



Reports

Getting a word in group-wise: Effects of racial diversity on gender dynamics

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ABSTRACT

In three studies, we examined the effects of racial diversity on gender dynamics in small mixed-sex groups. In all-White groups in Study 1, White men spoke significantly more than White women and were rated as more persuasive; however, in racially-diverse groups, White women and White men spent equal amounts of time speaking and were rated as equally persuasive. Video clips of the group members were rated for confidence and anxiety in Study 2, and Study 3 explored more directly how group composition shapes individuals' perceptual and cognitive tendencies. Members of diverse groups were perceived as more anxious than members of all-White groups, and White women were perceived as more anxious than White men. However, White women in diverse groups showed increasing confidence over time. These results suggest that racial diversity has benefits beyond just racial inclusion: it may also promote greater gender equality.

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Introduction

Under the spell of that illusion, I thought, looking out of the window, half the people on the pavement are striding to work... They start the day confident, braced, believing themselves desired at Miss Smith's tea party; they say to themselves as they go into the room, I am the superior of half the people here, and it is thus that they speak with that self-confidence, that self assurance, which have had such profound consequences in public life... (Woolf, 1929, p. 36).

Over 80 years ago, Virginia Woolf observed how the self-confidence exhibited by men due to their higher social status impacted both personal interactions and public life. In the intervening decades, while there has been considerable progress in terms of achieving gender equality, barriers still remain. Men continue to hold the majority of top-level positions in business and government (Catalyst, 2008; IPU, 2010) and are paid about 25% more than women in the same jobs (Institute for Women's Policy Research, 2010). In social settings, people tend to assume that men are more competent, knowledgeable, and intelligent than women, and in accordance with these gender-based expectations, grant males more authority and prestige (Carli & Eagly, 1999; Driskell & Mullen, 1990).

These different expectations of men and women also impact group functioning (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999). Men tend to exercise greater influence in mixed-sex groups than do women (Pugh & Wahrman, 1983; Strotbeck & Mann, 1956; Thomas-Hunt & Phillips, 2004). In one study, for example, men were five times more likely to influence others' opinions than were women (Walker, Iardi, McMahon, & Fennell, 1996). In another study, information introduced by men was up to six times more likely to influence the group decision than the same information introduced by women (Propp, 1995). Speaking time, another measure of behavioral dominance, shows similar results: men talk significantly more than women in social interactions (Hall, 2006; Leaper & Ayres, 2007; Schmid Mast, 2001). There are, however, important qualifications to this pattern of gender-based behavioral dominance. The context of the interaction may substantially impact gender dynamics.

In the present research we examined the effects of racial diversity on gender dynamics in small groups. For many individuals, interracial interactions are associated with social anxiety and are construed as stressful (Plant & Devine, 2003; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008). Specifically, White individuals are often concerned with being perceived as racist by members of other groups (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998; Shelton & Richeson, 2006), a concern that arises spontaneously given the likelihood of evaluation by an outgroup member (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000; Vorauer, Main, & O'Connell, 1998). When interacting with other-race partners, White individuals report more anxiety and discomfort than when interacting with same-race partners (Toosi, Babbitt, Ambady, & Sommers, 2012; Trawalter & Richeson, 2008).

However, women seem to react very differently to race-related social concerns than men. For example, one study found that White

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women responded to intergroup anxiety by acting friendlier toward an other-race partner in contrast to White men, who became less friendly (Littleford, Wright, & Sayoc-Parial, 2005). Greater endorsement of a feminine self-concept has been linked with higher internal motivation to avoid prejudice (Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder, 2006) and less support for social inequalities (Foels & Pappas, 2004), and in general, women report more positive race-related attitudes than men (Eagly, Diekmann, Johannesen-Schmidt, & Koenig, 2004; Johnson & Marini, 1998; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994).

