

**The Paradox of Leadership
and Race in College Football:
Stereotyping and the “Dumb Black Jock” Effect**

Andrew M. Carton & Ashleigh Shelby Rosette
Duke University

Road Map



- Background for research: Business leader
 - 'The White Standard' Effect
 - Studies 1 to 4
- Assertions and theory: Sports leader
 - 'Dumb Black Jock' Effect
 - College Quarterbacks
 - Stereotype boundaries
- Study 5
- Discussion & Implications

The White Standard

(Rosette, Leonardelli & Phillips, JAP 2008)

- Leadership Categorization Theory (Lord & Maher, 1991)
 - Comparison with pre-existing knowledge structures called leadership prototypes
 - Reflects the average characteristics of leaders in a given context
 - Recognition-based process lead to match or mismatch
- Prototypical targets are evaluated more favorably (Eagly & Karau, 2002, Phillips & Lord, 1982, Scott & Brown, 2006)

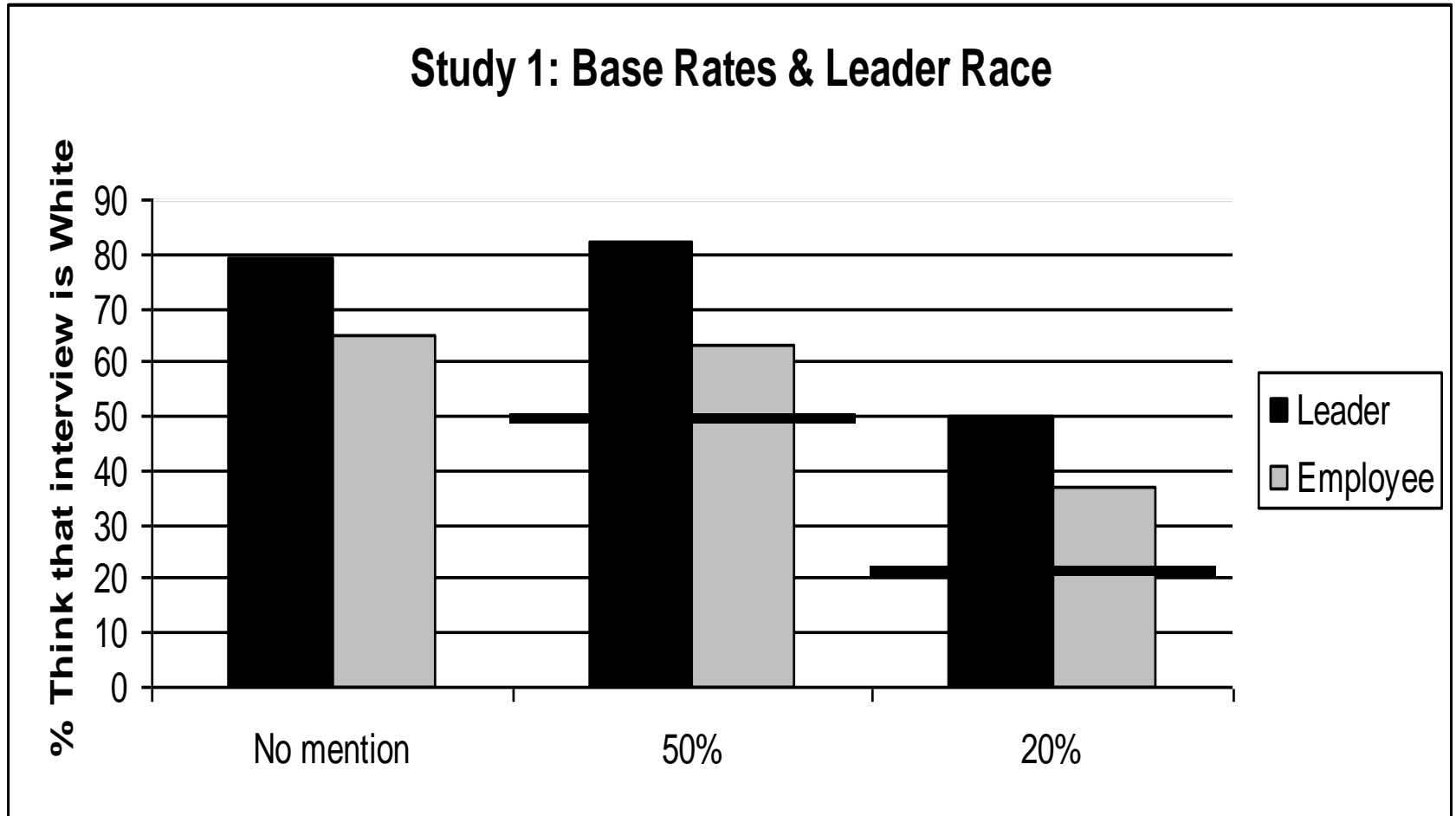
Race as an Attribute

- Prototype development (Rosch, 1978; Lord & Maher, 1991)
 - Characteristics central among categories (1st principle)
 - Not as central among other categories (2nd principle)
- White exemplars of leaders
 - Persistent exposure to Whites in prominent leader positions
 - U.S. history – business & politics
- ***Thus, being White is a central characteristic of the business leader prototype.***

Overarching predictions

- Studies 1 & 2
