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Exploring the Interaction of Social Identity Processes and Gender on Perceptions of Organisational Leadership Potential

Fatima Abdulraouf Tresh

Centre for the Study of Group Processes School of Psychology University of Kent

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Abstract

A growing interest in the social psychology of identifying leadership potential has followed a significant body of work to identify the best predictors of it. This thesis builds on research which examined contexts in which leadership potential is preferred over objective leadership performance, with a focus on disadvantageous outcomes for women. In this thesis I take a step backwards to examine not when leadership potential is *preferred* but how it is *perceived*.

With respect to talent management in practice, organisations face two major issues: low success rates for high-potential individuals fulfilling their leadership potential and low representation of women in talent pipelines and leadership positions. I treat these problems as two sides of the same coin; organisations fall short of effectively identifying leadership potential due to social psychological biases in the methods that they use to identify it. Applying the social identity approach, I test the role of social identity processes in driving subjective perceptions of leadership potential. To better understand the role of unequal outcomes for women, I examine how target and evaluator gender interact with social identity processes to hold women to higher standards of recognising their potential to lead.

Across eight studies, I demonstrate that social identity processes drive perceptions of leadership potential. Results show that social identity processes and gender interact in such a way that women's leadership potential is recognised through different processes than men's when evaluators are men. In a further two studies, I examine how social psychological processes may explain how individuals self-rate their own leadership potential. Social stereotypes may provide more explanation for this process than social identity processes.

Overall, this thesis contributes to the literature on leadership potential by highlighting the biases that can ultimately lead to the misidentification of leadership potential. The thesis is concluded with implications and recommendations for practice.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

Chapter Overview

This introductory chapter lays the foundation for my thesis. The chapter begins by setting the scene, describing the 'two sides of the same coin' that this thesis aims to address, namely subjectivity in evaluations of leadership potential and the gender imbalance which remains in the UK and global leadership pipeline today. I summarise the plethora of research that has been conducted to identify the characteristics, skills, and attributes most indicative of leadership potential and the models of leadership potential that have been developed from this literature. I then outline the current statistics on gender and leadership in the UK specifically, as this context is the focus of this thesis, highlighting the lack of progress made in building a strong pipeline of female leaders in the workforce. After outlining the research gaps, I then explain how my research questions attempt to shed light on both sides of the coin regarding the suboptimal outcomes for identifying leadership potential. Finally, I provide a detailed outline of each chapter in this thesis and how collectively they aim to address my overarching research questions.

Setting the Scene: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Effective leadership is fundamental to the success of an organisation. There has been a consistent stream of committed research focused on understanding the processes of surrounding leadership. In practice however there remains two major barriers that have yet to be addressed with regards to reliably identifying individuals who will become successful future leaders. The first barrier is the lack of predictive validity surrounding evaluations of leadership potential. The 'war for talent' (Hankin, 1997) has encouraged organisations to prioritise nurturing their internal talent or securing external talent to drive the organisation's competitive advantage through leadership (Tymon et al., 2010; Vaiman, 2010). Since then, organisations have been investing in talent management processes, development programmes, and succession planning to ensure that individuals with the most leadership potential are trained, nurtured, and best placed to succeed as the organisation's leaders. However, in spite of these resource commitments, 40% of internal job moves for high-potentials end in failure (Martin & Schmidt, 2010). In a study by the Corporate Executive Board (as cited by Fernandez-Araoz, Roscoe, & Aramaki, 2017), 66% of companies reported investing in programmes to identify and develop leadership potential, but only 24% of senior executives believed that the programmes were successful.

The second barrier is gender diversity in leadership. Research has demonstrated the inequalities that highly qualified women face in attaining leadership positions (Hoyt, 2010). Equally frustrating for organisations is the evidence to show that gender-balanced leadership teams outperform their competitors (Lückerath-Rovers, 2013; Opstrup & Villadsen, 2014). Organisations are missing out on women's untapped leadership potential (Vaiman, Scullion, & Collings, 2017), yet their practices and policies are not improving women's representation in leadership (Davidson, 2011). It makes business sense, but is more importantly a moral imperative, to ensure proportionate representation in leadership yet in practice there are still

barriers that are proving challenging to overcome even with governmental pressure. For example, the Gender Pay Gap Reporting advocates for greater representation of women in senior positions to close the wage gap (Bohnet, 2018). Both of these barriers have received significant research attention. For example, empirical research has been conducted to indicate further advancements in our understanding of what makes people likely to be effective leaders in the future (Marshall-Mies et al., 2000). Research has also shown why women are less likely to be promoted into leadership positions (e.g. Eagly & Karau, 2002) and some of the interventions that can help overcome gender inequalities in decision-making (Leicht, Randsley de Moura, & Crisp, 2014; Randsley de Moura, Leicht, Leite, Crisp, & Gocłowska, 2018). However, to date there has been no research that examines these as two consequences of the same organisational issue. This thesis aims to address this gap by applying a social psychological approach to investigate the biases present in perceiving organisational leadership potential and how these may explain both the lack of predictive validity in current models and the gender imbalance that persists.

Social psychology has contributed to our understanding of practical, social issues since its inception, providing robust, theoretical frameworks that apply across contexts, groups, cultures, and social challenges. Social psychology has provided a rich understanding of the psychology of leadership, from individual differences to group processes, explaining the process of emerging as a leader (e.g. Brunell et al., 2008; Hogg, 2001; Smith & Foti, 1998), endorsement of leaders (e.g. Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; Van Vugt & Dr Cremer, 2003), leadership styles (e.g. Bass, 1990), and reactions to different types of leaders and leader behaviours (e.g. Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchison, 2008). In addition, social psychology has led in our understanding of women's career progression, gender inequality, and women's struggles for leadership attainment (e.g. Eagly & Karau, 2002). Empirical research has supported these theories and the research findings have made significant contributions to changes in practice to reduce or mitigate the role of biases in decision-making.

Organisations are investing significant resources in identifying leadership potential, yet the two barriers remain; the lack of predictive validity of models means that the best leaders are not being identified (Marshall-Mies et al., 2000) and women remain underinvested and underrepresented in the leadership pipeline (Brown, Mansour, & O'Connell, 2018). Given organisations' 25-year investment in the 'war for talent' and lack of progress, it is surprising that social psychology's understanding of subjectivity, bias, and suboptimal outcomes in decision-making has not been applied to explain the current pitfalls in organisations' approach to identifying leadership potential and the parallel underrepresentation of women identified as high-potential to fill the leadership pipeline. One possible cause of these barriers is that organisations' methods for identifying leadership potential are flawed. Social psychology has well-documented the subjective nature of decision-making and the role of bias in perception and attitude formation. Despite the plethora of research committed to identifying the best indicators of leadership potential and understanding gender bias in leadership attainment, to our knowledge no approach to date is yet to consider the social psychology of bias in the evaluation process to account for both of these issues as two consequences of the same problem.

Leadership potential

In reviewing the literature on leadership potential, I found that it largely overlooks the social psychological processes underpinning promotion decisions and evaluations. Instead, the goal has been to identify the attributes with the greatest predictive validity for future leadership success (Dries & Pepermans, 2012). This approach, that bypasses the social psychological and contextual aspects of organisational decision making, diverges from the advancements in social and organisational psychology. I will review the literature which identifies the components of

leadership potential currently assessed by organisations and review models of leadership potential present in the academic literature.

Defining leadership potential

It is generally considered that for organisations to effectively identify employees with leadership potential, they must acquire and maintain the same consistent definition of leadership potential across units, departments, and teams. However, a review by Karaevli and Hall (2003) found that none of the 13 major companies observed in their research had the same internal or external definition of leadership potential.

One of the most fundamental challenges with defining leadership potential is the overlap between general 'potential' and 'leadership potential' (Silzer & Church, 2009). Generic use of the term 'potential' to describe an employee or group of employees suggests that potential is similar to a trait in that it is stable and not context-specific (e.g. intelligence). Using the term in this way fails to consider a context or outcome as it provides no indication of what the potential could be molded or developed for, such as leadership. Silzer and Church (2009) suggest that tendencies to use the term potential to describe employees on a general level are more likely to refer to personality characteristics or tendencies such as an individual's intelligence or performance. More sophisticated strategies will identify an outcome (e.g. leadership) before assessing the traits, behaviours, or characteristics that would indicate potential to be successful that outcome (Silzer & Church, 2009). For example, when looking to identify employees to fill leadership roles, a typical approach is to consider the attributes of a successful leader and look for individuals who resemble those attributes; such strategies will assume common characteristics of potential but tailor such definitions to suit more specific roles or careers.

This thesis is specifically concerned with *leadership potential*. Wong (2015) states that while being 'high-potential' suggests that an individual is able to effectively hold a range of

positions at senior levels, leadership potential is more specific and includes components related to the ability to make leadership transitions and engage in successful leadership practices in specific contexts. Converging with Silzer and Church (2009), Wong (2015) also suggests that the concepts of high-potential and leadership potential often overlap, with no clear differentiation between the two. This is because talent pools of high-potential individuals are often developed with leadership positions in mind and therefore assume the outcome to be leadership (Dries & Pepermans, 2008). In fact, developing a 'leadership pipeline' from a pool of high-potential individuals was the most important aim of talent management in the organisational sample tested by Dries and Pepermans (2008). Based on the organisational ties between 'high-potential' and 'leadership-potential', it has been challenging to separate the two components. It has been concluded that organisations assume high-potentials are identified and developed on the assumption that they will fill leadership roles. For example, as cited by Dries and Pepermans (2007), Cope (p.15, 1998) defines high-potentials as "...those individuals within the organisation who are recognised, at that point in time, as the organisation's likely future leaders." Thus, 'high-potentials' are assumed to have high potential for leadership and therefore general 'potential' in organisational contexts typically refers more specifically to, or is indicative of, leadership potential.

While researchers have provided a conceptual definition of leadership potential, other authors have provided definitions based on the practical and situational position of employees within their organisation. Lee, Kim, Park, and Lee (p.52, 2015) used the conceptual definition "potential leaders' inner characteristics, knowledge, and skills necessary to the process of influencing members in order to achieve organisational goals" to inform their research. Ready, Conger, and Stecker (2010) define high-potential individuals as the employees in the top three to five per cent of the organisation's talent pool. Although this definition describes the likely position of high-potentials in the organisation, it fails to define the attributes that one would

Chapter 1: Introduction

expect to observe to identify leadership potential. For example, what traits, skills, or attributes are responsible for their position in the top 3-5% of the talent pool? It may be more informative to describe the attributes used to identify employees for the talent pool, and how those at the top of the talent pool are differentiated from those at the bottom. Others define high-potentials as those who are able to work at least two positions above their current position (Corporate Leadership Council, 2005), but as stated by Silzer and Church (2010) in their corporate survey of 20 organisations, such employees may not be in the top 3-5%. Additionally, what determines whether an individual is able to work at least two positions above their current position? There are observable differences in situational and conceptual definitions of leadership potential, which likely contributes to subjectivity in assessments of leadership potential.

Whilst a clear definition of leadership potential is necessary to facilitate meaningful progress in the field of talent management (including tools to measure leadership potential), this thesis is concerned with perceptions of leadership potential. That is, not how individuals use definitions or criteria to make evaluations of leadership potential, or what those criteria *should* be, but how individuals *perceive* leadership potential in others. Thus, the psychology underpinning assessments of leadership potential, such as the social cognitive factors, are the focus of this thesis. Nonetheless, for consistency, this thesis defines leadership potential as 'perceptions of the qualities (e.g. characteristics, motivation, skills, abilities, experiences, and behaviours) that are early predictors of future leadership effectiveness' based on previous work (e.g. Silzer & Borman, 2017; Silzer & Church, 2009a)

Indicators of leadership potential

Indicators of leadership potential refer to the individual traits, skills, and attributes that are most predictive of future leadership success. The concept of 'indicators' comes from the assumption that attributes predictive of leadership potential are stable, measurable, and objective. This approach assumes that identifying the 'silver bullet,' that is the key indicator(s) of leadership potential and how to measure it (or them), will result in effective identification of future leaders early on in their careers. The benefits of identifying high-potentials early on are clear for organisations; they can provide the necessary resources to these individuals for them to innovate, excel, and help the company to thrive against competitors, nurture them for the unique responsibilities of leadership, and aid in succession planning (Hills, 2009). Thus, being able to measure stable attributes with high predictive validity is seen as the most efficient way to identify effective future leaders. In the following section I will outline the research, approach and arguments surrounding key indicators of leadership potential that have been investigated in the literature to date.

Performance. Performance refers to an individual's ability to fulfil their role and outperform their peers. Griffin, Neal, and Parker (2007) define job role performance as an individual's ability to meet targets and expectations within their job role. Ready and colleagues (2010) refer to high-potentials as those who 'exceed expectations,' are 'results-oriented,' and are the 'best performers.' Research has shown that role performance is often used as a key predictor of leadership potential in practice and there are two primary reasons for this. First, because it is the most accessible information and easily acquired data on employees (Robinson et al., 2009). Second, because it is assumed that success in the past and present will predict success in the future (Silzer & Church, 2009). As such, organisations measure performance to identity 'true talent' (Prendergast & Topel, 1993). The majority of organisational representatives in Dries and Pepermans' (2008) study of high-potentials referred to employees' current performance as the primary indicator for identifying high-potentials. Additionally, high-potentials in this survey reported that high performance and hard work were the most important prerequisites for being identified as high-potential. In extensive works conducted by Silzer and Church (2009), 100% of organisations used employee performance as a measure of leadership potential.

The role of performance as a valid and reliable predictor of leadership potential has been questioned, as there is no evidence to suggest that role performance has the predictive validity to be an effective indicator of leadership potential. The Corporate Leadership Council (2005) reported that less than 30% of organisations' top performers have the potential to excel in senior leadership positions. This has been referred to as the 'performance-potential paradox' (Silzer & Church, 2009). From a psychological perspective, using performance to predict leadership potential is problematic because performance evaluations are often subjective (Moers, 2001) and vulnerable to bias. Described by Milkovich and Wigdor (1991), organisational performance evaluations are a process by which "humans judge other humans." Subjective manager performance ratings are influenced by interpersonal relationships and likability (Bjerke et al., 1987), and are dictated by the cost of communicating negative performance to colleagues (Bretz & Milkovitz, 1989). Research conducted as far back as 1985 identified racial bias in performance evaluations, with supervisors giving higher performance ratings to subordinates of the same race (Kraiger & Ford, 1985).

Personality. Personality and trait approaches are no exception to the notion that indicators of leadership potential are stable and can be objectively measured (Hough & Oswald, 2008). One argument for assessing personality for leadership is that it enables organisations to identify the necessary qualities and suitable temperament to address the changing demands experienced in leadership roles.

Extensive meta-analyses have been conducted to relate personality to various job outcomes including task performance (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000), objective and overall job performance (Dudley, Orvis, Lebiecki, & Cortina, 2006; Hogan & Holland, 2003) as well as creativity and innovation (Feist, 1998; Hough & Dilchert, 2007). Leutner, Ahmetoglu, Akhtar and Chamorro-Premuzic (2014) identified specific traits associated with entrepreneurial success over the big five factors, including proactivity, creativity, opportunism and vision. This

is relevant given the link between entrepreneurial leadership and team performance (for further insight see Hmieleski & Ensley, 2007). The evidence linking personality traits to positive work outcomes suggests that certain personality traits are likely to also be associated with successful future leadership.

Typically, facets of personality have been linked to leader emergence and leader effectiveness. Emergence is defined as the process of an individual progressively representing the group and is predicted by different personality traits that predict leadership effectiveness, with effectiveness defined as a leader's ability to influence subordinates. Applying the traditional five factor model (FFM) of personality, Judge and colleagues (2009) found that extraversion was most strongly correlated to leadership, and correlated higher with emergence than effectiveness. As such, an individual high in extraversion is more likely to emerge as a leader than they are to be an effective leader, which suggests that extraversion as an indicator of leadership potential may not have good predictive validity. Conscientiousness and openness to experience form the next strongest correlations, and conscientiousness was also more strongly related to emergence than effectiveness. In addition, dominance, emotional stability, achievement orientation, and sociability were associated with effective measures of leadership potential in a military sample (Stricker & Rock, 1998). In line with Judge and colleagues' (2009) work, dominance and sociability are facets of extraversion, the trait most strongly correlated with leader emergence and effectiveness. Nonetheless, there is no consistent research to date which has demonstrated the predictive validity of personality as an indicator of leadership potential.

Emotional intelligence. Salovey and Mayer (p. 189, 1990) refer to emotional intelligence as a component of social intelligence that *"involves the ability to monitor one's own and other's feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one's thinking and actions"* (as cited by Melita Prati et al., 2003).

As with research on personality traits, emotional intelligence has been linked to effective leadership, such as attracting support and motivating followers (Melita Prati et al., 2003). Results from an examination of 51 high-potential and 51 non-high-potential managers via online survey indicated that high-potentials were no higher in emotional intelligence than their non-high-potential counterparts. However, the authors argue that emotional intelligence predicted leadership potential through subscales of assertiveness, independence, optimism, flexibility, and social responsibility (Dries & Pepermans, 2007). Nonetheless, these pathways are not causal, and overlap conceptually with the facets of personality traits and learning agility which makes identifying specific indicators more complex and less informative. Dries and Pepermans (2007) found that high-potentials at lower managerial levels displayed less interpersonal skills, an indicator of emotional intelligence, than high-potentials at higher levels of management, suggesting that interpersonal skills may not be a reliable indicator of leadership potential because they are unstable and are likely to develop for all individuals throughout their career.

Learning agility. Learning agility has been defined as "the willingness and ability to learn from experience, and subsequently apply that learning to perform successfully under new or first-time conditions" (De Meuse, Dia, Hallenbeck & Tange, p. 120, 2008; Lombardo & Eichinger, 2000). Learning agility has a normal distribution in the employee population (De Meuse et al., 2008), is largely unrelated to gender (Lombardo & Eichinger, 2002), unrelated to age and unrelated to ethnicity (De Muese et al., 2008). The link between learning agility and leadership potential is based on the notion that potential cannot be observed from what an employee demonstrates in their job, rather it requires the employee to demonstrate that they have the capacity to do something new or different (Lombardo & Eichinger, 2000). The ability to learn new skills in unfamiliar situations enables the individual to perform effectively when

presented with novel tasks or responsibilities, such as leadership. Therefore, learning agility may indicate leadership potential.

When an individual has high learning agility, they are able to take away beneficial information from experience and apply that information to novel situations (De Meuse, Dai & Hallenbeck, 2010). Having the ability to translate new experiences into applicable knowledge is unique (McCall, Lombardo, & Morrison, 1988). De Meuse et al (2010) suggest that this ability is essential for leadership success in the long-term and predicted that the assessment of learning agility will enhance talent management practices within the next decade. This is not incorrect, as many models of leadership potential and measurement tools across academia and practice now adopt learning agility, or similar growth dimensions, to identify future leaders (Silzer & Church, 2009; Dries and Pepermans, 2012).

Research conducted in a military setting provided support for the relationship between learning agility and leadership outcomes. For example, Wong (2004) identified complexity, unpredictability, and ambiguity as environmental factors that promote adaptive behaviours. It was found that those who responded proactively to these environmental factors (i.e., those who had high learning agile) were more likely to show independence, confidence, initiative, and innovation. However, the reliance on correlational data restricts us from assuming learning agility leads to effective leadership. It could be that possessing the characteristics of confidence, independence, and initiative encourages individuals to accept challenging tasks that would then allow them to take away new learning.

Conducting a content analysis on interviews, survey data and an intervention study, Lombardo and Eichinger (2000) developed a series of items to measure learning agility which they assessed using a factor analysis. Their measure comprised of four factors: people agility, results agility, mental agility, and change agility. All components of learning agility were associated with being considered a high potential. However, learning agility is assessed in a

way similar to performance – the occurrence of one individual judging another. As with other attributes, assessments of learning agility are likely to be biased and influenced by social and contextual factors. Demonstrating this, Adis, Herman, Zaccaro, Murensky, and Leslie (2008) found that performance ratings were lower for high learning agile leaders who had been internally promoted.

The factors identified as indicative of learning agility overlap with other factors considered to be indicative of leadership potential, such as emotional intelligence and performance. For example, "people agility" conceptually overlaps with emotional intelligence as they indicate the skill of communicating effectively and perspective-taking. Another criticism of adopting learning agility as a critical measure of leadership potential is developed from the argument that learning agility can be increased and developed. Therefore, learning agility is not a stable attribute that can be measured as an early indicator of later leadership potential.

Intelligence. Wong (2015) uses cognitive ability interchangeably with intelligence, describing the trait as the capacity for conceptual, strategic and analytic reasoning. However, Silzer and Church (2009) argue that cognitive skills should be considered as three separate but co-varied categories, including: conceptual/ strategic thinking, intellect/ cognitive ability and dealing with complexity/ ambiguity. They suggest that strategic thinking and one's ability to deal with ambiguity enable an individual to effectively deal with modern business challenges that leaders often face. According to Zaccaro, Kemp, and Bader (2004), cognitive ability has predictive validity for leader success but this has not been causally determined.

Motivation and drive. Silzer and Church (2009) define the motivation component of leadership potential as an entry gate to increased learning, providing decision makers or evaluators with ease to differentiate high-potentials' learning agility and ability from other employees. However, they argue that sometimes ambition and drive are considered a sufficient

requirement for having leadership potential which is unlikely, given the links between other factors such as emotional intelligence and leadership.

Based on extensive longitudinal observation, Silzer and Church (2009) report that high levels of motivation and commitment are prevalent characteristics of high-level executives. In their 2010 survey, they found that 90% of organisations consider a person's career drive in determining an employee's status as a 'high-potential'. This is used to ensure that the individual's ambition is towards leadership to avoid investing in an employee whose career aspirations do not involve leadership or a future in the organisation. Nonetheless, motivation, ambition, and drive are not stable attributes and are instead context dependent (Harman & Sealy, 2017). In fact, research shows that motivation and drive are perceived differently for men and women.

Summary of key indicators. I have drawn on the literature across fields that attempt to support or critique the role of unique attributes as indicators of leadership potential. The evidence for and against the use of these indicators suggests that it is highly likely that a combination of these attributes has significant power to predict an individual's readiness to undertake a leadership position. That is, individuals who possess these attributes to some degree are more likely to become successful leaders than those who do not. However, the extent to which the measures are truly objectively measurable is questionable. In the following section, I will summarise the theoretical models of leadership potential pertinent in the academic literature. These models make the case for a combination of attributes necessary to predict leadership potential effectively; they draw on the numerous attributes outlined above to consolidate those identified as the most reliable predictors into structured models to support the process of identifying leadership potential.

Models of leadership potential

There have been significant developments in the work on leadership potential in recent years. Models of leadership potential have enabled researchers to advance our understanding of the predictors of leadership potential by taking into consideration that a) individual predictors are insufficient when adopted in isolation, and b) there is a degree of conceptual overlap between predictors. As such, models of leadership potential have become increasingly informative. Here I will summarise some of the recent theoretical models and their contribution to our understanding. Taking a critical approach, I will highlight the work that still needs to be done to consider social psychology's advancements in our understanding of bias and subjectivity in evaluations and decision-making processes.