We propose that racial diversity in small groups may impact gender dynamics in several ways. One possible explanation is increased social complexity. Whereas men emerge more often as leaders of groups performing masculine or gender-neutral tasks, women are more likely to emerge as leaders when tasks are more interpersonal in nature and contain some element of social complexity (Eagly & Karau, 1991). Eagly and Karau suggest that this is due to socially-prescribed gender roles that place men in agentic roles where assertiveness and competence are valued, while social and affiliative roles are allotted to women—a division of roles often seen in group settings (Dovidio, Heltman, Brown, Ellyson, & Keating, 1988; Wood & Karten, 1986). In scenarios requiring more diplomatic and interpersonal skills, women will be more likely to demonstrate leadership behaviors. Because interracial interactions present more social concerns (e.g. concerns about being seen as racist), this may increase women's behavioral dominance in group settings.

Another possibility is that racial diversity decreases gender disparities in group behavior by reducing the salience of gender as a social identity cue. In other words, the presence of Black individuals may bring racial concerns to the foreground for White participants, and lead White women and White men to see each other more as members of the same racial in-group than as members of different genders. This reduced salience of gender might then have the effect of reducing the impact of gender-role norms and status differentials on behavior.

A third possibility is that in racially-diverse groups, tolerance norms become more salient. The presence of racial outgroup members may remind White individuals of social norms of equity that were not activated by the presence of group members of a different sex (e.g., being confronted about race-related bias leads to more guilt than equivalent cases of gender-related bias; Czopp & Monteith, 2003). These tolerance norms might then lead all group members to behave in ways that facilitate equal sharing and participation. This would therefore affect gender dynamics as well as interracial interactions.

To explore these questions, we conducted three studies to examine behavioral and cognitive tendencies of White males and females in racially diverse and homogeneous groups. For the first study, we examined the behavior and ratings of mock-jury members who deliberated on a case in racially-diverse or all-White groups. In the second study, video-clips from the first study were viewed by a new group of participants who rated the group members on confidence and anxiety. We hypothesized that in a racially-diverse group, typical gender dynamics would shift and the gap in behavioral dominance between men and women would close, such that White women would speak up more and behave more confidently in racially-diverse groups than in racially-homogeneous groups. The third study used hypothetical group settings to explore how racially-diverse and all-White group compositions shape perceived social complexity, gender salience, and salience of tolerance norms.

Study 1

In the first study we examined differences in men's and women's behavior in racially homogeneous and diverse groups in the setting of a mock trial. Using a mock-jury dataset first analyzed by Sommers (2006), we examined group members' speaking time as a measure of behavioral dominance, and other group members' ratings of persuasiveness as a measure of influence.

Method

Participants

A total of 168 participants (87 White females, 53 White males, 15 Black females, 13 Black males) were recruited from individuals called for jury duty in Southeastern Michigan, with the cooperation of local judge and jury-pool administrators, or through newspaper advertisements in the same area. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 78, $M = 39.96$ years ($SD = 15.37$), and were reimbursed \$10 per hour for their time.

Procedure

Participants were assigned to groups of six people, randomly selected allowing for the constraints of racial composition. Half the groups had six White members, while the other half included four White members and two Black members. Gender composition of groups was matched across conditions. These groups formed mock juries and watched a video trial summary about a case of sexual assault with a White female victim and a Black male defendant before proceeding to deliberate about the case while seated around a rectangular table so all jury members could see each other. Deliberation sessions were videotaped and ended either when the jury had come to a unanimous verdict or after 60 min. Trained research assistants later created transcripts of the deliberation sessions and calculated how much time, in seconds, each person spoke. In addition to this behavioral data, all participants completed a questionnaire after the deliberations providing, among other measures, their responses to the statement "Jury member X was persuasive" for each of their fellow jury members, on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*) with a midpoint of 5 (*neutral*) (for more details, see Sommers, 2006). Because Black jury members were only present in the racially-diverse condition, analyses focused on White jury members in order to compare behavior across both all-White and racially-diverse mock juries.

Results and discussion

Speaking time

To examine the effects of group diversity on gender dynamics, we first examined the amount of time that each individual spent speaking. We utilized multi-level models to account for the presence of both group- and individual-level factors. Because participants were clustered into groups, scores could not be assumed to be completely independent of each other; therefore the group itself was included as a random-effect factor. We included gender (female or male) as an individual-level fixed factor, group racial composition (diverse or homogeneous) as a group-level fixed factor, and the interaction of the two terms in the model. The final model was a restricted maximum-likelihood mixed model. Degrees of freedom were approximated using the Satterthwaite method which resulted in non-integer values.

