A STATUS-BASED EXPLANATION OF HOW SELF AND OTHER EXPECTATIONS INFLUENCE LEADER IDENTITY AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

AN ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED ON THE 25th DAY OF APRIL 2014

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT

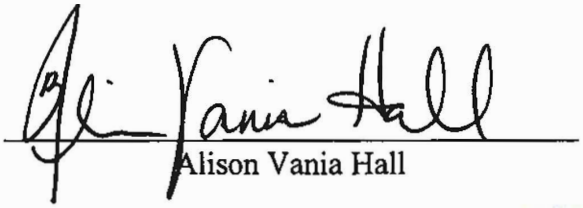
IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE A.B. FREEMAN SCHOOL OF BUSINESS OF TULANE UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY



Alison Vania Hall

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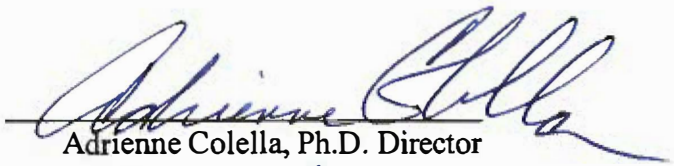

Adrienne Colella, Ph.D. Director

Angelo DeNisi, Ph.D.

Cynthia Devers, Ph.D.

A STATUS-BASED EXPLANATION OF HOW SELF AND OTHER EXPECTATIONS INFLUENCE LEADER IDENTITY AND CAREER ADVANCEMENT

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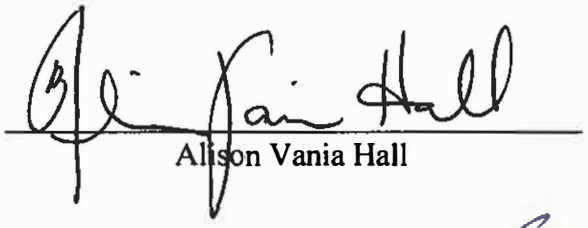

Alison Vania Hall

APPROVED:

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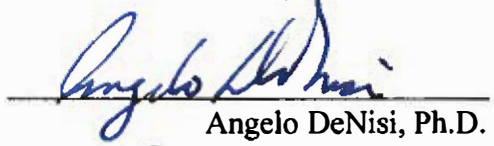

Angelo DeNisi, Ph.D.

Cynthia Devers, Ph.D.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I first give honor to God, who in my quiet moments of despair gave me these words to hold on to: "For I know the plans I have for you… plans to prosper you and not harm you, plans to give you hope and a future," and for his assurance that He would go before me and make the crooked places straight. I praise and thank Him for this and many other promises fulfilled.

To my great-grandmother Mable Lee Beckmon Hall, who always saw the absolute best of what I was and held high expectations for all that I could be, I thank you for making me believe I could meet those expectations. I carry you in my heart and hear you in my head every day. You are due credit for most of the good things I am. I hope I live my life in a way that makes you proud.

To my parents, Vincent and Regeina Hall, I thank you for trusting my judgment and for letting me find my own way even when you wanted something different for me. (Thank you for letting me quit piano. It really was the best decision for all parties.) I thank you for challenging me to be a thinker and exposing me to a much bigger world than most of my childhood peers would ever know. I thank you for making me strong and for making me grounded. I love you both beyond words.

To my third parent, Gina Hall-Green, I thank you for believing in my potential before I was old enough to demonstrate that I had any. I am grateful that you did not shy away from teaching me when other people thought you were crazy. You were gifted

educator even then and I am so proud of all that you have done in the lives of the children with whom you work.

For my sisters Erinn and Hailee Hall and my nieces Kennedy and Skylar, I'm coming home! You all motivate me to do well and to do good. I only hope that I do the same for you.

To other family and friends that are too numerous to mention but to integral to overlook, you have been the most amazing support system on tough days and the most phenomenal cheering section on great days. Thank you for your prayers, your counsel, your listening ears, your thoughtful cards and gifts, and your love. Thank you for pretending to care about my dissertation topic and for telling me how important it was. Each of you has played such a major role in me making it to this point. "Look mama we made it!"

For my adviser and chair, Adrienne Colella, I have tremendous gratitude. I cannot explain how much it meant to have a chair who not only believed in my ideas, but who also got excited about them. I look forward to collaborating with you in the future and am excited to learn how to write an AMR!

Thank you to my committee members Angelo DeNisi and Cynthia Devers. I appreciate your time and attention. Thank you for giving me direction and not just feedback. I believe I will have a stronger future as a scholar because of you both. I would also like to thank you both for being advisers and not just committee members. Thank you for being great people. Thank you for making this process healthy.

Finally, thank you to Caitlin Smith and Benjamin Alexander for keeping me sane (or close) on a daily basis. I was blessed to be able to share this experience with you both and I am excited about what's in store for each of you. I hope that I was a decent model and that things go more smoothly for you as a result of my bumps. Party time will never be the same.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Organizations with highly diverse leadership teams may be equipped to outperform organizations with no, low, or moderate diversity among their leaders (e.g. Roberson & Park, 2007). Under the appropriate conditions, organizations may benefit from various types of diversity at the top including diversity of gender (e.g. Dwyer, Richard, & Chadwick, 2003), race (e.g. Richard, 2003), experience (e.g. Auh & Menguc, 2006), and functional background (e.g. Canella, Park, & Lee, 2008). However, the leadership ranks of the United States workforce are largely homogenous (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). This is especially true with regard to readily recognizable diversity markers like race and gender. White men are consistently overrepresented in managerial positions, even as other groups make small, steady gains (e.g. Stainback &Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009). If a lack of diversity at the top has the potential to act as a competitive disadvantage for American corporations, it is critical for management scholars to have a well-rounded understanding of the obstacles to achieving greater diversity in corporate leadership. One of these obstacles is discrimination. In addition to being ethically wrong (Dipboye & Colella, 2005), discrimination also carries great human capital, financial, and reputational costs for organizations; and although several explanations have been used to explain the career advancement barriers faced by those groups that are underrepresented at the top (for a comprehensive review, see Avery, 2011) much work remains.

For example, the predominant point-of-view represented in discrimination research is that of the observer (or potential discriminatory actor). As such, existing studies of discrimination in leadership generally suggest that disparate career advancement outcomes result from biased actors operating in biased systems (e.g. Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Roberson & Block, 2001; Tomkiewicz, Brenner & Adeyemi-bello, 1998). These are critically important, well-documented assessments; but, strict adherence to this type of logic casts individual targets from underrepresented groups (e.g. women and racial minorities) as rather passive participants in shaping their own fates. We know that perceived discrimination is associated with negative work attitudes and lower promotion rates (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). We also know that individuals from groups that are frequently discriminated against may experience identity threat that impairs their performance when the threat is made explicitly salient (for a comprehensive review, see Steele, 2010). We know much less, however, about how individual employees from groups that frequently experience discrimination in society internalize the meanings of their lesser outcomes in their day-to-day workplace interactions or how that internalization may shape their career prospects. Organizational scholars will gain a more complete understanding of barriers to diversity in leadership by examining discrimination experiences from the targets' own points-of-view.

In addition to an overrepresentation of the actor's perspective, there are other factors that limit our knowledge of overcoming barriers to diversity in organizational leadership. For example, although a solid body of work examines organizational factors that may help to level the playing field (e.g. Beckman & Phillips, 2005; McKay, Avery,

& Morris, 2009; Schur, Kruse, Blasi, & Blanck, 2009), Management scholarship is short on suggestions for how individuals from underrepresented groups can best take the onus to position themselves for favorable career advancement. If targets from underrepresented groups do indeed have some level of influence over their own career advancement outcomes, a greater understanding of both organizational and personal tools that counteract career advancement disparities could reshape interventions to more fully benefit organizations and the individual employees within them. Further, many of the existing frameworks used to explain discrimination in leadership are tailored to the unique obstacles faced by specific groups – most often women (e.g. Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983, 2001; Schein, 1973, 1975, 2001). Unfortunately, these theories are not always easily applied to the obstacles encountered by other groups (e.g. the barriers faced by women may not coincide with those faced by Muslims). A more inclusive conceptual framework of discrimination in leadership could spark further examination of important understudied groups like non-Black racial minorities, religious minorities, LGBT employees, employees with disabilities, and overweight employees (Avery, 2011). Finally, most of the existing research on discrimination (or barriers to diversity) in leadership focuses solely on managers – individuals serving in formal leadership roles with position power. Considerably less work assesses the path to attaining those formal managerial roles. However, it may be important to examine how disparate workplace experiences influence who attains, or even aspires to attain, those formal managerial positions and why. Very capable employees from underrepresented groups may intentionally, or unintentionally, opt out of the race to the top for various reasons. Management scholars and practitioners alike should be concerned with pipeline problems

and be more knowledgeable of how, when, and why they occur. This research aims to address those gaps.

Although there is no single prototype of leadership that applies to all situations (Lord et al., 2001), there are characteristics that reflect the most common perceptions of what/who is leader-like. Much research demonstrates that the people most likely to become leaders are those that other's view as being leader-like (e.g. Lord, Brown, Harvey, & Hall, 2001). However, the proposed theory is unique in suggesting that the employees that become leaders in their organizations are not only those employees who others see as leader-like, but are those who also see themselves as leader-like. Those employees most likely to see themselves as leaders are those who (1) think of themselves as leader-like; (2) feel confident and secure in themselves and their abilities to lead; and (3) behave in leader-like ways. As such they are more likely to develop leader identities. Unfortunately, these leader-like self-perceptions may be influenced by the external social world such that individuals from groups with lower ascribed status (e.g. women, racial minorities, gay men, religious minorities, employees with disabilities, etc.) may find it harder to see the similarity between themselves and the prototypical leader with leader-like traits. I propose a theory (See Figure 1) that asserts a target's ascribed status influences the target's self-beliefs, self-esteem, and social behaviors, which in turn, impact the target's ability to self-identify as a leader. Concurrently, the target's ascribed status also influences the way others think and feel about the target and how others perceive the target's behavior. These things also impact others' abilities to recognize and endorse the target as a leader. So members of lower status groups may be less likely to develop leader identities than members of higher status groups and may consequently

experience lesser career advancement outcomes. Thus, I examine a unique form of discrimination in which ascribed status differentially impacts members of lower and higher status groups' abilities both to self- identify as leaders and to be recognized and endorsed as leaders by others. I also suggest both individual and organizational characteristics that may strengthen, weaken, or neutralize the impact of ascribed status on leader identity construction.

This framework contributes to scholarship in leadership, diversity, and discrimination by examining how individuals from a broad range of groups come to have different propensities to develop the influential leader identities that impact their career advancement opportunities. It examines how culturally accepted status differences influence the social attitudes that enable or disable employees' leader identity construction and consequently influence which employees are best equipped to advance in their careers. Notably, I position self-expectations to be as important as others' expectations. This distinction is critical because most prior conceptualizations have been other-centric; but others' leadership perceptions do not exist in isolation (van Quaquebeke & van Knippenberg, 2012). They affect the target's own perceptions as well. Further, I make specific propositions regarding how both organizations and individual employees from groups with low ascribed status can level the playing field so employees from lower status groups have the same access to career advancement as their equally qualified counterparts from higher status groups. Considering how employees from underrepresented groups can play a more active role in shaping their own careers is a departure from the most common point-of-view explored in management leadership research to date. Thus, this research has practical applications for organizations who wish

to diversify their pipeline into management, as well as the individual employees who endeavor to climb the corporate ladder. Accordingly, this model offers a well-rounded perspective that furthers our understanding of how career advancement disparities come to exist and offers insights regarding how to begin to resolve these inequities.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Defining Leader Identity

Identity refers to the portions of the self "composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they play" in various contexts (Stryker & Burke, 2000). It entails a person's awareness of what or who he/she is, as well as the feelings and significance the person associates with that awareness. A leader identity refers to the part of the self that is associated with the leader role and the value a person attaches to having that role. So individuals have leader identities when they believe they assume the leader role relative to some other person(s) and value that role as central to their self-definition. It encompasses evaluations of their potential and willingness to lead, as well as their enactment of leader-like behaviors.

Identity has both trait and state features (Lord & Brown, 2005; Markus & Wurf, 1987). So trait leader identity may be likened to affective motivation to lead (Chan & Drasgow, 2001) or generalized leadership self-efficacy (Chemers, Watson, & May, 2000). State leader identity however would be specific to context and the actors within the context. For example, a person who was president of his/her collegiate graduate council may feel like a leader at school and really enjoy assuming the leader role in many areas of general life. However, that same person may not feel like a leader in his/her among colleagues in a new work role with a new company. In this dissertation, I primarily focus on leader identities within the context of clearly identified work teams.

Leader Identity Construction

Leader identities are socially constructed through interactions between and among individuals within a social unit (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). There are three separate, but mutually reinforcing, paths to constructing a leader identity. One path includes an individual claiming the leader role and integrating the idea of being a leader into thoughts about the self. That person comes to see himself/herself as a leader and internalizes the leader role as being an important part of who he/she is. It involves some the target acknowledging his/her own leadership and holding leadership as a valuable part of his/her self-concept. Another path to developing a leader identity is for an individual to become recognized as a leader relative to some other interaction partner. When that other person adopts the reciprocal role in the relationship (e.g. you lead and I follow), that person is granting the target a leader identity. Reciprocal recognition should be thought of as dyadic. It involves some other actor acknowledging the target individual's leadership. The third path to constructing a leader identity is for the target individual to be endorsed as a leader by the social unit at-large. For example, the target's peers, as a unit, may assume follower roles in their relationships with the target. Collective endorsement entails a majority agreement that the target is a leader at the unit level. So the target individual is acknowledged as being a leader by the majority of the peers in the workgroup (e.g. we generally follow your lead). These three processes do not necessarily happen in sequential order and do not have to all be present for a leader identity to exist. For example, narcissists often think of themselves as significantly better leaders than others judge them to be (Judge, LePine, & Rich 2006). So a target with a narcissistic personality would likely internalize a leader identity that may not be reciprocally

recognized or collectively endorsed by others within the workgroup. Alternatively, some people assume the leader role out of feelings of duty or obligation but do not necessarily consider the leader role to be an integral part of how they see themselves (Chan & Drasgow, 2001). Those people might be collectively endorsed and/or reciprocally recognized as leaders because they shoulder leadership burdens. However, they may not individually internalize their leader identities as being an important part of their own self-definition. In another common case, the individual members of a workgroup may vary in the extent to which they are resistant or compliant to the leadership advances of a peer (e.g. Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004). In that case, the peer may individually internalize a leader identity and be relationally recognized as a leader by one or two peers, but may not be collectively endorsed as a leader by the majority of the workgroup peers. However, while these three processes do not always occur together, they do support and strengthen one another (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). Thus, stronger leader identities are developed when all three elements – individual internalization, reciprocal recognition, and collective endorsement – work in concert. Both self-identification and other-identification are central to becoming an effective leader.

Leader identities are co-constructed in organizations when individuals claim and grant leader and follower identities in their social interactions with one another (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). So they are context dependent. The proposed theory primarily focuses on leader identity construction among co-workers or peers within a workgroup. Among peers there is no formal authority or legitimate power that endows any individual the right to claim a leader identity or denies that right to another; however, it is common for informal leaders with no formal authority to emerge among objectively ranked equals

(e.g. Riggio, Riggio, Salinas, & Cole, 2003; Smith & Foti, 1998). I expect these informal leaders, who claim and are granted leader identities within their workgroups, to be best positioned to attain valued career outcomes like leadership development training and promotions to formal management roles.

In the DeRue & Ashford (2010) model of leader identity construction, the self-concept (e.g. individual internalization) is as influential as the other's-concept (e.g. reciprocal recognition and collective endorsement). Drawing on leader categorization theory (Lord 1985; Lord, Foti, & Phillips, 1982; Lord & Mayer, 1991), the authors propose that those individuals who perceive *themselves* as having qualities that are suited to the leader role will be more likely to *claim* leader identities for themselves and those individuals who perceive *others* as having qualities that are suited to the leader role will be more likely to *grant* leader identities to others. Leader categorization is a process of comparing the target - either the self or some other target - to one's own schema of a leader. The more the target matches the schema, the more the target is considered worthy of a leader identity grant or claim.

Leaders are believed to be competent, knowledgeable, self-confident, well-informed, intelligent, and skilled in business matters (Duehr & Bono, 2006). They are also expected to be competitive, authoritative, dominant, and assertive (Sümer, 2006). Although ideas about what is leader-like may be somewhat context dependent (Lord et al., 2001), these themes of competence, agency, positive self-regard, and assertive behavior are frequently and consistently integrated into the leader schema. As such, individuals who see themselves as having those qualities and who others also perceive to have these

characteristics are more likely to claim and be granted leader identities. Accordingly, it is important to consider how these perceptions and expectations are shaped.

CHAPTER III. CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Conceptual Model Overview

Figure 1 outlines the proposed theory. I argue that ascribed status is positively related to leader identity (Proposition 1). That is, an employee is more likely to individually internalize a leader identity and have that leader identity reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed if that employee is a member of a group with superior status in society. Examples of high status groups in the United States may include White Americans, the able-bodied, heterosexual men, Christians, the wealthy, alumni of prestigious universities, etc. Individuals from these groups are more stereotypically associated with positive social perceptions than are individuals from lower status groups (e.g. racial minorities, the disabled, women, gay men, Muslims, the poor, alumni of regional state colleges, etc.). Thus, target employees from groups with higher ascribed status are perceived as more leader-like and more likely to develop leader identities than target employees from groups with lower ascribed status. I argue that ascribed status influences a target's leader identity construction through its impact on the social perceptions (Propositions 2 - 4) differentially associated with targets from groups with high versus low ascribed status.

Ascribed status, however, may be more or less deterministic of which employees develop leader identities in a workgroup depending on whether or not there are counteracting achieved status indicators within the organization that demonstrate that

individuals from the groups with low ascribed status do indeed have the characteristics to be successful leaders in the relevant workplace context. Specifically, organizations may take strategic actions to signal that groups with low ascribed status can still be well-represented in high status positions and perform well throughout various areas of the company (Proposition 5). Individuals themselves may also greatly influence their own leader identity construction experiences in workgroup interactions through their exceptional task performance and political skill (Proposition 6). These characteristics individuate expectations for their potential to be successful leaders from the expectations held for their groups-at-large. Those employees with stronger leader identities should also experience more favorable career advancement outcomes (Proposition 7). Each of these propositions is addressed more fully in the remaining sections.

Ascribed Status Influences Leader Identity

In this section, I propose that the individuals who are most encouraged to assert themselves as leaders may do so, not because they are always objectively skilled as the most leader-like but, because they are socially taught to believe they have valuable and superior leader-like characteristics due to the high status their social group is ascribed within the broader external society. Alternatively, individuals who are less encouraged to claim leader identities may be hesitant to do so, not because they are always objectively the least skilled as leader-like but, because they are socially taught to believe they have less valuable inferior qualities and lack leader-like characteristics due to the low status their social groups are ascribed within society. Those people believed to have leader-like characteristics are more appropriately matched to the leader role than those who are believed to lack those characteristics (Hogg, 2001; Lord et al., 1982, 2001). Thus, I assert

that self-perceived leader role matches and mismatches combined with other-perceived leader role matches and mismatches influence employees' leader identities.

Ascribed Status is Indicated by Hierarchical Position

Social status is the prestige afforded to individuals because they hold a particular hierarchical position in society. Ascribed status is defined as the prestige assigned to individuals without reference to their unique innate differences or abilities (Linton, 1936). Ascribed status generally coincides with an individual's social group memberships. It is commonly related to certain nominal traits (e.g. gender, race, sexual orientation, physical ability, etc.) that differentiate actors into status groups that are associated with disparate value and differential beliefs about what the people in each group are capable of (Berger et al., 1977; Ridgeway, 1991).

Status hierarchies are social ranking systems in which the various status groups are sorted into social positions that carry unequal rewards, obligations, or expectations (Gould, 2002). Superior (or high) position in the status hierarchy may signal that members of groups at the top have the superior characteristics to get there and stay there (Ridgeway, 1991). Inferior (or low) position in the status hierarchy, alternatively, may signal that members of the groups at the bottom lack the superior characteristics to better their position. The characteristics attributed to the group influence the status ascribed to its members as well as the performance expectations people hold for themselves and others (Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Zelditch, 1977). As a result, group hierarchical position

may impact which individuals are believed to have the appropriate qualities to lead successfully.

Ascribed Status is Indicated by Social Roles

A group's status is also implicit in the social roles a group's members are commonly observed in. A social role is a generally agreed upon set of behavioral expectations that apply to persons who occupy a certain social position or are members of a particular group (Biddle, 1979; Sarbin & Allen, 1968; Sluss, van Dick, & Thompson, 2011). Social roles may be described as being either instrumental or expressive in nature (Berger et al., 2002). An instrumental role can be defined as one that entails expectations of dominant, rational, and independent behaviors (Wagner & Berger, 1997). Instrumental roles require ambitious performance-oriented characteristics and are often considered to be of primary importance for goal accomplishment (e.g. Strodtbeck & Mann, 1956). An expressive role can be defined as one that entails expectations of submissive, emotional, interdependent (or dependent) behaviors (Wagner & Berger, 1997). Expressive roles require supportive relationship-oriented characteristics and are often considered to be of secondary importance for goal accomplishment. Expressive roles are, however, valued for social purposes like group maintenance. So, an example of an instrumental role within a workgroup may be a team member who assumes the Initiator/Contributor role and actively suggests new ideas, solutions, and problem-solving approaches during workgroup interactions (Benne & Sheats, 1948). Alternatively, and example of an expressive role might be a team member who assumes the Encourager role and provides others with praise, agreement, and support during workgroup interactions. Instrumental

social roles are generally considered to be higher in status relative to expressive social roles.

Beliefs about groups come from everyday observations of group members in their most typical social roles (Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000). Frequent observations of a group in a given social role signal that the characteristics necessary for that role are related to the characteristics of the group's members in general. Instrumental social roles are often assumed by members of high status groups. This signals that people from high status groups have instrumental characteristics. Low status expressive social roles are most commonly occupied by members of low status groups. This signals that people from low status groups have expressive characteristics. So similar to hierarchical position, people make assumptions about groups based on the social roles they tend to occupy and individual targets are often assumed to have the characteristics of the groups they represent. Thus, the content of the beliefs and expectations linked to ascribed status often contains a complementary factor structure that describes individual members of higher status groups as superior and having the instrumental qualities suited to instrumental roles and describes individual members of lower status groups as inferior and having the expressive qualities suited to expressive roles (Berger, Ridgeway, & Zelditch, 2002).

Ascribed Status and Leader Identity

The connections people perceive between the characteristics of members of a particular status group and the requirements of the roles that group's members occupy or aspire to occupy can influence which group's members have access to which roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In the workplace, the leader role is a high status role and the follower

role is relatively lower in status. The leader role is superior to the follower role and is instrumental as opposed to expressive. Since, individuals from high status groups are believed to be superior to individuals from lower status groups, and are also believed to have more instrumental characteristics than individuals from lower status groups (Berger et al., 2002), they are more congruent with the leader role than individuals from lower status groups.

Expectations regarding hierarchical status position (superior/inferior) and social role-occupation (instrumental/expressive) are generally agreed upon by members of a culture-at-large (Berger et al., 1977; Berger, Fisek, Norman, & Wagner, 1985). Thus, these shared expectations regarding relative potential may be held by members of higher status and lower status groups alike. Believing they are endowed with the instrumental attributes necessary to lead successfully, employees from higher status groups should be more likely to assert themselves as leaders and internalize leader identities than their peers from lower status groups. Further, employees from higher status groups should also be more likely to be seen as leader-like by others. Consequently, members of higher status groups should also be more likely to have their leader identity claims relationally recognized and collectively endorsed by their peers than employees from lower status groups. Accordingly, ascribed status should be positively related to leader identity construction.

Proposition 1: Members of higher status groups will be more likely to (a) individually internalize leader identities; and have their leader identities (b) reciprocally recognized; and (c) collectively endorsed than will members of lower status groups.

Ascribed Status Impacts Social Perceptions

I argue that ascribed status influences leader identity by shaping the relative social perceptions linked to different status groups (see Figure 1). The messages implicit in ascribed status provide the social context that influences the social expectations employees bring to the workplace (Berger et al., 2002). As individuals come to understand their respective places in a given environment, the environment offers signals about normative beliefs, attitudes, and actions and makes certain contextual information more salient as we generate our social expectations and ultimately form our social perceptions (Fiske, 2009; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978).

Traits like gender, race, sexual orientation, physical ability, attractiveness, wealth, and weight differentiate actors into status groups that are linked to stereotypical expectations about performance abilities that the majority of people within a culture agree with (Ridgeway, 1991). These expectations more strongly associate the superior category of the trait (e.g. for gender, men are superior in status to women) with access to, and ownership of, valuable resources. These expectations also influence the social perceptions formed for groups in different hierarchical positions such that more positive perceptions are formed for members of superior groups and more negative perceptions are formed for members of inferior groups.

Social roles also shape the social perceptions linked to various status groups. Individuals from groups most commonly observed in expressive roles that require kindness and concern for others are expected to behave in communal and warm ways that are consistent with those characteristics. Individuals from groups most commonly observed in instrumental roles that require assertiveness and self-direction are expected to

behave in agentic ways that are consistent with those characteristics. Groups most commonly observed in social roles that require ability and skill are expected to behave in competent (also instrumental) ways that are consistent with those characteristics. The groups most likely to be characterized as both agentic and competent are those with higher status (e.g. Eagly & Koenig, 2010; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

Taken together, groups' hierarchical positions and social role occupations inform performance expectations linked to their members and thus influence the social perceptions formed for the members of each group. High status groups are more likely to be perceived as competent and agentic compared to low status groups (Berger et al., 2002). Additionally, because the United States values instrumental qualities like assertiveness and performance-orientation more than expressive qualities like caring (Hofstede, 1984), agentic, competent, high status groups may be held in higher esteem and evoke feelings of admiration whereas low status groups may be held in lower regard and evoke feelings of resentment and pity (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002). Finally, because high status groups are expected to perform well, their assertive behavior may be rewarded and perceived positively in their social interactions with others (e.g. Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998). Alternatively, because low status groups are expected to perform less well, their assertive behavior may be perceived negatively and punished during their social interactions with others (e.g. Carli, 2001; Ridgeway & Berger, 1986; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004; Rudman & Glick, 2001).

There is considerable agreement regarding how various groups are situated in terms of social hierarchy and social role occupancy. Scholars who study race and gender in the context of the United States social system overwhelmingly operate from the mutual

understanding that members of the white race are higher in the social pecking order than are members of minority races; and members of the male gender are also higher in the social pecking order than are members of the female gender (e.g. Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Kim, 1999; Ridgeway, Johnson, Diekema, 1994; Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009). Additional research suggests that shared understandings about status and role differentiation may also be embedded in sexual preference, religion, disability, wealth, age, and profession (e.g. Fiske et al., 2002). So how do these shared understandings translate to the workplace leadership ranks?

How Social Perceptions and Behaviors Influence Leader Identity

I (See Figure 1) posit that ascribed status influences social perceptions related to the target's abilities, worth, and behaviors which, in turn, impact the target's leader identity. Between-status differences in stereotype content, esteem, and assertive action provide a useful basis for assessing a group's congruence with the leader role. As these perceptions shape both the self-concept and the other-concept, they act as measuring sticks for how leader-like an individual target (either the self or other) is evaluated to be. Thus, I argue that the target's ascribed status impacts both the social perceptions of the target as well as his/her behaviors and consequently influences his/her leader identity in the workgroup. Employees from high status groups should have stronger leader identities within their workgroups because they are perceived as being more competent and agentic, are held in higher regard, and are expected (and therefore perceived) to act more assertively than their lower status counterparts. Thus, employees from higher status groups will be more likely to internalize leader identities and to have those leader

identities reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed by their peers than employees from low status groups.

Influencing Stereotypes and Perceptions of Agency and Competence. Stereotypes are over-generalizations that may be applied to any group member regardless of his/ her individual characteristics (Grant & Holmes, 1981). Stereotypes may describe what various groups actually do, should do, or should not do. They vary considerably along status lines such that people from higher status groups are often stereotyped in more favorable terms and associated with more valued traits (Ridgeway, 1991). The traits stereotypically linked to a status group are consequential if actors associate them with success or failure in the context (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). So, if a characteristic that stereotypically varies by status is considered more or less important for leadership success, status will also influence the way people perceive themselves and others and consequently impact the extent to which they judge themselves and others to be compatible with the leader role.

Status beliefs inform stereotypes and prototypes for social roles. The connections perceived between the characteristics of members of a status group and the requirements of the social roles that group's members occupy, or seek to occupy, can impact who has access to leadership roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Because the expectations inherent in social roles are socially constructed (Swann, 1987), social roles like "leader" may also become statused (Ridgeway, 2001), gendered (Eagly & Steffen, 1984; 1986), and racialized (Wingfield, 2009). That is, the leader role may become one that is expected to be inhabited by individuals from high status groups.

Social roles also convey social signals about the relative abilities of different status groups. The stereotypes tied to social roles have traditionally been considered as either agentic or communal in nature (Eagly, 1987). Instrumental social roles are associated with agentic stereotypes – for example, aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, and self-confident. Accordingly, high status groups associated with instrumental roles are often perceived to have, and are stereotyped as having, agentic traits. Expressive social roles, on the other hand, are associated with communal stereotypes – for example, affectionate, emotional, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturing, and gentle. Accordingly, low status groups associated with expressive roles are often perceived to have, and are stereotyped as having, communal traits. Communal stereotypes are associated with support tasks while agentic stereotypes are associated with leadership tasks (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Consistent with their superior hierarchical position, high status groups are more commonly associated with the more valued instrumental roles and agentic behaviors while lower status groups are more commonly associated with less valued expressive roles and communal behaviors (Berger et al., 2002). Thus, high status workgroup roles, like the leader role, may be expected to be occupied by members of high status groups because higher status groups are perceived to be more agentic and thus more compatible with the leader role than lower status groups.

Recently, competence has emerged as an additional factor of social role stereotypes (Koenig & Eagly, 2010). Competence encompasses characteristics like skill and ability whereas agency encompasses characteristics like initiative and assertiveness. Competence is more descriptive of aptitude whereas agency is more descriptive of effort.

However, since the leader prototype includes traits such as competent, knowledgeable, and well-informed (Duehr & Bono, 2006) in addition to traits like competitive, assertive, and authoritative (Sumer, 2006); competence assumptions are just as embedded in the leader role as agency assumptions. Stereotypes generated out of status beliefs consistently link the higher status group with greater overall competence (Webster & Foschi, 1988). Thus, employees from higher status groups may also be thought of as more compatible with the leader role because they are perceived to be more competent than employees from lower status groups.

