

An Image of Society: Gender and Racial Representation and Impact in Image Search Results for Occupations

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Algorithmically-mediated content is both a product and producer of dominant social narratives, and it has the potential to impact users' beliefs and behaviors. We present two studies on the content and impact of gender and racial representation in image search results for common occupations. In Study 1, we compare 2020 workforce gender and racial composition to that reflected in image search. We find evidence of underrepresentation on both dimensions: women are underrepresented in search at a rate of 42% women for a field with 50% women; people of color are underrepresented with 16% in search compared to an occupation with 22% people of color (the latter being proportional to the U.S. workforce). We also compare our gender representation data with that collected in 2015 by Kay et al., finding little improvement in the last half-decade. In Study 2, we study people's impressions of occupations and sense of belonging in a given field when shown search results with different proportions of women and people of color. We find that both axes of representation as well as people's own racial and gender identities impact their experience of image search results. We conclude by emphasizing the need for designers and auditors of algorithms to consider the disparate impacts of algorithmic content on users of marginalized identities.

CCS Concepts: • **Human-centered computing** → *Empirical studies in HCI; Laboratory experiments.*

Additional Key Words and Phrases: Algorithm audit; search media; marginalized identities; algorithmic bias

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the possibility for algorithms to perpetuate harmful biases—often silently—has drawn increased attention from users, the media, and lawmakers. A wide range of algorithms, from those used in the criminal justice system [9] to online market places [24] to search algorithms [30] are coming under scrutiny, and for good reason. Algorithmic systems are ubiquitous and affect us unconsciously; search engines, in particular, are powerful mediators of information, becoming

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so widely used that some argue for considering Google Search a public utility [40]. Prior work has found that content consumed through search is usually highly trusted and can even change people's political beliefs and voting behaviors [17].

The opacity of these systems and the ephemerality of the content they produce makes studying algorithmic systems a challenge. One method used in this domain is the *algorithm audit*. Algorithm audits, based on the tradition of audit studies in the social sciences, involve repeatedly querying an algorithm and observing its outputs in order to draw conclusions about the algorithm's inner workings without directly observing that internal process. Algorithm audits are particularly effective tools for studying bias and discrimination in sociotechnical systems like search engines, video platforms, employment and housing platforms, and online advertising. As such, they have been leveraged by researchers in the CSCW and CHI communities to study biases and disparities along the lines of gender [7], race [1], and political affiliation [44] among other categories. Notably, however, scholars have pointed out that race and its intersection with other identity categories continues to be under-addressed [18, 21]. We use the algorithm audit method to study gender and race in Google Image Search, a query service that allows users to search for images using keywords, powered by Google's computer vision algorithms, which extract concepts and keywords from images found online [16].

In 2015, Kay et al. published an algorithm audit of gender representation in Google Image Search, finding some evidence that women were underrepresented in search results for common occupations (e.g., searching for “engineer” or “author”), relative to the rate of women's participation in those fields. In the years following that publication, social movements for equality, such as the Black Lives Matter movement and the #MeToo movement, against racial and gendered violence respectively, have gained strength and publicity. This momentum towards examining social inequities has extended into the realm of algorithms, for instance with Safiya Umoja Noble's book *Algorithms of Oppression*, which describes the causes and impact of racially biased algorithms [35]. Further, with suspicions that algorithmically-targeted content could have influenced recent U.S. elections in 2016 and 2020, pressure has mounted on Google and other information gatekeepers. Responding to these and other pressures, Google announced refinements to their algorithms over the last three years with goals like “[surfacing] more authoritative content” [22], and introducing fact-checking for image search [11].

Given the efficacy of the method established in Kay et al. for studying gender, the subsequent social and technical shifts, and keeping in mind the relative dearth of similar research examining race, we ask: how does the representation of marginalized groups, specifically women and people of color, compare to the representation of dominant groups in Google Image Search results? Has gender representation, for which Kay et al. published data in 2015, improved in the last half-decade? Are marginalized races also underrepresented in Image Search? And how do gender and racial representation in image search results influence users' perceptions of the world and sense of belonging in it? In this work, we present two studies seeking to answer these questions. We make four primary contributions:

- (1) *Women remain as underrepresented in Image Search in 2020 as in 2015.* In Study 1, we conduct an audit of Google Image Search results for common occupations, adhering closely to the method established in Kay et al. We then compare gender representation in Google Image Search with 2020 data on occupation demographics from the U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics (BLS). We find continued evidence of the systematic overrepresentation of men in image search results, and do not find evidence that this measure has improved since 2015.
- (2) *People of color are underrepresented in image search for occupations.* We develop and apply a similar algorithm audit method to study racial representation in image search results in

comparison to BLS data, where we find even stronger systematic overrepresentation of the dominant group, white people, relative to people of color.

- (3) *Gender and racial composition in search images influences participants' beliefs about occupations.* In Study 2, we expose participants to sample image search results representing a set of occupations in which women and people of color are heavily underrepresented. We vary the gender and racial composition of these synthetic search results to measure the impact of a range of levels of representation on people's perception of demographics in those occupations. We find that increasing the proportion of women or people of color in images linearly increased participants' estimates of gender and racial representation in those occupations, underscoring the importance of search results in shaping users' views of the world.
- (4) *Participants' own gender and racial identities influence how search images affect their beliefs about occupations.* Further, we study participants' self-reported level of interest in each occupation, perception of its inclusivity, and expectations of whether they would be valued in that field; importantly, unlike most prior work we examine these trends in the context of participants' own gender and racial identities. Here we find that participants' own gender and race, as well as both gender and racial composition of search images, impacts their perceptions of an occupation and their own psychological sense of place in it.

In the remainder of the paper, we first review relevant prior literature, state our research questions, and subsequently detail the method and discuss the findings of both studies before concluding.

RELATED WORK

We draw our conceptual foundation from fields including media studies, race and ethnic studies, and sociology, in particular focusing on the communication of culture, including bias and stereotypes, through visual cues. We also connect to previous algorithm audit work in computer and information science to contextualize this research.

Algorithmic fairness, bias, and representation

Like much work in algorithmic fairness, underlying our goal of studying composition and impact of algorithmic content is the normative assumption that *fair* treatment of different gender and racial identities is the desired outcome. But concepts and terms like “fair” or “biased” are fraught, carrying different meanings by discipline and presenting challenges to define, let alone measure [13]. In this work, we adopt the definition suggested by AI fairness researcher Kate Crawford, who defines bias broadly as a skew that produces harm, including the sub-category of *representational harm*: when a system perpetuates or exaggerates social inequalities along identity lines.

Following this framing, in our work we assert that the systematic exclusion of marginalized people from image search results is a form of representational harm. Consistent with prior work, we operationalize this idea by measuring *representational bias*—specifically comparing the rate of representation of people from marginalized identity groups in image search results to their actual rate of participation in the workforce [26]. In particular, we focus on marginalized genders (women and non-binary people) and races (non-white people, equivalently termed people of color). In this work, we use terms like “bias” or “underrepresentation” flexibly to refer to this concept of representational bias. We avoid terms like “diversity” except when engaging with prior work that specifically uses such language, since diversity's focus on the mere presence of different groups, rather than the degree or nature of their representation, has been rightfully criticized as insufficient for meaningful social change [48, 49].