 - If being White is an attribute of the business leader prototype, observers will presume that the leaders more than non-leaders are White.
- Studies 3 & 4
 - Given that prototypical leaders are evaluated more favorably than non-prototypical leaders, race may lead to biased evaluations of leadership through the process of leader categorization.

Study 1: Results



Study 2: Racial Minorities & Industry Type

- Type of racial minority
 - Asian-Americans – model minority (Lee, 1994)
 - African-Americans – negative stereotypes (Devine & Elliot, 1995)
 - Hispanic-Americans – negative stereotype (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004)
- Type of business industry
 - Whites visible in financial services (GAO Report, 2006)
 - African-American (Dorsey, 2005) & Hispanic-American (Tienda & Mitchell, 2006) visible in “relations”
- More experienced sample

Study 2: Racial Minorities & Industry Type

Table 2

Variables	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald
Constant	-0.05	0.37	0.02	-0.2	0.55	0.13	-0.56	0.63	0.8
Racial minority			2.78			0.69			0.57
Interviewee role	-0.65	0.34	3.64*	-0.19	0.66	0.09	0.43	0.81	0.28
Industry	-0.24	0.34	0.48	-0.2	0.64	0.1	0.36	0.77	0.22
Interviewee role*Racial minority						0.71			2.26
Industry*Racial minority						0.22			0.45
Industry*Interviewee role				-0.34	0.68	0.25	-1.53	1.14	1.81
Industry* Interviewee role*									1.84

Overarching predictions

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Leader categorization prediction