Research has consistently demonstrated that agency and competence are more commonly ascribed to high status groups than low status groups. For example, Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount (1996) demonstrated that lawyers, stockbrokers, analyst-programmers, surgeons, and chartered accountants (high status occupational groups) were perceived to be more agentic than legal clerks, filing clerks, telephone operators, nurses, and administrative assistants (lower status occupational groups). They also found that men (a high status group) were perceived to be more agentic than women (a low status group). With regard to competence, Fiske et al. (2002) suggest that competence stereotypes directly follow from perceived group status. Accordingly, they demonstrated that rich people (a high status group) were considered to be much more competent than poor people (a low status group); Christians (a high status religious group in the United States) were considered to be more competent than Muslims (a low status religious group in the United States); Whites and Asians (high status racial groups) were considered to be more competent than Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans (low status racial groups); and men (a high status gender group) were also considered somewhat more competent

than women (a low status gender group). Additional research suggests that other low status groups may also trigger low competence and/or agency expectations. For example, using a community sample of both women and men, Koenig & Eagly (2010) suggest that gay men (a low status group) may be considered as less agentic than straight men (a high status group) and individuals with disabilities (a low status group) may be considered as both less agentic and less competent than fully able individuals.

Identities are developed through an iterative process of person–context transactions (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). The information people glean from the world around them helps to shape how they come to see themselves and what they come to believe about themselves. Stereotypes regarding differential competence and agency may therefore become integrated into the self-concept (e.g. Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, & Mellott, 2002; Steele, 2011) and thus may influence individual internalization of leader identities. The positive stereotypes linked to members of high status groups consistently reinforce information regarding their inherently superior competence and agency. They may integrate those positive themes into their self-concepts and thus perceive themselves as having leader-like traits. Accordingly, they are more likely to claim (internalize) leader identities because of their more positive self-perceptions. Alternatively, members of lower status groups will have information about their inherently inferior competence and agency consistently reinforced in the stereotypes linked to them. They may integrate those less positive (or more negative) themes into their self-concepts and thus perceive themselves as lacking leader-like traits. Accordingly, they are less likely to claim (internalize) leader identities because of their more negative self-perceptions.

Stereotypes regarding differential competence and agency also affect perceivers' concepts of other individuals (Eagly, 1987; Foschi, 2000; Ridgeway, 2001). So stereotypes linked to group status should also be expected to influence reciprocal recognition and collective endorsement of leader identities. When evaluating the leader congruity of peers, individuals will likely consider the social roles in which they most frequently observe people from that status group and the stereotypical traits linked to those social roles. Accordingly, when high status groups are consistently observed in high status social roles associated with stereotypes of inherently superior competence and agency, these traits may be integrated into observers' schemas about people from those high status groups. So observers are more likely to perceive targets from high status groups as having traits compatible with the high status leader role. Therefore, members of high status groups are more likely to be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders – thereby being granted leader identities. Alternatively, when low status groups are consistently observed in lower status social roles associated with stereotypes of inherently inferior competence and agency, these traits may be integrated into observers' schemas of people from those low status groups. Thus, observers are more likely to perceive targets from low status groups as lacking traits compatible with the high status leader role. Therefore, members of low status groups are less likely to be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders – thereby being less likely to be granted leader identities.

There is much evidence demonstrating that the stereotypical depictions of members from lower status groups and the stereotypical depictions of leaders are often inconsistent with one another. The bulk of the theoretical and empirical work regarding this topic has

examined gender-specific stereotypes and their compatibility (or incompatibility) with leader-specific stereotypes (e.g. Boyce & Herd, 2003; Brenner, Tomkiewicz, & Schein, 1989; Duehr & Bono, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983, 2001; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011; Powell and Butterfield, 1979; Schein 1973, 1975, 2001). This work demonstrates that it is more difficult for women to be recognized as effective leaders due to the stereotypes of lesser agency and competence associated with women (a low status group) relative to men (a high status group). Stereotypical social roles related to various racial groups have also been examined for their compatibility with stereotypical leader characteristics. The general finding from this literature is that White Americans (a high status group) are more easily perceived as leaders than are racial minorities (generally considered lower in status with Asian Americans as a common exception) in America (Chung-Herrera and Lankau, 2005; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008; Tomkiewicz et al., 1998;). Thus:

Proposition 2: Stereotypes of agency and competence partially mediate the relationship between ascribed status and (a) individual internalization (b) reciprocal recognition; and (c) collective endorsement of leader identities.

Perceptions of Worth. Perceptions of social worth, acceptance, regard, and respect may vary considerably by ascribed status (Ridgeway & Correll, 2006). For example, high status groups may be admired and held in high regard while low status groups be resented and held in low regard (Fiske et al., 2002). Because members of high status groups are expected to perform well, they may feel good about themselves as exemplars of their group. On the other hand, because members of low status groups are expected to perform

less well (more poorly), they may feel less positively (more negatively) about themselves as exemplars of their group.

Research suggests that members of low status groups may make unfavorable comparisons between their own groups and relevant other groups. Employing a minimal groups design, Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk (1999) found that members of high status groups tended to show in-group favoritism while members of lower status groups tended to show out-group favoritism. Not surprisingly, those with lower group status also held less esteem for their groups. Having pride in, and respect for, one's own group positively influences one's own self-esteem (Smith & Tyler, 1997). Thus, group status affects self-esteem through its impact on group esteem.

Positive self-affect is important for leader identity construction (e.g. Chemers, Watson, & May, 2000; Duehr & Bono, 2006; Linimon, Barron, & Falbo, 1984). In addition to being positively related to job satisfaction and performance (Judge & Bono, 2001), self-esteem, the overall value that one places on oneself as a person (Harter, 1990), is positively related to leadership efficacy, leadership potential, and general leadership ability as rated by both peers and superiors (e.g. Chemers et al., 2000). Further, higher levels of self-esteem have been related to a greater willingness to accept positions of leadership (Linimon, et al., 1984).

If employees from higher status groups have higher self-esteem as a result of their memberships in groups with high ascribed status and the positive performance expectations liked to that status, they may be more likely to see themselves as leaders and be seen by others as leaders. Accordingly, employees from higher status groups are more

likely to claim leader identities. They may also be more likely to have those leader identities reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed because their groups are held in high esteem by others (e.g. Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Therefore members of higher status groups may have more success in claiming (and being granted) leader identities than their lower status peers. Alternatively, if employees from lower status groups have lower self-esteem as a result of their memberships in groups with low ascribed status and the less positive (or more negative) performance expectations liked to that status, they are less likely to see themselves as leaders and be seen by others as leaders. Therefore, employees from lower status groups are less likely to claim (and be granted) leader identities as a result of their lower self-esteem and their being held in lower esteem by their peers. Thus:

> *Proposition 3: Self-esteem and other-esteem partially mediate the relationship between ascribed status and (a) individual internalization; (b) reciprocal recognition; and (c) collective endorsement of leader identities.*

Influencing Assertive Social Behavior. Finally, differences in assertive behavior may also shape leader identity along status lines. Status influences both the types of behaviors and the success expectations associated with individuals from different groups. Members of higher status groups evoke expectations of assertive behavior and higher performance success; and members of lower status groups evoke expectations of supportive behavior and relatively lower performance success. Our social expectations direct our attention to, and guide our interpretations of, social behaviors. Accordingly, social perceptions of targets' behaviors are often consistent with the social expectations held for them (Fiske, 2010).

During social interaction (e.g. daily workgroup interactions among peers), the people for whom higher expectations are held are given more opportunities to perform, take more opportunities to perform, receive more favorable performance evaluations, are deferred to by others, wield more influence over group decisions, and resist influence from others when the direction of influence opposes their interests (Ridgeway & Correll, 2006). In essence, they are given opportunities to act assertively and are socialized to take them. On the other hand, the people for whom lower expectations are held give others more opportunities to perform, take fewer opportunities to perform themselves, receive less favorable performance evaluations, defer to others, wield less influence over group decisions, and face resistance from others when they attempt to influence group decisions in a direction counter to the ideas of higher status others. These patterns of interaction reveal three key behavioral inequities that are consequential for leader identity construction – differential opportunities to demonstrate agency and competence via performance, differential influence activities, and differential voice behaviors.

Emergent group leaders participate more actively, make more attempts to influence the group, and voice their opinions more than others (Kent & Moss, 1994). These activities can be considered as attempts to claim leader identities. When those behaviors compel compliance, the peers are essentially granting the more influential member a leader identity and accepting their reciprocal roles as followers. To the extent that the majority of the group is willing to yield to the influence of the leader identity claimant, the group is also collectively endorsing that claim and granting that leader identity (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). Thus behavioral inequities (perceived or objective) may shape which employees within a peer workgroup come to internalize leader identities,

and have those leader identities relationally recognized and collectively endorsed by others. Consequently, the members of high status groups associated with assertive behaviors and high performance expectations should have stronger leader identities than members of low status groups associated with supportive behaviors and low performance expectations.

Within a social setting, the simplest sequence of a behavioral interaction is for an actor to (1) have an opportunity to perform; (2) take that opportunity to perform; and, (3) be either rewarded or punished for the performance. Over time, interaction evolves into stable and consistent patterns of behavior where actors typically take opportunities that are rewarded and refrain from acts that are punished (Berger & Conner, 1974). The pattern of behavior becomes mutually accepted and often reveals a social structure within which some actors are high status and more influential (i.e. leader-like) while others are low status and more deferential (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Social behavioral patterns reinforce and even legitimate differentiated expectations. Since members of higher status groups are expected to make more valuable contributions, they are more frequently deferred to, and are more frequently rewarded with favorable evaluations and additional opportunities to participate and perform (e.g. Fisek, Berger, & Norman, 1991; Ridgeway, 1991, 2001). These individuals will generally behave in more leader congruent ways and will thus be the most likely to claim and be granted leader identities.

Since more instrumental performance expectations are associated with high status groups (Berger et al., 2002), target members of high status groups may be expected to engage in more assertive and more aptitude-demonstrating behaviors. Due to these expectations, members of high status groups may be given more opportunities to engage

in behaviors that demonstrate their leader-like capacities. So when members of high status groups act in ways that demonstrate agency and competence, observers' expectations will be confirmed and targets may be rewarded for meeting those expectations. In a workgroup of peers, social rewards for behaving consistent with expectations may include more talk time in group discussions, more compliance with influence, more favorable evaluations of inputs, and more deference. Alternatively, since more expressive performance expectations are associated with low status groups (Berger et al., 2002), target members of low status groups may be expected to engage in more communal and expressive behaviors. So if members of low status groups act in ways that demonstrate instrumental behaviors like agency and competence, observers' expectations will be challenged and targets may be punished for not meeting the expressive, communal behavioral expectations (e.g. Heilman & Wallen, 2010; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Parks-Stamm, Heilman, & Hearns, 2008; Rudman, 1998). In a workgroup of peers, social punishments for violating behavioral expectations may include being interrupted, dismissed, or ignored during group discussions, less compliance with influence, less favorable evaluations of inputs, and less deference.

When behavior is rewarded, it continues. When behavior is punished, it often ends. Thus, when group status influences the social rewards linked to status groups, the high status groups expected to engage in more agentic, competent acts and rewarded for doing so should continue to engage in those acts. Consequently, the positive messages associated with their groups' high competence and agency will be reinforced. Because instrumental, agentic, competent acts are leader-like, members of those high status groups are, in essence, socially rewarded for leader-like behavioral displays. On the other hand,

the low status groups who are less expected to engage in agentic, competent acts and who are punished for doing so may cease to engage in those acts or may engage with less frequency or intensity. Consequently, the negative messages associated with their groups' low competence and agency will be reinforced. Because instrumental, agentic, competent acts are leader-like, members of those lower status groups are, in essence, socially punished for leader-like behavioral displays. Taken together, members from high status groups may be rewarded for asserting themselves as leader-like and claiming (i.e. internalizing) leader identities. Rewards for those leader identity claims may, in turn, include leader identity grants from others (i.e. reciprocal recognition and collective endorsement). Alternatively, members from low status groups may be punished for asserting themselves as leader-like and for attempting to claim (i.e. internalize) leader identities. Punishments for members of low status groups who attempt to claim leader identities may entail the withholding of leader identity grants by others (i.e. the lack of reciprocal recognition and collective endorsement).

Performance opportunities can be defined as the freedom and authority to take assertive action on one's own behalf or on behalf of others. This type of autonomy is an important part of the leader role (Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades, 2001). However, research suggests that members of low status groups are aware that they may be punished for taking performance opportunities and engaging in assertive behaviors. So, they may temper their actions accordingly. For example, in a recent study of gender differences in assertive bargaining behavior, Amanatullah & Morris (2010) demonstrated that women (a low status group) who advocate for themselves may be apprehensive that their assertive action will arouse gender role

incongruity evaluations and subsequent social backlash. As a result, the women in their study made larger concessions on material issues than the men (a high status group) because only women were fearful that their assertive behavior would be seen as running afoul of the communal expectations linked to their group. Women's anxiety regarding backlash decreased their willingness to demonstrate the assertive behaviors required for success. To the extent that women fear punishment for displaying instrumental/agentic behaviors, they will likely cease to display them. Because assertive behaviors are an important part of the leader role, individuals that do not enact them will be considered non-leader-like. Due to concerns regarding backlash, however, members of lower status groups may feel restricted to perform more supportive and deferential non-leader-like behaviors more frequently. They will perceive fewer opportunities to perform assertive leader-like behaviors. The men in the Amanatullah & Morris (2010) study on the other hand, did not anticipate negative evaluations until their assertive behavior crossed a much higher threshold. Since they do not fear punishment for displaying instrumental/agentic behaviors, they should continue to display them. As members of high status groups (e.g. men) continue to perceive opportunities to perform instrumental behaviors, they will behave in ways that are more leader-like. As members of low status groups (e.g. women) cease to perceive assertive performance opportunities, they will behave in ways that are less leader-like.

Most definitions of leadership encompass an ability to get others to do something in accordance with the leader's desires. As such, the ability to influence others is another important component of the leader role. Research suggests, however, that there may be behavioral constraints on the types of influence behaviors members of lower status

groups are able to effectively employ. A recent meta-analytic study of gender differences in influence effectiveness demonstrated that women (a low status group) who use expectation-consistent communal influence tactics are more effective overall and attain more personal advancement outcomes than women who use expectation-inconsistent agentic influence tactics (Smith, Baskerville, Burke, Christian, Smith, Hall, & Sims, 2013). If their communal/expressive behaviors are more rewarded, members of low status groups (e.g. women) may be more likely to employ communal influence tactics (e.g. ingratiation). To the extent that this limits their ability to demonstrate the more instrumental behaviors required for leadership, members of low status groups are essentially rewarded for being non-leader-like. As a result, they may take advantage of opportunities to exhibit more communal non-leader-like influence behaviors more frequently. Alternatively, men (a high status group) were shown to employ more expectation-confirming agentic influence tactics (e.g. assertiveness) and were not significantly more or less effective overall when they used tactics that were consistent or inconsistent with expectations for their group (Smith et al., 2013). To the extent that this enables their ability to demonstrate the more instrumental behaviors required for leadership, members of high status groups are essentially rewarded for being leader-like. As a result, they should take advantage of opportunities to exhibit agentic leader-like forms of influence more frequently. Engaging in assertive behavior is akin to claiming (or individually internalizing) a leader identity. Having assertive behaviors rewarded by socially relevant others is akin to having a leader identity granted (reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed). Thus higher status groups should be more likely to

claim (individually internalize) and be granted leader identities (be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders) than lower status groups (e.g. women).

In addition to being competent, agentic, and influential, leaders are also expected to be frank, persistent, talkative, and have a high need for achievement (Sumer, 2006). As such, leaders should be vocal and offer constructive criticism to improve the workgroup's functioning. Voice is a type of organizational citizenship behavior that involves constructive challenge with the intent to improve rather than merely criticize (Van Dyne & LePine, 1998). It involves a pro-social and informal willingness to offer productive suggestions about group processes, policies, and objectives (Detert & Trevino, 2010) and positively influences process improvement within work teams (Edmondson, 1999). Voice is also considered an agentic type of citizenship behavior (Kidder & Parks, 2001). Accordingly, voice may be another important component of the leader identity.

There may, however, be dispersion among status groups in the extent to which they are willing or able to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors (Mamman, Kamoche, & Bakuwa, 2012) such as speaking up to challenge the ideas of others during the group decision-making processes. Status characteristics like race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and physical ability can become associated with differences in exchangeable resources such as ideas and informational inputs (Ridgeway, 1991). Status characteristics consequently have the ability to impact situational beliefs regarding the differential merit and value among members within a social unit. Status dissimilarities among workgroup members may cause some group members to perceive their inputs as dispensable and promote their withholding of inputs (e.g. Price, Harrison, & Gavin, 2006). According to system justification theory (Jost & Banaji 1994; Jost, Banaji, &

Nosek 2004), members of ethnic minority groups (low status racial groups) may undervalue their own contributions within group discussions and question the merits of any ideas they might have that challenge the group's status quo. Status beliefs can create a network of limiting expectations and interpersonal responses that (a) enhance the likelihood that higher status members, perceiving their inputs as valuable and important, will control the decision-making processes within the group; and (b) reduce the likelihood that members of lower status groups, perceiving their inputs as dispensable and inconsequential, would challenge the ideas of the group at large. Thus, members of higher status groups may assert themselves in more challenging ways and exercise more voice than members of lower status groups (e.g. Aries, 1996; Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999; Wood & Karten, 1986). Alternatively, members of lower status groups may be more likely to withhold their informational inputs because of the lesser value associated with their ideas. To the extent that displaying instrumental voice behavior is important to projecting a leader-like image, members of higher status groups should be more likely to claim (individually internalize) and be granted leader identities (be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders) because of their freedom to behave more assertively than members of lower status groups. Thus:

> *Proposition 4: Assertive behavior partially mediates the relationship between ascribed status and (a) individual internalization (b) reciprocal recognition; and (c) collective endorsement of leader identities.*

If Status Doesn't Matter – Prove It!

The conceptual arguments to this point, all predict that individuals from high status groups should have stronger leader identities because they are perceived more favorably, and are emboldened to behave more assertively, than individuals from low status groups. These arguments have been primarily based on the assumption that ascribed status is a salient characteristic in the leadership context because social actors associate group status with leadership success. Status characteristics theory asserts that any status characteristic (e.g. race, gender, physical ability, sexual preference, weight, religion, etc.) is relevant if it differentiates among actors in the setting, or if the actors believe it has performance implications in the context (Berger et al., 1977; Balkwell, 1991). Much research suggests that this is a valid assumption in the leadership domain.

Status advantages and disadvantages will be applied as a matter of normal interaction unless it is clearly demonstrated that a salient characteristic is inconsequential for performance (Berger, Rosenholtz, & Zelditch, 1980). This suggests that a status characteristic may become less influential if social actors become convinced that the characteristic is irrelevant for performance success. This is referred to as the burden of proof assumption (Berger et al., 1977, 1980; Balkwell, 1991). Accordingly, if organizations and/or individuals are willing to shoulder the burden of proving that ascribed status is irrelevant for successful leadership performance, the influence of ascribed status may be less impactful on the social attitudes associated with targets from various status groups and, in turn, less impactful on leader identity construction among workgroup peers. As leader identity construction experiences become more similar for

employees from differentially statused groups, career advancement outcomes should also become more similar for members of various groups.

Signaling theory provides insight for how the burden of proof assumption can be met. Signaling theory is primarily concerned with addressing an information asymmetry between two parties (Spence, 1973, 2002). Applied to the proposed theory, Party A, a workgroup for example, may believe that a given status characteristic, race for example, is important for successful performance as a leader. As such, the workgroup would hold more favorable perceptions, and be more receptive to the leadership, of a White (high status) target compared to a non-White (low status) target. Party B, the organization for example, however, may be aware that race is irrelevant for success in the leader role; but for race to no longer influence the workgroup's perceptions and actions in favor of White targets, the organization would need to engage in behaviors that reduce the information asymmetry between them and the workgroup members. The organization would need to offer evidence that is counter to the workgroup's assumptions about the leader role and/or it's potentially successful occupants. Signaling theory would suggest that the organization deliberately communicate (signal) the information it knows (e.g. that race is not a determining factor in leadership success) to the workgroup in a way that is easily observable, frequent, and consistent (Connelly, Certo, Ireland, & Reutzel, 2011). That is, the signals the organization sends should be strong and visible (e.g. Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz, & Wiethoff, 2010), be sent numerous times (Carter, 2006), and should not conflict with any of the other signals transmitted by the organization (Gao, Darroch, Mather, MacGregor, 2008).

Below I argue that organizations may take strategic actions to signal that ascribed status is irrelevant for leadership success within the workplace. They may do this by providing several (frequent) counter-stereotypical exemplars of leadership that are highly visible to employees (observable) who are positioned to be successful throughout various functional units and levels of the organization's structure (consistency). Because ascribed status is indicated by a group's hierarchical position and social role occupation in the broad society (See Figure 1), I contend that similar status indicators exist within the workplace. Specifically, I argue that a group's managerial representation, managerial performance success, and managerial structural integration act as distinct indicators of internal status that may overshadow ascribed status assumptions and reshape social attitudes and leader identity construction experiences within the workplace.

Processing Organizational Signals of Internal Group Status

Just as employees process the social information from the society at-large, they also process the social information within the organization. Further, since workgroup social relations take place within the workplace, organizational signals may be more salient and influential than external signals during leader identity construction among co-workers. Research suggests this is true. For example, when organizational climates support bias against members of low status groups (e.g. Blacks), employees may be more likely to express their own biases and/or the perceived biases of others in a way that further disadvantages already disadvantaged groups (e.g. Brief, Buttram, Elliott, Reizenstein, & McCline, 1995; Brief, Butz, Deitch, 2005; Brief et al., 2000). On the other hand, although there are generally lower performance expectations for lower status groups (Ridgeway & Correll, 2006), organizations with supportive diversity climates may weaken differences

in objective performance between high status (e.g. White) and low status (e.g. Blacks and Hispanics) groups (e.g. McKay, Avery, & Morris, 2008). This type of leveling in observed performance should, in turn, positively influence competence and agency expectations for members of lower status groups and thus could also positively influence leader identity.

Findings such as these suggest that an organization's signals of a group's internal status may either strengthen or weaken the impact that ascribed status has on perceptions and behaviors (and consequently leader identity construction experiences) within the workplace. More clearly, organizations may take strategic actions to send messages that "prove" that the characteristics generally linked to group status outside the workplace are irrelevant in determining who is leader-like within the workplace. Recent theoretical work suggests that when people experience social and cultural diversity in ways that challenge stereotypical expectations about members of various groups, they may adapt their existing beliefs about those groups and then generalize their new beliefs to other members of those same groups in similar situations (Crisp & Turner, 2011).

Specific to the leadership domain, I propose that organizational signals regarding (1) which groups' members have access to leadership (managerial representation); (2) which groups' members are going to perform well once they are given opportunities to enact leadership (managerial performance success); and (3) whether or not differential rules of access and performance expectations should be applied to leaders from different groups based on the type of tasks they are responsible for (structural integration), act as indicators of a group's hierarchical position and social role occupation within the workplace. They act as indicators of a group's internal status. Accordingly, they may also

act as catalysts to challenge or confirm ascribed status beliefs that employees from higher status groups are more leader-like than employees from lower status groups. As beliefs regarding relative competence and agency become more similar, members of high and low status groups should have more similar performance expectations for themselves and others. Consequently, social perceptions and behaviors of members of high and low status groups should also become more similar once ascribed status beliefs are no longer salient. At that point, performance expectations for leadership success should instead be shaped by behavioral exchanges among members of diverse workgroups in the same ways that they are in homogenous workgroups. People will be judged by their own individual characteristics rather than by those linked to their group memberships. Accordingly, members of high and low status groups should have more equal access to leader identity claims and grants in organizations with a diverse management team that performs successfully throughout various areas of the company.

Managerial Representation Suggests Internal Group Status. Each employee that holds a formal managerial role within an organization acts as a signal of hierarchical superiority (over their subordinate employees) and instrumental role occupation in the organization. The greater the representation of employees from any particular status group, the more frequent the signal is communicated to observers within the workplace. Management diversity may signal that leaders in the organization do not necessarily have to look a certain way or be from a particular status group. The likelihood of status-based expectations is higher when there are relatively few employees from low status groups and when employees from lower status groups are concentrated in lower status work roles (e.g. secretarial or clerical positions). When work role categorization co-varies with

a salient social categorization, stereotypical status assumptions are more likely to shape evaluations of who is a leader (Hogg & Terry, 2001).

Mere exposure to individuals in status incongruent hierarchical positions or social roles, however, may spark additional cognitive processing among employees and re-shape their assessments of both the leader role and its potential occupants (Crisp & Turner, 2011). For example, a manager (high status internal role) who is also physically disabled (low status external group) may be a surprising category combination for an employee. When employees think about this manager, they are likely to generate emergent attributes that are neither completely descriptive of the prototypical leader (with high agency and high competence) nor the prototypical disabled person (with low agency and low competence) but are instead a combination of both (Hastie, Schroeder, & Weber, 1990; Kunda, Miller, & Claire, 1990). Employees would probably expect for this one counter-stereotypical manager to perform better than most physically disabled people but not as well as most physically able managers. More frequent observations of multiple managers with physical disabilities, however, could shape both what employees think about what it takes to be a manager in this organization – re-shaping the salient leader prototype – as well as what capabilities other physically disabled employees may have – re-shaping the salient disabled employee prototype. So sheer exposure to managers from diverse groups (high status and low status groups both well-represented) increases the frequency of employees' opportunities to engage in cognitive processing that re-shapes their ideas of the leader role as well as the potential that employees from various groups have to perform the requirements of the leader role. As employees re-construe their ideas regarding relative potential, there should be positive behavioral and affective implications

as well. Consequently, thoughts about who is worthy of making a leader identity claim, or being awarded a leader identity grant, should shift.

Employees use role models to define, refine, and affirm their self-concepts (Gibson, 2003). Models can provide valuable information regarding both what employees should do, as well as what they should not do. Role modeling literature suggests that men (a high status group) often use extreme upward career referents and thus have high expectations for their careers (Gibson & Lawrence, 2010). Women (a low status group), on the other hand, often use downward career referents and thus have lower expectations for their careers. This may be, at least in part, due to men having more frequent observations of similar others to identify with at higher organizational levels in comparison to women. If members of low status groups find their greatest representation at lower organizational levels, and they compare themselves to the social others who are most similar to them, their thoughts about what they could and should aspire to in the leadership realm may be lowered. Alternatively, if members of high status groups find their greatest representation at higher organizational levels, and they compare themselves to the social others who are most similar to them, their thoughts about what they could and should aspire to in the leadership realm may be heightened. Thus, when management demography is largely homogenous (in favor of high status groups), the salient organizational signal is that the instrumental characteristics associated with high status groups are also those most valued in leadership role in this workplace. Employees from groups with high ascribed status also have achieved high internal status. Thus, members of high status groups, seeing themselves as similar to those people represented in formal leadership roles that require more instrumental characteristics, should be more likely to set their aspirations toward

leadership and internalize leader identities when manager demography is homogenous (in favor of their group). Alternatively, members of lower status groups, seeing themselves as similar to those people in represented support roles that require more expressive characteristics, should be less likely to internalize leader identities when manager demography is homogenous (in favor of some other group).

Managerial representation is important to the self-construal of employees from both high and low status groups. It may however, be especially important for employees from low status groups. Research shows that the mere observation of a positive counter-stereotypic role model can positively influence self-expectations, self-efficacy, and career-oriented behavior for members of low status groups (BarNir, Watson, Hutchins, 2011; Buunk, Peiro, & Griffioen, 2007; Marx & Roman, 2010). Diverse manager demography gives both high and low status groups salient role models for what they could become. So leader demography that is representative of members from both high and low status groups is a critical first step toward organizations signaling that externally accepted status beliefs have no bearing on who should be thought of as leader-like within their walls. A managerial staff that is diverse and representative of various groups signals internal status equality. It demonstrates that ascribed status does not determine an employee's position in the internal workplace hierarchy or the social roles available to that target employee.

Managerial Performance Effectiveness Suggests Internal Group Status. The frequent observation of a diverse management staff, however, is only the tip of the iceberg. Counter-stereotypical role occupants are the basic requirement for signaling that ascribed status beliefs may be irrelevant, but their mere existence in the organization is

not likely to be enough. The organization needs to signal that these role occupants have the instrumental characteristics to assume the position and do so successfully. When these counter-stereotypical role occupants are perceived as being competent, similar others may have higher self-expectations and, in turn, also perform better (e.g. Marx & Roman, 2010). This suggests when women and minority leaders, for example, perform well (objectively and perceptually) they challenge the mismatched fit perceptions. Accordingly, these positively regarded, high-performing models of leadership may become integrated into the self-concepts of similar others who may then be more likely to internalize leader identities. Signals of leadership success from members of various groups with different ascribed status should also be integrated into the schemas of other employees as disconfirming evidence that ascribed status is consequential for leadership success. Thus, employees should be more likely to reciprocally recognize and collectively endorse leaders from various groups when there are frequent, observable signals of performance success from managers from various groups of different statuses.

Alternatively, if managers from low status groups perform more poorly (objectively or subjectively) than managers from high status groups, this may act as a signal that bolsters the perceived mismatch between their ascribed group status and their internal hierarchical position and social role occupation. Accordingly, low performing models of leadership from lower status group exemplars may also be integrated into the self-concepts of similar others. It may serve as a signal that people from their group are not leader-like and that the negative characteristics stereotypically linked to their group are indeed consequential for leadership performance success. As such, members from lower status groups may be even more unlikely to internalize leader identities when

organizational leaders from their groups perform poorly. Signals of leadership failures from members of lower status groups should also be integrated into the schemas of dissimilar others as further confirming evidence that other members of that leader's group would also fail in the leader domain. Thus, employees from lower status groups should also be less likely to be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders when organizational leaders from low status groups perform poorly.

Due to the frequent, visible, and consistently positive messages linked to high status groups, however, the impact of negative performing models of leadership from high status group exemplars are less likely be integrated into the self-concepts of similar others. Since positive models are socially plentiful, low performing leaders from high status groups will not likely be considered as representative of the potential of the group or its members. As such, employees from high status groups should be no less likely to individually internalize leader identities or to be reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed as leaders when organizational leaders from their groups perform poorly.