Consensus model. Dries and Peperman's (2012) model of leadership potential was developed on criteria identified in the literature from 1986-2010. Based on the competencies identified, four quadrants were used to form the model including *analytical skills, learning agility, drive,* and *emergent leadership*. Each quadrant was then reduced to factors to highlight the more specific indicators of each predictor. For *analytical skills,* factors included *intellectual curiosity, strategic insight, decision-making,* and *problem-solving. Learning agility* incorporated the factors *willingness to learn, emotional intelligence,* and *adaptability.* The factors of *drive* included *results orientation, perseverance,* and *dedication.* Finally, the fourth quadrant *emergent leadership* included *motivation to lead, self-promotion,* and *stakeholder sensitivity.* The researchers found strong statistical support for the relationship between the factors and the quadrants. Furthermore, no differences were found between these attributes and senior managers, line managers, and HR managers. This was previously a concern because of these groups' differential access to information and thus potential differences in attributes (Balzer & Sulsky, 1992; Silzer & Church, 2010; Ruderman & Ohlott, 1990). Dries and

Pepermans (2012) argue that the consistency between groups provides support for their model as a transferrable approach to measuring leadership potential from an early career stage.

Although there was consensus across management roles for the factors and quadrants identified by Dries and Pepermans (2012), there are a number of critical points that were not addressed in the model. While the model achieves theoretical and empirical consensus, the practicalities of applying the attributes identified are not presented. For example, the model treats the measures as equally predictive and not necessarily more relevant to measuring at specific career stages. In fact, it is likely that these attributes develop throughout an individual's career and are more relevant at some career stages than others and in specific contexts. Furthermore, the researchers base the model solely on the competencies already available in the literature without testing or incorporating other possible competencies, particularly those that emphasise the nature of behavioural tendencies towards others that are currently lacking in the literature but are considered important for effectively inspiring followership (such as a transformational leadership style; Bommer, Rubin, & Baldwin, 2004). Finally, the model is only descriptive, summarising the key factors currently used and discussed in the literature without recommendations for operationalising the predictors. Without caution and operationalisation, the model is open to subjectivity which plays into favouritism and likeability, the halo effect, perceived similarity, and ambiguity of interpretation (Morley, Scullion, Collings, Schuler, 2015). For example, women are rated lower on vision and strategy than men, even when they are rated higher on a range of other predictive measures (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012). However, these predictive measures, including leadership performance, do not transfer to promotability (Roth et al., 2012).

Dries and Pepermans' (2012) consensus model consolidates our knowledge of leadership potential, providing a theoretically and empirically supported description that identifies some of the key components of leadership potential. However, to advance our

approach we should seek a better operationalisation of key predictors and an understanding of how bias can affect accurate measurements of these attributes.

Dimension structure. The dimension structure of potential (Silzer & Church, 2009) comprises foundational, growth, and career dimensions. Silzer and Church define *foundational dimensions* as the stable, individual differences attributes that form an individual's cognitive and personality characteristics. For example, cognitive dimensions refer to thinking style, intelligence, and one's ability to deal with complexity. Personality dimensions refer to interpersonal skills, emotional stability, and dominance. *Growth dimensions* are the attributes that predict an individual's ability to develop in new areas of career advancement. Growth dimensions are categorised as learning or motivation. Learning dimensions include adaptability, learning orientation, and openness to feedback. Motivation dimensions are those that indicate later career ability, such as leadership, performance, knowledge, and values. Leadership dimensions are the ability to manage people, develop others, and influence. Performance dimensions relate to one's performance record and experiences.

The dimension structure of potential overlaps conceptually with Dries and Peperman's (2012) consensus model. Where this model diverges is in its ability to a) account for the individual differences that are associated with effective leadership and b) present the attributes as cumulative and developmental. These design considerations of the model make it more advanced for applying to practice. Furthermore, the rationale behind this approach is based on the literature. Foundational dimensions are seen to be relatively stable across contexts and time and have been shown to predict leadership effectiveness (e.g. Judge et al., 2002). Based on their long-term predictive validity, it makes sense to include these as 'first stage' measurements. If an individual has the pre-requisite personality and cognitive attributes best suited to leadership, they must then demonstrate the capacity to grow, adapt to new situations,

and learn from experiences. Church (2015) suggests that an individual's ability to grow is often facilitated or hindered by the social context, including organisational support. As such, Church (2015) alludes to leadership potential as a context-dependent process but with little expansion on how this then challenges the process of looking for specific dimensions to identify leadership potential. Finally, career dimensions incorporate functional expertise and an individual's leadership style. Thus, the dimension structure is the first to account for potential leaders' leadership style and how they interact with others.

The model's consideration of the chronological process in which individual differences, opportunities, and contextual facilitators/ restraints amount to leadership potential advances our understanding of leadership potential as a process. The model also advances our understanding by highlighting the role of contextual factors and bias in the process. For example, they provide guidance on the role of performance, mobility, demographics, and cultural fit as contextual factors that are not indicators of leadership potential but are likely to play a role in influencing managerial assessments of leadership potential. Although the model cautions against the use of these variables due to bias, social psychology has demonstrated the existence of gender bias in evaluations of the other variables that are included in their model, such as vision and strategy (Ibarra & Obodaru, 2009; Roth et al., 2012).

Potential pyramid. Robinson and colleagues' (2009) 'potential pyramid' presents a model for identifying and developing high-potentials based on a series of stages. They suggest that the foundation of leadership potential lies with the organisation's values and cultures, and an individual who exemplifies these should be assessed at further stages. Note that this approach is contradictory to the dimension structure of leadership potential which cautions against the use of measures such as cultural fit to avoid bias in the assessment process (Church, 2015). Next, they argue that assessing the individual's performance is key to identifying their potential. In the potential pyramid, performance is described as a "necessary but insufficient

indicator of potential". Performance is another indicator that is cautioned against in assessments of leadership potential due to its short-term predictive validity and vulnerability to the halo effect (Coombs & Holladay, 2006). Robinson and colleagues (2009) suggest that performance is useful in this model because performance and potential are interrelated even if performance is not the most reliable indicator. Finally, they argue that an employee who represents the company's values and exceeds performance expectations should be evaluated based on the high-potential indicators. Although the authors do not outline what these indicators should be, they suggest that such indicators should focus on self-development and resilience in the face of adversity. One could infer that these refer to the components of leadership potential discussed widely in the literature such as emotional intelligence, learning agility, and motivation.

Similar to the dimension structure of potential, the potential pyramid incorporates components of leadership potential addressed in the literature by conceptualising a stage process in which employees must meet the demands of one stage before progressing to assessment at the next. However, the potential pyramid prioritises two factors that are cautioned against using in models of leadership potential in the literature, these are cultural fit and performance. For reasons including poor predictive validity and bias in decision-making, cultural fit and performance should not be adopted as measures of leadership potential. Yet, research demonstrates that they are consistently used to make organisational decisions and therefore are likely to be used to evaluate leadership potential (Silzer & Church, 2009). As such, the potential pyramid may instead reflect how leadership potential *is* currently measured but not necessarily how it *should* be measured.

Critically, the model is not supported empirically, nor does it provide recommendations for how the components should be operationalised in order to assess leadership potential without bias. To address the lack of empirical support for the potential pyramid as a

representation of how perceptions of leadership potential are formed, this thesis will examine the constructs outlined in the model.

Finkelstein's model of leadership potential. "As organisations consider, develop, or adopt "high-potential" programs, they must carefully consider the characteristics, systems, processes, and outcomes of such programs as well as any unintended consequences of a less than rigorous approach to identifying and selecting individuals for inclusion in such programs." (Finkelstein, Costanza, & Goodwin, p. 3, 2017).

Finkelstein and colleagues' (2017) model aims to clarify and address the theoretical and practical relationships between what leadership potential is, how leadership potential is identified, and the intended outcome of leadership attainment. In doing so, they come closest to date to recognising the individual and contextual factors that influence high-potential designation in which ultimately "humans judge other humans" (Milkovich & Wigdor, 1991). They argue that reliable indicators of leadership potential should be considered independently of the factors that contribute to the identification of leadership potential. That is, objective predictors of leadership potential should be separated from a subjective evaluation process of leadership potential.

Finkelstein and colleagues raise a number of factors that contribute to the subjectivity and noise surrounding the identification of leadership potential, namely the role of the manager. Church and Rotolo's (2013) study found that only 23 of 84 companies were using formal assessments to identify their high-potentials, those the reliability and objectivity of these can be challenges. More popular methods included ratings, interviews and personality assessments. Research conducted by the Corporate Research Forum (2016) found that single manager recommendations were the most popular method for identifying high-potentials and 53% of organisations were not confident about the reliability of this method. When employees have to first be championed by their managers (Karaveli & Hall, 2003), there are multiple factors that

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can attenuate reliability. For example, Finkelstein and colleagues point to managers' limited resources, a negative relationship with the manager holding the employee back, likeability of the employee keeping them in the role, and lack of organisational influence to champion the employee effectively. Additionally, leadership schemas and different definitions of potential of attendees at talent review meetings will impact leadership potential identification (Heslin, 2009). Additionally, Finkelstein and colleagues refer to 'nonpotential individual differences.' These individual differences are a) the perceptions and attributes implicated in implicit leadership theories (ILT) and b) the capabilities of the individual to manage impressions regardless of whether they possess true leadership potential. Altogether, Finkelstein and colleagues' arguments and supporting empirical work moved us forward in our approach to understanding and effectively utilising leadership potential.

The model integrates indicators of leadership potential with respect to the social context to advance our understanding of the interaction between 'true' potential (i.e., objectively having leadership potential) and high-potential designation (i.e., subjectively having leadership potential in the eyes of another) for predicting leader success. Ultimately, Finkelstein and colleague have developed a process model by which the career trajectory of a high-potential is mapped out to demonstrate the necessary attributes, facilitating social context and career opportunities that lead to leader success. Nonetheless, the impact on career trajectories based on sociodemographic identities such as gender have not been incorporated even though sociodemographic inequality is still a major barrier to equity in representation of professionals fulfilling their leadership potential.

Gender and Organisational Leadership in the UK

The Equality Act (2010) "provides a legal framework to protect the rights of individuals and advance equality of opportunity for all" (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010). Despite significant pressure from the government to address issues of inequality in the UK

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workplace, unequal outcomes across societal groups are still experienced. Whilst educational attainment gaps are closing (and have even reversed for gender), occupancy of leadership positions in the UK workforce is still starkly in favour of men (vs. women).

In the context of equality, sociodemographic groups often encompass the protected characteristics as set out by the Equality Act (2010). These protected characteristics include age, race, sex, disability, religion or belief, gender reassignment, sexual orientation, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy, and maternity. However, other groups defined by their sociological and demographic characteristics include income, education and/or socioeconomic status, often referenced in the literature as 'class' or 'social class'.

The focus of this thesis is on gender. Gender is the descriptor that Wood and Eagly (p. 109, 2009) describe as "*the cultural meanings ascribed to male and female social categories in societies*." Thus, gender identity reflects men's and women's self-definitions as masculine or feminine. Self-defining as masculine or feminine means that the representation of the self is tied to the social categories of 'men' and 'women'. Gender-group identification requires self-categorisation of oneself as male or female, and some degree of psychological attachment associated with belonging to either group. In addition to self-definition, others will use physical appearance and biological sex to attribute gender identity.

Women's educational attainment at degree level is higher than men's in the UK. In 2017-2018, women made up 57% of students in higher education (Catalyst, 2019). Nonetheless, women were still the minority in stereotypically masculine fields including science and technology, computer science and business. Nonetheless, flexible working arrangements and a rise in the state pension age has led to an increase of women's representation in the workforce. Over two-thirds (71.8%) of working-age women are employed, compared to 80.3% of working-age men. The gender pay gap is smaller than recent

years but stands at 17.9%, primarily reflecting women's underrepresentation in prestigious and senior positions (Bohnet, 2018).

Specifically looking at women's representation in leadership, there is a pattern of decline towards the upper echelons. Women represent 37% of manages and directors but only 29% of board positions in the FTSE 100 (Catalyst, 2019). In addition, once in board positions, women have shorter tenure, are less likely to be promoted to more senior roles than their male counterparts, and are more likely to have senior roles that are not functional (Vinnicombe, Atewologun, & Battista, 2019), which suggests that attitudes may not have shifted but social and governmental pressures are making a change.

The Research Gaps

Summary of Inconsistencies

The last two decades have seen a shift in organisations' approach to 'talent.' Since the 'War for Talent' publication by Steven Hankin for McKinsey in 1997, the competitive advantage perceived to be obtainable by recruiting, retaining, and promoting talented or high-potential employees has led to talent management taking precedent over previously prioritised human resources processes. As discussed above, 'talent' or 'high-potential', consistently refers to those with the ability to acquire, and successfully fulfil, leadership roles. Therefore, when I discuss 'talent' or 'high-potentials,' I do so under the consensus that this talent or potential is specifically for leadership. The lack of consistency with regards to the definition of leadership potential is less than ideal, as organisations continue to refer to both conceptual and situational definitions. Examining *perceptions of* leadership potential instead of aiming to measure leadership potential is one of the ways in which this research overcomes these issues.

An additional observation that is particularly pertinent is that organisations, management consultants, and industrial-organisational practitioners continue to publish works on the traits, attributes or indicators that they argue are most reliable, valid, and highly

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predictive of leadership potential. It is evident that after more than two-decades of work on the topic of leadership potential, there appears to be no 'silver bullet' (Silzer & Church, 2015) for measures that effectively and consistently identify leadership potential. It is likely that a combination of attributes and skills is most predictive of leadership potential. The evident gap in the research is how these constructs should be operationalised. If these indicators are in fact effective predictors of leadership potential, then research should be conducted to identify the most objective and accurate ways of measuring these constructs. This can be a first step in eliminating managerial bias in assessments of leadership potential. This thesis addresses this issue by preceding the measures assumed to be objective, and instead applying a social psychological framework to better understand the contextual factors that influence decisions over and above 'objective' criteria.

This thesis will address a third research gap; the lack of a social psychological perspective in understanding the decision-making process surrounding assessments of leadership potential. The role of personal, group, and social contextual factors in influencing leadership decisions has been evidenced considerably. As with any constructs that rely on the evaluations of others, leadership potential is challenging to objectively measure and confine to a set of personality or character attributes. Instead, leadership potential should be considered as a construct that is perceivable, and thus open to influence and bias based on an immeasurable number of factors. A psychological approach to understanding the antecedents of perceived leadership potential is something that has been touched upon in the literature infrequently (e.g. Dries et al., 2013) but is not something that has been explored empirically. Thus, leadership potential being "in the eye of the beholder" (Heslin, 2009) is likely to have substantial truth, yet an investigation of this is largely absent from the literature. This research contributes to a growing interest in the *preference for potential* phenomenon (Tormala, Jia, & Norton, 2012). Player and colleagues (2015, 2019) developed this line of work to demonstrate that this

phenomenon is more likely reserved for men and not women in organisational leadership. Player and colleagues (2015, 2019) found that women's leadership performance is preferred for hiring, whereas men's leadership potential is preferred. I take a step back to examine instead how leadership potential is *perceived* for men and women, to examine gender bias in this process.

A social psychological approach. Without a social psychological approach to understanding the processes evaluating leadership potential, an understanding of what determines both evaluations of leadership potential and leadership potential itself cannot be acquired. The value of a social psychological approach to understanding perceptions of leadership potential cannot be utilised if the approach is not embedded within a robust theoretical framework.

A social psychological approach requires consideration of the individual, interpersonal, or group factors affecting perceptions, attitudes, decisions, and behaviours. There is no doubt that research in psychology has contributed to the identification of indicators of leadership potential, as well as models of leadership potential, but a framework in which the subjectivities surrounding evaluations can be better understood is lacking. This thesis aims to address this gap by applying and extending the social identity approach (Turner et al., 1987), a theoretically grounded and empirically supported approach to studying group processes, with a growing body of work for understanding these processes, including leadership, within the context of organisations.

The social identity literature (Tajfel & Turner, 1978; Turner et al., 1987) is vast in its evidence of group-based processes such as leadership. The approach posits that contextual shifts from the interpersonal to the intergroup elicits simultaneous shifts in the salience of an individual's personal to social identity. The social identity that becomes salient is dependent on the social context and the identity most relevant to the individual within that. Although I

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will provide greater depth on the social identity approach in the following chapter, I will introduce two 'gaps' in the literature in this chapter. The first is leadership potential. Whereas the social identity approach provides a well-documented perspective on leader emergence and effectiveness, leadership potential as a group-based leadership process has been somewhat overlooked. I will apply traditional approaches to the study of leader emergence and effectiveness from a social identity perspective to better understand perceptions of leadership potential. The second gap in the social identity literature is the inclusion of and reference to the role of sociodemographic identities, namely gender. The social identity approach provides a well-documented perspective on intragroup and intergroup identity, but little attention has been paid to the role of sociodemographic diversity within the context of leadership and specifically identifying future leaders.

Therefore, this thesis applies a social psychological framework to address both sides of the coin with respect to better understanding the role of bias and subjectivity in the evaluation process and the underrepresentation of gender in the leadership talent pipeline.

Research Questions

Groups form in every circumstance – from a random event affecting multiple persons collectively, to well-established long-term globally-spanning groups, such as religion. Membership of any group elicits psychological attachment in individual members. Understanding the psychology of groups has allowed us to better understand how psychological attachment to groups guides individual attitudes, emotional affect and ultimately behaviour. With an interest in expanding our understanding of leadership potential as a group processes that can explain both subjectivity and unequal outcomes, there are two primary questions which drive this research.

My first research question relates to the process of identifying leadership potential – 'what are some of the social psychological factors that affect evaluator perceptions of

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leadership potential?' Relatively few high-potentials can offer their organisations a stark advantage in terms of productivity (Aguinis & Bradley, 2015). Conversely, up to 40% of those identified as high-potential fail (Cappelli & Keller, 2014; Martin & Schmidt, 2010). Social psychology has well-documented the subjective nature of human social interaction, perception, and attitude formation. More specifically, group psychology has provided a robust theoretical perspective in which to better understand subjectivities in interpersonal and intergroup perception and attitude formation towards our group members. This thesis is concerned with understanding how groups and identities shape individuals' perceptions of the leadership potential of others in their organisation. That is, treating the organisational group as a lens in which to examine the role of group processes in identifying leadership potential in group members.

Why leadership potential? Traditionally, it has been assumed that leadership potential can be predicted based on early indicators, such as the performance of employees in their role. However, as employees progress through the echelons of an organisation, the requirements and responsibilities associated with senior positions become more nuanced – seniority comes with greater power and influence, responsibility and ultimately leadership. The changing demands of consumers and clients, as well as the economic, political and social context among other things, makes organisational goals more ambiguous and harder to attain. The abilities that led the individual to progress at early stages in one's career are no longer the abilities required for success at senior levels. For this reason, accurately identifying and nurturing 'talent' has become a strategic priority. The concept of identifying successful future leaders is not new. Organisations have spent decades developing measures to predict employees' leadership potential from modelling the skills, traits and abilities of current leaders and predicting career trajectories. Yet, many organisations are not confident about the effectiveness of their processes for identifying potential (Corporate Research Forum, 2016). What is an emerging

concept however, is how a psychological lens can help to better understand why these measures are not more effective. My role in this research is to identify *some* of the social psychological variables that affect what organisations strive to make objective, valid, and highly predictive assessments of leadership potential.

Research question two relates to diversity in the identification of leadership potential -'how do social psychological factors interact with evaluator and target gender to affect perceptions of leadership potential?' This thesis treats these questions as two sides of the same coin. I expect that the potential psychological variables affecting assessments of leadership potential may also explain the underrepresentation of women in senior leadership positions in the UK. In the literature on leadership potential to date, the role of the 'like me' hypothesis, old boys' club, and managerial mindsets have been touched upon to indicate lack of objectivity in assessments. Additionally, a plethora of research exists on the extent of unequal outcomes in leadership attainment for women and potential reasons for this. However, no published works have yet connected the subjective role of group processes in assessments of leadership potential with unequal outcomes for women as a workplace group.

Drawing on the group processes literature, this thesis aims to achieve an understanding of the interaction between traditional group processes (and group identities) and diversity (sociodemographic identities) to shed light on how evaluators assess leadership potential. Therefore, the psychological variables of interest in this research relate to organisational group membership and sociodemographic differences to provide new insights on sociodemographic differences in leadership attainment.

Thesis Outline

In this chapter I have summarised the literature to date on the indicators of leadership potential widely considered to have the most predictive validity and the theoretical models that have consolidated these indicators to assist organisational practice. The current 'state of play' for

women in leadership in the UK and how this may be explained by subjectivity in assessments of leadership potential has been outlined. I have also stated the overarching research questions.

Chapter 2 provides a rationale for the theoretical framework applied to this research. The chapter summarises our understanding of gender bias in organisational decision-making from social psychological theories and empirical evidence of gender bias in leadership attainment. In addition, the social identity approach is introduced in this chapter, and parallels are drawn between gender bias and social identity bias in leadership attainment. Drawing on growing theory and empirical research on social identity in organisational contexts, the chapter conceptualises the research gaps identified in this chapter into one social psychological framework. To this regard, the framework provides the potential to guide thinking around the two barriers to reliable identification of leadership potential: 'accurate' measurement and gender bias. The social identity approach provides a robust theoretical framework in which to examine both sides of the coin. First, it emphasises the role of organisational members' position and relationship to the group as taking precedent over more objective indicators of future leadership effectiveness. In addition, it demonstrates the barriers faced by more marginal group members in gaining power and influence over other group members. This chapter therefore provides the social psychological foundations for the empirical chapters.

Chapter 3 empirically tests the role of ingroup prototypicality on perceptions of leadership potential for male and female prospective leaders. Testing the first research question in this thesis, the chapter examines whether perceptions of a target's organisation prototypicality and performance influence others' perceptions of their leadership potential. Testing the second research question, the chapter examines whether the recognition of leadership potential is more challenging for female prospective leaders than male prospective leaders when evaluators are male. This chapter utilises hypothetical promotion experiments

which manipulate the prototypicality, performance, and gender of applicants for a highpotential leadership programme.

Chapter 4 tests the role of organisational identification on leadership potential. Partially replicating the experimental designs of *Chapter 3* using the same promotion scenarios, this chapter instead manipulates the organisational identification and gender of the leadership applicants. Again, testing both research questions, these studies examine whether a) an individual's relationship with the organisation affects others' perceptions of their leadership potential and b) the gender of the evaluator and gender of the target interact with organisational identification to affect perceptions of the target's leadership potential. This chapter also aims to identify the presence of a "halo effect" in social identity constructs by examining the attributions given to employees whose embeddedness within the organisation is high. I examine whether attributions of greater performance, commitment, and motivation explain preferences for highly-identified targets. Finally, this chapter also investigates the role of interpersonal similarity to explore the finding that men differentiate between male and female potential leaders.

Chapter 5 strengthens the methodological approach of this thesis in two ways. First, the sample is representative of the exact phenomena under investigation – data from managers is collected on the employees for which they are responsible for evaluating and making promotion decisions. Thus, the sample is truly representative. Utilising a field experiment and correlational field study design, the chapter investigates the role of social identity constructs and employee gender on forming perceptions of employee leadership potential. Extending the experimental findings of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, this chapter explores the relationships between these constructs in a truly representative sample.