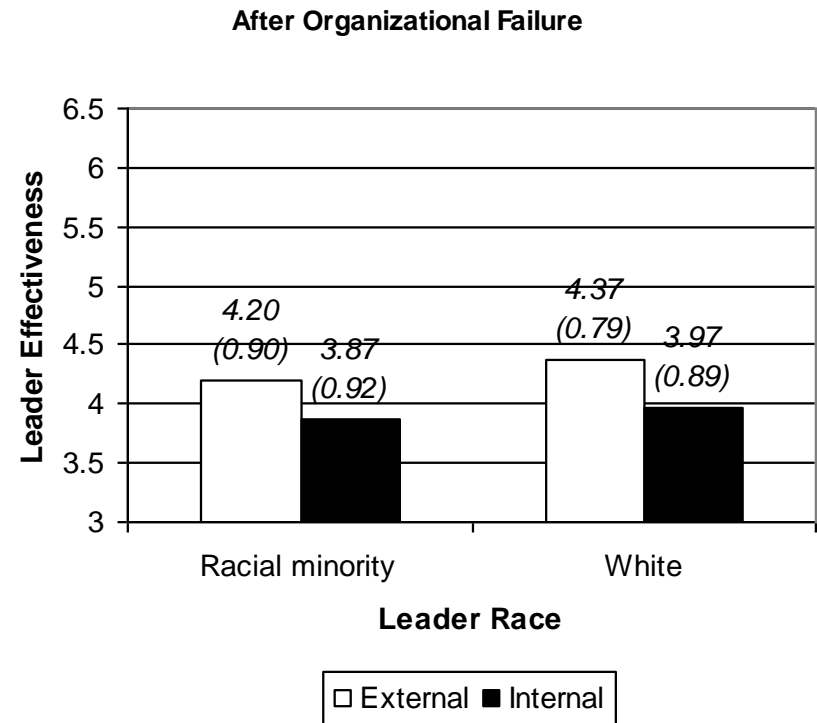
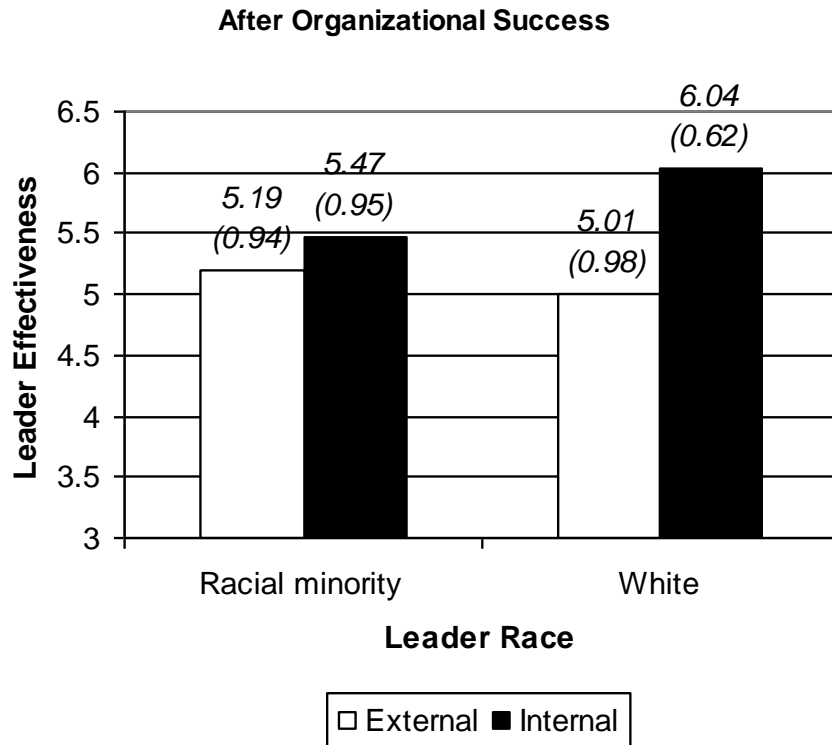
- Whites will be evaluated more favorably because of leader categorization
 - Leaders are evaluated more favorably when consistent with prototype (e.g., Foti & Lord, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002)
 - However, prototypes are not influential when uninformative (Kunda & Spencer, 2003)
- Prototypes will not be used when uninformative
 - Uninformative when individuating information is present (e.g., Leyens et al., 1992)
- Prototypes will be used when they do not stifle comprehension (Kunda & Spencer, 2003)

Leader categorization prediction

The leader prototype will lead to higher leader effectiveness ratings of White relative to non-White leaders, but only when the leader prototype confirms and reinforces individualized information about the leader's performance.

