

## NICOLE M. STEPHENS

Kellogg School of Management  
Northwestern University  
2211 Campus Drive  
Evanston, IL 60208  
n-stephens@kellogg.northwestern.edu

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

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- 2015–Present    Tenured Associate Professor of Management and Organizations,  
Kellogg School of Management.
- 2013–2015      Untenured Associate Professor of Management and Organizations,  
Kellogg School of Management.
- 2010–2013      Assistant Professor of Management and Organizations, Kellogg School  
of Management.
- 2010–Present    Courtesy Appointment in Psychology, Northwestern University.

### EDUCATION

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- 2004–2010      Ph.D., Social Psychology, Stanford University.
- 1998–2002      B.A., Psychology, Williams College, *magna cum laude*.

### AWARDS & FELLOWSHIPS

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- 2017            APA Award for Early Career Contribution (Social Psychology).
- 2014            Louise Kidder Early Career Award.
- 2014            Otto Klineberg Intercultural and International Relations Award.
- 2014            Israel Organizational Behavior Conference, Best Paper Award.
- 2013            Stanley Reiter Best Paper Award, Kellogg School of Management.
- 2004            National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship.
- 2002            Fulbright Fellowship, University of Chile.
- 2002            Phi Beta Kappa, Williams College.

### GRANTS

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- 2017-2019      Templeton Foundation Grant, Diverse Intelligences Program,  
*Interdependence Promotes the Strengths of Employees from Working-  
class Contexts*, \$198,000.

## PUBLICATIONS

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1. Phillips, L. T., **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., & Goudeau, S. (accepted, pending minor revisions). How initial cultural mismatch affects first-generation students throughout college. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.
2. **Stephens**, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Townsend, S. S. M. (in press). Difference-education: Improving disadvantaged students' academic outcomes by changing their theory of difference. In G. Walton & A. Crum (Eds.) *Handbook of Wise Interventions: How Social-Psychological Insights Can Help Solve Problems*.
3. **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., Dittmann, A. G. (2018). Social class disparities in higher education and in the workplace: The role of cultural mismatch. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*.
4. **Stephens**, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2018). Difference matters: Teaching students a contextual theory of difference can help them succeed. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*.
5. Townsend, S. S. M., **Stephens**, N. M., Smallets, S., & Hamedani, M. G. (2018). Empowerment through difference: An online difference-education intervention closes the social class achievement gap. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*.
6. Bencharit, L. Z., Ho, Y. W., Fung, H., Yeung, D., **Stephens**, N., Romero-Canyas, R., & Tsai, J. L. (2018). Should job applicants be excited or calm?: The role of culture and ideal affect in employment settings. *Emotion*.
7. **Stephens**, N. M. (2017). Award to distinguished scientific early career contributions to psychology: Nicole M. Stephens. *American Psychological Association*.
8. Markus, H. R., & **Stephens**, N. M. (2017). Editorial overview: Inequality and social class: The psychological and behavioral consequences of inequality and social class: A theoretical integration. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 18, iv-xii.
9. Dittmann, A. G., & **Stephens**, N. M. (2017). Interventions aimed at closing the social class achievement gap in education: changing individuals, structures, and construals. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 18, 111-116.
10. Savani, K., **Stephens**, N. M., & Markus, H. R. (2017). Choice as an engine of analytic thought. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 146(9), 1234-1246.
11. **Stephens**, N. M., Dittmann, A. G., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2017). Social class and models of competence: How gateway institutions disadvantage working-class