Chapter 6 examines the influence of social identity and social constructs on self-rated leadership potential. Drawing on new literatures on the role of feedback and social cues on

individual outcomes such as engagement, motivation, and performance, this chapter investigates how social identity and stereotype cues can affect individual's perceptions of their own potential to lead. Using a field study correlational design, *Study 9* identifies the role of self-rated social identity constructs on self-rated leadership potential, considering the interaction with gender to examine whether social identity constructs affects men and women differently. *Study 10* then examines the broader social context, examining the role of social stereotypes about the attributes of men and women.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis by providing a summary of key findings, limitations, future research directions, and practical implications.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided insight into the practical organisational issues that persist alongside organisations' increasing investment in talent management and diversity in leadership. Treating these issues as two sides of the same coin, the subjective nature of leadership potential evaluations, this chapter provides the context for the wider thesis. I have summarised the key indicators of leadership potential and evaluated the prominent models that utilise these indicators to assist organisations with effectively identifying future leaders. Highlighting the lack of a social psychological perspective in these models to account for the role of subjectivity and gender bias in decision-making, I present the research questions that this thesis aims to address and how each of the following chapters in this thesis provides theoretical and empirical support for this approach. In the next chapter I provide the rationale for the theoretical framework that will guide the empirical research.

Chapter 2: Parallels Between Gender Bias and Social Identity Bias

Chapter Overview

I begin this chapter by summarising the evidence for gender bias in workplace evaluations to demonstrate the disadvantageous outcomes that occur for women in selection, performance and promotion appraisals, and leadership attainment. I then describe in detail the theories of gender bias present in the social psychology literature that have, to date, framed the empirical findings for the role of traditional gender roles and gender stereotypes in perceptions of women's leadership suitability. This lays the foundation for introducing the social identity approach and its key constructs, another social psychological theory that has underpinned significant advancements in our understanding of leadership and leadership processes, albeit with limited focus on the role of organisational gender diversity. I provide a rationale for how the social identity approach may be extended to explain a) how organisational evaluators may perceive leadership potential specifically and b) why women may be disadvantaged in the identification of organisational leadership potential from this perspective. Extending the theorising of the social identity approach, I conclude with three overarching propositions that will shape the remainder of this thesis and the aims and approach to examining these.

Gender and sociodemographic bias in workplace evaluations

Chapter 1 outlined previous research on the indicators of leadership potential widely considered objectively measurable. In this section I present the evidence from social psychology which suggests that workplace evaluations are not objective and in fact frequently lead to biased outcomes at the detriment of women and other socially disadvantaged and minority workplace groups. Extant literature in social psychology has examined the role of gender biases in organisational decision-making at multiple career stages. These levels include selection, performance and promotion appraisals, and leadership attainment.

Selection. Experimental studies examining the role of bias in hiring often adopt hiring simulation designs. In these designs, matched job applications or Curriculum Vitaes (CVs) are given to participants to assess the candidates on numerous measures, including hireability. All information is kept consistent across the job applications/ CVs with the exception of the candidate's demographic variables that are of interest to the researcher. For example, hiring studies examining gender bias may ask participants (i.e., evaluators) to either evaluate a single CV that is either presented as a male or female applicant's CV in a between-participants design, or compare two matched CVs in which the applicants have the same qualifications, experience, performance, and characteristics, but the candidate gender is either presented as "male" or "female."

Examples of hiring simulation studies include Steinpreis, Anders, and Ritzke (1999) and Rice and Barth (2016). Steinpreis and colleagues (1999) presented participants (academic psychologists) with a prospective CV and found that although CVs were otherwise identical, both men and women were more likely to hire the male applicant than the female applicant. Further gender bias was evidenced in participants' reporting that the male applicant had demonstrated sufficient teaching, research, and service experience compared to the identical female applicant. However, this gender bias only occurred for job applicants and was

attenuated for early tenure-track applicants suggesting that, for women who are exceptional, gender bias in hiring is less likely to occur. In another hypothetical hiring scenario, Rice and Barth (2016) found that men rated male job applicants more favourably, but this bias was stronger when participants experienced stereotype-congruent priming (i.e., women in traditional roles) and weaker when they experienced stereotype-incongruent priming (i.e., women in non-traditional roles). Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, and Handelsman (2012) examined gender bias in science faculty's evaluations of male and female applicants. They found that faculty rated the male applicant as more competent and hireable, offered a higher starting salary and more career mentoring than the identical female applicant. In addition, both men and women evaluators exhibited this gender bias.

Bosak and Sczesny (2011) demonstrated that social role information (e.g., the nature of one's job) is more important for hiring than gender. The findings of their experimental study showed that women who were presented as leaders were shortlisted and hired as frequently as male leaders with the same qualifications. However, when no role information was provided women were shortlisted at the same rate but hired at lower rates than men. This gender bias was driven by male participants. According to the shifting standards model, when group members are perceived to be deficient in certain traits or attributes, they are held to higher standards (Biernat, 2003), which explains why women were not hired at the same rate. Also evidencing a different standard for women than men, Phelan, Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2008) found that agentic women are perceived to be competent but deficient in social skills. Whilst other applicants were hired based on their competence, evaluators attributed negative hiring outcomes to agentic women's perceived lack of social skills, thus criteria were shifted to the detriment of agentic women's hiring outcomes. Mothers, as well as agentic women, are disadvantaged in hiring evaluations. Studies by Correll and Benard (2006) and Correll, Benard, and Paik (2006) found that mothers had less chance of being hired than non-mothers and

fathers. In addition, women who become mothers are perceived as less competent but higher in warmth, whereas men who become fathers are perceived as maintaining competence whilst gaining warmth (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). Furthermore, intersectional identities are more likely to interact at the detriment of hiring outcomes for women but not men. Nadler and Kufahl (2014) found that sexual-orientation and marital status predicted hireability for women, but men's intersectional identities had no impact on hiring outcomes for them.

A meta-analysis of experimental studies conducted by Olian, Schwab, and Haberfeld (1988) found primarily that hiring recommendations were more frequent for males than females when controlling for qualifications. However, a number of factors, including within vs. between participants design moderated the results. More recently, Koch and colleagues' (2015) meta-analysis has demonstrated that employment bias against women is still rife. They examined the role of gender stereotypes and bias in experimental simulations of employment decision-making and found that the context influences bias, with bias against women more prevalent in male-dominated domains. For example, across the experimental simulations, men were preferred for hiring in male-dominated jobs but neither gender was preferred for hiring in female-dominated jobs. In addition, and as demonstrated consistently in the literature, male participants exhibited stronger gender-role congruity bias than female participants. To examine the validity of the notion that providing further information about the ratee reduces gender-role congruity bias, Koch and colleagues found that bias towards women was reduced only when the additional information indicated high performance. No other additional information attenuated the gender bias. In line with Steinpreis et al, and in support of the shifting standards model, women must be exceptional in ordered to be hired at the same rate as non-exceptional men.

Hiring bias is not limited to gender. Extant research points to hiring bias against minority ethnic/ racial individuals (Correll & Benard, 2006; Wade, Romano, & Blue, 2004),

individuals with a disability (Drehmer & Bordieri, 1985; Gouvier, Sytsma-Jordan, & Mayville, 2003; Stone & Sawatzki, 1980), overweight individuals (Angerström & Rooth, 2011; Grant & Mizzi, 2014; Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, & Spring, 1994) and those of a minority sexualorientation (Nadler & Kufahl, 2014) as well as other protected characteristics. Ultimately, a hiring bias against those who belong to a socially disadvantaged or minority group suggests that it is harder for these individuals to permeate the boundaries of organisational groups. That is, it is more difficult for these individuals to move from the "outgroup" to the organisational "ingroup" compared to their majority or privileged counterparts. In the next section, I will discuss bias in performance appraisals and promotion decisions. With performance and promotion appraisals, candidates are already members of the organisational "ingroup". Nevertheless, research still evidences that members of social and workplace minorities are still hindered in these evaluations.

Performance and promotion appraisal. Unlike hiring, performance and promotion appraisals are concerned with those members already in the group. As such, we could assume that bias towards individuals from minority and disadvantaged groups is less likely to occur. However, research instead shows that performance ratings are typically lower and promotion opportunities are harder to access for these groups. For example, Ng, Eby, Sorensen, and Feldman (2005) found that sociodemographic factors (i.e. gender and ethnicity) are predictors of objective career success (measured by salary level and promotions) compared to individual differences factors which are predictors of subjective career success (measured by career satisfaction). For women, a labyrinth to leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2007) suggests that women's internal career paths are more likely to be characterised by setbacks, slower progression and ultimately fewer promotions to leadership positions.

When women are in management positions that are characterised by power or influence over others, they receive lower performance ratings compared to men in the same position

(Lyness & Heilman, 2006). However, as discussed previously, gender bias in evaluations is less likely to occur when the female target is unquestionably excellent. Women who are managers are evaluated as less competent only when ambiguity exists regarding their success (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). Nonetheless, when a woman's success is explicit, they are less likely to be interpersonally liked (Heilman et al., 2004), which can cause barriers to progression in itself (Koch et al., 2015; Rink et al., 2019). Using real-life field data, Bowen, Swim, and Jacobs (2000) found a significant pro-male performance bias from male evaluators. Pro-male performance bias has been empirically demonstrated elsewhere (e.g., Davison & Burke, 2000; Nieva & Gutek, 1980) though the extent to which pro-male bias exists in performance appraisals has been disputed as results are inconsistent (Bauer & Baltes, 2002). Psychology students evaluated male and female instructors' performance and results showed that instructor gender had no direct effect on performance ratings. However, evaluators' attributions of masculinity were related to the performance appraisal, but this was moderated by attitudes towards women as college instructors. This suggests that attitudes towards gender roles may be more indicative of the nature of gender bias than gender itself. When primed with a low-performing target, evaluators inflated the performance appraisal of an average performing target, but this inflation was more pronounced for male targets than female targets (Woehr & Roch, 1996).

Performance ratings are often critical for promotion opportunities. Biernat, Tocci, and Williams (2011) found that in a law firm, male supervisors judged male attorneys more favourably than female attorneys on the performance criteria that was necessary for promotion. This was contrary to their written feedback, that was not necessary for promotion, which favoured women. These results show that gender bias towards women is subtle, nuanced within feedback and appraisals that do and do not make the difference for promotion opportunities. Controlling for performance and ability, Blau and Varo (2006) found that women are less likely

to gain promotion or be evaluated as having promotion potential than men, but this bias does not correlate with wage growth. This finding suggests that although women may be disadvantaged in promotion for greater responsibility and ultimately leadership, the bias may not transfer to resource allocation. Thus, gender bias may be limited to restricting women from leadership attainment, which increase their power and influence, but not other career resources which do not necessarily increase their power and influence.

Leadership attainment. Linked to both hiring and promotion, attaining a leadership position as a non-leader is harder for women than for men. Research has shown that this leadership barrier is likely to be context-dependent, with women even less likely to reach leadership positions in sectors that are considered to be typically masculine compared to feminine. For example, Koch and colleagues' (2015) meta-analysis highlighted the role of both stereotypes and interpersonal liking which reinforce each other in leadership hiring decisions. When determining succession potential, male leaders are more likely to rely on perceptions of interpersonal fit, specifically the absence of perceived fit leads to negative evaluations of succession potential for male leaders evaluating successors but not female leaders (Rink, Stoker, Ryan, Steffens, & Pieterse, 2019). The nature of these evaluations demonstrates further disadvantage for women who do not benefit from the same quality of organisational networks that men do (McDonald, 2011).

Leadership categorization theory suggests that leaders' characteristics must match evaluators' leader schemas to be perceived as an effective leader. However, Nye and Forsyth (1991) found that gender bias interacted with leader schemas, with evaluators relying on prototype-based evaluations for female leaders only. In addition, once women are in leadership positions, their performance and behaviour are more likely to be evaluated negatively. Women leaders are perceived to be insufficiently communal (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010). A meta-analysis by Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky (1992) examined

experimental evaluations of male and female leaders whose attributes were held constant. Overall, a small but consistent bias against women was found in terms of less favourable evaluations, and this bias was stronger when the leadership style was more traditionally masculine, the role was male-dominated, or the evaluators were men.

Hiring, performance appraisals, and promotion decisions are likely to contribute to perceptions of leadership potential (and consequential leadership attainment), in which the evaluator considers, among other attributes, the individual's track record. For women who experience gender bias at each stage of their career trajectory, this hindered track record then justifies lower rates of leadership attainment. To this regard, gender bias towards women perpetuates throughout the career lifecycle. In addition to using previously biased assessments, organisational evaluators of leadership potential are likely to apply their own biases to their assessments, disadvantaging women further. In the following section I will summarise the emerging social psychology literature on bias in assessments of leadership potential.

Leadership potential

Understanding the role and importance of leadership potential is not a new concept. As highlighted in the literature review in *Chapter 1*, organisations invest significant time and resource into assessment tools for measuring employees' leadership potential. What has to date gone largely empirically unexplored is the subjective nature of leadership potential. Leadership potential, like other leadership-related constructs, is context- and evaluator-dependent.

Tormala, Jia, and Norton (2012) empirically established the *preference for potential* effect. Across sport, art, leadership, and other domains, they found that individuals will endorse an inferior performance if the individual performing promises future potential. However, Kupor, Tormala, and Norton (2014) found that tolerance for uncertainty moderates the preference for potential effect, such that it occurs only when tolerance for uncertainty is high. When tolerance for uncertainty is high, potential stimulates greater information processing and

interest which elicits more favourable evaluations. Another moderator of the preference for potential effect is leader gender. Player and colleagues (2019) utilised hiring simulation studies in a partial replication of Tormala and colleagues (2012) and found that while men were hired for leadership based on their leadership potential, women were promoted based on their leadership performance. This boundary condition for gender is reversed when high-potential women are perceived to be valuable for meeting an organisation's diversity goals (Leslie, Manchester, & Dahm, 2017). Overall, the research to date indicates that assessments of potential disadvantage women. Even when women's performance and skills are rated as higher than men's, gender differences in ratings of management potential in the direction of those performance differences, hindering promotion decisions for promoting women into leadership (Shore, 1992).

The Corporate Research Forum (2016) reported that 53% of organisations are somewhat dissatisfied with their assessments of leadership potential. One of the reasons for this dissatisfaction was reported as a lack of objectivity, driven by managers' assessment capability, the calibration of ratings given to different people, and the non-use of independent assessments. These findings are in line with arguments from Dries (2013), which state that the usefulness of developing assessments for leadership potential are often countered by evaluators' personal preferences and biases. To avoid looking in-depth at work that has already been conducted to identify attributes useful for assessments of leadership potential, this research is concerned with the antecedents of *perceived* leadership potential. That is, what are the factors which drive subjective evaluations of leadership potential and why might this be detrimental for organisations trying to identify employees who will make the best leaders in the future. An understanding of the subjective nature of leadership potential may explain why measures are not more effective, why organisations are dissatisfied with the way that it is generally measured and why women are still disadvantaged in attaining leadership positions.

Social Psychological Explanations for Gender Bias in Workplace Evaluations

I have summarised the social psychological empirical evidence which demonstrates gender bias at all formal stages of the career process, from hiring through to leadership attainment. Next, I will outline the prominent social psychology theories that both underpin and shed further light on the empirical findings that have been summarised above.

Social Role Theory. The premise of social role theory (Eagly, 1987) is that social expectations of men and women are prescribed based on the traditional social roles that men and women would most typically occupy. Women's traditional role of being "caregivers" and men's traditional role of being "providers" led to the socially-constructed notion that these are the roles that gender groups *should* play in society. That is, the frequency at which these associations are observed (i.e., the overrepresentation of gender groups in specific roles) has created a social norm of 'gendered roles' (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2012; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Additionally, the attributes and behaviours displayed by individuals in those roles (i.e. those required to successfully fulfil the role) have embedded assumptions and perceptions around the characteristics of the gender group performing them. For example, women's overrepresentation in teaching, childminding, and nursing, has led to the assumption that women must possess the traits and attributes that depict communality, such as warmth and sensitivity (Koenig & Eagly, 2014).

Once social norms are established in a group, group members who act counterstereotypically receive backlash for threatening the established status quo and expectations of how members of society should behave. Expectancy-violation theory (Burgoon, 1986; Burgoon & Jones, 1976) provides a framework in which to make sense of individuals who violate others' expectations of them. Those who violate stereotyped expectations of their ingroup receive more extreme evaluations (Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997). This explains why women who act in an agentic way, against their

communal stereotype, receive backlash (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012; Rudman & Phelan, 2008).

Social role theory underpins other social psychological approaches for making sense of attitudes and behaviours towards members of social groups. For example, the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) posits that societal groups are stereotyped across two primary dimensions: warmth (e.g., caring, nurturing, kind) and competence (e.g., intelligent, able, skilled). Thus, groups are perceived as a combination of cold or warm and incompetent or competent along a continuum. Each unique combination of these dimensions to depict a stereotyped perception of a social group elicits a unique response in terms of attitudes towards that group. Thus, in line with the expectancy-violation theory and the backlash effect, women who are perceived to be competent but not warm are evaluated more negatively and standards are shifted at the detriment of their hiring outcomes, even when these attributes are perceived to be necessary for career success (Phelan et al., 2008).

Role Congruity Theory. Drawing on social role theory, role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) posits that the traits typically attributed to men and women (i.e., gender stereotypes) are (in)congruent with different roles. Whereas women are stereotyped as warm, caring, and kind, men are stereotyped as assertive, dominant, and independent. The attributes associated with men and women (due to the nature of the roles that they have traditionally undertaken) has led to greater congruency between the stereotype of men and the stereotype of leaders. Role congruity theory suggests two propositions that this gender-(in)congruency with leadership elicits.

The first proposition is that individuals hold negative perceptions of women's potential to lead. The second proposition is that once in a position of leadership, individuals are more likely to make negative evaluations of women's performance and behaviour in that position.

While many studies have not directly measured perceptions of women's leadership potential, empirical support for the role of gender stereotypes and (in)congruency with leadership is vast and much of this has been outlined in the previous section. For example, research demonstrating the automatic nature of gender and leader associations has utilised implicit measures as well as explicit evaluations (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Rudman & Kilianski, 2000; Rudman & Phelan, 2010) to demonstrate the automatic associations that individuals hold regarding stereotype-congruent and stereotype-incongruent roles.

A female 'leadership advantage'. There has been some evidence to suggest that exceptional women do not experience gender bias. There is also evidence to suggest that women can sometimes benefit from a *leadership advantage* (Eagly & carli, 2003). The female leadership advantage suggests that the leadership style of women has become increasingly more favourable. While research in the field of social psychology has contested gender differences in leadership styles (e.g., Kanter, 1997; van Engen, van der Leeden, & Williemsen, 2001), women leaders are more likely to have to balance the contesting identities of being a woman and being a leader. Eagly (2007) suggests that women leaders may effectively adopt a "middle ground" between communal and agentic attributes, demonstrating an idealised transformational leadership style. To support this, Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen's (2003) meta-analysis showed that women were more likely to adopt a transformational leadership style than men. For example, Powell, Butterfield, and Bartol (2008) demonstrated that female transformational leaders received more positive evaluations than male transformational leaders using an experimental design with hypothetical leaders. This preference was particularly pronounced for female evaluators and no female leader preference was found when leaders were transactional. Therefore, the female leadership advantage represents an attenuation of gender bias in evaluations of women leaders only when they have

an idealised leadership style (i.e., are exceptional). As the barriers to women attaining leadership positions still exists (Eagly, 2007), particularly in male-dominated domains, it is challenge to identify practically where any form of female leadership advantage may persist (for a full review of the contradictions, see Eagly, 2007).

The question of whether or when women may experience an advantage in leadership attainment can be answered by the research on 'glass cliff' metaphor. The glass cliff posits that women's apparent 'advantage' in attaining leadership positions may in fact be moderated by contexts in which the leadership position is risky or precarious (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Ryan and Haslam's (2005) archival study examining the performance of FTSE 100 companies before and after the appointment of a new board member showed that companies who appointed women to their boards were significantly more likely to have declining company performance in the five months before the board appointment compared to those companies that appointed male board members. There has been significant empirical evidence to support the glass cliff phenomenon (e.g., Ryan et al., 2016). Contextual factors influencing the glass cliff include gender and leadership stereotypes (Bruckmüller & Branscombe, 2010; Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011). For example, Bruckmüller and Branscombe (2010) found that the glass cliff phenomena occurred when the successful company had a history of male leadership but not successful female leadership. In addition, stereotypically female attributes were chosen in times of crisis, but stereotypically male attributes were chosen in times of success. Therefore, gender stereotypes may be more indicative of the nature of the glass cliff than gender itself. Furthermore, the glass cliff is more likely to occur when company performance is attributed to a past leader, driven by female prospective leaders being perceived as more likely to signal change as non-traditional leaders (Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, Iacoviello, Faniko, & Ryan, 2015).

Examining the female leadership advantage suggests that there are limited contexts in which women truly benefit from positive perceptions of their leadership ability and

effectiveness in the same way that men do. For example, women's attainment of leadership positions is limited to either exceptional performance or precarious leadership positions likely to result in failure. Once leaders, female leaders can benefit from positive performance evaluations only when they demonstrate the leadership style that is required to effectively balance their conflicting gender and role identities. It makes sense then to suggest that perceptions of women's leadership potential are also likely to be biased to the detriment of women's progression.

Gender and Leadership Potential. Since Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory, social psychological research has largely overlooked measuring perceptions of leadership potential specifically. Research examining the role of gender bias and leadership has focused instead on immediate leadership attainment (i.e. promoting women into a leadership position), or evaluations of women leaders not including their potential to lead. What is also missing is a broader social psychological perspective on how perceptions of leadership potential are formed. It makes sense then to examine how a social psychological framework may be applied to better understand perceptions of leadership potential as a unique process, and to integrate insights on gender and organisational leadership to provide a more holistic perspective on why women may be perceived to have less leadership potential than their male counterparts.

In the following section I will introduce the social identity approach as a theoretical framework that has received a plethora of empirical support. The social identity approach has been increasingly applied to the study of group and leadership processes in organisational contexts. While it provides rich insights on these processes, drawing on empirical findings from wider social contexts, social identity scholars have typically overlooked the role of organisational gender diversity when it comes to leadership. To address this gap, the social

identity approach provides a suitable framework from which to build this thesis and examine perceptions of leadership potential and the role of gender in this process.

The social identity approach in organisational research

The social identity approach offers a useful framework in which to understand the role of individual identities and group processes across contexts. The approach has been increasingly applied to organisational contexts, which demonstrates the role of organisations in providing the existential need for a sense of self (Alvession, Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008), a need to belong (Ashforth & Schinoff, 2016; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Vignoles et al., 2006) and self-esteem (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000). Drawing on different levels of organisational groups, from work team to department to organisation, research from the social identity approach has demonstrated that these memberships guide group-based attitudes and actions, including intragroup processes (e.g., leadership selection) and intergroup comparisons (e.g., collaboration and competition). It makes sense then to examine the role of social identity in forming perceptions of leadership potential, as has been done with many other organisational processes, such as mergers (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden, & de Lima, 2002), reactions to transgressive leaders (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchison, 2008; Abrams, Randsley de Moura, & Travaglino, 2013), and support for organisational goals (Haslam, Eggins, & Reynolds, 2003). In doing so, we may shed light on the nature of subjectivities in evaluations of organisational leadership potential to provide a social psychological perspective on the current lack of congruence between applying predictors of leadership potential and the outcomes of high-potential identification (Finkelstein et al., 2018).

Social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. There are two components of the social identity approach: social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1978) and the addition of self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987). The premise of social identity theory is that

individuals develop a sense of their who they are (i.e., a sense of 'self') based on their personal identity and their social identity.