- Organizational success (Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987)
 - Easier to associate success with prototypical leader (Ensari & Murphy, 2003)
- Internal attributions for success (Lord & Maher, 1991)

Study 3: Leadership Effectiveness



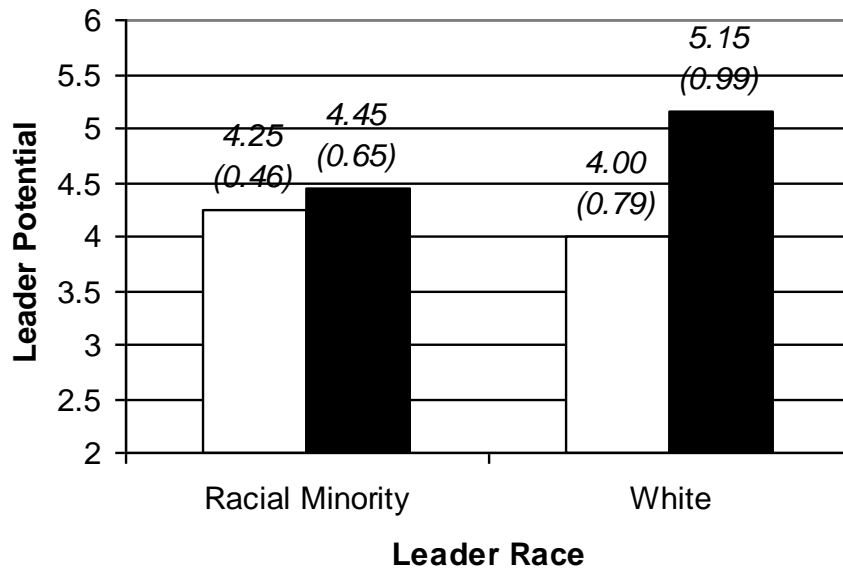
Task: Read newspaper article

DV: Leader effectiveness (e.g., **Agentic traits**: intelligent, competent, confidence)

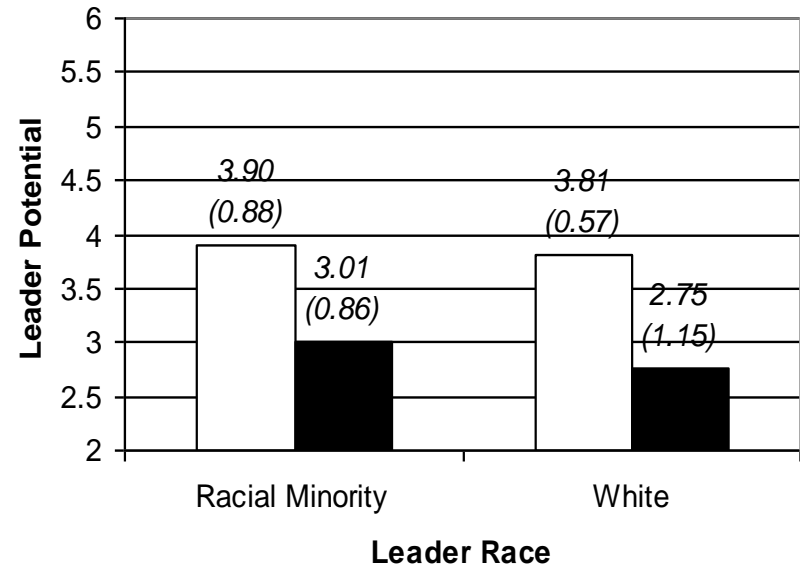
Study Design: 2 (org perf: success, failure) x 2 (leader race: Afr-Am, White) x 2 (attributions: internal, external)

Study 4: Leadership Potential

After Organizational Success



After Organizational Failure



□ External ■ Internal

□ External ■ Internal

Task: Evaluate candidates for top position

Study Design: 2 (organizational performance: success, failure) x 2 (leader race: Hisp, Asian v White) x2 (attributions: internal, external)

Race manipulation: No face, no name

Participants: 131 White, 75 Black, 125 Asian, 115 Hispanic, 33 Other

Race did not moderate

Prototypical Characteristics of Leadership: Race

- Being White was found to be more central to business leader category, less central to non-business leader category
 - Base rate of the work force
 - Base rate of the organizational position
 - Financial services and social services industry
- Whites were perceived as more effective leaders and more likely to succeed
 - Only when responsible for organizational success

What about sports leaders?

