative emotional expression to be explained by external reasons, participants in the angry Black woman condition rated the same behavior as being attributed to the employee's *true* nature. This difference in attribution mediated the relationship between employee emotional expression and perceived leadership capability and performance ratings.

Research suggests that Black women are not naive to the ABW stereotype (Lewis et al., 2016; Motro et al., 2021; Smith et al., 2019). Because of this, Black women report engaging in constant monitoring and suppression of their emotions (i.e., self-silencing; Adams, 2000; Bell, 1992; Corbin et al., 2018; Jones, 2023; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Thomas et al., 2004). Research within the clinical literature suggests that self-silencing due to internalization of the ABW is correlated negatively with mental health outcomes (Ashley, 2014).

Jezebel

The "Jezebel" portrays Black women as hypersexual, often using her sexuality to take advantage of men (Pilgrim, 2002; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Also rooted in slavery, the Jezebel emerged to justify the sexual exploitation and abuse of Black women's bodies (West, 1995). Specifically, in portraying Black women as sexually predatory and deviant, society argued that Black women were unable to be victims of sexual assault, further removing their bodily autonomy (Collins 2000; Donovan & Williams, 2002). Modern day, the Jezebel continues

to be used to silence Black women who are survivors of sexual assault by removing the blame from the accused (Curtis et al., 2022; Donovan & Williams, 2002; Epstein et al., 2017; Leath et al., 2021; Masters et al., 2014; Phillips, 2015).

As discussed by Reynolds-Dobbs and colleagues (2008), the Jezebel stereotype paints the narrative that Black women executives got to their position by "sleeping to the top," rather than from their own merit. As such, the Jezebel portrays Black women's sexuality as her only asset, rather than their capability (also referred to as competence under the stereotype content model; Fiske et al., 2002; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Therefore, Black women must be conscious of their dress, behavior, and interpersonal relationships, especially those involving White men supervisors and mentors; to combat threats to their workplace credibility.

Strong Black Woman

The "Strong Black Woman" (SBW) schema, also referred to as the "Superwoman," portrays Black women as strong, resilient, and self-reliant, both physically and emotionally (Abrams et al., 2014; Thomas et al., 2022; Woods-Giscombe, 2010). Stereotypes of Black women's strength emerged, in part, to excuse their oppression and enslavement during the antebellum period (Abrams et al., 2014; Kendi, 2016; Thomas et al., 2022). This stereotype was also used to justify heinous medical experimentation on enslaved Black women without the use of anesthesia, under the guise that Black women were "thick-skinned," and therefore did not feel pain (Collins, 2000; Harrington et al., 2010; Washington, 2006). It is no surprise that the SBW continues to have implications for disparities in healthcare—with healthcare providers more likely to invalidate Black women's pain-related concerns (e.g., Burgess et al., 2006; Hoffman et al., 2016; Mineheart et al., 2021). Despite the White supremacist roots of the SBW schema, other research suggests that the stereotype has since been internalized among Black women as

representing their ability to rise above the many adversities placed upon them throughout history (Beauboeuf-Ladontant, 2007; Harris-Lacewell, 2001; Woods-Giscombe, 2010).

Within the context of the workplace, the SBW or Superwoman is portrayed as high-achieving, self-reliant, and possessing great leadership potential (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). As discussed by Reynolds-Dobbs et al (2008), Black women may lean-in to the SBW schema in order to counteract other stereotypes of their identity group, such as the Jezebel and Sapphire. Given that the SBW may be viewed by Black women as a positive representation of their identity, in terms of their competence and resilience, Black women may use impression management tactics that confirm this stereotype.

Despite views that the SBW is a more positive stereotype of Black women, previous research suggests that self-endorsement of this stereotype may come with negative physical and mental health outcomes (Abrams et al., 2014; Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2003; Kerrigan et al., 2007; Mullings, 2005; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2022). Within the clinical literature, internalization of the SBW has been associated with poorer sleep quality, increased depression and anxiety, and lowered self-esteem (Donovan & West, 2005; Jones et al., 2021; Mclaurin-Jones et al., 2021; Thomas et al., 2004; Stanton et al., 2017; Watson & Hunter 2015; Woods-Giscombe et al., 2019). Specifically, because the SBW schema expects Black women to be emotionally reliant and self-reliant, Black women report that to ask for help would be a sign of weakness (Abrams et al., 2014; Woods-Giscombe, 2010). As a result, they engage in self-silencing, rather than advocating for their physical and mental health (Abrams et al., 2019; Watson-Singleton, 2017). Future examination of employee well-being consequences of SBW endorsement is warranted. On one hand, Black women may feel a sense of empowerment from being viewed under the lens of the SBW schema by their colleagues. On the other hand, self-

silencing and higher workload associated with behaving in stereotype-affirming ways is likely to lead to negative well-being outcomes.

Social Identity-Based Impression-Management: A Response to Stereotypes

Research suggests that due to awareness of negative stereotypes associated with one's stigmatized identity, marginalized employees experience internalized pressures to act in stereotype disconfirming ways—that is strategies that reduce the likelihood that others view them in terms of negative stereotypes (He & Kang, 2021; Kang et al., 2016; McCluney et al., 2019). This area of research is coined social identity-based impression management (SIM; Roberts, 2005).

Roberts (2005) Model of Social Identity-Based Impression Management

The most cited model of social identity-based impression management (SIM) is that of Roberts (2005). As its name suggests, SIM theory draws from the impression management (IM) literature (Bozeman & Kacmar, 1997). Also referred to as self-presentation (Goffman, 1959), IM is broadly defined as individuals' efforts to "create, maintain, protect, or otherwise alter an image" of themselves, as perceived by others (Bolino et al., 2008, p 1080). IM research focuses on strategies employees utilize to create a desired image—often within "high stakes" situations, such as during an employment interview (Ellis et al., 2002; Higgins & Judge, 2004; Krsitoff-Brown et al., 2002; McFarland et al., 2003) or performance appraisal (Barsness et al., 2005; Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Ferris et al., 1994; Harris et al., 2007; Treadway et al., 2007; Wayne & Ferris, 1990; Wayne & Kacmar, 1991; Wayne & Liden, 1995). IM can be thought of as encompassing two major components: attentional and behavioral, with the latter defined as impression construction (Leary & Kowalski, 1990)

Roberts' (2005) model expands IM by breaking impression construction into two types: traditional IM and SIM. Whereas IM are general concerns to be perceived positively at work, SIM are defined as impression tactics to positively influence others' perceptions of one's social identity group (Roberts, 2005). Central to the SIM process is *image discrepancy,* defined as the perceived incongruence between how employees are perceived (i.e., perceived professional image) with how they desire to be perceived (i.e., desired professional image). Although employees, regardless of social identity, are motivated to align others' professional impressions with their desired image (Bolino et al., 2008 Goffman, 1959), Roberts (2005) argues that image discrepancy is more likely to be monitored by individuals belonging to marginalized social groups, as they are more likely to be targeted by stereotypes at odds with standards of professionalism (Avery, 2011; Carton & Rosette, 2011; Chung-Herrara & Lankau, 2005; Rosette et al., 2008; Ubaka et al., 2023; Skinner et al., 2020; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995).

SIM theory introduces three categorical outcomes of SIM: intrapsychic (i.e., well-being, task engagement), interpersonal (i.e., relationship quality, performance ratings), and team-level (i.e., cohesion, creativity). As such, SIM is expected to have an indirect effect on organizational-level outcomes: employee retention, social capital, innovation and reputation—as mediated by intrapsychic, interpersonal, and team-level consequences (Figure 1). The current study explores SIM outcomes on intrapsychic outcomes under Roberts (2005) model, specifically focusing on task engagement and exhaustion.

Task engagement is defined as the extent to which an employee is cognitively focused, or absorbed, by tasks related to their job (Kahn, 1990). In consciously focusing on the impressions of others, SIM is proposed to direct attention away from job-related tasks (Roberts, 2005).

Specifically, the added level of awareness required for impression monitoring and construction, places cognitive strain on employees engaging in SIM (Baumeister, 1989)—to the detriment of task performance (Kahn, 1990; Lord & Saenz, 1985; Roberts, 2005). As an example of this, Roberts (2005) draws from the stereotype threat literature (Steele, 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Specifically, in being preoccupied with intellectual inferiority stereotypes associated with one's identity group—and the need to "prove" high performance, students' attention is diverted away from relevant tasks (e.g., standardized exam questions), thereby reducing performance (Spencer et al., 2016). Over time, this preoccupation associated with hyprevigilence of stereotypes is expected to lead to chronic *exhaustion*, defined as persistent fatigue after minimal effort (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2004; Schaufeli et al., 2009).

The next section provides a review of core SIM strategies. In discussion of each core strategy, outcomes are reviewed with a special emphasis on task engagement and emotional exhaustion. A list of reviewed strategies can be found in Table 1.

SIM Strategies

Recategorization. Recategorization describes "self-presentation behaviors individuals use to increase social mobility by changing the social categories to which they are assigned" (Roberts, 2005, p. 695). Recategorization strategies are aimed at reducing salience of one's stigmatized identity through refraining from behaviors characterized (i.e., stereotyped) as being representative of that group. Doing so reduces the likelihood that one's stigmatized identity will be salient, therefore reducing others' categorization (Roberts, 2005). Tenets of both social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 2004) and similarity attraction (Byrne, 1969) theories suggest that strategies of recategorization may be effective in reducing negative evaluation from majority group members through reduced perception of outgroup membership.

Recategorization can be achieved in two ways, one of which is decategorization. Decategorization involves actively avoiding social categorization altogether by focusing on individuating information, while de-emphasizing identity group membership (Roberts, 2005). A cited example of decategorization is avoiding discussion of race-related social issues with White colleagues if you are a person of color (Thomas, 1993). Decategorization aims to reduce social categorization processes, allowing perceivers to see stigmatized individuals' professional identity instead, or "wearing the mask of the professional" (Roberts, 2005, p.696). This is also synonymous with creating a superordinate identity within social categorization theory (Gaertner et al., 1993; Hogg, 2001)—the recommendation that in creating a larger, shared identity within a work team, leaders can reduce the likelihood of members showing ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation based on demographics (e.g., race, gender, etc.) and other categories (e.g., department, position, tenure).

Another recategorization strategy is assimilation, which involves distinguishing oneself from stigmatized group membership by emphasizing similarities with more positively regarded social identity groups (Roberts, 2005). Unlike decategorization, an individual using recategorization aims to maintain social identity categorizations. Instead, actors alter perceptions of others through attempts to recategorize themself as belonging to the more dominant social identity (e.g., White people, men, cisgender and heterosexual individuals, etc.). Roberts (2005) cites the example of LGB employees deciding to pass as straight or counterfeiting under models of sexual identity management (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001, Woods & Lucas, 1993). Another example includes altering one's speech, dress, and hair texture to fit in with majority group norms (Koval & Rosette, 2020; McCluney et al., 2021). Doing so emphasizes commonality, reducing the likelihood that individuals of the privileged social group will view stigmatized

social group members as belonging to the lower valued outgroup, thereby increasing liking, and reducing outgroup derogation (Bryne, 1969; Tafel & Turner, 2004).

Although recategorization is expected to increase perceived professionalism of marginalized employees via positive interpersonal interactions with colleagues; these strategies are also linked to negative wellbeing and felt inauthenticity (Roberts, 2005; Shih et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2021). Research exploring SIM strategies of individuals belonging to concealable identity groups (e.g., people with nonphysical disabilities, LGBTQ individuals), research suggests that "passing" as members of the non-stigmatized majority group, or assimilation, is associated with increased psychological distress (Hudson, Martinez et al., 2018; Ragins, 2008; Tokoyo & Brown, 2014; Vijayasingham et al., 2018). Concealing one's stigmatized identity can also be detrimental to employees' cognitive resources (Shih, 2013), as concealment of one's social identity (i.e., decategorization) is likely to elicit intrusive and suppressed thoughts as individuals become preoccupied with concealment (Ragins, 2008; Smart & Wegner, 2000). Intrusive thoughts associated with identity suppression are expected to correspond with lowered task engagement and subsequent performance (Creed & Scully, 2000; Roberts, 2005). Further, assimilation is likely to be at odds with felt authenticity, further contributing to negative well-being via identity conflict (Dickens & Womack, 2020; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003).

Positive distinctiveness. Positive distinctiveness strategies are rooted in tenets of optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), which proposes that humans have the innate need to feel belonging within their ingroup, while also feeling unique (i.e., differentiation). This is achieved when individuals can highlight the positive, unique characteristics of their social ingroup (Ferguson & Porter, 2013; Steyer). Positive distinctiveness SIM strategies fulfill optimal distinctiveness by emphasizing social categorizations, and the characteristics associated with

one's social identity membership (Cha & Roberts, 2019; Clair et al., 2015; Roberts, 2005; Steyer, 1998). Positive distinctiveness also communicates the value of diversity philosophy (Cox, 1993; Ellemers et al., 2002)—or the idea that difference is valuable. Positive distinctiveness can also be referred to as cooptation under other models (Goffman, 1963; Tyler, 2011), defined as individuals taking pride in and "owning" being a member of a stigmatized social group (Zhang et al., 2021, p 205).

Positive distinctiveness is achieved in two ways, the first of which is integration, which involve "increasing the favorable attributes of the identity group and challenging others' simplistic or negative stereotypes of that group" (Roberts, 2005, p. 697). Within their definition, Roberts (2005) cites examples of women leaders incorporating both traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine characteristics into their professional identity, as opposed to avoiding stereotypically feminine behaviors to appear more agentic (Ely, 1995). Another example is integration under the sexual identity management framework, defined in the context of sexual orientation disclosure (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001). Other strategies of integration include educating others of inaccuracies of stereotypes associated with one's stigmatized identity and exposing them to favorable attributes of that identity (Roberts, 2005). In adopting an integration strategy, others' evaluation of a stigmatized group is likely to be more favorable.

Another positive distinctiveness strategy is confirmation, which involves playing into stereotypes associated with a stigmatized identity, such as expected societal roles and behavior (Roberts, 2005). Roberts (2005) cites the example of women adhering to gender roles to adopt a more nurturing and communal leadership style. Women leaders may decide to confirm gender role stereotypes given evidence to suggest that women are penalized when they behave in ways incongruent with gender role expectations, such as adopting more agentic leadership behaviors

(Heilman, 2001; Phelan et al., 2008; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Tepper et al., 1993; Tyler & McCullough, 2009). Confirmation of stereotypes can also be used to accomplish relevant goals. As an example, Roberts (2005) cites evidence that Black employees may use hostile stereotypes to their advantage to avoid being approached by supervisors and coworkers, thus limiting the potential for being assigned unattractive tasks (Wrigley, 1999). Lastly, individuals may adopt confirmation strategies to communicate their affiliation with and belonging to their social identity. Previous research suggesting that individuals often internalize anxiety on whether their behaviors discredit their membership, such as not being masculine or feminine "enough" (Alvesson & Billing, 2009); not performing the caliber that their identity is expected to (i.e., "model minority" stereotype; McGee, 2018; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997); or "acting White" (Durkee et al., 2019). Table 2 presents each of the SIM strategies proposed by Roberts and colleagues (Roberts, 2005; Roberts et al., 2008), including examples and their proposed outcomes.

Positive distinctiveness is associated with increased social validation, especially from ingroup members (Zang et al., 2021). Integration is also associated with positive workplace outcomes (e.g., job satisfaction, job tenure) through increased authenticity and sense of belonging with one's organization (Dickens & Womack, 2020). However, positive distinctiveness is proposed to be negatively related to task engagement—as attention to discrediting negative stereotypes associated with one's identity group (i.e., integration) diverts employee cognitive attention to job-related tasks (Roberts, 2005

Table 1. *Roberts (2005) Social Identity-Based Impression Management Strategies*

Sub-Strategy	Definition	Example	Processes	Outcomes
Recategorization: Strategies aimed at reducing the likelihood that an individual is categorized as belonging to a stigmatized outgroup				
Decategorization	De-emphasizing one's social identity and focusing on portraying individuating information	Avoiding discussions about race-related issues at work	*Social categorization* (Hogg, 2001) *Social identity* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979)	Intrusive and suppressed thoughts associated with cognitive depletion (Ragins, 2008; Smart & Wegner)
Assimilation	Distancing oneself from their ingroup and emphasizing similarity with outgroup	Discussing popular culture, wearing natural hair in straightened styles	*Social recategorization* (Hogg, 2001) *Similarity attraction* (Byrne, 1971)	Reduced authenticity and identity conflict (Dickens & Womac, 2020; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003)
Positive Distinctiveness: Strategies aimed at emphasizing social categorizations, and the characteristics associated with one's social identity membership				
Integration	Communicating favorable attributes of	Educating others of the negative	*Optimal distinctiveness* (Brewer, 1991)	Positive workplace outcomes—job

	the identity group	misconceptions of your identity		satisfaction and job tenure (Dickens & Womack, 2020) Cognitive depletion is associated with level of attention needed to discredit negative stereotypes (Roberts, 2005)
Confirmation	Playing into stereotypes to meet expectations associated with one's social identity	Incorporating communal leadership behavior and avoiding more stereotypically masculine (i.e., agentic) behaviors	*Incongruence backlash* (Rudman, 1998)	Accomplishment of professional goals--either in playing into stereotypes to improve positive evaluations or using hostile stereotypes to protect oneself from workplace mistreatment (Roberts, 2005; Wrigley, 1999) Signaling of affiliation and belonging to one's identity group (Durkee et al., 2019)

CHAPTER 3

THE PRESENT STUDY

Future Directions of SIM Research

The SIM literature has highlighted the different strategies racially minoritized individuals (e.g., Roberts et al., 2014), LGBTQ persons (e.g., Button, 2004; Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001; Welle & Button, 2004), women (e.g., Kaiser & Miller, 2001), and people with disabilities (e.g., Lyons et al., 2018) adopt to prevent possible stigmatization and discrimination due to their social identity. That said, there are two areas for fruitful research within this area. First, this research predominantly explores SIM as it relates to *one social category* (Follmer et al, 2020), as opposed to exploring how individuals navigate intersectional identities (Dhanani et al., 2022). This is an oversight, given that by taking a unidimensional approach to SIM, we fail to recognize the added complexities of employees' experiences and the stereotypes they must manage at work (Dhanani et al., 2022).

Second, whereas previous SIM research has largely taken a variable-centered approach in which individuals are expected to only adopt one of four SIM strategies, more recent evidence suggests SIM may be better conceptualized as a configuration of strategies (Cheung & Chan, 2021). Drawing from this literature, the current study argues that given competing characterizations of Black women via major socio-historical stereotypes of their identity group, there are likely differences between persons in terms of their patterns in SIM strategy. Therefore, the current research aims to expand the SIM literature by exploring differences in configurations of SIM strategies of Black women, by taking a stereotype-specific view of core strategies.

Intersectionality Theory

First coined by critical race scholar Kimberlee Crenshaw (1989), *intersectionality* is defined as an examination of the qualitative experiences of individuals due to their membership of two or more marginalized identities. In reviewing major case law, such as *DeGraffenreid v. General Motors* and *Moore v. Hughes Helicopter, Inc.*, *Crenshaw* (1989) highlights the court's failure to protect women of color in discrimination lawsuits. This failure is rooted in the single axis framework—or employment laws' tendency to address race-based *or* sex-based discrimination separately. Due to their unidimensional focus, such laws are ill-suited to protect individuals discriminated against due to belonging to multiple marginalized social groups (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989; Rosette et al., 2018).

In focusing on the most privileged of both racial and gender minorities—Black men and *White* women respectively—Crenshaw (1989) argued that current legislation failed to address how individuals minoritized at the intersection of race and sex, in this case Black women, experience both forms of oppression simultaneously (Cole, 2009; Rosette et al., 2018). As alluded to within Crenshaw's (1989) early work, rather than being thought of as the sum of belonging two marginalized identities (i.e., "double jeopardy" perspective), intersectionality considers how different levels of privilege across various social identities (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, etc.) uniquely interact in terms of experienced discrimination and prejudice (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Rosette et al., 2018). Intersectionality theory is rooted in Critical Race Theory (CRT; Ladson-Billings, 2009)—the examination of how racism is ingrained within our society, and as such, has a real impact in the lived experiences of people of color in education, housing, and employment, to name a few (Jones, 2023).

