



Case Report



Effective to a fault: Organizational structure predicts attitudes toward minority organizations[☆]

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ABSTRACT

We consider how the structure of groups seeking collective action on behalf of minorities impacts attitudes toward them. We predicted that hierarchical minority organizations are perceived as more effective social agents than non-hierarchical minority organizations and thus are particularly unlikely to be supported by those who prefer to maintain inequality. In a pretest, a hierarchical organization was judged more efficacious than a non-hierarchical organization. In two experiments (N = 814; N = 809), organizational structure (hierarchical vs. non-hierarchical) and membership (baseline vs. minority) were manipulated. Stronger preference for maintaining inequality was associated with increased desire to limit a minority organization's access to power, specifically when that organization was hierarchical. Findings suggest structure may signal the extent to which minority organizations pose a threat to the dominant social order and thus can drive responses to them. That is, minorities who organize may face unique pushback from those invested in maintaining inequality.

“Don't agonize, organize...until we organize and move in our self-interest, we'll continue as a powerless group.”

- Tish Sommers, founder of the National Organization for Women's Task Force on Older Women (Mahoney, 1974)

The current research aims to deepen our understanding of the factors that drive people's opinions about minority groups by considering how the *structure* of minority-based action groups—such as formal collectives of minority individuals that seek to advance their standing in a certain profession or occupation—may impact individuals' attitudes toward them. Throughout history, members of marginalized populations—those individuals facing discrimination in society based on their group membership—have often attempted to band together to fight for equal status and fair treatment. As Tish Sommers' above quote suggests, a minority group's ability to organize—that is, to develop a coordinated group structure capable of getting things done—is a necessary precursor to affecting social change. Yet, paradoxically, it is possible that highly organized minority groups may face unique pushback from those invested in maintaining current social hierarchy, specifically because having a coordinated group structure is likely to *signal* the minority group's potential to upset the dominant social order. Here, we examine

whether the structure of a professional organization composed of minorities, by communicating how organized and thus efficacious the group might be at achieving its goals, influences people's attitudes toward them.

1. Attitudes toward historically marginalized populations

Social psychological theories of intergroup relations have long sought to understand the factors that influence people's attitudes toward society's marginalized and disadvantaged members (Allport, 1979; Brewer & Brown, 1998; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Fiske & Taylor, 2013). Among the myriad variables identified as important predictors of people's attitudes toward minority group members are those related to individuals' generalized desire to maintain existing intergroup inequality (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). A relatively strong preference for maintaining existing inequality in society has been shown to predict negative attitudes toward members of disadvantaged populations and policies favorable to them (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Individual differences along this dimension are captured by a person's social dominance

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orientation (SDO; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994)—a measure of preference for group-based hierarchy, which includes both overt support for inequality, such as the belief that certain groups should dominate others in society (referred to herein as SDO-Dominance or SDO-D), as well as subtler expressions of support for inequality, such as belief in meritocracy (referred to herein as SDO-Egalitarianism or SDO-E) (Ho et al., 2015). We consider a context in which members of minority populations may find themselves particularly likely to elicit negative reactions from individuals with a desire to maintain inequality. Specifically, we examine people's support for minority-based professional organizations and consider how the structure of these organizations—that is, the manner in which they are formally organized—may be an important and novel predictor of how people respond to them.

2. Signaling efficacy through organizational structure

In becoming organized, groups of minorities may communicate to the world their ability to engage in collective action on the group's behalf, and in doing so, they may also signal their potential to threaten the unequal status quo. As unfavorable views toward minority groups may be particularly pronounced when minority group members are perceived as threatening existing social hierarchy (Jost et al., 2004), we reasoned that a minority-based professional organization that organizes itself in a highly effective way may be viewed particularly negatively by those who prefer to maintain the existing social hierarchy.