- Among the most influential leaders in the world
 - CEOs across different industries use more sports analogies (18%) than any other type of analogy (Thompson & Rosette, 2004)
 - Athletes and coaches are typically among highest paid consultants for leadership
 - Bill Parcells charge as much as Bob Dole
 - Highest paid employees in the largest U.S. organizations—state governments—are coaches of state universities (Weiner, 2009)
- Neglected Industry?
 - Surprisingly little systematic research has been conducted on sports organizations and sports leadership

Race and Leadership in Sports

- Leadership in sports organizations is particularly compelling when considered in tandem with race
 - Race has long been considered a major factor in numerous sports organizations (Entine & Smith, 1999; Sailes, 1998)
 - “Dumb Black Jock”
 - Black athletes succeed with their physical prowess at the expense of mental acuity
 - ***But, when teams are successful and black athletes are in positions of leadership, how do perceivers negotiate the dumb Black jock stereotype with the powerful motivation to attribute performance success to leaders?***
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The Dumb Black Jock Stereotype

- Subsumes two characteristics
- Athletic
- Anti-agentic
 - Agentic - assertive, independent, competent, confident (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Abele, 2003)
 - Anti-agentic – ignorant, tentative, lazy
- Two streams of evidence
 1. Social science research
 2. Historical accounts

Social Science Research

- The media routinely suggest that Black athletes use their “God-given, natural ability, whereas White athletes are hard working and intellectually endowed” (Rada & Wulfemeyer, 2005: 80)
 - 32% of subjects reported that Black athletes were “unintelligent” and 21% reported that they were “ostentatious.” (Devine & Baker, 1991)
 - When White perceivers were led to believe an athlete was Black, they assumed that good performance was a result of athleticism as opposed to intelligence (Stone, Perry, & Darley, 1997)
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Historical Accounts of Race

- Miller (2004: 328): “insistent contrast between mind and body within the Western tradition renders Black physicality as a kind of compensation for the absence of cerebral qualities and the traits of a purportedly advanced, or advancing, culture.”
- After desegregation, Blacks and Whites were thrust together on the playing field. Stereotype of “dumb Black jock” allowed Whites to circumvent sense of inferiority by disparaging Blacks.
 - Example Texas Western College (NCAA basketball champions 1965)

Severe Consequences for the Advancement and Credibility of Black Leaders

Isiah Thomas, former player on Detroit Pistons and former coach of the New York Knicks:

“All we do is run and jump. We never practice or give a thought to how we play. It's like I came dribbling out of my mother's womb.”

The College Quarterback: Boundary of the Dumb Black Jock Stereotype?

- Arguably the most well-known and widely discussed position in American sports
- Represented by both Blacks and Whites
 - 328 White QBs and 124 Black QBs in 2007
- Requires elite athleticism *and* agentic/leadership ability
- Google search of “Leader, [word]”
 - Middle Linebacker (football) 78,900 hits
 - Center Fielder (baseball) 184,000 hits
 - Point Guard (basketball) 627,000 hits
 - **Quarterback (football): 1,510,000 hits**

The “Dumb Black Jock” Effect

- Evidence points to a persistent and powerful perception of Black athletes
- *Hypothesis 1: Black quarterbacks will be perceived as more anti-agentic than White quarterbacks.*
- *Hypothesis 2: Black quarterbacks will be perceived as more athletic than White quarterbacks.*

Potential Dilemma

- Both the anti-agentic and athletic stereotypes of Black athletes can be easily reconciled, as they have been, for Black athletes who are in *non-*leadership positions
- Black athletes in positions of leadership?
 - “People may see leadership as the origin or initial force in a causal chain, ultimately affecting performance by virtue of its control of other causal forces more contiguous to outcomes.” Meindl and Ehrlich (1987: 106)