Structural Integration Suggests Internal Group Status. Structural integration is also an important indicator of internal status. Organizations may also signal that ascribed status is irrelevant for successful leadership performance by structurally integrating managers from various groups throughout various levels in all functional areas of the company. Collins (1997) discovered that many racial minorities (low status groups) in executive positions (high status internal roles) find themselves concentrated in "racialized" areas of the company (e.g. public relations and human resources) that limit and marginalize their potential to contribute to the organization. This type of structural concentration qualifies the frequency and visibility signals of members of low status

groups in superior hierarchical positions and instrumental leadership roles by signaling a boundary condition to their capacities to lead well. It signals that maybe members of low status groups can become leaders, and maybe they can even be effective leaders, but only in marginal functional areas that are tailored to their more expressive talents. It does not, however, signal that members of low status groups can be successful leaders in the more instrumental functional areas that are believed to require higher competence and agency. When leaders from low status groups are poorly integrated in lower levels of management or only have a strong presence in marginalized areas of the company, it promotes selective fit perceptions. It signals that low ascribed status may not restrict an employee's access to a hierarchical internal position, and may not impede an employee's ability to succeed in an internal leader role, but low ascribed status *does* limit the employee's options to lower status sectors of the business. The message internalized by similar others may be that they might also be leader like – *but* only at lower levels or only in marginal areas of the organization. Thus employees from low status groups in organizations with poor structural integration might be expected to claim leader identities in functional areas where they have positive role models for success, but not in functional areas where those positive models are absent. Further, other employees in organizations with poor structural integration might be expected to re-shape their prototypes for leaders in functional areas where they frequently observe counter-stereotypical models of success, but not in functional areas where those positive counter-stereotypical models are absent. Thus, employees might be more likely to relationally recognize and collectively endorse targets from low status groups as leaders in areas where counter-stereotypical

models of success are present, but would be no more likely to do so in departments where these models were less visible.

Alternatively, structural integration, along with equitable representation and successful performance of members of various groups, signals that employees from various groups can attain high internal status in multiple domains – not just in those most stereotypically associated with their ascribed status. This offers disconfirming evidence that ascribed status is relevant to leadership success across functional areas. This evidence may be internalized by similar others as reasons they might also be leader-like and as reasons they should not limit their leadership aspirations to marginalized sectors of the business. This evidence may also be integrated into the schemas of dissimilar others as disconfirming evidence that other members of that leader's group might only be able to be successful leaders in the tangential support roles that are commonly linked to their ascribed status position.

Thus, managerial representation, managerial performance, and managerial structural integration act as indicators of a group's internal status. So, these signals have the ability to either strengthen or weaken employees' social attitudes about who will exhibit successful leadership within their workgroup. If employees consistently and repeatedly observe successful managers from various backgrounds throughout the organization, society's messages about relative competence and agency may become less salient and members of lower status groups in pursuit of leader identities may have more similar experiences to members of high status groups. Managerial representation, performance success, and structural integration act as organizational signals of internal

group status that moderate the influence of ascribed status on workplace social perceptions and behaviors (and consequently leader identity construction) such that:

> *Proposition 5: Internal group status moderates the impact of ascribed status on social perceptions and behaviors (and consequently leader identity construction) such that, for targets with low ascribed status, high internal group status weakens the relationships and low internal status strengthens the relationships. No such change is expected for targets with high ascribed status.*

Organizations have an important role in disproving status beliefs regarding relative expectations for leadership success. All organizations, however, may not accept the idea that ascribed status differences impact the way business is done within their companies. Accordingly, some organizations may be unlikely to take strategic actions to manage the diversity of their formal leadership ranks. In those cases, lower status employees who are interested in claiming and being granted leader identities may have to assume the burden of proof (or disproof) for themselves. Fortunately, there are some individual characteristics that clearly signal a target's competence and agency and thus may be quite impactful in helping employees from low status groups claim, and be granted, leader identities in spite of their group status.

Processing Individual Signals of Target Specific Status

Social actors consider the status information associated with multiple characteristics to form their aggregate performance expectations (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Diffuse status characteristics like race, gender, sexual orientation, religion or weight may also be

qualified in light of other specific characteristics like socially skilled (more or less), intelligent (more or less), professional (more or less), etc. Diffuse and specific status characteristics are qualitatively distinct categories of status information because specific characteristics are individually-based and task-relevant (Bunderson, 2003). They are based on what they target does, not who the target is. So some employees have specific characteristics that drive them to think, feel, and behave in ways that enable them to gain and maintain influence among their peers. When employees from lower status groups have certain skills and engage in specific behaviors that unequivocally demonstrate their agency and competence, they may be able to distinguish themselves as leader-like individuals who no longer only represent their status group at large, but instead represent the ideal leader for the workgroup. Accordingly, members of lower status groups should be able to achieve greater success in claiming and being granted leader identities when they signal high status specific characteristics compared to when they do not. Because of the deficits lower status groups are believed to have – low competence and low agency – exceptional task performance and political skill should act as specific characteristics that help employees from lower status groups demonstrate that their ascribed status is irrelevant for successful leadership performance. Specific status cues may help employees from groups with low ascribed status gain high status within their workgroup (Berger & Fisek, 2006). Consequently, employees from lower status groups who demonstrate high task performance and political skill should be more successful in claiming (and being granted) leader identities.

Additionally, although displays of competence and agency will likely offer a boost for any employee in pursuit of developing a leader identity, the benefits of these displays

should be greater for members of lower status groups than for members of higher status groups (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). Since assumptions of high competence and agency are already held for members of high status groups, additional information that is consistent with those expectations is subject to have a declining marginal impact. Since competence and agency deficiencies are assumed for members of low status groups, each piece of positive status information that is inconsistent with those deficits should be more influential (Berger et al., 1998). Thus the effects of positive individuating information should be stronger for groups that are assumed to lack agency and competence than for groups that are assumed to already be endowed with agency and competence.

Task Performance. Task performance refers to how well an employee demonstrates his/her abilities on a given assignment. It involves carrying out duties that contribute to the organization's technical mission (Borman & Motowidlo, 1993), fulfill the employee's formal role description (Williams & Anderson, 1991), and/or support customer/client needs (Rotundo & Sackett, 2002). It may include job knowledge, accuracy, and productivity among other measures of effectiveness (Wagner, 1994). Task performance acts as evidence of how capable an employee is of meeting the explicit in-role requirements of the job. For that reason, task performance has a strong influence on performance evaluations (e.g. Whiting, Podsakoff, & Pierce, 2008).

Task performance is related to both cognitive ability and achievement-oriented personality (Johnson, 2001). So high task performance may serve as an indicator of both competence – the ability to perform – and agency – the willingness to perform. Members of higher status groups are consistently associated with higher competence and agency than members of lower status groups. However, members of lower status groups who

consistently perform their work tasks at high levels signal that they, personally, do not have competence and agency deficits. Accordingly, after frequent, consistent, observation, high performing targets from low status groups may be individuated from the content of the stereotypes tied to their group memberships. Individuating information may contradict a stereotype and reduce its negative impact (e.g., Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Thus, beliefs about the target's ascribed status may no longer guide the social attitudes directed at him/her. Over time, workgroups should recognize the expertise of these individual targets and respond to them accordingly (Bunderson, 2003). Further, because high performing targets demonstrate proficiency in their work roles, they are also likely to be held in higher regard by their teammates and should also be able to wield greater influence and exercise more voice within their workgroups. Thus, other people should be more likely to see high performing employees as leaders regardless of their group memberships, but high performance should be especially beneficial for low status targets because it helps to "prove," or signal, that they have the competence and agency that high status targets are already assumed to have. Thus members of lower status groups should be more likely to be granted leader identities when they demonstrate high task performance than when they do not.

Successful performance also positively influences one's self-expectations for future performance (e.g. Campbell & Fairey, 1985). So self-expectations influence performance, but performance also influences self-expectations. According to the proposed theory, lowered self-expectations are one of the primary reasons members of lower status groups may also hold less positive social attitudes about themselves and thus are less likely to claim leader identities relative to members of higher status groups.

However, individuals who consistently perform well, also consistently invalidate the self-expectation that they are less capable than social referents from higher status groups. Thus they should be resistant to accepting the idea that low competence and low agency assumptions are descriptive of them as individuals, should have higher self-esteem, and should be more empowered to engage in instrumental behaviors in their interactions with work peers from groups with higher ascribed status. Thus members of lower status groups should also be more likely to internalize (or claim) leader identities when they demonstrate high task performance than when they do not.

The competence and agency for high status targets, on the other hand, is often taken-for-granted. Thus, high status targets' performance may be evaluated more leniently (Foschi, 2000). More clearly, high status targets may have to "prove" that they *lack* competence and agency before they are denied leader identities. Additional proof that high status targets have characteristics they are already assumed to have offers confirming evidence that is minimally beneficial. However, targets from low status groups may have to signal an irrefutable proficiency in order to compete.

Political Skill. Political skill is "the ability to effectively understand others at work, and to use such knowledge to influence others to act in ways that enhance one's personal and/or organizational objectives" (Ahearn, Ferris, Hochwarter, Douglas, & Ammeter, 2004: 311). Political skilled leaders are perceived as effective (Douglas & Ammeter, 2004) and enable their teams to perform effectively as well (Ahearn et al., 2004). They also elicit positive reactions of trust and commitment from those they lead (Treadway, Hochwarter, Ferris, Kacmar, Douglas, Ammeter, & Buckley, 2004).

Gaining and maintaining influence within the workgroup is critical in the leader identity construction process. As noted previously, members of lower status groups often have issues with exercising influence over their peers because of the negative beliefs associated with the performance potential of their status groups. Because they are believed to have less value to add, they are less likely to be deferred to (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003). However, politically skilled individuals from lower status groups would be (by definition) influential among their peers. Because they are also perceived as being effective leaders (Douglas & Ammeter, 2004), politically skilled leaders from lower status groups challenge beliefs regarding their status groups' incompetence in the leader domain. Further, because they demonstrate the ability to meet important personal and organizational objectives, politically skilled leaders from lower status groups challenge beliefs regarding their lack of agency. Thus, employees from lower status groups who are highly politically skilled should be more likely to internalize leader identities, and have their leader identities reciprocally recognized and collectively endorsed.

> *Proposition 6: Individual signals of target specific status will moderate the influence of ascribed status on workplace social perceptions and behaviors (and consequently leader identity construction) such that positive signals of target specific status (e.g. high job performance) will weaken the positive relationship between ascribed status on social perceptions and behaviors (and consequently leader identity construction).*

Leader Identity and Career Advancement Opportunities

Employees who have successful experiences in leader identity construction are those who are thought of as most similar to the ideal leader prototype (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). They have positive self-affect and are held in high regard by their peers. They are influential and vocal within their workgroups and act in ways that enable them to demonstrate their competence and agency. Their peers also deferentially support their actions during group decision making efforts. Because these employees play active roles in shaping workgroup outcomes, their positions as emergent leaders – the high status role within their peer workgroups – are also noticeable to observers outside the workgroup.

Accordingly, employees who have successfully constructed leader identities within their workgroups may also be perceived as high status and influential by more legitimate performance evaluators – for example, supervisors and managers. Because recognition as a high status actor yields both high performance expectations and additional opportunities to demonstrate competence and agency (Correll & Ridgeway, 2003), it is possible that individual internalization, reciprocal recognition, and collective endorsement of leader identities within the workgroup could actually result in career advancement opportunities. This may be particularly likely when those leader identity claims and grants are also endorsed by organizational agents with legitimate power to make reward recommendations and/or distribute actual rewards. Managers, too then, may assume that workgroup members with successful leader identity claims and grants are more competent, agentic, and thus more worthy of additional social rewards. These rewards may include career advancement outcomes like leadership development prospects (e.g. advanced training, favorable deployment opportunities, informal/formal

opportunities to gain management experience, sponsorship, mentoring, etc.), promotions, and salary increases.

A number of researchers have demonstrated differences between high and low status groups in leadership development prospects, promotions, and raises. For example, Ragins & Cotton (1991) demonstrated that women (a low status group) reported having more barriers to gaining a mentor than men (a high status group). Additionally, Greenhaus & Parasuraman (1993) found that women and Blacks (both low status groups) were perceived as having less favorable career advancement prospects than men and Whites (both high status groups). Meta-analytic evidence offers further support that being a woman and being non-White are each negatively related to career success (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005). However, because research also suggests that career advancement is linked to effectively used influence (e.g. Kipnis & Schmidt, 1988; Smith et al., in press), being perceived as a leader with sway over peers should positively impact individuals' career outcomes. Thus, claiming and being granted a leader identity within the workgroup should also be positively related to career advancement opportunities.

Proposition 7: Leader identity (a) individual internalization; (b) reciprocal recognition; and (c) collective endorsement positively influence career advancement opportunities.

The propositions advanced in this dissertation will be tested in two studies. Study 1 is a laboratory experiment. The model for Study 1 can be found in Figure 2. The specific hypotheses tested in Study 1 can be found in Table 1. The methods and results for Study 1 will be presented in Chapter IV. Study 2 is a cross-sectional field study. The

model for Study 2 can be found in Figure 3. The specific hypotheses tested in Study 2 can be found in Table 4. The methods and results for Study 2 will be presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV. STUDY 1 METHODS AND RESULTS

Methodology

Sample and Participants

In the fall of 2013, I recruited students enrolled in six sessions of MGMT 3010 to enlist in the "strategic communication study" in exchange for 1 point of extra credit toward their final course grade in MGMT 3010. A total of 154 undergraduate business students responded to the invitation to participate and 126 students actually participated in this study (18.2% no-show rate). The sample was 57.1% female. White/European American participants comprised 86.7% of the sample with 5.6% Asians/Asian American, 2.4% Black or African American, 2.4% Hispanic or Latino American, 0.8% Native American, and 2.4% Other students making up the remainder of the sample. The mean age of the participants was 19.98 years old. Mean work experience of the sample was 2.90 years but at the time of data collection, 50.0% of the sample was unemployed, 49.2% worked part time, and 0.8% worked full time.

I scheduled the enlisted students to participate in sessions with groups of four participants. In the ideal session, there were two male and two female participants (63.5% of the sessions); however, because more females enlisted in the study, there were some sex-imbalanced sessions. Females outnumbered males in 29.4% of the sessions. Males outnumbered females in 7.1% of the sessions. Percentage of males in the group was later

explored as a potential covariate. It had a non-significant impact on the results. Also because some students signed-up but failed to report for their scheduled time slot, nine of the thirty four sessions (20.6%) conducted only had three participants. Number of participants in the group was explored as a potential covariate. It had a non-significant impact on the results. Further, for one of the sessions (considered a 3-person session) the male student did not show up for the study. In order to still conduct the session, the male confederate was used in his place. Only the data for the two female participants in their self-evaluations and their evaluations of one another were used for the purposes of the analyses.

Procedure

After providing implied consent to participate in the study online, participants also completed basic demographic information as well as individual difference measures that were later explored as potential covariates. In most cases, I conducted two sessions concurrently with start times that were 5 minutes apart. Each session was held in a separate breakout room so students were not aware of the leader, team, or task dynamics of any team other than their own.

Prior to the students arriving, I arranged each room with a set of markers, pencils, a ruler, and several blank sheets of paper. These items were situated in the middle of the table. There were two chairs on each of the long sides of a rectangular table. If there were extra chairs in the room, they were removed from the table and placed around the perimeter of the room. Participants were able to sit in any chair that was at the table. Confederate leaders did not sit at any time during the study protocol.

Upon arrival to the study room, participants verbally confirmed their consent to participate. I gave participants each a name tag and asked them to wear it for the duration of the study. I then gave a brief overview of the study and set expectations using the following script:

> Today's study is about strategic communication.
>
> A leader's primary job is to enable his/her followers to successfully complete their goals. A good leader has the ability to communicate a clear vision to his/her followers. In some situations, however, the leader is unable to share all of the details related to a task or project. Even in those cases though, a good leader still has to be able to direct his/her team to success. Today's team competition is that type of situation.
>
> Your team's ability to successfully compete in the challenges ahead will be based solely on how well your leader is able to direct your team's actions toward accomplishing the goal. Your leader will have more information about the goal than he/she is able to share with you. However, he/she has developed a strategy to lead your team to success given what he/she knows and can share without compromising the rules.
>
> You will have an opportunity to do two team tasks with your leader to get an understanding of how your team and leader work together. Then on the third task you will compete against all of the other teams in the study on a similar type of task for a monetary prize.

> Between tasks one and two, and tasks two and three, you will go into the computer lab to answer some questions about yourself, your teammates, and your leader. These questions are designed to facilitate your thought process as you prepare for task three. The purpose is to make sure you are paying attention to the right behaviors so you will be in the most competitive position for task three when the $100 in Amazon gift cards is on the line.
>
> What questions do you have?
>
> I am going to get the leader I have assigned to your team so you all can meet and get started.

I then brought the confederates into the breakout rooms. I introduced the confederates as current Executive MBA students who were employed as mid-level managers for a well-known local bank. I advised participants that these individuals would lead their groups in a competition against all other leaders in the study and reminded them that the winning leader's team would earn $100 in Amazon gift cards. I then handed the confederate leaders three folders with their "strategic communication plans" inside. In reality, they were the scripts the confederates were instructed to use to facilitate tasks one and two as well as the debriefing scripts and final informed consent documents. Before leaving the room, I again advised the participants not to deviate from the instructions and strategy of their assigned leaders.

The leaders were given a few minutes to meet with their teams, share their background (scripted to be the same), and ask the team members pre-determined

questions (name, major, hobbies, etc.) in a scripted effort to get to know their team members. The script was as follows:

> Before we get started let's take a few minutes to get to know each other. I guess I can start. My name is **Caitlin/Ben** and I will be your leader for today's team competition. I am an EMBA student here at Tulane and I'm a mid-level manager at Whitney National Bank here in New Orleans. That being said - strategic communication is a big part of what I do every day. So I'm happy to be here working with you all and sharpening my skills. Who wants to go next?
>
> Tell me your name and a little bit about yourself.

After the students each introduced themselves, the leader explained the strategy for task 1. Each confederate leader adhered to the same scripted strategy and was coached to deliver the strategy in the same manner.

Leader:

> "So part of what I was asked to do was develop a strategy that would allow you all to complete these three tasks and perform better than the other teams in the study. I cannot give you the details of my strategy or explicitly tell you the end goal, but I developed a communication plan to walk you through each step of what I need you to do. If you all work with me and work well together, I am 100% sure we can win this thing.
>
> I am holding a picture in my hand. You all will have to work together to draw this picture from my instructions. I cannot show you the picture and cannot answer any specific questions about the picture or the team's drawing – verbally or nonverbally. You all can, however, talk to each other and give each other feedback, guidance, and support. In fact, you probably should.
>
> Now - you will each complete some portion of the drawing. I will give the instruction and then call the name of the person that I want to complete that part of the task. Let's get started. We have up to 5 minutes to get this completed."

The leader gave pre-scripted explicit instructions on how to draw the figure for task 1 (see Appendix C). The leader called the name of the participant he/she was instructing at each step to reinforce the participants' name recall in the lab.

1. Draw a rectangle that is an inch wider than it is tall.

2. Draw a horizontal line through the center of the rectangle.

3. Draw a circle that touches the top, bottom, and right borders of the rectangle.

4. Draw another circle that touches the top and left borders of the rectangle.

5. Draw an arrow from the horizontal line to the bottom border of the rectangle.

6. Draw a triangle that touches the bottom right corner of the rectangle.

7. Shade in everything except the bigger circle – use different colors for each thing.

8. Write each team member's name in the bigger circle.

When Task #1 was complete, the leader submitted his/her team's work to me for "evaluation." To again reinforce name recall, I asked the participants who was responsible for different portions of the output. Based on the order that confederate leaders were asked to instruct the participants, I was able to remind the team of one input made by each team member. Confederate leaders were asked to instruct participants in the same order. So the same participant that was instructed to perform Step 1 was also instructed to perform Step 5 in a four person group. Accordingly, I would ask "Who was responsible for the initial rectangle?" and that person would be identified – either by himself/herself or another team member. I repeated this action for Steps 3, 4, and 6 in

four person groups and Steps 1, 5, and 6 in three person groups. I took notes on the "National Evaluation Criteria" on my clipboard and explained to the team that I would need a few minutes to review their output against the "national evaluation criteria" for the exercise. I asked the leader to escort the participants to the lab to answer some questions about their impressions of their teams thus far.

In the lab, participants had assigned stations with name tents. The surveys were pre-loaded on each computer. The participants answered questions regarding their current impressions of their teammates' competence, agency, and warmth, based on their observations during Task #1. They were told to return to the breakout room when they had completed those questions.

When all students arrived back in the breakout room, I gave the leader verbal feedback in front of the participants. The feedback was pre-determined and not related to the teams' actual performance output. If the team succeeded, I turned to the leader and said:

> "You directed your team very well. Based on the national evaluation criteria for this exercise, I would consider your team's output to be highly successful. Congratulations. You succeeded in this strategic communication task."

If the team failed, I turned to the leader and said:

> "You did not direct your team very well. Based on the national evaluation criteria for this exercise, I would consider your team's output to be highly unsuccessful. I am sorry. You did not succeed in this strategic communication task."

I wished the team good luck on the next task and left the room. The leader also indicated that he/she believed the team worked well together and would do well again (if succeeded) or do better (if failed) on the next task.

A similar process was repeated for task 2. However, the teams were told that the task 2 evaluation criteria was much more straight-forward and could be assessed within a matter of 30 seconds. After asking about the inputs of each team member in the same way I did for task 1, I shared the evaluations for task 2. I then asked the leaders to step outside.

I explained that when the participants went into the lab this time, they would answer some additional questions in preparation for task 3. I explained that they would be asked to make some decisions that could greatly influence how well they would perform in task 3. I explained that they were going to make individual decisions in the lab to ensure that everyone on the team has an equal voice in the decision; however, I also led the students to believe they would be able to discuss their decisions with their teammates after making their individual ratings but before any changes were made to their team.

Experimenter:

> "Now that you all have had some practice with this, let's get ready to compete for the monetary prize. Now (to leader), please step out of the room for a few minutes."
>
> (To participants) "As I mentioned earlier, tasks 1 and 2 were to help you prepare for task 3. Task 3 will be the task where you will compete against other teams for the $100 in Amazon gift cards. Just like in the prior two tasks, your team's ability to successfully compete in the Task 3 will be based solely on how well your leader is able to direct your team's actions toward accomplishing the goal. The team of the leader who performs best will win $25/member in Amazon gift cards. The leader will win that prize as well.
>
> Take a few moments to reflect on your leader's performance thus far. You will need to make some leadership-related decisions. Once you have made your individual decisions, you will have the opportunity to discuss them with your team to make final decisions before you all compete for the monetary prize."

At that time, participants completed all of the measures related to the hypotheses. When they were done, they returned to the breakout rooms and were debriefed by their confederate leaders. They were informed that they would not be participating in a third task but that they would still be entered into a lottery drawing for the chance to win the Amazon gift cards. Before leaving the study, all participants were given the opportunity to withdraw their participation without retribution. No participant enacted that right. All participants signed informed consent documents prior to leaving the study.

Independent Variables

Target Sex. Varied naturally according to participant. Coded as 1 = male and 2 = female.

Leader Sex. I used one male and one female confederate. Both confederates were White American and approximately the same age (~ 30 years old). Confederates were given scripts to guide their interactions with participants and were coached to enact similarly neutral affective dispositions. Coded as 1 = male leader and 2 = female leader.

Objective Leader Effectiveness. Leader effectiveness was objectively manipulated via false performance feedback given after Tasks #1 and #2. The focal point of the feedback was the leader. Examples of the leader effectiveness feedback include:

> Success: "You directed your team very well. Based on the national evaluation criteria for this exercise, I would consider your team's output to be highly successful. Congratulations. You succeeded in this strategic communication task."

Failure: "You did not direct your team very well. Based on the national evaluation criteria for this exercise, I would consider your team's output to be highly unsuccessful. I am sorry. You did not succeed in this strategic communication task."

Perceived Leader Effectiveness. Participant perceptions of leader effectiveness were measured using Giessner & van Knippenberg's (2008) 6-item scale. Items include "This team leader was a good leader"; "This team leader was very effective"; "This team leader led the team in a way which motivated the team members"; "I liked working together with this leader"; "How successful was your team leader in the previous tasks?"; "How successful will your leader be in future tasks?" Responses to the first four items ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. Responses to the last two items ranged from 1 = completely unsuccessful to 7 = completely successful. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over all six items yielded one factor that explained 59.94% of the variance. The internal consistency of the six items was α = .86. I used the average score of these six items as a measure of perceived leadership effectiveness.

Dependent Variables

Peer-evaluations of leadership. Participants were asked to nominate a peer to lead their teams in Task #3. Each nomination served as an indicator of a target's leadership as perceived by his/her peer evaluators.

After nominating a peer as a potential leader for task 3, participants completed additional subjective measures of the nominated peer's leadership using scales from

Cronshaw & Lord (1987) and Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips (2008). Items from Cronshaw & Lord (1987) include "To what extent did this team member engage in leader behavior in tasks 1 and 2?"; "To what degree did this team member fit your image of a leader in tasks 1 and 2?"; "How willing would you be to choose the team member as a formal leader for task 3?"; "How typical is this team member of a leader?"; and "How much leadership did this team member exhibit in the prior tasks?" The three items from the Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips (2008) measure of leadership potential included "How much do you believe this team member has the competence to perform effectively in the leader role?"; "How much do you believe this team member has what it takes to lead others in a team successfully?"; "How much do you believe this team member will be an effective team leader for this team?" A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over all eight items yielded one factor that explained 56.26% of the variance. The internal consistency of the eight items was $\alpha = .89$. I used the average score of these eight items as a measure of peer-evaluations of leadership potential for the nominated peers.

Using the same eight items, participants evaluated the leadership potential of the team members they did not nominate to lead in task. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over all eight items yielded one factor that explained 63.01% of the variance. The internal consistency of the eight items was $\alpha = .81$. I used the average score of these eight items as a measure of peer-evaluations of leadership potential for all peers on the team (both nominated and not nominated).

Self-evaluations of leadership. Participants were asked: "If you were nominated by your team members to lead Task #3, would you accept?"; "Do you think you would be

a better team leader than the team member you originally nominated?"; and "Do you think you would be a better team leader you're your initially assigned team leader?" Participants had the option to answer "Yes" or "No" to each of these questions. Yes = 1 and No = 2.

Participants then completed measures to evaluate their self-perceived leadership potential as well as their interest in assuming the leader role for task 3. These items were adapted from Heilman, Simon, & Repper (1987) and Luhtanen & Crocker (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale. Items from Heilman, Simon, & Repper (1987) included: "How well do you think you would lead your team?; "How well do you generally perform on tasks involving leadership skills?"; " How much would you want to be the leader in the next task?" Items from Luhtanen & Crocker (1992) included: "I would regret that I am the leader." (reverse coded); "In general, I would be glad that I am the leader."; "Overall, I would feel that being the leader would not be worthwhile." (reverse coded); and "I would feel good about being the leader." A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over all seven items yielded two factors that explained 67.76% of the variance. The first factor included the first two items from the Heilman, Simon, & Repper (1987) scale and explained 37.69% of the variance. I label this factor "general self-perceived leadership potential" (α=.80). These questions were measured on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 = Very Poorly to 9 = Very Well. The second factor included the remaining five items including the final item from Heilman et al. (1987) as well as the four items from Luhtanen & Crocker (1992). This factor explained 30.06% of the variance. I labeled this factor "self-rated interest in leadership" (α=.82). The items from Luhtanen & Crocker (1992) were measured on a 7-point scale with 1 = strongly disagree

and 7 = strongly agree. The Heilman et al. (1987) that loaded on Factor 2 was originally on a 9-point scale with 1 = Do not want to at all and 9 = Very much want to. It was converted to a 7-point scale before the final "self-rated interest in leadership" measure for this study was created.

Results

I have included the means, standard deviations, correlations, and reliabilities for the variables in this study in Table 2. The hypotheses were tested using analysis of variance (ANOVA) for continuous dependent variables and chi-square tests of independence for dichotomous dependent variables. Results of hypotheses tests are reported in Table 3.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that male targets would rate higher than female targets in (a) self-evaluations of leadership; and (b) peer-evaluations of leadership. Regarding Hypothesis 1a, ANOVA demonstrated no significant difference between male and female targets in their general self-perceived leadership potential ($F = .61$; $p = .44$) or their self-rated interest in leadership for task 3 ($F = .00$; $p = .95$). The mean ratings for general self-perceived leadership potential for male and female targets were 7.14 and 7.07 respectively. These ratings were not significantly different from the grand mean of 7.10. Similarly, mean ratings for self-rated interest in leadership for task 3 for male and female targets were 5.24 and 5.09 respectively. These average scores are also not significantly different from the grand mean of 5.17. Additional, chi-square analyses were performed on Yes/No responses for the questions: "If you were nominated by your team members to lead task 3, would you accept?"; "Do you think you would be a better team leader than

the team member you originally nominated?"; and "Do you think you would be a better team leader you're your initially assigned team leader?" Results revealed a significant difference in willingness to accept/decline a peer nomination (χ^2= 5.25; p = 0.02). Specifically, while the majority of targets from both sexes were willing to accept a nomination from their peers, female targets were significantly more likely to decline a peer nomination to lead in task 3. Further, although male and female targets similarly reported that did not think they were better leaders than the peer they had nominated as a potential leader for task 3 (χ^2= 0.31; p = 0.58), they differed in their reports of their self-perceived leadership when compared to their assigned leader. Specifically, male participants were significantly more likely than female participants to report that "yes" they did think they were better than their assigned leader (χ^2= 16.06; p = 0.00). Thus, hypothesis 1a received partial support.

Results of analyses for hypothesis 1b showed no significant sex difference in participants' general leadership evaluations of their peers (F = 1.01; p = 0.32) or in their ratings of the leadership potential of the peers they did nominate as potential leaders in task 3 (F = 1.41; p = .24). However, male targets were significantly more likely than female targets to be nominated to lead task (χ^2= 4.89; p = 0.03). Thus hypothesis 1b also received partial support. Interestingly, supplemental analyses demonstrated that although female participants were no more likely to nominate male or female peers to lead in task 3, male participants were significantly more likely to nominate a female peer (χ^2= 5.86; p = 0.05).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that leader sex would moderate the impact of target sex on leadership evaluations such that, targets with same-sex leaders would rate higher on (a)

self-evaluations of leadership; and (b) peer-evaluations of leadership compared to targets with cross-sex leaders. Results for hypothesis 2a show that the 2-way relationship between target sex and leader sex on general self-perceived leadership potential was not significant ($F = 1.18$; $p = 0.28$). The interaction between target sex and leader sex did, however, have a significant impact on targets' interest in leading for task 3 ($F = 8.31$; $p = .01$). Both male and female participants reported greater interest in leading in take 3 when their assigned leader was their same sex. Female participants with female leaders reported an average interest of 5.31 (on a 7-point scale) when their leader was also female but reported an average of 4.90 when their leader was male. Male participants with male leaders reported an average interest of 5.57 (on a 7-point scale) when their leader was also male but reported an average of 4.67 when their leader was female. However, the two-way relationship between target sex and leader sex did not significantly influence targets' decisions to accept/decline peer nominations ($F = .11$; $p = .74$). It also did not significantly impact participants' thoughts that they were better than the peer they nominated to lead ($F = 2.95$; $p = .09$) or the leader they were originally assigned ($F = 2.70$; $p = .10$). There was, however, a significant 2-way relationship between target sex and perceived leader effectiveness on participants' beliefs that they were better than the leaders they were originally assigned ($F = 3.60$; $p = .03$). Male participants were significantly more likely to report thinking they would be better leaders than their assigned leader when they perceived their leader to be low in effectiveness. Female participants, however, generally responded that "No" they did not think they were better leaders than their assigned leaders regardless of their perceptions of their leader's effectiveness. Hypothesis 2a was partially supported.