Hierarchy is widely lauded as the most effective structural form for the organization of people (Gruenfeld & Tiedens, 2010; Leavitt, 2003). Groups and organizations that structure themselves into a hierarchy are more effective at coordination, delegation, and efficiency (Halevy, Chou, & Galinsky, 2011; Magee & Galinsky, 2008). Thus, it is also possible that lay people might see a hierarchical organizational structure as an important signal of the organization's ability to be effective. If so, we would expect those individuals who desire to maintain intergroup inequality to be particularly unsupportive of minority-based professional organizations when those organizations are structured into a hierarchy. Thus, in the current research, we investigated whether the structure of a minority-based action group—specifically whether the organization has a hierarchical structure or not—may be a unique factor predicting people's favorability toward the organization, especially among those who wish to maintain current social inequality.

3. SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism

Recent advances in Social Dominance Theory suggest that a desire to maintain social inequality can be expressed along overt and/or subtle lines (Ho et al., 2012; Ho et al., 2015; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Kugler, Cooper, & Nosek, 2010). Reflecting these advances, social dominance orientation is now commonly considered to be an individual difference measure containing two sub-dimensions—SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism—which map onto overt and subtle inclinations toward the maintenance of inequality, respectively (Ho et al., 2012; Ho et al., 2015; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Krosch, Berntsen, Amodio, Jost, & Van Bavel, 2013; Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015; Kteily, Hodson, & Bruneau, 2016; Saucier, 2013). SDO-Dominance reflects an overt preference for inequality by capturing support for traditionally advantaged groups actively dominating and oppressing traditionally disadvantaged groups. SDO-Egalitarianism reflects a more subtle preference for inequality by capturing support for policies that maintain social hierarchy, such as an opposition to equal distribution of resources among social groups (Ho et al., 2012; 2015).

Relatedly, Ho et al. (2012) have theorized that the subscales measuring SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism (which together comprise the full SDO scale) may differentially predict people's beliefs and attitudes toward particular minority groups, depending on the *socio-structural context* in which those minority groups are embedded. In first tests of this, Ho et al. (2012) demonstrate that in explicitly hierarchical

intergroup contexts, wherein relations between minority and majority groups are fraught with overt conflict and hostility, individual differences in SDO-Dominance more strongly predict beliefs related to those minorities and policies relevant to them than individual differences in SDO-Egalitarianism. Conversely, in less hierarchical intergroup contexts, wherein relations between minority and majority groups are not overtly conflictual and hostile, individual differences in SDO-Egalitarianism more strongly predict beliefs about those minorities and policies relevant to them than individual differences in SDO-Dominance (Ho et al., 2012). Little other research has examined whether the SDO subscales may differentially predict people's responses toward particular minority groups, depending on socio-cultural context.

Drawing from the theory and evidence put forth by Ho et al. (2012), we suggest that when an organization is composed of minorities whose relations with the majority are characterized by overt conflict and hostility, such as is the case for African Americans in a U.S. context, SDO-Dominance may more strongly predict attitudes toward them relative to SDO-Egalitarianism. Conversely, when an organization is composed of minorities whose relations with the majority are not characterized by overt conflict and hostility, as is the case for groups such as Jewish Americans in a U.S. context, SDO-Egalitarianism may more strongly predict attitudes toward them relative to SDO-Dominance.

4. Overview of current research

In two experiments, we manipulated the membership of a professional organization presented to participants, varying whether it was described as composed of minorities or not. We manipulated the organization's structure with an organizational chart that was either structured hierarchically or non-hierarchically, and measured participants' preference for intergroup inequality along both overt and subtle lines, captured by SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism, respectively. To test whether SDO-Dominance and SDO-Egalitarianism differentially predicted favorability toward action groups composed of different types of minorities (Ho et al., 2012), in *Experiment 1*, we assessed support for an organization composed of African-American professionals, and in *Experiment 2*, assessed support for an organization composed of Jewish professionals. To measure support, we assessed the extent to which participants supported the organization having access to power. In both experiments, we predicted that a greater preference for the maintenance of inequality would be associated with less support for a professional organization composed of minorities, particularly when that organization was structured hierarchically.

As suggested by Simmons, Nelson, and Simonsohn (2011), in all experiments presented here, we determined, a priori, a termination rule for data collection. Following Gervais, Jewell, Najle, and Ng (2015), in all experiments presented, we aimed to recruit 100 participants per experimental condition. Each experiment had at least a 93.3% completion rate, suggesting that results were not substantively affected by participant attrition (Zhou & Fishbach, 2016). All measures and manipulations are disclosed, and no participants were excluded from analyses. Data was not analyzed until collection was complete.