Personal identity is based on the individual traits and characteristics that are unique to the self, such as personal attributes, skills, and abilities. In interpersonal comparisons, these characteristics are what make the individual unique. Social identity on the other hand is based on the social groups and categories to which individuals belong and the unique attributes of these groups. In intergroup comparisons, these characteristics are what make the group, and not the individual, unique. An understanding of one's personal attributes and social groups allows them to answer the question "who am I?" by reflecting on the personal attributes (e.g., organised, level-headed) and social categories (e.g., PhD researcher, psychologist) relative to others in the social environment.

Salient personal and group identities drive individuals' social behaviour. That is, identities become relevant through comparative processes relative to those around us. The lowest level of behaviour is at the interpersonal level; this behaviour is driven by salient personal identities between the self and another, and is elicited by interpersonal comparison. The highest level of behaviour is at the intergroup level; this behaviour is driven by salient social identity between groups, and is elicited by intergroup comparison.

According to the social identity theory, individuals strive for a positive self-concept which is achieved through 'positive distinctiveness' at both the interpersonal and intergroup level. Positive distinctiveness refers to the goal in which members of an identity group aim to situate themselves as unique, with their 'uniqueness' making them 'better' (more positive) than their comparison group on a given dimension. Whilst uniqueness provides justification for the group's existence, positiveness provides status. Both of these constructs create the positive group identity that is a necessary source of self-esteem. The motivation for a positive group identity is what shapes intergroup behaviour and it provides an explanation for why intergroup

relations are often hostile. In the workplace where groups are often expected to compete for resources and aim to meet independent group goals, the competition and collaboration with other groups threatens the positive group identity and the positive distinctiveness of the group. With competition, group status is threatened. With collaboration, group uniqueness is threatened. Therefore, the intergroup relations that we observe outside of the workplace are also prevalent within the workplace, even under a shared organisational identity.

Self-categorisation theory extends social identity theory. This theory posits that we use our social groups to categorise the individuals with whom we interact. Group membership information allows us to determine our social relationships, identifying individuals as members of the "ingroup," (i.e., belonging to the same social category), or members of the "outgroup," (i.e. belonging to a different social category). As discussed, these categorisations shape intergroup behaviour only when the relevant identity is salient. The theory suggests that without such intergroup comparison, social identity is not salient and intergroup behaviour is not elicited. During times of high social identity salience, group members experience depersonalisation. Depersonalisation is the psychological mechanism that underpins the process of shifting from an individual to a group member. During this process, group members increasingly perceive themselves as homogenous, interchangeable with one another and engage in self-stereotyping. Self-stereotyping serves the purpose of protecting the group's identity.

Research from the social identity perspective has examined gender diversity in the workplace in relation to discrimination (Schmitt Ellemers, & Branscombe, 2003), stigma (Ellemers & Bareeto, 2006), categorisation (Barreto & Ellemers, 2002; 2003), organisational identity (Rink & Ellemers, 2007; 2008), and leader identity (Karelaia & Guillén, 2014). In addition, a body of literature examining the sociodemographic composition of workplace groups is the work conducted on relational demography. However, the relational demography

literature is primarily concerned with the experiences of minority group members in organisations in terms of their attachment and self-identity (Tsui, Egan, O'Reilly, 1991), work group cohesion (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998) and group conflict and performance (Hope Pelled, 1996). A notable exception is Tsui and O'Reilly's (1989) study of relational demography and supervisor-subordinate performance ratings. They found that dissimilarity between the supervisor and superordinate was associated with perceptions of lower performance and less personal attraction as rated by the supervisor. Overall, the relational demography literature suggests that demographic differences affect person-group fit and negative career outcomes for the minority individual (Elfenbein & O'Reilly, 2007).

Sociodemographic diversity in the workplace can arguably represent either an intragroup or intergroup context. For example, sociodemographic diversity can be examined as within-group differences such that members can be of one group and recognise themselves as having diverse demographic characteristics. On the other hand, sociodemographic diversity can be examined as between-group differences. That is, members of the same superordinate group whose demographics form the basis of more relevant, meaningful social identities can form an ingroup and outgroup based on their demographic characteristics. As posited by the social identity approach, the salience of identities is context dependent. Thus, it is likely that groups can experience sociodemographic diversity as both ingroup heterogeneity and as a factor that creates distinct ingroups and outgroups. In the following section, I will introduce the construct of prototypicality to shed more light on how demographic minorities are positioned within a given group.

Prototypicality. Group members are embedded in their multiple social groups to different degrees. Whether or not someone is a member of a group is dichotomous (i.e. ingroup vs. outgroup), but members' centrality within the group is heterogenous across members. According to the social identity approach, central members are those who are most likely to be

prototypical. Prototypical ingroup members are those who best embody and exemplify the most representative form of the group. That is, those who best demonstrate the norms such as the attitudes, actions and behaviours that best define the group identity (Hogg, 2001). Prototypicality as a construct to explain individuals' position in relation to their social groups originated from the notion that group membership is a graded structure in which members of a group are positioned from the most prototypical to the least prototypical. Less prototypical members of the group are more likely to be marginal (Rosch, 1999). Typically, group members are dispersed across this grading, with the frequency of prototypical members being limited by its nature. Other members of the group, and potentially the majority of them, are less likely to exhibit the full typical example of the social category.

The member(s) of the group deemed to be most prototypical benefit from favourable evaluations by the rest of the group (Hogg & Hardie, 1995). As prototypical members of the group represent the group's identity, other members can use their actions, attitudes and advice to guide their own behaviour (Hogg & Reid, 2006). That is, members can seek informational support from prototypical members about what is expected of members of the group in terms of their attitudes and behaviours. The certainty and security provided by prototypical members makes them more trusted to provide this information than peripheral members (Van Knippenberg, 2011). According to Hogg (2000, 2007), the psychological state of uncertainty is aversive and can be alleviated by a stable group identity represented and enforced by prototypical members. In fact, need for closure (i.e. desire for certainty) moderates the reliance on leaders who are prototypical, which is further moderated by ingroup identification (Pierro et al., 2005).

Prototypical members are more liked, and are more successful in encouraging attitude change or a change in group norms because it is believed that they act in favour of the group, even at their own personal detriment (Oakes & Haslam, 1998). In fact, central group members

are most likely to become leaders of the group through the process of leader emergence (Hogg, 2001). I will outline the social identity model of leadership in this chapter, and explain the process of moving from prototypical group member to leader. The value of ingroup prototypicality as a construct of the social identity approach has been demonstrated considerably. Research has informed us of the "halo effect" for these central group members, whereby they benefit from heightened social influence, trust and positions of leadership.

However, research has focused less on marginal or peripheral group members. Marginal members are those who are less likely to embody or exemplify all of the typical attributes associated with group membership (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Unlike core members, these members have some incongruence between the representative group characteristics (i.e. the traits and attributes perceived to be most representative of the group) and individual characteristics (i.e. the traits and attributes perceived to be most representative of the individual). While central members experience major or full overlap between their individual and group characteristics, marginal members have less overlap between these two identities.

To date, there has been very little work published on women as peripheral or marginal members of groups occupied primarily by men (Davis, 2001). Davis argues that members of groups who have insufficient amount of capital are more likely to be considered peripheral. Capital refers to the knowledge, traits, skills, social understanding and relations that the group values and that individuals need to have to actively participate (Davis, 2001). Those who hold the most capital are those who are perceived to be the most prototypical, and there are barriers for members to achieving this status (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In groups occupied primarily by men, gender can act as a boundary condition to acquiring the capital necessary to secure a central position, increase their decision-making power or represent the group. For example, in the science community, stereotypical and sexist attitudes and hierarchical social structures have limited the involvement of women (Seymour, 1995; Stanley & Brickhouse, 1994), limiting

their capital and maintaining their peripheral status. Lack of access to informal networks, those that provide the work-related sponsorship and emotional resources necessary for career success (Ibarra, 1993; Mcpherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001) may explain why women are underrepresented in senior leadership (Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998). Even when women are in control of organisational resources, they receive less support and less investment from members of their network compared to white men (McGuire, 2002). Applying this to the social identity approach specifically, sociodemographic relations play out in organisations, including the processes of categorisation and marginalisation. These processes act to reject members of minority groups as less prototypical and thus inhibit their attainment of leadership positions through limiting influence and ingroup endorsement (Hogg & Terry, 2000).

If prototypical and group centrality are necessary for leader endorsement and women are restricted from acquiring the capital necessary to move from marginal to central members of the group, then the social identity approach provides a robust theoretical avenue in which to examine the interaction between social identity constructs and gender. I will use these arguments to form my theoretical propositions which provide a rationale for applying the social identity approach to understand the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions. Before that I will describe the second social identity construct of interest in this thesis – organisational identification.

Identification. Research on the social identity approach largely focuses on the role of ingroup prototypicality (i.e., one's position in the group relative to other group members) to explain group processes. Yet, representativeness is not indicative of psychological attachment to the group. Just as not all members of a group are central in that they do not fully embody the prototype of the group identity, not all members of the group feel a deep sense of psychological attachment to it. *Identification* is the extent to which an individual is attached to a group to the extent that they derive their sense of self from it. Those who derive self-definition from their

group membership to a lesser extent are those who do not 'identify' (or identify less) with their group. Rather than the member's position in the group (i.e. prototypicality), this construct is concerned with the member's relationship with the group. Identification captures the degree to which members of a group experience psychological attachment and belongingness with their group. Whereas *identity* is categorical (i.e. individuals either belong to a group or they do not), *identification* is continuous (i.e. individuals feel a sense of attachment to their groups to varying degrees).

Prototypicality and identification are interrelated. Typically, the more prototypical a member is of the group, the more likely they are to strongly identify with the group. Nonetheless, this is not always the case and the two constructs are conceptually distinct. Ellemers and Jetten (2013) present prototypicality and marginality as cognitive concepts, a comparison of the individual's attributes in relation to the group's attributes, and identification with the group as an affective concept, a motivational process of belonging and psychological attachment to the group. This means that the extent to which a group member identifies with their group is more likely to be under their personal control. Whereas a member's prototypicality and centrality depends on the factors outside of an individual's control, such as the attributes of other members and the identifies of other groups, members can choose the extent to which they are associated with the group (Ellemers, Kortekaas, & Ouwerkerk, 1999; Leach et al., 2008).

Research has documented the benefits of individual identification for positive group outcomes in organisational settings. For example, high identifiers are more likely to engage in organisational citizenship behaviour (Van Dick, Grojean, Christ, & Wieseke, 2006). Highidentifiers are also more likely to out-perform low-identifiers, driven by a motivation to exert additional effort on behalf of the group (van Knippenberg, 2001).

To date, little research has been published to examine actual differences or perceived differences in men and women's organisational identification. Applying the rationale that marginal members of the group are less likely to identify with the group, because they are more likely to be disengaged (Martin & Epitropaki, 2001; Steffens & Haslam, 2017) or because they are less likely to defend the group against identity threats (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Spears, Jetten, & Doosje, 2001), may explain why women are less likely to be perceived as having leadership potential and why women are underrepresented in leadership positions. Perhaps as marginal members, women are perceived by men, who are more likely to be central group members and thus be more likely to be highly identified with the group, to be less likely to identify and thus less likely to engage in group-oriented behaviour, self-sacrifice, and appeal to wider group interests, which are all key expectations of effective leaders. This notion is supported by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) who found that high-identifiers are more likely to endorse the leader prototypicality and leader group-oriented behaviour than low-identifiers.

I will explore the relationship between evaluator gender, target gender, and evaluator and target identification in this thesis to examine how they may collectively contribute to the perception of women's leadership potential.

The social identity theory of leadership. I have explained the social identity approach in organisational contexts and provided detailed insights on the role of key social identity constructs of prototypicality and identification. During this process, I have touched upon the process of leadership and how it relates to these constructs. Now, I will describe and explain the social identity approach to leadership in more detail to lay the foundations for how social identity and sociodemographic gender diversity may explain perceptions of leadership potential.

The social identity approach to leadership situates group leaders as first and foremost group members (Hogg, 2001; Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). It is for this reason that social identity theorists argue that in order to fully understand the nature of leadership, we must first understand the nature of groups (van Knippenberg, 2011) and why I have provided a detailed description of groups and group processes before delving into leadership more specifically.

Fundamentally, the more prototypical a group member is, the more likely they are to be perceived as leader-like. The social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) describes leadership as a self-fulfilling process through which an individual's position in the group interacts with group members' responses to that position to convey and ultimately affirm the individual's role as a leader. The prototypical group member's role of providing informational support to members regarding the identity of the group elicits the impression or assumption of leadership. The more informational support is provided, the more the individual is trusted by group members and is given permission to influence, thus strengthening the impression or assumption of leadership. Eventually, this individual emerges as a leader whose position is recognised and supported by the group.

Once in a position of leadership, the more prototypical a group leader is, the more likely they are to effectively mobilise and influence followers (van Knippenberg, 2011). According to van Knippenberg and colleagues' perspective, leader success in this regard is driven by group members' trust that a prototypical leader will pursue goals and direct the group in its best interest (Van Knippenberg & Van Knippenberg, 2005); a 'privilege' that non-prototypical leaders are not afforded. For non-prototypical or marginal members who are leaders, trust must be earned through demonstrating group-oriented motives. As well as trust that prototypical leaders will lead in the interest of the group, prototypical leaders serve additional psychological purposes in a group. Prototypical leaders act as uncertainty reduction by representing

continuation and stability of the group's identity in times of change (van Knippenberg e al., 2008), both when the change originates internally from the leader themselves and externally from contextual factors.

Prototypicality is not the only social identity construct important to the process and role of leadership within a group. Empirical research has identified several additional and interacting factors that shape leader emergence and subjective evaluations of leader effectiveness. In the next sections, I will summarise the theoretical perspectives and supporting empirical work on social identity to identify key factors relevant to leader emergence and leader effectiveness.

Leader emergence. According to the social identity approach to leadership (Hogg, 2000; Van Knippenberg, 2003), leader emergence is a two-way process. This two-way process relies on a) the emergent leader's prototypical behaviour and b) a position-affirming response to that behaviour from other group members in the form of increased likability, trust, and influence. That is, by being prototypical the ingroup member becomes more liked and gains influence over the group by being a source of knowledge about how group members should act and behave. The influence that this member has over other group members affirms his/her leadership-like position, which in turn acquires more influence and thus actual leadership over the group.

Leader effectiveness. From the social identity approach, leader effectiveness is a measure of group members' perceptions of and attitudes towards their leader. Perceptions of leader effectiveness are more likely to be driven by the leader's relationship with the group and group members over objective performance. For example, even during failure prototypical leaders receive more positive reactions than non-prototypical leaders. However, non-prototypical leaders can also be perceived as effective when they have demonstrated performance, suggesting that leaders can 'compensate' for being less representative of the

group if their actions are in favour of the group (Giessner, van Knippenberg, & Sleebos, 2008). Leaders who are non-prototypical for the benefit of the group are likely to be given 'innovation credit' (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchison, 2008). As such, group-oriented behaviour determines leadership effectiveness as much as leader prototypicality.

Not all group members experience the same position in and relationship with the group. Research suggests that these group processes are more prevalent for high-identifiers, those that feel a deeper sense of psychological attachment to the group (Haslam & Platow, 2001; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003). Platow and van Knippenberg (2001) found that high-identifiers strongly endorsed ingroup prototypical leaders regardless of their ingroup-favouring, outgroup-favouring or fair intergroup behaviour. However, leaders low in prototypicality needed to be ingroup-favouring in their behaviour in order to be endorsed by high-identifiers. In support of this, team-oriented behaviour is more important when the leader is nonprototypical when evaluated by high-identifiers (Giessner, van Knippenberg, van Ginkel, & Sleebos, 2013).

Social Identity and Leadership Potential. Whilst research on leadership potential has been of primary interest to those who aim to make assessments of leadership potential more accurate, research has not yet paid attention to leadership potential as a group process as has been done with leader emergence and leader effectiveness. In this section, I will explain why leadership potential is a unique leadership process and how the social identity approach may be useful for examining perceptions of leadership potential.

One distinction between leadership potential and the other two leadership processes (leader emergence and leader effectiveness) is the temporal focus of the leadership process. The process of leader emergence occurs in the present, where the prototypical member increasingly gains influence over other group members until they assume a leadership position. The process of leader effectiveness (i.e., the behaviour of the leader) also occurs in the present,

and evaluations of effectiveness assess the leader's behaviour in the past. Perceptions of leadership potential however rely on *expectations* of the member as a leader at a time point in the future. Forming perceptions of leadership potential requires evaluators to predict how an individual will act as a group leader based on limited information of them only as a group member. Thus, from a social identity perspective I suggest that perceiving a group member's leadership potential requires a combination of predicting the likelihood of the individual both emerging as a leader and becoming an effective leader (i.e., predicting both leader emergence and leader effectiveness). Therefore, leadership potential is both a unique and interdependent construct that relies on the social identity constructs of prototypicality and identification, constructs used to determine the processes of leader emergence and effectiveness.

Social identity theory and sociodemographic diversity. To date, social identity theorists have explored a multitude of group processes, including leadership, motivation, and reactions to identity threats. Prototypicality conveys stability and security in the group's identity. What do members of the group who are a demographic minority convey? The closest explanation for demographic minorities' role in groups is given by the marginality perspective. That is, that these members of the group are more likely to be perceived as marginal because they match only some of the defining group characteristics but not all of them (Ellemers & Jetten, 2013). Does that mean that women are marginal in organisational groups? There are parallels between gender bias and social identity bias that provide a compelling argument for why it can be examined in this way.

Parallels between gender bias and social identity bias

Social identity theory has made great progress in recent years to explain and address organisational issues relating to the management of identities. For example, the social identity approach provides a strong theoretical argument and empirical evidence for the failure of mergers and acquisitions (Fischer, Greitemeyer, Omay, & Frey, 2007; Giessner, Ullrich, & van

Dick, 2012; Terry, 2003). Furthermore, the approach has provided a basis for establishing social identity-based interventions, such as the ASPIRe model (Haslam et al., 2003) and the 5R model of leadership (Haslam, Steffens, & Peters, 2017). However, examination of the social identity literature indicates that sociodemographic identity, as defined in *Chapter 1*, is frequently overlooked in social identity frameworks of leadership. For example, in instances where organisational leadership has been approached from a social identity perspective, the management of functional identities appears to take precedent over sociodemographic identities. I argue that in fact gender identity interacts with the group identity to determine their position in the group and consequential evaluations of their leadership potential. The rationale behind this, drawing on the parallels between experiences from a gender perspective and social identity bias as outlined in previous sections of this chapter, are summarised as follows:

- 1. The attributes of women and marginal group members are perceived to be incongruent with leadership or a representative position in the group.
- 2. Access to powerful and influential positions are restricted for both women and marginal group members.
- 3. Higher standards are set for women and marginal group members who a) want to attain a leadership position or b) are in a position of leadership.

Propositions of this research

This work aims to bring together different perspectives that have to date contributed to our understanding of either a) typical group processes or b) gender bias in organisational decision-making to explain the underrepresentation of women in leadership from a group processes perspective. I make a number of propositions, informed by the literature, that shape the rationale for the empirical investigation of these relationships.

Proposition 1. Leadership potential will be perceived based on traditional social identity constructs, including organisation prototypicality and organisational identification.

Thus, there will be a direct, causal relationship between employee prototypicality and evaluator perceptions of leadership potential. There will also be a direct, causal relationship between employee organisational identification and evaluator perceptions of leadership potential.

This thesis will empirically test the role of employee prototypicality and identification on evaluators' perceptions of leadership potential. Based on the experimental research conducted to date which demonstrates a direct, causal link between group member prototypicality and identification and positive leadership outcomes, this research extends previous work to hypothesise that prototypicality and identification have a direct, causal relationship with perceptions of leadership potential. I propose that prototypicality and identification create a "halo effect" that perpetuates greater attributions of leadership potential. That is, highly prototypical and highly identified group members are assigned positive attributes that in turn increases perceptions of their leadership potential. Based on previous literature, these attributes are perceptions of performance, perceptions of organisational commitment and perceptions of motivation.

Proposition 2. Gender will interact with social identity constructs to inform others' evaluations of leadership potential. Women, compared to men, will be held to higher standards in order to demonstrate, or being perceived as having, leadership potential.

This thesis draws on various lines of research to develop this proposition. First, I draw on the Ellemers and Jetten's (2013) model and research to date that has positioned women as peripheral or marginal members in organisational groups. I also draw on other theories outlined above which make sense of gender bias in leadership decisions. The shifting standards model provides the *what*, describing what happens in organisational decision-making that ultimately leads to a female disadvantage. Role congruity theory provides rationale for the *why*, explaining why women are held to these higher standards. However, as stereotypes associated with women become more readily congruent with idealised leadership, this work explores additional explanations for bias in the recognition and perceptions of leadership potential, combining two major avenues of research in social psychology. In gender neutral scenarios, leaders are assumed to be men (Schein & Davison, 1993) and I suggest that this also applies to social identity processes. Overall, traditional social identity processes play out in perceptions of men's leadership potential, but higher standards are set for perceiving women's leadership potential.

Proposition 3. Gender will interact with social identity constructs to inform selfevaluations of leadership potential. Women, compared to men, will be influenced by social identity constructs when evaluating their own leadership potential. Women, compared to men, will also be influenced by societal stereotypes about their group when evaluating their own leadership potential.

This thesis will extend our understanding of perceptions of others' leadership potential to also examine self-evaluations of leadership potential. Research conducted by Steffens and colleagues (2018) found that individuals who were told that they did not have leadership potential were less likely to perform well on a follow-up task. The findings raise the question of whether self-evaluations of leadership potential can be self-fulfilling. The first step is to understand what determines self-evaluations of leadership potential.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has built on the foundations of *Chapter 1* to summarise the advancements in social psychology on social psychological bias in leadership attainment. Starting by describing the empirical evidence for gender bias in organisational decision-making, the chapter then introduces the theories committed to understanding these processes specifically. Motivated to better understand the process of forming perceptions of leadership potential and its relation to gender, I propose applying the social identity approach. I have provided an in-depth analysis of the social identity approach, including its oversight of gender diversity in organisations. By

Chapter 2: Social Identity and Gender Bias

drawing on the parallels between experiences based on gender and social identity bias, I have provided a rationale for examining the two as interrelated constructs. Both women and marginal group members are perceived to be incongruent with leadership, are restricted in terms of access of power and influence, and are held to higher standards to demonstrate their leadership competence. In the next chapter, I begin to empirically examine my propositions laid out in this chapter. I start my examining the role of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of leadership potential, contributing to the social identity and gender literatures by also examining its interaction with performance (the higher standards set for women and marginal members) and target and evaluator gender.

Chapter 3: Organisation Prototypicality, Performance and Leadership Potential

Chapter Overview

As outlined in Chapter 2, evaluations of both prospective and current leaders draw on sociodemographic variables (e.g. gender identity) and social identity constructs (e.g. prototypicality). Drawing on the social identity approach to leadership, this chapter investigates the interaction between organisation prototypicality, role performance and evaluator and target gender for influencing perceptions of leadership potential. The first study examines the interaction of target prototypicality and performance on evaluators' perceptions of their leadership potential. The second and third studies then examine whether organisation prototypicality and role performance are perceived by male and female evaluators differently for male and female prospective leaders to inform judgments of leadership potential and other leadership qualities. Results revealed that both organisation prototypicality and role performance increase perceptions of prospective leaders' leadership potential. In addition, these constructs interact such that a prototypical high-performer is perceived to have significantly more leadership potential than any other prospective leader. Furthermore, findings show that men who were evaluators rated women as higher in leadership potential if those women were high in both organisation prototypicality and individual role performance. Men did not use these processes to evaluate male targets. These results suggest that criteria for the recognition of leadership potential is biased by social identity constructs of prototypicality and gender interactively, providing an opportunity women's leadership potential to be recognised when they are exceptional.