In drawing from a systems-level approach, social psychologists have recently criticized current prejudice research arguing that it fails to acknowledge that individual-level bias does not exist in a vacuum (Melson-Silimon et al., 2023; Salter, 2018; Teo, 2022; Trawalter et al., 2020, 2022). Specifically, such authors argue that psychological processes of prejudice are embedded within historical systems of inequality such as institutionalized racism. As reviewed earlier within the current lit review, workplace discrimination of Black women can be linked to historical images of their identity group, such as the Mammy, Jezebel, Sapphire/Angry Black Woman, and the Strong Black Woman/Schema (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995, 2008). These stereotypes, dating back to the Antebellum period, have unfortunately been quite effective in shaping negative public perceptions of Black women throughout U.S. history, thereby serving as propaganda to further discriminatory practices (Melson-Silimon et al., 2023). Further, images of these stereotypes within U.S. media have been strategic in further separating Black women from other identity groups (Crenshaw, 1989).

Since Crenshaw's (1989) paper, there has been increased argument for adopting an intersectional framework to different workplace-related constructs including performance management (e.g., Motro et al.,2022; Rosette & Livingston, 2012), leadership (e.g., Rosette et al., 2016, 2018), and job attitudes (e.g., Salter et al., 2021). Although there continues to be a push for application of intersectional theory to workplace phenomena, this research has been slow-moving due to conceptual and methodological discourse (Salter et al., 2021). The present paper addresses this call, by exploring how Black women engage in SIM as a response to major stereotypes associated with their identity group.

Person-centered analytic approaches to SIM. Traditionally, SIM has been researched using a *variable*-centered approach (Cheung & Chan, 2021). In doing so, identity management

scholars assume that individuals adopt one strategy over the others to navigate their social identity. For example, it has long been the assumption that LGBTQ employees either choose to disclose or conceal *across* interactions in their environment (Cheung & Chan, 2021). In the context of race- and gender-related SIM, we likewise assume that individuals choose one of the four strategies to navigate stereotypes associated with their race and gender (Roberts et al., 2009; Roberts et al., 2014). Therefore, in taking a variable-centered approach, previous research has contrasted outcomes of SIM based on whether an individual chooses to conceal (i.e., de-categorization or assimilation) *or* highlight (i.e., integration) their identity (Cheung & Chan, 2001; Ragins et al., 2007).

Recent research conducted by Cheung and Chan (2021) adopted a person-centered approach to LGBTQ identity management. Whereas a variable-centered approach assumes that individuals favor *one* strategy to manage their social identity, a *person-centered approach* allows researchers to explore how different configurations of multiple variables differently predict outcomes (Wang & Hanges, 2011; Wang et al., 2022). In the context of LGBTQ identity management, Cheung and Chan (2021) found four SIM profiles among sexual minority employees based on varying levels of avoidance (i.e., de-categorization), counterfeiting (i.e., assimilation) and integration. Employees with a "passive" profile reported low use of all three SIM strategies, whereas employees with a "integration dominant" profile reported high use of integration, but low use of counterfeiting and avoidance. The third profile, "hiding" was characterized as high counterfeiting and avoidance, but low integration. And lastly, participants with a "balanced profile" were characterized as equal use of all three strategies. One of the strengths of person-centered levels of analysis is that it allows researchers to explore how these configurations are differentially related to outcomes relative to one strategy at a time (Wang et

al., 2022). For example, “integration dominant” employees reported higher job satisfaction, and lower emotional exhaustion and depressive symptoms relative to other profiles; whereas employees who exhibited a “hiding” identity management profile reported the lowest levels of job satisfaction and the highest levels of emotional exhaustion and depressive symptoms. Therefore, contrary to previous research linking de-categorization and assimilation to negative outcomes, relative to integration (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001; Newheiser et al., 2017), authors argue that it is more important that LGBTQ employees are at minimum using a balanced strategy, or an integration-dominant profile—in which they feel safe to integrate their identity equal to or more than they have to use avoidance or counterfeiting (Cheung & Chan, 2021).

The current study adopts a person-centered approach to explore SIM configurations of Black women based on the four central stereotypes associated with their identity group. As mentioned within the discussion of intersectional stereotypes of Black women, various stereotypes have emerged to alter public opinions of their identity group. These stereotypes differ greatly in terms of their characterization of Black women. For example, whereas the Mammy stereotypes Black women as having a happy and helpful disposition (Kendi, 2016; West, 2008), the ABW portrays Black women as quite the opposite—combative, hostile, and domineering (Ashley et al., 2014; Motro et al., 2022; West., 1995). Further, whereas the Mammy portrays Black women as unattractive and asexual (West et al., 2008), the Jezebel portrays them as sexual temptresses (Pilgrim, 2002; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 2008). Lastly, whereas the Mammy, Jezebel, and ABW depict Black women using unfavorable attributes, the SBW is often viewed as being a positive stereotype, even described by some Black women as a “badge of honor” (Beauboueuf-Lafontant, 2007). Because of variability in stereotype characterization across these four stereotypes, it is possible that Black women differ in what stereotypes they

choose to disconfirm (e.g., decategorization or assimilation) and/or affirm (i.e., integration, or confirmation) under the SIM model.

SIM Profiles

In adopting a person-centered approach to SIM, the purpose of the current study is to test for different profiles of SIM strategies among Black women, based on the four major stereotypes associated with their identity group: the Mammy, the ABW, the Jezebel, and the SBW.

> ***Research Question 1:*** *Based on the different stereotypes of Black women (i.e., Mammy, Angry Black Woman, Jezebel, Strong Black Woman), are there quantitatively and qualitatively distinct profiles of social identity-based impression management strategies?*

For example, some Black women may choose that it would be advantageous to display a positive and helping disposition to be positively evaluated by those in her work team. Therefore, they may adopt a confirmation strategy in relation to the Mammy stereotype. That same group of Black women may choose to confirm certain aspects of the SBW to appear self-starting and highly capable at her job, while also educating others of the harmful expectations around Black women's physical and emotional strength. Therefore, the Black woman in the fictitious example may integrate the SBW stereotype. In the context of the Jezebel and the ABW, she may view both as being incongruent with professional norms, and therefore have the potential to undermine her professional identity. Therefore, she may use a decategorization strategy through emotional displays and dress. This is but one example of the potential for Black women to differ in their SIM strategy based on these four different stereotypes as it relates to their workplace environment. Under latent profile analysis (LPA), this example describes a hypothetical latent profile in SIM responding among Black women.

LPA classifies meaningful groups based on a *set* of continuous variables (Vermunt & Magidson, 2002). These groups are referred to as profiles or classes, with individuals who respond in similar patterns belonging to the same profile (Wang et al., 2022). Profiles that emerge from LPA can indicate both quantitative and qualitative distinct patterns of respondents (Gabriel et al., 2015).

Differential Levels in Variables Between Profiles

The second aim of the current study was to explore mean-level differences between SIM profiles—specifically by testing proposed relationships outlined in Roberts (2005) original model.

Stereotype Salience

Within their discussion of impression monitoring, Roberts (2005) introduces the concept of identity salience as an important antecedent of this process (see Figure 1). In drawing from the salience literature (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Kay & Major, 1990) a salient identity is defined as "one that is likely to be evoked in a given situation" (Roberts, 2005, p. 690). Roberts (2005) posits that individuals are more likely to engage in impression monitoring, and subsequent SIM strategies, to the extent that their social identity is salient. Roberts (2005) gives the example of Denise, a woman preparing for a job interview. If Denise is applying for a male dominant position (e.g., police officer; Roberts, 2005), her gender identity is more likely to be salient. As such, she is likely to attend to how gender role stereotypes of strength are likely to affect whether the interviewer views her as fit or unfit for the position (Roberts, 2005).

In drawing from Roberts (2005) definition of identity salience, the current study defines *stereotype salience* as the extent to which an individuals' context elicits awareness of being perceived as a certain stereotype associated with one's identity, specifically the Mammy, ABW,

Jezebel, or ABW. Evidence for stereotype salience comes from previous literature in “racialized display rules" (Rabelo et al., 2020; Wingfield, 2010, 2021). Scholars argue that like how service industries have expectations around positive emotional displays of employees (i.e., “service with a smile;” Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983), marginalized employees in highly social environments also face pressure to control their emotional expression due to stereotypes associated with their identity (Wingfield, 2010). For example, as previously mentioned, there are stereotypes portraying Black women as aggressive and “angry” (i.e., Sapphire/Angry Black Woman; Ashley et al., 2014; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Similarly, it is expected that in workplace contexts where a certain stereotype is salient, Black women are likely to report higher frequency of SIM related to that stereotype. In contrast, in situations where a stereotype is less salient, Black women professionals may report lower engagement of SIM behavior related to that stereotype.

Social Identity Centrality

Although IM and SIM theories propose that impression monitoring is impacted by contextual factors (Bolino et al., 2008; Roberts, 2005) individuals who perceive their stigmatized identity as central to their self-concept are suggested to have a higher likelihood of engaging in impression monitoring *across* situations (Roberts, 2005). This is often operationalized as social identity centrality (also known as identity importance; Ashmore et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 1998). Roberts (2005) argues that an individuals’ social identity is likely to remain salient, across situations, to the extent that it is central to an individuals’ holistic identity (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Shelton & Sellers, 2000). Therefore, individuals who view their identity as important to their self-concept are more likely to constantly engage in impression monitoring, therefore linking centrality to SIM. Indeed, research by Roberts and colleagues (2008, 2009, 2014) has

consistently demonstrated significant associations between racial and gender centrality with use of SIM strategies. In sum, identity monitoring is predicted by situational salience of one's social identity, as well as identity centrality more broadly (Roberts, 2005).

Professional Identity Centrality

In addition to social identity centrality, Roberts et al. (2014) posits that professional identity centrality is an important predictor of SIM. Professional identity centrality is similar in definition to social identity centrality, the only difference being that it is a measure of the perceived importance of an individual's professional identity to their overall self-concept (Ashmore et al., 2004). In their study of racial identity management, professional identity centrality was a significant predictor of affiliation (i.e., assimilation) strategies.

In drawing from the SIM literature, the current study explores potential differences in these variables between SIM profiles.

> ***Research Question 2*****:** *Are there differences in reported (a) stereotype salience, (b) social identity centrality and (c) professional identity centrality based on social identity-based impression management profile membership?*

Consequences of SIM Profiles

Lastly, the current study explores relationships between SIM profiles with two intrapsychic outcomes—task engagement and emotional exhaustion—as outlined by SIM theory (Roberts, 2005; Shih et al., 2013).

> ***Research Question 3*****:** *Do social identity-based impression management profiles exhibit different levels of (a) task engagement and (b) emotional exhaustion?*

CHAPTER 4

METHODS

Participants and Procedure

Participants of the current study were recruited via the online platform, *Prolific* (*N* = 1000). The targeted sample size was chosen by following Spurk and colleagues (2020) recommend sample size for latent profile analysis. Specifically, a minimum of 500 is recommended to achieve sufficient statistical power. Therefore, 1000 participants were selected to ensure adequate power to conduct both exploratory and confirmatory LPA on two independent subsamples.

Due to the study's central research question, only Prolific users who identified as Black women *and* currently employed (part-time and full-time) were invited to participate. Individuals who were eligible for the current study were identified using Prolific's pre-screening tool. Following informed consent, participants were asked to complete an online survey which included measures of SIM strategies, as well as antecedents and consequences of SIM strategies.

Four respondents were removed from the final dataset for failing both attention checks and reporting being unemployed (*N*=996). Of the final sample, all participants completed all of the SIM-related items. The average age of participants was 39.2 (*SD*= 11.41). In terms of other intersecting identities, 25% identified as belonging to the LGBTQ community, and 11% reported having a disability. All participants had at least a High School Diploma or GED, with the majority reporting their highest level of education was a Bachelor's degree (*n*=359) followed by a Master's degree (*n*= 219). About half of participants (*n*=470) reported a household income

between $25,000 and $75,000. Majority of participants (*n*= 650) reported working between 26 and 40 hours per week. Half of participants (*n*= 494) reported being employed at their current job for three years or more.

Measures

Social Identity-Based Impression Management

SIM strategies for each major stereotype (i.e., Mammy, Jezebel, SBW, and Sapphire or ABW) were measured using a multidimensional scale developed for the current study. In drawing from the stereotyping literature (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995, 2008) and Thomas and colleagues' (2004) Stereotypic Roles of Black Women Scale, items were developed to measure how frequently participants adopt decategorization (e.g., "avoid being seen as characteristically 'strong' at my job"), integration (e.g., "balance being independent with drawing from others' expertise at my job"), and confirmation (e.g., "do everything on my own at my job") strategies within their workplaces. For these items, participants were asked to indicate frequency using a scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always). A full list of decategorization, integration, and confirmation can be found in Appendix A.

Additionally, a scale measuring assimilation strategies was created prompting participants to compare their behaviors to most women at their job (e.g., "ask for help at my job"). Compared to the other strategies, assimilation centers around behaviors used to "fit in" with majority group members (Roberts, 2005). Therefore, the response scale for assimilation items prompted participants to compare their behavior to women across other racial and ethnic groups using a scale of 1 (Much less than most women at my job) to 7 (Much more than most women at my job). A full list of assimilation items can be found in Appendix B.

Scale and factor reliabilities for the four stereotypes are provided within factor analytic results.

Antecedents of Social Identity-Based Impression Management

Stereotype salience. Stereotype salience was measured using an adapted version of Gurin & Townsend's (1986) measure of cognitive centrality. Participants were asked how frequently they thought about being viewed as adjectives associated with the Mammy (e.g., "How often do you think about being viewed as nurturing *and* helpful at work?"), SBW ("How often do you think about being viewed as resilient *and* independent at work?"), Jezebel ("How often do you think about being viewed as sexually promiscuous at work?"), and ABW or Sapphire ("How often do you think about being viewed as hostile *and* angry at work?") while in their workplace. For each item, participants were asked to indicate frequency on a scale of 1 (Never) to 5 (Always).

Social identity centrality. Items from the centrality subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1998) were adapted to Black women's identity (e.g., "In general, being a Black woman is important to my self-image"). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement using a 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) Likert scale. In the current study, adapted identity centrality items exhibited an acceptable internal consistency (α) of .86. A full list of social identity centrality items can be found in Appendix C.

Professional centrality. Aligned with previous studies (e.g., Roberts et al., 2014), professional centrality was measured using items from Hackman and Lawler's (1971) adaptation of Lodahl & Kejner's (1965) work involvement scale (e.g., "I live, eat and breathe my job"). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement using a 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) Likert scale. In the current study, professional centrality items exhibited an

acceptable internal consistency (α) of .80. A full list of measures of work involvement can be found in Appendix D.

Consequences of Social Identity-Based Impression Management

Emotional exhaustion. Emotional exhaustion was measured using the Exhaustion subscale of the work-related version of the Burnout Assessment Tool (Schaufeli et al., 2020; e.g., "After a day at work, I find it hard to recover my energy"). Participants were asked to indicate how frequently they experience exhaustion at their workplace using a scale of 1 (Never) to 5 (Always). In the current study, emotional exhaustion items exhibited an acceptable internal consistency (α) of .88. A full list of emotional exhaustion items can be found in Appendix E.

Task Engagement. Task engagement was measured using the Cognitive Impairment subscale of the work-related version of the Burnout Assessment Tool (Schaufeli et al., 2020; e.g., "At work, I have trouble staying focused"). Participants were asked to indicate how frequently they experience cognitive impairment at their workplace using a scale of 1 (Never) to 5 (Always). In the current study, cognitive impairment items exhibited an acceptable internal consistency (α) of .90. A full list of cognitive impairment items can be found in Appendix E.

Control Variables

To account for differences in awareness of stereotypes, items were developed to ask participants to what extent do they agree that Black women are socially perceived in terms of each stereotype: the Mammy ("Collectively, Black women are seen as both nurturing and helpful"), SBW ("Collectively, Black women are seen as both resilient and independent"), Jezebel ("Collectively, Black women are seen as sexually promiscuous") and ABW or Sapphire ("Collectively, Black women are seen as both hostile and angry"). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement using a 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) Likert scale.

To control for participants' own stereotype endorsement, participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with perceptions of Black women in terms of each stereotype: the Mammy ("I personally agree that Black women are both nurturing and helpful"), SBW ("I personally agree that Black women are both resilient and independent"), Jezebel ("I personally agree that Black women are sexually promiscuous"), and ABW or Sapphire ("Personally, I agree that Black women are both hostile and angry"). Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement using a 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) Likert scale.

As defined by intersectionality theory, participants will have varying levels of privilege and power on other social categorizations *aside* from race and gender (Crenshaw, 1989). Because of this, participants will be asked demographic questions related to their sexual orientation, as well as mental, emotional, and physical disability. A full list of demographic items can be found in Appendix F.

Analytic Procedure

Prior to conducting latent profile analysis (LPA), the proposed factor structure of stereotyped-specific LPA was tested using a series of confirmatory factor analyses (CFA). Specifically, it was predicted that for each stereotype subscale, there would be four factors corresponding to Roberts (2005) model: decategorization, assimilation, integration, and confirmation. Model fit was tested using the following indices: the standardized root mean square residual ($SRM_{\text{target value}} \leq .05$; Hu & Bentler, 1999); root mean square error of approximation ($RMSEA_{\text{target value}} \leq .06$; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Steiger, 1990); comparative fit index ($CFI_{\text{target value}} \geq .95$; Bentler,; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Additionally, internal consistency was computed for each strategy subfactor to ensure adequate reliability. Specifically, given that SIM items were in initial stages of development, Nunally's (1978) cutoff of $\alpha = .70$ was used for the

current study. Only factors with adequate reliability were retained. Additionally, changes in the overall model were informed using modification indices provided by the lavaan package in R (Rosseel, 2012). Item removal was informed by alpha if deleted using the sjPlot package in R (Lüdecke, 2023).

Establishing SIM Profiles Among Black Women

In adopting an inductive approach (e.g., Gabriel et al., 2015, the first step was to assess whether qualitatively and quantitatively distinct profiles exist differentiating different SIM strategy clusters among Black women. To do this, an exploratory latent profile analysis was first conducted—using a subsample of collected responses (n=498). The size of each subsample was determined using guidelines provided by both Nylund et al. (2007) as well as within a more recent review by Spurk and colleagues (2020), suggesting a minimum of 500 cases to ensure adequate power. Additional LPA decisions for the current study are outlined in the paragraph below.

LPA was performed using the tidyLPA package in *R* (Rosenberg et al., 2019), which provides a user-friendly interface using its predecessor *R* package mcclust (Fraley & Raftery, 2002; Scrucca et al., 2016, 2023). Because data was continuous, the maximum likelihood was adopted as the estimation (Spurk et al., 2020); using scale scores as input. It is worth noting that there are criticisms of using factor scores for LPA estimation, as this method does not account for measurement error associated with individual items, nor is measurement invariance tested or modeled in the LPA (Meyer & Morin, 2016; Morin et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2022). That said, LPA has been chosen over factor fixture modeling (FFM) as FFM becomes more complicated when the numbers of factors and items are relatively larger (Morin et al., 2016). Because there were 16 expected factors in total (4 per stereotype subscale), the number of parameters was

estimated to increase considerably (Wang et al., 2022). This added complexity comes with added risk for inadequate power and non-convergence issues (Lunningham et al., 2017). Because of this, factor scores were chosen as input. However, as previously mentioned, a CFA was first conducted to examine the fit of SIM measures.