5. Pre-test

Before examining our main predictions, we pre-tested the organizational chart stimuli we planned to use in our main experiments to manipulate organizational structure, to confirm that an organization visually depicted as having a hierarchical structure is perceived to be both more hierarchical and more efficacious than an organization visually depicted as having a non-hierarchical structure.

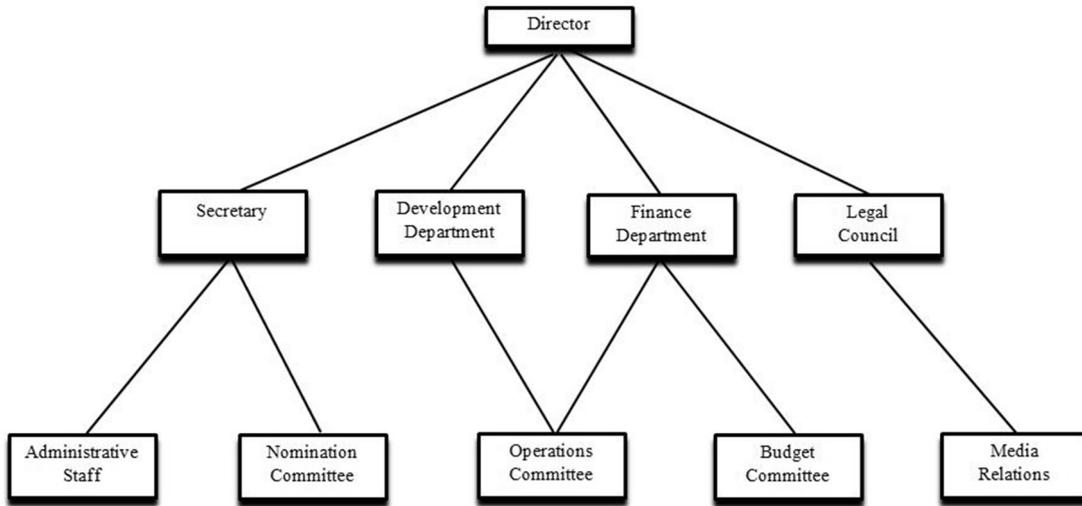


Fig. 1. Organizational chart shown to participants in hierarchical organizational structure condition.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

201 participants (41% female; $M_{age} = 36.18, SD = 12.27$; all U.S. residents) were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Data acquired via Mechanical Turk has been shown to be as reliable as data acquired in more traditional settings (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

5.1.2. Materials and procedure

Participants were randomly presented with one of two organizational charts. In the hierarchical organizational structure condition, participants viewed a diagram of an organization with a hierarchical structure (see Fig. 1). In the non-hierarchical organizational structure condition, participants viewed a diagram of a non-hierarchical organizational structure, adapted from Zitek and Tiedens (2011) (see Fig. 2). Participants rated how hierarchical the organization represented in the chart seemed on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at all hierarchical, 7 = Very hierarchical). Participants also evaluated how effective they thought the organization would be at achieving its goals, using six items adapted from Chen, Gully, and Eden (2001), rated on a 7-point scale (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree), and combined to form

a perceived efficacy composite with Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.96$. An example item was, "This organization will be able to succeed at almost any endeavor" (see Supplementary materials for all pre-test items).