Prototypicality and Performance in Assessment of Leadership Potential

The role of organisational prototypicality and individual role performance for predicting leadership potential are theoretically contested. For example, employee-fit, as adopted in Robinson and colleagues' (2009) model, overlaps conceptually with organisation prototypicality. Robinson's rationale for including prototypicality in a model of leadership potential is that a lack of prototypicality or 'fit' raises concerns about an individual's future in the organisation. This line of reasoning reinforces the notion that leadership potential is context specific, and one of the contextual factors at play is the individual's alignment with and exemplification of the company's identity. However, this approach assumes that an organisation's identity, and what constitutes being prototypical of that identity, remains stable. Church (2015) suggests instead that it is leadership potential that is stable and can be measured objectively when contextual factors, such as fit, are excluded. Contrary to Robinson's approach, the dimension structure of potential infers that prototypicality, or 'culture-fit' as described in the model, is an often-used but subjective, unstable, and unreliable predictor of leadership potential. Overall, the research has focused on whether or not prototypicality is a reliable predictor of leadership potential, and not whether it is drawn upon in evaluations regardless of its reliability to predict leadership potential effectively.

Role performance is addressed in the literature as an unhelpful but often adopted indicator of leadership potential (Church, 2015). The potential pyramid (Robinson et al., 2009) and the dimension structure of potential (Silzer & Church, 2009) contest the use of role performance as a reliable predictor of leadership potential. Robinson and colleagues' rationale for incorporating performance is that it helps to identify those who consistently exceed expectations and drive impressive results. Church and Silzer (2009) on the other hand argue that current performance is unlikely to accurately predict effective behaviour in a future role that is significantly different to the individual's current role. To this regard, the role of

performance in evaluations of leadership potential has been theorised, though not tested empirically. As with prototypicality, the research has focused on whether or not performance is a reliable predictor of leadership potential, and not whether it is drawn upon in evaluations regardless of its reliability to predict leadership potential effectively.

Prototypicality and Performance as Social Psychological Constructs

Prototypicality is a social identity construct characterised by the extent to which a group member reflects, embodies and exemplifies the most representative form of the group (Hogg, 2001). The construct is associated with increases the likelihood of leader emergence (Hogg & van Knippenberg, 2003), perceptions of leader effectiveness (Giessner, van Knippenberg, & Sleebos, 2008) as well as leader evaluations (e.g. Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques, & Hutchison, 2008), and attitudes towards and reactions to leaders (Giessner et al., 2008, Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, & Crisp, 2012; van Knippenberg, 2011).

According to Hogg's social identity approach to leadership (2001) members of the group who occupy positions perceived to be most prototypical (i.e., those who best reflect, embody and exemplify the most representative form of the group; Hogg, 2000), relish in the conformity of other group members' behaviour in line with theirs. Prototypical group members are evaluated more positively (Hogg, Cooper-Shaw & Holzworth, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991) and are more likeable (Hogg, Hardie & Reynolds, 1995). In addition, the Social Identity Model of Leadership Effectiveness (van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003) suggests that prototypical leaders are more supported, influential, and more trusted (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, & Crisp, 2012; van Knippenberg, 2011). Prototypical leaders are also perceived to be more charismatic than non-prototypical leaders, independent of organisational performance (Haslam et al., 2001).

A second antecedent of both measured and perceived leadership potential is individual role performance. Role performance is often used but considered ineffective for identifying leadership potential (Chan & Drasgow, 2001; Silzer & Church, 2009). As described in *Chapter*

Chapter 3: Prototypicality and Leadership Potential

2, significant evidence points to the role of biases in performance evaluations based on gender and other sociodemographic variables (Baltes, Bauer, & Frensch, 2007; Biernat, Tocci, & Williams, 2011; Demuijnck, 2009; Martell, 1991; Ngo et al., 2003). In addition, biases in evaluations of performance are not limited to sociodemographic variables, but are influenced by a range of cognitive factors (e.g. Judge & Ferris, 1993; Nathan & Lord, 1983; Williams, Klamen, & McGaghie, 2003). Furthermore, research on the social identity approach has examined the interactive nature of prototypicality and role performance. For example, individual leader performance can compensate for low leader prototypicality and prototypicality in inferred from performance (Steffens et al., 2013). However, the interactive nature of these variables is yet to be tested with potential future leaders.

Although role performance can help organisations to identify their high achievers, research has found that it is insufficient for independently indicating leadership potential as it does not necessarily indicate commitment to the organisation or motivation to lead (Chan & Drasgow, 2001). According to Silzer and Church (2014), role performance provides no real indication of leadership potential as its predictive validity is both short-term and limited to previous or current roles.

Research from the perspective of the social identity approach has found that performance interacts with information regarding group membership to form perceptions of leadership effectiveness. For example, Giessner, van Knippenberg, and Sleebos (2008) found that leader performance and leader prototypicality have a similar effect on increasing perceptions of leader effectiveness. Specifically, leader performance led to higher evaluations of leadership effectiveness even when the leader was non-prototypical, suggesting that performance also influences followers' perceptions of leadership effectiveness to substitute the role of prototypicality.

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Study 1: Prototypicality and Performance Increase Perceptions of Leadership Potential

Positive evaluations of leaders who are prototypical or high-performing indicates that members with these attributes are more likely to be ascribed leadership potential. Leadership potential is reserved for those who demonstrate the ability and qualities to effectively perform in broader and more senior roles in the future (Silzer & Church, 2009). Steffens and colleagues (2013) have empirically demonstrated that a leader's prototypicality and performance increase the leader's capacity to engage in identity entrepreneurship, the process of redefining ingroups norms (Reicher, Haslam, & Hopkins, 2005). In addition, Giessner and colleagues (2008) have empirically demonstrated that leader performance can compensate for non-prototypicality to in evaluations of leadership effectiveness. The rights afforded to current leaders but not prospective leaders are consistently demonstrated (e.g., Abrams et al., 2008). It therefore makes sense to question whether only one of these attributes is sufficient to be perceived as having leadership potential, or whether both are required to mitigate the uncertainty associating with endorsing potential (Kupor, Tormala, & Norton, 2014). The aim of *Study 1* is therefore to test the role of prototypicality and performance for prospective leaders on others' evaluations of their leadership effectivenes the interaction between these two attributes.

Hypotheses

Study 1 investigates the role of organisational prototypicality and role performance in evaluations of leadership potential and similar constructs of promotability, future success, and attribution of leadership traits. I expect the results to be in the same direction for all measures.

Hypothesis 1. I predict that prototypical leadership applicants will be perceived as having more leadership potential than non-prototypical leadership applicants and that high-performing leadership applicants will be perceived as having more leadership potential than low-performing leadership applicants.

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Hypothesis 2. I predict that both organisational prototypicality and role performance will interact to influence perceptions of a target's leadership potential to mitigate the uncertainty associated with potential (Kupor et al., 2014). A prototypical high-performing leadership applicant will have significantly more leadership potential than a non-prototypical high-performing leadership applicant or a prototypical low-performing leadership applicant. A non-prototypical low-performing leadership applicant significantly applicant will have significantly less potential than all of these leader applicants.

Method

Participants and design.

A sample of 240 participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out. Therefore, a total of 173 participants' data was analysed (96 males, 77 females, 20-63 years; M = 34.55, SD = 8.83). I recruited a working sample because they offer greater external validity, i.e. generalisability of findings, to the desirable population in comparison to student populations (Landers & Behrend, 2015).

The study adopted a 2 (Organisation prototypicality: prototypical vs. non-prototypical) x 2 (Role Performance: low-performance vs. high-performance) between-participants design. Participants were allocated to one of four conditions in which they viewed the assessment summary of, and evaluated, a prospective leader who was either prototypical or non-prototypical and a low performer or high performer. The dependent variables were perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and leadership traits.

Procedure and materials.

The experiment was conducted via an online survey platform (Qualtrics). Participants provided the name of their organization, which was then embedded in the subsequent text. This method

was adopted to create a group identity in which both the participant (evaluator) and target (prospective leader) are members of the same group (organisation).

I employed a hiring simulation task (e.g., Bosak & Sczesny, 2011). The use of an experimental design was appropriate to answer the research question- to examine how evaluator and target gender influence perceptions of leadership potential in a controlled environment, where all information is otherwise objectively comparable. I asked participants to imagine their organization's 'Future Leaders Programme' which takes on employees based on evidence of their leadership potential. Participants were informed that the Human Resources department were recruiting for the programme and that employees who were interested in joining must take a series of tests to determine their leadership potential and suitability for the programme. Participants were then asked to imagine that they were a member of the Directorate within their organization and that they would evaluate an employee for the 'Future Leaders Programme'.

Participants were given information about one applicant for the Future Leaders Programme labelled as 'Applicant A', and the information varied depending on experimental condition. Each assessment summary provided 3 test score indicators. The High-Potential Indicators Test was kept constant across all conditions at 80% and highlights the candidate's capacity for potential (based on the Potential Pyramid, Robinson et al., 2009). Candidates with high prototypicality had a high score (80%) on a test labelled the Value Orientation Test versus. candidates with low prototypicality (65%). The Performance Test was varied to manipulate performance; candidates with high performance had a high score (80%) versus. candidates with low performance (65%). The candidate summary also included the statement "A score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong... [prototypicality / performance/ high potential indicators]" and further information about each test was also provided. Materials are provided in *Appendix A*.

After participants viewed the assessment summary they were presented with the dependent measures. Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures.

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions of the applicant on a ninepoint Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = neutral, 9 = very much).

Manipulation checks. To measure perceived prototypicality, participants indicated their perception of the applicant with 3 items on how they perceived the employee "strongly identifies with the organisation/ is characteristic of employees at the organisation/ has values aligned with the organisation." A mean score was used as the index of prototypicality, with higher scores indicating higher prototypicality ($\alpha = .88$). To measure perceived role performance, participants indicated their perceptions of the applicant with 3 items on how they perceived the employee to have "a high-performance record/ produced excellent work/ highly achieved." A mean score was used as the index of performance, with higher scores indicating higher performance record/ produced excellent work/ highly achieved." A mean score was used as the index of performance, with higher scores indicating higher performance ($\alpha = .93$).

Leadership potential. Perceptions of leadership potential were measured using 3 items, asking participants "please indicate to what extent you perceive the employee to have...leadership potential/ the potential to become a successful leader/ the capability to become a leader." A mean score was used as the index of leadership potential, with higher scores indicating higher leadership potential ($\alpha = .92$).

Promotability. Perceptions of promotability were measured using 3 items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... I would promote this employee to the future leaders programme/ this employee deserves to be promoted

to the future leaders programme/ this employee should be promoted to the future leaders programme." A mean score was used as the index of promotability, with higher scores indicating higher promotability ($\alpha = .96$).

Future success. Perceptions of future success were measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... this employee will be successful on the future leaders programme/ this employee will develop successful leadership skills/ this employee is going to be an effective Leader." A mean score was used as the index of future success, with higher scores indicating higher future success ($\alpha = .94$).

Leadership traits. Attribution of leadership traits was measured using 18 items from Casimir and Waldman's (2007) cross-cultural leadership traits scale, asking participants "please rate Applicant A on the following traits... bossy/ communicative/ concern for followers/ confidence builder/ courageous/ diplomatic/ friendly/ humorous/ innovative/ inspirational/ integrating/ modest/ orderly/ participative/ persuasive/ respectful/ team-player/ visionary." A mean score was used as the index of leadership traits, with higher scores indicating greater leadership traits ($\alpha = .91$).

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 173 for a 2 x 2 between-participants design to detect the MANOVA effect size of 0.08, a power of 0.98 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial evidence of a relationship in the hypothesised direction can be observed by looking at the associations between prototypicality and perceptions of leadership potential, performance and perceptions of leadership potential, and other outcomes such as perceptions of promotability, future success, and attributions of leadership traits.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Prototypicality	6.42 (1.29)		.35**	.56**	.57**	.49**	.50**
2 Role Performance	6.74 (1.26)			.50**	.64**	.61**	.49**
3 Leadership Potential	6.86 (1.11)				.66**	.72**	.56**
4 Promotability	6.46 (1.59)					.83**	.54**
5 Future Success	6.50 (1.36)						.50**
6 Leadership Traits	6.12 (0.84)						
$N_{oto} * n < 05 \cdot * * n < 01$							

Table 1. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables.

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Factor analysis.

A factor analysis using Principal Components factor extraction with 2 factors and Varimax rotation was conducted to determine factor components where correlation between variables was >.8.

The analysis of promotability and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 90.85% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 83.12% of the variance with factor loadings of .82 - .88. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 2 and explained 7.73% of the variance with factor loadings of .79 - .86.

Manipulation checks.

Prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of target prototypicality; F(1, 169) = 74.29, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .31$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be more prototypical (M = 7.19, SD = 0.88) than the non-prototypical

applicant (M= 5.78, SD= 1.23). There was no main effect of role performance on perceptions of target prototypicality; F(1,169)=0.19, p=.67, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.001$.

There was a significant interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance on perceptions of target prototypicality; F(1, 169)=5.53, p=.02, $\eta_p^2=.03$. Further analyses showed a marginally-significant simple main effect for the prototypical target; F(1, 169)=3.56, p=.06, $\eta_p^2=.02$. The high-performing prototypical applicant was perceived to be more prototypical (M=7.43, SD=0.59) than the low-performing prototypical applicant (M=6.97, SD=1.02). There was no simple main effect for the non-prototypical target; F(1, 169)=2.02, p=.16, $\eta_p^2=.01$.

Role Performance. There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of target performance; F(1,169)=53.88, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.24$. The high-performing applicant was perceived to be higher in performance (M=7.35, SD=0.88) than the low-performing applicant (M=6.15, SD=1.31). There was no main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of target performance; F(1,169)=0.60, p=.44, $\eta_p^2=.004$.

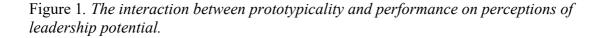
There was a significant interaction effect between role performance and organisation prototypicality on perceptions of target performance; F(1,169)=5.95, p=.02, $\eta_p^2=.03$. Further analyses showed a significant simple main effect for the high-performing target; F(1,169)=5.01, p=.03, $\eta_p^2=.03$. The prototypical high-performing applicant was perceived to be higher in performance (M=7.66, SD=0.79) than the non-prototypical high-performing applicant (M=7.12, SD=0.87). There was no simple main effect for the low-performing applicant; F(1,169)=1.43, p=.23, $\eta_p^2=.01$.

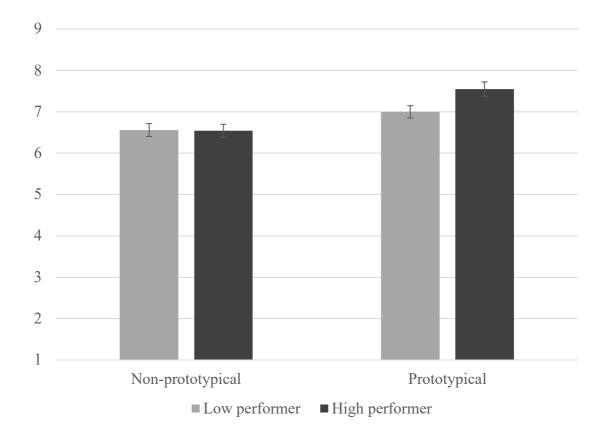
Dependent measures.

A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality and performance on perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and leadership traits. The MANOVA revealed a significant effect of prototypicality and performance on perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, and future success; $F(6,164)=2.24, p=.04, \eta_p^2=.08.$

Leadership potential. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 169) = 19.91, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. The prototypical leadership applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.24, SD = 0.93) than the non-prototypical applicant (M = 6.55, SD = 1.15). There was a marginally-significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 169) = 3.06, p = .08, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. The high-performing applicant was perceived to have marginally-more leadership potential (M = 6.97, SD = 1.14) than the low-performing applicant (M = 6.76, SD = 1.07).

There was a marginally-significant interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 169) = 3.32, p = .07, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Further analyses showed a significant simple main effect of role performance for the prototypical applicant; F(1, 169) = 5.85, p = .02, $\eta_p^2 = .03$. The high-performing prototypical applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.55, SD = 0.75) than the low-performing prototypical applicant (M = 6.98, SD = 0.99). There was no simple main effect for the non-prototypical applicant; F(1, 169) = 1.43, p = .23, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.





Promotability. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on promotability; F(1,169) = 12.91, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The prototypical leadership applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M = 6.85, SD = 1.71) than the non-prototypical leadership applicant (M = 6.13, SD = 1.41). There was a significant main effect of role performance on promotability; F(1,169) = 21.34, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. The high-performing leadership applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M = 6.93, SD = 1.29) than the low-performing leadership applicants (M = 6.00, SD = 1.73).

There was a significant interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance on promotability; F(1,169) = 6.11, p = .01, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Further analyses showed a significant simple main effect for the prototypical applicant; F(1,169) = 23.07, p < .001, η_p^2

=.12. The high-performing prototypical applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M = 7.71, SD = 0.89) than the low-performing prototypical applicant (M = 6.13, SD = 1.90). There was no simple main effect for the non-prototypical applicant; F(1,169) = 2.54, p = .11, $\eta_p^2 = .02$.

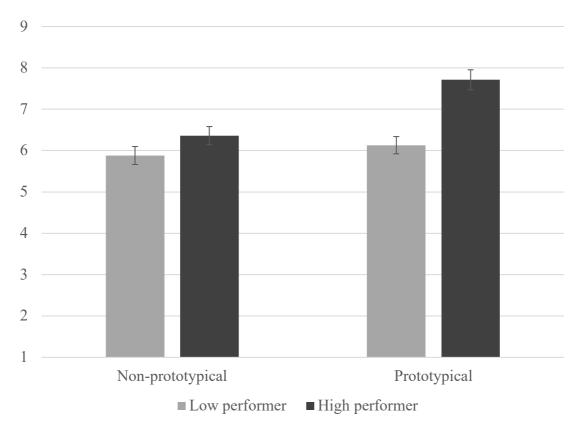


Figure 2. *The interaction between prototypicality and performance on perceptions of promotability.*

Future success. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of future success; F(1,169) = 6.74, p = .01, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be more likely to be successful in the future (M=6.75, SD= 1.32) than the non-prototypical applicant (M= 6.29, SD= 1.36). There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of future success; F(1,169) = 16.93, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. The high-performing applicant was perceived to be more likely to be successful in the future (M= 6.89, SD= 1.19) compared to the low-performing applicant (M= 6.13, SD= 1.41).

There was no interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance on perceptions of future success; F(1,169) = 1.05, p=.31, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Leadership traits. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on leadership traits; F(1, 169) = 11.67, p = .001, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. The prototypical leadership applicant was perceived to be higher in leadership traits (M = 6.34, SD = 0.84) than the non-prototypical applicant (M = 5.94, SD = 0.80). There was a significant main effect of role performance on leadership traits; F(1, 169) = 4.50, p = .01, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. The high performing leadership applicant was perceived to be higher in leadership traits (M = 6.26, SD = 0.90) than the low performing applicant (M = 5.98, SD = 0.77).

There was no interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance on attributions of leadership traits; F(1,169) = 1.12, p=.29, $\eta_p^2 = .01$.

Discussion

Study 1 has provided preliminary support of my hypotheses. In line with hypothesis 1, organisation prototypicality and role performance directly affected perceptions of leadership potential. Furthermore, in line with hypothesis 2, the two attributes interacted, albeit marginally, such that a prototypical high-performing applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential than an applicant who was prototypical but low-performing. This supports my suggestion that the uncertainty associated with potential (Kupor et al., 2014) requires the prospective leader to go beyond representing the group or contributing to the group's success (i.e., performance, Steffens et al., 2014) but that they must demonstrate the ability to do both.

The interaction between organisation prototypicality and role performance was significant for perceptions of promotability. However, this interaction was not significant for perceptions of future success. Different outcomes for perceptions of leadership potential and perceptions of future success establishes these as distinct psychological constructs, though they are highly correlated. Perceptions of leadership potential and promotability were not as highly

Chapter 3: Prototypicality and Leadership Potential

correlated as other dependent variables (e.g. promotability and future success), so it would be interesting to identify the factors that would drive different outcomes for these variables. Perhaps in this case the direction of results were the same because promotion to the future leaders programme provides the opportunity for the prospective leader to fulfil their leadership potential. Nonetheless, the high correlations between outcome variables is a limitation.

Organisation prototypicality and role performance interacted to inform perceptions of the target's role performance. It is not clear whether this is a methodological limitation (i.e. the prototypicality manipulation inferred performance) or whether these two attributes psychologically interact. Research would suggest the latter (e.g. Steffens et al., 2013) and so *Study 2* was conducted to investigate the interaction between prototypicality and performance.

Study 2: Men's Prototypicality and Perceptions of their Leadership Potential

In *Study 1*, organisation prototypicality and role performance interacted to affect perceptions of the applicants' role performance. Therefore, it is more challenging to conclude which significant effects were driven by each attribute, as organisation prototypicality increased perceptions of the target's role performance. The aim of *Study 2* is to clarify conceptualisations and manipulations of organisation prototypicality and role performance to test the validity of the materials. I replicate *Study 1* with male prospective leaders to compare perceptions of male prospective leaders' leadership potential to the unspecified prospective leaders in *Study 1*. Men attain the majority of talent pipeline and leadership positions. Therefore, this first study to introduce gender only examines male leadership applicants. As men are more likely to be central group members in organisational contexts (Neubert & Taggar, 2004) traditional social identity processes are likely to play out.

Hypotheses

Study 2 aims to differentiate evaluators' recollection of objective organisation prototypicality and role performance from subjective perceptions of applicants' degree of these attributes.

Hypothesis 3. I predict that organisation prototypicality and role performance will not interact when evaluators report applicants' objective test scores (recall). Therefore, I predict that there will only be a main effect of prototypicality on the 'Value Orientation Test' and a main effect of performance on the 'Performance Test.'

Hypothesis 4. When asked to report personal perceptions of the target's effectiveness in each of the test domains, I predict that organisation prototypicality and role performance will interact as in *Study 1*. That is, evaluators will perceive higher role performance for a prototypical high-performer compared to a non-prototypical high-performer.

Hypothesis 5. This study introduces gender of the prospective leader and gender of the evaluator and I predict that the findings of *Study 1* (i.e., where the target gender was not

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specified) will be replicated for male leadership applicants. That is, there will be main effects of organisation prototypicality and role performance, and these attributes will interact such that a prototypical high-performing applicant is perceived to have more leadership potential than any other prospective leader. I predict that male prospective leaders will be evaluated in the same way by male and female evaluators.

Method

Participants and design

A sample of 206 participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out. Therefore, a total of 147 participants' data was analysed (96 males, 51 females, 18-55 years; M = 30.69, SD = 7.11).

The study adopted a 2 (Prototypicality: low vs. high) x 2 (Performance: low vs. high) x 2 (Participant gender: male vs. female) between participants design. The dependent variable in the experiment was perceptions of leadership potential. Male and female participants were allocated to one of four conditions in which they viewed and evaluated a male prospective leader who was either prototypical or non-prototypical and a low performer or high performer.