Studying bias in the context of images

Race and gender are highly visible attributes: the body and visual cues such as skin color, hair texture, and facial features convey information that helps viewers identify and classify others [49]. Diversity studies scholarship has largely focused on analyzing language; despite the ubiquity of visual media, images have often been overlooked [49]. But images can convey information instantaneously, considerably and unconsciously affecting viewers' beliefs. Mere exposure to an image, without any textual information, is enough to influence viewers' attitudes [32]. In one high-stakes example of racial representational bias in media, legal scholar Perry Moriearty has argued that the overrepresentation of Black youth in the media as criminals has led to disproportionately stricter policing and harsher sentencing [33]. Given the visual salience of race and gender (though subjective to the viewer), the mosaic of images presented in image search results has the potential to powerfully and unconsciously influence perceptions of the object of query and of the world.

Visual diversity has been long-studied in advertising and marketing. Organizations like universities or companies may exaggerate their diversity, using marketing materials to make themselves more attractive to prospective students [39], employees [2], or customers [15]. This strategy is meant to appeal to people of underrepresented identities, inviting them to imagine themselves in the place of racialized or gendered figures in an advertisement [39]. Further, exaggerating the representation of a marginalized group also acts as a cue signalling "evidence of nondiscrimination, as well as evidence that one's identity is valued" [42]. This is not limited to the particular minority group being overrepresented; for instance, researchers found that LGBT-friendly advertising signalled to consumers that a firm was also race- and gender-inclusive, despite making no explicit mention of those categories [15].

The purposeful persuasive intent in advertising contrasts with the seemingly impartial nature of search engine results. Search engines today are like infrastructure, "ubiquitously and deeply embedded, robust, widely shared, widely accessible, and essential" [40]. The production of search results is hidden and invisible to users, many of whom do not think twice about the process that provides answers to their queries, just as the infrastructure of plumbing and water regulation is overlooked when one turns on a tap [46]. As with other infrastructure, there is value to scrutinizing these inner machinations: to quote the late sociologist and CSCW researcher Susan Leigh Star, "[if you] study an information system and neglect its standards, wires, and settings, and you miss equally essential aspects of aesthetics, justice and change" [46].

Search engines draw from and contribute to cultural narratives

Search engines are powerful mediators of information, with Google Search in particular dominating the market in the United States; as of 2019, the estimated international market share of Google was as high as 90%, with Baidu coming in a distant second at approximately 3% [47]. With such pervasive and repeated use, search engines can perpetuate existing norms or stereotypes, presenting them in a format that is widely used and trusted by users.

Unfortunately, these narratives are frequently biased and discriminatory. The "colorblind fantas[y] of the web" is a myth; recent research has shown that social prejudices and inequalities are embedded in technological systems [23]. As Kay et al. demonstrated in 2015, image search results exaggerate gender stereotypes of occupations [26]. Researchers studying Google's auto-complete suggestions also found evidence of racist, sexist, and homophobic stereotypes [4]. In one example, an innocuous search for "unprofessional hairstyles for work" returned images of black women's hair [35]; in another, searches for racially associated names were more likely to result in ads at the top of the search page suggestive of an arrest record [50]. In addition to the content generated by

the search algorithm, users' own interactions—from the wording of queries to interactions with the system over time—can introduce bias [6, 28].

Algorithms' psychological and behavioral effects on users

While much work has studied the technological aspects of the algorithms themselves, comparatively less discussion has focused on “algorithms in practice” [9], and the impact of these systems on user behaviors and beliefs. Some prior work in this domain has studied political preferences, finding that search rankings can sway undecided voters [17]. Outside the context of search, research has found that visual cues in technical systems can also unconsciously influence users' psychology, for instance by triggering stereotype threat [10, 34] or threatening their sense of belonging [8, 31].

Such work has shown that these unconsciously-communicated signals can lead to negative real-world outcomes like lowering course performance or causing learners to self-select out of a learning environment [27]. Other work in sociology shows that cultural beliefs, including stereotypes, contribute to differential assessments of one's own competence, and subsequent changes in career aspirations [12]. The relationship of biased content consumption with users' own cognitive and psychological biases is bidirectional: prior work has also found evidence that users' own biases impact their consumption of image search content—finding, for instance, that “people who are rated as more sexist according to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory measure are less likely to recognize gender biases in image search” [38].

Auditing Google Image Search

The potential for unintended harm to users of search and to society as a whole has motivated researchers to critically examine algorithmic systems. The *algorithm audit* technique allows us to probe an algorithm with carefully-chosen inputs and, by monitoring its outputs, to draw conclusions about its opaque inner workings [45]. There are many approaches to conducting search algorithm audits, including ethnographic and qualitative approaches [51] and centralized data collection approaches [5]. Given the rate at which these algorithms change, auditors must often collect and compare data longitudinally [43], or even daily [30, 44].

This paper applies and extends Kay et al.'s 2015 audit methodology to quantify gender bias and racial bias in occupation queries in 2020. In their work, Kay et al. investigated gender representation in search image results for different occupations. They compared the proportion of men and women in the image results to actual 2015 workforce proportions, and examined qualitative differences in the ways men and women were portrayed in the images. Acknowledging the influence that search engine results have on users, Kay et al. also studied how different levels of gender diversity in search results affected users' perceptions of the occupation and the search engine. This prior work identified a systematic underrepresentation of women in Google Image Search results, and found that the gender distribution of a results page could determine 7% of a person's resulting estimate of the prevalence of women in a given occupation. The effectiveness of Kay et al.'s audit naturally raises the question of whether this method can be adapted to study other categories of difference. For instance, race has been relatively less studied and, given the immense social harms of racism, it is certainly a topic meritorious of attention in its own right. Given that Kay et al. also established the effect of such images on users' expectations about the external world, one might ask whether image results interact with users' internal states, such as psychological experience or social identity.

Determining representation in visual media is challenging—image labels from outside observers, as are generally collected in such studies, do not truly capture the identities held by the individuals in those images. Moreover, perception of categories like racial or gender identity may vary greatly between viewers. Given these issues, why is representation worth studying? Prior work in media

studies has argued that people’s identities and senses of self are constructed “in relation to others and through symbolic structures,” including forms of mass media (like search media) [20]. In other words, a viewer’s impression of the identity of a person in an image allows them to see themselves in the place of that person; this *symbolic mirroring* is a central reason that representation matters [39]. A related concept from science and technology studies is *situated knowledge*, the idea that the production and consumption of content reflects “particular and specific embodiments”—the identities held and lived experience—of the viewer [25]. These key media studies concepts clarify the theoretical importance of studying perceived visual diversity in sociotechnical systems, especially as it relates to marginalized users.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Study 1: Comparing representation in image search results with the U.S. workforce

In Study 1, we compare the distribution of race and gender in common occupations from Google Image Search results with prevalence in the U.S. workforce. We focus specifically on the U.S. workforce (and consistently use U.S.-based annotators in Study 1 and participants in Study 2) in order to compare longitudinally with Kay et al., and also as an attempt to control cultural expectations and assumptions regarding representation and occupations that could impact the images collected, crowdsourced data annotations, and participant judgements. We ask:

- (1) Do search results accurately represent the 2020 U.S. workforce in terms of representation of gender and race? We hypothesize, given results from 2015, that there will be evidence in our data that women and people of color (POC) are underrepresented in 2020.
- (2) Comparing with available 2015 data on gender representation, has the representation of women in image search results improved in the last half-decade? We hypothesize that, in light of recent social movements and political attention to these issues, search results will be more accurately representative than they were in 2015.

Study 2: Search results’ impact on users’ perceptions of occupations and themselves

Next we conduct a randomized controlled experiment with participants, focusing on occupations where gender and racial disparities are most extreme. We examine the effect of image search results on people’s perceptions of occupations, and their impact on people’s sense of their own place in those fields. We ask:

- (1) Does increasing the representation of women and POC in search results impact participants’ estimates of true rates of representation in those fields? In keeping with previous work, we expect that such representation will have a positive, linear relationship with estimates.
- (2) Does the representation of women and POC in search impact a participant’s sense of belonging in an occupation? We hypothesize that increasing the representation of marginalized people in search results will increase outcome measures such as interest in the occupation, perception of the occupation as inclusive, and expectation that people of one’s own race and gender would be valued therein, in particular for women and POC.
- (3) How do different axes of identity interact to affect participants’ experiences of search results? People simultaneously hold both gender and racial identities; similarly, the images of people used in our experimental conditions reflect both gender and race. Given previous literature on belonging (e.g., [8, 31]), we expect outcome effects to be mediated by participants’ own racial and gender identities. Therefore, we predict that each of these four characteristics—participant gender, participant race, gender composition in the stimulus images, and racial composition in the images—significantly contribute to participants’ responses.

STUDY 1: REPRESENTATION IN IMAGE SEARCH

In Study 1, we examine gender representation in image search results relative to representation in the workforce, and compare with Kay et al.'s data from 2015. Our findings, in order of our research questions, are: (1) image search results underrepresent both women and people of color relative to 2020 U.S. population rates, and (2) women's representation in search results has not increased since 2015; in fact, women are slightly more underrepresented than before.

Study 1 Method

In the following sections, we describe the process for collecting and annotating gender and race in images. In both of these analysis pipelines, recent data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) [36, 37] was used to establish the demographics of the U.S. labor force in 2019.¹ Next, we describe the process for selecting occupations, collecting image data, and annotating representation.

Annotating gender representation. First, we selected a set of occupations of interest, and search query terms for them. This set was based on Kay et al.'s collected data of 45 occupations, plus an additional 7 in case it was not possible to accurately label enough images for the original set. Search terms were matched to the respective BLS categories (e.g., the BLS category "Police and sheriff's patrol officers" mapped to the search term "police officer").

Next, we collected a dataset of image search results by scraping the top 100 Google Image search results using those queries in August 2019.² To avoid in-session personalization effects, we ensured that our scrapers were as anonymous as possible, using Selenium WebDriver with a separate incognito scraping session for each occupation's results. (Other forms of personalization in Google Search have been found to be relatively minimal [44].)

We then recruited crowdworkers through Amazon Mechanical Turk to annotate these images for (1) the quantity of people in the image (none, one, or multiple), and (2) the gender of people in the image (women, men, children, or unclear—checking all that applied).³

To match the U.S.-based scraping of results and workforce data, crowdworkers were filtered to U.S. location; to control for data quality, they were required to have over 1000 approved tasks, and an approval rate over 95%. Each image was labeled by two annotators, and a third was recruited in the case of disagreement to achieve a majority vote (if none emerged, the image was dropped and excluded from future analysis). This resulted in an average of 60 annotated images per occupation; one distant outlier, "welder," had only 5 (it largely featured people in full-welding attire whose gender and race could not be determined), and was dropped. This resulted in 51 occupations to be analyzed for gender representation.

Annotating racial representation. We adapted this method to examine the distribution of race in images. While the assumption of a gender binary is already tenuous and simplifying, racial identity is very multi-dimensional and hard for viewers to consistently label from appearance. Acknowledging this complexity, our focus in this work was to collect data relevant to the representation of marginalized people in image search, so we asked crowdworkers to annotate (1) the quantity of people in the image (none, one, or multiple), and (2) the race of people in the image (white,

¹For all occupations, we used the most recent data available, which in most cases was from 2019; in the case of two occupations, opticians and telemarketers, this data was from 2018.

²For the sake of clarity, throughout this paper we refer to the date of the Kay et al. study, published in 2015, as 2015, although their data was collected in 2014 and compared to BLS data from 2012. Also for clarity, we reference the date of our data, collected five years later, as 2020, though the scraped dataset and BLS data are both from 2019.

³As we discuss elsewhere in the paper, While gender identity is not a binary and gender presentation is a separate axis entirely, our method makes this simplifying assumption for the sake of comparison with binary BLS data.

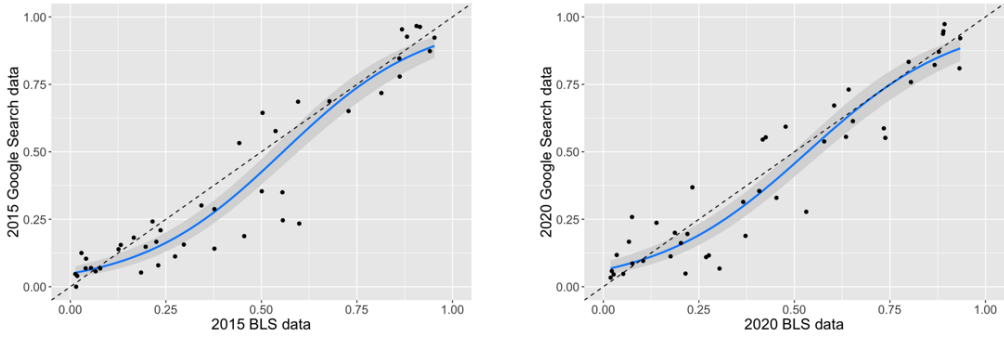


Fig. 1. Stereotyped models (with a slight S-shaped curve representing stereotype exaggeration) fitting real-world data from the BLS with search data, comparing changes in representation of women in occupations from 2015 (left) to 2020 (right).

non-white, or unknown—checking all that applied). (We did not ask annotators to identify whether images contained children, since this only caused ambiguity specific to gender annotation.)

Similar to the annotation for gender representation, we sought consensus from annotators and dropped occupations for which there were not enough images where annotators agreed on the racial representation. As anticipated, the multi-dimensionality of racial identity complicated consensus, resulting in 40 occupations for racial representation analysis.

Data validation. For both the subset of 51 occupations in which we study gender and 40 in which we examine race, we validate that this subset of occupations is not statistically significantly different from the overall list of over 500 occupations provided by the BLS. To do so, we conduct a series of Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests comparing the BLS-reported distribution of gender and ethnicity representation in the gender and race occupation subsets with the superset of all occupations, using bootstrap p -values to allow for non-continuous distributions and ties. We did not find evidence that our two data subsets were significantly different from the set of all BLS occupations, and therefore felt comfortable proceeding to use these subsets in the following analyses.

Specifically, in our dataset of 51 occupations for studying gender representation, we found no significant differences from the full BLS data set in all categories supplied by the BLS: gender distribution ($D_{(51,564)} = 0.094, p = 0.793$), distribution of Asian people ($D_{(51,564)} = 0.119, p = 0.461$), distribution of Black or African-American people ($D_{(51,564)} = 0.064, p = 0.978$), or distribution of Hispanic/Latinx people ($D_{(51,564)} = 0.139, p = 0.332$). In our dataset of 40 occupations for studying racial representation, we again found no significant differences from the full BLS data set in gender distribution ($D_{(40,564)} = 0.120, p = 0.659$), distribution of Asian people ($D_{(40,564)} = 0.139, p = 0.443$), distribution of Black or African-American people ($D_{(40,564)} = 0.092, p = 0.894$), or distribution of Hispanic/Latinx people ($D_{(40,564)} = 0.164, p = 0.277$).

Study 1 Findings

We begin by comparing Google Image Search results with BLS data to identify whether there is evidence of stereotype exaggeration or systematic under-representation of women or people of color. We find evidence of under-representation on both axes—in an occupation of 50% women, our model predicts 42% of images would be of women, and in an occupation of 22% people of color, it predicts 16% would contain people of color (50% women and 22% POC are baselines proportional to overall workforce participation rates).

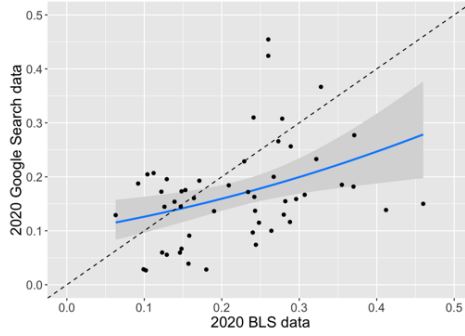


Fig. 2. Model fitting real-world data from the BLS with search data, comparing the representation of people of color in image search results for occupations with BLS data in 2020. (Note the different axis limits from Figure 1.)

Next, we compare gender representation in Google Image Search in 2015 to 2020 to ascertain whether the degree of women’s under-representation has lessened in that time. After accounting for changes in the underlying population, we do not find evidence to support our hypothesis that 2020 data would be more representative than 2015 data.

Under-representation and stereotype exaggeration. Following Kay et al., we investigate *stereotype exaggeration*, the idea that discrepancies between ground truth and image search data would be greatest at the extremes. To do so, we fit two models to the data, one with an S-shaped curve that captures stereotype exaggeration, and the other without. The stereotyped model regressed the logit of the proportion of the marginalized group in search on the proportion reported by the BLS, while the non-stereotyped model regresses the logit of the proportion in search on the *logit* of the proportion reported by the BLS.

We compare the two models using Vuong’s test for closeness of fit for non-nested models, and find that for gender, the stereotyped model is a significantly better fit ($z = 1.85, p = 0.03$), and that for race neither model is preferred ($z = 1.17, p = 0.12$). Given these results, we conclude that there is some evidence of stereotype exaggeration in the gender dataset, though we cannot conclude the same in the race dataset. In the next analysis quantifying the degree of under-representation, we use the stereotyped models, visualized in Figures 1 (featuring gender, alongside the model used in Kay et al. fitted to the 2015 dataset) and 2 (featuring race).

Does image search reflect BLS data in 2020? Having chosen models representing the relationship between image search and BLS representation, we examine them to interpret the degree of marginalized underrepresentation in our data. To do so, we check whether the coefficient of the model’s intercept is significantly different from zero when the x-intercept is set to 50% women in the BLS, or 22% people of color (values that would reflect workforce-proportional representation). We report the intercepts along with their estimated effects (unstandardized coefficients, b), 95% confidence intervals, t -statistics, and p -values below.

- Gender: The intercept has a significant effect in this model ($b = -0.31$, 95% CI: $[-0.52, -0.11]$, $t_{50} = -2.96, p = 0.005$), corresponding to an odds ratio of approximately 0.73 (95% CI: $[0.59, 0.90]$). In other words, in an occupation with 50% women, we would expect about 42% of search images to be women on average (95% CI: $[37.4\%, 47.4\%]$).
- Race: The intercept also has a significant effect in this model ($b = -1.63$, 95% CI: $[-1.80, -1.47]$, $t_{39} = -19.48, p < 0.001$), corresponding to an odds ratio of approximately 0.20 (95% CI: $[0.17,$



Fig. 3. Comparing changes in the proportion of women in the force and in search, by occupation, between 2015 and 2020, with the dashed $x = y$ diagonal representing a perfect correspondence between BLS and search gender representation.

0.23]). In an occupation with 22% people of color, we would expect an average of about 16% of search images of people of color on average (95% CI: [14.2%, 18.7%]).

Five years later: Comparing 2020 to 2015. We next compare our data to Kay et al. data from 2015 to determine whether image search results have improved in that time. We only perform this analysis for gender, since we do not have search or BLS racial composition data from 2015.

Initially, we can naively perform a pairwise comparison for each occupation in common between the two datasets to test whether the representation of women is higher in 2020—which on average was 41.4%—than it was in 2015—when it was, on average, 37.3%. A paired Wilcoxon signed rank test indicates that the proportion of women in image search results is statistically significantly higher in 2020 ($z = -2.81, p < 0.01$). However, this analysis does not take into consideration shifts in the representation of women in occupations in real life, which has also improved. A paired Wilcoxon signed rank test for proportion of women in BLS data indicates that there has also been an increase in the prevalence of women in the workforce from an average of 41.6% to an average of 43.4%.

To control for this shift in the workforce, we instead consider whether search data is any closer to proportional to real life than it was before. To do so, we compute a distance measure by subtracting search from BLS for each data point; see Figure 3 for a visualization of these changes in two-dimensional space. These differences are essentially a form of error; we can compute the mean square error for both time points, which shows that they are very similar (0.012 in 2014 and 0.014 in 2020). Were image search results closer to representative in 2020, we would expect these errors to be smaller than they were in 2015. However, using a Wilcoxon signed-rank test to evaluate the difference between the paired distributions of errors, we find that they are not statistically significantly different ($z = -1.54, p = 0.12$).

	Est.	SE	df	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-0.023	0.026	51.5	-0.88	0.384
Year	0.025	0.017	42.1	1.45	0.16
% Women in occupation (BLS)	0.95218	0.04742	42.16792	20.079	< 0.001 ***

Table 1. We compare image search gender representation from 2015 with 2020 using a model predicting proportion women in search from year and underlying proportion women according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and do not find evidence that representation in image search has improved.

To confirm this finding another way, we fit a linear mixed model to predict the proportion of women in image search results from the year, the proportion in occupations according to the BLS, and a random effect for each occupation. If image search were more representative in 2020, we would expect year to be a significant predictor when controlling for BLS ground truth (as this model does). However, as recorded in Table 1, only the BLS proportion of women is a strong predictor ($p < 0.001$). Therefore, we conclude that we do not find evidence that image search has significantly improved in gender representation since 2015.

STUDY 2: BIAS AND BELONGING

Visual diversity in image search results is significant for its potential to influence users of a system, both consciously and unconsciously. To explore this relationship, in Study 2 we expose randomized controlled study participants to a synthetic image search results page with one of three levels of gender or racial representation, and measure the effect on participant perceptions of the occupation and its racial and gender inclusivity.

In order of our research questions, we find: (1) echoing findings from Kay et al. and extending them to race, increasing women’s representation in search increases participants’ estimates of women’s representation in occupations, and the same holds for non-white representation; (2) levels of gender and racial representation in image search results significantly impact all outcome measures including participants’ interest in an occupation, sense of its inclusivity, and expectation of being valued; and (3) while representation significantly impacts these measures, participants’ own gender and racial identities have the largest effect on their experiences of search results.

Study 2 Method

Selection of occupations. From our motivation to study marginalization, we selected the ten occupations from our list of occupations in Study 1—five for gender and five for race—in which marginalized people—women and people of color, respectively—are most heavily underrepresented in the labor force.⁴

For each of these occupations, we generated three mock search pages, each with ten images, exactly in the style of a Google Image Search page (Figure 4). The three mock search pages were each conditions in our experimental design: for the gender experiment one mock search page had 10% women, the second had 50% women, and the third 90% women. Similarly, for race the first condition had 10% images of people of color, the second 50%, and the third 90%. Notably, since we selected these occupations due to their very low levels of representation of women and people of color, the first condition (10% marginalized) was close to accurately reflecting proportions in BLS data as well as real Google Image Search data, while the other two conditions both substantially overrepresented marginalized people relative to BLS data, and relative to Google’s search results

⁴For the occupation “plumber” there were not enough images of people of color to construct stimuli, so we instead selected the next occupation.

Experiment	Occupation	BLS p_women	BLS p_POC	GIS p_women	GIS p_POC
Gender	Construction worker	0.04	0.15	0.11	0.13
Gender	Engineer	0.14	0.28	0.19	0.14
Gender	Truck driver	0.07	0.25	0.16	0.11
Gender	Electrician	0.02	0.13	0.05	0.14
Race	Author	0.64	0.10	0.52	0.20
Race	Chief executive officer	0.28	0.11	0.15	0.19
Race	Veterinarian	0.68	0.10	0.56	0.03
Race	High school teacher	0.57	0.13	0.41	0.09
Both	Pilot	0.08	0.06	0.24	0.13

Table 2. To study the impact of image search results on participants, we selected five occupations for gender and five for race. Here we report the proportion of the occupation who are women or people of color (POC) as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), and in Google Image Search (GIS) as found in Study 1.

(for summary statistics on the occupations selected, see Table 2). We chose this wide range of conditions, rather than only testing current levels of underrepresentation, for several reasons. First, we sought to experimentally validate the impact of search results on users by investigating whether different levels of representation in search images would affect users differently. Second, we wanted to examine the user impact of current levels of underrepresentation alongside options from the breadth of possible changes that could be made to rectify the issue, including equal representation and overrepresentation. And third, by using this range of conditions we could measure whether participants holding marginalized and non-marginalized identities responded similarly when their own identity was over-, under-, or equally represented in the stimuli.

We constructed each of these pages manually, using the gender and race labels collected in Study 1. We selected images in order of their appearance in the real image search results, prioritizing images of only one race or gender (resorting to using images labeled “both” when there were not enough after manually verifying that the marginalized person was the central focus of the image).

The final occupations selected for gender were electrician, engineer, construction worker, truck driver, and pilot. For race, they were veterinarian, pilot, chief executive officer, author, and high school teacher. Note that both women and people of color are heavily underrepresented among pilots, so that occupation was included twice, with two different sets of stimuli constructed (see Table 2).

Survey design. Participants were recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk and directed to a Qualtrics survey which consented them under the pretense that the study was about public perception of common occupations, without mention of the different experimental conditions. This deception was necessary in order to avoid biasing participants in advance or drawing their conscious attention to the likely unconsciously-processed aspect of representation. This experimental design was approved by our university’s Institutional Review Board.

Participants were randomly assigned to a condition and shown one of the three mock search pages for that occupation. On the next page of the survey, participants were asked a series of distracting questions including their estimate of the education level typical of the occupation, their perception of its prestige, and their estimate of how quickly it is growing.

They were then asked to estimate what percent of jobs in that field were held by women, and what percent were held by POC. Finally, to study their sense of belonging, participants were asked a series of 7-point Likert scale questions: their personal level of interest in joining the profession

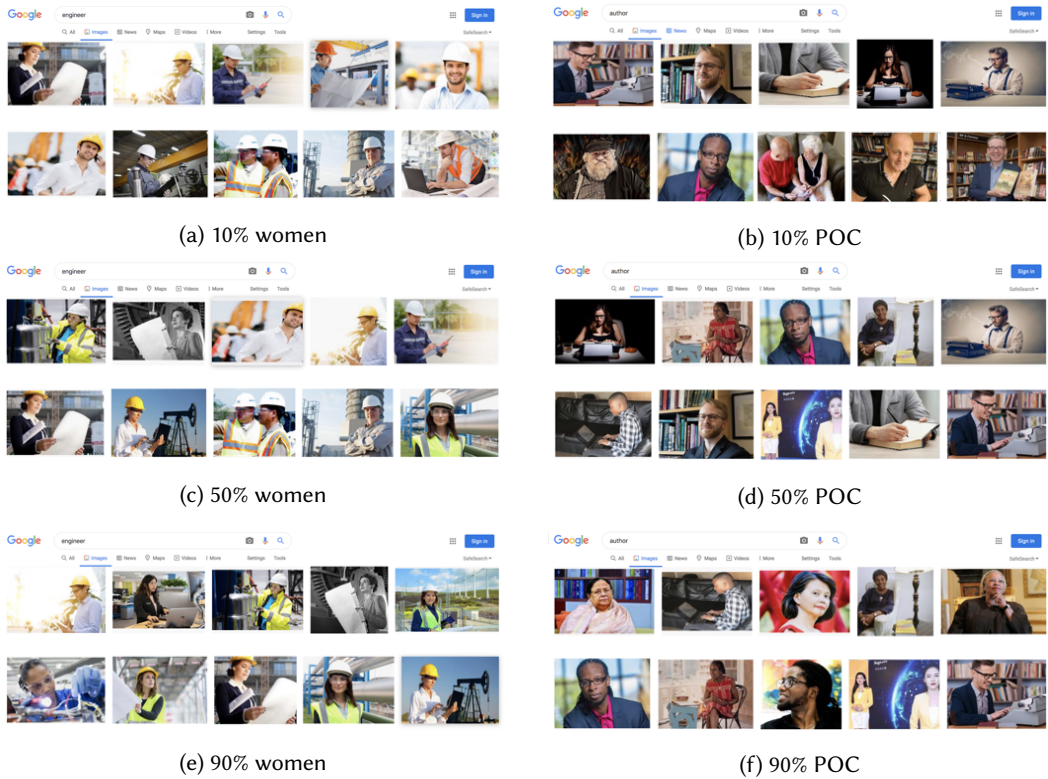


Fig. 4. Example mock image search results pages, on the left showing the three levels of gender composition for the query “engineer”, and on the right three levels of racial composition for the query “author”.

(“not at all interested” to “extremely interested”); their perception of the field’s inclusivity (“not at all inclusive” to “extremely inclusive”), whether they felt that people of their gender are valued in the field, and whether they felt that people of their race are valued in the field (both from “not at all valued” to “extremely valued”).

Participants. Approximately 100 participants were recruited using Amazon Mechanical Turk for each of the 10 occupations. Participants could complete each survey, but at most once—they were restricted to see only one randomly assigned mock image search page per occupation (meaning that for the “pilot” occupation, participants only participated in one of the two experiments). The median age of participants was 25-35, with most holding an undergraduate degree. The majority of participants identified as men: 65% of respondents were men, 34.7% were women, and 0.3% were non-binary. In the subsequent analyses, we grouped women and non-binary participants together, since all belong to marginalized gender identity groups; in the remainder of analyses we refer to the two groups as men and non-men. The sample was also majority white: 76.3% of respondents identified their race only as white, and the remaining 23.7% identified with at least one non-white group, including 8.6% as Black or African-American, 5.0% as Asian, 3.8% as Hispanic/Latinx, and the remaining 6.1% as a combination of the above. Following the rationale laid out in Study 1, in the subsequent analyses we group participants by marginalized identity status into two groups: whites (those identifying *only* as white) and people of color (all other participants).

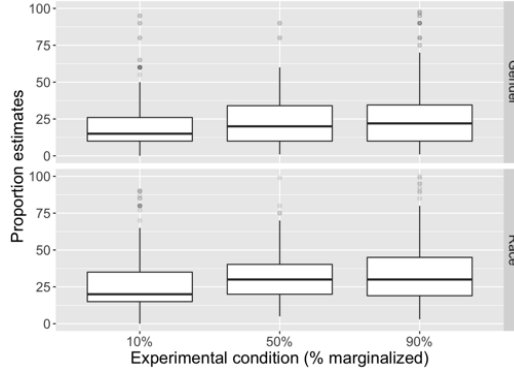


Fig. 5. We observe a small positive linear relationship between participants' estimated proportion of women in the field when shown increasing levels of women's representation, and of people of color in the field when shown increasing levels of POC representation.

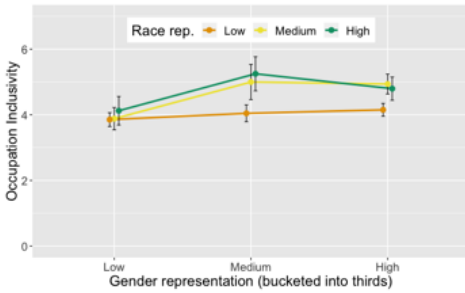
Study 2 Findings

In the following analyses, we examine the effect of different distributions of people by race or gender on participants' evaluations of occupations and their perception of their own place in them. We also examine potential differential effects by the participant's own racial and gender identity. (In reporting the coefficients of statistically significant variables, we use b to denote the unstandardized effect size, and β to denote the standardized effect size.)

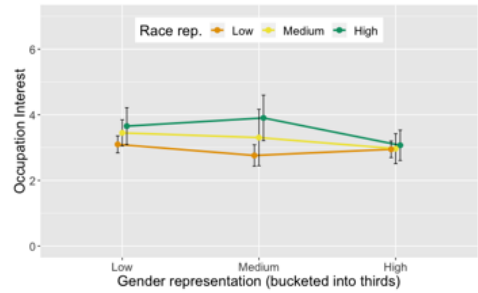
Impact of image representation on perception of the field. We first examine the impact of image representation on people's perceptions of the prevalence of marginalized groups in occupations, for both gender and race. A visualization of these results is shown in Figure 5. Overall we find that, as expected, participants' perceptions of a field are significantly influenced by search results, an empirical finding that confirms the importance of representation in the images shown by search engines and their potential to affect people's impressions of the world.

We fit a linear mixed model to predict participants' estimated proportion of women and of people of color by condition. Following Kay et al., we include a random effect for each participant to account for individual differences estimates since participants could answer for multiple occupations. In predictions of gender representation, we find that the proportion of women in search results has a small but statistically significant positive linear relationship with people's estimates; there was a roughly 5% increase in their estimates between conditions ($b = 5.33, p < 0.001$). The model has a low marginal R^2 (which describes the model fit taking into consideration its fixed effects) and much higher conditional R^2 (which also factors in the explanatory power of the random effect, *participant*). This reflects that there was a great deal of individual variation in these estimates ($R_m^2 = 0.03, R_c^2 = 0.68$). We find similar results for race, namely that the proportion of people of color in the image had a statistically significant linear positive impact of similar magnitude on people's estimates of racial representation ($b = 4.19, p = 0.001$). This model also showed a large difference in conditional versus marginal R^2 ($R_m^2 = 0.01, R_c^2 = 0.60$).

Impact on inclusivity and interest. In addition to asking participants about their perception of the gender and racial breakdown of the occupations, we also asked four questions targeted at their own sense of belonging: their level of interest in the occupation, how inclusive they would rate it, how much they thought someone of their gender would be valued in it, and how much they



(a) Overrepresenting women and people of color relative to population rates increases perception of field inclusivity.



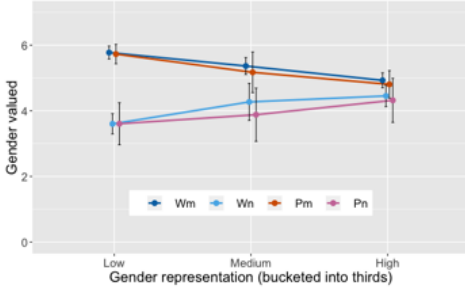
(b) Increasing representation of people of color increases interest in the field, while increasing the representation of women does the opposite.

Fig. 6. Bucketing both proportion of women and proportion of POC in the mock search image into thirds (labelled “low,” “medium,” and “high” representation), we visualize their interaction on participants’ perceived field inclusivity and personal interest.

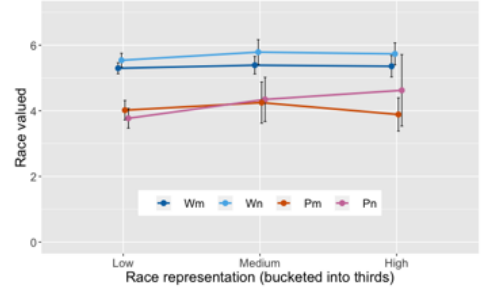
thought someone of their race would be valued in it. We analyzed the effect of four independent variables—the proportion of women in the search results, the proportion of POC in the results, the participant’s gender, and the participant’s race—on the four dependent outcomes of interest, using four linear regressions with fixed effects (we do not include participant as a random effect here because we are already explicitly including aspects of participant identity as fixed effects). In each of the findings below we report the model’s R^2 , along with any significant effects’ standardized coefficients (β) and p -values.⁵