5.2. Results

As expected, the organization with the hierarchical structure was judged more hierarchical ($M = 5.73, SD = 1.00$) compared to the organization with the non-hierarchical structure ($M = 4.10, SD = 1.50$), $t(199) = 9.07, p < 0.001, d = 1.28$. The organization with the hierarchical structure was also judged more efficacious ($M = 5.18, SD = 0.94$) compared to the organization with the non-hierarchical structure ($M = 4.68, SD = 1.22$), $t(199) = 3.23, p = 0.001, d = 0.46$. Judgments of hierarchy mediated the link between organizational structure condition and judgments of efficacy. Results of a mediation bootstrapping procedure (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) in a PROCESS SPSS macro (Model 4; 5000 bootstraps; Hayes, 2012), with hierarchical organizational structure coded as 1 and non-hierarchical organizational structure coded as 0, indicated a significant indirect effect of organizational structure condition on judgments of efficacy through judgments of hierarchy: $b = 0.65, SE = 0.12, 95\% CI [0.43, 0.92]$. Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between variables are

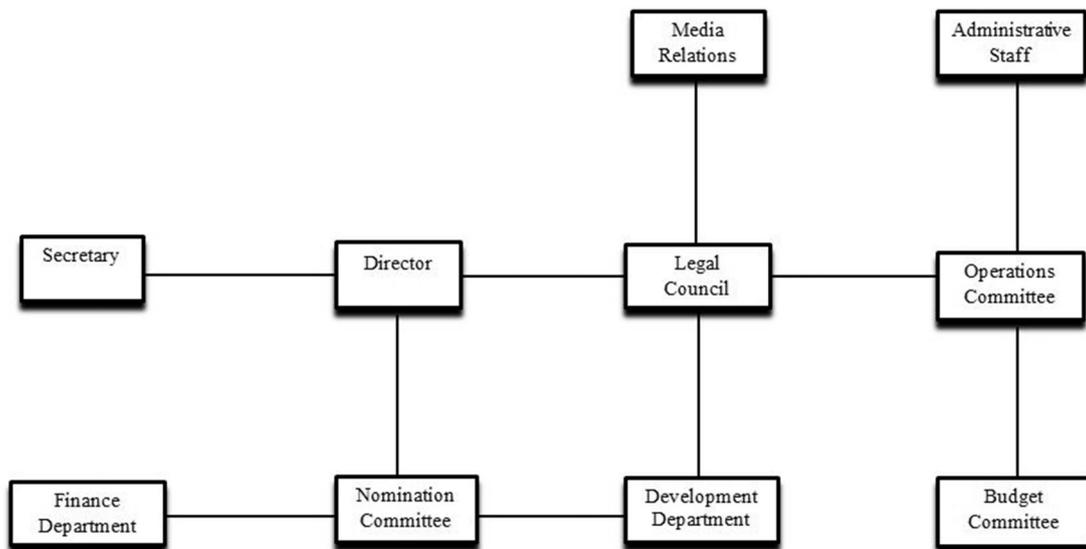


Fig. 2. Organizational chart shown to participants in non-hierarchical organizational structure condition.

Table 1
Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations of variables (Pre-test).

Variable	Hierarchical chart (n = 98)				Non-hierarchical chart (n = 103)			
	M	SD	1	2	M	SD	1	2
1. Perceived hierarchy	5.73	1.00	–		4.10	1.50	–	
2. Perceived efficacy	5.18	0.94	0.32**	–	4.68	1.22	0.54**	–

Note. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

reported in Table 1.

6. Experiment 1

Experiment 1 examined the effects of organizational structure and participants' preference for the maintenance of existing intergroup inequality (as measured by SDO-Dominance) on support for an organization composed of African-American professionals.

6.1. Method

6.1.1. Participants

814 participants (40.9% female; $M_{age} = 32.88$, $SD = 10.43$; all U.S. residents) were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Sixty-five percent identified as White/Caucasian-American, 21% as Asian/Asian-American, 6% as Black/African-American, 6% as Hispanic/Latino/Latina and 2% identified their ethnicity as "Other."

6.1.2. Materials and procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two organizational membership conditions. In the *baseline organization* condition, participants read brief background information about the "National Physicians' Association." In the *minority organization* condition, participants read brief background information about the "National African American Physicians' Association." With the exception of the organization's name, all information about the organization was identical across conditions. In both conditions, the organization was described as based in the United States (see Supplementary materials for exact stimuli used). Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of two organizational structure conditions. Participants in the *hierarchical organizational structure* condition were shown the hierarchically structured organizational chart from the pre-test as a depiction of the structure of the organization they had just read about. Participants in the *non-hierarchical organizational structure* condition were shown the non-hierarchically structured organizational chart from the pre-test. Participants then rated, on 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*), their agreement with four items assessing the extent to which they supported the organization having access to power. These items were averaged to form an organizational support composite with Cronbach's alpha of 0.74. Sample items were: "This organization should be permitted to apply for government subsidies and other funding" and "This organization should be allowed to sit in on relevant federal policy-maker meetings" (see Supplementary materials for all items used).