Procedure and materials

Study 2 replicated *Study 1* using male leadership applicants as opposed to gender neutral assessment summaries being provided to participants. Participants received the same background information as in *Study 1* and were asked to take the perspective of a member of the directorate to evaluate an applicant for the 'Future Leaders Programme.' Again, a low score on either test was 65 and a high score on either test was 80. The high-potential indicators score was always 80 for each applicant. To ensure that 65 was perceived as a low score and 80 was perceived as a high score, each result included the statement "A score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong... [organisation prototypicality/ role performance/

potential]." As per *Study 1*, information about each test was also provided. For *Study 2* participants viewed an applicant 'John Atkins' and the gender (male) was provided in a 'demographics' section of the assessment summary. After participants viewed the assessment summary, they were presented with the dependent variables.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

Due to the aim of *Study 2* to disentangle the manipulations, leadership potential was the only dependent variable measured. To assess whether the test scores were accurately

differentiating between organisation prototypicality and role performance, and therefore address the interaction of the manipulations found in *Study 1*, participants were asked to report a) the objective test scores and b) their personal perceptions of the employee's success in each domain. The experiment measured perceptions of leadership potential on a one-nine Likert scale asking participants "Please indicate to what extent you perceive (the applicant) to have the following component: leadership potential."

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 147 for a 2 x 2 x 2 between-participants design to detect the MANOVA effect size of 0.08, a power of 0.97 was achieved.

Correlations

As can be seen in Table 2, the relationships between evaluators' objective reporting of test scores and perceptions of leadership potential are considerably lower than those between

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evaluators' subjective perceptions of success in the test domains and perceptions of leadership potential. These associations indicate that not only are perceptions of leadership potential biased by prototypicality and performance, but otherwise objective measures of prototypicality and performance are biased. Otherwise, I would observe higher correlations between the objective test scores and subjective perceptions of success in each test domain.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Prototypicality Test	9.10 (1.92)		.24**	.47**	.59**	02	.22**	.28**
2 Role Performance Test	9.12 (1.67)			.44**	.19*	.62**	.33**	.21**
3 High-Potential Indicators Test	10.14 (1.52)				.21*	.22**	.48**	.27**
4 Prototypicality Perception	6.77 (1.28)					.20*	.30**	.51**
5 Performance Perception	6.59 (1.42)						.52**	.39**
6 High-Potential Indicators Perception	7.27 (1.13)							.52**
7 Leadership Potential	6.99 (1.29)							
6 High-Potential Indicators Perception	7.27 (1.13)						.52**	

 Table 2. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables.

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Manipulation checks: Objective Scores.

A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality, performance, and evaluator gender on objective recall of the test scores measuring prototypicality, performance, and potential.

Prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on value orientation; F(1, 137) = 45.83, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .25$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to score more highly on value orientation (M = 10.42, SD = 1.52) than the non-prototypical applicant (M = 8.12, SD = 1.57). There was no difference between the role performance conditions; F(1,137) = 1.08, p = .30, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, or participant gender conditions; F(1,137) = 0.98, p = .32, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. There was no interaction between organisation prototypicality and role performance for the value-orientation test score; F(1,137) = 0.97, p = .33, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. This indicates that the manipulation for organisation prototypicality was successful.

Role Performance. There was a significant main effect of role performance on performance; F(1, 137)= 46.42, p<.001, $\eta_p^2= .25$. The high performing applicant was perceived to score more highly on performance (M=10.25, SD=1.43) than the low performing applicant (M= 8.32, SD= 1.33). There was no difference between the organisation prototypicality conditions; F(1,139)= 0.01, p= .92, $\eta_p^2<.001$, or the participant gender conditions; F(1,137)=0.88, p= .35, $\eta_p^2=.01$. There was no interaction between organisation prototypicality and role performance for the performance test score; F(1,137)=0.13, p= .72, $\eta_p^2=.001$. This indicates that the manipulation for role performance was successful.

High-potential Indicators. There was no significant difference between the organisation prototypicality conditions; F(1,137)=0.45, p=.50, $\eta_{\rm p}^2=.003$, the role performance conditions; F(1,137)=0.21, p=.65, $\eta_{\rm p}^2=.002$, or the participant gender conditions; F(1,137)=.78, p=.38, $\eta_{\rm p}^2=.01$. This indicates that the high-potential indicators test was not perceived differently across conditions. There was no interaction between

organisation prototypicality and role performance for the high-potential indicators test score; $F(1,137) = 1.68, p = .20, \eta_{p}^{2} = .01.$

Manipulation Checks: Subjective Scores.

Perceptions of success in the test domains were included in the same multivariate ANOVA that was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality, performance, and evaluator gender on objective recall of the test scores measuring prototypicality, performance, and potential.

Prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on subjective perceptions of value orientation; F(1, 137)=9.21, p=.003, $\eta_p^2=.06$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be higher in value orientation (M=7.27, SD=1.03) than the non-prototypical applicant (M=6.39, SD=1.32). There was no difference between the high and low role performance conditions; F(1,137)=0.03, p=.86, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, or participant gender conditions; F(1,137)=1.56, p=.21, $\eta_p^2=.01$.

The main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between organisation prototypicality and role performance for perceptions of value-orientation; F(1,137)=4.53, p=.04, $\eta_p^2=$.03. Simple main effects revealed that in the low performance applicant condition, the prototypical applicant was perceived to be higher in value orientation (M=7.40, SD=0.88) than the non-prototypical applicant (M=6.17, SD=1.36); F(1, 137)=20.78, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.13$. There was no difference between the prototypical and non-prototypical applicant in the high-performance applicant condition; F(1,137)=0.30, p=.58, $\eta_p^2=.002$. There was no difference between the prototypical applicant for the prototypical condition; F(1,137)=1.99, p=.16, $\eta_p^2=.01$, or the non-prototypical condition ; F(1,137)=2.85, p=.09, $\eta_p^2=.02$.

Role Performance. There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of performance; F(1, 137)=22.45, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.14$. The high performing

applicant was perceived to be higher in performance (M=7.35, SD=1.15) than the low performing applicant (M=6.06, SD=1.35). There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality; F(1, 137)=9.86, p=.002, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.07$. The non-prototypical applicant was perceived to be higher in performance (M=7.00, SD=1.09) than the prototypical applicant (M=6.05, SD=1.61). There was no difference between participant gender conditions; F(1,137)=.003, p=.96, $\eta_{p}^{2}<.001$. There was no interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance for perceptions of role performance; F(1,137)=0.003, p=.95, $\eta_{p}^{2}<.001$. These findings suggest that prototypicality has an effect of perceptions of performance, albeit in the opposite direction to what would be expected.

High-potential Indicators. There was a significant main effect of role organisation prototypicality on perceptions of success in the high-potential indicators test; F(1, 137)=5.69, p=.02, $\eta_p^2=.04$. The non-prototypical applicant was perceived to be marginally higher in potential indicators (M=7.43, SD=1.07) than the prototypical applicant (M=7.05, SD=1.17). There was no significant difference between the low performing and high performing conditions; F(1,137)=0.04, p=.84, $\eta_p^2 < .001$, or the participant gender conditions; F(1,137)=0.02, p=.88, $\eta_p^2 < .001$.

There was a marginally-significant interaction effect between organisation prototypicality and role performance for perceptions potential; F(1,137)=3.48, p=.06, η p²=.03. The simple main effects were non-significant.

Dependent Measure

The dependent variables were included in the same multivariate ANOVA that was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality, performance, and evaluator gender on objective recall of the test scores and subjective perceptions of success in the test domains measuring prototypicality, performance, and potential. The MANOVA revealed a non-significant effect of prototypicality and performance on perceptions of leadership; F(7, 131) = 1.57, p = .15, $\eta_p^2 = .08$.

Leadership Potential. There was a no main effect of role performance; F(1, 137)= 0.58, p=.45, $\eta_p^2=.004$, no main effect of organisation prototypicality; F(1,137)=0.36, p=.55, $\eta_p^2=.003$, and no main effect of participant gender; F(1,137)=0.38, p=.54, $\eta_p^2=.003$, on perceptions of leadership potential.

Discussion

Study 2 provides some clarification of the organisation prototypicality and role performance manipulations. In support of hypothesis 3, participants were able to accurately recall the objective test scores, suggesting that the design of the manipulation did not drive the interaction found in *Study 1*. However, in support of hypothesis 4, when asked to form their own perceptions about the applicant's attributes in these domains, the factors interacted to bias judgements. For example, I found that the applicant's performance score increased perceptions of their prototypicality when they were low on value orientation but not high. Perceptions of the applicant's abilities in the high-potential indicators were also influenced by perceptions of the applicant's performance. These findings suggest that although participants can recall objective measures of organisation prototypicality and role performance, the two psychologically interact to infer success in the other and even generalise to perceptions of success in tests measuring potential. This conclusion supports previous research (Steffens et al., 2013).

Interestingly, and counter to hypothesis 5, organisation prototypicality and role performance had no effect on the evaluations of leadership potential that men or women made of a male prospective leader. One reason for this may be that leader stereotypes are congruent with male stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002), which provides an explanation as to why being group prototypical was not relevant to male prospective leaders' potential to lead. Put

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differently, men are *expected* leaders. Whereas organisation prototypicality may provide an avenue for female prospective leaders to be perceived as having leadership potential, it is possible that the congruence between 'men' and 'leadership', relieves men of this standard.

Leadership potential was measured using only one item. Multi-item measures are more reliable (Diamantopoulos, Sarstedt, Fuchs, Wilczynski, & Kaiser, 2012). This study also did not examine perceptions of women's leadership potential. *Study 3* addresses both of these pitfalls.

Study 3: Men Perceive Leadership Potential in Exceptional Women

Previous observations (e.g., Barsh & Lee, 2012) and empirical research (Player, 2015) highlight that perceptions of leadership potential are prone to gender bias. For example, gender moderates preferences for leadership potential in hiring decisions, such that women are more likely to be preferred for leadership when they demonstrate leadership achievement, while men are preferred when they demonstrate leadership potential (Player, 2015; Player, Randsley de Moura, Leite, Abrams, & Tresh, 2019). Perceptions of high-potential women are more positive when organisational diversity goals are stronger (Leslie, Flaherty, & Dahm, 2017).

Sociodemographic factors are under-researched in the social identity literature with respect to leadership. Yet, research has indicated that gender somewhat determines individuals' position within organisational groups (e.g. Neubert & Taggar, 2004). From the social identity perspective, gender diversity has been explained as intragroup diversity (e.g., Hogg & Terry, 2000) and therefore women are treated as members of the organisational ingroup. However, this approach does not account for gender bias against women driven by men (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schein, 1973, 1975). If women were treated as equal status members of the organisational ingroup, their outcomes would be comparable to men's. Therefore, I suggest that women's marginal position in the group (Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998) provides an additional barrier driven by men, who are central to the organisational group (Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998; Neubert & Taggar, 2004). Not only are men more likely to endorse stereotypes about the abilities of men and women and have stronger implicit biases (Atewologun, Cornish, & Tresh, 2018; Girod et al., 2016; Moss-Racusin et al., 2016), as members of a high-status group they are threatened by pro-diversity messages in organisations (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016) and experience physiological indications of identity threat to changing gender-status relations (Scheepers, Ellemers, & Sintemaartensdijk, 2009). Holding women to higher standards acts a means by which men can maintain their central and high-status position as men have "more to lose" by promoting women (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992).

Research has suggested that prototypicality may counteract gender bias, as followers become more tolerant of prototypical members' 'disadvantages' (e.g., the communal traits stereotypically associated with women but not leadership; Giessner & van Knippenberg, 2008). However, Eagly (2005) suggests that in order for female leaders to influence followers, they must go further than being prototypical and must also demonstrate behaviour in favour of their group. Therefore, high-potential women may be able to overcome gender bias by going beyond being prototypical but also being high-performers (and thus benefitting the group). I suggest therefore that, when evaluated by men, women must be prototypical (to represent the group) and display individual performance (to benefit the group/ organisation), to be perceived as high in leadership potential.

Study 2 found that organisation prototypicality and role performance do not have an effect on perceptions of male prospective leaders' leadership potential for either male or female evaluators. In this study I include female prospective leaders. *Study 3* examines the role of organisation prototypicality and role performance on men and women's perceptions of leadership potential and similar constructs for male and female prospective leaders.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 6. I expect that men will ascribe female leaders who are either group prototypical or high-performing as much leadership potential as female leaders who are neither and significantly less than if they had both attributes. Women will evaluate female leaders in the same way as gender neutral leaders (Hypothesis 7). Based on the findings of *Study 2*, I predict that these constructs will not affect perceptions of prospective male leaders' leadership potential when evaluated by men or women.

Hypothesis 7. As found in *Study 1*, I predict that organisation prototypicality and role performance will increase perceptions of leadership potential. In addition, I predict that these attributes will interact, such that a prototypical high-performing applicant will be perceived as having significantly more leadership potential than any other prospective leader. I also predict that, overall, men will be perceived to have more leadership potential than women but no effect of evaluator gender (**Hypothesis 7a**).

Method

Participants and design

A sample of 509 participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out¹. Therefore, a total of 365 participants' data was analysed (165 males, 200 females, 18-64 years; M = 36.07, SD = 10.29). The study adopted a 2 (Leader Gender: male vs. female) x 2 (Organisation prototypicality: prototypical vs. non-prototypical) x 2 (Role Performance: low vs. high) x 2 (Participant Gender: male vs. female) between participants design.

Procedure and materials

Study 3 replicated the methodology employed in *Study 1* and *Study 2*. However, in this experiment the employee was either male or female, as well as either high or low in prototypicality and high or low in performance. As in the previous experiments, a low score on either test was 65 and a high score on either test was 80. The high-potential indicators score was always 80 for each applicant. To ensure that 65 was perceived as a low score and 80 was perceived as a high score, each result included the statement "A score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong... [prototypicality/ role performance/ high potential indicators].' As

¹ One participant did not identify as 'male' or 'female' and their data was not included in the analysis.

per studies 1 and 2, information about each test was also provided. After participants viewed the assessment summary, they were presented with the dependent variables.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions of the applicant on a ninepoint Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = neutral, 9 = very much).

Manipulation Checks. The measures adopted in experiment three replicate those used in *Study 1*. Therefore, the same items were used for the manipulation checks: organisation prototypicality (α =.88) and role performance (α =.93). Additionally, participants were provided with a list of five names and asked to check the name that referred to the applicant for whom they saw the assessment summary to check whether gender was manipulated successfully.

Dependent measures. Measures of leadership potential (α =.93), promotability (α =.96), future success (α =.93) and leadership traits (α =.93) were the same as those used in experiment one.

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 365 for a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 between-participants design to detect the MANOVA effect size of 0.03, a power of 0.99 was achieved.

Correlations

The associations between organisation prototypicality, role performance, and the dependent variables of perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and attributes of leadership traits are comparable to those observed in *Study 1*. Observations indicate that organisation prototypicality and role performance have stronger associations with the dependent variables than each other, though a significant relationship between organisation prototypicality is expected based on the findings of *Study 1* and *Study 2*.

 $M(SD) \qquad 1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3 \qquad 4 \qquad 5$

Table 3. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Prototypicality	6.69 (1.16)		.39**	.53**	.49**	.46**	.44**
2 Role Performance	6.87(1.27)			.58**	.66**	.59**	.46**
3 Leadership Potential	7.05(1.05)				.66**	.69**	.50**
4 Promotability	6.52(1.48)					.84**	.62**
5 Future Success	6.71(1.29)						.62**
6 Leadership Traits	6.12(0.84)						

Note. **p*<.05, ***p*<.01.

Factor analysis.

A factor analysis using Principal Components factor extraction with 2 factors and Varimax rotation was conducted to determine factor components where correlation between variables was >.8.

The analysis of promotability and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 89.50% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 82.10% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .85. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 2 and explained 7.40% of the variance with factor loadings of .77 - .86.

Manipulation checks.

A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality, performance, target gender, and evaluator gender on perceptions of organisation prototypicality and role performance.

Prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of prototypicality; F(1, 348)=152.61, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.31$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be more prototypical (M=7.32, SD=0.84) than the non-prototypical applicants (M=6.05, SD=1.09). There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of prototypicality; F(1, 348)=6.65, p=.01, $\eta_p^2=.02$. The high performing applicant was perceived to be more prototypical (M=6.80, SD=1.16) than the low performing applicant (M=6.57, SD=1.15). There was no difference for leader gender; F(1,348)=2.22, p=.14, $\eta_p^2=.01$, or participant gender; F(1,348)=2.47, p=.12, $\eta_p^2=.01$. There were no interaction effects.

Role performance. There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of role performance; F(1,348)=159.47, p<.001, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.31$. The high performing applicant was perceived to be higher in role performance (M=7.56, SD=0.82) than the low performing applicant (M=6.18, SD=1.27). There was a significant main effect of leader gender on perceptions of role performance; F(1,348)=9.98, p=.002, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.03$. The female leader was perceived to be higher in role performance (M=7.00, SD=1.24) than the male leader (M=6.75, SD=1.29). There was no difference for organisation prototypicality; F(1,348)=0.03, p=.87, $\eta_{p}^{2}<.001$ or participant gender; F(1,348)=2.67, p=.10, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.01$. There were no interaction effects.

Dependent measures

The dependent variables were included in the multivariate ANOVA that was conducted to compare the main and interaction effects between prototypicality, performance, target gender,

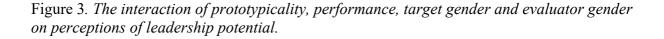
and evaluator gender on perceptions of organisation prototypicality and role performance. The MANOVA revealed a significant effect of prototypicality and performance on perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and leadership traits; F(6,343)=1.59, p=.15, $\eta_p^{2}=.03$.

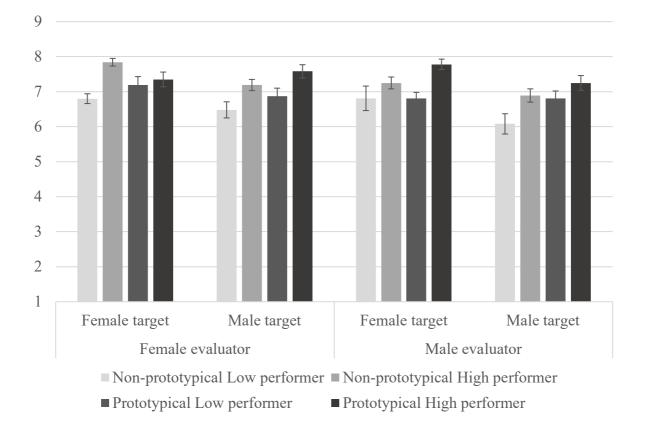
Leadership potential. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 348) = 7.55, p = .01, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.19, SD = 1.02) than the non-prototypical applicant (M = 6.92, SD = 1.07). There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 348) = 39.78, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. The high performing applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.37, SD =0.90) than the low performing applicant (M = 6.74, SD = 1.10). There was a significant main effect of leader gender on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 348) = 10.19, p = .002, $\eta_p^2 =$.03. The female applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.19, SD =0.99) than the male applicant (M = 6.93, SD = 1.09). There was a significant main effect of participant gender; F(1,348) = 3.82, p = .05, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. Women perceived more leadership potential in applicants (M = 7.14, SD = 1.04) than men (M = 6.95, SD = 1.06).

The main effects were qualified by a significant four-way interaction between leader gender, organisation prototypicality, role performance and participant gender; F(1, 348)=4.94, p=.03, $\eta_p^2=.01$. I analysed the three-way interactions by target gender to examine men and women's evaluations of male and female targets. There was a significant three-way interaction between organisation prototypicality, role performance and participant gender for female leadership applicants; $F(1, 167)=5.94 \ p=.02$, $\eta_p^2=.02$, but not male leadership applicants; F(1, 181)=0.40, p=.53, $\eta_p^2=.002$.

To compare men's and women's perceptions of the female leadership applicant, I analysed the two-way interaction by role performance followed by organisation

prototypicality. There was a two-way interaction between organisation prototypicality and participant gender for the high-performing female leadership applicant; F(1, 79)=7.94, p=.01, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.09$, but not the low-performing leadership applicant; F(1, 88)=0.76, p=.39, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.01$. Results showed that men rated the prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.78, SD=0.60) significantly higher in leadership potential than the non-prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.78, SD=0.60) significantly higher in leadership potential than the non-prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.78, SD=0.60) significantly high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.25, SD=0.82); F(1,79)=3.88, p=.05, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.05$). Women rated the non-prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.84, SD=0.50) significantly higher in leadership potential than the prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.35, SD=1.05); F(1,79)=4.01, p=.05, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.05$). Women rated the non-prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant (M=7.84, SD=0.50) significantly higher in leadership potential than men did (M=7.25, SD=0.82); F(1, 79)=5.59, p=.02, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.07$. There was no significant difference between men and women's ratings of leadership potential for the prototypical high-performing female leadership applicant; F(1, 79)=2.68, p=.11, $\eta_{p}^{2}=.03$.





Promotability. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of promotability; F(1, 348)=16.86, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.05$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M=6.79, SD=1.40) than the non-prototypical applicant (M=6.24, SD=1.52). There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of promotability; F(1, 348)=72.35, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=.17$. The high performing applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M=7.11, SD=1.22) than the low performing applicant (M=5.92, SD=1.48). There was a significant main effect of leader gender on perceptions of promotability; F(1, 348)=7.66, p=.006, $\eta_p^2=.02$. The female applicant (M=6.67, SD=1.43) was perceived to be more promotable than the male applicant (M=6.37, SD=1.52). There was

no difference for participant gender; F(1,348)=0.06, p=.81, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. There were no interaction effects.

Future success. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on perceptions of likely future success; F(1, 348)= 4.69, p=.03, $\eta_p^2=.01$. The prototypical applicant was perceived to be more likely to be successful in the future (M= 6.84, SD= 1.29) than the non-prototypical applicant (M= 6.58, SD= 1.27). There was a significant main effect of role performance on perceptions of likely future success; F(1, 348)= 42.06, p<.001, $\eta_p^2=$.11. The high performing applicant was perceived to be more likely to be successful in the future (M= 7.13, SD= 1.13) than the low performing applicant (M= 6.29, SD= 1.30). There was no difference for leader gender; F(1,348)= 1.97, p= .16, $\eta_p^2=.01$ or participant gender; F(1,348)= 1.04, p=.31, $\eta_p^2=.003$. There were no interaction effects.

Leadership traits. There was a significant main effect of organisation prototypicality on leadership traits; F(1, 348) = 15.22, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. The prototypical leadership applicant was perceived to be higher in leadership traits (M = 6.28, SD = 0.84) than the non-prototypical applicant (M = 5.95, SD = 0.82). There was a significant main effect of role performance on leadership traits; F(1, 348) = 13.07, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. The high-performing leadership applicant was perceived to be higher in leadership traits (M = 6.28, SD = 0.79) than the lowperforming leadership applicant (M = 5.95, SD = 0.87). There was no main effect of evaluator gender; F(1, 348) = 0.11, p = .74, $\eta_p^{2} < .001$, or target gender; F(1, 348) = 0.10, p = .75, $\eta_p^{2} < .001$. There were no interaction effects.

Discussion

The results suggest that when female prospective leaders are subject to assessment, they are judged more favourably than men on judgements of leadership potential and promotability, contrary to hypothesis 7a. This is an unexpected finding given that women are disadvantaged in attaining leadership positions (Kiser, 2015). However, it demonstrates a female leadership

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advantage that could represent a changing context for female leadership or greater endorsement of stereotypically female traits for leadership (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Despite wide evidence that women face more obstacles in their career progression than men, I found an overall favourability towards female prospective leaders in evaluations of leadership potential and promotability. It could be that evaluators inferred that female candidates who put themselves forward were perceived as exceptional and therefore they might have been singled out (i.e., expectancy-violation hypothesis; Burgoon & Hale, 1988).