- **Inclusivity:** Overall, we find that search results with the fewest women and fewest people of color (images that are both reflective of real-world representation and current image search results) result in the lowest inclusivity ratings. In this model ($R^2 = 0.05$, $F_{(4,989)} = 11.6$, $p < 0.001$), both gender representation ($\beta = 0.146$, 95% CI $[-0.16, 0.45]$, $p < 0.001$) and racial representation ($\beta = 0.143$, 95% CI $[-0.20, 0.48]$, $p < 0.001$) significantly predicted participant ratings of field inclusivity. We visualize these results at left in Figure 6.
- **Interest:** We find that higher proportions of people of color in images led to higher levels of interest in the occupation for all participants, though this was not true for gender ($R^2 = 0.02$, $F_{(4,989)} = 5.153$, $p < 0.001$). The regression indicated that proportion of people of color ($\beta = 0.103$, 95% CI $[-0.33, 0.53]$, $p = 0.001$) significantly predicted interest, but that the proportion of women had a borderline (though slightly deterring) effect at most ($\beta = -0.065$, 95% CI $[-0.45, 0.32]$, $p = 0.03$). We visualize this in Figure 6 at right.
- **Gender valued:** Results confirmed our hypothesis that increasing the proportion of women in search results had significant and differential effects on men’s and non-men’s expectations they would be valued (see Figure 7). At the simplest level, when asking if participants felt people of their gender would be valued, non-men reported more doubts than men, regardless of race ($\mu_m = 5.33$, $\mu_n = 4.00$). The regression ($R^2 = 0.18$, $F_{(5,989)} = 44.8$, $p < 0.001$) supported our hypothesis that participant gender ($\beta = -0.653$, 95% CI $[-1.00, -0.30]$, $p < 0.001$) significantly affected this measure. Similarly, the proportion of women in the images significantly impacted whether participants felt people of their gender would be valued

⁵We note that the effects reported remain significant at the $p < 0.05$ level after applying a Benjamini-Hochberg multiple comparisons correction across all four models.



(a) As proportion of women increased, men reported expecting to feel less valued and non-men more valued, regardless of race.



(b) The proportion of POC shown had little effect relative to the overall expectation by POC participants that they would be less valued.

Fig. 7. Changing the proportion of women and people of color in images shifted participants' expectations that someone of their gender or race would be valued in the occupation differently by identity group. (Wm = White men; Wn = White non-men; Pm = POC men; Pn = POC non-men.)

($\beta = -0.21$, 95% CI [-0.56, 0.16], $p < 0.001$). Notably, search results with more women had opposite effects on men versus non-men, with this interaction effect ($\beta = 0.37$, 95% CI [-0.25, 0.98], $p < 0.001$) reflecting that increasing the proportion of women made men feel they would be less valued but made non-men feel they would be more valued. The proportion of people of color in the images also had a positive effect on expectations of gender inclusivity, though this was weaker ($\beta = 0.07$, 95% CI [-0.27, 0.40], $p = 0.02$).

- **Race valued:** The experimental manipulation for race was less impactful of participants' perceptions; rather, the strongest predictor of whether a participant felt someone of their race would be valued was that participant's race ($\mu_w = 5.43$, $\mu_{poc} = 4.04$), regardless imagery shown. The regression ($R^2 = 0.16$, $F_{(5,988)} = 46.6$, $p < 0.001$) reflected that participant race was a highly significant predictor ($\beta = -0.41$, 95% CI [-0.73, -0.09], $p < 0.001$), followed by smaller and less significant effects: the proportion women ($\beta = -0.08$, 95% CI [-0.35, 0.19], $p = 0.009$), and participant gender ($\beta = 0.07$, 95% CI [-0.12, 0.25], $p = 0.02$). Unlike the corresponding result on the previous measure, we did not observe a significant interaction effect between image and participant race (see Figure 7).

All models, despite having significant results, have low R^2 values, suggesting that there is a great deal of individual variability in these measures. We also observe that the standardized regression coefficients in all models reflect that increasing the proportion of women or people of color in these images did not consistently improve measures of interest, and sometimes had the opposite effect.

DISCUSSION

Despite increasing attention to algorithmic bias and social movements like #MeToo and Black Lives Matter calling attention to social injustice more broadly, in Study 1 we find that women and people of color are underrepresented in search results for common occupations. In Study 2, we find that these search results influence people's perceptions of occupations and their own sense of belonging therein, and that these impacts are dependent on one's own gender and racial identity.

It is important to note that achieving greater representation in search may not always translate into desirable real-world outcomes. For instance, in the difference between perceived occupation inclusivity and peoples' interest in them: as Figure 6 reflects, increasing numbers of women in search results increases the perception that an occupation is inclusive, but decreases overall interest

in that occupation for all participant groups except women of color. This may be an example of what sociologists term “occupational feminization” and the closely related idea that pay and other status markers in occupations *decrease* as the proportion of women in them increases [29]. Algorithm designers must be prepared to anticipate, measure, and evaluate the socially situated impacts of their work, lest such second-order effects of well-intentioned efforts do more harm than good.

Separately from features of search results, participants’ own identities are the strongest predictors for how search images are received in our data. Across three of the four measures (all but occupation interest) we see the same trend: white men report the most positive expectations, while non-white non-men report the least. This is yet another reflection of white male privilege and the importance of intersectionality—the compounding weight of holding multiple marginalized identities [14]. This suggests that without wider social change even the best efforts of technologists to inclusively build or to de-bias our technologies may come up short. Users’ prior life experiences come with them to their experience of a system, mediating the interactions they have with it and the impact it has on them. Recent work has shown that aspiring towards fairness in terms of numerical representation matters less than creating a culture of inclusivity [41]. To ensure that our systems avoid reproducing unjust social patterns and structures, we must design, build, and audit our systems—paying careful attention to its least privileged users. But we must also recognize our users’ underlying and more fundamental need for equity and justice in their lives, and strive to make that a reality.

Limitations and Future Directions

While we believe this work is a worthwhile contribution to an important literature, we must also call attention to its methodological and theoretical limitations. To begin, we acknowledge the methodological limitations of conducting this audit; for instance, the queries used to collect the data in Study 1 and to which participants were exposed in this work are not necessarily naturalistic user queries. We believe they are a good stand-in, and especially valuable as they allow us to compare longitudinally with prior work, but they are not necessarily ecologically valid, and more work needs to be done on users’ actual experiences with image search over time, including real queries used and compounding effects of repeated exposure to online images. Additionally, in Study 2 we only used three discrete conditions despite the much larger range (0% to 100%) of possible representation levels, so constrained to concentrate the number of participants allocated to each condition. This allowed us to effectively evaluate our concepts of interest, but a more nuanced experiment would strengthen the conclusions that could be drawn regarding the results of images on users. We also did not control for participants’ prior level of familiarity with occupations, which could mediate (either exaggerating or weakening) the degree to which image search results impacted their perceptions of occupations.

A more important limitation, perhaps, is the coarse-grained categorization of people’s identity upon which this work relies. We have used an explicitly intersectional framing that considers gender and racial identity, but those two axes of identity are both continuous, with a wide range of identities much more nuanced than the binary categories we use for analysis. We make these simplifications in light of previous research on the broad effects of diversity cues and shared experiences of marginalized people (e.g., [8, 41]), but we wish to emphasize that these identity categories are not monoliths. Each includes a wide range of experiences and cultures (for instance those specific to non-binary people as distinct from women and men, or ethnically Latinx people separately from non-Latinx people sharing the same racial identity) and the range of responses to visual representation is equally wide. As organization behavior scholars have found in studying workplace dynamics, though perceptions of workplace diversity do depend on a job seeker’s identity, its impacts vary by the strength of a job-seeker’s other-group identification: “although minorities generally might place greater value on diversity than members of the racioethnic majority, there

is considerable variability within racioethnic groups (i.e., not all minorities value diversity more than all white Americans)” [3]. We also call for continued research on algorithmic bias that studies representation and other diversity cues with granularity.