For hypothesis 2b, participants were able to see more general leadership potential in peers that were the same sex as the assigned leader ($F = 4.10$; $p = .05$). This difference persisted regardless of the sex of the peer the participant nominated for task 3 ($F = 0.77$; $p = .38$). Analyses also demonstrated that nominated targets were perceived as having higher leadership potential when they were the same sex as the assigned leader ($F = 6.30$; $p = .01$). Female nominees with female leaders were rated to have an average leadership potential of 4.52 compared to female nominees with male leaders who were rated to have an average leadership potential of 4.19. Similarly, male nominees with male leaders were rated to have an average leadership potential of 4.33 compared to male nominees with female leaders who were rated to have an average leadership potential of 3.95. Hypothesis 2b was supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that perceived leader effectiveness moderates the two-way interaction between target sex and leader sex on evaluations of leadership such that when female leaders are perceived to be highly effective, there will be no difference in leadership evaluations of female targets and male targets; but when female leaders are perceived to be low in effectiveness, leadership evaluations of female targets will be lower than those of male targets. Hypothesis 3 was not supported for self-evaluations of leadership potential ($F = 2.12$; $p = .13$), leadership interest ($F = 2.72$; $p = .07$), decision to accept/decline a nomination ($F = 1.90$; $p = .16$), or beliefs related to being better than the nominated peer ($F = .30$; $p = .74$) or initially assigned leader ($F = .15$; $p = .86$). It was also not supported for peer evaluations of leadership potential of teammates in general ($F = 1.12$; $p = .33$) or leadership potential for nominated peers ($F = 1.04$; $p = .36$).

Supplemental analyses for the 3-way relationship between target sex, leader sex, and objective leader effectiveness were also not significant. In fact, one limitation of the study was the negative correlation between perceived leader effectiveness and objective leader effectiveness ($r = -0.49$; $p = .000$). This strongly suggests that although all students passed the manipulation check for leader effectiveness (i.e. they were able to recall experimenter feedback regarding their leader's performance) they did not agree that the feedback was indicative of their leader's effectiveness. Accordingly, the results presented are those related to perceived leader effectiveness only.

Transition to Study 2

Study 1 allowed me to test some of the lynchpin arguments of my theory in a controlled setting. Given the nature of my sample, however, I was only able to test the influences of target sex and leader sex as indicators of ascribed status and organizational status cues. The sample was also comprised of undergraduate students who were acting in teams only for the purpose of the experiment. In order to test the generalizability of the Study 1 findings and consider both sex and race as indicators of ascribed status, I conducted a field study using a sample of working adults, who interact frequently, and have realistic consequences linked to their leadership-related decisions.

CHAPTER V. STUDY 2 METHODS AND RESULTS

Methodology

Sample and Data Collection Procedures

A sample of 183 employees from an education-focused non-profit organization was used in this study. All participant employees work as part of the organization's corporate structure and serve in roles related to national and regional operations (e.g. Strategy and Administration team, Organizational Effectiveness team, Public Affairs and Engagement team, Talent Acquisition team, etc.). Within this organization, business units with 20 or more minority employees were targeted and invited to participate in this study. I, along with the organization's liaison for this project, made this decision so any data shared with the organization would not be identifiable or easily traced back to participants. All of the data collected was kept confidential.

Data was gathered using survey questionnaires administered electronically via the Qualtrics web tool. Individual internet survey links were sent to 260 employees from three business units within the organization. Two of the business units were responsible for regional operations (108 employees) and one was responsible for national operations (155 employees)[1]. Upon receipt of the initial invitation to complete self-evaluation surveys, targets were given two weeks to complete their questionnaires. Completed

[1] Potential N = 263; however, three employees were out on leave for the duration of the survey so response rates were calculated from potential N = 260.

surveys were returned by 183 respondents (70.4% completion rate)[2]. Respondents with completed self-evaluation surveys were asked to designate a peer to complete a peer-evaluation survey of the target participant. Completed peer-evaluation surveys were returned for 142 targets (77.6% completion rate). Target participants' managers were also asked to complete evaluations for participating employees. Completed manager-evaluation surveys were returned for 138 targets (75.4% completion rate). Peer and manager evaluation periods extended from 7 - 10 days (depending on unit needs) after target surveys were closed.

The average age of target participants was 30 years old. 153 (83.6%) of the respondents were female.155 (84.7%) of the respondents had female managers. The sample was well-balanced in terms of minority and White target participants. White targets comprised 53.6% of the sample. Minority targets identified themselves as Black or African American (25.1%), Asian or Asian American (9.8%), Hispanic or Latino (7.7%), or Multi-ethnic (3.8%). Targets indicated their managers' races as being White (58.5%), Black or African American (29.0%), Asian or Asian American (6.0%), Hispanic or Latino (4.4%), or Multi-Ethnic (2.2%). Target participants had been working in their business units for an average tenure of 2.33 years and had an average tenure of 1.63 years in their current work roles at the time of data collection. Average organizational tenure was 3.25 years.

[2] Partially completed surveys were returned by another 12 employees. The data for these participants was used if the analyses included only variables for which the participants had completed the appropriate measures. There were no significant differences between those participants who partially completed the questionnaire and those who completed all measures in full.

Measures

Ascribed status. Ascribed status was approximated via sex and racial demographic data. Following the theoretical position of this study, males have higher status in society than females and Whites have higher status in society than members of minority races/ethnicities. As such, males were coded 2 and females were coded 1 in regression analyses; and, Whites were coded 2 and minorities (or non-Whites) were coded 1. Positive regression coefficients favor high status groups (i.e. men and Whites) and negative regression coefficients favor low status groups (i.e. women and non-Whites).

Target competence. Target competence was measured in the self-evaluation surveys using items from the Fiske et al., (2002) and Koenig & Eagly (2010) scales. Respondents rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1 = not at all, 7 = perfectly) how much they think each characteristic is descriptive of themselves. The items were measured at the same time and within the same scale as target agency. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded two distinct factors that explained 51.47% of the variance. Factor 1, Competence, explained 33.59% of the variance. Factor 1 items include: Capable, Confident, Competent, Efficient, Independent, Intelligent, Self-sufficient, and Skillful. I used the average score of these eight items as a measure of self-perceived competence. The internal consistency of the eight items was $\alpha = .80$.

Peer perceptions of the target's competence were evaluated in the same manner in the peer-evaluation surveys. Again principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded two distinct factors. This time the factors explained 64.41% of the variance. Factor 1, Competence, explained 40.53% of the variance. Factor

l items include: Capable, Competent, Efficient, Intelligent, Self-sufficient, Skillful, and Trustworthy. I used the average score of these seven items as a measure of peer-perceived competence. The internal consistency of the seven items was $\alpha = .89$.

Target agency. Target agency was measured in the self-evaluation surveys using items from the Fiske et al., (2002) and Koenig & Eagly (2010) scales. Respondents rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1 = not at all, 7 = perfectly) how much they think each characteristic is descriptive of themselves. The items were measured at the same time and within the same scale as target competence. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded two distinct factors that explained 51.47% of the variance. Factor 2, Agency, explained 17.88% of the variance. Factor 2 items included: Aggressive, Ambitious, Assertive, Competitive, and Dominant. I used the average score of these five items as a measure of self-perceived agency. The internal consistency of the five items was $\alpha = .82$.

Peer perceptions of the target's agency were evaluated in the same manner in the peer-evaluation surveys. Again principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded two distinct factors. This time the factors explained 64.41% of the variance. Factor 2, Agency, explained 22.88% of the variance. Factor 2 items include: Aggressive, Ambitious, Assertive, Confident, Competitive, Dominant, and Independent. I used the average score of these seven items as a measure of peer-perceived agency. The internal consistency of the seven items was $\alpha = .86$.

Target self-esteem. Target self-esteem was measured in the self-evaluation surveys using Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item measure. Targets rated on a scale of 1 - 7 (1=

strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement described their feelings about themselves in their current workgroups. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 45.67% of the variance. Sample items included: "I feel that I am a person of worth, equal to others" and "I feel that I do not have much to be proud of" (reverse-coded)[3]. I used the average score of these ten items as a measure of target self-esteem. The internal consistency of the ten items was $\alpha = .85$.

Target-directed (peer) esteem. The esteem held for the target by his/her co-workers was measured in the peer-evaluation surveys using a modified subset of items from the Eisenberger, Stinglhamber, Vandenberghe, Sucharski, & Rhoades (2002) supervisor's perceived organizational status scale. Four items were drawn from the "valuation" subset of the scale which measures the positive regard held for one's supervisor within an organization. I modified the referents for the present study to focus on the target peer (as opposed to the supervisor) and the team of co-workers (as opposed to the organization). Peers were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement described their perceptions of the team's general feelings about the target co-worker. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 68.47% of the variance. Although all four items factored together, one item decreased the scale's reliability. The internal consistency of the four items was $\alpha = .79$. The item "Even if this co-worker did well, our team would fail to notice" (reverse-coded) was dropped from the scale to improve internal reliability. The remaining three items were "The team

[3] A completed list of the items from all measures is found in Appendix B.

holds this co-worker in high regard," "The team values this co-worker's contributions," and "If this co-worker decided to quit, members of our team would try to persuade him/her to stay." I used the average score of these three items as a measure of target-directed esteem. The internal consistency of the three items was $\alpha = .85$[4].

Perceived performance opportunities. The performance opportunities afforded to the target by his/her co-workers were measured in the both the self-evaluation and peer-evaluation surveys using a modified subset of items from the Eisenberger et al., (2002) supervisor's perceived organizational status scale. Four items were drawn from the "authority and autonomy" subset of the scale which measures the supervisor's authority and autonomy in carrying out job responsibilities in the organization. The referents were modified in the same manner as in the target-directed esteem measure. Both the self-evaluation and peer-evaluation questionnaires measured perceived performance opportunities, perceived influence, and perceived voice with the target employee as the referent. Evaluators were asked to rate on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement described their perceptions of the team's general interactions with the target. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a three factor solution that explained 61.64% of the variance in self-evaluations and 73.03% of the variance in peer-evaluations. The factor for Perceived performance opportunities included four items that explained 6.75% of the variance in self-evaluations and 14.84% of the variance in peer-evaluations. A sample item from the self-evaluation questionnaire is "My co-workers give me the opportunity to try new things." The same item on the peer-evaluation

[4] The significance levels for the 3-item and 4-item measures were consistent.

questionnaire was "Our team gives this co-worker the opportunity to try new things." I used the average score of the four items (see Appendix B) as a measure of perceived performance opportunities from both the target and peer points-of-view. The internal consistencies of the four items for the self-perceived and peer-perceived measures were $\alpha = .78$ and $\alpha = .84$ respectively.

Perceived influence. The target's influence within his/her team of co-workers was also measured in the both the self-evaluation and peer-evaluation surveys using a modified subset of items from the Eisenberger et al., (2002) scale. Four items were drawn from the "influence" subset of the scale which measures the supervisor's influence on important organizational decisions. The referents were modified in the same manner as in the target-directed esteem measure. The factor for perceived influence included four items that explained 11.09% of the variance in self-evaluations and 6.64% of the variance in peer-evaluations. A sample item from the self-evaluation questionnaire is "I participate in decisions that affect the entire team." The same item on the peer-evaluation questionnaire was "This co-worker participates in decisions that affect the entire team." I used the average scores of the four items as measures of the target's influence within the team from both the target and peer points-of-view. The internal consistencies of the four items for the self-perceived and peer-perceived measures were $\alpha = .77$ and $\alpha = .86$ respectively.

Perceived voice. The target's use of voice within his/her team of co-workers was measured in the both the self-evaluation and peer-evaluation surveys using the VanDyne & LePine (1998) measure. The factor for perceived voice included six items that explained 43.81% of the variance in self-evaluations and 51.54% of the variance in peer-

evaluations. A sample item from the self-evaluation questionnaire is "I speak up in this team with ideas for new projects or changes in procedures." The same item on the peer-evaluation questionnaire was "This co-worker speaks up in this team with ideas for new projects or changes in procedures." I used the average scores of the six items as measures of the target's voice within the team from both the target and peer points-of-view. The internal consistencies of the six items for the self-perceived and peer-perceived measures were $\alpha = .85$ and $\alpha = .84$ respectively.

Political skill. The target's political skill was measured in self-evaluation surveys using the Ferris et al.'s (2005) 18-item Political Skill Inventory. Targets rated on a scale of 1 - 7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement described his/her interaction with co-workers. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 40.24% of the variance. I used the average scores of the 18 items as measure of the target's political skill. The internal consistency of the 18 items was $\alpha = .91$.

Target job performance. The target's job performance was measured in self-evaluation and manager-evaluation surveys. Both evaluations used the Williams & Anderson (1991) 7-item scale for in-role behavior performance. Targets and their managers rated the frequency with which each of the items was descriptive of the target's performance from 1 = "Not at all" to 5 = "Frequently, if not always." A confirmatory principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 53.48% of the variance in self-evaluations. However, an exploratory principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a two factor solution that explained 79.29% of the variance in manager-

evaluations. In the two factor solution, the first factor included all of the affirmative statements and explained 61.01% of the variance in manager-evaluations. The second factor included the two reverse coded items and explained 18.28% of the variance in manager-evaluations. This suggests that the reverse-coded items may be tapping into a distinct construct from the manager's point-of-view. For manager evaluations, I will refer to factor 1 as job performance and factor 2 as job negligence.

A sample item from the self-rated job performance survey is "I fulfill responsibilities specified in my job description." The same item on the manager-rated questionnaire was "This employee fulfills responsibilities specified in the job description." I used the average scores of all 7 items as measure of the target's self-rated job performance. The internal consistency of the 7 items was $\alpha = .84$ for the self-evaluations. For manager evaluations, the 5 affirmative items had an internal consistency of $\alpha = .91$. I used the average scores of these 5 items as a measure of the target's manager-rated job performance. The two reverse-coded items "This employee neglects aspects of the job he/she is obligated to perform" and "This employee fails to perform essential duties" were combined to create an additional measure of job negligence. The two job negligence items had an internal consistency of $\alpha = .90$.

Target leader identity (Individual Internalization). The leader self-identity scale developed by Hiller (2005) was used to measure self-rated leader identity. The aim of the measure was to understand and quantify the extent to which a leader identity was considered to be descriptive of and important to the respondent. Participants rated on a 5-point scale how descriptive (1 = not at all descriptive to 5 = perfectly descriptive) each the following four statements was to how they viewed themselves: "I am a leader," "I see

myself as a leader," "If I had to describe myself to others I would include the word leader," and "I prefer being seen by others as a leader." I used the average scores of the four items as measure of the target's individual internalization of a leader identity. The internal consistency of the four items was $\alpha = .80$.

Perceived target leadership effectiveness (Relational Recognition). Target leadership effectiveness was measured in the peer-evaluation surveys as a measure of relational recognition of the target's ability to effectively wield leadership in his/her team without formal authority. I used 6 items from Giessner & van Knippenberg (2008) and an additional 3 items from Douglas (2012) to measure the target's effectiveness as a leader. Peers rated targets on a scale of 1 - 7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement described his/her opinion of the co-worker as a leader. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 68.43% of the variance. I used the average scores of the 9 items as measure of the target's leadership effectiveness from a peer's perspective. This served as a measure of relational recognition of the target's leadership. The internal consistency of the 9 items was $\alpha = .97$.

Target promotability. Manager-evaluation surveys included measures related to the target's promotion potential. 3 items from Thacker and Wayne (1995), 6 items from Heilman et al., (2004) and one item from Greenhaus & Parasuraman (1993) were used to assess promotability. Managers rated targets on a scale of 1 - 5[5] on his/her opinion of the subordinate target. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 57.13% of the variance. One

[5] Various scales used different anchors but all were 5-point. See Appendix B for all scales and anchors.

of the items from the Heilman et al. (2004) scale, however, negatively influenced the internal consistency of the scale. The reliability of the 10-item scale was $\alpha = .74$. However, the reliability of the 9-item scale without the item "How would you feel about working with this person as your manager?" increased to $\alpha = .90$. Accordingly, I used the average scores of the 9 items as measure of the target's promotability as rated by his/her manager.

Group managerial representation. Group managerial representation was approximated from the target's perception of what percentage of managers in his/her team was the same sex or race as the target (Cohen, Broschak, & Haveman, 1998; McGinn & Milkman, 2013). In self-evaluation surveys, targets responded to the following questions: "Approximately what would you estimate as being the gender distribution (by percentage) of managers in your team?" and "Approximately what would you estimate as being the racial distribution (by percentage) of managers in your team?" I then cross-referenced the target's sex with his/her perceived percentage of same-sex managers to create the variable "Group Sex Managerial Representation." I cross-referenced the target's race with his/her perceived percentage of same-race managers to create the variable "Group Racial Managerial Representation."

Group managerial effectiveness. Managerial effectiveness was measured in both the self and peer-evaluation surveys using the same measure employed for target leadership effectiveness. A principal component analysis with a Varimax rotation over the combined items yielded a one factor solution that explained 79.50% of the variance in self-evaluation surveys and 81.01% of the variance in peer evaluation surveys. I used the

average scores of the 9 items as measure of the manager effectiveness as perceived by each evaluator.

To understand the extent to which the mean rating assigned by evaluators within a team was reliable, I calculated intraclass correlations (ICC). When each target is rated by a different set of judges, as in this case, the average score ICC is the appropriate method for determining agreement prior to aggregation (LeBreton & Senter, 2008). The average score ICC may be estimated using a one-way random effects ANOVA. The ICC(1) = .78. This is a large effect size, suggesting that managerial effectiveness ratings were heavily influenced by team membership. The ICC(K) = .97 reveals high levels of IRR + IRA and suggests that the mean ratings (taken over judges) reliably distinguish the teams within the sample. ICC(K) > .90 is indicative of very strong agreement (LeBreton & Senter, 2008). Thus, it is appropriate to aggregate the data to the team-level within each business unit. Additional analyses were run to determine if it was reasonable to aggregate gender and racial data at the team level.

For ratings of male managers, the ICC(1) = .87. The ICC(K) = .93. For ratings of female managers, the ICC(1) = .72. The ICC(K) = .96. Accordingly, it was justifiable to combine effectiveness ratings for male managers into a general score for "Male Manager Effectiveness" and combined effectiveness ratings for male managers into a general score for "Female Manager Effectiveness." These scores were then cross-referenced with the target's sex so male employees were given the aggregated score for "Male Manager Effectiveness" and female employees were given the aggregated score for "Female Manager Effectiveness" within each respective business unit.

I followed the same procedure for managers sharing the same race as the target employee. For ratings of White managers, the ICC(1) = .81 and the ICC(K) = .97. For ratings of Black managers, the ICC(1) = .68 and the ICC(K) = .95. For ratings of Hispanic managers, the ICC(1) = .88 and the ICC(K) = .99. For ratings of Asian managers, the ICC(1) = .46 and the ICC(K) = .89. ICC(K) > .90 is indicative of very strong agreement and ICC(K) > .70 is indicative of strong agreement (LeBreton & Senter, 2008). Due to lack of agreement, ICC(1) = -.1 and the ICC(K) = -3.8, Mixed-race managers and targets were excluded from group-level analyses.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics, correlations, and reliabilities are shown in Table 5[6]. All hypotheses were tested using a series of regressions. The hypothesized mediation model was tested via structural equation model (SEM) using the SPSS AMOS software package. SEM compares the hypothetical (default) model to the relationships present in the dataset. The similarity between the variance-covariance matrix implied by the hypothetical model and the variance-covariance matrix of the observed empirical data is evaluated through goodness-of-fit indices, including maximum likelihood chi-square values/degrees of freedom ratio, the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square errors of approximation (RMSEA), and the non-normed fit index (NNFI). Good fit (a chi-square value less than twice the degrees of freedom in the model; CFI≥0.95; NNFI≥0.95; RMSEA < 0.06) was used to justify interpretation of parameters.

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to examine the factor structure (measurement model) and the relationships among all latent variables and manifest

[6] Due to the size of Table 5 it is presented in three tables.

variables. Once the factor structure was confirmed, a path model was used to examine the predicting effects of sex status (1 = female; 2 = male) and racial status (1 = Nonwhite; 2 = White) in separate path models. Individual internalization and relational recognition were also measured in separate path models for the sake of parsimony.

RESULTS

Results of the hypothesized effects will be presented in response to four distinct research questions in the following order: (1) How does a target's ascribed status influence self-evaluations of leader identity (H1a) and peer-evaluations of leader identity (H1b)? (2) How does a target's ascribed status influence self-held social perceptions and peer-held social perceptions (H9)? (3) How do individual and organizational cues of group achieved status influence the relationships between a target's ascribed status and both self-held social perceptions and peer-held social perceptions (H12-19)? And (4) How does a target's leader identity ultimately influence important career advancement outcomes (H20)?

Analyses did not demonstrate consistently strong moderating effects (H12-19). Accordingly, I will present the results of the mediation regressions (H1-H9), followed by the moderation regressions (H12-19), then conclude with a discussion of the full mediation path model tested in SEM without consideration of the moderating effects (i.e. H1-H9 and H20 only).

Test of Hypotheses

Ascribed Status on Leader Identity. Regression coefficients for Hypothesis 1 are presented in Table 6. Hypothesis 1 predicts that the target's ascribed status (via

demographic indicators) is positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition. Target sex status had a marginally significant positive relationship with his/her individual internalization of a leader identity ($\beta = 0.14$, $p = .07$). Male employees reported stronger leader identities (M = 3.88) than their female peers (M = 3.60) in this sample. This suggests that male employees did consider leader identities to be somewhat more central to how they thought of themselves within this organization. Targets' racial status also had a significant relationship with their individual internalization of leader identities ($\beta = -0.14$, $p < .05$). However, the direction of the relationship was opposite of the predicted effect. The non-White employees reported stronger leader identities (M = 3.76) than their White peers (M = 3.54) in this sample. There was marginal support for Hypothesis 1a for sex, but the hypothesis was not supported for race. Neither the target's sex status nor race status had significant relationships with their peer's relational recognition of their leadership effectiveness. For sex status, ($\beta = -0.10$, $p > .05$) and for race status ($\beta = -0.14$, $p > .05$). Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

Ascribed Status on Social Perceptions. This section assesses the extent to which targets' ascribed status influences self-held social perceptions and peer-held social perceptions. Hypothesis 9 states that targets' ascribed status is positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors. Regression coefficients for Hypothesis 9 are presented in Table 6. Analyses revealed no significant relationships between sex status and self-perceived competence ($\beta = -0.05$, $p > .05$), agency ($\beta = 0.08$, $p > .05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.09$, $p > .05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.07$, $p >$

.05), or voice behaviors (β = 0.02, $p > .05$). Sex status was related to self-rated self-esteem (β = -0.14, $p < .05$). However, the direction of the relationship was opposite of the predicted effects. Female employees reported having significantly higher self-esteem (M = 5.77) than their male peers (M = 5.44) in this sample. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for sex status on self-held social perceptions.

For peer evaluations, sex status had a marginal influence peer ratings of targets' competence (β = -0.16, $p = .06$). Sex status also influenced how positively targets' were regarded by their peers (β = -0.16, $p < .05$). However, the direction of each of these relationships was contrary to the prediction. In this sample, female peers were rated as more competent (M = 6.32) than male peers (M = 6.03). Female peers were also more highly regarded (M = 6.42) than their male peers (M = 5.98). The relationships between sex status and peer-rated agency (β = -0.09, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.06, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = 0.08, $p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors (β = -0.03, $p > 0.05$) were all non-significant. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for sex status on other-held social perceptions.

Analyses revealed significant relationships between racial status and self-perceived competence (β = -0.26, $p = 0.00$) and agency (β = -0.15, $p < .05$). Racial status also had a marginal influence on self-esteem (β = -0.14, $p = 0.06$) and performance opportunities (β = -0.12, $p = 0.10$). However, all of these relationships were opposite of the predicted effects. Compared to their White peers, non-White employees in this sample rated themselves as having more competence ($M_{NW} = 5.80$; $M_W = 5.49$), agency ($M_{NW} = 4.29$; $M_W = 3.97$), self-esteem ($M_{NW} = 5.83$; $M_W = 5.61$), and performance opportunities ($M_{NW} = 5.83$; $M_W = 5.64$). There were no significant between group

differences in self-rated influence activities (β = -0.09, $p > .05$), or voice behaviors (β = 0.01, $p > .05$). Hypothesis 9 was not supported for race status on self-held social perceptions.

For peer evaluations, target racial status had no significant influence on ratings of target competence (β = 0.03, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = 0.01, $p > 0.05$), peer-esteem (β = -0.08, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.08, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.05, $p < 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = -0.11, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 9 was not supported for racial status on other-held social perceptions.

Moderating Influence of Individual and Organizational Achieved Status. Regression coefficients for Hypotheses 12-15 are presented in Table 7. Hypothesis 12 states that target's political skill will moderate the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when political skill is high. There was a negative effect of sex status on self-esteem (H9c) and no other significant difference between male and female respondents for self-held perceptions. The interactive effects of Sex Status X Political Skill on self-perceived competence (β = 0.05, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = -0.04, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.03, $p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors (β = -0.04, $p > 0.05$) were all non-significant. The interactive effects of Sex Status X Political Skill on self-perceived self-esteem was however significant (β = 0.16, $p < 0.05$) such that the effect of political skill on self-esteem is stronger (more positive) for male respondents than female respondents. See Figure 2. The interactive effect of Sex Status X Political Skill on self-perceived influence activities was also significant (β = 0.17, $p < 0.05$) such

that the effect of political skill on influence is stronger (more positive) for male respondents than female respondents. See Figure 5. Hypothesis 12 was not supported for sex on self-evaluations. The interactive effects of Race Status X Political Skill on self-perceived competence ($\beta = 0.11, p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.04, p > 0.05$), self-esteem ($\beta = -0.01, p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.05, p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.05, p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.13, p > 0.05$) were all non-significant. Hypothesis 12 received no support for race on self-evaluations.

Hypothesis 13 predicts that target political skill moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when political skill is high. Again, for sex status there were no significant Sex Status X Political Skill interactions for competence ($\beta = 0.12, p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.10, p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.11, p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.08, p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = 0.09, p > 0.05$). There was a significant Sex Status x Political Skill effect on esteem ($\beta = .23, p < 0.01$) such that female targets with high and low levels of political skill appear to be regarded similarly high. Male targets with low political skill seem to be held in lesser regard by their peers, but are regarded as highly as female targets when they have high political skill. See Figure 6.

The interactive effects of Race Status X Political Skill on peer-rated competence ($\beta = 0.20, p > 0.05$), esteem ($\beta = .20, p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.16, p > 0.05$), and influence activities ($\beta = 0.19, p > 0.05$) were all non-significant. There was a significant Race Status x Political Skill effect on peer perceptions of target agency ($\beta =$

0.27, $p < 0.05$) such that more political skill positively influence the perceived agency of White targets but negatively influenced the perceived agency of non-White targets. See Figure 7. There was a marginally significant Race Status x Political Skill effect on peer perceptions of the targets' voice behaviors ($\beta = 0.24$, $p = 0.07$) such that greater political skill had a positive influence on the perceived voice behaviors of White targets but had a slight negative influence on the perceived voice behaviors of non-White targets. See Figure 8. However, because male targets and White targets benefited from higher political skill to a greater extent than female targets and non-White targets, Hypothesis 13 was not supported for sex or race.

Hypothesis 14 predicts that target job performance moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when job performance is high. For sex status there were no significant Sex Status x Job Performance interactions for competence ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.03$, $p > 0.05$), self-esteem ($\beta = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.10$, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.07$, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 14 was not supported for sex status effects.

For race status there were no significant Race Status x Job Performance interactions for self-perceived competence ($\beta = 0.15$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$), self-esteem ($\beta = 0.12$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.04$, $p > 0.05$), or influence activities ($\beta = -0.13$, $p > 0.05$). There was, however, a significant Race Status x Job Performance effect on self-perceived voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.29$, $p > 0.05$),

such that White employees who self-rated their job performance as low and high reported being similarly vocal. Non-White employees however reported much higher levels of voice behaviors when they also rated their job performance to be high. See Figure 9. However, because there was no significant effect of Race Status on self-rated Voice Behaviors from Hypothesis 9f, hypothesis 14 was not supported for race status effects.

Hypothesis 15 predicts that target job performance moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when job performance is high. For sex status there were no significant Sex Status x Job Performance interactions for competence ($\beta = 0.15$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.13$, $p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = 0.13$, $p > 0.05$). There was a marginal Sex Status x Job Performance influence on agency ($\beta = 0.17$, $p = 0.07$), such that male targets who self-rated as higher performers were rated as more agentic by their peers but female targets who self-rated as higher performers were rated as less agentic by their peers. See Figure 10. There was a marginal Sex Status x Job Performance influence on esteem ($\beta = 0.16$, $p = 0.09$), such that male targets with self-reported low job performance were rated significantly lower than female targets with self-reported low job performance. See Figure 11. However, at high levels of self-reported job performance, peers held male targets and female targets in similarly high regard.

For race status there were no significant Race Status x Job Performance interactions for peer-perceived competence ($\beta = -.10$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.15$ $p >$

0.05), esteem (β = 0.04, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.06, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.04, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = -0.07, $p > 0.05$). Race Status x Job Performance did not influence peer-perceptions of the target. Hypothesis 15 was not supported for sex status effects or race status effects.

Regression coefficients for Hypotheses 16-19 are presented in Table 8. Hypothesis 16 proposes that the target's group managerial representation moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial representation is high. For Sex Status X Sex Managerial Representation, there were no significant effects on self-perceived competence (β = -.07, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = 0.09 $p > 0.05$), esteem (β = -0.26, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.13, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.02, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = 0.01, $p > 0.05$). For Race Status X Race Managerial Representation, there were no significant effects on self-perceived competence (β = 0.04, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = -0.11 $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = 0.12, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.02, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = -0.05, $p > 0.05$). There was however a significant Race Status X Race Managerial Representation self-esteem (β = -0.23, $p < 0.05$) such that White employees experience a slight negative impact on their self-esteem when same-race (White) managers are well-represented in their business units but non-White employees experience a significant positive on their self-esteem when same-race managers are well-represented in their business units. See Figure 12.