Organisation prototypicality and role performance independently affected perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, likely future success and attribution of leadership traits. However, organisation prototypicality and role performance did not interact to affect perceptions of leadership potential, contrary to hypothesis 7. A possible explanation for why this interaction was not observed in this study but was observed in *Study 1* is that target and evaluator gender drives these effects such that the differences ascribed to men and women targets attenuate the interaction. I found support for this explanation.

Results showed a four-way interaction between organisation prototypicality, role performance, evaluator gender, and target gender on perceptions of leadership potential. In line with hypothesis 6, male evaluators perceived more leadership potential in female applicants who are both high-performing and prototypical, supporting Eagly's (2005) argument that women must go beyond being prototypical and must display behaviour in favour of the group. However, this finding counteracts the hypothesis that there will be an overall preference for the male leader. Interestingly, women perceived more leadership potential in the nonprototypical compared to the prototypical high-performing female. Evidence has shown that women's in-group bias is stronger than men's (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004), it is possible that men are motivated to "defend" their high status by perceiving leadership potential in exceptional women whilst women are motivated to "attack" by endorsing change (i.e., nonprototypical women) to win higher status from men.

General Discussion

Summary of Results

Overall, I found support for my hypotheses that organisation prototypicality and role performance affect perceptions of leadership potential. In addition, I found that in the absence of target and gender identity, organisation prototypicality and role performance interact to form perceptions of leadership potential.

In line with previous literature, I found that prototypicality and performance interact to affect perceptions of each attribute. For example, prototypicality increases perceptions of a target's performance over and above their objective performance. Thus, it is challenging to practically study these two attributes independently. Interestingly, I found that when target gender information is provided, the interactions between prototypicality and performance are no longer significant. This is possibly because this easily categorised information elicits different standards for men and women depending on the gender of the evaluator. I found evidence of this.

To revert to the research questions of this thesis, the strongest indication of an interaction between social identity constructs and sociodemographic variables is the four-way interaction observed in *Study 3*. As hypothesised, men who were evaluators perceived leadership potential in women when they were both prototypical and high-performing. Interestingly however, and contrary to expectations, men perceived more leadership potential in the prototypical, high-performing female applicant than any other applicant. Women did not evaluate women using the same processes; women perceived more leadership potential in female targets who were high-performing but non-prototypical. In addition, male targets' leadership potential was not recognised by men or women, even though earlier findings suggest

that male leaders and prototypical leaders are perceived similarly by both male and female evaluators (Deal & Stevenson, 1998). These findings emphasise the interaction between social identity constructs and target and evaluator gender that need to be considered alongside each other for a more insightful understanding of organisational decision-making. In addition, whilst prototypicality and performance are sufficient for promotion decisions and general future success, perceptions of leadership potential are more complex and require deeper processing (Kupor et al., 2014). As outlined in *Chapter 2*, leadership potential requires consideration of both leader emergence and predicting leader effectiveness with only information on the target as a group member.

Limitations

Significant interaction effects between organisation prototypicality and role performance on perceptions of the applicant's role performance were found. In *Study 1*, I could not determine whether these interactions occurred because of the design of the manipulations (i.e. whether the performance test design was inferring higher prototypicality), or whether they occurred because the two factors are influenced by participants' own psychological biases (i.e. high-performers are perceived to be more prototypical group members above objective performance). Research results supports the latter (Steffens, Haslam, Ryan & Kessler, 2013), suggesting that it is challenging to manipulate one of these two factors without influencing the other. *Study 2* confirmed this as the recall of objective scores did not interact but perceptions of success in those domains did.

There are two limitations of the samples used. First, participants were employees and not organisational decision-makers. Therefore, testing these hypotheses on organisational decision-makers may yield different results that have greater implications for practice. In addition, large drop-out rates due to failed attention checks and incomplete data meant that sample sizes were small. Though the sample size achieved sufficient power to detect larger effect sizes as per the results of the MANOVA, smaller effect sizes which are likely to have occurred would have been undetectable.

Implications

The present findings have implications for the understanding of diversity in leadership by demonstrating that in order for their leadership potential to be recognised (by male decision makers), women have to excel in role performance while being prototypical members of the organisation. This is consistent with previous research showing that women must go beyond representing the group by displaying behaviour in favour of the group (Eagly, 2005).

The social identity approach has previously overlooked diversity in evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members. This chapter advances the social identity perspective to highlight the role of target and evaluator gender in forming perceptions of ingroup members. I found evidence that men as central group members judge exceptional women as higher in leadership potential than they judge men with the same attributes. However, the reality of women being able to unequivocally demonstrate prototypicality and exceptional performance is unlikely. Therefore, as men are more likely to hold decision-making positions, this could explain why less women are promoted to leadership positions (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011) and why female potential is underutilised (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, & Ozbilgin, 2013). As research on the social identity approach in organisational contexts progresses, it is important to take forward the role of gender diversity in decision-making. One possible line of research points to how recategorization processes (Roth, Steffens, & Vignoles, 2018), or other social identity-based interventions, may contribute towards progress in organisational diversity initiatives.

The research findings highlight some important practical implications. Firstly, current organisational assessments of leadership potential are unlikely to include measures of prototypicality, 'fit,' or value-congruence. However, these findings suggest that information regarding an applicant's fit with the organisation are likely to influence perceptions of their

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leadership potential; this should be considered. Although one option is to incorporate an evaluation of "fit" into assessments of leadership potential, similar concepts have been considered and criticised for the changing nature of organisational culture to maintain a transparent and accurate assessment of fit (Church & Silzer, 2014) and then vulnerability to bias (Dries, 2013) as evidenced by *Study 1* and in support of Steffens and colleagues (2013). I support these criticisms; subjective perceptions of the organisation's culture and one's fit in relation to it are likely to be biased based on the evaluator's perceptions of their own fit or the applicant's similarity to themselves (the "like me" hypothesis; Dries and Permans, 2012) or even cultural stereotypes about organisational behaviour and leadership (Eagly & Sczesny, 2009). The second option is to provide training to decision-makers on how perceptions of prototypicality and similar processes can bias evaluations of leadership potential. However, the effectiveness of unconscious bias training is disputed (Atewologun, Cornish, & Tresh, 2018; Noon, 2018), simply making people aware of these biases may not be effective in tackling them.

Finally, similar can be said for the findings on the influence of role performance on perceptions of leadership potential. Do organisations use measures of role performance in assessments of leadership potential? If organisations do not, they need to be aware that knowledge about an individual's role performance can influence perceptions of their leadership potential and make one seem more promotable into a leadership position (the halo effect). If organisations do use role performance as an indicator of leadership potential, they must be aware that role performance adds little value (Robinson et al., 2009). Furthermore, someone with limited experience or low performance in a single role may be eliminated on this basis but may have extended skills, attributes, and motivation more indicative of leadership potential for longer-term leadership success. It is important to understand that role performance may affect

perceptions of leadership potential but may have very little value (Robison et al., 2009; Dries, 2013).

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter provides a positive first step in applying an experimental social psychological lens and framework to identify the psychological processes underpinning the identification and perceptions of leadership potential. Through three promotion simulation experiments, I have provided empirical evidence for the interactive role of social identity constructs and gender bias in evaluations of leadership potential and the implications of these for organisational practice. Study 1 identified organisation prototypicality and role performance as independent and interactive attributes that affect perceptions of leadership potential. Study 2 clarified conceptualisations and manipulations of organisation prototypicality and role performance and their interaction with each other. In addition, Study 2 demonstrated that social identity constructs do not affect perceptions of male leaders' leadership potential. Study 3 confirmed this and demonstrated that, whilst male targets are not necessarily evaluated through these processes, men perceive female targets as having more leadership potential than any other target when they are both prototypical and high-performing – something that is challenging to unequivocally demonstrate. Overall, I found that the interaction between social identity processes and target and evaluator gender interact to facilitate the recognition of women's leadership potential when the woman is exceptional. In the next chapter, I explore the role of organisational identification, an overlooked social identity construct in relation to both gender and leadership. I will explore similar patterns of interactions as in this chapter.

Chapter 4: Organisational Identification, Interpersonal Similarity and Leadership Potential

Chapter Overview

As examined in *Chapter 3*, the organisation prototypicality of the target influenced evaluators' perceptions of their leadership potential. In addition, men perceived women to have the most leadership potential when they were both individually high-performing and organisation prototypical. Men's leadership potential however was less readily perceived by men when taking social identity constructs into account. In this chapter, I explore the role of organisational and interpersonal similarity in forming perceptions of organisational group members' leadership potential, promotability, future success and the allocation of resources using three studies. Study 4 tests the causal relationship between the target's organisational identification and the evaluators' perceptions of their leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources, surfacing potential mediators of these relationships based on the literature. Study 5 examines the interaction between organisational identification, target gender and evaluator gender on perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources. Finally, Study 6 aims to examine whether interpersonal similarity can explain the findings of this thesis so far that men are more likely to differentiate between male and female prospective leaders in their evaluations of leadership potential. Specifically, Study 6 examines whether a) men perceive differences in male versus female prospective leaders' organisational identification and b) men's interpersonal similarity with male versus female prospective leaders differs, and to what extent this may contribute to forming perceptions of their leadership potential. Results show that high-identifiers are attributed greater leadership potential, mediated by attributions of the target's role performance (*Study 4*). Furthermore, men who are evaluators differentiate between high- and low-identified male prospective leaders but

Chapter 4: Identification and Leadership Potential

not high- and low-identified female prospective leaders, attributing significantly less leadership potential to low-identified men than both high-identified men and low-identified women (*Study* 5). The findings of *Study* 6 suggest that men's interpersonal similarity with male targets, but not female targets, predicts perceptions of leadership potential, which may attenuate low perceptions of leadership potential for men perceived to be low in organisational identification.

Organisational Identification

Organisational identification, a connection between the employee and their employer that is self-defining (Edwards, 2009), is the same as the psychological attachment elicited in group members towards any of their social groups (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). An individual's level of organisational identification is the extent to which an individual's identity is hinged on their belonging to an organisation, with high-identifiers more likely to derive their sense of self from their membership of the organisation and feel a greater sense of belonging (Kim, Change, & Ko, 2010; Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

The positive outcomes of individuals' organisational identification have been demonstrated considerably in the literature. High-identifying employees are more likely to endorse and support their organisation's goals (Dutton et al., 1994), are less likely to leave (Kumar & Singh, 2012; Van Dick et al., 2004), exert increased effort on behalf of the collective, demonstrate greater in-role and extra-role performance (van Knippenberg, 2000) and engage in organisational citizenship behaviours (Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000). As such, high-identifiers' greater motivation to achieve group goals is congruent with group members' expectations of their leaders. It is logical then to predict that being highly-identified with the organisation increases perceptions of one's leadership potential in the eyes of other organisational members.

Identification and Leadership

To date, the social identity approach's focus on leadership has been largely hinged on the importance of leader prototypicality (i.e., being "one of us") for eliciting followership. Identification with the group as a means of leaders' and potential leaders' social identity management (i.e., the ability to emerge as a leader and shape the group's identity) has been somewhat overlooked (Steffens, Schuh, Haslam, Pérez, & van Dick, 2015). Nonetheless, there is strong consensus regarding the benefits for the group of having highly-identified members (e.g. Bergami & Bagozzi, 2000; van Dick et al., 2004; van Knippenberg, 2000). It raises the

question therefore of whether identification (i.e. being "for us") also elicits perceptions of leadership potential.

Understanding the role of identification as a distinct construct from prototypicality is important for theorising the interaction between gender and social identity constructs in organisations. If organisational identification provides a route to leadership, women who are typically non-prototypical in organisational settings have an opportunity to demonstrate and be perceived as having leadership potential (Steffens et al., 2015). In *Chapter 3*, I observed that being organisation prototypical is insufficient for male and female prospective leaders to be perceived as having leadership potential by male evaluators. In this chapter I will examine whether the same standards are set for women in consideration of their organisational identification.

Study 4: Organisational Identification Influences Perceptions of Leadership Potential

While organisational identification and organisational commitment have in the past been conceptually intertwined, research has now successfully evidenced the two as distinct components of the employee's relationship with their organisation (van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). Organisational identification is considered to be one aspect of organisational commitment, namely affective commitment (Gautam et al., 2004; van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006). The constructs are similar but are not the same (Abrams & Randsley de Moura, 2001; Riketta, 2004). High-identifiers are more likely to be committed to their organisations, reducing an organisation's turnover rate (Kumar & Singh, 2012; Van Dick et al., 2004). A key concern for organisations when developing their employees' is the likelihood that the employee will leave after high-potential recognition (Kwon & Rupp, 2013). It makes sense then theoretically to examine perceived organisational commitment as a mediator of the relationship between a target's organisational identification and perceptions of a target's leadership potential.

The extra effort exerted by high-identifiers, compared to low-identifiers, elicits greater performance and motivation outcomes (Riketta, 2005). High-identifiers are more likely to have high performance within their job role which also extends to organisational citizenship behaviours; the actions that they take outside of their job remit to ensure that colleagues are supported (van Dick, Grojean, Christ, & Wieseke, 2006). It is therefore likely that attributions of performance mediate the relationship between target organisational identification and evaluator perceptions of the target's leadership potential.

Because the organisation forms a significant part of a high-identifiers self-concept, outcomes for the organisation are psychologically intertwined with outcomes for the individual. High-identifiers perceive the organisation's goals, wins and losses as their own. Thus, in order to derive self-esteem from the organisation as part of one's identity, high-

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identifiers are motivated to ensure the best outcomes for themselves and for the organisation (Van Knippenberg, 2000). To do this, extra effort is exerted by high-identifiers in the form of motivation to achieve organisational goals (Fuchs & Edwards, 2012). It is therefore likely that perceived motivation mediates the relationship between target organisational identification and evaluator perceptions of the target's leadership potential. Greater commitment to the group, higher performance, and motivation to achieve group goals are some of the outcomes of high identification. Although these constructs are subjective and are likely to be unreliable indicators of leadership potential, research suggests that these are often relied upon in managerial assessments of leadership potential (e.g. Church, 2015).

The aim of *Study 4* is to examine the role of identification in perceptions of leadership potential and similar constructs of promotability, future success, and allocation of resources. I also aim to test mediators of these relationships as identified in the literature.

Hypotheses

Study 4 experimentally tests perceptions of performance and motivation, as well as perceived organisational commitment, as mediators of the relationship between target organisational identification and perceived leadership potential and similar constructs of promotability, future success, and allocation of resources.

Hypothesis 8. I predict that a target's degree of organisational identification will affect the evaluator's perceptions of the target's leadership potential, such that high identifiers will be perceived to have significantly more leadership potential than low identifiers. They will also be perceived as more promotable and more likely to be successful in the future. Evaluators will allocate high-identifiers more resources than low-identifiers.

Hypothesis 9. I also predict that perceptions of the target's commitment to the organisation, attributions of role performance, and motivation will mediate the relationship

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between the target's organisational identification and evaluators perceptions of the target's leadership potential.

Method

Participants and design

A sample of 127 participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out. Therefore, a total of 101 participants' data was included in the analysis (37 males, 63 females, 1 undisclosed; aged 20 - 58; M = 34.28, SD = 8.12).

The study adopted a one-factor between-participants design. The independent variable was target organisational identification with two levels (low identification vs. high identification). Participants were allocated to one of two conditions in which they viewed the assessment summary and conversation with their supervisor for a prospective leader who either had low identification or high identification with the organisation. The dependent variables were perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources. Mediator variables were perceptions of the target's organisational commitment, role performance, and motivation.

Procedure and materials

The experiment was conducted via an online survey platform (Qualtrics). Participants were asked to provide the name of their organisation, which was then embedded in the design to make the context specifically about the participant's organisation and form a salient group identity for the evaluator and target.

The background information was the same as for the studies in *Chapter* 3. Fictitious information was provided about their organisation's 'Future Leaders Programme' which takes on employees based on evidence of their leadership potential. Employees who want to join the

programme must take the application tests. Participants were asked to imagine that they are a supervisor in the organisation who has been asked to evaluate an employee's suitability for the programme. Participants were shown "Employee A's" test scores. The tests were "Value Orientation," made up of subtests: value congruence, fit and norms & behaviours as well as a "Performance" test made up of subtests: delivery, achievements and excellence. Across both conditions the applicant has a score of 75 on value orientation and performance. These were included to increase the ecological validity.

The identification manipulation was presented after the test scores. On the following page participants were told that they recall a recent conversation with the applicant. The conversation discusses whether the applicant wants to be a leader in the organisation, how they perceive the organisation and how they feel about a negative news report about the organisation (*Appendix D*). In the high-identification condition the employee states that they see the organisation's successes as their own, they are proud of the organisation's successes, they are embarrassed by the negative news report and that they take criticism of the organisation as a personal insult. In the low-identification condition the employee states that they see the organisation's successes as separate to their own, they are proud of their own successes, they are not embarrassed by the negative news report and that they do not take criticism of the organisation as a personal insult (full materials are available in Appendix B). After the conversation excerpt participants were presented with the dependent variables.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

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Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions of the applicant on a ninepoint Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = neutral, 9 = very much).

Manipulation checks. To ensure that the conversation excerpt accurately reflected high/low identification with the organisation, manipulation checks were included in the experiment. To measure identification, participants indicated their perceptions of the applicant with 3 items (Randsley de Moura, Abrams, Retter, Gunnarsdottir, & Ando, 2009) on how they perceived the employee "feels strong ties with [organisation's name]/ feels that [organisation's name] is important to them/ is proud to be a member of [organisation's name]." A mean score was used as the index of identification, with higher scores indicating higher identification (α =.97).

Dependent variables. Perceptions of leadership potential was measured using 7 items; three used in previous experiments (Tresh, Randsley de Moura, & Leite, in prep; α =.92) and four adapted from Mueller, Goncalo, and Kamdar (2010; α = .92). A mean score was used as the index of leadership potential, with higher scores indicating higher leadership potential (α =.96).

Perceptions of promotability was measured using 3 items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... I would promote this employee to the Future Leaders Programme/ this employee deserves to be promoted to the future leaders programme/ this employee should be promoted to the future leaders programme." A mean score was used as the index of promotability, with higher scores indicating higher promotability (α =.99).

Perceptions of future success was measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... this employee will be successful on the Future Leaders Programme/ This employee will develop successful

leadership skills/ this employee is going to be an effective leader. " A mean score was used as the index of future success, with higher scores indicating higher future success (α =.97).

Allocation of resources was measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... I would provide resources to develop this employee/ This employee is worth investing in/ This employee should receive resources such as training and mentoring." A mean score was used as the index of allocation of resources, with higher scores indicating more resources would be allocated (α =.95).

Mediators. Perceptions of the employee's commitment to the organisation was measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... this employee is committed to [organisation's name]/ this employee will remain at [organisation's name]/ this employee wants to be a leader in [organisation's name]." A mean score was used as the index of commitment, with higher scores indicating higher commitment (α =.93).

Perceptions of role performance was measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you perceive the employee to have... a high-performance record/ produced excellent work/ highly achieved." A mean score was used as the index of role performance, with higher scores indicating higher role performance (α =.93).

Perceptions of the employee's motivation was measured using three items asking participants "please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements... this employee is motivated/ this employee is driven/ this employee is committed to working hard." A mean score was used as the index of motivation, with higher scores indicating higher motivation (α =.93).

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 101 for a means test of 2 independent groups to detect the Cohen's d effect size of 1.22, a power >.99 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial evidence of a relationship in the hypothesised direction can be observed by looking at the associations between organisational identification and perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources.

Factor analysis.

A factor analysis using Principal Components factor extraction with 2 factors and Varimax rotation was conducted to determine factor components where correlation between variables was >.80.

The analysis of identification and leadership potential yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 86.21% of the variance. Items measuring identification loaded on factor 1 and explained 78.20% of the variance with factor loadings of .82 - .89. Items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 2 and explained 8.01% of the variance with factor loadings of .67 - .84.

The analysis of identification and promotability yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 95.69% of the variance. Items measuring identification loaded on factor 1 and explained 88.81% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .86. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 2 and explained 6.88% of the variance with factor loadings of .85 - .88.

The analysis of identification and performance yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 90.77% of the variance. Items measuring identification loaded on factor 1 and explained 73.99% of the variance with factor loadings of .91 - .92. Items measuring performance loaded on factor 2 and explained 16.78% of the variance with factor loadings of .87 - .89.

The analysis of leadership potential and promotability yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 88.01% of the variance. Four of the items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 82.61% of the variance with factor loadings of .67 - .87. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 2 with 3 items measuring leadership potential and explained 5.40% of the variance with factor loadings of .65 - .87.

The analysis of leadership potential and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 86.65% of the variance. Four of the items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 81.53% of the variance with factor loadings of .70 - .86. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 2 with 3 items measuring leadership potential and explained 5.13% of the variance with factor loadings of .73 - .88.

The analysis of leadership potential and commitment yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 84.62% of the variance. Items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 75.09% of the variance with factor loadings of .73 - .88. Items measuring commitment on factor 2 and explained 9.53% of the variance with factor loadings of .81 - .90.

The analysis of promotability and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 96.17% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 91.78% of the variance with factor loadings of .82 - .84. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 2 and explained 4.39% of the variance with factor loadings of .77 - .84.

The analysis of promotability and allocation of resources yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 95.19% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 87.18% of the variance with factor loadings of .86 - .90. Items measuring allocation of resources loaded on factor 2 and explained 8.01% of the variance with factor loadings of .68 - .91.

The analysis of promotability and commitment yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 95.19% of the variance. Items measuring promotability and 1 item measuring commitment

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loaded on factor 1 and explained 93.63% of the variance with factor loadings of .71 - .91. Two items measuring commitment loaded on factor 2 and explained 7.38% of the variance with factor loadings of .72 - .91.

The analysis of promotability and performance yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 92.40% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 83.18% of the variance with factor loadings of .88 - .89. Items measuring performance loaded on factor 2 and explained 9.22% of the variance with factor loadings of .80 - .88.

The analysis of future success and allocation of resources yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 94.03% of the variance. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 1 and explained 84.57% of the variance with factor loadings of .86 - .91. Items measuring allocation of resources loaded on factor 2 and explained 9.46% of the variance with factor loadings of .72 - .92.

The analysis of future success and commitment yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 91.61% of the variance. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 1 and explained 80.39% of the variance with factor loadings of .87 - .91. Items measuring commitment loaded on factor 2 and explained 11.22% of the variance with factor loadings of .80 - .87.

The analysis of commitment and performance yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 87.78% of the variance. Items measuring commitment loaded on factor 1 and explained 73.31% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .91. Items measuring performance loaded on factor 2 and explained 14.47% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .90.

Overall, principal components analysis with varimax rotation revealed unique factors for the majority of variables. However, items measuring leadership potential loaded on to the factors of promotability and future success. In addition, items measuring promotability loaded on to the factor of commitment. These limitations will be addressed in the General Discussion section of this chapter.