Neither gender nor group racial composition alone significantly impacted each participant's time spent speaking, $F_s < 1$, $p_s > .33$. There was, however, a significant interaction, $F(1, 118.55) = 6.62$, $p = .011$ (See Fig. 1). Follow-up analyses showed that in all-White groups, the traditional gender difference was observed, with men ($M = 525.61$ s, $SD = 360.02$) speaking significantly more than women ($M = 375.08$ s, $SD = 324.38$), $F(1, 117.45) = 5.02$, $p = .027$. However, in diverse groups, there was no significant difference between average speaking time for White women ($M = 590.03$ s, $SD = 399.25$) and White men ($M = 490.40$ s, $SD = 243.21$), $F < 0.3$, $p > .5$, *n.s.* White women in diverse groups spoke significantly more than those in all-White groups, $F(1, 38.84) = 5.66$, $p = .022$, but White men showed no differences by group composition, $F < 0.3$, $p > .5$, *n.s.* White women spoke up more in racially-diverse groups than they did in racially-homogeneous groups, while men stayed relatively constant.

In a separate analysis looking only at members of the diverse groups, speaking time for White and Black women and men were

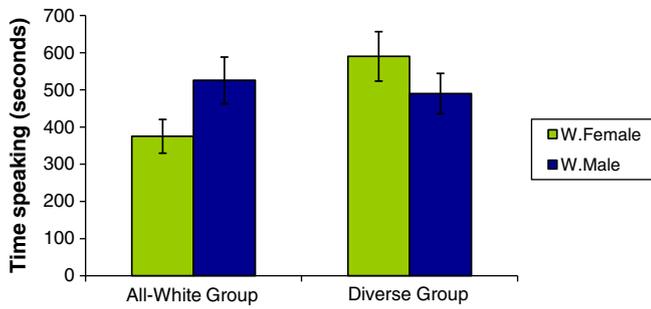


Fig. 1. Effects of participant gender and group racial composition on speaking time. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

compared in a multi-level model, using dummy-coded variables for each race/gender categorization. Our primary question was whether the increases in White women's speaking time came at a cost to racial minorities. Results indicated that there was no difference in speaking time between any of the four categories created through the intersection of race and gender, $F_s < 1.7$, $p_s > .20$, and thus in diverse groups, all individuals spent the same amount of time speaking.

Persuasiveness

Each participant rated the other members in their group on persuasiveness. We collapsed across these ratings for each group member, and ran a multi-level analysis for all White participants using gender (female or male) as an individual-level predictor, group racial composition (diverse or homogeneous) as a group-level predictor, and an interaction of the two terms, as above.

Results showed marginally significant results for gender, $F(1, 124.44) = 3.67$, $p = .058$, and no effect of group racial composition, $F(1, 29.58) = 0.17$, $p = .68$. As expected, this was qualified by a significant interaction of gender and group racial composition, $F(1, 124.44) = 4.85$, $p = .029$. In all-White groups, White women were rated much lower on persuasiveness ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.20$) than White men ($M = 6.59$, $SD = 0.88$), $F(1, 124.79) = 10.80$, $p = .001$. However, in diverse groups, White women were rated 6.34 on persuasiveness ($SD = 1.01$), roughly equal to ratings of White men's persuasiveness in diverse groups ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 0.81$), neither of which was significantly different from the ratings for White men in all-White groups, $F_s < 1.1$, $p_s > .31$. Comparing White women in diverse groups to those in all-White groups produced marginally significant results for persuasiveness, $F(1, 49.85) = 3.93$, $p = .053$. Thus, similar to the measure of speaking time, racially-diverse groups resulted in White women closing the gap in persuasiveness with White men. (See Fig. 2.) Furthermore, persuasiveness was significantly correlated with the amount of speaking time: $r(138) = .22$, $p = .011$. A close examination suggested that this was driven mainly by a highly significant correlation between speaking time and persuasiveness for White women in racially-diverse groups,