Quantitative profile estimation. Given that the number of latent classes was unknown, this process first began by specifying two latent profiles—increasing the number of latent profiles until the increase in model fit no longer merits the resulting reduction in parsimony, as consistent with previous guidelines (Nylund et al., 2017). Several fit indices were evaluated including the Lo-Mendell-Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LMRT; Lo et al., 2001), the Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (BLTR; Arminger et al., 1999; McLahlem & Peel, 2000), Akaike information criterion (AIC), and sample-size adjusted Bayseian information criterion (sBIC; Schwartz, 1978) to determine model fit. The LMRT and BLRT compare fit of the larger model (e.g., 3-profile model) to the comparison model which specifies one less class (e.g., 2-profile model). The p-value generated for the LMRT and the BLRT indicates whether the solution with more classes ($p<.05$) or less classes ($p>.05$) fit better (Mertz & Roesch, 2011). Although there is not an absolute criterion for AIC and sBIC, most researchers recommend that the lowest AIC and sBIC indicates the best model fit (Spurk et al., 2020).

Qualitative profile estimation. In addition to quantitative profile estimation, profile estimation was examined by determining the extent to which an additional profile—identified as having superior fit—adds "substantive new variable information (Spurk et al., 2020, p. 13). To do this, the best-fitting profile was compared to the profile with a one-less class. This was done by examining if there is any theoretical difference between the two models. In the event that there is only a minor difference between the two classes (e.g., one factor level of SBW

integration is only slightly larger than the mean of the second profile—both representing "high" mean), the lower-profile solution was recommended for reasons of parsimony (Berlin et al., 2014; Spurk et al., 2020; Vermunt & Magidson, 2002). In addition to examining factor mean and level, the number of cases per profile was also examined. Scholars argue that if an additional profile has a small number of cases, there is a high possibility of lower power and precision relative to larger profiles (Lubke & Neale, 2006). The general guideline is that if the additional profile includes <1.0% of the total sample size or fewer than 25 cases, the profile should be rejected (Hipp & Bauer, 2006; Lubke & Neale, 2006).

Replicating and Expanding Our Understanding of SIM Profiles

Lastly, using the results from the exploratory LPA, hypotheses were developed and tested to both confirm profile structure, as well as profiles' relationships with other variables. These hypotheses were informed from the SIM literature. Profiles with moderate-to-high levels of de-categorization and assimilation across the four stereotypes was expected to be associated with higher levels of emotional exhaustion and lowered task engagement, based on previous research linking re-categorization to negative well-being (Button et al., 2001; McCluney et al., 2019; Ragins, 2008; Roberts et al., 2014).

Data for LPA replication was analyzed using the remaining subsample that was not included in the exploratory LPA (n=498). As with the exploratory LPA, the confirmatory LPA was performed using the tidyLPA package in *R* (Rosenberg et al., 2019), and maximum likelihood was adopted as the estimation (Spurk et al., 2020) with factor scores as data input. Model fit was examined using the same fit indices included in the exploratory LPA (i.e., LMRT, BLTR, AIC, sBIC).

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Examining Factor Structure of SIM Measurement

In order to test the hypothesized structure of SIM items, confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were conducted using the laavan package in R (Rosseel, 2012). Based on Roberts (2005) model of SIM, it was hypothesized that each stereotype subscale would be composed of four factors corresponding to SIM strategy: decategorization, assimilation, integration, and confirmation. Maximum Likelihood (ML; Brown, 2006) was the chosen estimation method.

Because assimilation items were on a different scale than the other SIM items, all items were standardized prior to conducting CFAs. Model fit was tested using the following indices: the standardized root mean square residual ($SRMR_{\text{target value}} \leq .05$; Hu & Bentler, 1999); root mean square error of approximation ($RMSEA_{\text{target value}} \leq .06$; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Steiger, 1990); comparative fit index ($CFI_{\text{target value}} \geq .95$; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Additionally, factor internal consistency (α) and individual item descriptives were analyzed for each stereotype subscale.

Of the four stereotype scales, the Strong Black Woman Scale suggested poor model fit (SRMR=.07; RMSEA=.08; CFI=.75; $\chi(68)= 511.51$, $p > .05$). Additionally, the internal reliability for each factor: decategorization ($\alpha = .52$); assimilation ($\alpha = .50$); integration ($\alpha = .46$); and confirmation ($\alpha = .49$) was also unacceptable. Because of this, SIM items related to the SBW stereotype were ultimately removed from the final model.

Of the remaining three stereotype subscales (i.e., Mammy, Jezebel, and Angry Black Woman), modification indices were examined using the lavaan package in R (Rosseel, 2012).

Additionally, α if deleted were examined for each item using the sjPlot package in R (Lüdecke, 2023). Items suggested to be dropped to improve factor reliability were dropped. Items with a factor loading of <.3 were also dropped from the final model. Lastly, if there was low factor reliability *and* only 2 items were remaining for the factor, the factor was ultimately removed from the initial model. Eight of the proposed factors were retained for the final model: two SIM strategies for the Mammy stereotype, three SIM strategies for the Jezebel stereotype, and three SIM strategies for the ABW stereotype. A summary of factor reliability, item loadings, and item means can be found in Tables 2-4. Additionally, structure plots for the three scales, including variances and covariances can be found in Appendices J-L using the tidySEM package in *R*. Below is a summary of fit for each stereotype.

Mammy. For the final model all items for decategorization and integration strategies were removed, resulting in a two-factor solution of confirmation and assimilation. Results of the two-factor solution suggests good model fit (SRMR=.03; RMSEA=.06; CFI=.97; $\chi(68)$=511.53, $p < .05$). Results of modification fit analysis identified the two items in the assimilation factor identified as having correlated errors. Therefore, in the final model, these two item's errors to correlate. Further, modification fit analysis indicated one integration item ("Balance helping others with achieving my own goals.") loaded onto confirmation. It is possible that this item loaded onto confirmation due to its content aligning with the overall theme of helping others and taking a support role within one's job. Both factors had acceptable internal reliability: assimilation ($\alpha = .77$); and confirmation ($\alpha = .74$). The overall reliability for the two-factor scale was acceptable ($\omega = .79$).

Jezebel. For the final model all items for the integration strategy were removed, resulting in a three-factor solution of decategorization, confirmation, and assimilation. Results of the

three-factor solution suggests good model fit (SRMR=.04; RMSEA=.06; CFI=.96; $\chi(24)$=109.621, $p < .05$). In terms of reliability, all three factors had acceptable internal consistency: decategorization ($\alpha = .75$); assimilation ($\alpha = .73$); and confirmation ($\alpha = .74$). Despite acceptable factor reliabilities, the overall reliability for the three-factor scale was low ($\omega = .48$)

Sapphire/Angry Black Woman. For the final model all items for the confirmation strategy were removed, resulting in a three-factor solution of decategorization, assimilation, and integration. Results of the three-factor solution suggest good model fit (SRMR=.04; RMSEA=.05; CFI=.97; $\chi(23)$=87.96 $p > .05$). Modification indices analysis identified the integration items as having correlated errors. Therefore, in the final model, I allowed the two item's errors to correlate. The internal reliability for each factor: decategorization ($\alpha = .61$); assimilation ($\alpha = .64$); and integration ($\alpha = .70$)was acceptable. The overall reliability for the three-factor scale was also acceptable ($\omega = .70$).

A chronological summary of decisions leading up to the final scale can be found in Appendix G.

Table 2. Factor Structure of Mammy Scale

Item	**Mean (*SD*)**	**Factor Loading**
Assimilation ($\alpha = .77$)		
Volunteer to help others at my job	4.54 (1.45)	.88
Take on mentoring others at my job	4.05 (1.59)	.69
Confirmation ($\alpha = .74$)		
Take younger employees “under my wing” at my job.	2.95 (1.20)	.55
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job.	3.29 (1.02)	.65
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job.	3.39 (1.04)	.55
Go out of my way to help others at my job.	3.63 (0.96)	.76
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job.	3.79 (0.96)	.55

Table 3. Factor Structure of Jezebel Scale

Item	Mean (*SD*)	Factor Loading
Decategorization ($\alpha = .75$)		
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job.	4.12 (1.18)	.74
Avoid wearing revealing clothing.*	3.96 (1.21)	.80
Assimilation ($\alpha = .72$)		
Dress in ways typical of my job	4.64 (1.21)	.77
I dress to blend-in at my job	4.32 (1.43)	.67
Socialize in ways acceptable for my job	4.47 (1.43)	.62
Confirmation ($\alpha = .74$)		
Use my sex appeal to get ahead at my job.	1.24 (0.69)	.76
Use sex to get what I want at my job.	1.10 (0.50)	.63
Dress in revealing clothing at my job.*	1.55 (0.92)	.50

Flirt with others to make professional connections at my job.	1.32 (0.78)	.71

Note: Participants were given the following definition: *Revealing clothing could mean tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.

Table 4. Factor Structure of Sapphire/Angry Black Woman Scale

Item	Mean (*SD*)	Factor Loading
Decategorization ($\alpha = .61$)		
Avoid raising my voice at my job.	3.97 (1.15)	.50
Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job.	3.22 (1.26)	.63
Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job.	3.38 (1.13)	.52
Avoid being overly critical of others' work.	3.53 (1.05)	.45
Assimilation ($\alpha = .64$)		
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job.	4.55 (1.39)	.60
Put on a happy face at my job.	4.95 (1.32)	.74
Integration ($\alpha = .70$)		
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job.	2.74 (1.44)	.53
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job.	2.67 (1.40)	.57
Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job.	3.66 (1.04)	.55

Exploratory Latent Profile Analysis

Given that the number of latent classes was unknown, I first began by specifying two latent profiles—increasing the number of latent profiles until the increase in model fit no longer merits the resulting reduction in parsimony, as consistent with previous guidelines (Nylund et al., 2017). Several fit indices were evaluated including the Lo-Mendell-Rubin Adjusted Likelihood Ratio Test (LMRT; Lo et al., 2001), the Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (BLTR; Arminger et al., 1999; McLahlem & Peel, 2000), Akaike information criterion (AIC), and sample-size adjusted Bayseian information criterion (sBIC; Schwartz, 1978) to determine model fit. The LMRT and BLRT compare fit of the larger model (e.g., 3-profile model) to the comparison model which specifies one less class (e.g., 2-profile model). The p-value generated for the LMRT and the BLRT indicates whether the solution with more classes (p<.05) or less classes (p>.05) fit better (Mertz & Roesch, 2011). Although there is not an absolute criterion for AIC and sBIC, most researchers recommend that the lowest AIC and sBIC indicates the best model fit.

Profiles were examined qualitatively. This was achieved by evaluating the extent to which the better-fitting model adds "substantive new variable information (e.g., a qualitatively new profile)" (Spurk et al., 2020, p. 13). To do this, the best-fitting profile was compared to the profile with a one less class. This was done by examining if there is any theoretical difference between the two models. A summary of model fit for the exploratory latent profile models can be found in Table 5.

Initial results of the exploratory LPA suggested that the six profile solution was the better-fitting model (AIC= 10113.09; SBIC= 10176.31; BLRT= 214.42, p < .01), followed by the five profile solution (AIC= 10306.51; SBIC= 10360.41; BLRT= 309.57, p < .01)—both with

equal variances and covariances fixed at zero (i.e., “model 1” in mcclust package; Strucca et al., 2023). For qualitative profile estimation, both the five-profile and six-profile solution were compared.

Following examination of fit indices, the number of cases per profile for both the six- and five- profile solution were counted. Scholars argue that if an additional profile has a small number of cases, there is a high possibility of lower power and precision relative to larger profiles (Lubke & Neale, 2006). The general guideline is that if the additional profile includes <1.0% of the total sample size or fewer than 25 cases, the profile should be rejected (Hipp & Bauer, 2006; Lubke & Neale, 2006). Within the six-profile model, only 17 cases were classified as the sixth profile. For this reason, the five-profile model was retained for higher power and parsimony.

Table 5. *Summary of model fit for latent profile models*

Classes	AIC	BIC	SS Adjusted BIC	Relative Entropy	LMR *p*	*n* of smallest group
Subsample 1 (*n*=498)						
2	10846.27	10951.54				
3	10683.37	10826.53				
4	10597.50	10778.56				
5	10305.89	10524.84	10360.41	0.83	0.00990099	35
6	10109.89	10366.74	10176.31	0.87	0.00990099	17
Subsample 2 (*n*=498)						
2	10721.13	10826.4				
3	10529.59	10672.75				
4	10301.44	10482.5				
5	10235.41	10454.36	10289.31	0.84	0.00990099	33
6	10227.61	10484.46	10290.84	0.75	0.03960396	29

Note. AIC= Akaike Information Criterion, BIC= Bayesian Information Criterion, LMR= Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test

Preliminary Five Profiles Model of SIM among Black Woman

Below is a summary of the preliminary LPA of SIM strategies among Black women. Figures 2-6 summarizes each of the five profiles. Note that factor scores were standardized prior to analyses, therefore means represent standardized deviation from the sample mean.

Assimilation Dominant Profile

The first profile is characterized by a high frequency of assimilation strategies across the Mammy, Jezebel, and ABW stereotypes. In other words, Black women belonging to this profile engaged in behaviors, such as helping others, showing positive emotionality, and dressing modestly more than most other women at their job. Additionally, individuals in this profile also reported higher than average frequency of engaging in the confirmation strategy for the Mammy stereotype, such as going above and beyond to support others, even putting others' needs above their own. A visual depiction of Profile 1 can be seen in Figure 1.

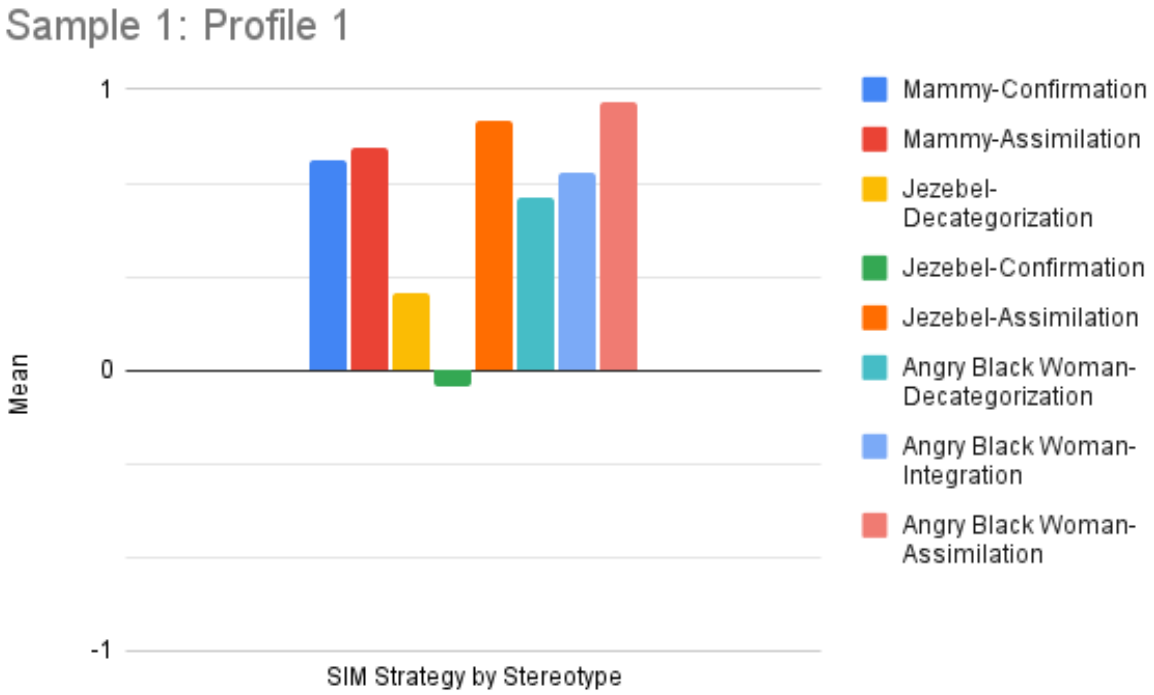

Figure 1. *Exploratory SIM Profile 1: Assimilation Dominant*

Jezebel Decategorization Dominant Profile

The second profile is characterized as a higher frequency of reported decategorization strategy for the Jezebel stereotype relative to other strategies. In other words, Black women belonging to this profile reported engaging in strategies aimed at reducing oversexualization in the workplace, such as avoiding revealing or "sexually suggestive" clothing. However, it is worth noting that the mean for decategorization of the Jezebel was less than 1. For the remaining strategies, individuals in this profile scored negatively—suggesting a low frequency of SIM behaviors overall. A visual depiction of Profile 2 can be seen in Figure 2.

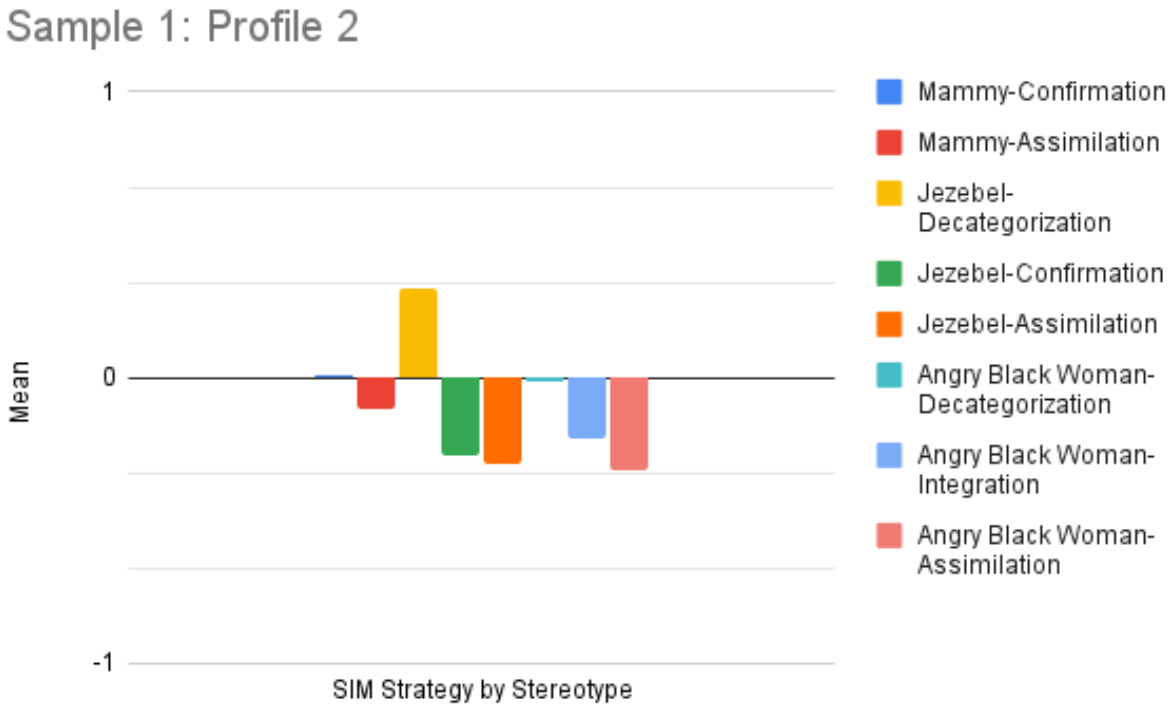

Figure 2. *Exploratory SIM Profile 2: Jezebel Decategorization Dominant*

Low Mammy SIM Profile

The third profile is characterized as a lower-than-average frequency of Mammy-related SIM. Although Black women belonging to this profile report lower engagement in SIM strategies overall, they score sizably lower in strategies related to the Mammy stereotype. In other words, they rarely report engaging in behaviors that prioritize others above their own needs. Further, they report helping others less than other women at their job. A visual depiction of Profile 3 can be seen in Figure 3.

Figure 3. *Exploratory SIM Profile 3: Low Mammy SIM*

Low Jezebel Decategorization Profile

The fourth profile is characterized as a lower-than-average frequency of decategorization strategy of the Jezebel stereotype. Although Black women belonging to this profile report lower engagement in SIM strategies overall, they score sizably lower in decategorization of the Jezebel. In other words, they rarely report engaging in behaviors aimed at reducing oversexualization in the workplace, such as avoiding revealing or "sexually suggestive" clothing. A visual depiction of Profile 4 can be seen in Figure 4.