Hypothesis 17 proposes that the target's group managerial representation moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial representation is high. For Sex Status X Sex Managerial Representation, there were no significant effects on peer-perceived competence (β = -.17, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = -0.03 $p > 0.05$), esteem (β = -0.31, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.32, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = -0.22, $p > 0.05$). Sex Status X Sex Managerial Representation did, however, influence peer perceptions of targets' performance opportunities (β = -0.63, $p < 0.01$) such that female targets are perceived as having more performance opportunities when there are more same-sex (female) managers represented in the business unit but male targets are perceived as having fewer performance opportunities when there are more same-sex (male) managers represented in the business unit. See Figure 13.

For Race Status X Race Managerial Representation, there were no significant effects on peer-perceived competence (β = 0.03, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = -0.04 $p > 0.05$), esteem (β = 0.08 $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = 0.03, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors (β = -0.12, $p > 0.05$). Race Status X Race Managerial Representation did, however, have a marginal influence on peer perceptions of targets' performance opportunities (β = 0.29, p = 0.06), such that White targets were perceived as having significantly more performance opportunities when same-race (White) managers were well-represented in the business unit. Non-White targets, alternatively, were perceived as having somewhat fewer

performance opportunities when same-race managers were well-represented in the business unit. See Figure 14.

Hypothesis 18 predicts that target's group managerial effectiveness moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial effectiveness is high. For Sex Status X Sex Managerial Effectiveness, there were no significant effects on self-perceived competence ($\beta = 0.05$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.13$, $p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = -0.13$, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.08$, $p > 0.05$). There was a significant Sex Status X Sex Managerial Effectiveness effect on agency ($\beta = 0.16$, $p < 0.05$) such that male targets perceive themselves to be more agentic when same-sex (male) managers in their teams are more effective leaders. Female targets, however, do not see themselves as more or less agentic regardless the effectiveness of same-sex (female) managers in their teams. See Figure 15. There was also a significant Sex Status X Sex Managerial Effectiveness effect on self-esteem ($\beta = -.023$, $p < 0.01$), such that female targets reported higher self-esteem when same-sex (female) managers were perceived as being highly effective in the business unit. Male targets, alternatively, reported lower self-esteem when same-sex (male) managers were perceived as being highly effective in the business unit. See Figure 16.

For Race Status X Race Managerial Effectiveness, there were no significant effects on self-perceived competence ($\beta = -.01$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = -.13$ $p > 0.05$), esteem ($\beta = -0.05$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.05$, $p > 0.05$), influence

activities ($\beta = 0.04$, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.02$, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 18 was not supported.

Hypothesis 19 predicts that target's group managerial effectiveness moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial effectiveness is high. For Sex Status x Sex Managerial Effectiveness, there were no significant effects on peer ratings of target competence ($\beta = 0.15$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.15$ $p > 0.05$), esteem ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.13$, $p > 0.05$), or influence activities ($\beta = 0.12$, $p > 0.05$). There was, however, a significant Sex Status x Sex Managerial Effectiveness effect on peer-evaluations of targets' voice behaviors ($\beta = 0.22$, $p > 0.05$) such that male targets are perceived to be significantly more vocal when effective same-sex (male) managers are present in the team. Female targets, on the other hand, are no more or less vocal regardless of the perceived effectiveness of same-sex (female) managers in the team. See Figure 17.

For Race Status x Race Managerial Effectiveness, there were no significant effects on peer ratings of target competence ($\beta = -0.07$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.02$ $p > 0.05$), esteem ($\beta = -0.10$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = 0.15$, $p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = -0.08$, $p > 0.05$), or voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.10$, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 19 was not supported.

Hypothesized Mediation Models

Results of the hypothesized models as well as their respective fit indices will be presented below. All models related to Individual Internalization of leader identities will be presented first. Models related to Relational Recognition will follow. Because each of the hypothesized models failed to reach acceptable fit, I will follow the discussion of each model with a brief discussion of an alternative model that did reach acceptable fit. In each alternative model, I co-varied the errors between manifest variables for which data were collected at the same time using the same survey instrument (i.e. competence and agency or performance opportunities, influence, and voice). The relationships may have been influenced by common methods bias. Each path was added one at a time and model fit was examined at each step.

Individual Internalization. The full mediation model for a target's individual internalization of a leader identity (without consideration of moderating influences) for sex status appears in Figure 18. The full mediation model tests the following hypotheses: 1a, 2a, 3a, 4, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a-9f (for self-evaluations) and H20a. Hypotheses 1a, 2a, 3a, and H20a were supported in this model. There was marginal support for Hypotheses 4 and 8a. The target's sex status did have a direct positive relationship with his/her individual internalization of a leader identity ($\beta = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$), supporting Hypothesis 1a. The target's self-rated competence ($\beta = 0.16$, $p < 0.05$), and agency ($\beta = 0.32$, $p < 0.00$), and also directly influenced his/her individual internalization of a leader identity, supporting Hypotheses 2a and 3a. The target's self-esteem ($\beta = 0.16$, $p = 0.05$) also influenced his/her individual internalization of a leader identity, providing support for Hypothesis 4. Contrary to Hypotheses 6a and 7a, the target's perceived performance opportunities had

a negligible negative influence on his/her leader identity (β = -0.13, $p > 0.05$) and perceived influence activities had no significant influence on his/her leader identity (β = 0.01, $p > 0.05$). Self-rated voice behaviors did, however, have a marginal positive influence on the target's leader identity (β = 0.15, p = 0.058), offering marginal support for Hypothesis 8a. Hypothesis 9 predicted that the target's ascribed status would be positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors. For self-evaluations, only the target's self-esteem was influenced by his/her sex status (β = -0.27, $p < 0.01$). However, the direction of the relationship was contrary to the prediction of Hypothesis 9c. Self-rated competence (β = 0.02, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = 0.10, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.14, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = -0.05, $p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors (β = -0.06, $p > 0.05$) were all unrelated to the target's sex status. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for sex status's influence on self-evaluations. Hypothesis 20a, predicted that a target's individual internalization of his/her leader identity would be positively related to supervisor ratings of the target's performance and promotion potential. The target's leader identity was positively related to manager ratings of the target's performance (β = 0.26, $p < 0.01$). The target's leader identity was unrelated to manager ratings of the target's negligence at work (β = 0.11, $p > 0.05$) or his/her promotability (β = 0.11, $p > 0.05$). Thus, Hypothesis 20a received some support for job performance. Although there was support for some portions of the hypothesized mediation model, the fit statistics for the hypothesized saturated model were unacceptable. The χ^2 =272.05, 39 df, CFI = 0.18, RMSEA = 0.22, NNFI = 0.20. Accordingly, an alternative model was evaluated.

In the alternative model, errors of all variables collected at the same time and on the same scale were allowed to co-vary. Additional paths were added to the model to account for the direct negative effects of sex status on both Job Performance ($\beta = -0.28$, $p < 0.01$) and Promotability ($\beta = -0.24$, $p < 0.01$). The female targets in this sample were evaluated as having better job performance and being more promotable compared to the male targets. Due to their lack of significance in the overall mediation model, Influence was dropped as a mediating variable and Job Negligence was dropped as an outcome variable. The resulting model reached acceptable fit statistics $\chi^2 = 31.34$, 21 df, CFI = 0.94, RMSEA = 0.06, NNFI = 0.85.

The full mediation model for a target's individual internalization of a leader identity (without consideration of moderating influences) for race status appears in Figure 19. The full mediation model tests the following hypotheses: 1a, 2a, 3a, 4, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a-9f (for self-evaluations) and H20a. Hypotheses 2a, 3a, and H20a received supported in this model. There was marginal support for Hypotheses 8a. Contrary to Hypothesis 1a, the target's racial status did not have a direct positive relationship with his/her individual internalization of a leader identity ($\beta = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$). Hypothesis 1a was not supported for racial status in the full mediation model. The target's self-rated competence ($\beta = 0.20$, $p < 0.05$), and agency ($\beta = 0.34$, $p < 0.00$) did, however, directly influence his/her individual internalization of a leader identity, supporting Hypotheses 2a and 3a. The target's self-esteem ($\beta = 0.11$, $p > 0.05$) did not influence his/her individual internalization of a leader identity, failing to provide support for Hypothesis 4. Contrary to Hypotheses 6a and 7a, the target's perceived performance opportunities had a marginal negative influence on his/her leader identity ($\beta = -0.14$, $p = 0.10$) and perceived

influence activities had no significant influence on his/her leader identity ($\beta = 0.03, p > 0.05$). Self-rated voice behaviors did however have a marginal positive influence on the target's leader identity ($\beta = 0.13, p = 0.09$), offering marginal support for Hypothesis 8a. Hypothesis 9 predicted that the target's ascribed status would be positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors. For self-evaluations, the target's self-rated competence ($\beta = -0.28, p < 0.00$), self-esteem ($\beta = -0.21, p < 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.26, p < 0.01$), and influence activities ($\beta = -0.19, p < 0.05$) were all influenced by racial status. However, the direction of the relationships was contrary to the predictions of Hypothesis 9. Non-White targets evaluated themselves more favorably than White targets. Self-rated agency ($\beta = -0.11, p > 0.05$) and voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.07, p > 0.05$) were both unrelated to the target's racial status. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for racial status's influence on self-evaluations. However, because there was a significant negative main effect of Race Status on Leader Identity in the regression series, the lack of significance for H1 suggests that the relationship between Race Status and Leader Identity is fully mediated by self-perceived Competence and Performance Opportunities. Hypothesis 20a, predicted that a target's individual internalization of his/her leader identity would be positively related to supervisor ratings of the target's performance and promotion potential. The target's leader identity was positively related to manager ratings of the target's job performance ($\beta = 0.26, p < 0.01$). It was unrelated to manager ratings of the target's negligence at work ($\beta = 0.11, p > 0.05$) or his/her promotability ($\beta = 0.11, p > 0.05$). Thus, Hypothesis 20a received some support for manager ratings of job performance. Although there was

support for some portions of the hypothesized mediation model, the fit statistics for the hypothesized saturated model were unacceptable. The χ^2 =243.78, 39 df, CFI = 0.24, RMSEA = 0.20, NNFI = 0.25. Accordingly, an alternative model was evaluated.

In the alternative model, errors of all variables collected at the same time and on the same scale were allowed to co-vary. No additional paths were added to the model but the path from Leader Identity (II) to Job Negligence was dropped. The resulting model reached acceptable fit statistics χ^2 =33.40, 24 df, CFI = 0.97, RMSEA = 0.06, NNFI = 0.90.

Relational Recognition. The full mediation model for relational recognition of the target's leader identity (without consideration of moderating influences) for sex status appears in Figure 20. The full mediation model tests the following hypotheses: 1b, 2b, 3b, 5, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9a-9f (for peer-evaluations) and H20b. Hypotheses 2b, 5, 8b and H20b were supported in this model. The target's sex status did not have a direct positive relationship with relational recognition of his/her leadership ability (β = 0.06, $p > 0.05$), failing to support Hypothesis 1b. The target's peer-rated competence (β = 0.32, $p < 0.00$), agency (β = -0.10, $p < 0.05$), and peer regard (β = 0.58, $p < 0.00$) also directly influenced relational recognition of the target's leadership ability. This evidence supports Hypotheses 2b and 5. However, targets rated by their peers as more agentic were actually less likely to be recognized as leaders, contrary to Hypothesis 3b. Contrary to Hypotheses 6b and 7b, performance opportunities had no significant influence on peers' recognition of targets' leadership ability (β = .04, $p > 0.05$) and influence activities had a significant negative influence (β = -0.22, $p > 0.00$). Peer-rated voice behaviors did, however, positively influence peers' relational recognition of targets' leadership ability (β = 0.51, p

= 0.00), offering support for Hypothesis 8b. Hypothesis 9 predicted that the target's ascribed status would be positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors. For peer-evaluations, competence (β = -0.16, $p > 0.05$), agency (β = 0.11, $p > 0.05$), peer regard (β = -0.15, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities (β = -0.08, $p > 0.05$), influence activities (β = 0.06, $p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors (β = -0.05, $p > 0.05$) were all unrelated to the target's sex status. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for sex status's influence on peer-evaluations. Hypothesis 20b, predicted that a relational recognition of a target's leadership ability would be positively related to supervisor ratings of the target's performance and promotion potential. Peer evaluations of the targets' leadership ability were positively related to manager ratings of the targets' promotability (β = 0.20, $p < 0.05$). They were unrelated to manager ratings of targets' job performance (β = 0.07, $p > 0.05$) or negligence at work (β = 0.05, $p > 0.05$). Thus, Hypothesis 20b received some support for promotability. Although there was support for some portions of the hypothesized mediation model, the fit statistics for the hypothesized saturated model were unacceptable. The χ^2 =318.97, 39 df, CFI = 0.37, RMSEA = 0.27, NNFI = 0.36. Accordingly, an alternative model was evaluated.

In the alternative model, errors of all variables collected at the same time and on the same scale were allowed to co-vary. Additional paths were added to the model to account for the direct negative effects of sex status on both Job Performance (β = -0.18, $p < 0.01$) and Promotability (β = -0.17, $p < 0.01$). Due to its lack of significance to the model, the variable for Perceived Performance Opportunities was dropped from the

model. The resulting model reached acceptable fit statistics χ^2 =14.672, 15 df, CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.01, NNFI = 0.96.

The full mediation model for relational recognition of the target's leader identity (without consideration of moderating influences) for racial status appears in Figure 21. The full mediation model tests the following hypotheses: 1b, 2b, 3b, 5, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9a-9f (for peer-evaluations) and H20b. Hypotheses 2b, 5, 8b and H20b were supported in this model. Targets' racial status did not have a direct positive relationship with peers relational recognition of their leadership potential ($\beta = 0.02$, $p > 0.05$), failing to support Hypothesis 1b. Targets peer-rated competence ($\beta = 0.32$, $p < 0.00$), agency ($\beta = -0.11$, $p < 0.05$), and peer regard ($\beta = 0.58$, $p < 0.00$) did, however, directly influence relational recognition of the targets' leadership potential. This evidence supports Hypotheses 2b and 5. However, targets rated by their peers as more agentic were again less likely to be recognized as leaders, contrary to Hypothesis 3b. Contrary to Hypotheses 6b and 7b, performance opportunities had no significant influence on peers' recognition of targets' leadership ability ($\beta = .04$, $p > 0.05$) and influence activities had a significant negative influence ($\beta = -0.21$, $p = 0.00$). Peer-rated voice behaviors did, however, have a positive influence on peers' relational recognition of targets' leadership ability ($\beta = 0.51$, $p = 0.00$), offering support for Hypothesis 8b. Hypothesis 9 predicted that the target's ascribed status would be positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors. Peer-evaluations of competence ($\beta = .03$, $p > 0.05$), agency ($\beta = 0.07$, $p > 0.05$), peer regard ($\beta = -0.07$, $p > 0.05$), performance opportunities ($\beta = -0.03$, $p > 0.05$), influence activities ($\beta = 0.00$, $p > 0.05$), and voice behaviors ($\beta = -0.05$, $p > 0.05$)

were all unrelated to the target's racial status. Hypothesis 9 was not supported for racial status's influence on peer-evaluations. Hypothesis 20b, predicted that a relational recognition of a target's leadership ability would be positively related to supervisor ratings of the target's performance and promotion potential. Relational recognition of target's leadership ability was positively related to manager ratings of the target's promotability ($\beta = 0.20, p < 0.05$). It was unrelated to manager ratings of the target's job performance ($\beta = 0.07, p > 0.05$) or negligence at work ($\beta = -0.05, p > 0.05$). Thus, Hypothesis 20b received some support for promotability. Although there was support for some portions of the hypothesized mediation model, the fit statistics for the hypothesized saturated model were unacceptable. The χ^2 =316.06, 39 df, CFI = 0.36, RMSEA = 0.27, NNFI = 0.35. Accordingly, an alternative model was evaluated.

In the alternative model, errors of all variables collected at the same time and on the same scale were allowed to co-vary. No additional paths were added to the model but the path from Leader Identity (II) to Job Negligence was dropped. The resulting model reached acceptable fit statistics χ^2 =27.76, 23 df, CFI = 0.99, RMSEA = 0.05, NNFI = 0.94.

CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The primary goal of this dissertation was to examine how ascribed status influences a target's leader identity. I argued that individuals from groups with low ascribed status would have less positive self-perceptions and be perceived less favorably by their peers, therefore, making them less likely to see themselves as leaders and to be seen as leaders by their peers. Although, I proposed that ascribed status would generally work to the advantage of targets from high status groups and the disadvantage of targets from low status groups, I also examined individual and organizational status cues that could lead to more balanced self and other-perceptions and consequently more balanced leader identities between status groups. Finally, I consider how leader identities influence career advancement outcomes. I empirically tested these arguments in two studies.

Study 1

In Study 1, I conducted a lab experiment to determine how sex status influenced both targets' individual internalization of leader identities as well as relational recognition of their leader identities by workgroup peers. Interestingly, there were no sex differences in self-rated leadership interest or leadership potential. Consistent with some work in this area (e.g. Hyde, 2005; Singer, 1991), but contrary to other work (e.g. Hall, Workman, & Marchioro, 1998; Hegstrom & Griffith, 1992; McCormick, Tanguma, & Lopez-Forment, 2002), female participants self-reported potential and interest equal to that of male participants. So at first glance, one could assume that sex status had no

influence on how targets view themselves as potential leaders. However, when faced with an opportunity to assume a leadership role, female participants were significantly more likely than male participants to decline nominations to lead. Further, male participants were more likely than female participants to report that they were more capable than the leader they were assigned for the first two rounds of the experiment. This difference persisted regardless of their perceptions of the leader's effectiveness on prior tasks. More clearly, even when female participants evaluated their assigned leader as ineffective, they were still less inclined than male participants to believe they would do a better job. This pattern of results was consistent with the recent popular media message that women are underrepresented in powerful positions in corporate America due to their lack of willingness to "lean in" and take on the responsibilities of leadership as opposed to their lack of potential or ability (Sandberg, 2013). It explains why males may be more likely to emerge as leaders (Eagly & Karau, 1991) and suggests that gender differences in leadership aspirations may still persist (Powell & Butterfield, 2003). If leadership continues to be perceived to be a stereotypically masculine domain (Koenig et al., 2011), even women who think they have the required skills to lead effectively may opt-out under the stereotype threat of the role itself (Davies, Spencer & Steele, 2007). This may have an especially negative impact on women in the workplace since it may re-affirm managers' existing biases that women are less career-motivated than men (Hoobler, Lemmon, & Wayne, 2014).

Consistent with prior meta-analytic evidence (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992), Study 1 also revealed a small, but non-significant, tendency for peers to evaluate men more favorably than women. Peers generally did not recognize any less leadership

potential in female targets than they recognized in male targets. They were also no less likely to nominate female targets as potential leaders for future tasks than male targets. Further, female targets that were nominated as potential leaders in future tasks were also evaluated as being similar in both potential and previously demonstrated leadership to nominated male targets. There was no direct effect of target sex status on peer evaluations of the target as a leader.

In Study 1, I also examined how the relationship between sex status and leader identity would be influenced by the sex status and perceived effectiveness of the targets' (and evaluators') assigned leader. Although there were no sex differences in self-evaluations of leadership potential or interest overall, both male and female targets rated themselves as having more leadership potential and reported more interest in assuming a leadership role when they were assigned a same-sex leader. Consistent with prior work (e.g. BarNir, Watson, Hutchins, 2011; Buunk, Peiro, & Griffioen, 2007; Marx & Roman, 2010), same-sex role models of leadership did positively influence self-evaluations and expectations. Similarly, while there were no sex differences in peer evaluations of targets' leadership potential or the amount of leadership targets had demonstrated in early tasks, peers also recognized more potential and greater demonstrations of leadership for targets with same-sex leaders. Perceptions of assigned leader effectiveness did not significantly influence these relationships.

Importantly, Study 1 offers preliminary evidence that women do not inherently doubt their potential to lead or lack interest in assuming leadership roles. Study 1 also demonstrates that peers do not fundamentally fail to recognize when women demonstrate leadership potential. It suggests, instead, that available role models may be critical to

support more positive self-perceptions and leadership aspirations, and that context-specific leadership exemplars may influence both self and peer assessments of what it takes to successfully occupy the leadership role. Accordingly, individual decisions to opt-in or opt-out of leadership may be shaped by the context in which employees work (Eagly & Karau, 2002). So, organizations where men are over-represented in management may encourage both self and other perceptions that male employees are better suited to be managers compared to female employees.

Study 1 findings must be considered in context. First, participants were undergraduate business students that were approximately 20 years old on average. Further, at the time of data collection, less than 1% of the participants worked full-time. Participants were mostly undergraduate juniors and sophomores and likely serve in various campus leadership positions; and although the students were acting in-role (i.e. they were not being asked to hypothetically act as managers making promotion decisions), these results may not be generalizable to working adult populations. Second, the study design required participants to interact in two team tasks. They were not evaluating paper-people and were able to obtain some individuating information about their peers, themselves relative to their peers, and themselves relative to their assigned leaders. They also likely developed at least a loose heuristic of what qualities would make a leader more or less effective for the type of task they were assigned to complete. Because the participants had more information and were not complete strangers at the time of evaluation, the effects of gender stereotypes and status beliefs may have been weaker than in the typical lab experiment (e.g., Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). However, the sessions were less than 1 hour long so participants only spent a brief amount of time

together. In more realistic workgroups, individuals have repeated opportunities to interact. Accordingly, disparate opportunities to enact leadership and/or recognize the leadership potential of co-workers may be more or less apparent over extended duration and with repeated social contact. The influence of context (i.e. target sex, leader sex, and leader performance) on leader identities may be stronger or weaker over time and with continual exposure. However, I assert that face-to-face interaction in two tasks over the course of approximately one hour is a step closer to understanding the "workplace as a complex environment involving many opportunities for evaluations and decisions," (Landy, 2008, pp 390) when compared to the stranger-to-stranger impression formation where there is no social give-and-take (Copus, 2005). Finally, the participants in this experiment were led to believe they would have to compete in a third team task – potentially with a new leader or acting as the new leader themselves – for an opportunity to win a monetary prize. Nonetheless, they may not have all believed that they would actually have to step into the leader role or follow the leadership of the peer they nominated as a potential leader. Further, the financial consequences might not have been serious enough to the subjects to sway their leadership-related decisions in either direction. The possibility of winning a small amount of money is likely a significantly less consequential experience than having real life career advancement outcomes on the line. The willingness to "lean in" in the workplace has significant instrumental value. It can lead to enhanced financial outcomes, esteem, access to resources, and so forth. It may also carry increased risks related to potential social and financial backlash (Rudman, 1998; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Even with these concerns, I do believe the design was appropriately matched to the research question (Bono &

McNamara, 2011) and that Study 1 provides important preliminary evidence that the interactive effects of target sex and leader sex may influence leader identities in impactful ways. In an effort to address these concerns, however, I conducted Study 2.

Study 2

For Study 2, I conducted a field survey to test the influence of both sex status and race status on leader identity. I was not interested in determining the interactive effects of race and sex so I analyzed sex and race in separate models. I also examined various social perceptions and behaviors as mediating variables and considered both individual and organizational status cues that could lead to more balanced social perceptions and behaviors and, in turn, more balanced leader identities between status groups. In Study 2, I also examined how leader identities impact career advancement outcomes. The field study was conducted with in-tact workgroups that had worked together for over 2 years on average. The nature of their work was very team-driven and both leadership and diversity were important core values in this organization.

In light of the limitations of the laboratory experiment, the primary purpose of Study 2 was to determine how ascribed status influenced leader identity in a sample of working adults, who interact frequently, and have realistic consequences linked to their leadership-related decisions. I predicted that sex status and race status would be positively related to leader identity – both self-rated and peer-rated. The intent was to then consider intervening variables that would explain these positive relationships and to explore moderators in an effort to demonstrate that ascribed status would not always disadvantage women and racial minorities in the workplace. Results revealed a positive

relationship between sex status and self-rated leader identity. As predicted, men reported stronger leader identities than women. This evidence is counter to the Study 1 lab experiment. However, several critical features varied between the two samples. For example, the average respondent had worked in his/her business unit for over 2 years and had served in his/her current work role for more than a year and a half at the time of data collection. Accordingly, targets were undoubtedly more familiar with their peers and their respective team roles within their workgroups in the field study compared to the laboratory experiment. Additionally, targets in the field study likely have a better formulated heuristic of the qualities for leader effectiveness in their teams and organizations compared to the targets in the laboratory experiment. These sample differences are essential to explaining the differences in sex effects between Study 1 and Study 2. Considering the conceptual basis for the model in this dissertation, status theories claim that there are limited or no underlying trait differences between men and women but argue that inequities between men and women increase over time and across repeated interactions (Berdahl, 1996). As such, men may develop and maintain stronger and more resilient leader identities in peer groups that work closely together over time.

Additionally, although self-perceived competence, agency, self-esteem, and voice behaviors all positively influenced self-reported leader identity, these variables were not positively related to sex status in the full mediation model. In fact, women reported having higher self-esteem than men reported and there were no significant sex differences for any of the other relationships. As such, although men reported having stronger leader identities, none of the social perceptions or behaviors examined in this study seemed to act as intervening variables.

However, contrary to predictions, but consistent with Study 1, sex status was unrelated to peer-evaluations of leadership. Additionally, the direction of the non-significant relationship between target set and relational recognition of leader identity seemed to favor women, who were more highly regarded by their peers and evaluated as somewhat more competent in the OLS regression analyses. There are several potential explanations for the null effect of sex status on peer evaluations of leadership. First, both the targets and the peer evaluators were predominantly women (83.7% and 85.66% women respectively). As such, in-group favoritism may have suppressed true gender status effects in peer evaluations (Hogg, 2001). However, supplemental analyses revealed no significant impact of peer sex or target-peer sex similarity on peer evaluations of target leadership. As such, this does not appear to be the case. An alternative explanation is due to social norms of feminine niceness, women evaluators may be more lenient evaluators in general (e.g. Rose & Andiappan, 1978). If this is the case, I would expect higher average ratings from female evaluators and not expect much variance between target groups or within target groups when women are the predominant evaluators. Although mean peer evaluations of target leadership were relatively high and variance was low ($M = 6.03$, s.d. $= 0.89$), there were mean differences in target ratings from male ($M = 6.09$, s.d. $= 0.78$) vs. female ($M = 6.02$, s.d. $= 0.90$) evaluators. Variance was low in both sets of ratings. This suggests that either this organization has a strong leadership climate (e.g. Chen & Bliese, 2002) wherein peers are likely to see strong leaders all around them, or because targets nominated their peer evaluators, they may have just selected peers that would evaluate them favorably. While I cannot rule out the possibility of the latter, previous leadership experience is highly valued in the organization selection

process. Specifically, in their online recruitment site, they claim to look for "a diverse group of leaders." Considering the high mean leadership potential peer ratings of Study 2, it would appear that the organization adheres to that call. So in an organization with a strong leadership climate, peer evaluations of leadership potential are likely to vary less by status. I assert this is the most likely rationale for the null relationship between sex status and relational recognition of target leader identities.

Contrary to predictions, race status was negatively related to self-rated leader identity. Specifically, non-White targets reported stronger leader identities than White targets. This relationship was fully mediated by self-perceived competence. The mediation effects of the other social perceptions and behaviors, however, did not reach significance. Most evidence related to minority experiences in the workplace has demonstrated non-White employees perceive disadvantages relative to White employees. For example, in a study of over 1600 managers, Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) found that compared to Whites, Blacks felt less accepted in their organizations, perceived themselves as having less discretion on their jobs, received lower ratings from their supervisors on their job performance and promotability, were more likely to have reached career plateaus, and experienced lower levels of career satisfaction. Similarly, in a recent meta-analysis of 140 studies, Ng et al., (2005) demonstrated that Non-White employees had lower salaries and experienced less career satisfaction compared to White employees. A separate meta-analysis demonstrated that although there are no racial differences in career aspirations, non-Whites do perceive fewer opportunities and more barriers to career advancement (Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2005). Other evidence from a national longitudinal study with over 6,000 White, Black, and Hispanic men

demonstrated that Black and Hispanic employees with the highest education levels are especially disadvantaged in early career earnings trajectories (Tomaskovic-Devey et al., 2005). Even more recently, McGinn and Milkman (2013) examined a sample of 511 attorneys in a prestigious law firm and found that non-White employees were significantly more likely to be terminated and significantly less likely to be promoted compared to their White peers. The evidence of disparate outcomes and experiences between White and non-White employees persists.

However, Study 2 is the first study to consider the impact of race on a target's self-perceived leader identity; and while results opposed my hypothesized predictions, the demographic makeup of my sample and organization may differ considerably from the normative US organization in which scholars typically examine race in the workplace. Specifically, White Americans comprise approximately 78% of the United States population. Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans comprise approximately 13%, 17%, and 5% respectively (Current Population Survey, 2012). Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) standards apply the percentage of minorities in the labor market as a standard to determine under representation. In the management, professional, and related fields, White Americans comprise about 77.57% of the workforce, while Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans comprise approximately 8.03%, 7.87%, and 6.52% respectively. Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that Black and Hispanic Americans are underrepresented in the typical corporate environment in which most studies of race in the workplace take place. In my sample, however, White Americans represented only 51.8% of my target respondents, while Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans represented 26.2%, 7.7%, and 10.3% of my

target respondents respectively[7]. Accordingly, in this sample, Black Americans and Asian Americans were overrepresented, Hispanic Americans were adequately represented, and White Americans were underrepresented compared to the national labor pool for management, professional, and related fields. Of the three business units surveyed for Study 2, representation of non-White staff ranged from approximately 36% to 47%. So the racial makeup of the respondents did not vary significantly from the racial makeup of the non-respondents.

A study of race effects in a balanced organization where the dominant minority group (Blacks in this case) is overrepresented is a rare find in the management literature. In some of the most widely cited field studies of racial diversity in the workplace (e.g. Harrison et al., 1998; Ibarra, 1995; McKay et al., 2007; McKay et al, 2008; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989; Tsui et al., 1991) White employees comprise between 70% and 90% of the sample. Accordingly, consistent with the theory of numerical distinctiveness (e.g. McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976), we would expect for minority employees to be negatively impacted when they were underrepresented in their work teams (e.g. Crosby, King, & Savitsky, 2014; Sekaquaptewa, Waldman, & Thompson, 2007). So it is no wonder that we continue to demonstrate the negative impacts of minority status in our literature. Alternatively, Gonzales & DeNisi (2009) examined the impact of racial diversity in a balanced organization that was only 54.7% White. The dominant minority group in their study was Hispanic/Latino, which represented approximately 33.5% of the sample. Interestingly, Gonzales & DeNisi (2009) failed to find direct effects of race on any of the workplace

[7] Approximately 4% of the respondents for Study 2 identified as multi-racial. Approximately 2.4% of the respondents to the Current Population Survey identified as multi-racial.

outcomes in their study. However, as demonstrated in Study 2, minority employees may experience positive boosts to their self-concepts and leader identities when they are adequately represented or overrepresented in their work teams. Additional field research should be conducted in more racially balanced environments to determine if the negative impacts of racial status are buffered or reversed consistently across studies.