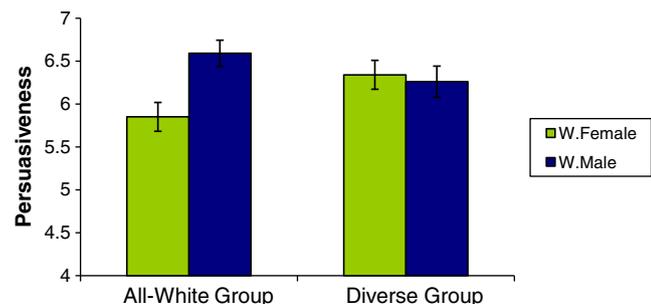


Fig. 2. Effects of participant gender and group racial composition on ratings of persuasiveness. Error bars represent standard errors of the mean.

$r(34) = .58$, $p < .001$. No other groups showed a significant relationship, $r_s < \pm .16$, $p_s > .5$.

In a separate analysis looking only at members of diverse groups, persuasiveness for White and Black women and men were compared. Results indicated no difference in ratings of persuasiveness between Black and White men and women, all $F_s < 2.5$, $p_s > .12$. Therefore, like speaking time, the gains for White women did not come at the cost of the persuasiveness of racial minority group members.

In sum, we found that racial diversity in groups had an equalizing effect on women's participation. White women in racially-diverse groups spoke more and were rated more persuasive compared to White women in all-White groups, effectively closing the gap with men. This gain for White women was not associated with a loss for Black individuals.

Study 2

To further examine participant behavior, a new group of participants viewed edited video-clips of deliberations from the first study and provided ratings of confidence and anxiety for each group member (Ambady, Bernieri, & Richeson, 2000). We incorporated time as a factor to capture some of the relational dynamics that might impact anxiety and confidence over the course of deliberations (Shelton & Richeson, 2006). As noted above, interracial interactions tend to provoke more anxiety than same-race interactions. Thus, we hypothesized that anxiety ratings for members of diverse groups would be higher than for members of all-White groups. For ratings of confidence, because women have been found to respond to intergroup anxiety with increasingly engaged behavior whereas men respond with decreased friendliness (Littleford et al., 2005), we expected that these diverging responses would result in increasing perceptions of confidence for women in racially-diverse groups, while perceptions of men's confidence in racially-diverse groups would decrease. In all-White groups, we hypothesized that males would exhibit more confidence than women.

Method

Participants

Forty-two participants (21 females; 30 White, 6 Asian, 4 Latino, and 2 Black American) were recruited in exchange for partial course credit or payment.

Materials

Videotapes of the deliberations from Study 1 were edited to produce 5-second clips of White mock-jury members speaking. Only White males and females were selected as targets so that we could compare across all-White and diverse conditions. Because of the seating arrangements in the original videotapes, only the participants seated in the middle two seats could be seen clearly without others obstructing the view. Therefore, out of the 28 groups and 174 participants from the first study, we were able to use video-clips for 23 White female targets (9 from diverse groups, 14 from all-White groups) and 11 White male targets (5 from diverse groups, 6 from all-White groups). To preserve independence, participants were exposed to only one target person from each group. Using transcripts of the deliberations, we identified the first and last time each target person spoke for at least five seconds about the case. We used video-clips of these segments, resulting in 68 total clips. We edited the clips so only the target person could be seen and no other group members were visible, so participants would remain unaware of the racial composition of the group for the targets they were viewing.

Procedure

To prevent comparisons across gender of targets, participants viewed either all 46 female clips or all 22 male clips. Video-clips

were presented one at a time in a random order. After each clip, participants responded to the questions “How confident is this person?” and “How anxious is this person?” on a Likert scale with 1 = *not at all* and 7 = *extremely*. The order of the questions was counterbalanced, and no differences were found for question order.