- Americans and how to intervene. In C. Dweck, A. Elliot, & D. Yeager (Eds.), *Handbook of competence and motivation (2nd Edition): Theory and application*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
12. Jury, M., Smeding, A., **Stephens**, N. M., Nelson, J., Aelenei, C., & Darnon, C. (2017). The experience of Low-SES students in higher education: Psychological barriers to success and interventions to reduce social class inequality. *Journal of Social Issues*, *73*(1), 16-34.
  13. Apfelbaum, E. P., **Stephens**, N. M., & Reagans, R. (2016). Beyond one-size-fits-all: Tailoring diversity approaches to the representation of social groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *111*(4), 547-566.  
**\*Winner of Israel Organizational Behavior Conference Best Paper Award**
  14. **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2015). The norms that drive behavior: Implications for Cultural Mismatch Theory. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (commentary), *46*, 1304-1306.
  15. **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., Hamedani, M. G., Destin, M., & Manzo, V. (2015). A difference-education intervention equips first-generation students to thrive in the face of stressful college situations. *Psychological Science*, *26*, 1556-1566.
  16. **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2015). How can financial incentives improve the success of disadvantaged college students? Insights from the social sciences. In B. Castleman, S. Schwartz, & S. Baum (Eds.), *Decision making for student success: Behavioral insights to improve college access and persistence*. New York, NY: Routledge.
  17. **Stephens**, N. M., Brannon, T. N., Markus, H. R., & Nelson, J. E. (2015). Feeling at home in college: Fortifying school-relevant selves to reduce social class disparities in higher education. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *9*, 1-24.
  18. **Stephens**, N. M., Cameron, J., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2014). Lower social class does not (always) mean greater interdependence: Women in poverty have fewer social resources than working-class women. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *45*, 1060-1072.
  19. **Stephens**, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Destin, M. (2014). Closing the social-class achievement gap: A difference-education intervention improves first-generation college students' academic performance and all students' college transition. *Psychological Science*, *25*, 943-953.
  20. **Stephens**, N. M., Markus, H. M., & Phillips, L. T. (2014). Social class culture cycles: How three gateway contexts shape selves and fuel inequality. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *65*, 16.1-16.24.

21. **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M (2013). How can incentives improve the success of disadvantaged college students? Insights from the Social Sciences. Policy brief for a project sponsored by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation at the George Washington University.
22. **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2013). Rank is not enough: Why we need a sociocultural perspective to understand social class. *Psychological Inquiry*, *24*, 126-130.
23. **Stephens**, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., & Hamedani, M. G. (2013). Who explains Hurricane Katrina and the Chilean earthquake as an act of God? The experience of extreme hardship predicts religious meaning-making. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology*, *44*, 607-619.
24. **Stephens**, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Fryberg, S. A. (2012). Social class disparities in health and education: Reducing inequality by applying a Sociocultural Self Model of behavior. *Psychological Review*, *119*, 723-744.  
**\*Winner of Otto Klineberg Intercultural and International Relations Award**
25. Kraus, M.,\* & **Stephens**, N. M.\* (2012). A road map for an emerging psychology of social class. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *6*, 642-656. [\*equal authorship].
26. **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., Markus, H. R., & Phillips, T. (2012). A cultural mismatch: Independent cultural norms produce greater increases in cortisol and more negative emotions among first-generation college students. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *48*, 1389-1393.
27. **Stephens**, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Johnson, C., & Covarrubias, R. (2012). Unseen disadvantage: How American universities' focus on independence undermines the academic performance of first-generation college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*, 1178-1197.  
**\*Winner of Stanley Reiter Best Paper Award: judged to be the best paper among those published by the Kellogg faculty in the preceding four years**
28. **Stephens**, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., & Markus, H. R. (2012). It's your choice: How the Middle Class model of independence disadvantages Working Class Americans. In S. T. Fiske & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction* (pp. 87-106). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
29. Fryberg, S. A., **Stephens**, N. M., Covarrubias, R., Markus, H. R., Carter, E. D., Laiduc, G. A., & Salido, A. J. (2012). How the media frames the immigration debate: The critical role of location and politics. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, *12*, 96-112.

30. **Stephens**, N. M.,\* & Levine, C. S.\* (2011). Opting out or denying discrimination? How the framework of free choice in American society influences perceptions of gender inequality. *Psychological Science*, 22, 1231-1236. [\*equal authorship].
31. Savani, K., **Stephens**, N. M., & Markus, H. R. (2011). The unanticipated interpersonal and societal consequences of choice: Victim-blaming and reduced support for the public good. *Psychological Science*, 22, 795-802.
32. **Stephens**, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., & Markus, H. R. (2011). When choice does not equal freedom: A sociocultural analysis of agency in working-class American contexts. *Social and Personality Psychology Science*, 2, 33-41.
33. Fryberg, S. A., & **Stephens**, N. M. (2010). When the world is colorblind, American Indians are invisible. *Psychological Inquiry*, 21, 115-119.
34. Shepherd, H.,\* & **Stephens**, N. M.\* (2010). Using culture to explain behavior: An integrated cultural approach. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 73, 353-354. [\*equal authorship].
35. **Stephens**, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., Markus, H. R., Bergsieker, H. B., & Eloul, L. (2009). Why did they “choose” to stay? Perspectives of Hurricane Katrina observers and survivors. *Psychological Science*, 20, 878-886.
36. **Stephens**, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Townsend, S. S. M. (2007). Choice as an act of meaning: The case of social class. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93, 814-830.