Finally, we encourage researchers and designers to think critically about whether diversity or representation are the right markers of progress at all. Scholars like D-L Stewart have called attention to “language of appeasement,” noting that efforts centered on terms like *diversity and inclusion* come up short [48]. In the context of this work, beyond the mere fact of representation, the nature of that representation warrants further study: Who is in the foreground and who in the background of an image? Who conveys authority or subordination? When does representation have negative impacts on the users it seeks to represent? The impacts of visual representation are always situated in complex existing social systems; this can lead to unintentional and secondary effects. As designers and researchers, we must recognize the importance as well as the limitations of studying representation in algorithmic systems.

CONCLUSION

Quoting media scholar Adrienne Evans, “More than ever, the dominant modes of visualisation force us to see the world in particular, limited and problematic ways, and their immediacy of meaning gives us a sense of instantaneous knowing, making it all the more urgent to pay attention to diversity” [19]. In this paper, we conduct an intersectional analysis of one of the most widely-used social computing systems, Google Search, in the form of two studies examining representation in image search results for common occupations. In the first, we find evidence of marginalized people’s underrepresentation in search relative to prevalence in the workforce; we also compare with work by Kay et al., but do not find evidence that gender representation in search has improved in the aftermath of social movements like Black Lives Matter or greater scrutiny to algorithmic bias. In the second study, we conduct an experiment exposing participants to different levels of gender and racial representation in mock search results. We find that varying these levels of representation changes people’s perception of occupations, and also changes people’s interest in the occupation, perception of its inclusivity, and perception they would be valued—and that these effects vary (often even more substantially) by participants’ own gender and racial identities.

Our interactions with algorithms like search leave us with instantaneous impressions that impact our perception of the world and our place in it. But technical systems do not exist outside society and culture—their impacts on users are disparate, often affecting marginalized users more or differently than others. With this in mind, we call for designers and auditors of algorithms dedicated to an end goal of equity and justice to continue critically examining these artifacts in their full complexity, in the context of broader social issues, and while actively paying particular attention to the perspectives of those most marginalized.

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APPENDIX

For reference, in Table 3 we provide the proportion of women in the 2015 and 2020 data analyzed in this paper. In Table 4 we provide the proportion of people of color from 2020 data sources used.

Table 3. The following table records the proportion of women in 2015 and 2020 Google Image Search (GIS) results and the U.S. workforce according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), respectively. 2015 GIS data is provided courtesy of Kay et al. [26].

Search term	2015 GIS	2015 BLS	2020 GIS	2020 BLS
administrative assistant	0.923	0.953	0.810	0.696
announcer	0.209	0.236	0.067	0.115
author	0.246	0.556	0.556	0.590
bartender	0.234	0.599	0.278	0.295
biologist	0.354	0.501	0.593	0.577
building inspector	0.068	0.078	0.096	0.178
bus driver	0.188	0.455	0.330	0.330
butcher	0.079	0.230	0.110	0.159
chef	0.242	0.215	0.196	0.222
chemist	0.532	0.442	0.554	0.548
chief executive officer	0.112	0.274	0.116	0.174
childcare worker	0.873	0.941	0.921	0.858
claims adjuster	-	0.634	0.254	0.313
clergy member	-	0.205	0.088	0.246
computer programmer	0.167	0.225	0.162	0.235
construction worker	0.125	0.029	0.118	0.126
cook	0.141	0.377	0.545	0.519
crane operator	0.068	0.040	0.048	0.037
custodian	0.156	0.297	0.188	0.269
customer service representative	0.688	0.678	0.731	0.601
doctor	0.301	0.343	0.355	0.439
drafter	0.182	0.166	0.368	0.346
electrician	0.040	0.018	0.058	0.106
engineer	0.155	0.132	0.237	0.286
garbage collector	0.057	0.066	0.086	0.112
high school teacher	-	0.573	0.591	0.548
housekeeper	0.927	0.881	0.947	0.933
lab tech	0.651	0.728	0.552	0.529
librarian	0.954	0.868	0.833	0.805
mail carrier	0.288	0.377	0.314	0.323
nurse	0.966	0.906	0.938	0.747
nurse practitioner	0.846	0.861	0.871	0.717
optician	0.686	0.596	0.587	0.561
paralegal	-	0.859	0.760	0.615
pharmacist	0.577	0.537	0.672	0.625
photographer	-	0.522	0.408	0.434
pilot	0.104	0.041	0.258	0.278
plumber	0.047	0.013	0.045	0.064

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Table 3 – *Continued from previous page*

Search term	2015 GIS	2015 BLS	2020 GIS	2020 BLS
police officer	0.139	0.126	0.113	0.187
PR person	-	0.582	0.465	0.461
primary school teacher	0.718	0.814	0.759	0.756
receptionist	0.963	0.915	0.973	0.802
roofer	0.000	0.015	0.034	0.029
security guard	0.053	0.185	0.049	0.153
software developer	0.148	0.197	0.200	0.281
special ed teacher	0.779	0.862	0.822	0.784
tax collector	-	0.624	0.115	0.185
technical writer	0.350	0.555	0.538	0.500
telemarketer	0.644	0.503	0.614	0.553
truck driver	0.069	0.054	0.167	0.180
veterinarians	-	0.547	0.708	0.659

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Table 4. The following table records the proportion of people of color (non-white) in 2020 Google Image Search (GIS) results and the U.S. workforce according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), respectively.

Search term	2019 GIS	2019 BLS
chief executive officer	0.191	0.112
computer programmer	0.224	0.322
claims adjuster	0.095	0.264
clergy member	0.167	0.209
chemist	0.127	0.243
engineer	0.137	0.282
paralegal	0.174	0.229
primary school teacher	0.105	0.153
high school teacher	0.094	0.129
special ed teacher	0.034	0.148
librarian	0.158	0.122
announcer	0.063	0.244
PR person	0.148	0.164
author	0.202	0.104
photographer	0.038	0.157
pharmacist	0.153	0.355
doctor	0.105	0.28
veterinarian	0.025	0.102
nurse	0.232	0.241
nurse practitioner	0.115	0.234
lab tech	0.225	0.289
optician	0.055	0.146
police officer	0.165	0.171
security guard	0.253	0.371
chef	0.174	0.37
bartender	0.152	0.139
housekeeper	0.301	0.278
childcare worker	0.064	0.24
telemarketer	0.128	0.307
customer service representative	0.151	0.267
receptionist	0.149	0.242
mail carrier	0.244	0.273
construction worker	0.129	0.147
electrician	0.137	0.126
plumber	0.056	0.129
building inspector	0.026	0.18
butcher	0.114	0.288
pilot	0.126	0.063
bus driver	0.359	0.328
truck driver	0.111	0.248