We then measured participants' trait preference for intergroup inequality along both explicit and implicit dimensions using items from the SDO-6 scale (Pratto et al., 1994). Each subscale had eight items to which participants responded on a 9-point scale (1 = *Extremely disagree*, 9 = *Extremely agree*). The eight items measuring SDO-Dominance were averaged to form an SDO-Dominance composite with Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.97$. The eight items measuring SDO-Egalitarianism were averaged to form an SDO-Egalitarianism composite with Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.95$. An example item measuring SDO-Dominance was: "Inferior

groups should stay in their place." An example item measuring SDO-Egalitarianism was "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups" (reverse-coded).

6.2. Results

We predicted that, specifically for the minority organization (i.e., National African American Physicians' Association), organizational structure and participants' preference for inequality would interact to predict organizational support, such that an increase in preference for inequality would be associated with a decrease in support for the minority organization, particularly when that minority organization was structured hierarchically. We examined both participants' level of SDO-Dominance and participants' level of SDO-Egalitarianism as proxies for their preference for inequality. Thus, we tested for two three-way interactions. First, following the analytic method suggested by Aiken and West (1991) we examined the interaction between organization membership (effect coded $-1 = baseline organization$, $1 = minority organization$), organizational structure (effect coded $-1 = hierarchical organizational structure$, $1 = non-hierarchical organizational structure$), and participants' SDO-Dominance score (mean centered). Using participants' mean centered scores on the SDO-Dominance subscale, there was a significant three-way interaction, $b = 0.04$, $SE = 0.02$, $\beta = 0.07$, $t(806) = 1.98$, $p = 0.048$, 95% CI [0.000, 0.07]. Examining the two-way interactions between organizational structure (hierarchical vs. non-hierarchical) and participant SDO-Dominance at each level of organization membership (baseline vs. minority), we found that while there was no organizational structure \times SDO-Dominance interaction for participants who read about the baseline organization (National Physicians' Association), $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = -0.04$, $t(402) = -0.75$, $p = 0.452$, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.03], there was a significant organizational structure \times SDO-Dominance interaction for participants who read about the minority organization (National African American Physicians' Association), $b = 0.05$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = 0.10$, $t(404) = 2.05$, $p = 0.041$, 95% CI [0.002, 0.10] (see Fig. 3).

Probing this interaction following the method of Aiken and West (1991), we performed simple slopes testing with organizational structure condition dummy coded, such that $0 = hierarchical organizational structure$ and $1 = non-hierarchical organizational structure$. As predicted, while there was no effect of participants' level of SDO-Dominance on support for the minority organization that was structured non-hierarchically $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = -0.03$, $t(220) = -0.45$, $p = 0.651$, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.05], for participants who viewed the hierarchically structured minority organization, greater support for inequality between groups (as measured by SDO-Dominance) was

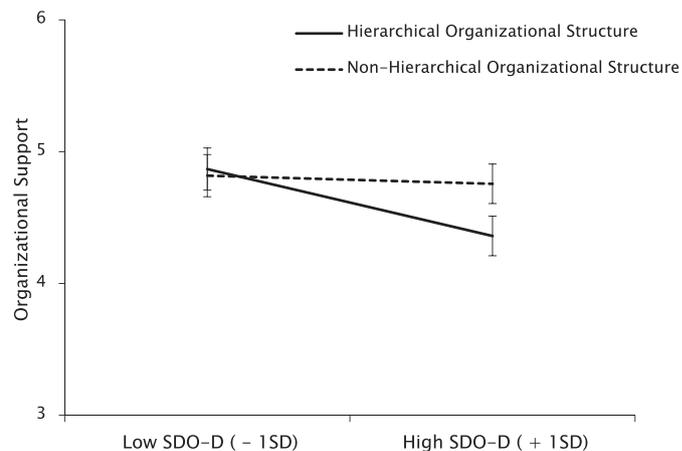


Fig. 3. Effect of mean centered SDO-Dominance and organizational structure condition on participants' support for the minority organization ("National African American Physicians' Association"). Error bars represent ± 1 standard error of the mean.

associated with less support for the organization, $b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -0.21$, $t(184) = -2.87$, $p = 0.005$, 95% CI $[-0.19, -0.04]$. Furthermore, for participants relatively low in SDO-Dominance (one standard deviation below the mean), there was no effect of organizational structure (hierarchical vs. non-hierarchical) on organizational support $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.16$, $\beta = -0.02$, $t(404) = -0.33$, $p = 0.745$, 95% CI $[-0.36, 0.26]$. For participants relatively high in SDO-Dominance (one standard deviation above the mean), those participants who evaluated the minority organization structured hierarchically supported it having access to power significantly less compared to those participants who viewed the minority organization structured non-hierarchically, $b = 0.40$, $SE = 0.15$, $\beta = 0.18$, $t(404) = 2.59$, $p = 0.010$, 95% CI $[0.10, 0.70]$. We then conducted a similar analysis using participants' SDO-Egalitarianism score (mean centered). The three-way interaction between organization membership, organizational structure, and SDO-Egalitarianism did not reach significance, $b = 0.003$, $SE = 0.02$, $\beta = 0.004$, $t(806) = 0.13$, $p = 0.896$, 95% CI $[-0.04, 0.05]$.

Overall, these results were as predicted in that we found that SDO-Dominance, not SDO-Egalitarianism, interacted with structure condition to predict attitudes toward an organization composed of African Americans—a minority group whose relations with the majority are characterized by overt conflict and hostility.¹

However, as reported in Table 2, we also found that SDO-Egalitarianism was significantly negatively correlated with organizational support across both the hierarchical and non-hierarchical minority organization conditions. That is, while SDO-Egalitarianism did not moderate our structure effect, we did find that it was related to support for the minority organization composed of African Americans, regardless of structure. Such a finding is noteworthy as it suggests that SDO-Dominance may not be a more robust predictor of attitudes toward minorities with overt conflict with the majority compared to SDO-Egalitarianism.

7. Experiment 2

In Experiment 2, we sought to conceptually replicate the findings of Experiment 1 with an organization composed of a different minority group. We examined how participants' preference for inequality (as measured by SDO-Egalitarianism) and organizational structure together affected support for an organization composed of Jewish professionals. We chose Jewish Americans as our focal minority group because, in the context of the United States, Jewish Americans, unlike African Americans, are a minority group whose relations with the majority are not currently marked by conflict and hostility. This choice allowed us to further test Ho et al.'s (2012) theorizing that people's degree of support for a minority group whose relations with the majority are not overtly conflictual should be better predicted by individual differences in SDO-Egalitarianism than SDO-Dominance.

7.1. Method

7.1.1. Participants

809 participants (41.1% female; $M_{age} = 35.07$, $SD = 11.23$; all U.S. residents) were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Eighty percent identified as White/Caucasian-American, 6% as Asian/Asian-American, 6% as Black/African-American, 5% as Hispanic/Latino/Latina and 3% identified their ethnicity as "Other." Four percent of the sample identified as Jewish.

¹ In Experiment 1, we tested for moderation of our effects by participants' own majority vs. minority group member status. We found that our effects were most robust for White participants (i.e., majority group members in the context of the present study). See Supplemental materials for full analyses.

Table 2
Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations of variables (Experiment 1).

Var	Baseline organization						Minority organization					
	Hierarchical structure (n = 215)			Non-hierarchical structure (n = 191)			Hierarchical structure (n = 186)			Non-hierarchical structure (n = 222)		
	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD		M	SD	
1. SD	3.44	2.25	-	3.29	2.10	-	3.43	2.18	-	3.53	2.29	-
2. SE	2.83	1.67	0.44**	2.82	1.60	0.49**	2.90	1.83	0.59**	2.69	1.66	0.48*
3. DV	4.45	1.11	0.09	4.58	1.03	0.01	4.61	1.21	-0.21**	4.78	1.02	-0.03
			-0.19**			-0.19**			-0.40**			-0.40**

Note. SD = SDO-Dominance composite, SE = SDO-Egalitarianism composite, DV = Org. Support composite * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

7.1.2. Materials and procedure

Experiment 2's materials and procedure were identical to those used in Experiment 1, but for two modifications. The first modification was that while the stimuli in the *baseline organization* condition remained the same as in Experiment 1, participants in the *minority organization* condition read about an organization named the “National Jewish Physicians' Association.” The second modification was that participants' preference for the maintenance of inequality between groups was measured using new versions of the SDO-Dominance subscale ($\alpha = 0.91$) and SDO-Egalitarianism subscale ($\alpha = 0.91$), taken from the SDO-7 (Ho et al., 2015), which was published in the time between when Experiment 1 and Experiment 2 were conducted. We made this decision in order to use the most up-to-date metrics of our moderating construct. Organizational structure was manipulated using the identical stimuli as Experiment 1 and support for the organization was assessed using identical measures as Experiment 1 ($\alpha = 0.78$). Exact stimuli for Experiment 2 are included in the Supplementary materials. Participants also responded to five manipulation check items. See Supplementary materials for a list of these items and associated analyses.

7.2. Results

All analyses in Experiment 2 followed the method used in Experiment 1, in line with suggestions made by Aiken and West (1991). Using participants' mean centered scores on the SDO-Dominance subscale, there was a significant three-way interaction between organization membership, organizational structure, and participants' level of SDO-Dominance on organizational support, $b = 0.07$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = 0.08$, $t(801) = 2.14$, $p = 0.033$, 95% CI [0.006, 0.13]; however, the two way interaction between organizational structure and SDO-Dominance for participants who read about the minority organization did not reach significance $b = 0.05$, $SE = 0.05$, $\beta = 0.05$, $t(399) = 1.01$, $p = 0.313$, 95% CI [-0.05, 0.14].²

Using participants' mean centered scores on the SDO-Egalitarianism subscale, there was a significant three-way interaction between organization membership, organizational structure and participants' level of SDO-Egalitarianism on organizational support, $b = 0.09$, $SE = 0.03$, $\beta = 0.10$, $t(801) = 2.78$, $p = 0.006$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.15]. For participants who read about the baseline organization (“National Physicians' Association”) there was no interaction between organizational structure and participants' level of SDO-Egalitarianism on organizational support $b = -0.05$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -0.05$, $t(402) = -1.07$, $p = 0.285$, 95% CI [-0.13, 0.04]. Within the minority organization condition (“National Jewish Physicians' Association”), there was a significant two-way interaction between organizational structure and SDO-Egalitarianism on organizational support, $b = 0.13$, $SE = 0.05$, $\beta = 0.14$, $t(399) = 2.80$, $p = 0.005$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.22]. Examining this two way interaction, we found that, as predicted, greater preference for inequality (as measured by SDO-Egalitarianism) was associated with less support for the minority organization (“National Jewish Physicians' Association”) when it was structured into a hierarchy, $b = -0.26$, $SE = 0.06$, $\beta = -0.28$, $t(205) = -4.24$, $p < 0.001$, 95% CI [-0.39, -0.14], but participant SDO-Egalitarianism did not predict organizational support when the minority organization was structured non-hierarchically $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.07$, $\beta = -0.01$, $t(194) = -0.14$, $p = 0.891$, 95% CI [-0.14, 0.12] (see Fig. 4). There was no effect of organizational structure for participants relatively high in SDO-Egalitarianism (one standard deviation above the mean), $b = 0.26$, $SE = 0.17$, $\beta = 0.10$, $t(399) = 1.51$, $p = 0.133$, 95% CI

² The significant three-way interaction was driven by a significant interaction between organizational structure condition (effect coded -1 = hierarchical chart, 1 = non-hierarchical chart) and mean-centered SDO-D on organizational support within the baseline organization condition, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -0.10$, $t(402) = -2.07$, $p = .039$, 95% CI [-0.17, -0.004]. See Supplemental materials for full statistics for this interaction.