## UNDER REVIEW

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37. Kennedy, J. A., McDonnell, M. H., & **Stephens**, N. M. (invited revision). Does gender raise the ethical bar? Exploring the punishment of ethical violations at work. *Organization Science*.
38. Dittmann, A. G., **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (invited revision). An interdependence advantage: Working together leads groups from working-class contexts to outperform groups from middle-class contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.
39. Birnbaum, H., **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., & Hamedani, M. G. (under review). A diversity ideology intervention: Multiculturalism reduces the racial achievement gap. *Psychological Science*.
40. Dittmann, A. G., Birnbaum, H., **Stephens**, N. M. (under review). College financial resources shape the impact of a cultural match for working-class students. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*.

41. Smallets, S., Townsend, S. S. M., & **Stephens**, N. M. (under review). Uncovering the light and dark sides of grit by separately considering its underlying facets. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*.

## WORKING PAPERS

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42. Dittmann, A. G., **Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. Working in middle-class organizations, but still working class: How social class background impacts subjective workplace experience.
43. **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Destin, M. Difference-education improves first-generation students' grades throughout college and increases enrollment in diversity courses.
44. Goudeau, S., **Stephens**, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Croizet, J. C. Toward an integrated socio-cultural understanding of inequality in education: A social class - academic contexts (mis)match model.
45. Carey, R. M., **Stephens**, N. M., Townsend, S. S. M. & Hamedani, M. Y. G. Do students take advantage of diversity in college? How intergroup interactions affect students' experiences and academic outcomes over time.

## SELECTED RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

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Cultural mismatch theory from college to the workplace; The impact of social class background on experience at work; Difference-education interventions in diverse university settings; Disentangling chronic social class from situational differences in status; Extending difference-education to women in business and racial achievement gaps in college; Social class and competence.

## ARTICLES FOR A POPULAR AUDIENCE

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- Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (January 16, 2019). The unseen reason working-class students drop out. *Politico*.
- Stephens**, N. M. (September 14, 2018). Why do people stay when a hurricane comes? *The New York Times*.
- Stephens**, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. M. (May 22, 2017). Research: How you feel about individualism is influenced by your social class. *Harvard Business Review*.
- Stephens**, N. M., & Apfelbaum, E. (August 16, 2016). The real reasons diversity programs don't work. *Fortune*.

**Stephens**, N. M., Hamedani, M. G., & Destin, M. (March 18, 2014). Talk about class. *InsideHighered.com*

Savani, K., **Stephens**, N. M., & Markus, H. R. (May 4, 2011). Stories of choice in India and the US. *Livemint.com*

## INVITED TALKS

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- 2019 University of California San Diego, Social Mobility Symposium
- 2019 New York University Wagner School of Public Service Seminar Series
- 2018 OneGoal, presentation to organization's employees
- 2018 Mindset Scholars Network Funders Briefing
- 2018 Kellogg Global Women's Summit
- 2018 Forefront: Engaging for Impact Research Briefing
- 2018 Harvard Higher Education Leaders Forum
- 2018 Goethe University (Frankfurt, Germany), Psychology Colloquium
- 2018 Rotman School of Management Seminar Series
- 2017 Brown University, Cognitive, Linguistic, and Psychological Sciences Colloquium
- 2017 University of British Columbia, Social Psychology Seminar Series
- 2016 Global Advisory Board, Kellogg School of Management
- 2016 Wharton Decision Processes Seminar Series
- 2016 Yale School of Management, Organizations and Management Seminar Series
- 2015 OneGoal, presentation to program administrators
- 2015 Bias Interrupters Working Group, University of California Hastings
- 2015 Chief Diversity Officer Summit, Kellogg School of Management
- 2015 University of Wisconsin, Institute of Education Sciences Seminar
- 2015 Princeton University, Inequality Science Series
- 2015 London Business School Forum on Social Psychological Intervention
- 2015 Brown University, Inter-Ivy First Generation College Student Conference
- 2015 University of Poitiers (France) Psychology Department Seminar
- 2015 University of California Irvine, Diverse Educational Community and Doctoral Experience Speaker Series
- 2015 United States Department of Education, Student Support Services Webinar
- 2015 Radcliffe Institute Seminar on Collective Social Identities and Good Society
- 2015 University of California San Diego, Rady School of Management, Power, Status, and Influence Conference
- 2014 Harvard Business School, Organizational Behavior Seminar
- 2014 Northwestern University, Trustee Lunch on Diversity and Inclusion
- 2014 University of Washington Foster School of Business Seminar
- 2014 University of California Santa Barbara, Sage Center for the Study of the Mind
- 2014 Stanford Graduate School of Business, Marketing Seminar
- 2014 London Business School, Organizational Behavior Seminar
- 2014 MIT Sloan School of Management, Organization Studies Seminar
- 2014 Emory University Goizueta Business School, Management Seminar
- 2014 University of Washington, Social Psychology Colloquium
- 2014 Princeton University, Panel on Inequality and Social Class Divides