Similar to sex status, race status was also unrelated to peer-evaluations of leadership. The lack of between-race differences in other-evaluations of leadership is inconsistent with much of the recent research on race and leadership perceptions (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Knight et al., 2003; Rosette et al., 2008; Sy et al., 2010). These studies have consistently found that non-white targets are at a disadvantage when they are evaluated in leadership contexts. However, with few exceptions (e.g. Vecchio & Bullis, 2001), studies related to evaluations of race and leadership have been conducted in laboratory experiments. Vecchio & Bullis (2001) found that White subordinates were less satisfied with their non-White managers, and that Hispanic managers were rated slightly less positively than non-Hispanic managers. However, in their military setting, about 64% of the participants were White and 81% of the managers were White. Accordingly, the racial composition of this study was also imbalanced and White Americans were overrepresented in management positions. As such, the exemplars of leadership in the setting were skewed to the advantage of White targets. Alternatively, for Study 2, only 58.47% of the respondents reported having a White manager, while 28.96% had Black managers, 6.01% had Asian managers, 4.4% had Hispanic managers, and 2.2% had multi-ethnic managers. As such, when evaluating peers' leadership, race would again likely be a less differentiating factor because the

"White Standard" of leadership (Rosette et al., 2008) does not appear to guide leader selection in this organization. It is also important to acknowledge that peer evaluations of a target's leadership effectiveness are distinct from subordinate evaluations of a manager's leadership effectiveness (e.g. Conway & Huffcut, 1997). However, research regarding race and peer evaluations of leadership is extremely sparse. As such, our current understanding relies on generalizations from studies of existing managers or from assessment center ratings (e.g. Falk & Fox, 2014; Schmitt & Hill, 1977). Future work in should examine how race influences (or fails to influence) leader identity as it develops among peers within workgroups.

Interestingly, peer perceptions of both target agency and influence activities negatively impacted peer evaluations of leader identity. Although there were no sex status or race status differences in predicting either of these social perceptions, it does suggest that the organizational climate favors a less assertive and dominant style of leadership. This further supports the likelihood of a positive leadership climate within the organization.

The proposed moderation effects were weak and sporadic. Esteem-related social perceptions were influenced more consistently than any of the other proposed perceptions or behaviors. In this organization, political skill and job performance were particularly beneficial for men. Same-sex manager effectiveness, however, enhanced self-esteem for women and lowered self-esteem for men. This may be because individuals may have decreased self-esteem when they compare unfavorably with in-group members (e.g. Major, Sciacchitano, & Crocker, 1993). This self-perceived "not matching up" may become particularly salient when targets are also in the numerical minority or if they

perceive fewer advancement opportunities for people from their status group. As such, when the underrepresented men in this sample are comparing themselves to (or competing with) highly effective male managers in their teams, the bar for self-validation is set higher. As such, the upward in-group referent may have negatively impact their self-esteem. For race status, race managerial representation had a significant positive impact on non-White employees' self-esteem, but did not have much influence on White employees' self-esteem. This is to be expected since Whites Americans being well-represented in management is normative for most organizational contexts. A high White leadership presence may be taken for granted. However, non-Whites are often underrepresented in management. As such, the impact of high group representation should be more impactful for ethnic minority employees.

The results of both the field and lab studies suggest that organizational signals of group managerial representation help to buffer targets with lower ascribed status from negative self-evaluations and peer evaluations related to leader identity and leader prototypicality. Neither study, revealed a direct effect of target sex on peer evaluated leadership potential. Both studies, however, demonstrated that targets from low status groups may be evaluated more favorably (or at least with more parity to targets from high status groups) when members of their groups are well-represented as exemplars of leadership. This evidence suggests that organizations may be able to reduce between-group disparities in employee development and career advancement simply by giving employees from both high and low status groups diverse role models and exemplars of leadership.

Implications

This dissertation has several theoretical and practical implications. Organizational scholars have called for discrimination research beyond gender and race (Avery, 2011; Ruggs, Hebl, Law, Cox, Roehling, Wiener, & Barron, 2013). The first theoretical implication of this dissertation is that it offers a broad conceptual framework that supports this call. For every relevant characteristic that could spur discrimination, there is a higher and lower status of the characteristic. Considering discrimination from a status perspective thus, enables research in discrimination against sexual minorities, over-weight employees, religious minorities, immigrant groups, and beyond.

Second, this work explores the possibility that the target's point-of-view and others' points-of-view are equally important and posit that status beliefs may bias self-perceptions as well as other-perceptions in subtle but impactful ways. Objectively it may appear legitimate that people who are self-assured and who take assertive actions are the people who *should* become leaders. These precursors are indeed linked to positive leadership outcomes. However, when there are ascribed status-based group differences in who holds these positive social perceptions about themselves and disparities in how these social perceptions are reinforced by others in the workplace it empowers members of some groups and disempowers members of other groups. This constitutes a unique form of discrimination that may be difficult to detect- even as the target experiences it. However, subtle forms of discrimination can still have detrimental impacts (e.g. Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2011; Jones, Peddie, Gilrane, King, & Gray, 2013). So this area has great theoretical and practical importance.

Social psychologists have recently started to examine the similar concept of "stereotype threat" in the leadership domain (e.g. Davies, Spencer, & Steele, 2005; Bergeron, Block, & Echtenkamp, 2006). They have found that people's own beliefs about what others' think they are (in)capable of can negatively impact their objective performance. So it is not just what observers think about you, but also your awareness of what they think about you, that can be destructive to your career outcomes. Culturally accepted "truths" about your group can lower your self-expectations and self-aspirations in ways that limit the use of your full potential. This is dangerous for both organizations who want to get the most out of all of their employees and the individual employees within them. It is promising, however, that stereotype threat work suggests that organizations can mitigate these negative effects by taking strategic actions to make the environment more "identity safe" (e.g. Davies et al., 2005).

Along these same lines, the third contribution of this work is that it suggests organizational signals may refute culturally accepted beliefs about ascribed status being relevant for leadership success. Specifically, I argued that when an organization has leaders from various status groups who perform well in a wide range of managerial roles, it offers role models for members of various groups and makes it possible for all employees to hold similarly positive self-perceptions and aspire to similarly high levels of career success. Diversity in the workplace makes one's own successes and failures less daunting and less consequential (Kanter, 1977), thereby making the environment more safe for engaging in the proactive behaviors that may be necessary to set oneself apart as a leader. I also argued that success may be critical for counter-stereotypic exemplars of leadership, especially when they are under-represented in the organization. When they do

well, managers from groups with low ascribed status help to challenge status beliefs about social deficits, but when they do poorly, they may reinforce those negative beliefs about their groups. Interestingly, although the empirical results of this study did not support the hypothetical predictions related to organizational status cues, they did support the theoretical predictions. More clearly, I studied race and sex effects in an atypical organizational context that was both female dominated and racially balanced. Surprisingly, Non-White managers and female managers in this organization were rated as more effective than their White and male counterparts. So if group managerial representation and group managerial effectiveness are indeed indicators of internal organizational status, it can be assumed that Whites and Non-Whites in this organizaion either have equal status or that Non-Whites have a slight internal status advantage due to their higher perceived effectiveness in management roles. The null effects of race status on peer evaluations suggest that in balanced organizations where non-White managers are evaluated favorably, White targets do not experience a substantive *dis*advantage – they just lose their ascribed status advantage. However, minority targets in the field sample had particularly positive self-perceptions related to their own competence, esteem, performance opportunities, and influence activities within their teams. In fact, the negative relationship between race status and leader identity was fully mediated by Non-White targets' self-perceived high competence. Adhering to the same criteria, men targets in the field sample held lower internal organizational status than women targets. Accordingly, null effects of sex status on social perceptions and leader identity development actually suggest that in female-dominated organizations where female managers are evaluated favorably, men targets do not experience a substantive

*dis*advantage – they just lose their ascribed status advantage. The more gender-balanced environment of the lab study suggests that targets with same-sex leaders may be advantaged. Consistent with the theoretical predictions of this model, both studies suggest that organizational status cues may override ascribed status. Although, the initial plan was to garner empirical statistical support for the proposed moderation effects of organizational status, the lack of support for the moderation effects is likely a range restriction issue[8]. Accordingly, I assert that a fourth unexpected contribution of this dissertation is that it examined issues related to diversity in an environment that is unique to our field. It is important, however, that additional research be conducted to further examine the nuances of race on workplace outcomes in more racially balanced organizations.

Practically, the null effects of ascribed status in a racially balanced environment do pose a problem for organizations who seek to eradicate barriers to diversity in leadership in the foreseeable future. Although the growth rate of the White labor force will be much slower than that of other race groups, Whites will remain the largest labor force group in 2050 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). This group will add 25.6 million people to the labor force during the next four decades. The Hispanic share of the labor force is projected to double from 15% in 2010 to 30% in 2050. The Asian share of the labor force is projected to increase from 5% in 2010 to 8% in 2050. Blacks are projected to remain at a stable 12% between now and 2050. We should expect the normative organization in the United States to mirror the labor pool. So while this study demonstrates that balanced

[8] Low Sex Managerial Representation (mean-1sd) = 49.01% which is still well-balanced. Low Racial Managerial Representation (mean-1sd) = 17.51% which is still adequate (or high) representation for any minority group member given the labor pool.

racial status helps to neutralize or reverse the negative impact of racial status, it is unlikely that the normative organization will cease to have balanced racial demographics in the near future. Thus, organizations that have concerns with balanced gender representation and/or structural integration will likely continue to struggle in these areas. Women and minorities will continue to advance in more marginalized sectors of business (i.e. PR and HR) where they are well-represented and men will continue to advance in more integral sectors of business (i.e. finance) where they are well-represented. Women and minorities will also continue to have more opportunities at lower org levels but will continue to become less represented as they ascend the corporate ranks.

The positive leadership climate examined in this organization also holds practical significance for organizations that seek to get the most out of their diversity. Because positive exemplars of successful managers appear to be consequential, this study underscores the importance of organizations offering leader development training that supports successful performance of all managers. This may require some portions of the training to be tailored to address the unique experiences of underrepresented employees (Ely, Ibarra, & Kolb, 2011), but ensuring that all managers have the necessary resources, tools, support networks, and competencies to perform effectively translates to a more positive leadership climate for the organization overall. Positive leadership climates may result in beneficial organizational outcomes such as enhanced collective self-efficacy (Chen & Bliese, 2002) and team empowerment (Chen, Kirkman, Kanfer, Allen, & Rosen, 2007). Thus ensuring all managers are prepared to perform well is good for organizations in general, not just for members of lower status groups.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation argues that ascribed status influences an individual employee's leader identity construction experiences by shaping the relative social attitudes associated with members from differentially statused groups. These differences in leader identity construction experiences, in turn, directly impact career advancement outcomes. So, as long as between-group disparities exist in leader identity construction, discrepant career opportunities will persist as well. Both organizations and the people within them must take action to eliminate these inequities. This is a promising area for management scholarship that could be conceptually grounded in the proposed model.

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APPENDIX A

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Study 1 Hypotheses

Hypothesis	
1	Male targets will rate higher than female targets in (a) self-evaluations of leadership; and (b) peer-evaluations of leadership.
2	Leader sex moderates the impact of target sex on leadership evaluations such that, targets with same-sex leaders will rate higher on (a) self-evaluations of leadership; and (b) peer-evaluations of leadership compared to targets with cross-sex leaders.
3	Perceived leader effectiveness moderates the two-way interaction between target sex and leader sex on evaluations of leadership such that when female leaders are perceived to be highly effective, there will be no difference in leadership evaluations of female targets and male targets; but when female leaders are perceived to be low in effectiveness, leadership evaluations of female targets will be lower than those of male targets.

Note. Male targets are not expected to be negatively or positively affected by the perceived effectiveness of the male or female leader.

Table 2. Study 1 Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Variable	*N*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Target Sex	126	1.57	0.50	~							
2. Leader Sex	126	1.45	0.50	-0.08	~						
3. Leader Effectiveness (Objective)	126	2.94	0.74	-0.02	0.07	~					
4. Leader Effectiveness (Perceived)	126	4.79	1.10	0.11	-0.13	-0.49***	**0.86**				
5. Leadership Potential of Nominated Peer	126	4.29	0.63	0.16	-0.02	-0.08	0.27**	**0.89**			
6. Leadership Potential of Teammates	115	4.07	0.92	-0.05	-0.02	-0.03	0.12	0.09	**0.81**		
7. General Leadership Potential (Self-rated)	126	7.12	1.10	-0.02	-0.12	-0.12	0.28***	0.26**	0.31***	**0.80**	
8. Leadership Interest (Self-rated)	126	5.11	1.01	-0.06	0.01	-0.07	0.19*	0.10	0.37***	0.54***	**0.82**

Note. Coefficient alpha reliabilities are reported in boldface along the diagonal.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Target Sex M=2, F = 1; Leader Sex M=2, F = 1

Table 3. Study 1 Tests of Hypotheses

		Dependent Variables							
Independent Variables	Hypothesis	Leadership Potential	Leadership Interest	Accept/ Decline	Nominated Peer Comparison	Assigned Leader Comparison	General Leadership Evaluations	Leadership Potential of Nominated	Nominated
Target Sex	1a	0.613	0.004	5.250*[a]	0.308	16.056***[a]	~	~	~
	1b	~	~	~	~	~	1.006	1.409	4.892*[a]
Target Sex X Leader Sex	2a	1.179	8.305**	0.109	2.954	2.704	~	~	~
	2b	~	~	~	~	~	4.095*	6.039*	~
Target Sex X Leader Sex X Leader Effectiveness	3a	2.119	2.716	1.889	0.304	0.152	~	~	~
	3b	~	~	~	~	~	1.116	1.036	~

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Target Sex M=2, F = 1; Leader Sex M=2, F = 1

Table 4. Study 2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis	
1	The target's ascribed status (via demographic indicators) is positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.
2	Competence beliefs about the target are positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.
3	Agency beliefs about the target are positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.
4	Target self-esteem is positively related to individual internalization of leader identities.
5	Target-directed esteem (i.e. how the peers regard the target) is positively related to relational recognition of leader identities.
6	Target performance opportunities are positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.

7	Target influence activities are positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.
8	Target voice behaviors are positively related to (a) individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of leader identities.
9	The target's ascribed status is positively related to self and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors.
10	The positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and individual internalization is partially mediated by self-evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors.
11	The positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and reciprocal recognition is partially mediated by others' evaluations of the target's (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors.
12	Target political skill moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when political skill is high.

13	Target political skill moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when political skill is high.
14	Target job performance moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when job performance is high.
15	Target job performance moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when job performance is high.
16	Group managerial representation moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial representation is high.
17	Group managerial representation moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial representation is high.

18	Group managerial performance success moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and self-evaluations of (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial performance success is high.
19	Group managerial representation moderates the positive relationship between the target's ascribed status and other evaluations of target (a) competence (b) agency (c) esteem (d) performance opportunities (e) influence activities and (f) voice behaviors such that the relationship will be less positive when group managerial performance success is high.
20	(a) Individual internalization and (b) relational recognition of the target's leader identity are positively related to supervisor ratings of the target's performance and promotion potential.

Table 5. Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations of all Variables

Variable	M	SD	N	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Target Sex	1.16	0.37	183	~								
2. Target Race	1.54	0.50	183	0.03	~							
3. Group Sex Managerial Representation	77.16	28.15	183	-	0.06	~						
4. Group Racial Managerial Representation	46.75	29.24	183	0.04	**.71****	-0.02	~					
5. Group Sex Managerial Effectiveness	5.75	0.55	183	-	-0.03	**.56****	-0.01	0.97				
6. Group Racial Managerial Effectiveness	5.58	0.55	183	-0.10	**-.19***	0.13	0.00	0.13	0.96			
7. Target Competence (S)	5.65	0.60	183	-0.02	-	0.00	-0.09	0.05	0.09	0.80		
8. Target Agency (S)	4.15	1.06	183	0.09	**-.17***	-0.10	-0.07	0.02	0.10	**.36****	0.82	
9. Target Self Esteem (S)	5.73	0.80	183	**-.15***	**-.17***	**.21****	-0.08	0.10	**.17***	**.41****	0.13	0.85
10. Target Voice (S)	5.54	0.86	183	0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.07	**.16***	**.16***	**.31****
11. Target Performance Opportunities (S)	5.76	0.77	183	-0.09	**-.16***	0.11	-0.12	0.14	0.04	**.23****	0.04	**.36****
12. Target Influence (S)	5.36	0.97	183	-0.01	-0.11	0.06	-0.11	0.05	0.08	0.12	0.13	**.30****
13. Target Political Skill (S)	5.60	0.65	183	-0.02	**-.16***	0.03	-0.10	-0.04	-0.01	**.32****	**.16***	**.33****
14. Target Job Performance (S)	4.58	0.45	183	-	0.00	**.16***	0.04	**.21****	0.01	**.32****	0.1	**.31****
15. Target Leader Identity (S)	3.65	0.77	183	0.14	**-.17***	-0.12	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	**.40****	**.44****	**.29****
16. Target Competence (P)	6.27	0.66	142	**-.18***	0.05	**.18***	0.08	0.16	-0.06	0.15	-0.03	0.15
17. Target Agency (P)	4.59	1.10	142	-0.09	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.12	0.11	0.08	**.32****	0.10
18. Target-directed esteem (P)	6.34	0.96	142	**-.17***	-0.07	**.24****	0.00	0.11	0.10	**.17***	-0.04	**.28****
19. Target Performance Opp (P)	6.06	0.81	142	-0.06	-0.09	0.11	-0.01	0.10	0.02	0.13	-0.08	**.24****
20. Target Influence (P)	5.80	1.06	142	0.06	-0.05	0.01	0.02	-0.01	-0.11	0.09	0.09	**.19***
21. Target Voice (P)	5.89	1.01	142	-0.03	-0.09	0.04	-0.04	0.10	-0.09	0.14	0.09	**.27****
22. Target Leadership Effectiveness (P)	6.03	0.89	142	-0.11	-0.03	0.11	0.05	0.14	-0.03	**.20***	0.01	**.27****
23. Target Job Performance (M)	4.67	0.48	138	**-.20***	0.04	0.17	-0.02	0.09	-0.03	0.06	-0.04	0.14
24. Target Job Negligence (M)	4.48	0.78	138	-0.13	0.08	0.14	0.02	0.16	0.13	0.08	0.07	0.08
25. Target Promotability (M)	4.33	0.63	138	**-.21***	-0.03	**.27****	-0.06	**.25****	0.03	0.05	-0.04	**.20***

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Table 5. Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations of all Variables (cont.)

Variable	M	SD	N	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1. Target Sex	1.16	0.37	183									
2. Target Race	1.54	0.50	183									
3. Group Sex Managerial Representation	77.16	28.15	183									
4. Group Racial Managerial Representation	46.75	29.24	183									
5. Group Sex Managerial Effectiveness	5.75	0.55	183									
6. Group Racial Managerial Effectiveness	5.58	0.55	183									
7. Target Competence (S)	5.65	0.60	183									
8. Target Agency (S)	4.15	1.06	183									
9. Target Self Esteem (S)	5.73	0.80	183									
10. Target Voice (S)	5.54	0.86	183	0.85								
11. Target Performance Opportunities (S)	5.76	0.77	183	**.51****	0.78							
12. Target Influence (S)	5.36	0.97	183	**.68****	**.53****	0.77						
13. Target Political Skill (S)	5.60	0.65	183	**.44****	**.44****	**.40****	0.91					
14. Target Job Performance (S)	4.58	0.45	183	**.19***	**.22****	0.08	**.25****	0.84				
15. Target Leader Identity (S)	3.65	0.77	183	**.19***	0.04	**.18***	**.27****	0.10	0.80			
16. Target Competence (P)	6.27	0.66	142	0.11	0.12	0.05	0.11	0.13	0.12	0.89		
17. Target Agency (P)	4.59	1.10	142	0.12	0.02	0.11	0.01	-0.03	.29**	**.25****	0.86	
18. Target-directed esteem (P)	6.34	0.96	142	0.11	**.17***	0.16	**.20***	0.12	0.10	**.71****	0.10	0.85
19. Target Performance Opp (P)	6.06	0.81	142	0.14	**.23****	**.27****	0.10	0.11	0.16	**.40****	**.17***	**.53****
20. Target Influence (P)	5.80	1.06	142	**.23****	0.10	**.27****	0.12	-0.01	.20*	**.32****	**.30****	**.42****
21. Target Voice (P)	5.89	1.01	142	**.35****	0.16	**.22***	**.18***	0.13	0.12	**.52****	**.38****	**.50****
22. Target Leadership Effectiveness (P)	6.03	0.89	142	**.24****	**.18***	**.18***	**.19***	0.12	0.14	**.79****	0.15	**.81****
23. Target Job Performance (M)	4.67	0.48	138	-0.08	0.04	0.00	0.01	**.18***	**.19***	**.20***	0.18	**.23***
24. Target Job Negligence (M)	4.48	0.78	138	-0.05	0.07	0.05	0.03	**.20***	**.21***	**.24***	**.19***	0.17
25. Target Promotability (M)	4.33	0.63	138	0.07	**.18***	0.15	0.15	0.09	0.12	**.27****	0.15	**.26****

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Table 5. Correlations, Means, Standard Deviations of all Variables (cont.)

Variable	M	SD	N	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1. Target Sex	1.16	0.37	183							
2. Target Race	1.54	0.50	183							
3. Group Sex Managerial Representation	77.16	28.15	183							
4. Group Racial Managerial Representation	46.75	29.24	183							
5. Group Sex Managerial Effectiveness	5.75	0.55	183							
6. Group Racial Managerial Effectiveness	5.58	0.55	183							
7. Target Competence (S)	5.65	0.60	183							
8. Target Agency (S)	4.15	1.06	183							
9. Target Self Esteem (S)	5.73	0.80	183							
10. Target Voice (S)	5.54	0.86	183							
11. Target Performance Opportunities (S)	5.76	0.77	183							
12. Target Influence (S)	5.36	0.97	183							
13. Target Political Skill (S)	5.60	0.65	183							
14. Target Job Performance (S)	4.58	0.45	183							
15. Target Leader Identity (S)	3.65	0.77	183							
16. Target Competence (P)	6.27	0.66	142							
17. Target Agency (P)	4.59	1.10	142							
18. Target-directed esteem (P)	6.34	0.96	142							
19. Target Performance Opp (P)	6.06	0.81	142	0.84						
20. Target Influence (P)	5.80	1.06	142	**.59****	0.86					
21. Target Voice (P)	5.89	1.01	142	**.44****	**.74****	0.84				
22. Target Leadership Effectiveness (P)	6.03	0.89	142	**.46****	**.44****	**.66****	0.97			
23. Target Job Performance (M)	4.67	0.48	138	0.16	0.18	0.06	0.14	0.91		
24. Target Job Negligence (M)	4.48	0.78	138	0.15	0.12	0.07	0.13	**.50****	0.90	
25. Target Promotability (M)	4.33	0.63	138	0.16	0.18	0.13	**.22***	**.71****	**.45****	0.90

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Table 6. Tests of Direct Effect Hypotheses from OLS Regression Series

		Dependent Variables							
Independent Variables	Hypothesis	Leader Identity (II)	Leader Identity (RR)	Competence (9a)	Agency (9b)	Esteem (9c)	Performance Opportunities (9d)	Influence Activities (9e)	Voice Behaviors (9f)
Target Sex	1a	0.14^{+}	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
	1b	~	-0.10	~	~	~	~	~	~
Target Race	1a	-0.14*	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
	1b	~	-0.14	~	~	~	~	~	~
Target Sex	9 (self)	~	~	-0.05	0.08	-0.14*	-0.09	0.07	0.02
	9 (peer)	~	~	-0.16^{+}	-0.09	-0.16*	-0.06	0.08	-0.03
Target Race	9 (self)	~	~	-0.26***	-0.15*	-0.14^{+}	-0.12^{+}	-0.09	0.01
	9 (peer)	~	~	0.03	0.01	-0.08	-0.08	-0.05	-0.11

Note. * p < .05; ** p < .01; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Table 7. Tests of Individual Status Cue Moderation Hypotheses in Regression Series

				Dependent Variables					
Independent Variables	Hypothesis	Leader Identity (II)	Leader Identity (RR)	Competence (a)	Agency (b)	Esteem (c)	Performance Opportunities (d)	Influence Activities (e)	Voice Behaviors (f)
Target Sex X Political Skill	12			0.05	-0.04	**0.16***	-0.03	**0.17***	-0.04
	13			0.12	0.10	**0.23****	0.11	0.08	0.09
Target Race X Political Skill	12			0.11	0.04	-0.01	0.05	0.05	-0.13
	13			0.20	**0.27***	0.20	0.16	0.19	**0.24^{+}**
Target Sex X Job Performance (S)	14			0.07	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.10	-0.07
	15			0.15	**0.17^{+}**	**0.16^{+}**	-0.13	0.06	0.13
Target Race X Job Performance (S)	14			0.15	0.06	0.12	-0.04	-0.13	**-0.29***
	15			-0.10	0.15	0.04	-0.06	-0.04	-0.07

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Table 8. Tests of Organizational Status Cue Moderation Hypotheses in Regression Series

				Dependent Variables					
Independent Variables	Hypothesis	Leader Identity (II)	Leader Identity (RR)	Competence (a)	Agency (b)	Esteem (c)	Performance Opportunities (d)	Influence Activities (e)	Voice Behaviors (f)
Sex Status X Sex Managerial Representation	16			-0.07	0.09	-0.26	-0.13	-0.02	0.01
	17			-0.17	-0.03	-0.31	**-0.63****	-0.32	-0.22
Race Status X Race Managerial Representation	16			0.04	-0.11	**-0.23***	0.12	-0.02	-0.05
	17			0.03	-0.04	0.08	0.29^{+}	0.03	-0.12
Sex Status X Sex Managerial Effectiveness	18			0.05	**0.16***	**-.023****	-0.13	-0.13	-0.08
	19			0.15	0.15	0.07	-0.13	0.12	**0.22***
Race Status X Race Managerial Effectiveness	18			-0.01	-0.13	-0.05	0.05	0.04	-0.02
	19			-0.07	0.02	-0.10	0.15	-0.08	-0.10

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; (S) = Self Evaluation; (P) = Peer Evaluation; (M) = Manager Evaluation; Target Sex M=1, F = 0; Leader Sex M=1, F = 0

Figure 1. Conceptual Model

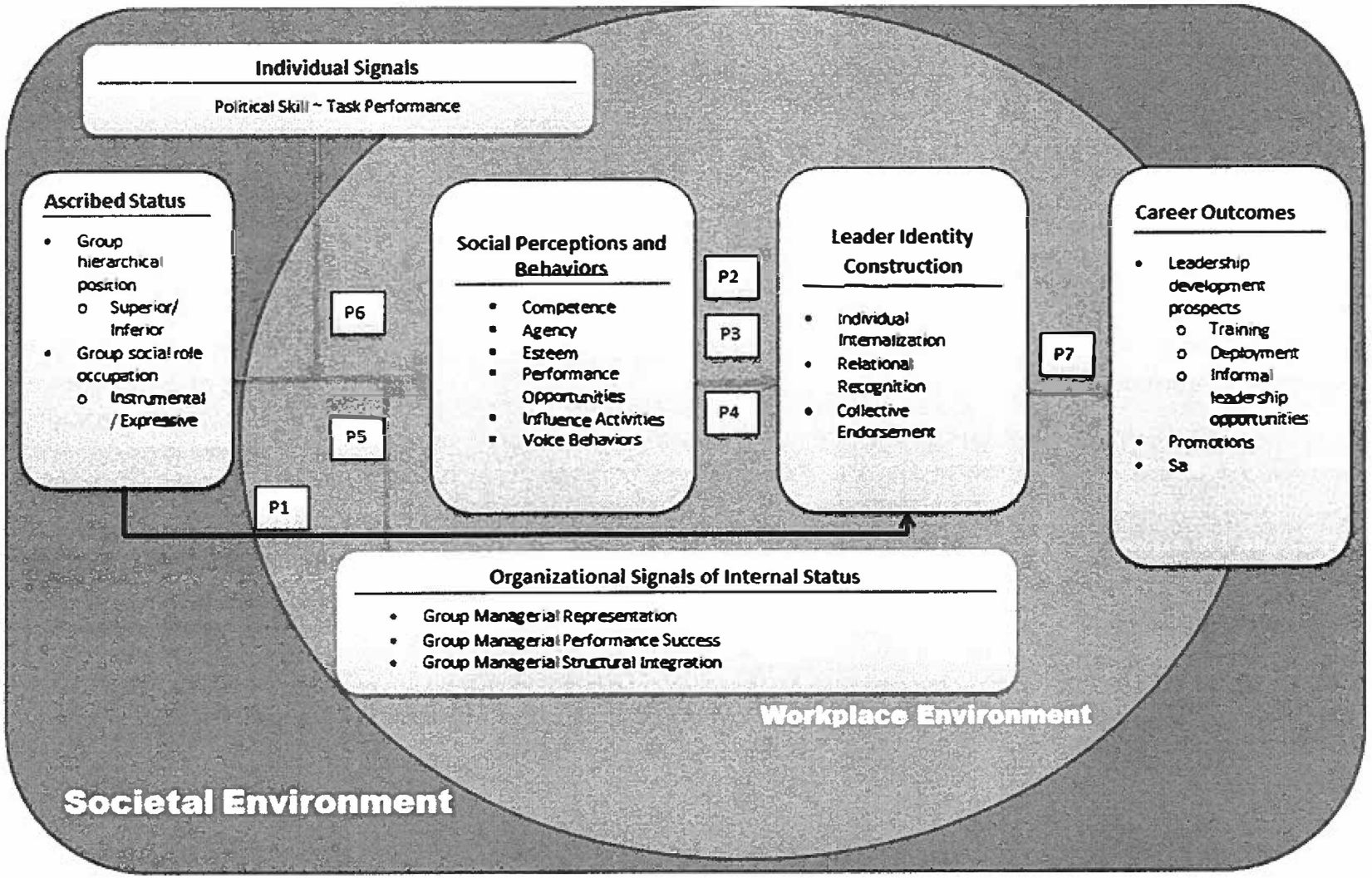


Figure 2. Study 1 Model

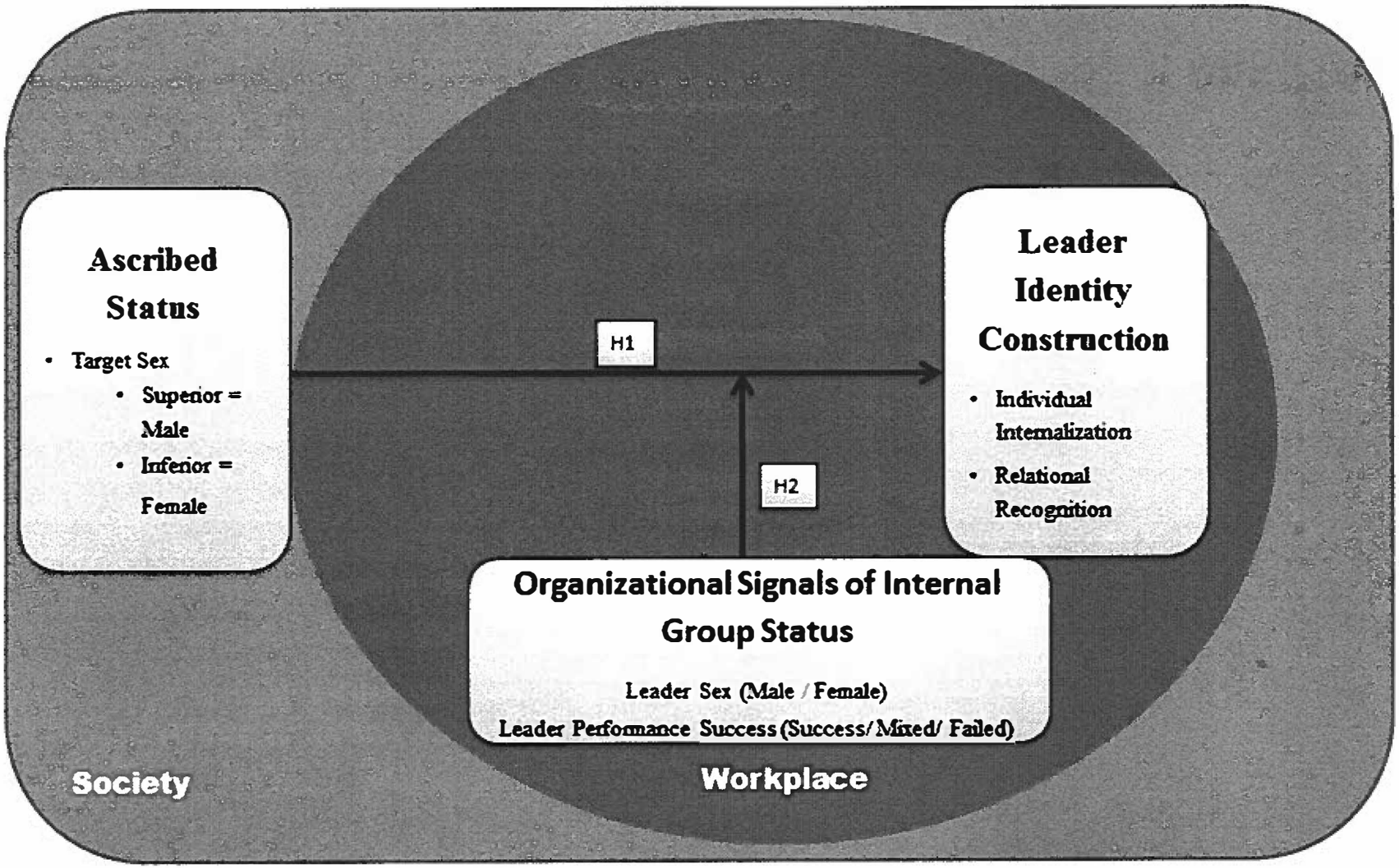


Figure 3. Study 2 Model

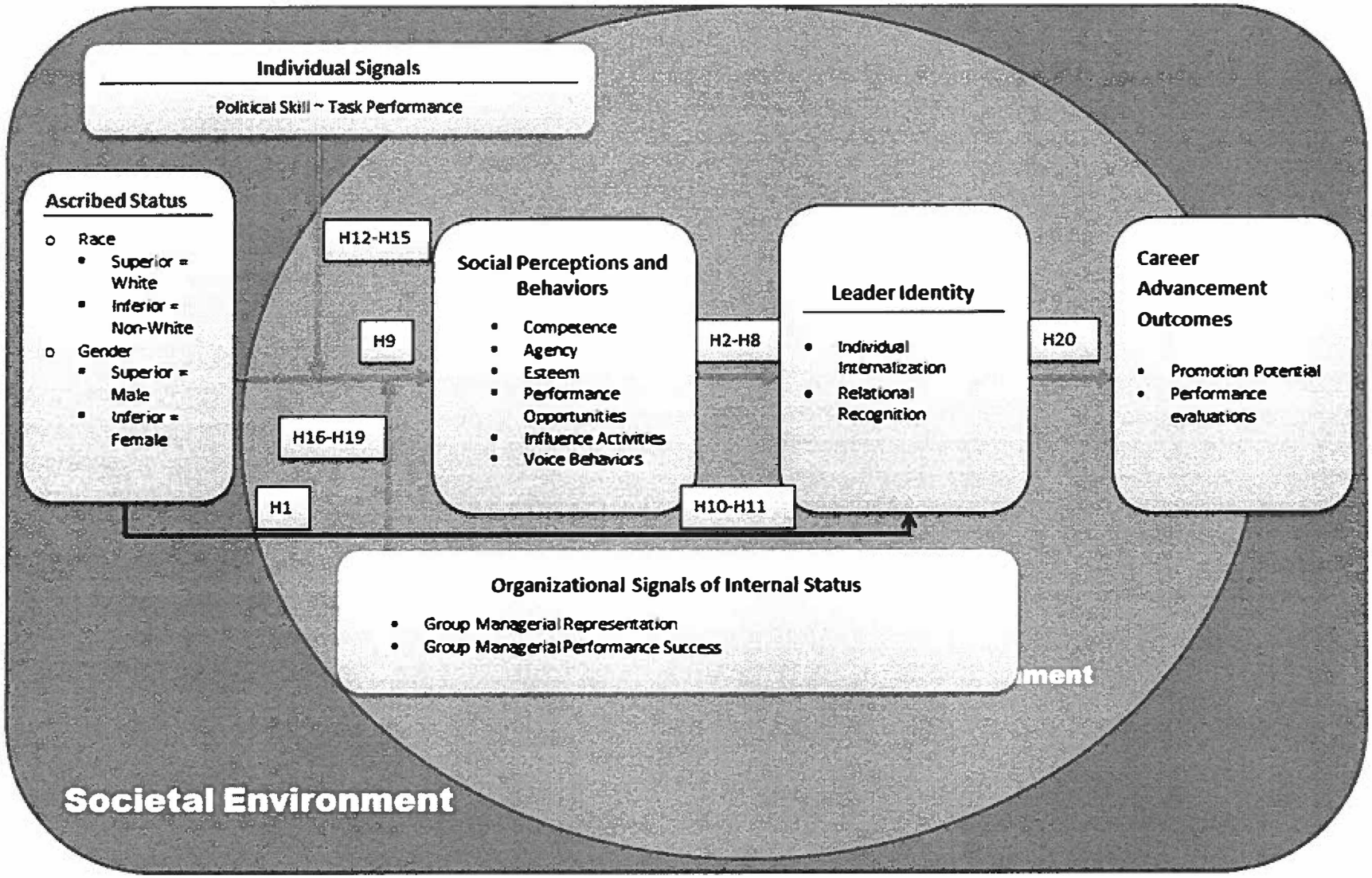


Figure 4. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Political Skill on Self-Esteem

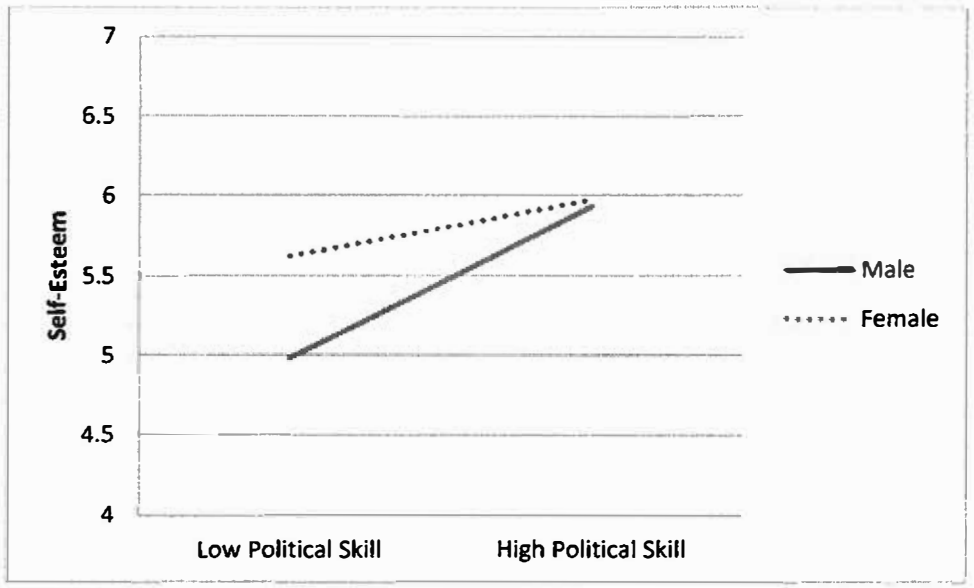


Figure 5. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Political Skill on Self-Rated Influence

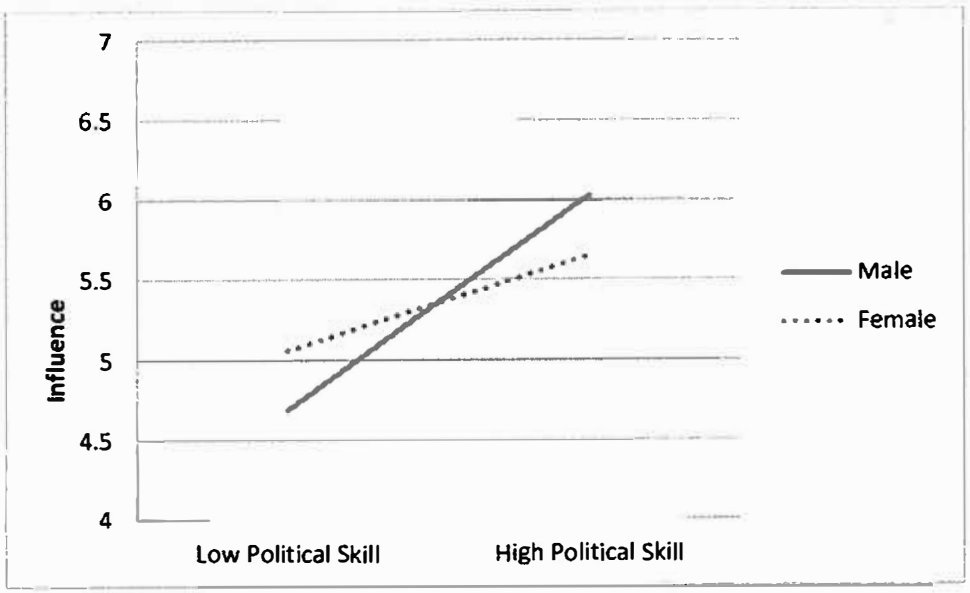


Figure 6. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Political Skill on Peer-Esteem (Regard)

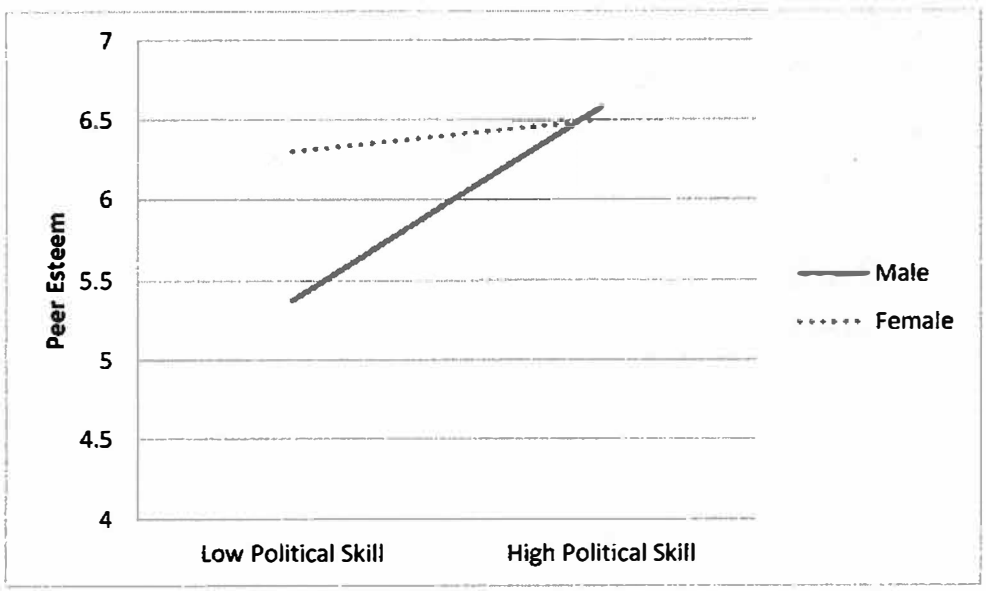


Figure 7. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Political Skill on Peer-Rated Agency

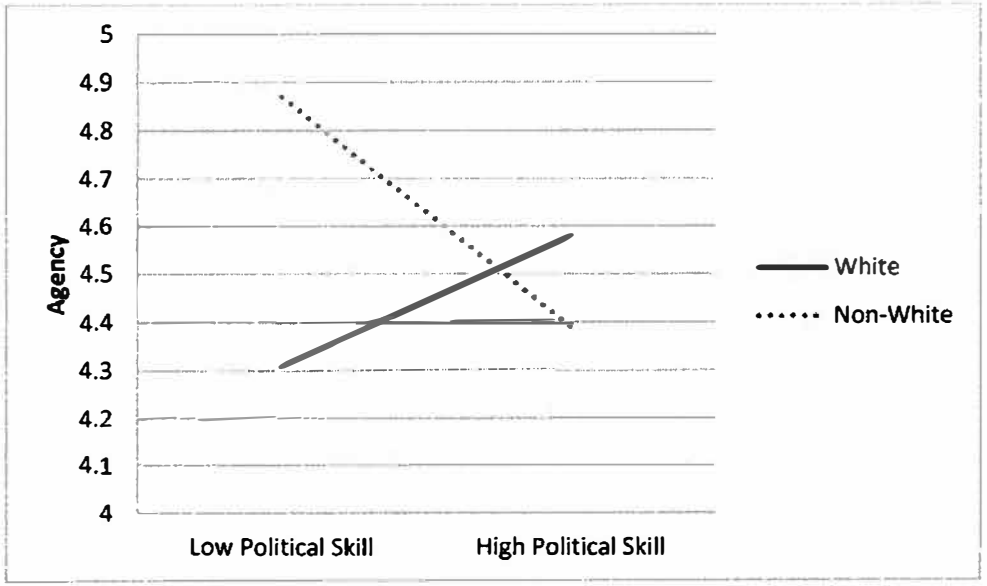


Figure 8. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Political Skill on Peer-Rated Voice Behaviors

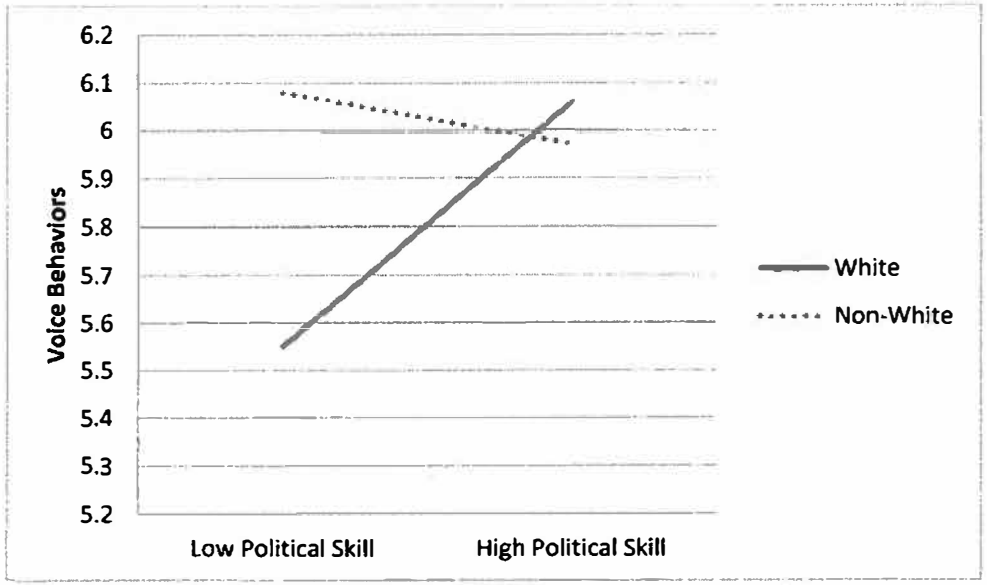


Figure 9. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Job Performance on Self-Rated Voice Behaviors

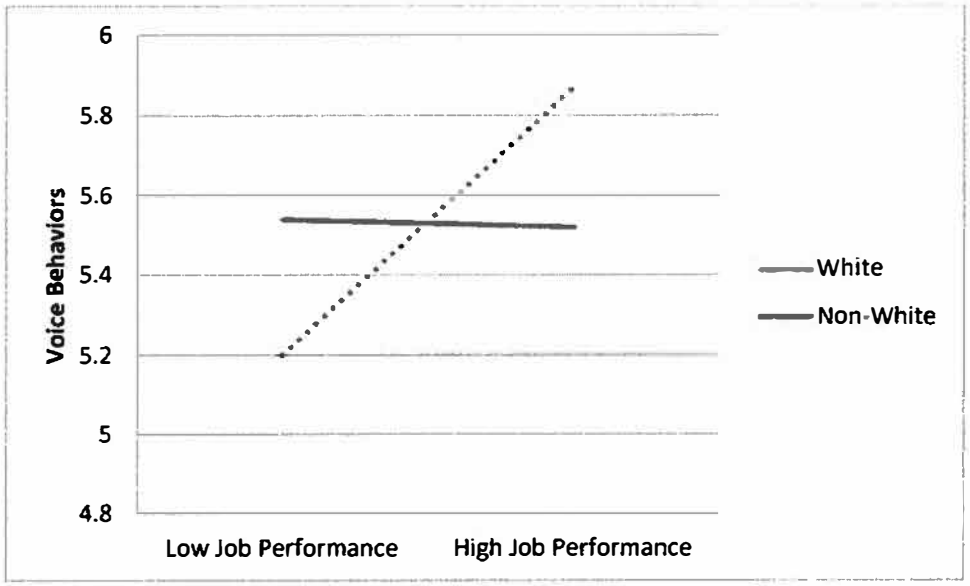


Figure 10. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Job Performance on Peer-Rated Agency

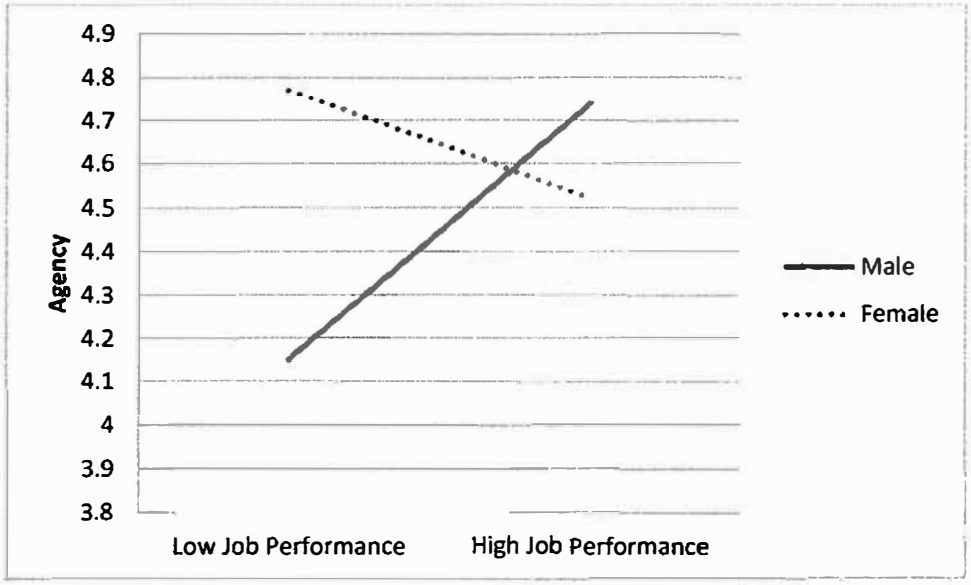


Figure 11. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Job Performance on Peer Esteem (Regard)

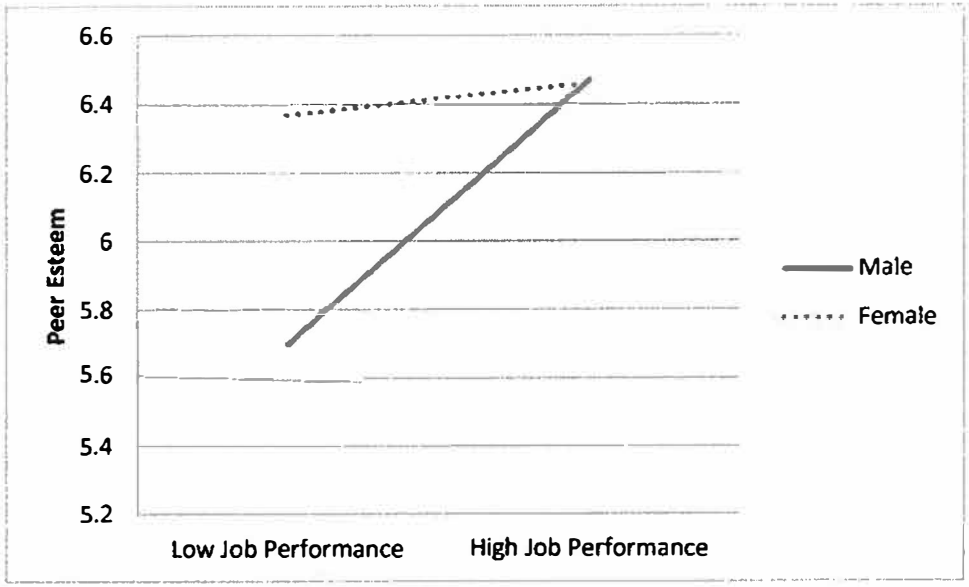


Figure 12. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Race Managerial Representation on Self-Esteem

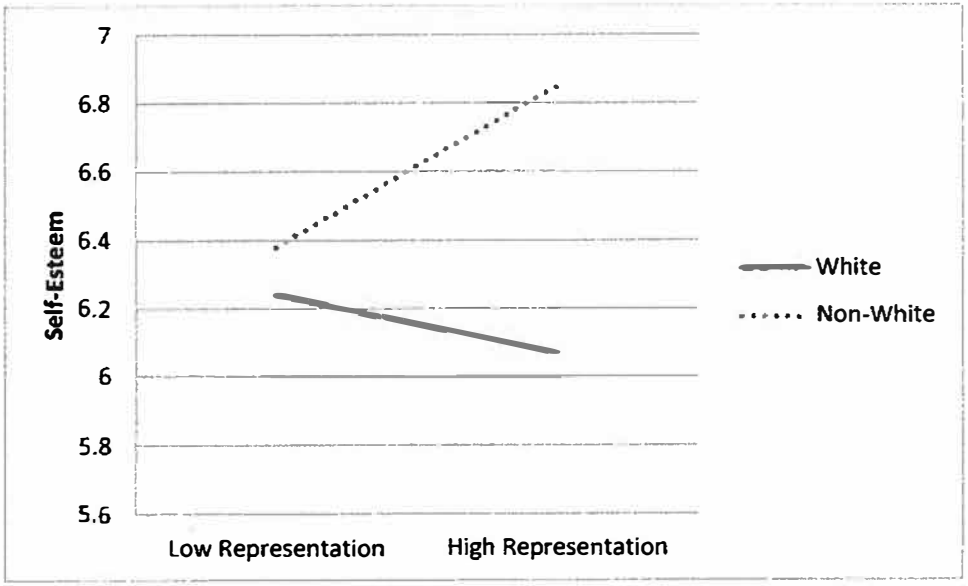


Figure 13. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Race Managerial Representation on Peer-Rated Performance Opportunities

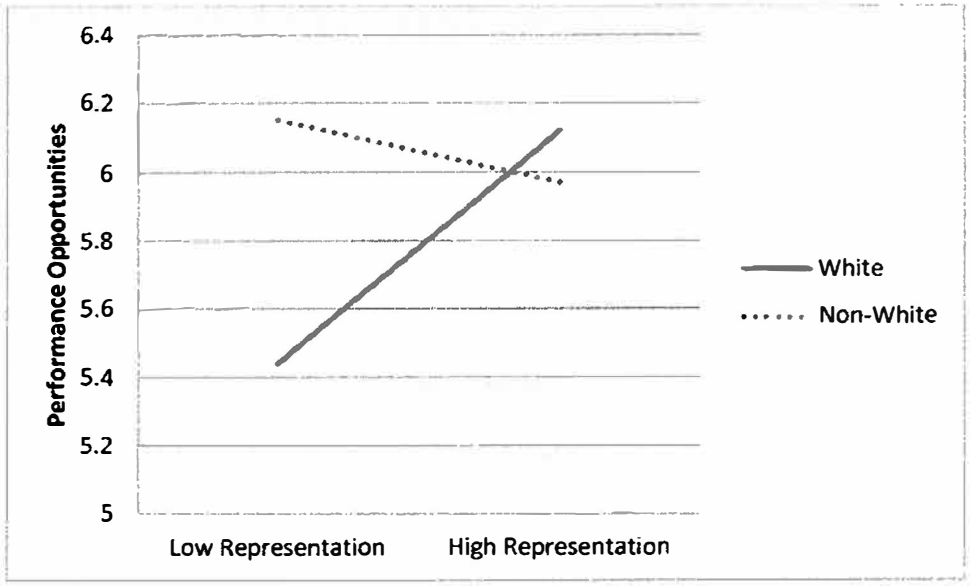


Figure 14. The Interactive Effects of Race Status and Race Managerial Representation on Peer-Perceived Performance Opportunities

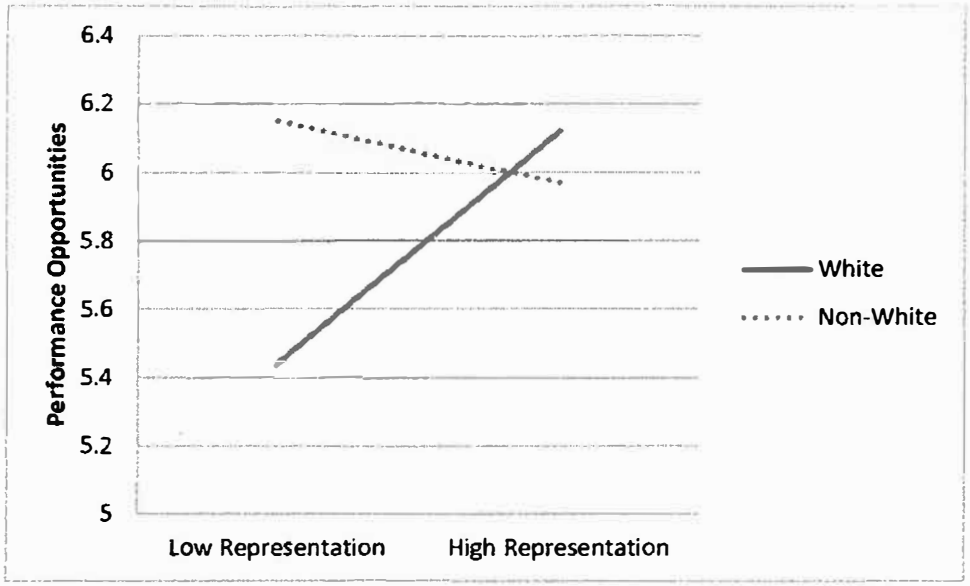


Figure 15. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Sex Managerial Effectiveness on Self-Perceived Agency

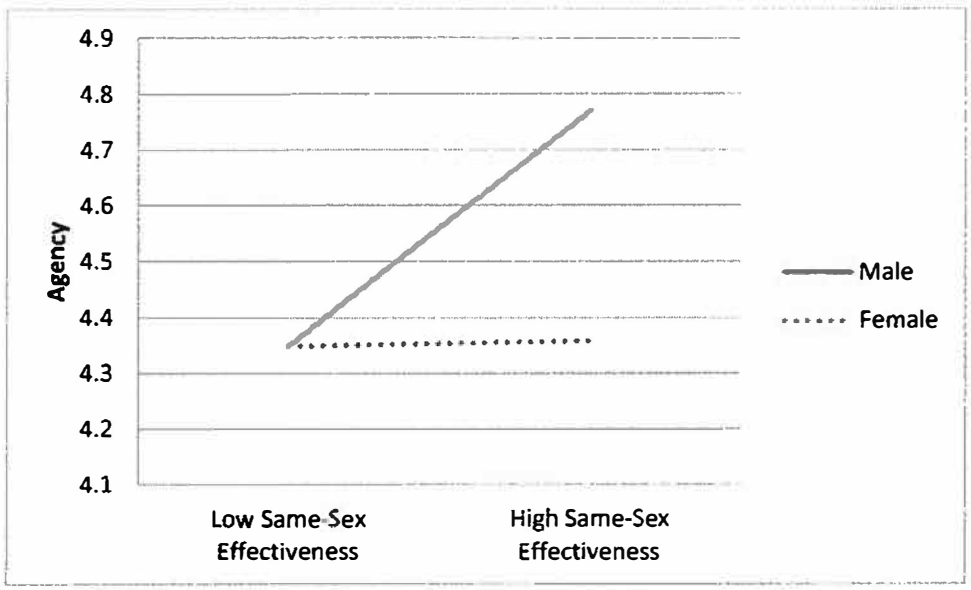


Figure 16. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Sex Managerial Effectiveness on Self-Esteem

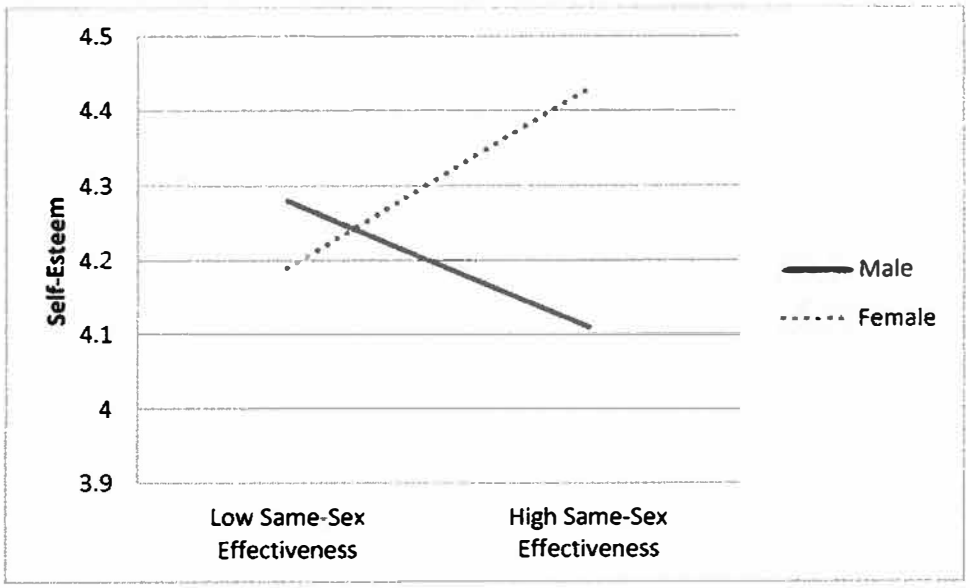


Figure 17. The Interactive Effects of Sex Status and Sex Managerial Effectiveness on Peer-Perceived Voice