Results and discussion

We collapsed the data across individual group members within each racial diversity condition, and thus were left with a 2 (target gender: male or female, between participants) \times 2 (group racial composition: diverse or homogeneous, within participants) \times 2 (clip timing: first or last contribution, within participants) mixed-model ANOVA, for both questions. Participant gender did not moderate any of the results.

Confidence

Results indicated a three-way interaction between group racial composition, clip timing, and target gender, $F(1,40) = 13.34$, $p = .001$ (Table 1). To explore our prediction that a group's gender dynamics vary depending on its racial composition, we examined separately the two-way interaction between time and gender within the diverse and then within the all-White groups. Looking just at diverse groups, there was a two-way interaction between target gender and clip timing, $F(1, 40) = 17.87$, $p = .001$. There was also a significant main effect of target gender, such that men were rated as more confident than women, $F(1, 40) = 5.12$, $p = .029$. Women in racially-diverse groups were seen as significantly more confident at the second time-point than the first, $t(20) = 2.25$, $p = .036$. However, men in diverse groups showed decreasing confidence over time, $t(20) = 3.88$, $p = .001$. Men showed significantly more confidence than women at the first time point, $t(40) = 3.54$, $p = .001$, but by the end of deliberations, men and women were perceived as equally confident, $t(40) = 1.19$, $p = .24$. Therefore, for White men in racially-diverse groups, they decreased from a high initial level of confidence over the course of the discussion, whereas White women in racially-diverse groups exhibited an increase from an initially low level of confidence, with ratings for men and women converging by the end.

In all-White groups, on the other hand, the two-way interaction between target gender and clip timing was not significant, $F(1, 40) = 2.01$, $p = .16$, nor was there a main effect of gender, contrary to our hypotheses, $F(1, 40) = 0.26$, $p = .61$. There was a significant main effect of clip timing, $F(1, 40) = 7.49$, $p = .009$. More specifically, while ratings of confidence for men in all-White groups rose significantly over the course of the deliberation, $t(20) = 2.52$, $p = .020$, women in all-White groups did not show a significant increase in confidence from the first time-point to the second, $t(20) = 1.17$, $p = .26$. There were no significant differences when comparing men's ratings to women's ratings at either time-point in all-White groups, $t < 1.2$, $ps > .24$. Therefore, although men did not show more confidence than women throughout the deliberations in all-White groups, they did experience an increase in confidence. Therefore the relational dynamics in all-White groups and diverse groups resulted in differing outcomes for men and women.

Table 1
Confidence ratings for White women and men in all-White and diverse groups.

		All-White groups	Diverse groups
W. males	Time 1	4.21 (0.53)	4.60 (0.81)
	Time 2	4.71 (0.79)	4.08 (0.45)
W. females	Time 1	4.31 (0.50)	3.81 (0.62)
	Time 2	4.47 (0.44)	4.17 (0.44)
Total		4.54 (0.62)	4.16 (0.75)

Note. Means for confidence ratings from Study 2. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Time 1 represents the first five continuous seconds of speech; Time 2 the last five continuous seconds of speech by each jury member over the course of the deliberation.

Anxiety

Ratings of anxiety demonstrated a significant main effect for group racial composition, $F(1, 40) = 4.41$, $p = .042$. Target individuals in diverse groups were rated more anxious ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 0.83$) than those in racially-homogeneous groups ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.81$). This finding is consistent with research showing that interracial interactions tend to be anxiety-provoking for White people (Toosi et al., 2012). There was also a significant main effect of gender, $F(1,40) = 8.22$, $p = .007$, indicating that female group members were seen as more anxious than male group members. This unexpected finding may be due to a number of reasons: for example, female group members may have been rated as more anxious because women tend to be more expressive than men (Hall, 1984), or because women actually responded to these interpersonal scenarios with heightened anxiety, given the expectations associated with gender roles that cast women as more socially adept (Eagly & Karau, 1991). Although ratings of anxiety were higher for those in racially-diverse groups than homogeneous groups and higher for women than men, there was no main effect of clip timing nor interactions. Therefore, while White women in general and members of diverse groups were rated as more anxious throughout the session, White women in diverse groups behaved more confidently over time, while White men in those groups behaved less confidently over the course of the deliberation.