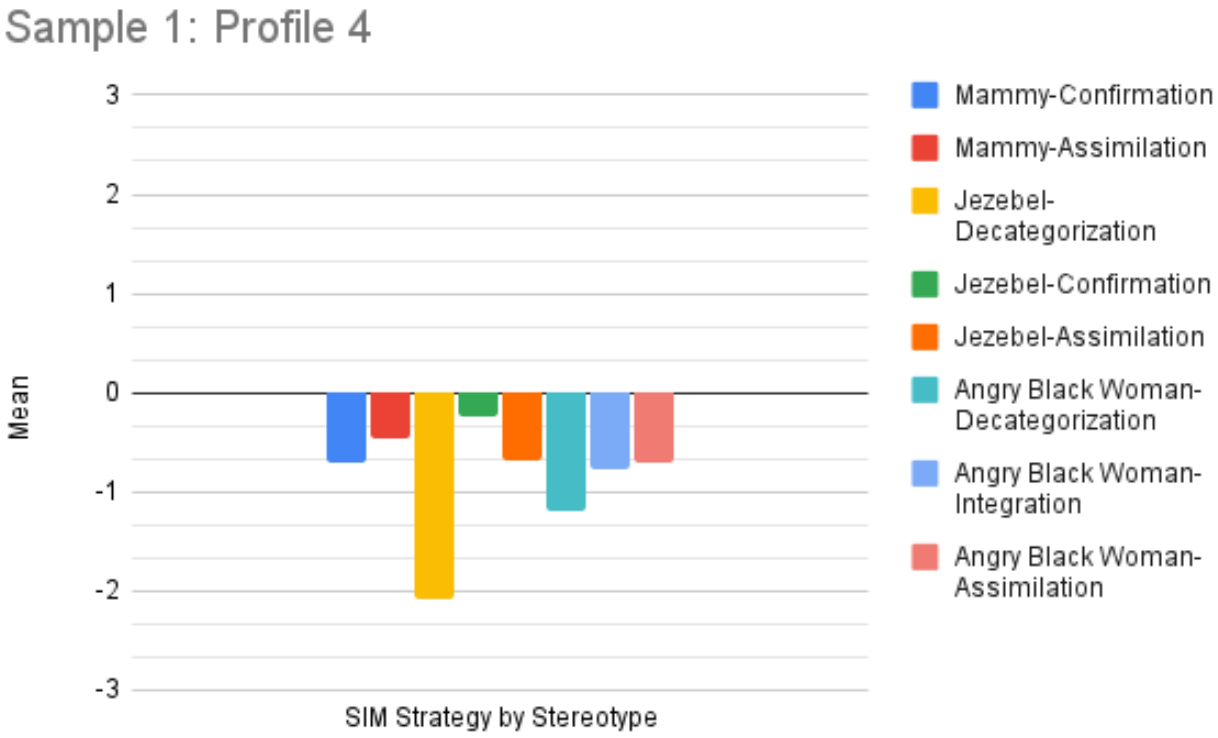

Figure 4. *Exploratory SIM Profile 4: Low Jezebel Decategorization*

Jezebel Confirmation Dominant Profile

The last profile is characterized as a high frequency of confirmation strategies for the Jezebel stereotype. Black women belonging to this profile reported using decategorization for the Jezebel stereotype at a frequency lower than the sample mean. In other words, relative to other strategies, Black women in this profile reported more frequently using their sex appeal to "get ahead" at work and relatively low frequency of engaging in behaviors aimed at reducing oversexualization in the workplace. A visual depiction of Profile 5 can be seen in Figure 5.

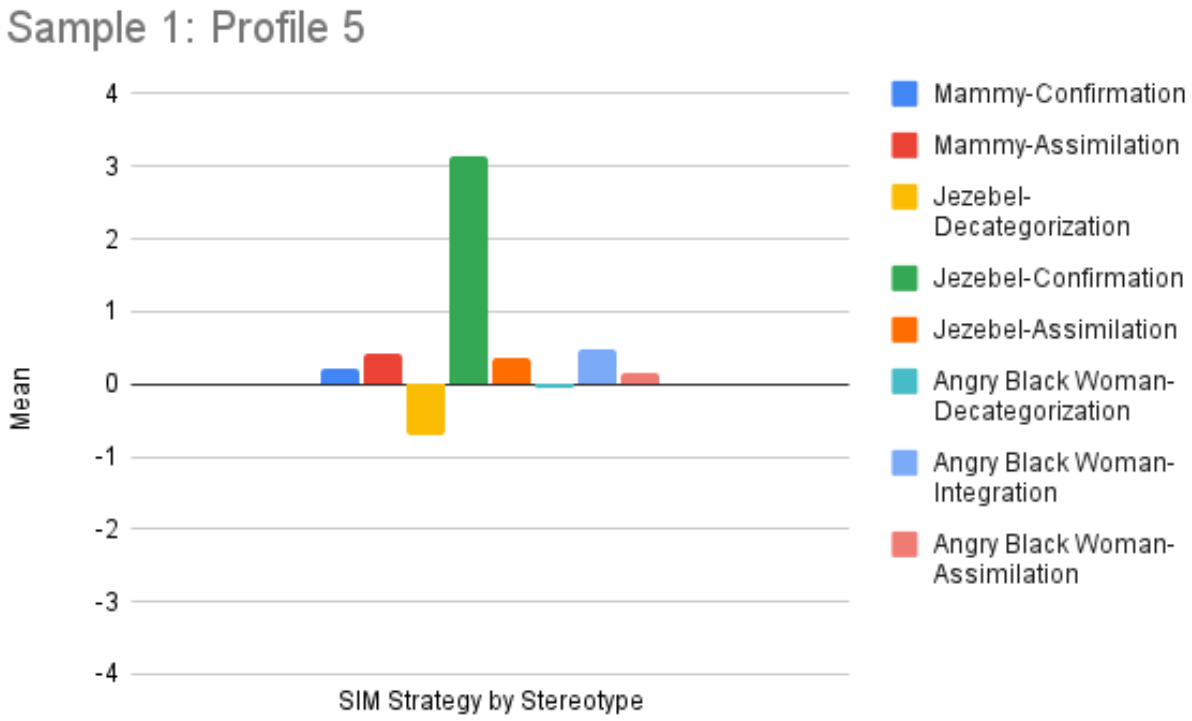

Figure 5. *Exploratory SIM Profile 4: Jezebel Confirmation Dominant*

Replicating Exploratory Latent Profiles

Following these results, a second LPA was conducted on the remaining subsample that was not included in the exploratory (*n*=498). I hypothesized that the five profiles would be the best-fitting model, consisting of five qualitative profiles: (1) Assimilation Dominant, (2) Jezebel Decategorization Dominant, (3) Low Mammy SIM, (4) Low Jezebel Decategorization, and (5) Jezebel Confirmation Dominant.

> ***Hypothesis 1*****:** *There exist five profiles of SIM strategies by major stereotype: either (1) high on assimilation strategies across stereotypes; (2) high on decategorization of Jezebel stereotype; (3) low on strategies for the Mammy stereotype; (4) low on decategorization of the Jezebel stereotype; and (5) high on confirmation of Jezebel stereotype.*

As with the exploratory LPA, the confirmatory LPA was performed using the tidyLPA package in *R* (Fraley & Raftery, 2002; Scrucca et al., 2016, 2023), and maximum likelihood was adopted as the estimation (Spurk et al., 2020) with factor scores as data input. Similarly, model fit was examined using the same fit indices included in the exploratory LPA (i.e., LMRT, BLTR, AIC, sBIC).

Hypothesized Differences in Outcomes Due to Profile Membership

The second goal of the current study was to explore whether profile membership is differentially related to outcomes of SIM. According to both SIM (Button et al., 2001; Ragins, 2008; Roberts, 2005; Shin et al., 2013) and identity shifting literatures (McCluney et al., Shorter-Gooden & Jones, 2004), engaging in recategorization strategies (i.e., decategorization and assimilation) is associated with higher cognitive depletion and emotional exhaustion relative to integration. For this reason, it is expected that profiles characterized by either higher decategorization and/or assimilation (i.e., profiles 1-2) will be associated with the highest emotional exhaustion and lowest task engagement.

> ***Hypothesis 2:*** *Profiles with high levels of recategorization (i.e., decategorization, assimilation) are associated with the most detrimental outcomes of SIM (i.e., high levels of emotional exhaustion and low levels of task engagement).*

In contrast to recategorization, engagement in positive distinctiveness strategies (i.e., integration, confirmation) are associated with positive wellbeing outcomes through increased social validation (Zang et al., 2021), authenticity and sense of belonging with one's organization (Dickens & Womack, 2020). That said, engaging in positive distinctiveness strategies still involves cognitive work, thereby diverting employee cognitive attention to job-related tasks (Roberts, 2005). For this reason, it is expected that profiles characterized by high confirmation

(i.e., profile 5) will be associated with lower emotional exhaustion when compared to profiles dominant in recategorization strategies but will be low in task engagement.

Hypothesis 3: *Profiles with high levels of positive distinctiveness (i.e., integration, confirmation) are associated with the high levels of emotional exhaustion, but lower levels of task engagement.*

Lastly, profiles characterized by low engagement across SIM strategies (i.e., profiles 3-4) are expected to have the lowest emotional exhaustion and the highest task engagement relative to those profiles higher in engagement of SIM.

Hypothesis 4**:** *Profiles with low levels of SIM generally are associated with the most beneficial outcomes of SIM (i.e., low levels of emotional exhaustion and high levels of task engagement).*

Confirmatory Latent Profile Analysis

Results of the second LPA suggest that a five-profile solution, with equal variances and covariances fixed at zero, was the better fitting model across fit indices (AIC= 10235.41; SBIC= 10289.31; BLRT= 84.03, $p < .01$), although the six profile solution had the lower AIC (AIC= 10227.61; SBIC= 10290.84; BLRT= 25.80, $p < .05$). Therefore, the five-profile model was retained. A summary of model fit for the confirmatory latent profile models can be found in Table 5.

Replicated Model of SIM among Black Woman

Below is a summary of the confirmatory LPA of SIM strategies among Black women for the second subsample. Please note that profile order output was based on stochasticity in the algorithms used in tidyLPA. Therefore, profile number was assigned arbitrarily. Overall, results replicated profiles found using the previous subsample. As with the exploratory LPA, factor

scores were standardized prior to analyses, therefore means represent distance from the midpoint of the scale. Figures 6-10. summarizes each of the five profiles. To ease interpretation, the corresponding profiles from the first sample were placed side-by-side for comparison.

Low Mammy SIM Profile

This profile is characterized as a lower-than-average frequency of Mammy-related SIM. Although Black women belonging to this profile report lower engagement in SIM strategies overall, they score sizably lower in strategies related to the Mammy stereotype. In other words, they rarely report engaging in behaviors that prioritize others above their own needs. Further, they report helping others less than other women at their job. A visual depiction of this profile can be seen in Figure 6. It is worth noting that there was a slightly higher mean for decategorization of the Jezebel stereotype when compared to the first subsample.

Jezebel Confirmation Dominant Profile

This profile is characterized as a high frequency of confirmation strategies for the Jezebel stereotype. In contrast, Black women belonging to this profile reported using decategorization for the Jezebel stereotype at lower frequency. In other words, relative to other strategies, Black women in this profile reported more frequently using their sex appeal to "get ahead" at work rather than avoiding clothing and interpersonal behavior that could be deemed overtly sexual. A visual depiction of this profile can be seen in Figure 7.

Jezebel Decategorization Dominant Profile

This profile is characterized as a higher frequency of reported decategorization strategy for the Jezebel stereotype relative to other strategies. In other words, Black women belonging to this profile reported engaging in strategies aimed at reducing oversexualization in the workplace, such as avoiding revealing or "sexually suggestive" clothing. Similar to in sample 1, the mean

for decategorization of the Jezebel was less than 1. Unlike Sample 1, decategorization for the ABW was positively scored; however below 1, but still suggesting a low frequency of SIM behaviors overall. For the remaining strategies, individuals in this profile scored negatively suggesting a low frequency of SIM behaviors overall. A visual depiction of this profile can be seen in Figure 8.

Assimilation Dominant Profile

This profile is characterized by a high frequency of assimilation strategies across the Mammy, Jezebel, and ABW stereotypes. In other words, Black women belonging to this profile engaged in behaviors, such as helping others, showing positive emotionality, and dressing modestly more than most other women at their job. Additionally, individuals in this profile also reported higher than average frequency of engaging in the confirmation strategy for the Mammy stereotype, such as going above and beyond to support others, even putting others' needs above their own. A visual depiction of this profile can be seen in Figure 9.

Profile 5: Low Jezebel Decategorization

The fifth profile had the same pattern in responding as the fourth profile in sample 1 (see Figure 5). This profile is characterized as a lower-than-average frequency of decategorization strategy of the Jezebel stereotype. Although Black women belonging to this profile report lower engagement in SIM strategies overall, they score sizably lower in decategorization of the Jezebel. In other words, they rarely report engaging in behaviors aimed at reducing oversexualization in the workplace, such as avoiding revealing or “sexually suggestive” clothing. A visual depiction of this profile can be seen in Figure 10.

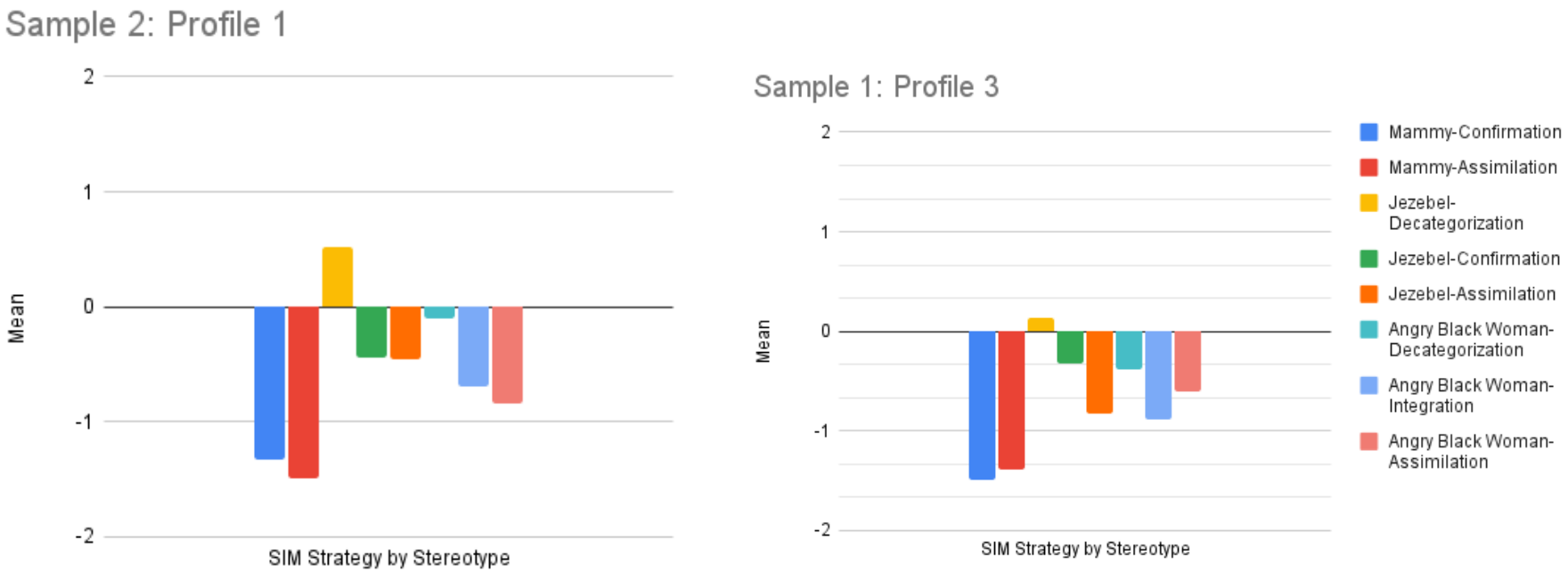

Figure 6. *Confirmatory SIM Profile 1: Low Mammy SIM*

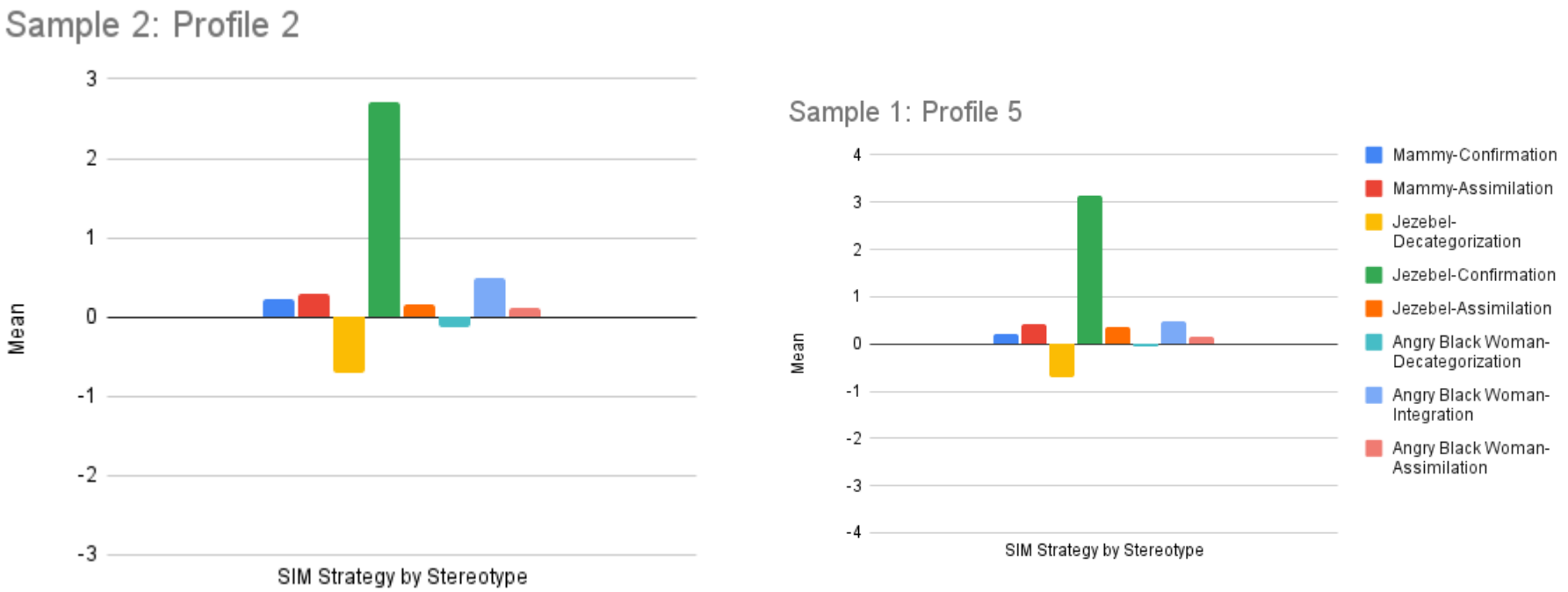

Figure 7. *Confirmatory SIM Profile 2: Jezebel Confirmation Dominant*

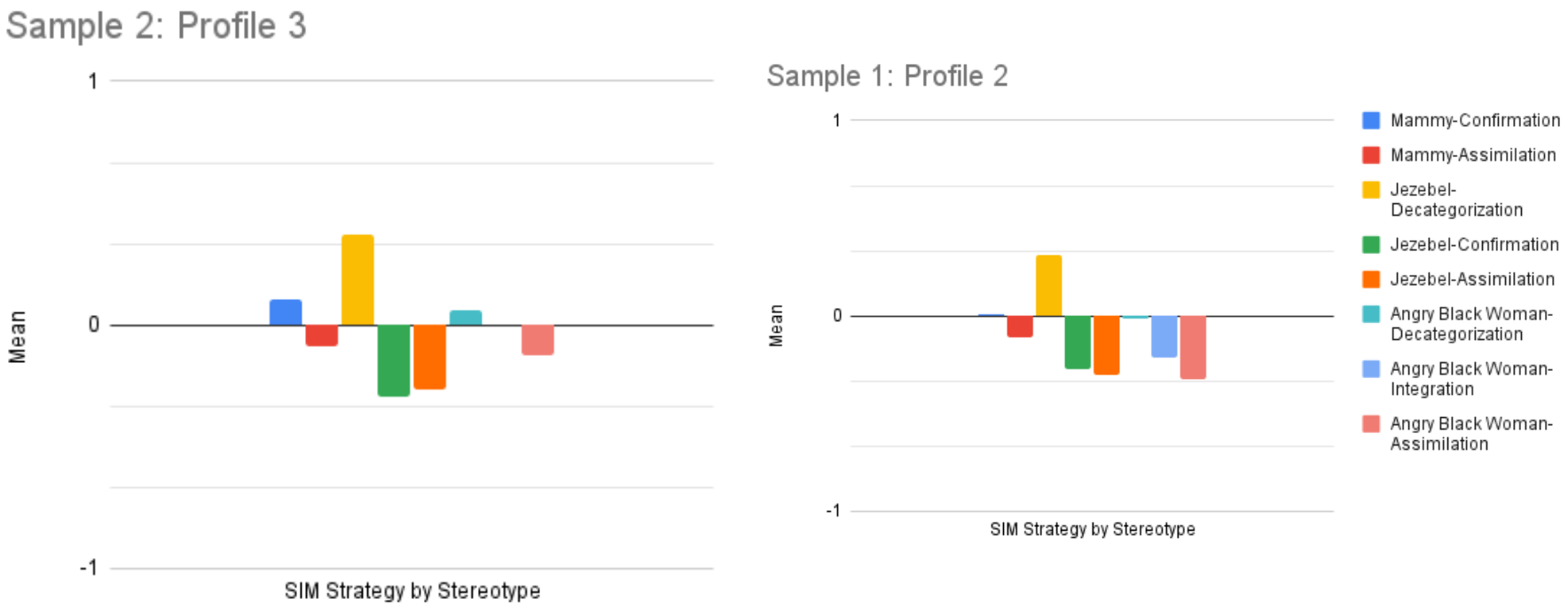

Figure 8. *Confirmatory SIM Profile 3: Jezebel Decategorization Dominant*

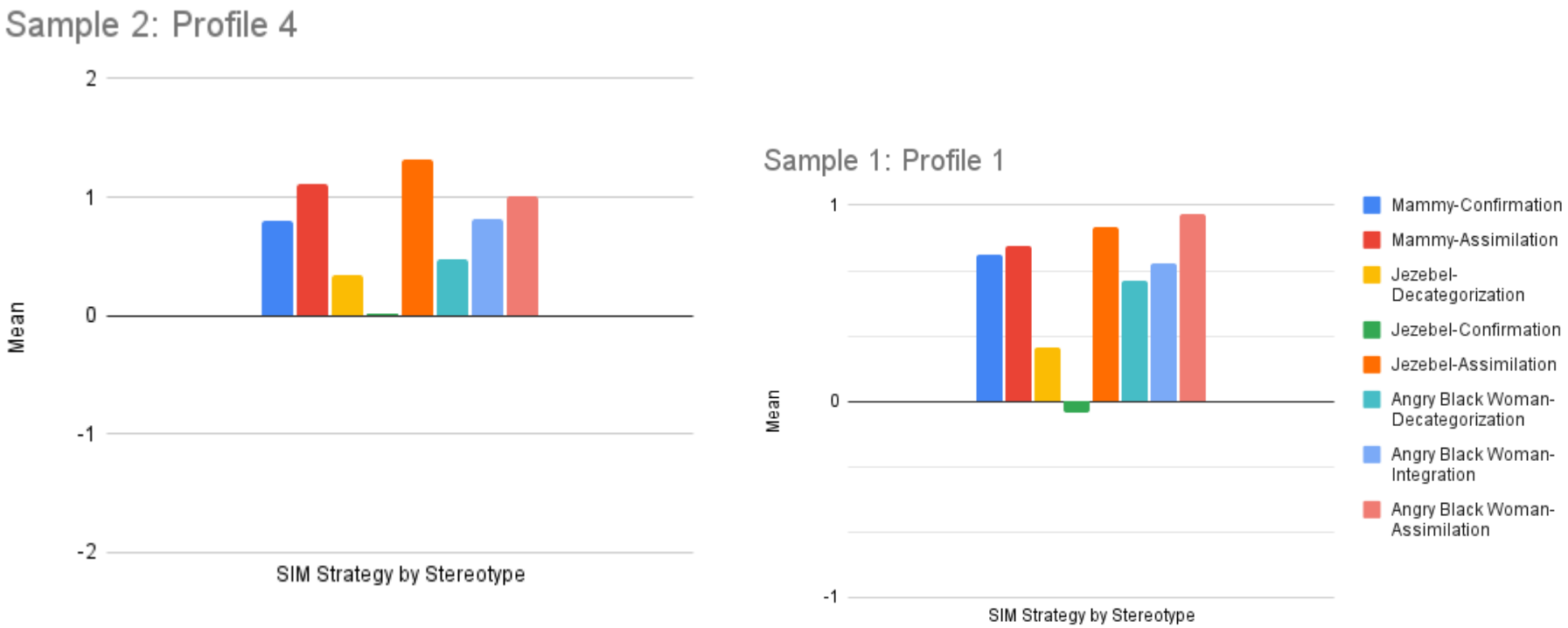

Figure 9. *Confirmatory SIM Profile 4: Assimilation Dominant*

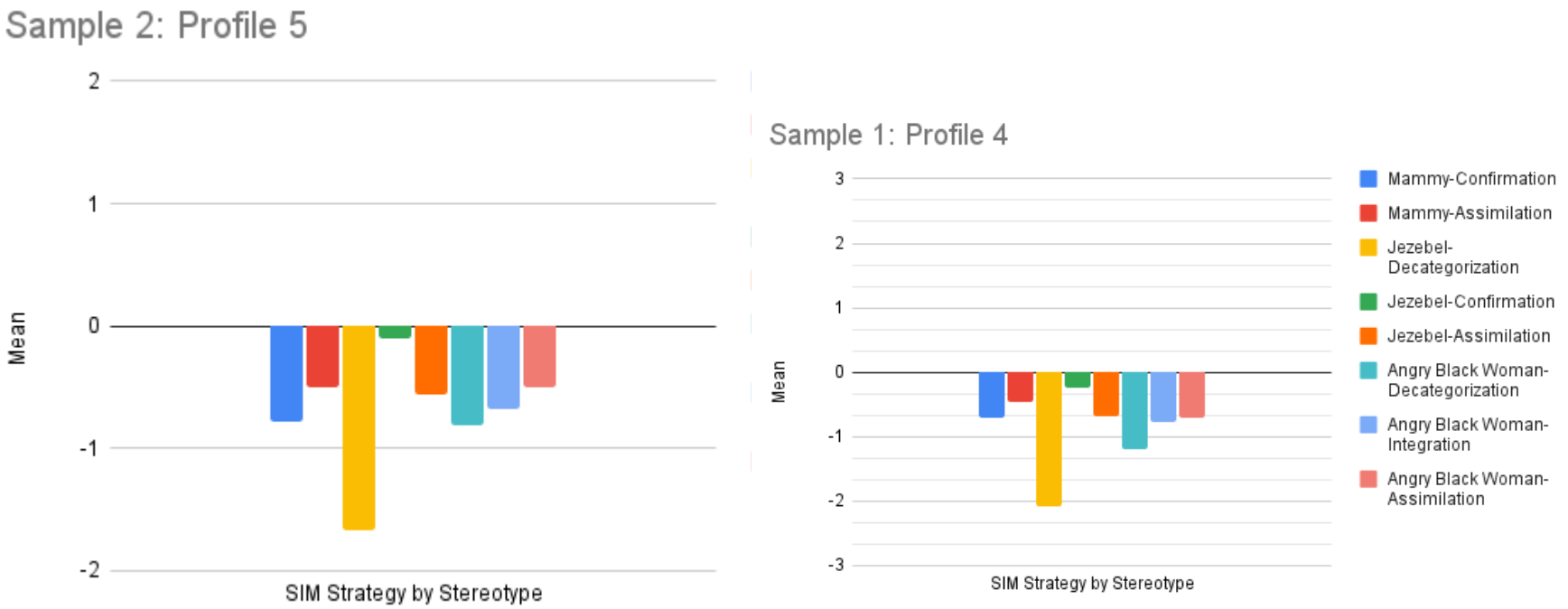

Figure 10. *Confirmatory SIM Profile 5: Low Jezebel Decategorization*

Mean Differences in Variables Between Profiles

Profile descriptives are summarized in Tables 6-10. Additionally, see Table 10 for a correlation table of SIM factor scores and related measures. In order to explore mean differences across profiles, several ANOVAs were conducted. Specifically, profile class membership was regressed onto identity centrality, work involvement, and each stereotype salience measure. Prior to running ANOVAs, participants' latent class membership (1-5) was added as a separate variable to the data.

Results of the omnibus test suggest significant mean differences in identity centrality across the five profiles, F (4, 989) = 10.02, p <.001. Post hoc analyses suggest that individuals belonging to the assimilation dominant profile scored significantly higher on identity centrality than all other profiles: low mammy SIM (*dif*= |.46|, p <.001), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |.18|, p <.05), jezebel confirmation dominant (|.54|, p <.001), low jezebel decategorization (*dif*= |.27|, p <.05) . Additionally, participants in the jezebel decategorization dominant profile scored significantly higher on identity centrality when compared to those in the low mammy SIM profile (*dif*= |.45|, p <.001). Lastly, participants belonging to the jezebel confirmation dominant profile scored lower in identity centrality when compared to those belonging to the jezebel decategorization dominant profile (*dif*= |.37|, p <.05).

Results of the omnibus test suggest significant mean differences in work involvement across the five profiles, F (4, 991) = 63.45, p <.001. Post hoc analyses suggest that participants belonging to the assimilation dominant profile scored significantly higher on work involvement when compared to those belonging to low mammy SIM (*dif*= |1.23|, p <.001), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |.77|, p <.001), and low jezebel decategorization (*dif*= |1.21|, p

<.05) profiles. Additionally, individuals belonging to the low mammy SIM profile scored lower on work involvement than participants belonging to the jezebel decategorization dominant profile (*dif*= |.46|, p <.001), as well as those belonging to the jezebel confirmation dominant profile (*dif*= |1.21|, p <.001).

In terms of reported salience of the jezebel stereotype, there were significant mean differences across profiles, F (4, 991) = 30.57, p <.001. Individuals belonging to the jezebel confirmation profile reported higher salience than all other profiles: assimilation dominant (*dif* = |.81|, p <.001), low mammy SIM (*dif* = |1.30|, p <.001), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |1.13|, p <.001), and low jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |1.27|, p <.001).

For reported salience of the ABW stereotype, there were significant mean differences across profiles, F (4, 991) = 11.03, p <.001. Results of post hoc analyses suggest that individuals in the assimilation dominant profile reported higher salience for the ABW stereotype than individuals in the low mammy SIM (*dif* = |.43|, p <.05), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |.29|, p <.001), and low jezebel decategorization (*dif* = |.75|, p <.001) profiles.

For reported salience of the SBW stereotype, there were significant mean differences across profiles, F (4, 991) = 33.62, p <.001. Similar to reported ABW salience, individuals in the assimilation dominant profile reported higher stereotype salience when compared to all other profiles: low mammy SIM (*dif*= |1.20|, p <.001), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |.57|, p <.05), jezebel confirmation dominant (|.40|, p <.05), low jezebel decategorization (*dif*= |1.09|, p <.05).

Lastly, there were significant mean differences in reported stereotype salience for the mammy stereotype, F (4, 991) = 45.88, p <.001. Individuals belonging to the assimilation dominant profile reported higher stereotype salience when compared to all other profiles: low

mammy SIM (*dif*= |1.47|, p <.001), jezebel decategorization dominant (*dif* = |.62|, p <.001), jezebel confirmation dominant (|.44|, p <.05), low jezebel decategorization (*dif*= |1.28|, p <.001).

Table 6. *Assimilation Dominant Profile Descriptives*

Variable	Mean	*SD*
Stereotype Awareness		
Jezebel	3.05	1.40
Strong Black Woman	4.42	0.79
Angry Black Woman	3.40	1.53
Mammy	4.32	0.88
Stereotype Salience		
Jezebel	1.81	1.11
Strong Black Woman	3.92	0.92
Angry Black Woman	2.66	1.43
Mammy	3.92	1.04
Stereotype Endorsement		
Jezebel	1.78	1.08
Strong Black Woman	4.50	0.66
Angry Black Woman	1.72	0.99
Mammy	4.50	0.72
Identity Centrality	4.21	0.72
Work Involvement	3.48	1.01
Emotional Exhaustion	2.62	0.87
Cognitive Impairment	1.83	0.78
Class Probability	0.89	0.14

Note: N= 220

Table 7. *Low Jezebel Decategorization Profile Descriptives*

Variable	Mean	*SD*
Stereotype Awareness		
Jezebel	2.87	1.26
Strong Black Woman	4.26	0.81
Angry Black Woman	3.72	1.11
Mammy	3.86	1.03
Stereotype Salience		
Jezebel	1.36	0.72
Strong Black Woman	2.82	1.17
Angry Black Woman	1.90	1.13
Mammy	2.64	1.13
Stereotype Endorsement		
Jezebel	1.58	0.90
Strong Black Woman	4.14	0.86
Angry Black Woman	1.74	0.84
Mammy	4.10	0.91
Identity Centrality	3.94	0.88
Work Involvement	2.18	0.80
Emotional Exhaustion	2.70	0.81
Cognitive Impairment	2.21	0.82
Class Probability	0.89	0.16

Note: N = 105

Table 8. *Jezebel Decategorization Dominant Profile Descriptives*

Variable	Mean	*SD*
Stereotype Awareness		
Jezebel	3.04	1.19
Strong Black Woman	4.27	0.73
Angry Black Woman	3.55	1.18
Mammy	3.91	0.89
Stereotype Salience		
Jezebel	1.50	0.87
Strong Black Woman	3.35	1.05
Angry Black Woman	2.37	1.14
Mammy	3.29	1.09
Stereotype Endorsement		
Jezebel	1.61	0.82
Strong Black Woman	4.23	0.74
Angry Black Woman	1.74	0.89
Mammy	4.21	0.74
Identity Centrality	4.03	0.77
Work Involvement	4.03	0.86
Emotional Exhaustion	2.67	0.78
Cognitive Impairment	2.12	0.76
Class Probability	0.87	0.16

Note: *N*= 493

Table 9. *Jezebel Confirmation Dominant Profile Descriptives*

Variable	Mean	*SD*
Stereotype Awareness		
Jezebel	3.25	1.00
Strong Black Woman	4.07	0.72
Angry Black Woman	3.40	1.15
Mammy	3.75	0.87
Stereotype Salience		
Jezebel	2.63	1.11
Strong Black Woman	3.51	0.97
Angry Black Woman	2.94	1.13
Mammy	3.47	0.98
Stereotype Endorsement		
Jezebel	2.38	1.22
Strong Black Woman	3.93	0.89
Angry Black Woman	2.37	1.14
Mammy	3.94	0.90
Identity Centrality	3.66	0.69
Work Involvement	3.46	0.97
Emotional Exhaustion	2.88	0.84
Cognitive Impairment	2.58	0.91
Class Probability	0.95	0.11

Note: N= 68

Table 10. *Low Mammy SIM Profile Descriptives*

Variable	Mean	*SD*
Stereotype Awareness		
Jezebel	3.15	1.28
Strong Black Woman	4.25	0.75
Angry Black Woman	3.80	1.00
Mammy	3.60	0.90
Stereotype Salience		
Jezebel	1.33	0.67
Strong Black Woman	2.75	1.13
Angry Black Woman	2.22	1.14
Mammy	2.45	1.07
Stereotype Endorsement		
Jezebel	1.67	0.89
Strong Black Woman	4.06	0.88
Angry Black Woman	1.80	1.03
Mammy	3.98	0.86
Identity Centrality	3.74	0.92
Work Involvement	2.25	0.95
Emotional Exhaustion	2.86	0.77
Cognitive Impairment	2.36	0.80
Class Probability	0.82	0.17

Note: N= 110

Table 11. *Means, Standard deviations, and Correlations with Confidence Intervals*

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1.Mammy Confirmation	17.06	3.63																
2. Mammy Assimilation	8.59	2.75	.61** [.57, .65]															
3. Jezebel Decategorization	8.08	2.14	.23** [.17, .29]	.11** [.05, .17]														
4. Jezebel Confirmation	5.21	2.17	.12** [.06, .18]	.14** [.08, .20]	-.22** [-.28, -.16]													
5. Jezebel Assimilation	13.43	3.26	.34** [.29, .40]	.48** [.43, .53]	.17** [.11, .23]	.12** [.06, .18]												
6. ABW Decategorization	14.09	3.13	.31** [.26, .37]	.14** [.08, .20]	.38** [.33, .43]	.02 [-.04, .08]	.25** [.19, .31]											
7. ABW Integration	9.08	3.13	.42** [.36, .47]	.32** [.27, .38]	.19** [.13, .25]	.17** [.11, .23]	.37** [.31, .42]	.36** [.30, .41]										
8. ABW Assimilation	9.50	2.33	.33**	.40**	.14**	.10**	.51**	.36**	.30**									

			[.27, .38]	[.35, .46]	[.08, .20]	[.04, .16]	[.47, .56]	[.31, .42]	[.24, .35]							
9. Stereotype Salience	2.67	0.76	.32**	.26**	.08*	.24**	.30**	.34**	.41**	.36**						
			[.27, .38]	[.20, .31]	[.02, .14]	[.18, .30]	[.24, .36]	[.29, .40]	[.36, .46]	[.30, .41]						
10. Cognitive Impairment	2.13	0.81	-.16**	-.22**	-.10**	.16**	-.18**	.05	-.10**	.02	.17**					
			[-.22, -.10]	[-.28, -.16]	[-.16, -.04]	[.10, .22]	[-.24, -.12]	[-.01, .11]	[-.16, -.03]	[-.05, .08]	[.11, .23]					
11. Identity Centrality	4.00	0.80	.15**	.12**	.03	-.12**	.11**	.07*	.15**	.08**	.15**	-.07*				
			[.08, .21]	[.06, .18]	[-.03, .09]	[-.19, -.06]	[.05, .17]	[.00, .13]	[.09, .21]	[.02, .14]	[.09, .21]	[-.13, -.01]				
12. Exhaustion	2.70	0.81	-.10**	-.17**	-.02	.08*	-.09**	.17**	.01	.10**	.28**	.70**	-.01			
			[-.16, -.04]	[-.23, -.11]	[-.08, .05]	[.02, .14]	[-.15, -.03]	[.10, .23]	[-.06, .07]	[.04, .16]	[.22, .33]	[.67, .73]	[-.08, .05]			
13. Work Involvement	2.82	1.01	.39**	.45**	.11**	.24**	.37**	.19**	.33**	.31**	.29**	-.12**	.05	-.07*		
			[.33, .44]	[.40, .50]	[.05, .17]	[.18, .30]	[.32, .42]	[.13, .25]	[.27, .38]	[.25, .37]	[.23, .34]	[-.18, -.06]	[-.01, .11]	[-.13, -.01]		
14. LGBTQ Identity	1.76	0.45	-.08*	-.09**	.09**	-.09**	-.15**	-.05	-.11**	-.08**	-.10**	.02	-.06*	.05	-.11**	
			[-.14, -.02]	[-.15, -.03]	[.02, .15]	[-.15, -.02]	[-.21, -.09]	[-.11, .01]	[-.17, -.05]	[-.15, -.02]	[-.16, -.04]	[-.04, .08]	[-.12, -.00]	[-.01, .11]	[-.17, -.05]	
15. Disability	1.91	0.36	.01	.04	.00	.01	.02	-.01	.00	-.02	-.06*	-.10**	-.01	-.08*	-.00	.16**
			[-.05, .07]	[-.02, .10]	[-.06, .06]	[-.05, .08]	[-.04, .08]	[-.07, .05]	[-.06, .06]	[-.08, .04]	[-.13, -.00]	[-.16, -.04]	[-.08, .05]	[-.14, -.02]	[-.06, .06]	[.10, .22]
16. Stereotype Awareness	3.71	0.65	.02	-.04	.03	-.03	.01	.12**	.04	.10**	.28**	.22**	.18**	.28**	-.13**	-.02	-.08*
			[-.05, .08]	[-.10, .02]	[-.04, .09]	[-.09, .03]	[-.05, .07]	[.05, .18]	[-.02, .10]	[.04, .16]	[.23, .34]	[.16, .27]	[.12, .24]	[.22, .34]	[-.19, -.07]	[-.09, .04]	[-.14, -.02]

17. Stereotype Endorsement	2.99	0.50	.17** [.11, .23]	.18** [.12, .24]	.06* [.00, .12]	.15** [.09, .21]	.17** [.10, .23]	.06* [.00, .13]	.09** [.03, .15]	.07* [.00, .13]	.13** [.07, .19]	-.04 [-.10, .02]	-.07* [-.13, -.01]	-.01 [-.07, .05]	.19** [.13, .25]	.04 [-.02, .10]	.00 [-.06, .07]	.11** [.05, .17]

Note. ABW=Angry Black Woman
M and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014). * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Testing Differences in Outcomes by Profile Membership

Next, potential differences in emotional exhaustion and task engagement were explored as a function of latent class membership. It was hypothesized that profiles characterized by either higher decategorization and/or assimilation would be associated with the highest emotional exhaustion and lowest task engagement (i,e., highest cognitive impairment; *H2*). In contrast, profiles with high positive distinctiveness were expected to have relatively lower emotional exhaustion, but low task engagement (*H3*). Lastly, profiles with low SIM overall were predicted to have the lowest emotional exhaustion and highest task engagement (*H4*).

To test these hypotheses, the five-profile solution was estimated on the entire dataset. Next, two separate ANCOVAs were estimated. The first of which was latent class regressed onto emotional exhaustion, controlling for LGBTQ identity and disability status, stereotype awareness, and stereotype endorsement. The second ANOVA was latent class regressed onto cognitive impairment, also controlling for LGBTQ identity and disability status, stereotype awareness, and stereotype endorsement. As discussed within methodology, due to previous research within the areas of LGBTQ- (e.g., Button, 2001; Ragins, 2008) and disability (e.g., Cheung & Chan, 2021) identity management, both variables were included as statistical controls. Additionally, to account for variation in knowledge and endorsement of stereotypes, these variables were also controlled in ANCOVA analyses.

Emotional Exhaustion

Results of the omnibus test suggested a non-significant main effect for latent class membership on emotional exhaustion, F (4, 980) = 1.86, p = .11. Therefore, the data did not support Hypothesis 2b, Hypothesis 3b, and Hypothesis 4b.

Task Engagement

Results of the omnibus test suggested a significant main effect for latent class membership on task engagement, F (4, 980) = 10.46, p >.001). However, contrary to initial hypotheses, pairwise comparison revealed that average reported cognitive impairment was significantly *lower* for individuals belonging to the assimilation dominant profile when compared to scored significantly higher on identity centrality than all other profiles: low mammy SIM, t (980)= -3.96, p <.001): jezebel decategorization dominant, t(980)= -3.43, p <.01), jezebel confirmation dominant, t(980)= 6.01, p <.001); and low jezebel decategorization, t(980)= -2.94, p <.05) . Therefore, there was also a lack of support for Hypothesis 2a, Hypothesis 3a, and Hypothesis 4a.

Supplemental Analyses

Additional CFAs were conducted to test alternate factor structures of the present measure of SIM by stereotype of Black women. Like the previously reported CFAs, these analyses were conducted using the Lavaan package in R (Rosseel, 2012). Loadings less than >.3 were removed and modification indices were computed.

The first model was a four-factor stereotype model on the full scale. Specifically, it was expected that there would be satisfactory fit for a model with SIM strategies for the Mammy, Jezebel, ABW, and SBW. Results of the four-factor model suggested that the ABW and SBW factor were correlated at 1.08, suggesting indistinguishable factors. Therefore, ABW and SBW items were collapsed onto one factor. Results of the three-factor model suggested poor model fit (SRMR=.09; RMSEA=.08; CFI=.57; χ =5805.43, p > .05). However, internal reliability for the three factors was acceptable: Mammy ($\alpha = .78$); Jezebel ($\alpha = .69$); and ABW/SBW ($\alpha = .82$). A summary of factor loadings can be found in Table 12.

The next model was a four-factor SIM strategy model on the full scale. There was expected to be satisfactory fit for a model with four SIM strategies: decategorization, assimilation, integration, and positive distinctiveness—as outlined by Roberts (2005) original model. Results of the four-factor model also suggested poor model fit (SRMR=.09; RMSEA=.08; CFI=.65; χ =5098.98, $p > .05$). However, internal reliability for the three factors was acceptable: Decategorization ($\alpha = .70$); Assimilation ($\alpha = .80$); Confirmation ($\alpha = .70$); and Integration ($\alpha = .83$). A summary of factor loadings can be found in Table 13.

A two-factor SIM strategy model was also tested. Roberts (2005) model posits that the four strategies can be categorized as being recategorization (i.e., decategorization and assimilation) or positive distinctiveness (i.e., integration and confirmation). Therefore, a model was tested in which decategorization, and assimilation items were loaded onto one recategorization factor; and confirmation and integration were loaded onto a positive distinctiveness factor. Results of the two-factor model also suggested poor model fit (SRMR=.08; RMSEA=.08; CFI=.68; χ =4077.30, $p > .05$). However, internal reliability for both Recategorization ($\alpha = .84$) and Positive Distinctiveness ($\alpha = .85$) was acceptable. A summary of factor loadings can be found in Table 13.

Lastly, a Multi-Trait-Multimethod Matrix (MTMM) model was tested. Specifically, items were expected to load onto both one stereotype and one SIM strategy (see Figure 11). Results of the MTMM suggested slightly better fit than either the three-factor stereotype- or four-factor SIM strategy- model alone (SRMR=.06; RMSEA=.05; CFI=.77; χ =5001.78, $p < .05$).

Given acceptable factor reliability of stereotypes and strategies, simple regression analyses were conducted to explore variable-level relationships between reported SIM and other related variables. Roberts (2005) posits that engaging in recategorization strategies predict both

higher exhaustion and higher cognitive impairment. Although positive distinctiveness is not expected to predict higher exhaustion, Roberts (2005) posits a positive relationship between all SIM—including positive distinctiveness—and cognitive impairment. To test this relationship, reported recategorization and positive distinctiveness were regressed onto exhaustion. Results suggest that recategorization marginally predicted exhaustion scores, b= -.04, t (995) = -1.76, p = .08. However, results suggest a nonsignificant relationship between positive distinctiveness and exhaustion, b= .005, t (992) = .22, p = .83.

Next, recategorization and positive distinctiveness were regressed onto cognitive impairment. Results suggest that recategorization was a significant predictor of cognitive impairment scores, b= -.11, t (995) = -4.52, p < .001. Recategorization also predicted a significant proportion of variance in cognitive impairment scores, R^2= .02, F (1, 993) = 20.43, p < .001. Positive distinctiveness was also a significant predictor of cognitive impairment, b= -.08, t (995) = -3.08, p < .01. Further, positive distinctiveness predicted a significant proportion of variance in cognitive impairment scores, R^2= .01, F (1, 992) = 9.44, p < .01.

Lastly, regression analyses were conducted to explore whether reported salience of major stereotypes of Black women reported SIM for that corresponding stereotype, as Roberts (2005) postulates that salience is a positive predictor of SIM. Results suggest that reported salience of the Jezebel stereotype is a significant predictor of Jezebel-targeted SIM, b= .20, t (995) = 6.51, p < .001. Salience of the Jezebel stereotype accounted for a significant amount of variance in scores of Jezebel-targeted SIM, R^2= .04, F (1, 993) = 42.35, p < .001. Similarly, reported salience of the Mammy stereotype was significant predictor of Mammy-targeted SIM, b= .37, t (995) = 14.89, p < .001. Salience of the Mammy stereotype accounted for a significant amount of variance in scores of Mammy-targeted SIM, R^2= .18, F (1, 993) = 221.6, p < .001. Results

suggest that both reported salience of the ABW (b= .26, t (995) = 10.49, p < .001); and SBW (b= .37, t (995) = 14.30, p < .001) significantly predicted scores of ABW/SBW-targeted SIM. Additionally, both reported ABW salience (R^2= .10, F (1, 994) = 110, p < .001) and SBW salience (R^2= .17, F (1, 994) = 204.5, p < .001) explained a significant amount of variance in ABW/SBW-targeted SIM.

Table 12. *Alternative Factor Model- Three Stereotypes of Black Women*

Item	Factor Loading
Mammy ($\alpha = .78$)	
Avoid dress considered "frumpy" or unflattering at my job	.39
*Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job	.32
*Avoid wearing revealing clothing	.32
Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job	.42
Challenge the expectation that I have to always help others as a Black woman at my job	.44
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job	.50
Take younger employees "under my wing" at my job.	.73
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job	.54
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job	.53
Go out of my way to help others at my job	.56
Volunteer to help others at my job	.96
Prioritize myself at my job	1.04
*Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job	.76
*Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job	.33
Jezebel ($\alpha = .69$)	
Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job	.46
Dress in ways typical of my job	.83
I dress to blend-in at my job	.91
Socialize in ways acceptable for my job	.96
Angry Black Woman/ Strong Black Woman ($\alpha = .82$)	
Avoid raising my voice at my job	.30
Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job	.63

Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job	.33
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job	.95
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job	.93
Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job	.53
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job	.61
Put others in their place to demand respect at my job	.53
Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job	.31
Express my emotions at my job	.33
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.59
Put on a happy face at my job	.71
Avoid being seen as characteristically "strong" at my job	.32
Avoid being seen as too independent at my job	.42
Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job	.68
At my job I try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own	.51
Balance being independent with drawing from others' expertise at my job	.32
Go at great lengths to appear "put together" at my job	.54
Express my emotions at my job	.65
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.75

Note. Items originally developed to measure the Jezebel stereotype*

Table 13. *Alternative Factor Model-Four SIM Strategies*

Item	Factor Loading
Decategorization ($\alpha = .70$)	
Avoid dress considered "frumpy" or unflattering at my job	.53
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job	.58
Avoid frequent interactions with men at my job	.37
Avoid wearing revealing clothing	.59
Avoid raising my voice at my job	.55
Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job	.72
Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job	.53
Avoid being overly critical of others' work	.46
Avoid being seen as characteristically "strong" at my job	.36
Avoid being seen as too independent at my job	.45
Volunteer to help others at my job*	.51
Assimilation ($\alpha = .80$)	
Take on mentoring others at my job	1.03
Dress in ways typical of my job	.77
I dress to blend-in at my job	.82
Socialize in ways acceptable for my job	.96
Express my emotions at my job	.42
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.72
Put on a happy face at my job	.84
Engage in behaviors to appear competent at my job	.78
Ask for help at my job	.35
I take on extra work at my job	.87

Confirmation ($\alpha = .70$)	
Take younger employees "under my wing" at my job	.72
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job	.56
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job	.55
Go out of my way to help others at my job	.57
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job	.71
Put others in their place to demand respect at my job	.45
Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job	.31
Go at great lengths to appear "put together" at my job	.48
Integration ($\alpha = .84$)	
Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job	.73
Challenge the expectation that I have to always help others as a Black woman at my job	.64
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job	.33
Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job	1.05
Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job	.32
Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job	.41
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job	1.18
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job	1.21
Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job	.46
Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job	.76
At my job I try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own	.63

Note. Items originally developed to measure assimilation*

Table 14. *Alternative Factor Model-Two Categorizations of SIM Strategies*

Item	Factor Loading
Recategorization ($\alpha = .84$)	
Avoid dress considered "frumpy" or unflattering at my job	.30
Avoid wearing revealing clothing	.26
Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job	.47
Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job	.27
Avoid taking on a heavy workload at my job	.32
Volunteer to help others at my job	1.03
Take on mentoring others at my job	1.13
Dress in ways typical of my job	.68
I dress to blend-in at my job	.71
Socialize in ways acceptable for my job	.90
Express my emotions at my job	.44
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.65
Put on a happy face at my job	.79
Engage in behaviors to appear competent at my job	.67
Ask for help at my job	.34
I take on extra work at my job	.94
Take younger employees "under my wing" at my job*	.66
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job*	.49
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job*	.51
Go out of my way to help others at my job*	.50
Positive Distinctiveness ($\alpha = .86$)	
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job	.51

Put others in their place to demand respect at my job	.61
Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job	.37
Go at great lengths to appear "put together" at my job	.42
Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job	.72
Challenge the expectation that I have to always help others as a Black woman at my job	.66
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job	.35
Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job	1.04
Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job	.34
Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job	.42
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job	1.14
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job	1.10
Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job	.48
Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job	.76
At my job I try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own	.62

Note. Items originally developed to measure confirmation (i.e., positive distinctiveness under Roberts (2005) model) *

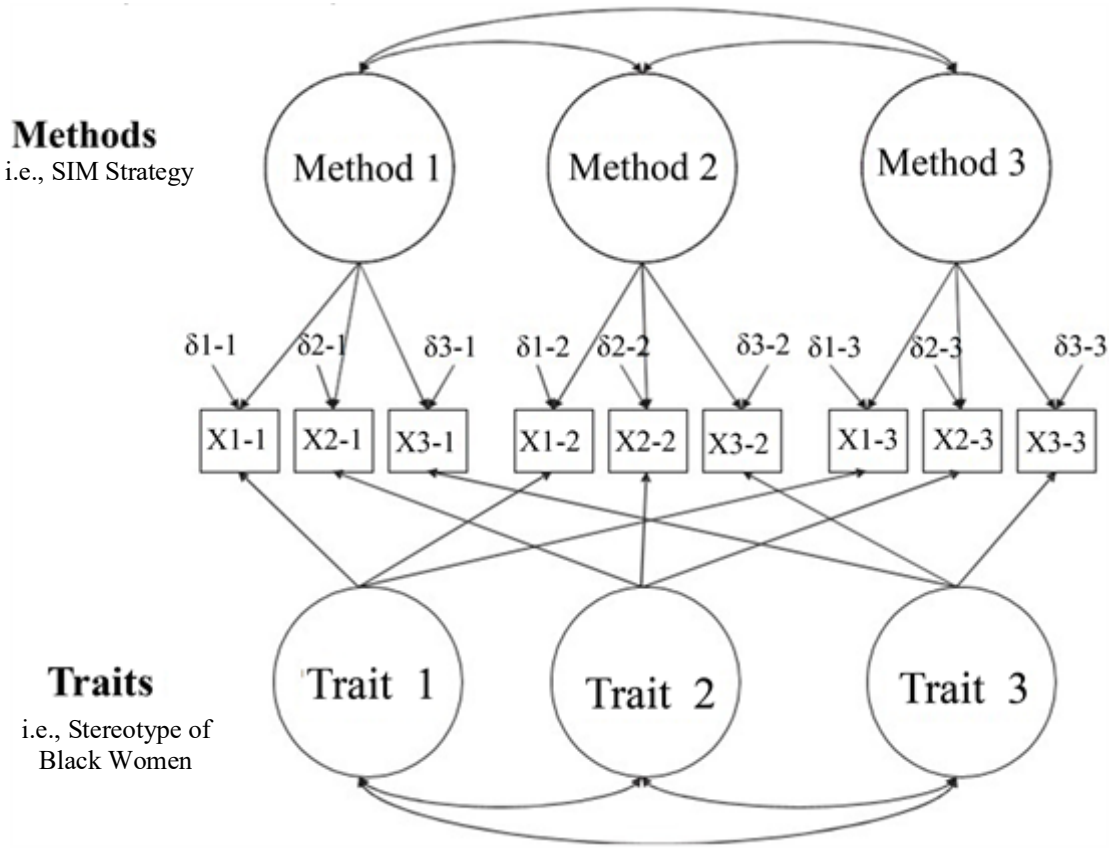

Figure 11. Multi-Trait-Multi-Method Model of SIM by Stereotype Scale

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

SIM Profiles

The purpose of the present study was to examine potential latent profiles of SIM among Black women, as aligned with four historical stereotypes targeting their identity group: the Mammy, Strong Black Woman (SBW), Sapphire/Angry Black Woman (ABW), and the Jezebel. Results of both exploratory and confirmatory LPA suggests a five-profile solution, with equal variances and covariances fixed at zero. In the current study, these five profiles were given the following labels: *Assimilation Dominant* (i.e., high frequencies of strategies to fit in across the Mammy, Jezebel, and ABW stereotypes); *Jezebel Decategorization Dominant* (i.e., high frequency of behaviors to reduce potential for sexualization); *Low Mammy SIM* (i.e., low frequency of SIM, especially for Mammy confirmation and assimilation); *Low Jezebel Decategorization* (i.e., low frequency of behaviors to reduce potential for sexualization); and *Jezebel Confirmation Dominant* (i.e., high frequency of behaviors that use one's sex appeal to one's workplace advantage).

As evident by the assigned profile labels, three of the five profiles were characterized by their level of SIM for the Jezebel stereotype, specifically, high Jezebel confirmation, high Jezebel decategorization, and low Jezebel decategorization. This may reflect SIM items for the Jezebel stereotype being largely focused on appearance-related behaviors, relative to the other stereotypes. Specifically, items for the Jezebel centered around dress across SIM strategies: decategorization (e.g., "avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job") and

confirmation (e.g., “dress in revealing clothing at my job”). In contrast, items for the Mammy and ABW were focused on contextual behaviors, such as altruism (e.g., “put aside own needs to help others at my job”) associated with the Mammy stereotype, as well as effort to appear agreeable and friendly (e.g., “avoid raising my voice at my job”) associated with disconfirming the ABW stereotype.

As discussed within the literature review, SIM, by its very definition, is rooted in impression management (IM) theory, which suggests that individuals are motivated to elicit positive first impressions of others, particularly in “high stakes” situations such as during an employment interview or upon meeting someone for the first time (Ellis et al., 2002; Higgins & Judge, 2004; Krsitoff-Brown et al., 2002; McFarland et al., 2003). One such way is through dress (Peluchette et al., 2006). Indeed, previous research within the IM literature suggests that employees use dress to act as an “informative role symbol”—thereby communicating their professional identity to others (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Rafaeli & Dutton, 1997; Taylor & Crocker, 1981). As such, employees cite dress as an adopted IM tactic (Guy & Banim, 2000; Solomon & Schopler, 1982; Tseelon, 1992). Additionally, scholars suggest that there is likely to be gender differences in reported appearance-related SIM, with women reporting higher “appearance labor” when compared to men (Peluchette et al., 2006). Given that the current research centers on a fully-woman sample, this may partly explain why profiles were mostly characterized in terms of strategies to dress in ways that aim to avoid oversexualization (i.e., decategorization) or leverage dress and other mannerisms to garner attention from others (i.e., confirmation).

Monitoring of one’s physical appearance continues to be a commonly cited experience among Black women in the corporate world (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2004). Employment law

scholars argue that organizational dress-codes often reflect Eurocentric standards of grooming and dress (Bennett-Alexander et al., 2016). From a theoretical standpoint, scholars studying *racial phenotypicality bias* assert that individuals with phenotypic characteristics strongest to their racial group's "prototype" are most likely to evaluated by stereotypes associated with their ingroup (Blaire et al., 2002; Brown et al., 1999; Hall, 1998; Maddox & Gray, 2002). Previous research provides initial support for racial phenotypically theory, as Black women who adopt more afrocentric hairstyles and textures are more likely to be met with prejudice and discrimination due to negative stereotype activation (Koval & Rosette, 2020; Opie & Phillips, 2015).

It is also worth noting that just because SIM items were only appearance-focused for the Jezebel stereotype, this does not mean that other Black women stereotypes are devoid of physical characterization. Indeed, one of the reasons stereotypes are pervasive within society is due to the media being successful in propagating strong imagery (Melson-Silimon et al., 2023). For example, the Mammy stereotype became widespread with characters such as Hattie McDaniel's in *Gone with the Wind* to advertisement such as *Aunt Jemima* (Bailin, 2014; Fuller, 2001; Lemons, 1997; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; Thomas, 2020; West, 2008; Woodward & Mastin, 2005). Even the ABW stereotype can be traced back to media portrayals such as the Sapphire Stephens character in the 1950s television program *Amos 'n' Andy* (Ashley, 2014; Grayman, 2005; Morgan & Bennett, 2006; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; West, 1995). Therefore, in further developing the Social Identity-Based Impression Management of Black Women Scale, an important next step is to ensure items reflect not only emotional or task-related manifestations of stereotypes, but also SIM strategies targeting physical stereotypes.

Alternatively, the majority of SIM profiles being centered around the Jezebel may also be a reflection of Black women having to be more aware of the Jezebel stereotype within the context of work. As mentioned within the literature review, Black women are often socialized in early childhood of the dangers of the fast-tailed stereotype (Epstein et al., 2017; Leath et al., 2021). Through this process, Black women learn to be vigilant of their dress and other signaling of their sexuality in order to reduce potential shame from the public, especially in the context of sexual assault (Leath et al., 2021). Surprisingly, however, reported salience for the jezebel stereotype was relatively low (see Tables 5-9). Therefore, future research is needed to explore potential contextual variables that might help explain the different configurations of SIM strategies by stereotype.

Mean Differences in Task Engagement Between Profiles

The second goal of the current study was to explore potential differences in two cited outcomes of SIM: emotional exhaustion. In drawing from Robert's (2005) theory of SIM, as well and other reviews within the literature (e.g., Button et al., 2001; Shih et al., 2013; Ragins, 2008), it was hypothesized that profiles high in assimilation and decategorization would have the highest emotional exhaustion and emotional impairment (i.e., low task engagement).

Post hoc analyses suggest there were nonsignificant mean differences in emotional exhaustion between the five profile groups. However, omnibus and Tukey analyses for cognitive impairment were significant, suggesting meaningful mean differences in task engagement between profile groups. However, results were opposite to what was initially hypothesized with individuals identified as belonging to the *Assimilation Dominant* profile having the lowest mean of cognitive impairment (i.e., highest task engagement) relative to individuals belonging to the

other four profiles. One potential explanation for these surprising results may be the pattern in other SIM strategies for this profile.

The Assimilation Dominant profile is characterized as a higher reported frequency of assimilation for the Mammy, Jezebel, and ABW stereotypes. However, this profile also reports high frequency of confirmation for the Mammy stereotype and integration for the ABW—both characterized as *positive distinctiveness* strategies (see Figures 2 and 10). In fact, this is the only profile characterized as having high frequency of the integration strategy. Generally, engagement in positive distinctiveness strategies is expected to have the most positive intrapersonal and within-ingroup outcomes (Dickens & Womack, 2020; Roberts, 2005; Zang et al., 2021). Perhaps engaging in positive distinctiveness strategies acts as a buffer to negative outcomes associated with assimilation. Indeed, recent LPA of LGB identity management (Cheung & Chan, 2021) found that individuals who adopted a "balanced profile" in which they reported equal use of avoidance (i.e., de-categorization), counterfeiting (i.e., assimilation) and integration were no different in outcomes than those who adopted an integration-dominant profile, suggesting that some integration acted as a buffer when compared to decategorization-dominant profiles. Therefore, future research should leverage person-centered approaches to investigating how different configurations may potentially explain variance in outcomes above variable-centered approaches to SIM.

Implications for Theory and Practice

Results of the current study extend the SIM literature by examining patterns in strategies according to others' impressions of individual stereotypes associated with one's identity group (i.e., Mammy, ABW, and Jezebel), rather than the broad identity group itself (i.e., Black woman). Throughout U.S. history, multiple stereotypes have emerged to target Black women. In

propagating negative images of Black women within the media, individuals in power were able to justify their marginalization. Indeed, some of the earliest stereotypes—the Mammy and SBW—were introduced to argue that Black women were well-suited for enslavement by creating the image that Black women were docile, yet resilient to the harsh realities of slavery (Kendi, 2006; Bell & Nkomo, 2001). Soon after, the Jezebel stereotype emerged to excuse the sexual assault and exploitation of Black women, by portraying them as the initiator of such abuse (Collins, 2000; Donovan & Williams, 2002). As Black women became more vocal of their experienced gendered racism within this country, the ABW stereotype emerged within the media to invalidate their pain—arguing that their anger was irrational and unfounded (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Motro et al., 2022). Because these stereotypes differ in their original purpose, the result is vastly different caricaturization of Black women: from altruistic and happy to serve (i.e., Mammy; Kendi, 2016) to irrationally hostile, bossy, and angry (i.e., ABW; Ashley et al., 2014) to sexually assertive (i.e., Jezebel; Pilgrim, 2002; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008) to highly capable, resilient, and independent (i.e., SBW; Thomas et al., 2022). Therefore, in broadly exploring SIM by strategies by the overall social identity of Black women, we fail to capture the nuances in which stereotypes individuals are attending to. Results suggest different patterns in SIM strategies according to these core strategies. Future research should explore how an individuals' context, such as the type of industry or employee demographics, relates to differences in SIM strategies, as predicted by different stereotype salience.

Additionally, results of this study highlight the added benefit of adopting a person-centered approach to SIM. Previous research has explored differences between individuals who adopt a re-categorization versus positive distinctiveness, with the former as being the most detrimental for lowered authenticity and wellbeing, as well as deplete cognitive resources

(Hudson et al., 2018; Roberts, 2005; Shih et al., 2013; Smart & Wegner, 2000). However, researchers have begun to argue for a person-centered approach to identity management—suggesting that different configurations of strategies likely predict outcomes different than previous variable-centered models (Cheung & Chan, 2021).

Taken together, historically marginalized communities are often the target of multiple stereotypes associated with their identity. As such, employees are likely to differ in how they navigate stereotypes associated with their stereotypes. In taking a person-centered approach we can explore how different patterns in SIM strategies differently relate to negative outcomes. Practically, future research should explore potential differences in antecedents of SIM profiles. It is worth noting that there were minimal mean differences in stereotype awareness and endorsement, with the highest agreement being for the Mammy (i.e., Black women as nurturing and helpful) and SBW (i.e., Black women as resilient and independent). However, future research should explore for industry and occupational-level differences in stereotype salience, and whether that indirectly predicts differential SIM profiles.

Limitations

That said, we are limited in conclusions given several flaws in the SIM measure used for factor scores as input. Because previous SIM research has an identity-general approach to SIM strategies, items were created for the purpose of the current study. The resulting SIM of Black Women Scale was proposed to have four stereotype subscales: Mammy, SBW, Jezebel, and ABW. Each subscale consisted of 4 facets—corresponding to the four SIM strategies: de-categorization, assimilation, confirmation, and integration. However, results of the CFA used to inform LPA.suggested poor fit--such that several SIM strategies were removed from the final model for the Mammy (Table 2), Jezebel (Table 3), and ABW (Table 4) scales. Further, the

entire SBW scale was removed from the final model for poor fit and reliability. Therefore, SIM items need to be further developed and validated with a separate sample prior to basing any substantive conclusions on SIM profiles. While it is possible that low SBW reliability may suggest a lack of consistency in how Black women perceive and respond to this stereotype at work, means in stereotype awareness were highest for this stereotype, suggesting that Black women are aware of this stereotype and generally agree that society stereotypes Black women as being resilient, independent. Further, there is an abundance of research within clinical research that highlights how Black women face pressure to adhere to expectations that they are self-reliant, and able to withstand great levels of adversity (Abrams et al., 2014, 2019; Beuboeuf-Lafontant, 2003; Harrington et al., 2010; Jones et al., 2021; Thomas et al., 2022; Watson & Hunter, 2016; Wood-Giscombe, 2010). Therefore, future efforts should first be taken to rewrite SIM items for the SBW stereotype as informed by theory and feedback from experts within the field—prior to basing any conclusions on the current study's lack of psychometric evidence.

As outlined by Hinkin (2005), following item generation it is recommended to gather feedback from SMEs to establish test content-related validity and issues related to wording prior to piloting data. Therefore, next steps for scale validation will be to invite experts knowledgeable in identity shifting strategies and stereotypes of Black women to provide feedback on items prior to piloting. Following this step, a separate subsample of Black women within the U.S. will be invited to complete the measure. Through this process, it is my hope that internal consistency and internal structure will improve significantly.

Theoretically, poor fit of the CFA may reflect some stereotypes being the inverse of each other. As mentioned within the introduction, whereas the Mammy stereotype portrays Black women as having a happy and helpful disposition (Kendi, 2016; West, 2008), the ABW

stereotype caricatures Black women as being exactly the opposite—that is, hostile, disagreeable, and domineering (Ashley et al., 2014; West et al., 1995). The SBW portrays Black women as being self-sufficient, resilient, and going above and beyond in terms of work ethic (Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008; Thomas et al., 2022). Therefore, the SBW stereotype may have some overlap with the Mammy stereotype in terms of being supportive within the organization, rather than prioritizing one's personal needs. The SBW stereotype may also have overlap with the ABW stereotype as well, in terms of perceived assertiveness to "get the job done". Lastly, whereas the Mammy stereotype often portrays Black women as being unattractive and asexual—often wearing modest, ill-fitting clothing (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; West et al., 2008), the Jezebel stereotype portrays Black women as hypersexual (Pilgrim, 2002; Reynolds-Dobbs et al., 2008). Therefore, rather than being composed of four factors representing distinct stereotypes, dimensionality may instead be better represented by targeted adjectives (e.g., hardworking, agreeable, assertive, etc.) shared across categorical stereotypes.

An exploratory factor analysis was run on SIM items using the nFactors package in *R* (Raiche & Magis, 2020). Results of nFactor probabilities suggested that the four-factor and eight-factor were the most probable solutions. Results of the four-factor solution suggest a factor collapsed across SBW, ABW, and Mammy items that describe being supportive and agreeable at work (Appendix I). The second factor of the four-factor solution includes mostly integration items as well as a few ABW confirmation items—that is communicating one's discomforts as well as communicating inaccuracies of stereotypes of Black women at work (Appendix J). The next factor in the four-factor solution includes ABW and SBW items centered around stifling one's emotions and vulnerabilities to appear self-sufficient (Appendix I). The last factor in the four-factor solution includes confirmation and decategorization items for the Jezebel stereotype

(Appendix I). Within the eight-factor solution, confirmation and assimilation items for SBW specifically centered around taking on extra workload, seemed to load onto the same factor as Mammy confirmation and assimilation items suggesting an overall organizational citizenship or helpfulness factor (Appendix J). Confirmation items for the SBW and ABW stereotypes—specifically those describing not sugarcoating one's emotions or criticisms loaded onto Mammy assimilation items centered around prioritizing one's needs at work, suggesting an overall assertiveness factor (Appendix J). Lastly, SBW assimilation and confirmation items related to self-sufficiency also loaded onto their own factor, suggesting an independent factor (Appendix J). The remaining factors in the eight-factor solution reflect overarching SIM strategies: including integration, confirmation, assimilation, and decategorization (Appendix J). Given low fit for the four strategies for the SBW scale, coupled with low fit for some strategies for the remaining stereotypes, alternative factor structures, such as these, should also be examined during the validation process.

In addition to the items themselves, different scale options were used for assimilation subscales compared to the other SIM strategies. Specifically, participants were asked to report frequency of behaviors relative to other women at their workplace. Thus, higher means for assimilation represent engaging in behaviors more than other women at the job. However, this does not represent assimilation as a construct. According to Roberts (2005) model of SIM as well as other models of identity-specific SIM (e.g., Button, 2001), assimilation strategies are behaviors used to fit-in with individuals belonging to the majority group, including attempts at "passing" (Chrobot-Mason et al., 2001; Woods & Lucas, 1993). Examples of assimilation include altering one's features to appear more Eurocentric, such as straightening one's hair, (Kay & Rosette, 2020; McCluney et al., 2021), focusing conversation on more mainstream accepted

topics, and even using a workplace alias to reduce attention to one's cultural name (McCluney et al., 2021). In the present study, items were ambiguous in that they did not refer to a White majority.

Further, high scores on items used to measure assimilation are likely to represent other SIM strategies. Looking at the items for Mammy assimilation in Table 5, both items ask participants the extent to which they volunteer to mentor and support others. Therefore, in answering "much more than other women at my job" would likely represent high confirmation (Roberts, 2005). That is, adhering to societal proscriptions of Black women's behavior due to the Mammy stereotype. This may also partially explain why individuals belonging to the *Assimilation Dominant* profile also on average also report higher frequency on Mammy confirmation (Figures 1 and 10). In contrast, items for ABW assimilation in Table 7 reflect strategies to reduce the likelihood of being perceived as disagreeable and upset. Therefore, in answering "much more than other women at my job" would likely represent decategorization (Roberts, 2005)—defined as strategies to avoidance-related behaviors to reduce likelihood of being perceived as a member of a stigmatized group, or in this case stereotype. This also may partially explain why individuals belonging to the *Assimilation Dominant* profile also report higher frequency of ABW decategorization. In contrast to the Mammy and ABW, assimilation of the Jezebel is most likely to reflect true assimilation. This is due to items asking participants the extent to which they use dress to "fit in" at their job (Table 6).

Lastly, the current study's operationalization of SIM assumes a deliberate process. According to the general IM literature, Monitoring of others' perceptions, or *impression monitoring*, ranges in level of consciousness (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). On one end, individuals may be completely oblivious to how they are likely to be viewed by others (Diener, 1979; Leary

& Kowaski, 1990; Lindskold & Propst, 1981). On the other end of this spectrum, are individuals who are acutely aware of how others view their behavior and appearance (Leary & Kowalski, 1990). This is more likely in situations where individuals are particularly motivated to make a positive impression, such as high-stakes employment interviews or on a first date (Bolino et al., 2008; Leary & Kowaski, 1990). In these cases, individuals are *deliberate* in scanning their environment to gauge how others are likely to perceive them (Leary & Kowaski, 1990).

As reviewed by Leary & Kowaski (1990), it is much more common for people to process others' perceptions of them at a preattentive or nonconscious level (p. 36). This is explained using two streams of previous research. First, traditional cognitive research suggests that even when focusing on a separate task, individuals are able to monitor stimuli in the environment at a preattentive level (Schneider & Shiffrin, 1997). Further, previous work suggests that patterns of IM are likely to be learned—over time becoming habitual or unconscious (Hogan, 1982; Hogan et al., 1985; Schlenker, 1980). As such, individuals may engage in IM behaviors, without consciously considering their social environment. Through learned associations, individuals may automatically adjust their facial expressions, or fidget with their outfit or hair when coming into certain workspaces (Leary & Kowaski, 1990).

As with traditional approaches of IM, we can also assume that underlying SIM may vary in the deliberateness of individual cognition and behavior (Leary & Kowski, 1990). According to social-cognitive models of stigma internalization (Corrigan et al., 2006, 2011), individuals belonging to marginalized social groups (1) constantly receive messages of their social group's stigma and stereotypes, and overtime (2) are socialized to navigate this stigma, (3) internalize stereotypic messages to the self, (4) thereby damaging self-concept and self-esteem (Jahn et al., 2019). Through exposure to, and socialization of stereotypes associated with one's social

identity, coping strategies, such as SIM are likely to be less conscious over time. However, SIM, like other models of navigating stigma (e.g., social mobility, narrative-as-identity, identity work; Cha & Roberts, 2019; McAdams et al., 2006; Snow & Anderson, 1987) assumes controlled thought and behavior (Roberts & Creary, 2013). In relying on reported strategies, the current study also tests deliberate SIM. However, future research should explore the extent to which individuals are even consciously aware of their SIM behavior.

Conclusion

Despite measurement constraints, preliminary evidence points to different patterns in SIM strategies by major stereotypes. Specifically, a five-profile solution emerged within two randomly selected subsamples. Contrary to what was initially hypothesized, individuals in the *Assimilation Dominant* profile had the lowest mean cognitive impairment when compared to other profile groups. Future research is needed to explore whether this difference is a function of other SIM strategies acting as a buffer or a product of how assimilation was operationalized in the current measure. Future areas of research should explore potential contextual antecedents of profile membership, as mediated by stereotype salience.

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Appendix A

Decategorization, Integration, and Confirmation by Stereotype

Instructions: Listed on the next several pages are behaviors that Black women may engage in while at work. Please indicate how frequently you engage in each behavior at your workplace.

How frequently do you engage in each behavior?

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always

The Mammy

Decategorization

1. Avoid volunteering for support roles at my job
2. Avoid agreeing to mentor younger employees at my job
3. Avoid dress considered "frumpy" or unflattering at my job

Integration

1. Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job
2. Challenge the expectation that I have to always help others as a Black woman at my job
3. Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job

Confirmation

1. Take younger employees "under my wing" at my job
2. Put aside my own needs to help others at my job
3. Often take on a support role within my work team at my job
4. Go out of my way to help others at my job

The Jezebel

Decategorization

1. Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job
2. Avoid frequent interactions with men at my job
3. Avoid wearing revealing clothing

   *This could mean avoiding tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.

Integration

1. Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job
2. Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job
3. Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job

Confirmation

1. Use my sex appeal to get ahead at my job
2. Use sex to get what I want at my job
3. Dress in revealing clothing at my job
   *Revealing clothing could mean tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.
4. Flirt with others to make professional connections at my job

The Sapphire/Angry Black Woman

Decategorization

1. Avoid raising my voice at my job
2. Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job
3. Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job
4. Avoid being overly critical of others' work

Integration

1. Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job
2. Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job
3. Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job

Confirmation

1. Play into the image of the "angry" Black woman to get what I want at my job
2. Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job
3. Put others in their place to demand respect at my job
4. Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job

The Strong Black Woman

Decategorization

1. Avoid being seen as characteristically "strong" at my job
2. Avoid being seen as too independent at my job
3. Avoid taking on a heavy workload at my job

Integration

1. Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job
2. At my job I try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own
3. Balance being independent with drawing from others' expertise at my job

Confirmation

1. Do everything on my own at my job
2. Never ask others for help at my job

3. Tell others I'm "fine" even when I am depressed or down at my job
4. Always demand excellence from myself at my job
5. Go at great lengths to appear "put together" at my job

Appendix B

Assimilation by Stereotype

Instructions: The next two pages of questions ask how much you engage in workplace behaviors when compared to **most* women at work.