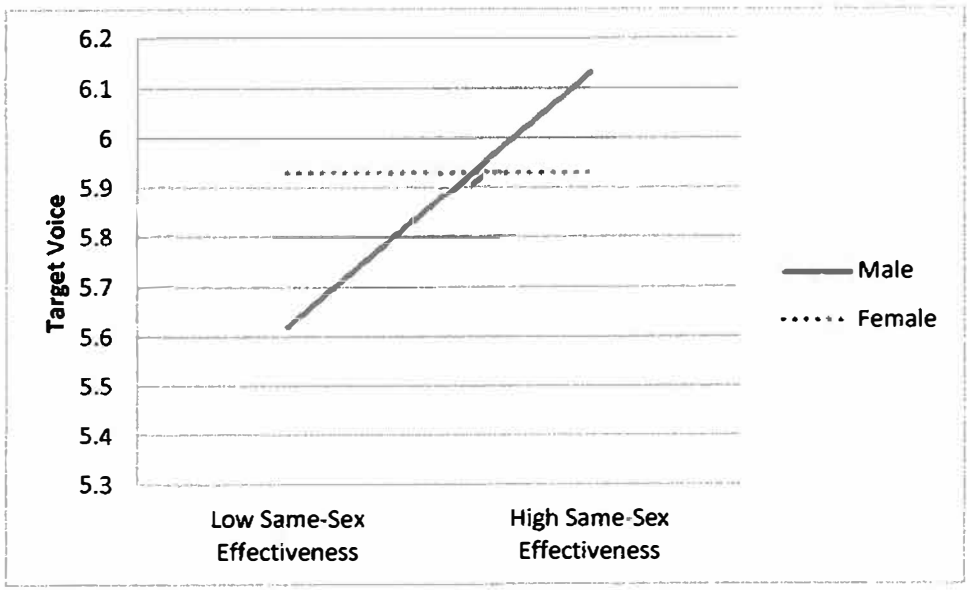


Figure 18. Full Hypothesized Mediation Model for Sex Status on Leader Identity (II) and Career Advancement Outcomes

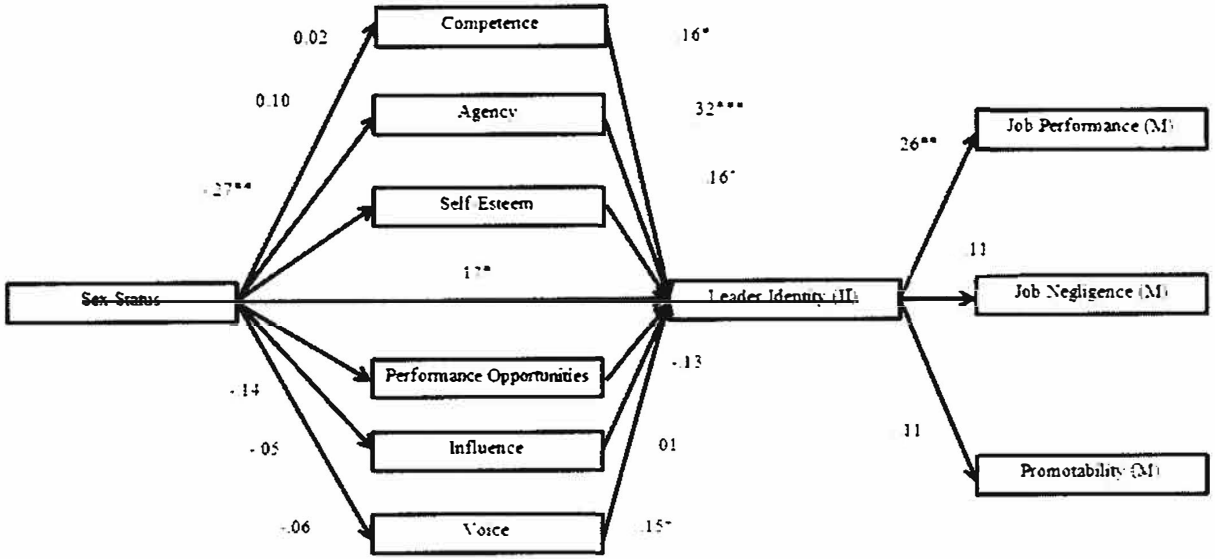


Figure 19. Full Hypothesized Mediation Model for Race Status on Leader Identity (II) and Career Advancement Outcomes

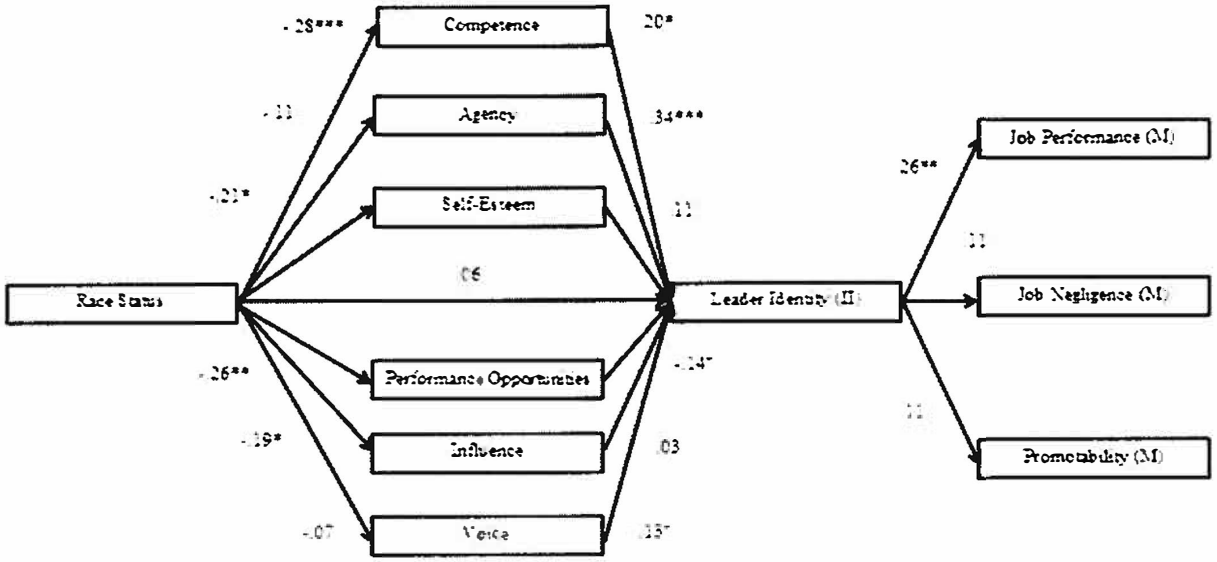


Figure 20. Full Hypothesized Mediation Model for Sex Status on Leader Identity (RR) and Career Advancement Outcomes

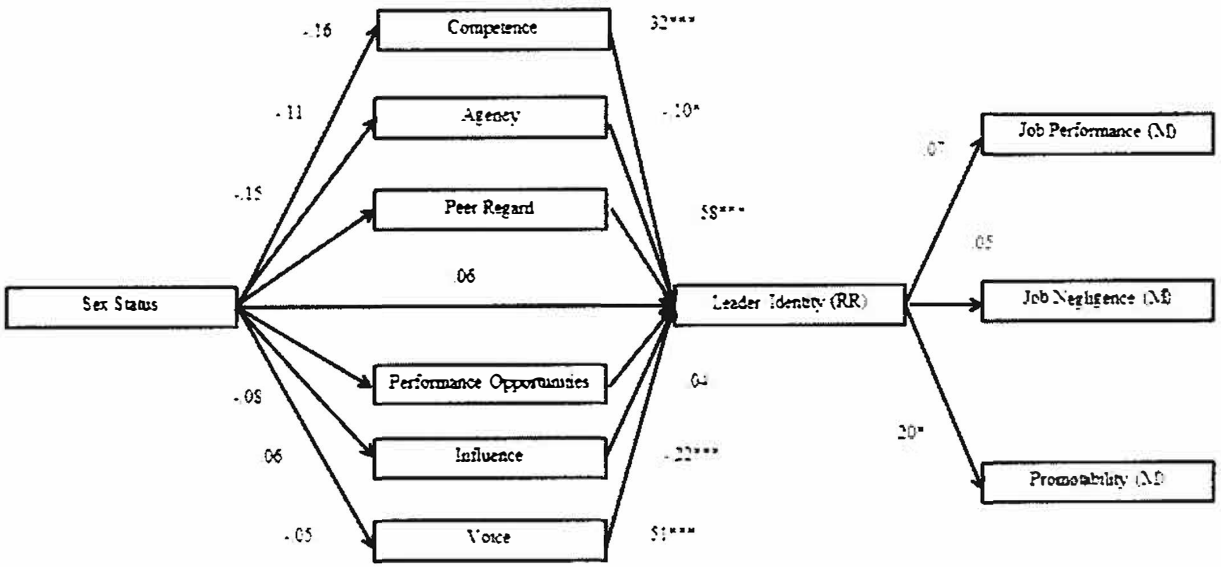
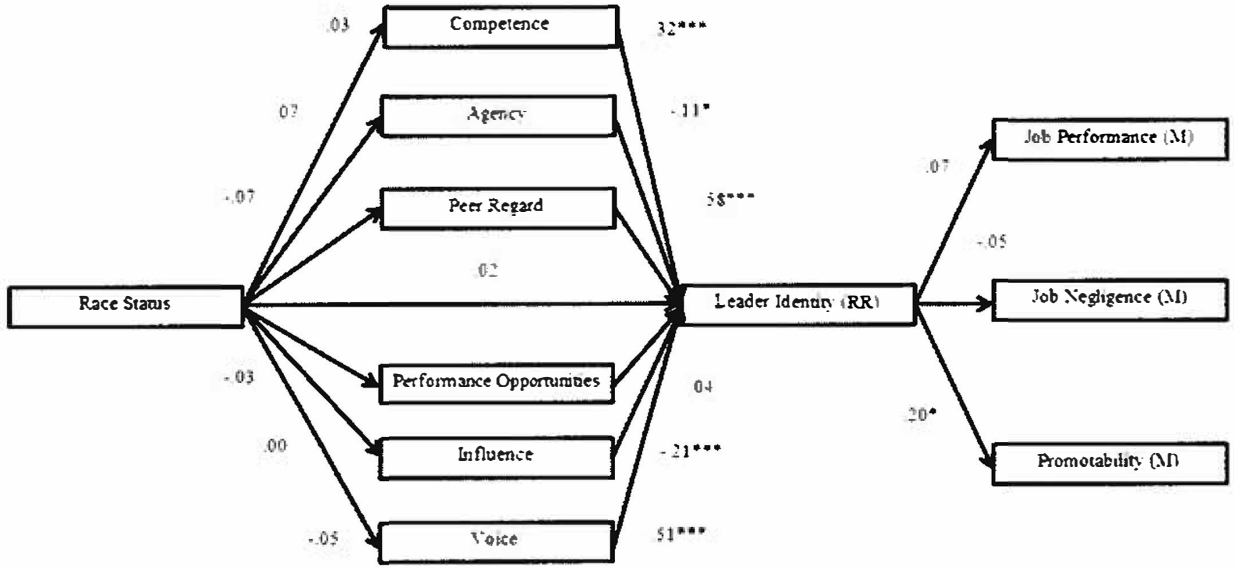


Figure 21. Full Hypothesized Mediation Model for Race Status on Leader Identity (RR) and Career Advancement Outcomes



APPENDIX B

STUDY 2 MEASURES

Self-Esteem

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement describes your feelings about yourself in your current sub-team.

1= strongly disagree
2= disagree
3= slightly disagree
4= neutral
5= slightly agree
6= agree
7= strongly agree

1. I certainly feel useless at times. (R)
2. I feel that I am a person of worth, equal to others.
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
4. All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure. (R)
5. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
6. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of. (R)
7. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
8. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
9. I wish I had more respect for myself. (R)
10. At times, I think I am no good at all. (R)

Performance Opportunities[9]

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement describes your experiences with your co-workers in your current sub-team.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neutral
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. My co-workers support the decisions I make.
2. My co-workers give me the opportunity to try new things.
3. My co-workers give me the freedom to interact with others the way I want.
4. My co-workers let me do things the way I want.

Influence Activities[10]

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement describes your experiences with your co-workers in your current sub-team.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neutral
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. I influence the decisions made by my manager.
2. My co-workers give me the chance to make important decisions.
3. I participate in decisions that affect the entire team.

[9] Same scale used for self and peer evaluations of the target. Referents were modified.
[10] Same scale used for self and peer evaluations of the target. Referents were modified.

4. My co-workers consult me when deciding on new team policies and procedures.

Voice Behaviors[11]

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement describes your experiences with your co-workers in your current sub-team.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neutral
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. I keep well informed about issues where my opinion might be useful to my sub-team.
2. I speak up and encourage others in my sub-team to get involved in issues that affect the sub-team.
3. I speak up in my sub-team with ideas for new projects or changes in procedures.
4. I develop and make recommendations concerning issues that affect the sub-team.
5. I communicate my opinions about work issues to my co-workers even if my opinion is different and others in the sub-team disagree with me.
6. I get involved in issues that affect the quality of work life in my sub-team.

[11] Same scale used for self and peer evaluations of the target. Referents were modified.

Political Skill

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 - 7 (1= strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) how well each statement describes your experiences with your co-workers in your current sub-team.

1 = strongly disagree

2 = disagree

3 = slightly disagree

4 = neutral

5 = slightly agree

6 = agree

7 = strongly agree

1. I spend a lot of time and effort at work networking with others.
2. I am able to make most people feel comfortable and at ease around me.
3. I am able to communicate easily and effectively with others.
4. It is easy for me to develop good rapport with most people.

5. I understand people very well.
6. I am good at building relationships with influential people at work.
7. I am particularly good at sensing the motivations and hidden agendas of others.
8. When communicating with others, I try to be genuine in what I say and do.
9. I have developed a large network of colleagues and associates at work whom I can call on for support when I really need to get things done.

10. At work, I know a lot of important people and am well connected.

11. I spend a lot of time at work developing connections with others.

12. I am good at getting people to like me.
13. It is important that people believe I am sincere in what I say and do.
14. I try to show a genuine interest in other people.
15. I am good at using my connections and network to make things happen at work.

16. I have good intuition or savvy about how to present myself to others.
17. I always seem to instinctively know the right things to say or do to influence others.
18. I pay close attention to people's facial expressions.

Job Performance[12]

To what degree, from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Frequently, if not always), do you believe you have met the formal requirements of your current job as indicated by each of these statements?

1 = not at all
2 = barely
3 = somewhat
4 = mostly
5 = frequently, if not always
Adequately complete my assigned duties

1. Adequately completes assigned duties
2. Fulfill responsibilities specified in my job description
3. Perform tasks that are expected of me
4. Meet formal performance requirements of my job
5. Engage in activities that will directly affect my performance evaluation
6. Neglect aspects of the job I am obligated to perform (R)
7. Fail to perform my essential duties (R)

[12] Same scale used for self and manager evaluations of the target. Referents were modified.

Target Leader Identity (II)

Please rate on a 5-point scale how descriptive (1=not at all descriptive to 5=perfectly descriptive) you think each the following four statements is of you:

1=not at all descriptive

2=not very descriptive

3=somewhat descriptive

4=very descriptive

5=perfectly descriptive

1. I am a leader.
2. I see myself as a leader.
3. If I had to describe myself to others I would include the word leader.
4. I prefer being seen by others as a leader.

Target-directed (peer) esteem

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 to 7 how well each statement describes your perception of **the team's general feelings** about this co-worker at work.

1= strongly disagree
2= disagree
3= slightly disagree
4= neutral
5= slightly agree
6= agree
7= strongly agree

1. The team holds this co-worker in high regard.
2. The team values this co-worker's contributions.
3. If this co-worker decided to quit, members of our team would try to persuade him/her to stay.
4. Even if this co-worker did well, our team would fail to notice.[13]

Leadership Effectiveness (Relational Recognition and Group Managerial Effectiveness)

Please review the following statements and rate on a scale of 1 to 7 how much you agree or disagree with each statement **regarding your co-worker (manager) overall.** Your co-worker (manager) will not be able to identify your responses.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = disagree
3 = slightly disagree
4 = neutral
5 = slightly agree
6 = agree
7 = strongly agree

1. This co-worker (My manager) is a good leader.
2. This co-worker (My manager) is very effective.

[13] Dropped from scale.

3. This co-worker (My manager) leads the team in a way which motivates the team members.
4. I like working together with this co-worker (my manager).
5. I put my trust in this co-worker (my manager).
6. This co-worker (My manager) is an excellent leader.
7. This co-worker (My manager) is effective in representing our team to upper management.
8. This co-worker (My manager) is effective in meeting the job related needs of team members.
9. This co-worker (My manager) is effective in meeting the needs of the team.

Promotability

Please indicate your level of agreement for each statement regarding this employee. Use a scale ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

1 = strongly disagree
2 = somewhat disagree
3 = neither agree nor disagree
4 = somewhat agree
5 = strongly agree

1. I believe this employee will have a successful career
2. If I had to select a successor for my position, I would consider this subordinate.
3. If believe that this employee has high potential

Followed by:

1. Overall, how would you rate this employee?

    a. Very low
    b. Somewhat low
    c. Neutral
    d. Somewhat high
    e. Very high
2. How successful do you think this individual will be in this organization?

    a. Very unsuccessful
    b. Somewhat unsuccessful

c. Neutral
d. Somewhat successful
e. Very successful

3. How would you rate this individual's potential to excel in his/her career at [your organization]?

a. Very low
b. Somewhat low
c. Neutral
d. Somewhat high
e. Very high

4. To what degree do you recommend retaining this individual in the organization?

a. To a low degree
b. To a somewhat low degree
c. Neutral
d. To a somewhat high degree
e. To a very high degree

5. To what degree do you recommend placing this individual on the "fast track" to leadership (or the "fast track" to promotion if the employee is already in a management position)?
   a. To a low degree
   b. To a somewhat low degree
   c. Neutral
   d. To a somewhat high degree
   e. To a very high degree

6. How would you feel about working with this person as your manager?[14]

a. Very displeased
b. Somewhat displeased
c. Neutral
d. Somewhat pleased
e. Very pleased

[14] Dropped from scale.

7. What is the likelihood that the employee will be promoted to a higher position sometime during his/her career with the company?

    a. No likelihood
    b. Low likelihood
    c. Moderate likelihood
    d. High likelihood
    e. Very high likelihood

APPENDIX C

Confederate Materials

Leader Part 1:

1. Get to know each other.
2. Say your name
3. I will be your leader.
4. I am an EMBA student @ Tulane.
5. I'm a mid-level manager at a National Bank in New Orleans.
6. Strategic communication is a big part of my job.
7. I'm happy to be here working with you all and sharpening my skills.
8. Who wants to go next? (let whoever wants to go first start, but make sure everyone introduces himself/herself)
9. Tell me your name and a little bit about yourself.

Leader Part 2:

1. I was asked to develop a strategy that would allow you all to complete these three tasks and perform better than the other teams.
2. Cannot give you the details
3. Cannot explicitly tell you the end goal, but I developed a strategic communication plan to walk you through each step.
4. Follow my instructions and work well together, and I am 100% sure we can win.

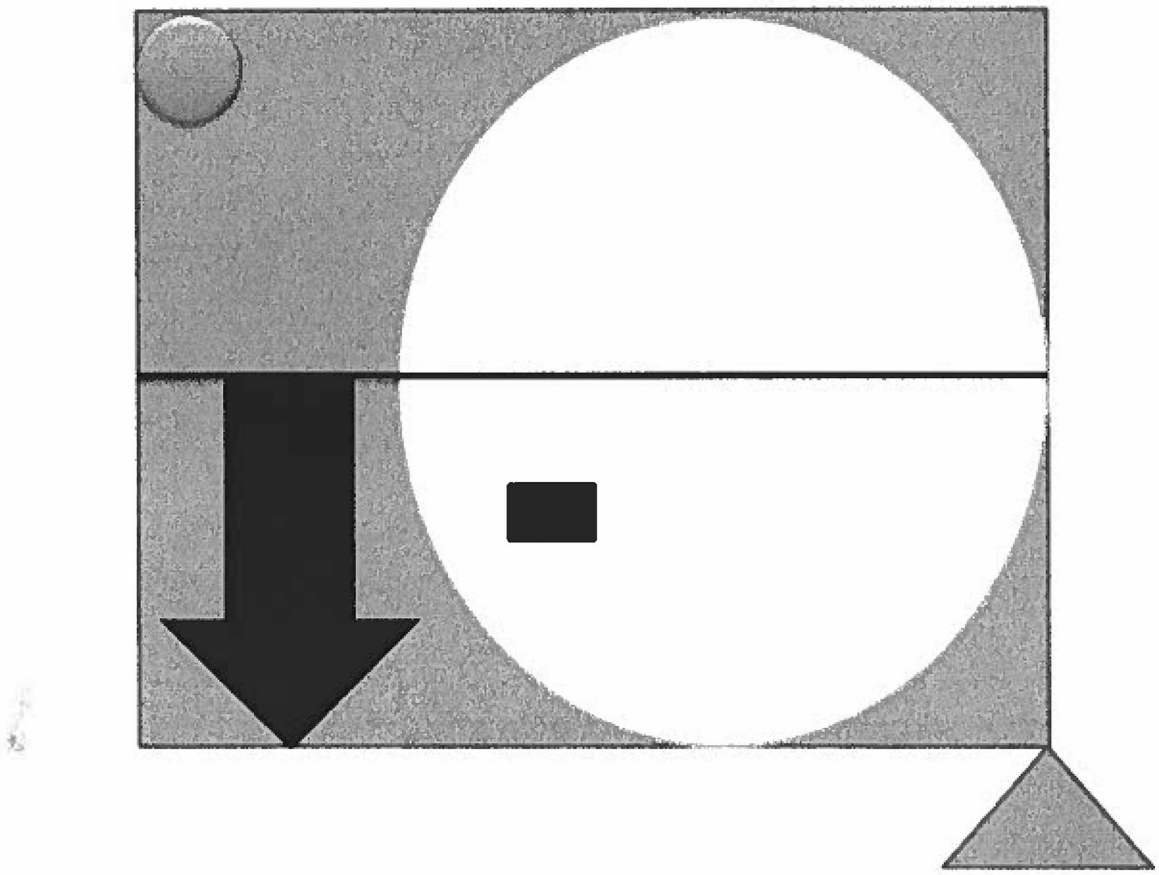
Leader Part 3:

1. Holding a picture.
2. Work together to draw this picture from my instructions.
3. Cannot show you the picture
4. Cannot answer questions– verbally or nonverbally.
5. They can talk to each other and help each other.
6. Each person will complete a portion of the drawing.
7. Call the person's name then give the instruction
8. Pay attention to everyone's contributions
9. That will help in the third task when we compete for the money.
10. 5 minutes to complete the task.
11. Let's get started.

Abstract Object Strategy

Call the name and then give the instruction. You cannot repeat the instruction.

1. Draw a rectangle that is an inch wider than it is tall.
2. Draw a horizontal line through the center of the rectangle.
3. Draw a circle that touches the top, bottom, and right borders of the rectangle with a small rectangle in its lower left quadrant.
4. Draw a smaller circle that touches the top and left borders of the rectangle.
5. Draw a triangle that touches only the bottom right corner of the rectangle.
6. Draw an arrow from the horizontal line to the bottom border of the rectangle.
7. Shade in everything except the bigger circle – use different colors for each shape.
8. Write each team member's name in the bigger circle.



AFTER FEEDBACK: Tell the team you think they worked well together and will do well again (succeeded)/do better (failed) on the next task.

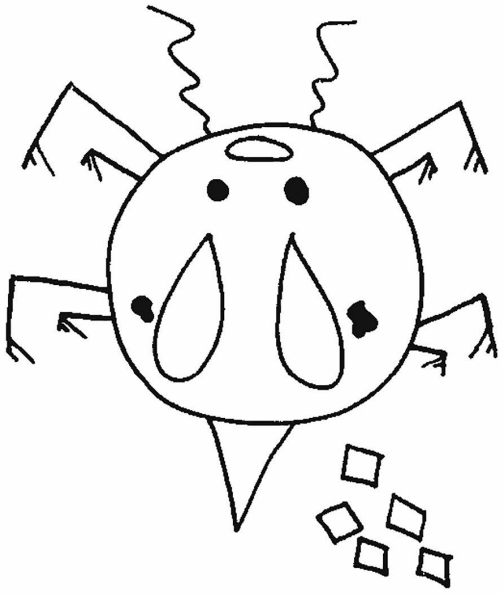
Draw a creature strategy

Leader Part 4:

1. Holding another picture
2. Work together to draw this picture.
3. Cannot show you the picture
4. Cannot answer questions– verbally or nonverbally.
5. They can talk to each other and help each other.
6. Each person will complete a portion of the drawing.
7. Give the instruction then call the person's name.
8. Can repeat the instruction one time if asked.
9. Continue to pay attention to contributions.
10. Let's get started.
11. Drawing a creature.
12. Circle on the page is the body.
13. Draw the details as I describe them.

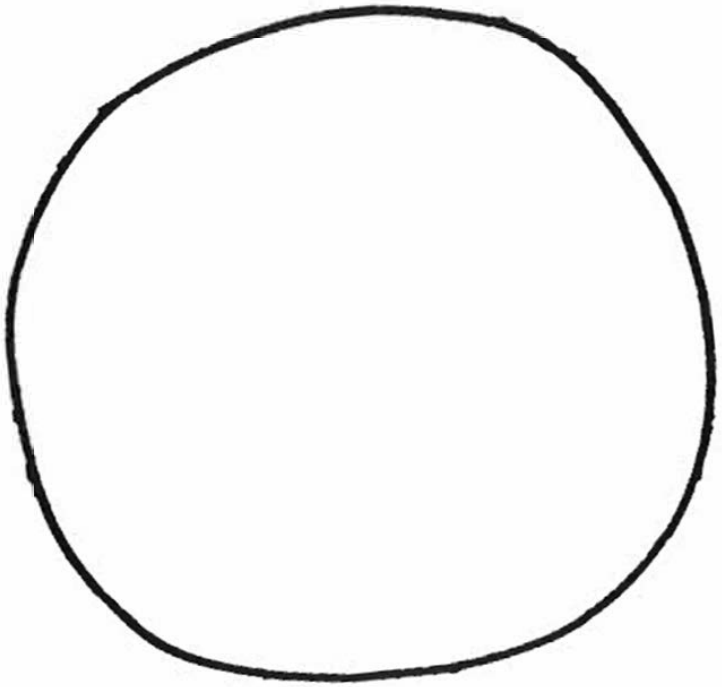
Give the instruction and then call the name. You can repeat the instruction one time if asked.

1.	The creature has eight legs, grouped in pairs with four legs on the left and four legs on the right. In the pairs, one leg is longer than the other. Draw the legs.
2.	The creature has two eyes on top of the body. Draw the eyes.
3.	The creature has two squiggly antennas. Draw the antennas.
4.	The creature has two pea-pod shaped wings. Draw the wings.
5.	The creature has a spot next to each wing. Draw the spots.
6.	The creature has a triangular stinger on the bottom of the body. The creature has a round mouth, placed between the two eyes. Draw the stinger and the mouth.
7.	The creature has two feelers on each foot - one longer than the other, both coming from the same side of the leg. Draw the feelers.
8.	The creature laid five square eggs to the left of the stinger. Draw the eggs.



AFTER FEEDBACK: Tell the team you think they worked well together and will do well again (succeeded)/do better (failed) on the next task.

Task 2 Hand Out



Debriefing Script

Distribute informed consent documents and read the following statement:

"Thank you so much for your participation. You will not be competing in the third team task as initially stated. The purpose of this study was to determine your willingness to assume a leadership role or recognize the leadership potential of your peers. We were also interested in examining how that willingness was affected by the performance of your assigned leader. We were interested in learning how your leadership-related decisions would be impacted if you believed you would actually have to follow someone else's leadership or assume the leader role yourself in a competitive environment. To make the consequences for decisions more realistic, we led you to believe you would have to compete under the direction of this leader or provide that direction yourself if you chose to do so.

Will still receive the extra credit for your participation in this study will still be entered into a random lottery drawing with a chance for each team to win $100 worth of Amazon gift cards as promised. If you would like to withdraw your participation at this time, please let me know immediately and your responses will be destroyed.

Otherwise, please initial the bottom of each page and sign and date the last page of the document I just handed you.

Please do not discuss this with any other study participants. Although your team did not have to compete in the third task, some study participants may have to do

so. With that in mind, please do not share your experiences with others because they may contaminate their experiences. We appreciate your support."

BIOGRAPHY

Alison V. Hall is a Ph.D. candidate from Tulane University's A.B. Freeman School of Business in New Orleans, LA. She is a native of Dallas, TX. Her primary research interests are leadership and diversity management. Through her research, she integrates these two focal areas and explores two major themes: (1) barriers to attaining diversity in corporate leadership (management); and (2) diversity's impact on employees' willingness and abilities to behave assertively in the workplace. Thematically, her research considers how readily recognizable diversity markers (e.g. race, gender, physical ability, etc.) may act as barriers to, and/or facilitators of, employee selection, behavioral choices, behavioral effectiveness, and career advancement. Notably, she is especially interested in organizational and individual factors that level the playing field for all employees. She is drawn to work in these areas because an equal playing field enables all employees – from both advantaged and disadvantaged groups – to contribute more fully to accomplishing the goals and missions of the organization. Appropriate diversity management is a moral imperative with human capital, financial, and reputational benefits.

Her primary career goal is to become a well-respected scholar who sparks in-depth thought regarding one of the key issues of the 21st century – organizational diversity management. Her lifelong body of work will advocate for both organizations and the individuals within them to exercise agency and properly manage diversity in a

way that enables its advantages and minimizes its challenges. She considers leadership and diversity management to be closely intertwined in attaining this goal. Thus, she expects integration of research from these two areas to have both theoretical and practical implications.

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