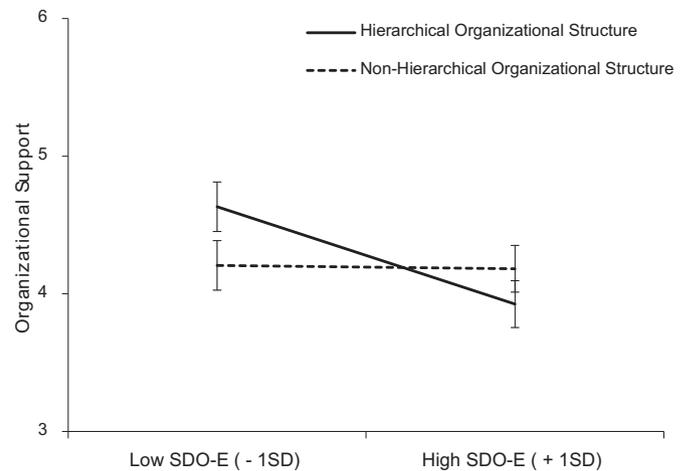


Fig. 4. Effect of mean centered SDO-Egalitarianism and organization structure condition on support for the *minority organization* (“National Jewish Physicians' Association”). Error bars represent ± 1 standard error of the mean.

[-0.08, 0.59]. For participants relatively low in SDO-Egalitarianism (one standard deviation below the mean), participants who viewed the hierarchical minority organization supported the organization more than participants who viewed the non-hierarchical minority organization, $b = -0.43$, $SE = 0.18$, $\beta = -0.17$, $t(399) = -2.44$, $p = 0.015$, 95% CI [-0.77, -0.08]. Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations between variables for Experiment 2 are reported in Table 3.

Overall, these results are consistent with the findings of Ho et al. (2012). We find that SDO-Egalitarianism better predicts attitudes toward minority groups *not* contemporarily characterized by overt conflict and hostility with the dominant class – i.e. Jewish Americans – compared to SDO-Dominance.³

8. General discussion

In two experiments, we demonstrate that the structure of minority-based professional organizations plays a critical role in determining the nature of the relationship between a person's support for intergroup inequality and their support for those organizations. We show that an increase in preference for maintaining intergroup inequality is associated with an increased desire to limit a minority organization's access to power, particularly when that organization is structured hierarchically.

Our research contributes to the literature on intergroup relations by demonstrating that people's support for minority-based action groups may vary as a function of those groups' structure. Our work is the first to suggest that the way minority groups organize themselves—or at least are perceived as organizing themselves—can have an impact on the extent to which they are supported. Our findings help inform our understanding of popular responses to minority groups and organizations that seek to advance the social standing of their minority members.

Our findings also suggest that a person's social dominance orientation does not uniformly predict attitudes toward minority groups—the group's structure also matters. Furthermore, whereas one possible takeaway from the Social Dominance Theory literature is that those higher in social dominance orientation should show a *greater* preference for hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), our findings suggest that the

³ In Experiment 2, we again tested for moderation of our effects by participants' own majority vs. minority group member status. We found that our effects were most robust for White participants (i.e., majority group members in the context of the present study). See Supplemental materials for full analyses.

research might also explore other attitudinal variables related to, but distinct from, support for an organization. For example, future studies could examine whether, and in what way, respect for an organization co-varies with support for that organization. Indeed, it is possible that, while those high in a desire to maintain inequality show relatively low levels of support for a hierarchically structured minority organization because they connect that structure with a potential for efficacy, they still respect that organization for its ability to get things done.

8.2. Concluding remarks

The studies we present deepen our understanding of the complex barriers that exist to people's support for groups and organizations composed of minorities. Indeed, we find that, somewhat paradoxically, those minority groups who are most capable of effecting social change are often also those who face the steepest hurdles to success in that endeavor.

9. Open practices

The research in this article earned Open Materials and Open Data badges for transparent practices. Materials and data for the experiments are available at <http://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/GDTPM>.

Appendix A. Supplemental data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.10.003>.

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