Study 3a

Studies 1 and 2 demonstrate that racial diversity impacts gender dynamics in small groups, but there remain a variety of possible explanations: racially-diverse groups may evoke greater social complexity, thus shifting the balance in favor of women in terms of behavioral dominance; reduced gender salience in a diverse setting may also reduce gender-based disparities; or increased salience of tolerance norms in the presence of racial minorities may extend to the domain of gender as well. The remaining studies look for evidence in support of these three explanations. We predicted that the racially-diverse group would present a more socially complex scenario than the all-White group. A separate group of participants was asked to rate their responses to different jury configurations.

Method

Participants

Twenty-eight White individuals (15 females, $M_{age} = 36.18$, $SD_{age} = 11.36$) were paid to participate in an online survey.

Procedure

Participants read a brief summary of the method described above and were asked to indicate the degree of “diplomatic and interpersonal skills (aka social savvy)” would be required of them in different jury settings, on a 7-point scale from *very little* to *extreme*. We examined responses to juries that had six White members (all-White) or two Black and four White members (racially-diverse), reflecting the actual group compositions used in Study 1.¹

Results and discussion

Data were analyzed in a 2 (jury description: all-White or racially-diverse, within participants) \times 2 (participant gender: male or female, between participants) ANOVA. Participants indicated the need for more social skills in the case of the diverse jury ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 0.84$) than the all-White jury ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.68$), $F(1, 26) = 10.53$, $p = .003$, indicating that racial diversity can be a cue to social

¹ To reduce experimental demand, participants also viewed juries with six Black or four Black/two White members.

complexity. There were no differences between respondents by gender, $F(1, 26) = 0.26$, $p = .61$, indicating that both White men and women perceived greater social complexity in the racially-diverse compared to the all-White context.

Study 3b

To investigate the role of gender salience and tolerance norms in racially-diverse versus all-White groups, we ran a hypothetical interaction study with implicit and explicit measures of gender salience and tolerance norms.

Method

Participants

Sixty-four White individuals (32 female, $M_{\text{age}} = 39.16$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 14.03$) participated in this study as a paid online survey.

Procedure

Participants read a brief summary of the case described above and were asked to imagine serving on a jury, represented by a picture of six White individuals (all-White) or four White and two Black individuals (racially-diverse). Participants spent a few minutes writing down their initial thoughts, which were coded by two research assistants for mentions of gender or concerns about prejudice ($\kappa_{\text{p}} = .96$ and $.71$, respectively). Participants then responded to a word-stem-completion task with stems that could be completed with words related to gender or prejudice—for example, WO— could be completed with “woman,” a gender-related word, or with “would,” a gender-neutral word. This allowed us to test implicit activation of these concepts. Finally, participants completed explicit measures of tolerance norms (external and internal motivation to control prejudice (EMS/IMS); Plant & Devine, 1998), and answered a question about how much the gender composition of the group would affect their behavior on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Results and discussion

Measures of gender salience included mentions of gender in the initial thought-listing task, completion of gender-related word stems, and self-ratings of the impact of group gender composition on their behavior. These three measures showed no significant differences by racial composition, participant gender, or the interaction of the two terms, $F_s < 2$, $p_s > .16$. Similarly, measures of activation of tolerance norms, which included ratings of initial thought-listings, completions of bias-related word-stems, and EMS/IMS scores, did not differ significantly by participant gender, racial composition, or their interaction. The outcome closest to significance was that women tended to have higher IMS scores than men, $F(1, 60) = 2.65$, $p = .11$; otherwise, all $F_s < 0.78$, $p_s > .38$.

These results suggest that, counter to the hypothesis that gender may be less salient in all-White groups (thereby decreasing gender-based disparities), gender seemed to be equally salient in both all-White and diverse groups and for female and male participants. Furthermore, there were no differences in explicit or subtle measures of activation of tolerance norms, suggesting that the salience of norms to avoid prejudice and act more equitably did not differ by the racial composition of the jury or participant gender. Thus studies 3a and 3b support the explanation of increased social complexity more strongly than that of reduced gender salience or increased attention to tolerance norms in diverse groups.