- 2014 Kellogg School of Management, Marketing Doctoral Consortium
- 2014 Haas School of Business, Management of Organizations Seminar
- 2014 Claremont Graduate University, Panel on Applied Social Psychology
- 2013 Kellogg School of Management, Marketing Seminar
- 2013 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Panel on Access to Higher Education
- 2013 Stanford Graduate School of Business, Organizational Behavior Seminar
- 2013 Harvard Business School, Negotiation, Organization, and Markets Seminar
- 2013 Columbia Business School, Management Seminar
- 2013 University of Michigan, Research Center for Group Dynamics Speaker Series
- 2012 Duke Fuqua School of Business, Management Speaker Series
- 2012 University of Chicago Booth School of Business, Behavioral Science Seminar
- 2012 Summer Seminar, Higher Education Marketing and Management
- 2012 University of Kansas, Presentation to university administrators
- 2012 University of Kansas, Social Psychology Brownbag
- 2012 University of Illinois Chicago, Social Psychology Brownbag
- 2011 University of Wisconsin, Psychology Colloquium
- 2011 University of Chicago, Social Psychology Seminar
- 2011 University of Maryland, Multidisciplinary University Research Initiative
- 2010 Northwestern University, Social Psychology Seminar
- 2010 Russell Sage Foundation, Panel on Social Class and Intergroup Relations
- 2009 Harvard University Law School, Conference on Law and Mind Sciences
- 2008 Stanford University, Consortium on Financing Higher Education
- 2007 Colby College, Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement

## **CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS**

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- 2018 Templeton Foundation Diverse Intelligences conference, St. Andrews, Scotland
- 2017 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, San Antonio, TX
- 2016 Academy of Management annual conference, Anaheim, CA
- 2015 American Educational Research Association annual conference, Chicago, IL
- 2015 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, Long Beach, CA
- 2014 Academy of Management annual conference, Philadelphia, PA
- 2014 European Association of Social Psychology annual conference, Amsterdam, NL
- 2013 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, New Orleans, LA
- 2012 Society of Experimental Social Psychology annual conference, Austin, TX
- 2012 Association for Psychological Science annual conference, Chicago, IL
- 2012 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, San Diego, CA
- 2011 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, San Antonio, TX
- 2010 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, Las Vegas, NV
- 2009 Association for Psychological Science annual conference, San Francisco, CA
- 2009 Center for the Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, CA
- 2008 Society for Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, Albuquerque, NM
- 2007 Expanding Horizons of Cultural Psychology Conference, Stanford, CA
- 2007 Society for Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, Memphis, TN
- 2006 American Psychological Association annual conference, New Orleans, LA
- 2006 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, Palm Springs, CA



- 2006 RAND/NSF Hurricane Katrina Research Meeting, Washington, DC  
2005 Society of Personality and Social Psychology annual conference, New Orleans, LA  
2005 Society for the Study of Human Development, Asilomar, CA

## **SELECTED MEDIA COVERAGE**

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*Vox*, August 3, 2018

*Vox*, September 11, 2017

*Harvard Business Review*, August 8, 2016

*New York Times*, April 8, 2015

*Cafe.com*, January 6, 2015

*Huffington Post*, June 9, 2014

*Reuters*, February 24, 2014

*Huffington Post*, January 15, 2014

*Philly.com*, August 6, 2013

*NBC News*, August 30, 2012

*Washington Post*, April 26, 2012

*New York Times*, March 12, 2012

*Insider Higher Education*, March 1, 2012

*MSNBC*, October 17, 2011

*Huffington Post*, August 30, 2011

*Journal and Courier*, August 14, 2011

*Financial Times*, July 29, 2011

*AOL.com (AOL Jobs)*, July 29, 2011

*Huffington Post*, July 4, 2011

*Psychology Today*, July 3, 2011

*Smartmoney.com*, May 27, 2011

*Discover Magazine*, May 7, 2011

*Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 2009

*Los Angeles Times*, September 5, 2009

*Miller-McCune*, August 28, 2009

*Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Fall 2009

*New York Times Magazine*, February 26, 2006

## **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

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Northwestern University, Kellogg School of Management:

Negotiations, Instructor, Full-time and Part-time MBAs, Spring 2010-present.