On average, how often do you engage in these behaviors compared to most other women at your job?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Much less than most women at my job	***Less*** than most women at my job	***Slightly Less*** than most women at my job	***As Much as/*** *Equal to* most women at my job	***Slightly More*** than most women at my job	***More*** than most women at my job	***Much More*** than most women at my job

Mammy

1. Volunteer to help others at my job
2. Prioritize myself at my job
3. Take on mentoring others at my job

Strong Black Woman

1. Engage in behaviors to appear competent at my job
2. Ask for help at my job
3. I take on extra work at my job

The Jezebel

1. Dress in ways typical of my job
2. I dress to blend-in at my job
3. Socialize in ways acceptable for my job

The Sapphire/Angry Black Woman

1. Express my emotions at my job

2. Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job
3. Put on a happy face at my job

Appendix C

Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (Sellers et al., 1997)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Centrality

1. Overall, being a Black woman has very little to do with how I feel about myself (R)
2. In general, being a Black woman is an important part of my self-image
3. Being a Black woman is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am (R)
4. I have a strong sense of belonging to Black women
5. I have a strong attachment to other Black women
6. Being a Black woman is an important reflection of who I am
7. Being a Black woman is not a major factor in my social relationships(R)

Appendix D

Work Involvement Scale (Hackman & Lawler, 1971)

Instructions: The following items are general comments people have made or might make about their work. Please use the following scale to indicate your agreement with each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. The most important things that happen to me involve my work
2. I live, eat, and breathe my job
3. I am very much personally involved in my work

Appendix E

Burnout Assessment Tool (Schaufeli et al., 2020)

Instructions: The statements on the following pages are related to your work situation and how you experience this situation. Using the following scale, please indicate how often each statement applies to you.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always

Exhaustion

1. At work, I feel mentally exhausted
2. Everything I do at work requires a great deal of effort
3. After a day at work, I find it hard to recover my energy*
4. At work, I feel physically exhausted
5. When I get up in the morning, I lack the energy to start a new day at work
6. I want to be active at work, but somehow I am unable to manage
7. When I exert myself at work, I quickly get tired
8. At the end of my working day, I feel mentally exhausted and drained

Cognitive Impairment

19. At work, I feel unable to control my emotions*
20. I do not recognize myself in the way I react emotionally at work*
21. During my work I become irritable when things don't go my way
22. I get upset or sad at work without knowing why
23. At work I may overreact unintentionally*

Appendix F

Demographics

1. What is your current age in years? [fill-in blank]
2. Are you currently employed?
    a. Yes
    b. No [direct to end of survey]
3. Do you consider yourself a member of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and/or Transgender (LGBT) community?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Prefer not to say
4. Do you consider yourself to have a disability?
    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Prefer not to say
5. What is your highest level of education?
    a. Less than high school
    b. High school/GED
    c. Some college
    d. 2 year college degree (Associates)
    e. 4 year college degree (B.A., B.S.)
    f. Master's degree
    g. Doctoral degree (PhD, J.D, M.D)
6. Please open a new browser and link to an external website, called ONET. This website is hosted by the U.S. government and provides information about a variety of occupations. Please go to the website link: www.onetonline.org Type your current job title into the Occupation Search Bar and press go.

    Click the results that you feel match your current job and read the details to identify which listing is closest to your regular work duties. Once you've found the occupation that most closely matches your job, please copy and paste the Job Code (e.g., : 29-1041.00) into the box below: [fill-in blank]
7. What is your current yearly household income?
    a. $0-24,999
    b. $25,000-$49,999
    c. $50,000-$74,999
    d. $75,000-$99,999
    e. $100,000-$124,999

   f. $125,000-$149,999
   g. $150,000 or more
8. How many hours on average do you work per week?
   a. Less than 26 hours
   b. 26-40 hours
   c. More than 40 hours
9. How long have you been in your current position?
   a. Less than 6 months
   b. 6 months to a year
   c. Over a year to three years
   d. Over three years
10. Is your job considered managerial?
   a. Yes
   b. No
11. [If yes to Question 10] How many individuals do you supervise as part of your position?
   a. 0-5
   b. 6-10
   c. 11-15
   d. 15-20
   e. 20+

Appendix G

Summary of Changes to Final SIM Subscales

Mammy

Results of the initial CFA suggested poor fit of the model (SRMR=.08; RMSEA=.09; CFI=.79; χ=638.32, $p < .05$). First, items with poor loadings (<.30) were removed from each factor. All items and their initial loadings can be seen in the table below. Items highlighted in red were removed. Since there was only one integration item left after this step, this factor was removed from the final scale.

Item	**Factor Loading**
Decategorization	
Avoid volunteering for support roles at my job	.85
Avoid agreeing to mentor younger employees at my job	.37
Avoid dress considered "frumpy" or unflattering at my job	-.01
Assimilation	
Volunteer to help others at my job	.83
Prioritize myself at my job	.15
Take on mentoring others at my job	.76
Integration	
Communicate that Black women are not all caretakers at my job	.29

Challenge the expectation that I have to always help others as a Black woman at my job	.14
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job	.76
Confirmation	
Take younger employees "under my wing"	.60
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job	.61
Often take on a supportive role within my work team at my job	.56
Go out of my way to help others at my job	.76

Following item removal, factor reliabilities were estimated. Factor reliability for the decategorization factor did not meet the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .48$). Results of alpha if deleted did not identify any items that would improve internal consistency. Therefore, this factor was removed from the final model. Factor reliability for the decategorization factor also did not meet the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .56$). Results of alpha if deleted did not identify any items that would improve internal consistency. Therefore, this factor was also removed from the final model. Modification indices suggested one integration item ("Balance helping others with achieving my own goals.") loaded onto confirmation. Due to its similarity with confirmation items, this item was added to the confirmation actor. Both assimilation ($\alpha = .77$) and confirmation ($\alpha = .74$) had acceptable internal consistency.

Jezebel

Results of the initial CFA suggested poor fit of the model (SRMR=.05; RMSEA=.06; CFI=.92; χ=59, $p < .05$). First, items with poor loadings (<.30) were removed from each factor.

All items and their initial loadings can be seen in the table below. Items highlighted in red were removed.

Item	Factor Loading
Decategorization	
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job	.78
Avoid frequent interactions with men at my job	.13
Avoid wearing revealing clothing This could mean avoiding tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.	.78
Assimilation	
Volunteer to help others at my job	.78
Avoid frequent interactions with men at my job	.13
Avoid wearing revealing clothing *This could mean avoiding tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.	.78
Integration	
Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job	.47
Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job	.36
Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job	.49
Confirmation	
Use sex appeal to get ahead at my job	.76

Use sex to get what I want at my job	.68
Dress in revealing clothing. *Revealing clothing could mean tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.	.51
Flirt with others to make professional connections at my job	.71

Following item removal, factor reliabilities were estimated. Factor reliability for the decategorization factor met the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .75$). Therefore, this factor was retained for the final model. Similarly, factor reliability for the confirmation factor met the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .74$). Therefore, this factor was also retained for the final model. Lastly, factor reliability for assimilation also met the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .73$). This factor was also retained. However, the factor reliability for integration failed to meet the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .43$). Results of alpha if deleted did not identify any items that would improve internal consistency. Therefore, this factor was also removed from the final model.

Angry Black Woman

Results of the initial CFA suggested poor fit of the model (SRMR=.07; RMSEA=.08; CFI=.85; χ=468.84, $p < .05$). First, items with poor loadings (<.30) were removed from each factor. All items and their initial loadings can be seen in the table below. Items highlighted in red were removed.

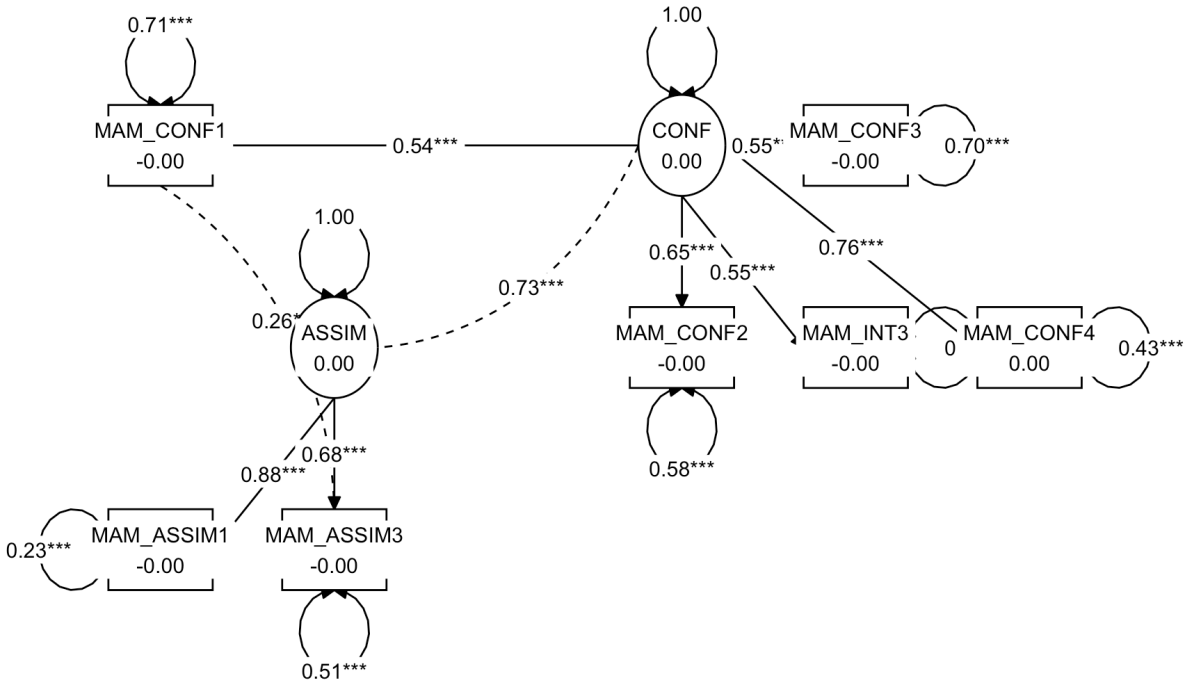
Item	**Factor Loading**
Decategorization	
Avoid raising my voice at my job	.50

Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job	.62
Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job	.54
Avoid being overly critical of others' work	.44
Assimilation	
Express my emotions at my job	.06
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.61
Put on a happy face at my job	.78
Integration	
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job	.83
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job	.85
Balance being assertive with being seen as approachable by colleagues at my job	.40
Confirmation	
Play into the image of the "angry" Black woman to get what I want at my job	.36
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job	.44
Put others in their place to demand respect at my job	.71
Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job	.43

Following item removal, factor reliabilities were estimated. Factor reliability for the integration factor met the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .7$). Therefore, this factor was retained for the final model. Factor reliabilities for decategorization was nearing the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .63$). Results of alpha if deleted did not identify any further items to be removed. Factor reliability for assimilation was nearing the .7 threshold ($\alpha = .56$). Although, modification indices suggested adding a confirmation to the assimilation factor, alpha if deleted suggested its removal (highlighted in orange in the table above)Following removal of this item, reliability (α) was .64. The remaining confirmation factor had poor reliability ($\alpha = .53$). Alpha if deleted did not identify any items to be removed that would improve internal consistency. Therefore, the factor was removed from the final model.

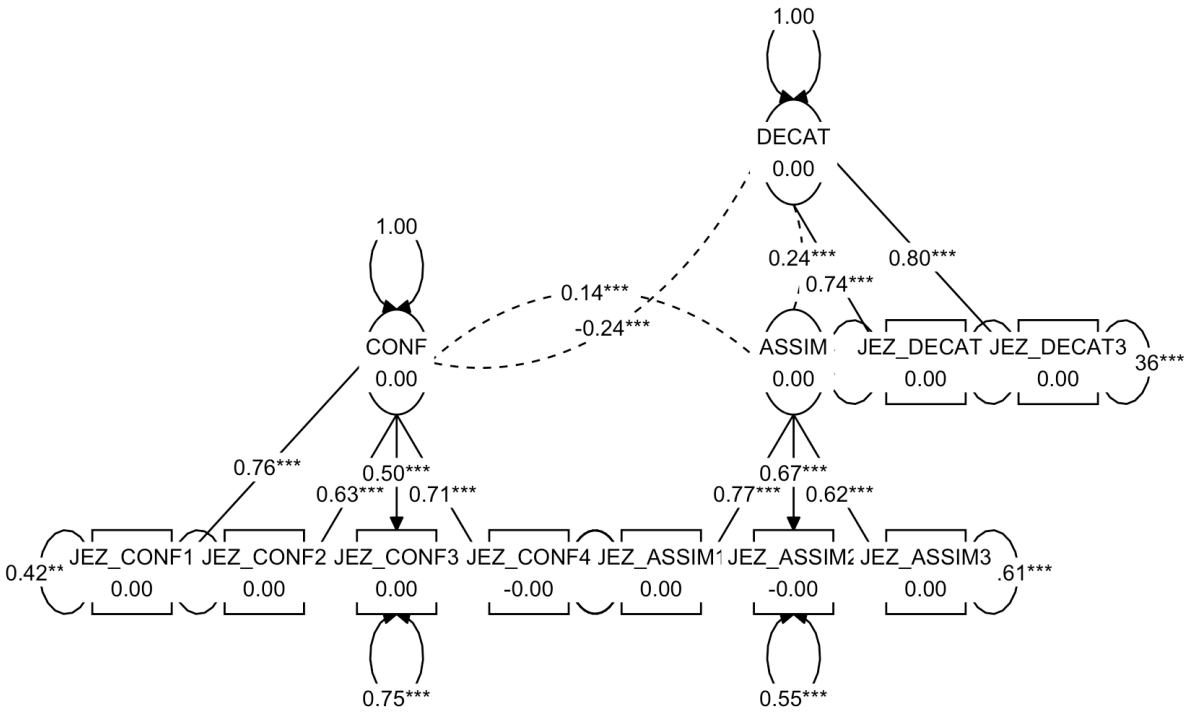
Appendix F

SEM Plot of Mammy SIM Factor Structure



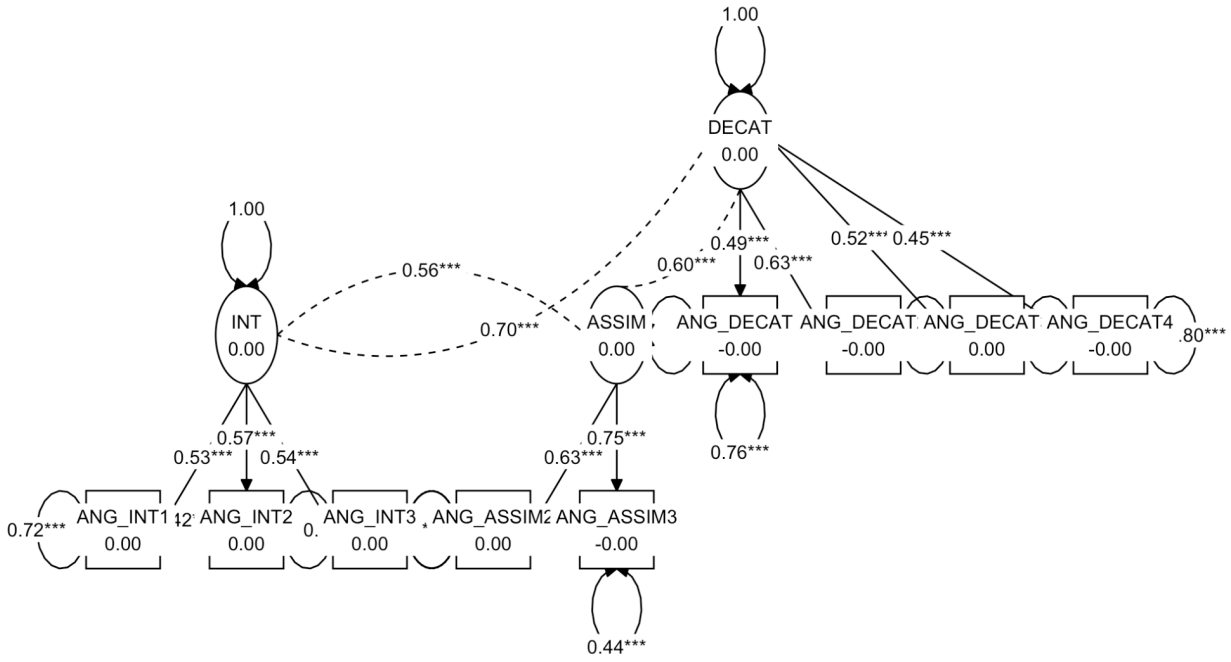
Appendix G

SEM Plot of Jezebel SIM Factor Structure



Appendix H

SEM Plot of Angry Black Woman SIM Factor Structure



Appendix I

Exploratory Four-Factor Solution of SIM Items

Item	Factor Loading
Factor 1	
Volunteer to help others at my job.	.82
Take on mentoring others at my job.	.78
I take on extra work at my job	.74
Go out of my way to help others at my job	.59
Socialize in ways acceptable for my job	.58
Put on a happy face at my job	.57
Take younger employees “under my wing” at my job	.55
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job	.52
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job	.51
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job	.49
Dress in ways typical of my job	.49
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job.	.48
Engage in behaviors to appear competent at my job.	.47
Avoid volunteering for support roles at my job*.	.47

Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job.	.44
I dress to blend-in at my job.	.39
Avoid taking on a heavy workload at my job*.	.37
Factor 2	
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job.	.81
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job.	.77
Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job.	.73
Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job.	.71
Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job.	.58
Try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own at my job.	.55
Put others in their place to demand respect at my job.	.53
Don’t sugarcoat criticisms at my job.	.42
Factor 3	
Tell others I’m “fine” even when I am depressed or down at my job.	.55
Never ask others for help at my job.	.46
Express my emotions at my job.*	.44
Go to great lengths to appear “put together”	.44
Avoid using certain facial expressions to appear less angry at my job.	.44

Avoid bringing up disagreements at my job.	.41
Ask for help at my job.*	.40
Avoid frequent interactions with men at my job.	.40
Avoid raising my voice at my job.	.40
Do everything on my own at my job.	.37
Avoid being overly critical of others' work	.34
Prioritize myself at my job.*	.34
Factor 4	
Use my sex appeal to get ahead at my job.	.68
Flirt with others to make professional connections at my job.	.66
Use sex to get what I want at my job.	.58
Play into the image of the "angry" Black woman to get what I want at my job.	.55
Dress in revealing clothing at my job. Revealing clothing could mean tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.	.5
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job.*	.35
Avoid wearing revealing clothing. This could mean avoiding tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.*	.32

Note. *Negative loadings which suggest items should be reverse scored.

Appendix J

Exploratory Eight-Factor Solution of SIM Items

Item	Factor Loading
Factor 1	
Communicate that Black women are not hostile at my job.	1.04
Communicate that Black women are not angry at my job.	1.03
Communicate that Black women are not sexually promiscuous at my job.	.82
Communicate that Black women are not caretakers at my job.	.72
Challenge the expectation that Black women must be strong to survive at my job.	.57
Try to communicate that Black women cannot always handle everything on their own at my job.	.61
Challenge the expectation that Black women always have to help others at my job.	.40
Factor 2	
Go out of my way to help others at my job.	.70
Volunteer to help others at my job.	.68
Put aside my own needs to help others at my job.	.64
I take on extra work at my job.	.61
Take on mentoring others at my job.	.59

Take younger employees “under my wing” at my job.	.54
Often take on a support role within my work team at my job.	.47
Avoid taking on a heavy workload at my job.*	.47
Avoid volunteering for support roles at my job.*	.43
Frequently follow up with my subordinates to get results at my job.	.31
Factor 3	
Use my sex appeal to get ahead at my job.	.83
Flirt with others to make professional connections at my job.	.73
Use sex to get what I want at my job.	.76
Play into the image of the “angry” Black woman to get what I want at my job.	.57
Dress in revealing clothing at my job. Revealing clothing could mean tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.	.57
Express my emotions at my job.	.30
Factor 4	
Dress in ways typical of my job.	.71
I dress to blend-in at my job.	.70
Engage in behavior to appear competent at my job.	.70
Attempt to be seen as agreeable at my job.	.63
Put on a happy face at my job.	.62

Socialize in ways acceptable for my job.	.57
Factor 5	
Balance workplace decorum with being viewed as approachable at my job.	.60
Balance being independent with drawing from others' expertise at my job.	.59
Balance dressing professionally with flattering styles at my job.	.54
Go to great lengths to appear "put together" at my job.	.42
Balance helping others with achieving my own goals at my job.	.40
Always demand excellence from myself at my job.	.35
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job.*	.35
Avoid wearing clothing considered "frumpy" or unflattering to work.	.31
Factor 6	
Avoid wearing revealing clothing. This could mean avoiding tighter, form-fitting clothing and/or shorter dresses and skirts.*	.91
Avoid clothes that may be viewed as sexually suggestive at my job.	.88
Avoid raising my voice at my job	.40
Avoid being overly critical of others' work	.30
Factor 7	
Prioritize myself at my job.	.51
Put others in their place to demand respect at my job.	.41

Tell others I'm "fine" even when I am depressed or down at my job.*	.39
Don't sugarcoat criticisms at my job.	.39
Factor 8	
Never ask others for help at my job.	.66
Ask for help at my job.*	.58
Do everything on my own at my job.	.56

Note. *Negative loadings which suggest items should be reverse scored.