General discussion

Racial diversity influenced gender dynamics in mixed-sex groups. In racially homogeneous groups, White women spoke less than White

men, and were considered less persuasive. They also did not show increases in confidence over the course of deliberations, unlike the men in the same groups. In racially-diverse groups completing the same task, however, White women spoke as much as men, were considered equally persuasive, and increased in confidence over the course of the session to converge with White men.

Why does racial diversity lead to such different outcomes for White men and women? The presence of Black group members may have been enough to trigger social concerns for the White members, introducing greater social complexity into the task, and providing an opportunity for the White women in the groups to emerge as leaders (Eagly & Karau, 1991). These women then would speak more and be perceived by others as more persuasive, as shown in Study 1. Similar to previous findings that women respond to intergroup anxiety with increasing friendliness toward an outgroup partner whereas men respond with less friendliness (Littleford et al., 2005; Taylor et al., 2000), we found that White women showed higher anxiety and increasing confidence in diverse groups, while White men showed a decline in confidence. One interpretation is that White men in diverse groups, finding themselves in the position of higher racial and gender status, begin with high confidence, while White women begin with low confidence and high anxiety. Through the relational dynamics of the discussion, women find themselves equipped for the social complexity of the situation, engage more fully and become more confident, whereas men grow less confident, until they converge.

Alternative explanations for these results were not supported by results from Study 3b. The introduction of racial diversity did not reduce salience of gender (for similar results, see Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992), nor did it seem to increase salience of tolerance norms. It remains possible that shifts in salience of gender or tolerance norms played a part in reducing gender disparities in diverse groups once the discussions themselves commenced. To fully understand these dynamics, further research needs to be conducted.

One potential limitation is that all mock juries discussed the same topic, a case of cross-racial sexual assault, which has both racial and gender-based implications. However, it is worth noting that despite the potential for race to be discussed, many groups did not address race in their deliberations at all (Sommers, 2006). As for the gender-based relevance, the topic of sexual assault, in and of itself, was not sufficient to give women in all-White groups more authority and influence, since they spoke less than the men in those groups. Rather, it was only in the racially-diverse groups that women engaged in more behavioral dominance. Future research should investigate whether these results apply to all topics of discussion or primarily to those with implications for particular social identities.

Questions also remain as to effects of different forms of racial diversity. Rather than setting up groups with two Black individuals and four White individuals, it remains to be seen what would occur in groups with different configurations, including individuals from Native American, Asian, Latino, and Middle Eastern backgrounds as well. Furthermore, although racially-diverse groups did produce more egalitarian gender dynamics than all-White groups, we cannot be certain how this would compare to groups composed entirely of ethnic minority members. Previous studies examining gender differences in behavioral dominance have drawn from predominantly White middle-class samples (Leaper & Ayres, 2007). Therefore, these questions remain unresolved but are worthy of further investigation.

The present findings highlight the importance of a relational and intersectional approach to understanding race and gender (e.g., Shelton & Richeson, 2006). No identity stands alone; rather, there are many ways in which race, gender, class, and other identities influence each other in terms of perception and experience (Babbitt, 2011; Cole, 2009). To better understand how a given social identity affects behavior, researchers must investigate how it may interact with other identities. These intersections of identities should be taken into account across a wide array of situations including classrooms, work groups, and of

course, the legal system. For example, men typically exercise more influence on juries than women (Marcus, Lyons, & Guyton, 2000; Strodtbeck & Mann, 1956); however, ensuring racial diversity on juries could contribute toward equalizing the influence exerted by all jury members regardless of gender, beyond the more obvious benefits in terms of racial equality and inclusion (see Sommers, 2008).

In the eight decades since Virginia Woolf wrote about the assumption of male superiority and the resulting impact on self-confidence and public influence, gender differences in status and behavioral dominance have largely persisted. This span of time has, however, seen dramatic increases in the racial diversity of our social spaces. This research demonstrates that racial diversity can shift gender dynamics, thereby indicating the flexible nature of confidence, influence, and status in group settings.

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