Negotiations Instructor, Executive Education Programs, Fall 2013-present.

The Individual and the Organization, PhD Seminar Instructor, Fall 2015 & 2016.

Summer Institute for Social and Personality Psychology:

Psychology of Inequality, Instructor, Summer 2017

Stanford University, Psychology Department:

Introduction to Social Psychology, Co-Instructor, Summer 2007.

Mind, Culture, and Society Seminar, Guest Lecturer, Winter 2006 & 2007.

## **ADVISING EXPERIENCE**

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### **Dissertation Committee**

Soroush Aslani, MORS, Northwestern University

Jiyin Cao, MORS, Northwestern University

Maureen Craig, Psychology, Northwestern University

Erika Hall, MORS, Northwestern University

Dennis Hsu, MORS, Northwestern University

Ella Washington, MORS, Northwestern University (primary adviser)

Vida Manzo, Psychology, Northwestern University

Alex Browman, Psychology, Northwestern University

Sébastien Goudeau, Psychology, University of Poitiers

Andrea Dittmann, MORS, Northwestern University (primary adviser)

Lydia Emery, Psychology, Northwestern University

### **Candidacy Paper Committee**

Erika Hall, MORS, Northwestern University

Ella Washington, MORS, Northwestern University

Sunny Kim, MORS, Northwestern University

Andrea Dittmann, MORS, Northwestern University (primary adviser)

Jessica Nelson, MORS, Northwestern University (primary adviser)

Hannah Birnbaum, MORS, Northwestern University (primary adviser)

## **EDITORIAL SERVICE**

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### **Editorial Board Member:**

*Frontiers in Psychology*  
*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*

### **Editor:**

*Current Opinion in Psychology, "Social Class and Inequality" Special Edition*

### **Ad-hoc Reviewer (Journals):**

*American Psychologist*  
*Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*  
*Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*  
*Journal of Experimental Psychology*  
*Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*  
*Journal of Adolescent Research*  
*Journal of Marketing Research*  
*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*  
*Journal of Social and Political Psychology*  
*Journal of Social Issues*  
*Law and Society Review*  
*Learning and Individual Differences*  
*Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*  
*Personality and Social Psychology Review*  
*Proceedings of The National Academy of Sciences*  
*Psychological Review*  
*Psychological Science*  
*Psychology and Aging*  
*Sex Roles*  
*Social Psychology Quarterly*  
*Qualitative Sociology*

### **Ad-hoc Reviewer (Grants):**

*Social Psychology Program*  
*National Science Foundation*  
*Education and Social Opportunity*  
*Spencer Foundation*  
*Center for Decision Research*  
*University of Chicago Booth School of Business*

### **Ad-hoc Reviewer (Books):**

*Oxford University Press*  
**PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

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PhD Admissions Committee (MORS)

Chair, 2017 – 2019

Member, 2015 – 2016

Kellogg Global Women's Summit Planning Committee, 2017 – 2018

Hiring Committee

Post-Doc Committee, 2013 – 2015

Junior Faculty Committee, 2013 – 2014; 2017 – 2018

Senior Faculty Committee (Chair), 2017 – 2018

Senior Faculty Search Committee, 2016 – 2017

Tenure Review Committee, 2015 – 2018

MORS Speaker Series Organizer, 2013 – 2014

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

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Marketing Consultant, Widgetbox, Inc., Internet start-up, San Francisco, CA., Winter 2007.

Textbook Consultant, *Social Psychology* (S. S. Brehm, S. M. Kassin, & S. Fein: Editors; Houghton Mifflin Company: Publisher), 2006.

Research Analyst, Marketing and Planning Systems, Marketing Consulting Firm, Waltham, MA., Sept. 2003 – May 2004.

Fulbright Scholar, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile. August – June 2003.

Research Associate, The Parthenon Group, Strategy Consulting Firm, Boston, MA. Summer 2001.

**WORKING GROUPS**

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The Bias Interrupters Working Group: seeks to reduce bias against women and racial minorities in the workplace.

The Harvard Higher Education Leaders Forum: seeks to solve problems in higher education through evidence-based solutions.

The Mindset Scholars Network: seeks to expand educational opportunity through the science of psychological intervention.

## **PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

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Academy of Management

Association for Psychological Science

American Psychological Association

International Association for Conflict Management

Society for Personality and Social Psychology

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues