ARE LEADER-PROTOTYPICAL AFRICAN AMERICANS DISTRUSTED BY THEIR INGROUP? THE ROLE OF IDENTITY DENIAL
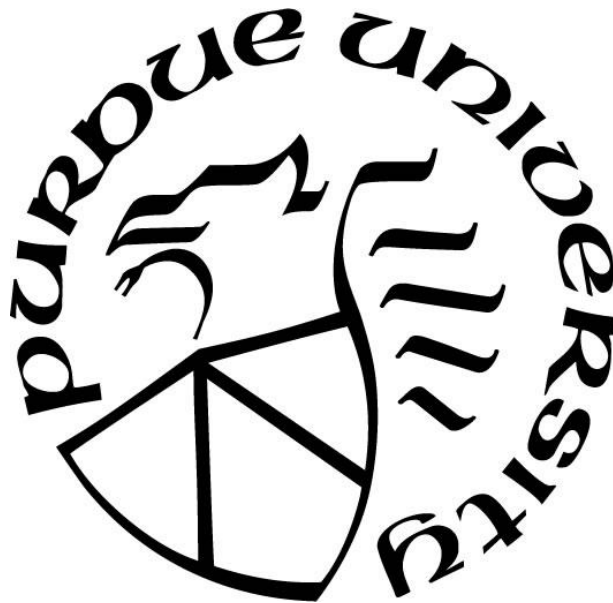
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ABSTRACT

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Black representation in American business leadership ranks is not proportionate to America's demographics. Previous research into this issue has mostly focused on the relationship between majority racial group and minority racial groups. However, research in identity denial and backlash shows that ingroup members may also play a negative role in undermining leadership efforts. African Americans may react negatively to a Black business leader because of the mismatch between negative stereotypes of African Americans and the positive prototype of a leader. The current study hypothesizes that resembling a business leader as an African American leads to negative reaction from other African Americans in the form of lowered trust, lowered endorsement as leader, and lowered intention to engage in organizational citizenship behavior. The current study also hypothesizes that participant's ingroup identification level will act as a moderator, and that perceived racial identification will act as a mediator. To test the hypotheses, participants recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk were randomly assigned to either the strong match to leader prototype condition, weak match condition, or control condition in which no information about leader prototype was provided. The results revealed a simple main effect in which strongly matching the leader prototype led to lower levels of the outcome variables. The current study brings attention to an area of research that should be further explored and suggests that organizations should create interventions to counteract this negative ingroup effect.

1. INTRODUCTION

The number of African American leaders in U.S. corporations is still below the rate of their representation in the overall population in the U.S. A 2010 survey shows that Board members in Fortune 500 companies are 8.77% African American, and that executive management teams have 4.23% African American representation (Menendez, 2010). In contrast, a 2010 U.S. census shows that overall African Americans occupy 12.6% of the total American population. It is evident that the Black representation in leadership ranks of American corporations is below what it should be.

Given their low representation as leaders, and given findings of ingroup favoritism across a wide variety of contexts (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), one might assume that African Americans would wish to promote successful African Americans to positions of leadership. However, a growing body of literature on identity denial and its outcomes suggests that this may not always be the case. To the extent that ingroup members are atypical of group prototypes, they are seen as less strongly identified with their ingroup, with implications for ingroup perceptions and treatment. The present study will examine whether, for African Americans, matching the leader prototype (i.e., more stereotypic of White men than of Black men) elicits identity denial and, in turn, distrust from other African Americans through the perspectives of leader categorization theory, social identity theory, and identity denial theory.

The present study proposes that for minority social groups with negative stereotypes regarding intellectual ability and competence, matching the leader prototype is incongruent with their group prototype. Therefore, an African American businessperson who exhibits a match to the leader prototype will have a lack of fit with the African American group prototype, and should elicit negative reactions from other African Americans. On the other hand, an African

American businessperson who does not match the leader prototype is expected to have a stronger

fit to his African American group prototype and will not elicit such negative reactions from

ingroup members. The following sections will explain leader categorization theory and social

identity theory, then integrate the two theories to understand why African Americans would react

negatively to an African American businessperson who matches the leader prototype.

1.1. Social Cognition Overview

Before examining leader categorization and social identity theories, I present a brief

primer on social cognition. People hold beliefs about different social groups in the form of group

prototypes. *Group prototype* refers to a fuzzy set of characteristics that encapsulates the features

that define a group (Hogg, 2001; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Group

prototype encapsulates what the group believes is important, what is appropriate, and what is

desirable. It can be said that a group prototype outlines what is defining of the group, like a

group norm. Work on Afrocentric features illustrates how prototypes operate with regards to

racial groups. Blair, Judd, Sadler, and Jenkins (2002) found that individuals with more

Afrocentric features (prototypical features that help set apart African Americans from other

racial groups) were perceived to be more likely to possess stereotypically African American

attributes (e.g., lazy, uneducated, musically talented). This example demonstrates how prototypes

that individuals hold about social groups define and shape the perception of members of those

social groups.

As the example suggests, these prototypes are associated with various stereotypes that

can be both descriptive and prescriptive in nature. Descriptive stereotypes about a group

specifies what the group is like in nature (Heilman, 2001). Prescriptive stereotypes, on the other

hand, describe the behavioral norm that is acceptable for a certain group. It describes how

members of a group should behave (Heilman, 2001; Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly, 1987; Terborg, 1977). These categories are not mutually exclusive and may have significant overlap between the two. The stereotypes about African Americans include characteristics such as unintelligent, ignorant, incompetent, and athletic (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Krueger, 1996). For example, society may hold descriptive stereotypes about how African Americans are more athletic than others, but also that that *should* be more athletic in order to be acceptable as a member of that group. Gender stereotypes similarly exist for women. The stereotypes about women include traits such as warm, kind, interested in children, and sensitive (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Many of these characteristics for the two groups both describe how the society views them (descriptive stereotype) and how society thinks that they *should* be like (prescriptive stereotype).

According to social identity theory (SIT), one's group membership significantly influences the way the self is perceived (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), leading to self-stereotyping. This phenomenon could be explained with self-categorization theory: people will categorize different individuals (including the self) into certain groups and the grouped individuals will no longer be viewed as unique individuals, but rather as prototypes of the group (Turner et al., 1987; Hogg & Terry, 2000). In other words, individuals will define themselves in line with the prototype of the group to which they belong. This can be observed in Prentice and Carranza (2002) in which participants of both genders showed very little difference in prescriptive and descriptive gender stereotypes. Participants (regardless of gender) were found to endorse the same stereotypes of men and stereotypes of women. Members of the group being stereotyped endorsed the same stereotypes that others hold about that group. These stereotypes function as rules that help dictate how one should act and represent the social group in which one belongs.

1.2. Leadership Categorization Theory

Similar to the way gender and race are associated with certain stereotypes, there are widely held stereotypes and prototypes of leaders. According to leader categorization theory, any person evaluating a leader (or a potential leader) compares that individual with a leader prototype that exists in the evaluator's mind (Lord, 1985; Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982; Lord & Maher, 1991). The leader prototype consists of the average characteristics of leaders the evaluator knows. The characteristics that have been found to be included in the leader prototype include decisiveness, intelligence, industriousness, dedication, masculinity, determination, goal-orientation, industriousness, and persistence (Lord, Foti & De Vader, 1984; Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Gerstner & Day, 1994). When the target's characteristics match the leader prototype, the target will be categorized as a leader in the evaluator's mind. If there is a mismatch between the target's characteristics and the leader prototype, the target will not be categorized as a leader.

Research on implicit leadership theories (ILTs) demonstrates the positive effects that occur as a result of the match between a leader and an evaluator's prototype of a leader. Epitropaki and Martin (2004) found that characteristics such as intelligence, dedication, dynamism, and sensitivity represented leadership prototypes for employees across different industries and different demographics. Epitropaki and Martin (2005) followed up with a longitudinal study and found that when employees' prototype of a leader matched their actual manager's profile, the quality of the leader-member exchange (LMX) was higher. High LMX indicates that the quality of the relationship between the leader and the employee is high. In addition to LMX quality, higher match between the employees' ILT and the actual profile of their manager predicted better employee attitude and well-being in an organizational context.

Followers' leader prototype and the degree to which their leader fits that prototype clearly plays an important role in a variety of important organizational outcomes.

1.3. Match vs. Mismatch Between Group and Leader Prototypes

The current study integrates leader prototype and group prototype, and the consequences of their matching vs. mismatching. For high-status, admired social groups, their group prototype does not conflict with the leader prototype. The characteristics typically associated with White male individuals, for example, are usually positive and agentic in nature: ambitious, smart, competitive, etc. (Gaertner & McLaughlin, 1983). These characteristics match very well with the leader prototype: decisive, intelligent, industrious, dedicated, masculine, determined, goal-oriented, and persistent (Lord, Foti & De Vader, 1984; Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Gerstner & Day, 1994). In contrast, the characteristics stereotypically associated with African Americans do not match very well to the leader prototype and are negative in nature: lazy, ignorant, incompetent, and intellectually inferior to Whites (Czopp & Monteith, 2006; Burns & Gimpel, 2000; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004; Krueger, 1996).

Accordingly, in the U.S., Whites are viewed to be more like leaders than African Americans are. In Rosette, Phillips, and Leonardelli (2008), participants were asked to determine the race of a fictitious businessman. The businessman's role (leader or employee) and the base rate of the fictitious company's racial distribution (no mention, 20% White, 50% White) were manipulated. The results showed that regardless of the base rate of race within the organization, participants believed the leader was White more often than they believed the employee was White (72% leader vs. 56% employee). In the 20% and 50% White conditions, participants responded that the leader was White significantly more often than the base rate would have suggested. Consequently, the researchers have concluded that "being White" was a component of

the leader prototype. These results suggest that people view the leader prototype and White prototype to have a good match. Black participants showed the same pattern of response as did White participants; thus, even African Americans think that the leader prototype is more aligned with Whites than with Blacks.

The difference between the group prototype of African Americans and the leader prototype is apparent even for young African American children. In Bigler, Averhart, and Liben (2003), the researchers asked African American children from the first and sixth grades to rate several novel occupations on occupational status. The children were presented with a job description of an occupation and colored drawings of two men and two women performing the occupation. The children were randomly assigned to conditions in which the workers in the drawings were either all African Americans, all European Americans, or two African Americans and two European Americans. The jobs that were depicted with European Americans were rated to be higher in status than jobs that were depicted with African Americans. This finding illustrates that even African American children perceive that the leader prototype (high status) and African American group prototype do not match, and whatever jobs that are associated with African Americans are automatically categorized as a low status occupation. Overall, it is evident that there is a big gap between the leader prototype and group prototype of low status, devalued social groups like African Americans.

Moreover, several theories suggest that negative consequences are likely when there are such mismatches between the group prototype and the leader prototype. Heilman (1983) proposed a "lack of fit" model to describe the difference between the perceived job requirements of male sex typed jobs (e.g., leadership positions) and the perceived ability of women. Because there is this perceived lack of fit, women will be judged to have a "bad fit" with the job and will

not be viewed as an ideal person to hold the job. In support of this model, Lyness and Heilman (2006) showed that female managers were attributed with lower levels of performance than comparable male managers. Rudman (1998) proposed a "backlash effect" that demonstrates a similar phenomenon. Backlash effect describes a situation in which agentic female employees are penalized because they are perceived to be less communal than other women. Many studies have supported the backlash effect, demonstrating that agentic female employees receive negative treatment in the form of low likability and low perceived interpersonal skill (Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Heilman, 2001). These findings show that because of the mismatch between leader prototype and group prototype of women, female leaders face these negative consequences.

Africans Americans also deal with negative consequences for showing a mismatch with the leader prototype. In Rosette, Phillips, and Leonardelli (2008), the researchers examined the performance ratings of organizational leaders after organizational success. When the success of an organization was attributed to the leader, White leaders received higher evaluations of leader effectiveness and leader potential than Black leaders. White leaders were given an advantage because the leader prototype and group prototype of White leaders match, whereas Black leaders were penalized for having a mismatch.

1.4. Social Identity Theory of Leadership

In addition to the leader's group membership, the perceiver's group membership also plays a role in how leaders are viewed. This idea can be explained with social identity theory of leadership. The social identity theory of leadership integrates leader categorization theory and social identity theory to create a leadership theory based on the idea that leaders can differ in the degree to which they are perceived to be prototypical or representative not of "leaders" as a

group in and of itself, but instead of the group they are leading (Hogg, 2001). For example, given that people in the US implicitly associate "American" with "White" (Devos & Banaji, 2005), President Obama, as the United States' first African American President, would be seen as less prototypic than previous US Presidents.

To the extent the leader is perceived to be prototypical of the ingroup, the leader will gain influence among members of the ingroup because of the perception that he/she represents the group norm (Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003). The impression of influence becomes a reality through a process of depersonalization that accentuates the prototypical characteristics of a group member (Tajfel, 1959; Tajfel, 1969). Leaders' group prototypicality has been found to influence several factors for the perceivers.

A group prototypical leader (a leader who embodies the group norm) will be perceived to have the group's best interest at heart more than someone who is non-prototypical of the group. Accordingly, a leader's group prototypicality has important implications for followers' trust in the leader. For example, Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) demonstrated that ingroup-prototypical leaders are trusted more by ingroup members than leaders who were not ingroup prototypical. Kalshoven and Den Hartog (2009) also found that a leader's perceived level of prototypicality of the ingroup was positively correlated with levels of trust from followers. These studies show that leaders who are perceived to be ingroup prototypical will receive higher levels of trust than leaders who are perceived to be not prototypical of the ingroup.

Leader endorsement is also affected by the leader's group prototypicality. Several studies (Ulrich, Christ, & van Dick, 2009; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Platow, Knippenberg, Haslam, Knippenberg, & Spears, 2006; van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg, 2005) have found that leaders who are prototypical of the ingroup did not have to engage in leadership-

enhancing behaviors to receive high levels of endorsement from followers. In other words, a group prototypical leader does not have to show procedural fairness (Ulrich et al., 2009), distributive fairness (Platow and van Knippenberg, 2001), group oriented rhetoric (Platow et al., 2006), and self-sacrificing behavior (van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg, 2005) in order to be endorsed highly by ingroup followers. However, group non-prototypical leaders had to exhibit those behaviors in order to receive the same level of endorsement.

Additionally, group prototypical leaders are able to elicit certain behavioral outcomes that other leaders cannot. For example, De Cremer, van Dijke, and Mayer (2010) discovered that group prototypical managers who show high procedural fairness were able to elicit higher levels of organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) from followers than managers who were not prototypical of the group (even if they showed the same level of procedural fairness). Similarly, Van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2005) found that group prototypical leaders were able to elicit high performance from followers in a laboratory task. However, leaders who were not group prototypical had to engage in self-sacrificing behavior in order to elicit a similar level of performance from followers. The group prototypical leader was also perceived as an effective leader among followers even without the self-sacrificing behavior. The same could not be said of the group non-prototypical leader. The leader's group prototypicality can affect ingroup followers so much that their behavior outcomes can be impacted.

The current study will examine the African American population within corporations, where they are traditionally underrepresented. Because Blacks are a historically low-status group in the United States, exhibiting characteristics of a prototypic leader may be going against the prototype of the low-status ingroup. A Black employee that exhibits high leader prototypicality in a corporate setting will be seen as less prototypical of the racial group, and, based on previous

research, should lead to lower levels of trustworthiness, leader endorsement, and intention to engage in OCB among ingroup followers.

1.5. Intragroup Discrimination

Even though it is counterintuitive, there is growing evidence that members of low-status groups will sometimes negatively evaluate and even penalize members of their ingroup. When an ingroup member exhibits leadership prototypicality and thereby shows mismatch to the negative ingroup prototype of historically marginalized social groups (e.g., women and African Americans), the member is likely to receive negative consequences from other ingroup members as a result. Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, and Tamkins (2004) has found that women penalize other women who are successful in an industry that is traditionally male-dominated by rating them lower in likableness compared to equally successful male targets. Heilman and Okimoto (2007) and Parks-Stamm, Heilman, and Hearns (2008) also show that women evaluated successful women unfavorably in ratings of likability, boss desirability, and interpersonal hostility compared to equally successful men. Female professors have been shown to treat female doctoral students worse than male doctoral students (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004). Specifically, female professors perceived female doctoral students to be less committed to their work than male students were when there were no observable differences in commitment, demonstrating the "Queen Bee" phenomenon. "Backlash effect" studies also demonstrate that female ingroup members will penalize other women who demonstrate agentic characteristics that are more typical of male leaders (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Heilman, 2001). These studies, taken together, show examples of ingroup members penalizing other ingroup members that show leadership prototypicality and capability that is not typically associated with their social group, and is therefore less prototypical of the ingroup. Women who

are successful in male dominated industries or exhibit characteristics more typical of males are considered less prototypical of the ingroup, and are penalized as such.

Similarly, there is evidence that some members of low-status groups buy into the stereotypes about their group's incompetence and prefer high-status group members in stereotype-relevant situations. For example, Ashburn-Nardo, Knowles, and Monteith (2003) found that African American participants who were told that they would perform an intellectually challenging task preferred to have White work partners than Black work partners. The effect was stronger for participants who had lower implicit preference for their ingroup. Similarly, Ashburn-Nardo and Johnson (2008) had African American participants assigned either a Black work partner or a White work partner for tasks that required stereotypically White (intellect) versus Black (athleticism) skills. Results showed that Black participants, to the extent that they implicitly favored Whites, preferred White work partners in the task that required stereotypically White skills. This demonstrates how members of low-status groups (Blacks) bought into the negative stereotype that is associated with their own ingroup and exhibited outgroup favoritism.

In the domain of leadership evaluation, social identity theory of leadership suggests that to the extent that a Black target shows a mismatch with the stereotypes about their ingroup by matching the leader prototype in a White-dominated business, Black perceivers will evaluate the target negatively.

Hypothesis 1: Compared to a Black target who weakly matches the leader prototype and a Black target about whom there is no leader information provided, a Black target who strongly matches the leader prototype will be evaluated more negatively such that:

a. Strongly matching the leader prototype will elicit less trust.

b. Strongly matching the leader prototype will elicit less leader endorsement.

c. Strongly matching the leader prototype will elicit less intention to engage in organizational citizenship behavior (OCB).

1.6. Perceiver Identity as Moderator

Findings from social identity theory of leadership further suggest that this pattern of negatively evaluating strongly leader-prototypic ingroup members will be found especially in Black perceivers who are strongly identified with their own racial ingroup. Several studies in the social identity theory of leadership examined whether followers' own ingroup identification level moderated the impact of the leader's level of ingroup prototypicality. Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) examined the relationship of distributive justice behavior of a leader and leader endorsement, while manipulating the leader's level of ingroup prototypicality and measuring the followers' group identification level. Results show that ingroup prototypical leaders were endorsed more strongly than non-ingroup prototypical leaders regardless of leader's justice behavior. And followers' own identification worked as a moderator such that this effect was found only among high ingroup identifiers and not among low ingroup identifiers. Other studies have come to similar conclusions. For example, Ulrich, Christ, and van Dick (2009) examined the relationship between procedural fairness and leader's group prototypicality. Results show that ingroup prototypical leaders were endorsed more strongly than non-ingroup prototypical leaders regardless of leader's justice behavior. And followers' own ingroup identification worked as a moderator such that this effect was strong for highly identified followers ($b = .50$) and negligible for less identified followers ($b = .11$). This, again,

demonstrates that perceivers' own ingroup identification level will moderate the relationship between leader's ingroup prototypicality and support of the leader. These studies, together, demonstrate that perceivers' own ingroup identification level will be an important moderator to consider in a study examining a target's ingroup prototypicality.

Hypothesis 2: Perceiver's ingroup identification will moderate the relationship between target's leader prototypicality and outcome measures such that:

a. The negative relationship between target's leader prototypicality and trust will be stronger for participants with high ingroup identification and minimal for participants with low ingroup identification. (See Figure 1.)

b. The negative relationship between target's leader prototypicality and leader endorsement will be stronger for participants with high ingroup identification and minimal for participants with low ingroup identification. (The same pattern is expected across DVs)

c. The negative relationship between target's leader prototypicality and intended OCB will be stronger for participants with high ingroup identification and minimal for participants with low ingroup identification. (The same pattern is expected across DVs)

1.7. Identity Denial as Mediator

A phenomenon known as identity denial may explain why people may react negatively to ingroup members who show a mismatch to ingroup prototypes. Cheryan and Monin (2005) define identity denial as a type of acceptance threat in which less prototypical individuals of an

in-group are not recognized as a part of their ingroup by others. Cheryan and Monin first coined this term with Asian Americans who were perceived by White Americans to be less "American" than White Americans, Black Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Cheryan and Monin called this phenomenon "identity denial" because the researchers recognized that the questions that are directed towards Asian Americans ("where are you really from?" and "Do you speak English?") serve to remind Asian Americans that they do not fit the general prototype of an "American". How much the Asian Americans themselves identify with "American" does not matter in this context. It is about whether ingroup members perceive the target to match the prototype of the ingroup or not.

In research studies most germane to the proposed study, identity denial among African Americans has been found to occur when group members violate the group prototype or the stereotypes of African Americans. Research on oppositional identity, for example, has shown that when African American students perform well in school, other African American students accuse those students of "acting White" (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). In this context, performing well in school seems to be the act that breaks the group prototype of African Americans from the perspective of the African American students. Johnson and Ashburn-Nardo (2014) have found that identity denial occurred among African Americans when a Black target had a predominantly White social network. Specifically, they found that, relative to those with Black social networks or a control group in which no information was provided, Blacks with White social networks were seen by other Blacks as being lower in perceived racial identity. This shows that having a lot of White social connections is another way that Blacks can violate the group prototype and experience identity denial from ingroup members. Johnson and Kaiser (2013) have found that financial wealth also brought about the same effect among African Americans. Specifically, the

researchers found that when Black targets were presented as wealthy, versus non-wealthy, Black perceivers viewed the target to be weakly identified with one's race. These examples demonstrate that when an African American violates the group prototype in some way, other African Americans will deny the Black identity of the target. These two studies (Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014; Johnson & Kaiser, 2013) also demonstrated that identity denial is a mechanism in intra-group discrimination. Identity denial has been shown to work as a mediator between social network composition and empathy such that Black targets with predominantly White social networks were seen by Black participants as less strongly racially identified (identity denied), which in turn predicted less empathy the participants felt toward the target (Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014). Identity denial has also been shown to mediate the relationship between financial wealth and empathy such that wealthy Black victims of racism were perceived to be weakly racially identified, which then predicted less empathy from the participants (Johnson & Kaiser, 2013). Although the literature on identity denial is fairly new, some investigations have already demonstrated that African Americans who are less prototypic of their ingroup are subject to identity denial.

Given these findings, it is plausible to hypothesize that an African American businessman who strongly matches the leader prototype would be denied his racial identity by other African Americans. Figure 2 shows the proposed indirect effect of prototypicality on trust, endorsement, and OCBs via identity denial.

Hypothesis 3: Identity denial will be a mediator between target's leader prototypicality
and outcome measures (trust, leader endorsement, OCB). (See Figure 1).

1.8. Overview

The current study will examine the relationship between an African American businessman's leadership prototypicality (strong vs. weak vs. no leader information provided) and outcome variables (trust, leader endorsement, and willingness to engage in OCB) as a function of identity denial. The study will employ experimental vignette methodology, which means that participants will be presented with a carefully created scenario followed by an assessment of dependent variables (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). This method was selected because experimental vignette methodology allows for manipulation of independent variables while keeping a moderate level of experimental realism, ensuring both internal and external validity (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010; Hox, Kreft, & Hermkens, 1991).

CHAPTER 2. METHOD

2.1. Participants and Design

Data were collected through a Qualtrics survey on Amazon Mechanical Turk.

Participants were African Americans because the current study concerns intra-group perceptions

of African Americans. To determine the sample size, I conducted a power analysis on G Power

assuming a medium size effect with a .80 power and 6 groups. Although we treated identity as a

continuous predictor variable and use a regression approach, we treated it as two groups (low vs.

high) for G Power purposes. The analysis yielded 60 participants for each condition (i.e., 360

participants). Because the model we tested required good power, we conservatively aimed for a

total of 400 participants.

The study employed a between subjects design with one true independent variable (leader

prototypicality) and one measured predictor variable (participant ingroup identity). Participants

were randomly assigned to one of three leader prototypicality conditions, which were

represented with the target's match to the leader prototype (target strongly or weakly matches

leader prototype or no information about leadership is provided).

2.2. Procedure

Following the procedures of Rosette, Leonardelli, and Phillips (2008), participants were

instructed to read a personnel summary and answer questions about what they read. The

personnel summary included a short profile and a 360-degree feedback of the target, a sales

consultant in a consulting services team employed by a fictitious company called Hazer

Industries. Before the participants answered questions, they were instructed to put themselves in

the shoes of an employee working for the same company as the target and answer questions keeping that in mind.

The 360-degree feedback section of the personnel summary manipulated the target's match to the leader prototype. The feedback section provided thoughts from the target's current supervisor, peers, and the target himself. The comments have been created with leader prototypes and racial stereotypes in mind. Ghavami and Peplau (2012) investigated stereotypes of different cross sections of gender and race and found that White men are more associated with agency (intelligence, assertiveness, arrogance) and high status (success, education, privilege) than Black men. Because previous research supports that idea that "being White" and "being male" are a part of leader prototypicality, we tried to model our manipulations based on the differences between stereotypical characteristics of White men and Black men. As such, the 360-degree feedback comments attempted to manipulate agency and high status between strongly-matching leader prototype condition and weakly-matching leader prototype condition. We did not manipulate competence in general because someone with lower competence is most likely a worse candidate for promotion. The manipulation was targeted specifically on agency and high status.

In order to make sure that the participants know that the target is Black, the race of the target was indicated as "African-American" in the candidate profile section of the personnel summary. The name of the target was also set as Tyrone Jackson because Tyrone is a name that sounds African-American (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) and because Jackson is a neutral sounding last name. A professional headshot of a Black man wearing a shirt and a tie was provided as well to further emphasize the race of the target.

2.3. Measures

2.3.1. Perceived Racial Identification

Perceived racial identification was measured using an adapted version of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) identity subscale of the collective self-esteem scale. This scale has been used in previous studies of identity denial (Johnson & Kaiser, 2012; Johnson & Ashburn-Nardo, 2014). It is a four-item measure using a 7-point scale (1 = totally disagree, 7 = totally agree) with good reliability in previous research (alpha = .87). The items are: "Overall, being a Black person has very little to do with how Tyrone feels about himself", "Being a Black person is an important reflection of who Tyrone is", "Being a Black person is unimportant to Tyrone's sense of what kind of a person he is", and "In general, being a Black person is an important part of Tyrone's self-image". The first and third items were reverse coded.

2.3.2. Trust

Participant's perceived level of trust for the target was measured using a trust scale adapted from Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Moorman and Fetter's (1990) trust in the leader scale and Scandura and Graen's (1984) leader-member exchange scale. The items were chosen carefully to accurately capture the feeling of trust that would fit current study's context. The items use a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). The item wordings have been slightly modified to fit the study. Sample items include "Tyrone would treat me with respect", "Tyrone would understand my problems and needs well", "I feel quite confident that Tyrone will always try to treat me fairly", and "I would have complete faith in Tyrone's integrity".

2.3.3. Endorsement

Endorsement of the target were measured using an adapted version of Ulrich, Christ, and van Dick's (2009) three item measure for leader endorsement. The items use a 7-point scale (1 – do not agree at all, 7 = fully agree) and has good reliability in previous research (alpha = .91). The items are "I would want Tyrone to be my leader", "Tyrone would be the right person to be the leader", and "If I could vote for my leader in this company, I would definitely vote for Tyrone"

2.3.4. Willingness to Engage in Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB)

Willingness to Engage in OCB of participants was measured using an adapted version of an OCB scale used by De Cremer, van Dijke, and Mayer (2010) and based on a measure developed by Moorman and Blakely (1995). The items use a 5-point (1 = very unlikely, 5 = very likely) scale and has good reliability in previous research (alpha = .70). The items are "How likely would you modify your working schedule to help Tyrone take a day off", "How likely would you help Tyrone feel welcome in the group", and "How likely would you treat Tyrone in a friendly and caring manner".

2.3.5. Participant's own racial identification

Participant's own racial identification was measured using Leach et al.'s (2008) multicomponent in-group identification scale. It is a fourteen-item scale using a 7-poing scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Leach et al. (2008) showed that the measure is reliable and valid, and the current study proved that with a good reliability in previous research (alpha = .92). Sample items include "I feel a bond with Black people", "I am glad to be Black", "Being Black is an important part of how I see myself", and "I have a lot in common with the average

Black person". For the current study, we focused on the three-item centrality subscale because it was the most theoretically relevant.

2.3.6. Demographics

Multiple demographic information was measured in the study, including gender, age, ethnicity, race, country of origin, first language, education, salary, type of work, hours per week of work, industry, and M-Turk ID.

2.3.7. Attention Check

An attention check was inserted into the questionnaire (trust section) to discern which participants are actually reading the items carefully. The attention check item was "I enjoy watching television (please check strongly disagree)".

2.3.8. Manipulation Check

Three items were used to make sure that the participants are paying attention to the manipulations: "What is the name of the employee whose profile you read?" (options: Tyrone Jackson, Timothy Johnson), "Consider the profile you just read and select the option that best describes what you read" (options: The candidate's supervisor described him as "Extremely ambitious and assertive", The candidate's supervisor described him as "Not overly ambitious or assertive", I was not provided a quote from the candidate's supervisor), "What is the candidate's race?" (options: Black/African American, White/Caucasian).

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

3.1. Preliminary Analyses

Prior to conducting any analyses, the data went through a preparation process. First, all the variables included in the study were rescored so that a higher score represents a higher level of the variable. Items that needed to be rescored include items one and three of the perceived racial identification scale. Second, the sample ($N = 424$) was screened to eliminate participants that did not meet certain criteria. After a visual scan, 19 cases were removed because they failed to respond to at least 50% of the items. Two participants were removed due to not self-identifying as African American. Finally, we removed all the participants that failed the attention check (56 participants) and the manipulation checks (46 participants) and arrived at the final sample ($N = 301$). A chi-square analysis was conducted to check whether there were any significant differences in the number of participants that were excluded, based on the attention check, across different experimental conditions. Results show that there is no significant difference for any of the checks χ^2 (2, 403) = .391, p = .822. A chi square analysis was conducted on the manipulation check item 1 (χ^2 (2, 404) = .360, p = .835; What is the name of the employee whose profile you read?: Tyrone Jackson; Timothy Johnson), item 2 (χ^2 (2, 404) = 4.166, p = .125; Consider the profile you just read and select the option that best describes what you read: The candidate's supervisor described him as "Extremely ambitious and assertive"; The candidate's supervisor described him as "Not overly ambitious or assertive"; I was not provided a quote from the candidate's supervisor), and item 3 (χ^2 (2, 403) = 3.818, p = .148; What is the candidate's race?: Black/African American; White/Caucasian) and they also showed that there are no significant differences across different experimental conditions.

For each of the variables used in the study, means and standard deviations were calculated. A Pearson correlation between the variables was computed as well (see Table 1). The scales that measure that variables of interest in the current study all show good reliability (all αs > .82; see Table 1), with the exception of the scale measuring willingness to engage in OCB (α = .658). Upon further examination, it was evident that item 1 of the OCB scale was qualitatively different from items 2 and 3; item 1 was about OCB in relation to workplace behavior, where was items 2 and 3 were more about OCB in a general interpersonal context. Furthermore, the reliability analysis indicated the alpha would be much improved with the removal of Item 1. As such, we decided to only use items 2 and 3 for the study and we call this subscale willingness to engage in interpersonal OCB. The two items show a strong correlation (r = .727).

3.2. Hypothesis Tests

In order to test Hypothesis 1, ANOVAs were conducted to find out whether there is a main effect of leader prototypicality on dependent variables of interest: trust in leader, willingness to engage in interpersonal OCB, and leader endorsement. The results show that Hypothesis 1 is supported; there is a main effect of leader prototypicality on trust in leader, $F(2, 298) = 14.351$, $p < .01$, on willingness to engage in interpersonal OCB, $F(2, 298) = 8.431$, $p < .01$, and on leader endorsement, $F(2, 298) = 12.207$, $p < .01$ such that participants assigned to the strong leader prototype match condition report lower levels of the dependent variables than participants assigned to weak leader prototype match condition and control condition.

Post hoc analyses were conducted because the ANOVA tests were statistically significant. Tukey HSD tests were conducted on all the pairwise contrasts. The tests revealed that for trust, participants who were assigned to the strong leader prototype match condition ($M = $

3.45, *SD* = .884) reported significantly lower levels of trust in the target than participants who were assigned to the weak leader prototype match condition (*M* = 3.88, *SD* = .616) and participants who were assigned to the control condition (*M* = 3.93, *SD* = .574). For interpersonal OCB, participants who were assigned to the strong leader prototype match condition (*M* = 4.35, *SD* = .773) reported significantly lower levels of interpersonal OCB than participants who were assigned to the weak leader prototype match condition (*M* = 4.60, *SD* = .588) and participants who were assigned to the control condition (*M* = 4.70, *SD* = .459). Interestingly, for leader endorsement, participants who were assigned to the control condition (*M* = 5.71, *SD* = .919) reported significantly higher levels of leader endorsement than participants who were assigned to the weak leader prototype match condition (*M* = 4.92, *SD* = 1.42) and participants who were assigned to the strong leader prototype match condition (*M* = 4.85, *SD* = 1.68). Figure 3 shows the mean values of each dependent variable in each condition.

I ran Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro model 1 to test a simple moderation model wherein target leader prototypicality match would have differing levels of effect on trust, leader endorsement, and interpersonal OCB based on participants' own ingroup identification level (Hypothesis 2). Two dummy variables were created to run the analysis. The first dummy variable categorized the strong match condition to 0, the weak match condition to 1, and the control condition to 0. The second dummy variable categorized the strong match condition to 0, the weak match condition to 0, and the control condition to 1. Two analyses were run for every dependent variable with one dummy variable as the independent variable and the other dummy variable as the control variable. The interactions were not significant for all three of the dependent variables tested, suggesting that participants' ingroup identification level does not significantly moderate the relationship between target leader prototypicality and trust (Dummy 1:

$F(1, 295) = 0.71$, $p = .40$, $\Delta R^2 = .002$; Dummy 2: $F(1, 295) = 0.000$, $p = .99$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$), leader

endorsement (Dummy 1: $F(1, 295) = 0.12$, $p = .91$, $\Delta R^2 = .000$; Dummy 2: $F(1, 295) = .320$, $p =$

.57, $\Delta R^2 = .001$), and interpersonal OCB (Dummy 1: $F(1, 295) = 1.87$, $p = .17$, $\Delta R^2 = .006$;

Dummy 2: $F(1, 295) = .862$, $p = .35$, $\Delta R^2 = .003$).

I ran Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro model 4 with 10,000 bootstrap samples to test a

simple mediation model wherein target leader prototypicality match would have an indirect

effect on the outcome measures through perceived racial identity (Hypothesis 3). Two dummy

variables were used in the same way it was used to test for hypothesis 2. The results showed that

none of the proposed indirect effects were significant (the confidence intervals crossed 0),

suggesting that identity denial did not mediate the relationship between target leader

prototypicality and the outcome measures.

Lastly, I ran Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro model 8 with 10,000 bootstrap samples to

test the proposed moderated mediation model. Two dummy variables were used in this analysis

as well. The results did not show a significant interactive effect between target leader

prototypicality and participant ingroup identification on outcome measures through identity

denial. Taken together, these results suggest only a main effect between target leader

prototypicality and the outcome measures of interest (trust, leader endorsement, and willingness

to engage in interpersonal OCB). Regardless of their level of ingroup identification and

perceived racial identification of the target, the participants felt more trust, were more likely to

endorse the target as leader, and were more willing to engage in OCB behaviors towards the

target who weakly matched the leader prototype than the target who strongly matched the leader

prototype.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Contributions

Previous research about intragroup penalties for violation of group norms among lower status social group members has not yet examined leader prototypicality among African Americans. The literature suggested that exhibition of leadership qualities among African Americans is atypical, and that the consequence of this would be negative in nature. The current study investigated whether displaying prototypical characteristics of a leader would lead to negative perceptions among African American ingroup members. Specifically, the current study examined the link between an African American target's match to the leader prototype and ingroup members' levels of trust in the target, willingness to endorse the target to be a leader, and willingness to engage in organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) for the target. The results support our hypothesis that Black participants will feel more trust, more endorsement, and more willing to engage in OCB towards the target that weakly matches the leader prototype than the target that strongly matches the leader prototype. This finding has important implications for both theoretical considerations and practical considerations.

The current study extends the social identity theory of leadership by indicating that a leader who is non-prototypical of the ingroup will receive negative consequences. Previous studies in this line of research has found that leaders who are perceived to be less prototypical of the group will have negative implications in followers' trust in the leader (Giessner & Knippenberg, 2008; Kalshoven & Den Hartog, 2009), followers' endorsement of the leader (e.g. Ulrich, Christ, & van Dick, 2009; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), and OCB (De Cremer, van Dijke, & Mayer, 2010). The current study extends these findings by demonstrating that for

African Americans, exhibiting leadership prototypical characteristics leads to the same negative outcomes in trust, endorsement, and OCB.

On a more general level, this study extends the findings from previous studies that examine members from lower social status groups who show atypical characteristics and their consequences for deviating from the group norm. Theories such as lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983), backlash effect (Rudman, 1998), queen bee syndrome (Ellemers, De Gilder, & Haslam, 2004), and oppositional identity (Forham & Ogbu, 1986) all demonstrated similar findings showing that when an individual from a lower social status group exhibits excellence, such individual will be punished for deviating the group norm of being lower status. The current study extends this line of research by specifically illustrating that exhibition of prototypical leadership characteristics by a lower status social group member (African American) leads to similarly negative outcomes. Most of the existing work in this topic has focused on gender, but this study is unique for examining backlash effects in the context of race. The context in the current study, Black businessmen exhibiting leadership prototypical characteristics, contributes to the literature by providing a new situation in which the same negative effect can be observed.

Our proposed hypotheses about identity denial were not supported. Identity denial was found not to be a mediator between an African American businessman's leader prototypicality and the outcome variables in the current study. There were no condition effects on perceived racial identification either. The only variable it was correlated to was participant's own racial identification. Participant's own racial identification strongly correlated with perceived racial identification ($r = .458$). We ran the analyses again using participant's own racial identification as a covariate instead of a moderator, but the results returned as non-significant like previous analyses.

The fact that identity denial did not work as expected could mean that the way we had manipulated leader prototypicality in the current study does not speak to racial identification as much as we had thought it would. It could also mean that, contrary to what we had hypothesized, leader prototypicality itself is not that closely related to racial identity for African Americans. With the results from this study, we could not establish a connection between leader prototypicality and identity denial. For future studies, it would be beneficial to think about in what other ways we can manipulate leader prototypicality to make sure there is no link between leader prototypicality and identity denial. It would also be beneficial to look for other factors that may work as a mediator between leader prototypicality and the outcomes variables examined in this study. One such variable may simply be perceptions of warmth. Agency is the counterpart to warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2002), and leader prototypicality (as manipulated in this study) share a great deal with agency. Therefore, it may simply be the case that perception of warmth is what mediates leader prototypicality and trust.

Regarding practical considerations, the current study suggests that ingroup perceptions towards leaders among African Americans may be more nuanced than previously assumed. For African Americans businessmen, trying to emulate the characteristics of a prototypical leader (e.g. ambitious, competitive, domineering) may be one way to find success in corporations. However, this success may come at the price of negative perceptions from other African Americans since resembling a prototypical leader leads to negative reactions from ingroup members. Research on "babyfaceness" among Black executives (Livingston & Pearce, 2009) already suggested that Black leaders face different criteria for success than White Americans and that the road to success is laden with more things to consider. The current study adds to this complexity that Black business leaders face in their corporate climb. If they downplay their

leader prototypical characteristics to alleviate reactions from other African Americans, they might run the risk of being perceived as not fit for leadership by White Americans. I recommend organizations to implement interventions that can help raise awareness of this issue. People may not be aware that this kind of a backlash effect exists and a training intervention that teaches employees and employers about this effect may help alleviate negative consequences that may occur unknowingly.

4.2. Limitations and Future Directions

The current study only accepted African American participants because the study was interested in African American ingroup perceptions. Therefore, we cannot generalize the findings of this study to other social groups. For example, we would not expect the same results to be observed in Asian Americans. However, Asian Americans would be a fascinating group to explore in future research. They share minority status in the United States and low representation in American business leadership ranks with African Americans (Menendez, 2010). But unlike African Americans, Asians in America did not develop an oppositional identity centered around avoiding achievement. In fact, Asian Americans value achievement as a component of their collectivistic culture (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997). Knowing this key difference in the background between African Americans and Asian Americans, it would be intriguing to explore the relationship between leader prototypicality for Asian Americans and ingroup perceptions. Future research could uncover whether leader prototypicality in Asian Americans will be received similarly to African Americans, or received in a more mixed manner.

Another important caveat of the current study is that we specifically manipulated leader prototypicality, not competence in general. While competence is a component of leader prototypicality, there are many other components as well, including characteristics like

dominance, masculinity, and goal-orientation (Lord, Foti & De Vader, 1984; Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; Gerstner & Day, 1994). The literature on agency has shown that agency is comprised of two components: competence and dominance (e.g., Abele et al., 2008; Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Carrier et al., 2014; Rudman & Glick, 2001). The dominance portion is what seems to be the key factor that leads to the denigration of female leaders (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). The competence portion, on the other hand, is becoming more acceptable for women (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Okimoto and Brescoll (2010) even shows that dominance-related behavior in female leaders leads people to feel moral outrage towards them. Clearly, competence is not the same as something like agency and leader prototypicality. Therefore, the results of the current study cannot be generalized to denote that any form of competence in African Americans business leaders leads to a negative reaction from ingroup members. Future research may benefit from examining the intricacies of competence, leader prototypicality, and dominance in African American leaders. For example, we may only manipulate competence in a future study to observe the effect that competence has on ingroup perceptions among African Americans.

4.3. Conclusion

The current study makes a case that becoming a business leader as an African American is laden with complexity when it comes to ingroup perceptions: namely that leader prototypicality among African Americans is met with distrust. Although this negative ingroup reception is not the only roadblock that hinders African Americans from reaching higher representation in American business leadership ranks, it is an important factor that has been often understudied. The literature will benefit from further exploration of this topic so that the intricate workings that is African American ingroup dynamics can be understood in a deeper level.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

Table 1. Variable Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5
Perceived Racial Identification	4.56	1.36	(.822)				
Trust	3.75	.734	.084	(.928)			
Leader Endorsement	5.16	1.42	.071	.768**	(.967)		
Willingness to Engage in Interpersonal OCB	4.55	.634	.090	.561**	.497**	(.727)	
Participant Ingroup Identification (Centrality)	5.30	1.41	.458**	.149**	.141*	.140**	(.831)

*Correlation is significant at $p < .05$ (2-tailed)

**Correlation is significant at $p < .01$ (2-tailed)

Note: Values in diagonal represent Cronbach's alpha, with the exception of Willingness to
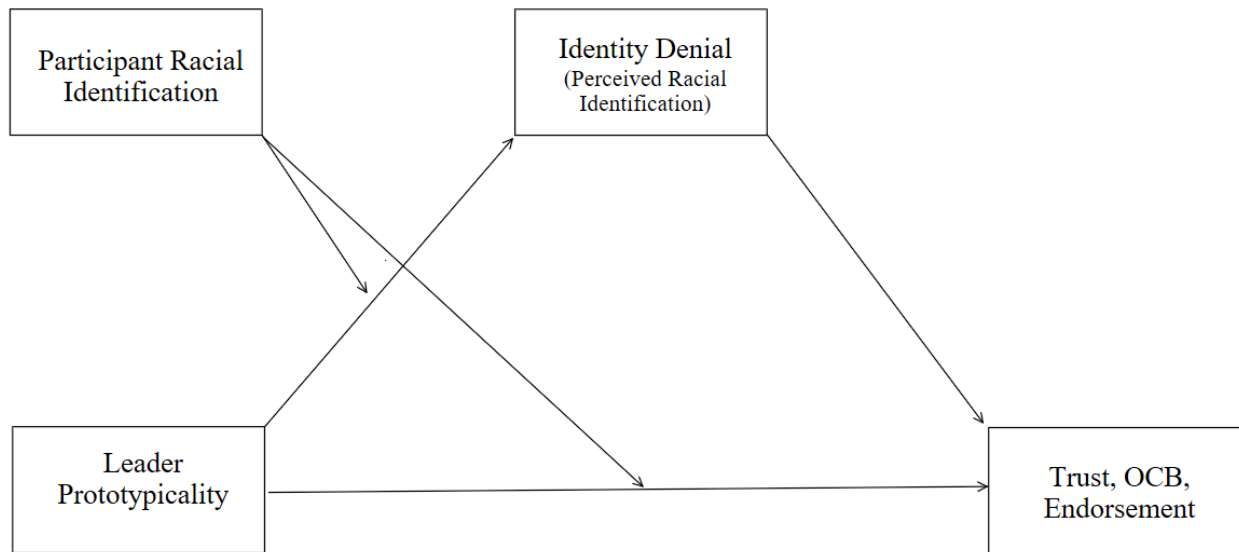
Engage in Interpersonal OCB

APPENDIX B: FIGURES
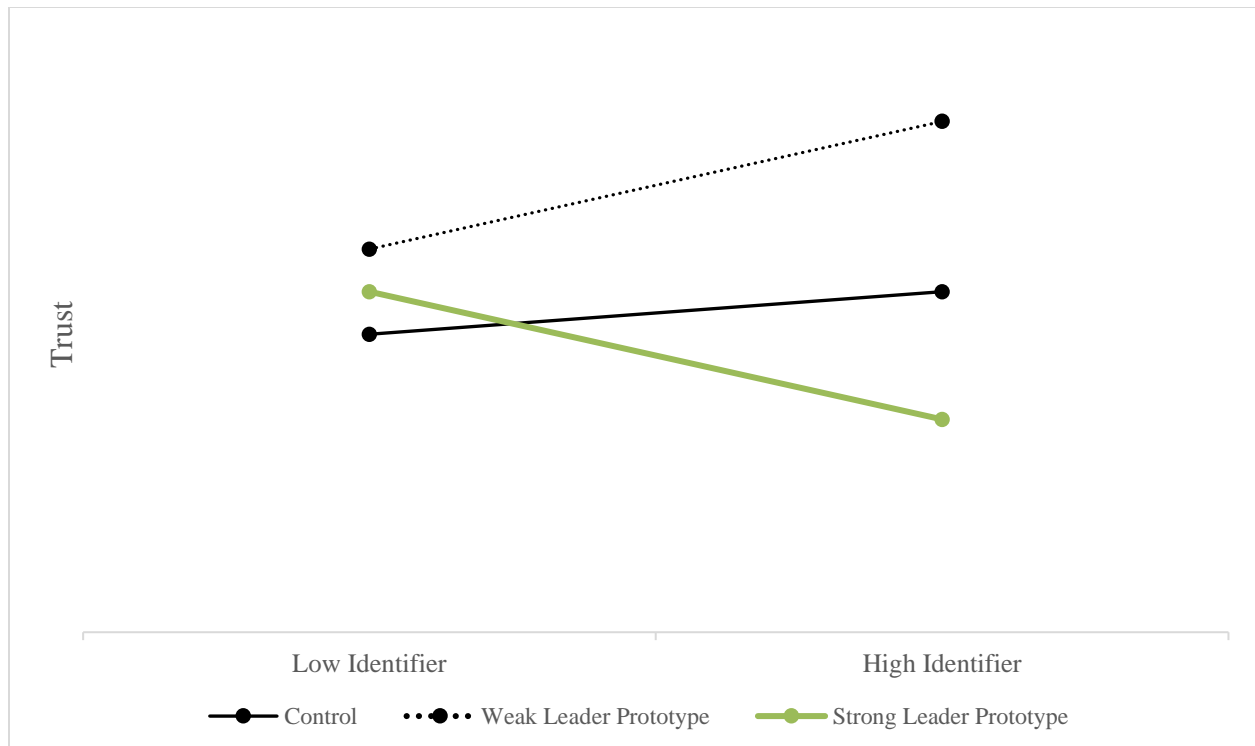

Figure 1. Proposed model of the study.

Figure 2. Hypothesized interaction between follower identification and target leader prototype on outcome measures.
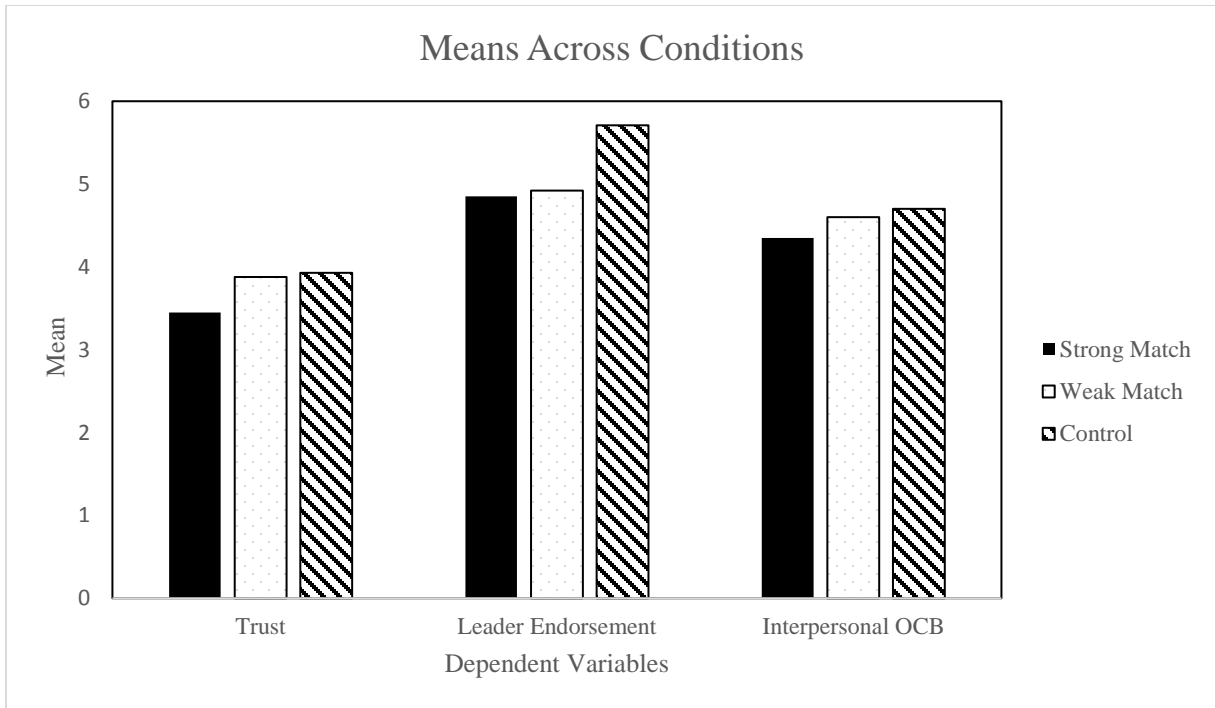
Figure 3. Dependent variables' mean levels across 3 conditions.

APPENDIX C: MATERIALS

Perceived Racial Identification (7 Point Likert Scale)

Now consider your more general impressions of Tyrone. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about Tyrone.

1. Overall, being a Black person has very little to do with how Tyrone feels about himself. (Reverse scored)

2. Being a Black person is an important reflection of who Tyrone is.

3. Being a Black person is unimportant to Tyrone's sense of what kind of a person he is. (Reverse scored)

4. In general, being a Black person is an important part of Tyrone's self-image.

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Trust Scale (5 Point Likert Scale)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about your views on Tyrone.

1. Tyrone would treat me with respect.

2. Tyrone would never try to gain an advantage by deceiving me.

3. Tyrone would understand my problems and needs well.

4. Tyrone would use his power to help me solve problems in my work.

5. Tyrone would "bail me out" at his expense.

6. I would have complete faith in Tyrone's integrity.

7. I feel quite confident that Tyrone would always try to treat me fairly.

8. I would have an effective working relationship with Tyrone.

9. I would feel a strong loyalty to Tyrone.

10. I would support Tyrone in almost any emergency.

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Scandura, T. A., & Graen, G. B. (1984). Moderating effects of initial leader–member exchange status on the effects of a leadership intervention. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *69*, 428.

Endorsement (7 Point Likert Scale)

Now think about Tyrone's leadership potential. Really try to imagine yourself as a member of his team. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I would want Tyrone to be my leader.

2. Tyrone would be the right person to be the leader.

3. If I could vote for my team leader in this company, I would definitely vote for Tyrone.

Ullrich, J., Christ, O., & van Dick, R. (2009). Substitutes for procedural fairness: prototypical leaders are endorsed whether they are fair or not. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *94*, 235.

Willingness to Engage in OCB (5 Point Likert Scale)

Please rate how likely you would engage in these behaviors if you were working with Tyrone at Hazer Industries.

1. How likely would you modify your working schedule to help Tyrone take a day off?

2. How likely would you help Tyrone feel welcome as your team leader?

3. How likely would you treat Tyrone in a friendly and caring manner?

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Multicomponent In-Group Identification (7 Point Likert Scale)

Next, we have some questions about you. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about yourself.

1. I feel a bond with Black people.

2. I feel solidarity with Black people.

3. I feel committed to Black people.

4. I am glad to be Black.

5. I think that Black people have a lot to be proud of.

6. It is pleasant to be Black.

7. Being Black gives me a good feeling.

8. I often think about the fact that I am Black.

9. The fact that I am Black is an important part of my identity.

10. Being Black is an important part of how I see myself.

11. I have a lot in common with the average Black person.

12. I am similar to the average Black person.

13. Black people have a lot in common with each other.

14. Black people are very similar to each other.

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