Motivated Stereotyping

- Positive outcomes (wins) cannot be explained by negative traits (the *anti-agentic* stereotype), and negative outcomes (losses) cannot be explained by positive traits (the *good athlete* stereotype)
- *Motivated Stereotype Activation*
 - Occurs when an individual is driven to form a particular conclusion (Blair, 2002; Kunda & Spencer, 2003)

Motivated Stereotyping and Black Quarterbacks

- ***H3: When outcomes are negative (losses), Blacks will be perceived as having more anti-agentic traits than Whites. When outcomes are positive (wins), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.***
- ***H4: When outcomes are positive (wins), Blacks will be perceived as being more athletic than Whites. When outcomes are negative (losses), there will be no difference between Whites and Black quarterbacks.***

Motivated Stereotyping and White Quarterbacks

- Whites are typically thought to compensate for lack of athleticism with agency (Stone, Lynch, Sjomeling, & Darley, 1999)
- However, there is an asymmetry when comparing White stereotypes with Black stereotypes
 - the stereotype of “White Man Can’t Jump” does not appear to be as strong as the “Dumb Black Jock” effect

Scenario 1

- ***H5: When outcomes are positive (wins), Whites will be perceived as having more agentic traits than Blacks. When outcomes are negative (losses), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.***
- ***H6: When outcomes are negative (losses), Whites will be perceived as having more unathletic traits than Blacks. When outcomes are positive (wins), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.***

Scenario 2

- Whites are roughly equally adept in terms of agency and athleticism. This balance does not yield dissonance on the part of perceivers for performance success or failure. There do not exist extremely positive or negative attributes that perceivers are motivated to reconcile with performance.

Method

- Archival study
- Newspaper reports for 119 teams sampled from Football Bowl Subdivision (formerly Division 1-A)
- Most widely circulated national sources (e.g., New York Times, ESPN)
- One QB per team (control for independence)

Method (cont'd)

- Content Analysis—perceptions of journalists and teammates
- The adjective phrase (2,925 discrete units of coding)
- Average Guetzkow's $U = .03$; average Kappa = .95
- 5 categories: agentic, anti-agentic, athletic, unathletic, other
- Data collected at four intervals throughout 2007 season
- Hierarchical linear modeling (repeated measures)

Results (main effects)

- H1: Black QBs will be more likely than Whites to be categorized as *anti-agentic*
 - Supported
- H2: Blacks QBs will be more likely than Whites to be categorized as *athletic*
 - Supported

Motivated Stereotyping and Black Quarterbacks

- ***H3: When outcomes are negative (losses), Blacks will be perceived as having more anti-agentic traits than Whites. When outcomes are positive (wins), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.***
 - ***Supported***
- ***H4: When outcomes are positive (wins), Blacks will be perceived as being more athletic than Whites. When outcomes are negative (losses), there will be no difference between Whites and Black quarterbacks.***
 - ***Supported***

Results (Hypotheses 5 & 6)

- *H5: When outcomes are positive (wins), Whites will be perceived as having more agentic traits than Blacks. When outcomes are negative (losses), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.*
 - *Not supported*
- *H6: When outcomes are negative (losses), Whites will be perceived as having more unathletic traits than Blacks. When outcomes are positive (wins), there will be no difference between White and Black quarterbacks.*
 - *Not supported*

Discussion: Motivated Stereotyping

- Additional evidence that people activate and inhibit stereotypes when driven to form particular conclusions
- Evidence for motivated stereotyping outside of the laboratory
- Performance can be a key factor for stereotype activation and inhibition

Discussion: Sports Organizations

- One of the most influential industries and some of the most influential organizational leaders are understudied; nuances underappreciated
- Even the deepest stereotypes of athletes can be at least partially attenuated when perceivers are motivated to do so. Can we further motivate perceivers in order to inhibit the dumb Black jock effect?
 - Education/Awareness
 - Positive affect (Rosette, Shondrick, & Lord, work in progress)
- Perceivers can maintain their preconceived notions even when confronted with individualized information that should force them to abandon their stereotypes entirely

Thank You

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Questions?