Chapter 4: Identification and Leadership Potential

Table 4. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Organisational Identification	6.38 (2.37)		.80**	.86**	.76**	.76**	.63**	.90**	.69**
2 Leadership Potential	6.14 (1.83)			.90**	.89**	.77**	.80**	.76**	.71**
3 Promotability	5.65 (2.43)				.91**	.85**	.80**	.87**	.76**
4 Future Success	5.97 (1.99)					.82**	.82**	.76**	.78**
5 Resources	6.54 (1.88)						.72**	.81**	.73**
6 Commitment	6.48 (2.32)							.68**	.76**
7 Performance	6.38 (1.46)								.75**
8 Motivation	6.82 (1.63)								

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Manipulation checks.

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare differences between low and high organisational identified targets on perceptions of organisational identification.

There was a significant difference between the low and high organisational identified targets for how identified the leadership applicant was perceived to be; t(99)=10.13, p<.001. The highly-identified leadership applicant was perceived to be more identified with the organisation (M=8.11, SD=0.98) than the low-identified leadership applicant (M=4.75, SD=2.12).

Dependent measures

Independents samples t-tests were conducted to examine mean differences between target's high and low organisational identification for perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources.

The PROCESS macro (Model 4; See Hayes, 2018 with 5,000 bootstraps) was applied to examine perceived organisational commitment, role performance and motivation as mediators of the relationship between target organisational identification and perceptions of leadership potential (Model A), promotability (Model B), future success (Model C), and allocation of resources (Model D).

Leadership potential. There was a significant difference between the low and high organizational identification conditions for perceptions of leadership potential; t(98)=6.03, p<.001. The highly-identified leadership applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M=7.12, SD=1.23) than the low-identified leadership applicant (M=5.23, SD=1.82).

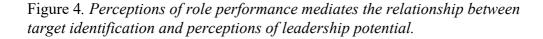
Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of role performance (b= 0.39, SE= 0.05, t= 8.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.29, 0.48), and perceptions of role performance was a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.62, SE=

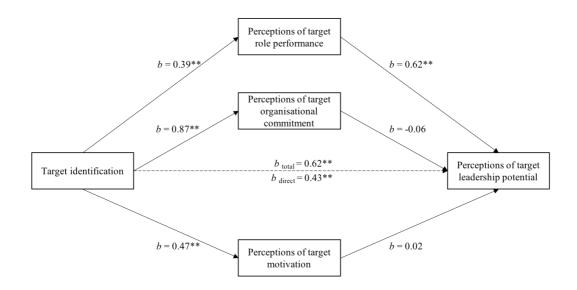
0.09, *t*= 6.62, *p*<.001, 95% CI 0.43, 0.81). The indirect effect was significant (*b*= 0.24, SE= 0.04, 95% CI 0.16, 0.33).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.87, SE= 0.04, t= 19.93, p<.001, 95% CI 0.79, 0.96). Perceptions of organisational commitment was not a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential (b= -0.06, SE= 0.09, t= -0.70, p= .49, 95% CI -0.25, 0.12). The indirect effect was non-significant (b= -0.06, SE= 0.11, 95% CI -0.28, 0.16).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of motivation (b=0.47, SE=0.05, t=9.43, p=<.001, 95% CI 0.37, 0.57). Perceptions of motivation was not a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential (b=0.02, SE=0.09, t=0.18, p=.86, 95% CI -0.17, 0.20). The indirect effect was non-significant (b=0.01, SE=0.04, 95% CI -0.07, 0.08).

For the overall model, the direct effect of organisational identification on perceptions of leadership potential was significant (b= 0.43, SE= 0.08, t= 5.25, p< .001, 95% CI 0.27, 0.59) as was the total effect (b= 0.62, SE= 0.05, t= 13.40, p<.001, 95% CI 0.53, 0.71).





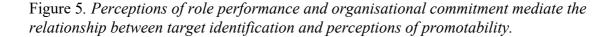
Promotability. There was a significant difference between the low and high organizational identification conditions for perceptions of promotability; t(98)=7.02, p<.001. The highly-identified leadership applicant was perceived to be more promotable (M=7.10, SD=1.37) than the low-identified leadership applicant (M=4.31, SD=2.43).

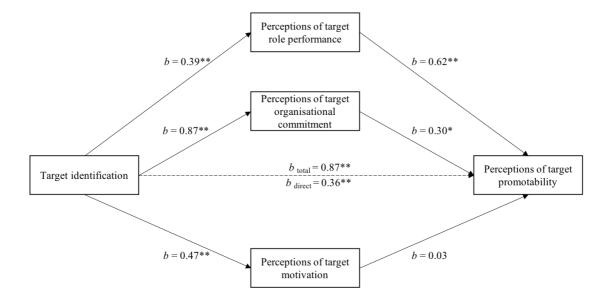
Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of role performance (b= 0.39, SE= 0.05, t= 8.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.29, 0.48), and perceptions of role performance was a significant predictor of perceptions of promotability (b= 0.62, SE= 0.10, t= 6.24, p<.001, 95% CI 0.43, 0.82). The indirect effect was significant (b= 0.24, SE= 0.05, 95% CI 0.16, 0.33).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.87, SE= 0.04, t= 19.93, p<.001, 95% CI 0.79, 0.96), and perceptions of organisational commitment was a significant predictor of perceptions of promotability (b= 0.30, SE= 0.10, t= 3.00, p= .003, 95% CI 0.10, 0.49). The indirect effect was significant (b= 0.26, SE= 0.10, 95% CI 0.06, 0.44).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of motivation (b=0.47, SE=0.05, t=9.43, p=<.001, 95% CI 0.37, 0.57). Perceptions of motivation was not a significant predictor of perceptions of promotability (b=0.03, SE=0.10, t=0.32, p=.75, 95% CI -0.17, 0.23). The indirect effect was non-significant (b=0.01, SE=0.05, 95% CI -0.08, 0.12).

For the overall model, the direct effect of organisational identification on perceptions of leadership potential was significant (b= 0.36, SE= 0.09, t= 4.13, p< .001, 95% CI 0.19, 0.53) as was the total effect (b= 0.87, SE= 0.05, t= 16.41, p<.001, 95% CI 0.77, 0.98).





Future success. There was a significant difference between the low and high organizational identification conditions for perceptions of future success; t(98)=5.92, p<.001. The highly-identified leadership applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M=7.03, SD=1.22) than the low-identified leadership applicant (M=4.99, SD=2.07).

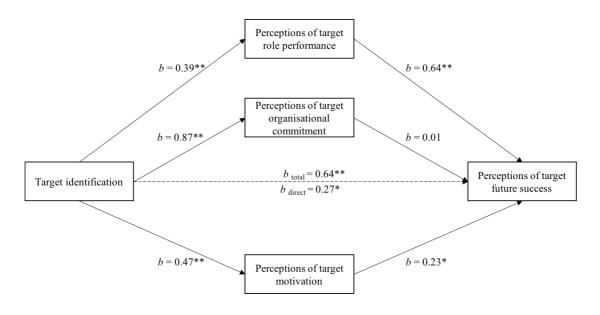
Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of role performance (b= 0.39, SE= 0.05, t= 8.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.29, 0.48), and perceptions of role performance was a significant predictor of perceptions of future success (b= 0.64, SE= 0.10, t= 6.30, p<.001, 95% CI 0.44, 0.84). The indirect effect was significant (b= 0.25, SE= 0.04, 95% CI 0.17, 0.35).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.87, SE= 0.04, t= 19.93, p<.001, 95% CI 0.79, 0.96). Perceptions of organisational commitment was not a significant predictor of perceptions of future success (b= 0.01, SE= 0.10, t= 0.08, p=.94, 95% CI -0.19, 0.21). The indirect effect was non-significant (b= 0.01, SE= 0.09, 95% CI -0.16, 0.19).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of motivation (b=0.47, SE=0.05, t=9.43, p=<.001, 95% CI 0.37, 0.57), and perceptions of motivation was a significant predictor of perceptions of future success (b=0.23, SE=0.10, t=2.32, p=.02, 95% CI 0.03, 0.43). The indirect effect was marginally-significant (b=0.01, SE=0.05, 95% CI - 0.0003, 0.20).

The direct effect of organisational identification on perceptions of leadership potential was significant (b= 0.27, SE= 0.09, t= 3.11, p= .003, 95% CI 0.10, 0.45) as was the total effect (b= 0.64, SE= 0.05, t= 11.68, p<.001, 95% CI 0.53, 0.75).

Figure 6. Perceptions of role performance and motivation mediate the relationship between target identification and perceptions of future success.



Allocation of Resources. There was a significant difference between the low and high organisational identification conditions for allocation of resources; t(98)=5.79, p<.001. The highly-identified leadership applicant was perceived to have more leadership potential (M=7.52, SD=1.22) than the low-identified leadership applicant (M=5.63, SD=1.93).

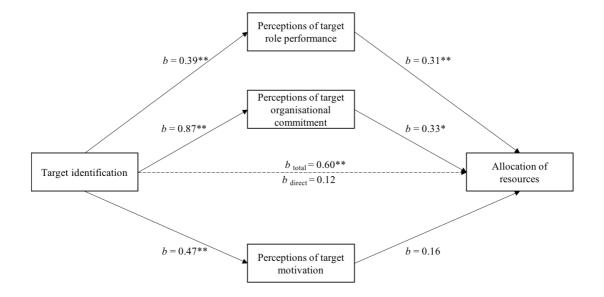
Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of role performance (b= 0.39, SE= 0.05, t= 8.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.29, 0.48), and perceptions of role

performance was a significant predictor of allocation of resources (b= 0.31, SE= 0.11, t= 2.80, p= .01, 95% CI 0.09, 0.53). The indirect effect was significant (b= 0.12, SE= 0.05, 95% CI 0.01, 0.23).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.87, SE= 0.04, t= 19.34, p<.001, 95% CI 0.79, 0.96), and perceptions of organisational commitment was a significant predictor of allocation of resources (b= 0.33, SE= 0.11, t= 3.03, p= .003, 95% CI 0.11, 0.55). The indirect effect was significant (b= 0.29, SE= 0.12, 95% CI 0.06, 0.54).

Organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of motivation (b=0.47, SE=0.05, t=9.43, p=<.001, 95% CI 0.37, 0.57). Perceptions of motivation was not a significant predictor of allocation of resources (b=0.16, SE= 0.11, t=1.44, p=.15, 95% CI - 0.06, 0.38). The indirect effect was non-significant (b=0.08, SE= 0.09, 95% CI -0.07, 0.27).

The direct effect of organisational identification on allocation of resources was nonsignificant (b= 0.12, SE= 0.10, t= 1.22, p= .22, 95% CI -0.07, 0.31). The total effect was significant (b= 0.60, SE= 0.05, t= 11.71, p<.001, 95% CI 0.51, 0.71). Figure 7. Perceptions of role performance and organisational commitment mediate the relationship between target identification and allocation of resources.



Discussion

In support of hypothesis 8, target organisational identification predicted evaluators' perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, and future success of the target, as well as allocation of resources. Evaluators' perceptions of the target's leadership potential, promotability, and future success, and the amount of resources that the evaluator would allocate to the target increases with information regarding a target's high identification with the organisation. In partial support of the mediational hypotheses (hypothesis 9), when a potential leader is highly identified with the organisation, they are attributed greater performance, which partly explains perceptions of greater leadership potential, promotability, future success and allocation of resources. However, performance was the only significant mediator of the relationship between organisational identification and perceptions of leadership potential. Perceptions of greater organisational commitment for highly-identified targets partly explained perceptions of promotability and allocation of resources for these prospective leaders. Perceptions of greater motivation for highly-identified targets partly explained perceptions of

greater future success, but not perceptions of leadership potential, promotability or allocation of resources. Overall, the findings show that highly-identified members are more likely to be perceived as high in leadership potential, and this is partly explained by attributions of higher performance.

Results support previous reporting that role performance is often used as an indicator of leadership potential (e.g. Robsinson et al., 2009; Silzer & Church, 2009). Nonetheless, perceptions of performance are often based on invalid and unreliable attributions of performance. As demonstrated in this study, the target's psychological attachment to the organisation is sufficient for evaluators to attribute them higher performance and consequently higher leadership potential. Thus, I can conclude that perceptions of a potential leader's organisational identification are one source of information that may be used by managers to assess leadership potential through attributions of higher performance. As argued in the literature, assessments of both performance and leadership potential should be made on more objective criteria that are both valid and reliable measures. If role performance is an ineffective indicator of leadership potential then social identity constructs such as organisational identification are likely to further reduce the accuracy in identifying leadership potential. In *Study 5*, I examine whether the gender of the target and the gender of the evaluator add further subjectivity to perceptions of leadership potential based on the target's organisational identification.

Study 5: Central Group Members Receive Penalties for Low-Identification

In leadership assessments, the organisation's identity is likely to be salient as evaluators assess the perceived congruence between the target and the organisational culture (Sarris & Kirby, 2005). This explains why women are more likely to attain leadership positions in typically communal industries such as healthcare and education (e.g. Bowles et al., 2005; Gipson et al., 2017), and why the gender diversity in leadership gap is wider in masculine cultures (Elesser & Lever, 2011). As the evaluator considers the groups' identity, they also consider others' centrality and relationship with the group (i.e., their prototypicality and identification) as demonstrated in the literature in support for prototypical and highly-identified group members (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, & Crisp, 2012). I expect that the gender of the target and evaluator contributes to the evaluator's decision-making as it provides additional information for the evaluator to make inferences regarding the target's position and relationship with the group (Danbold & Huo, 2017).

Based on the findings from *Study 4*, that a target's high organisational identification increases evaluators' perceptions of their leadership potential, promotability, future success, and allocation of resources, *Study 5* investigates whether these effects hold for both male and female prospective leaders respectively when rated by men and women. The previous studies in this thesis have demonstrated that assessments of leadership potential are subjective, based on the interaction between target and the evaluator's gender, the target's position in the group, and the target's relationship with the group. The aim of *Study 5* is to add to these findings by examining the interaction between target and evaluator gender and the target's postential and similar constructs of promotability, future success, and allocation of resources.

Hypotheses.

Hypothesis 10. As found in *Study 4*, I predict that there will be a main effect of organisational identification, highly identified prospective leaders will be perceived as higher in leadership potential than low identified prospective leaders.

Hypothesis 11. I predict that there will be a main effect of target gender such that female prospective leaders will be perceived as higher in leadership potential than male prospective leaders. In addition, there will be no main effect of evaluator gender.

Hypothesis 12. Two-way interactions will be non-significant, as the interaction between factors is based on both target and evaluator gender as well as the social identity construct.

Hypothesis 13. I predict that women will not differentiate between male and female targets, they will perceive higher leadership potential in both highly identified male and female prospective leaders and perceive lower leadership potential in both low identified male and female prospective leaders (i.e., the differences in perceptions of leadership potential between male and female applicants in the same identification condition will be non-significant). Finally, men will perceive less leadership potential in low-identified female applicants compared to low-identified male applicants, and more leadership potential in high-identified male applicants.

Method

Participants and design

A sample of 243 participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out. Therefore, a total of 171 participants' data was included in the analysis (61 males, 110 females; aged 19-53; M=28.84, SD=4.14).

The study adopted a 2 Leader Gender (male vs. female) x 2 Identification (low vs. high) x 2 Evaluator Gender (male vs. female) between-participants design. Male and female evaluators (participants) were allocated to one of four conditions in which they viewed the assessment summary and conversation for and evaluated a prospective leader who was either male or female and either had low identification or high identification with the organisation. The dependent variables were perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, and future success, and allocation of resources.

Procedure and materials

Study 5 replicated *Study 4*, incorporating information regarding the leadership applicant's gender. Participants received the same background information as in experiment one and were asked to take the perspective of the supervisor to evaluate an applicant for the 'Future Leaders Programme.' However, in this experiment, the test score referred to "John Atkins" or "Sarah Atkins" to manipulate leader gender. This was reinforced by referring to "John" or "Sarah" and "supervisor" in the conversation excerpt following the test scores. Identification was manipulated in the same way as experiment one.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions of the applicant on a ninepoint Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = neutral, 9 = very much).

Manipulation Checks. The measures adopted in *Study 5* replicate those used in *Study* 4. Therefore, the same items were used for the manipulation checks: identification (α = .97). Additionally, participants were provided with a list of five names and asked to check the name

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that referred to the applicant for whom they saw the assessment summary and conversation excerpt to check whether gender was manipulated successfully.

Dependent measures. Measures of leadership potential (α =.97), promotability (α =.98), future success (α =.97), and allocation of resources (α =.96) were the same as those used in Study 1.

Mediators. Measures of role performance (α =.94), commitment (α =.92), motivation $(\alpha$ =97) were the same as those used in *Study 1*.

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 171 for a 2 x 2 x 2 between-participants design to detect the MANOVA effect size of 0.05, a power of 0.92 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial observation of the relationship between variables indicates that there is no relationship between target gender and outcome variables as observed in Study 3. Replicating the findings of Study 4, target organisation is significantly associated with the outcome variables.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Target gender			.004	.02	.04	.04	.06
2 Organisational Identification	6.61 (2.22)			.75**	.79**	.69**	.68**
3 Leadership Potential	6.41 (1.69)				.92**	.93**	.81**
4 Promotability	6.01 (2.21)					.90**	.81**
5 Future Success	6.30 (1.86)						.80**
6 Resources	6.79 (1.82)						

Table 5. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Factor analysis.

A factor analysis using Principal Components factor extraction with 2 factors and Varimax rotation was conducted to determine factor components where correlation between variables was >.8.

The analysis of leadership potential and promotability yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 88.54% of the variance. Three items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 2 and explained 3.81% of the variance with factor loadings of .72 - .85. Items measuring promotability and four items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 84.74% of the variance with factor loadings of .77 - .82.

The analysis of leadership potential and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 88.52% of the variance. Three items measuring leadership potential and 1 item measuring future success loaded on factor 2 and explained 3.99% of the variance with factor loadings of .72 - .85. Two items measuring future and 4 items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 84.53% of the variance with factor loadings of .72 - .87.

The analysis of leadership potential and allocation of resources yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 87.30% of the variance. Items measuring leadership potential loaded on factor 1 and explained 79.85% of the variance with factor loadings of .74 - .85. Items measuring allocation of resources loaded on factor 2 and explained 7.44% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .88.

The analysis of promotability and future success yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 95.12% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 90.14% of the variance with factor loadings of .81 - .85. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 2 and explained 4.97% of the variance with factor loadings of .79 - .86.

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The analysis of promotability and allocation of resources yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 94.88% of the variance. Items measuring promotability loaded on factor 1 and explained 85.65% of the variance with factor loadings of .87 - .89. Items measuring allocation of resources loaded on factor 2 and explained 9.23% of the variance with factor loadings of .83 - .88.

The analysis of future success and allocation of resources yielded 2 factors explaining a total of 95.52% of the variance. Items measuring future success loaded on factor 1 and explained 83.82% of the variance with factor loadings of .87 - .88. Items measuring allocation of resources loaded on factor 2 and explained 9.70% of the variance with factor loadings of .84 - .88.

As observed in *Study 4*, principal components analysis with varimax rotation revealed unique factors for the majority of variables. However, items measuring leadership potential loaded on to the factors of promotability and future success. These limitations will be addressed in the General Discussion section of this chapter.

Manipulation checks.

A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to compare the interaction between low and high organisational identification, target gender, and evaluator gender on perceptions of organisational identification.

Identification. There was a significant main effect of identification on perceptions of target identification; F(1, 163)=111.55, p < .001, $\eta^2 = .41$. High-identifiers are perceived to be higher identifiers (M= 8.05, SD= 1.04) than low-identifiers (M= 5.18, SD= 2.16). There was no main effect of target gender; F(1, 163)=0.09, p=.76, $\eta^2 = .001$, or evaluator gender; F(1, 163)=0.83, p=.36, $\eta^2 = .01$, on perceptions of target identification. There were no interaction effects on perceptions of organisational identification.

Dependent measures.

The dependent variables were included in the multivariate ANOVA that was conducted to compare the interaction between low and high organisational identification, target gender and evaluator gender on perceptions of organisational identification and the outcome variables.

Leadership Potential. There was a significant main effect of identification on perceptions of leadership potential; F(1, 163)=27.41, p < .001, $\eta^2 = .14$. High-identifiers are perceived to have more leadership potential (M = 7.10, SD = 1.26) than low identifiers (M = 5.73, SD = 1.79). There was no main effect of target gender; F(1, 163)=0.45, p = .50, $\eta^2 = .003$, or evaluator gender; F(1, 163)=1.21, p = .27, $\eta^2 = .01$, on perceptions of the target's leadership potential.

There was a significant three-way interaction between leader gender, organisational identification, and participant gender on perceptions of the target's leadership potential; F(1, 163) = 5.27, p = .02, $\eta^2 = .03$. Further analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction between target gender for male evaluators; F(1, 57) = 5.07, p = .03, $\eta^2 = .08$, but not female evaluators; F(1, 57) = 1.03, p = .31, $\eta^2 = .01$. Men rated the low identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the high identified male target (M = 6.99, SD = 1.06); F(1, 57) = 11.83, p = .001, $\eta^2 = .17$. This pattern was not found for female target; F(1, 57) = 0.05, p = .82, $\eta^2 = .001$. In addition, men rated the low-identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the low-identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the low-identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the low-identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the low-identified male target (M = 5.23, SD = 1.66) significantly lower in leadership potential than the low-identified female target (M = 6.34, SD = 1.22); F(1, 57) = 4.24, p = .04, $\eta^2 = .07$. This pattern was not found for high identified targets; F(1, 57) = 1.18, p = .28, $\eta^2 = .02$.

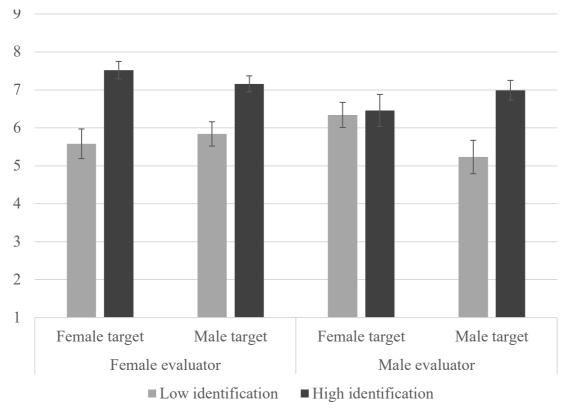


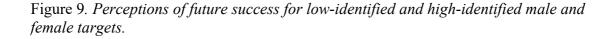
Figure 8. Perceptions of leadership potential for low-identified and high-identified male and female targets.

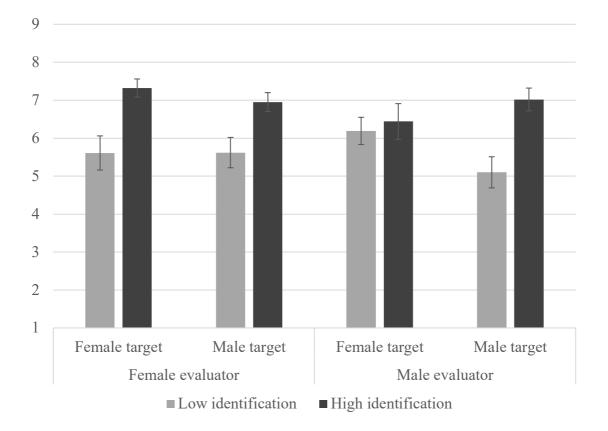
Promotability. There was a significant main effect of identification on promotability; $F(1, 163)= 34.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$. High-identifiers are perceived to be more promotable (M = 6.98, SD = 1.51) than low-identifiers (M = 5.06, SD = 2.38). There was no main effect of target gender; $F(1, 163)= 0.54, p = .46, \eta^2 = .003$, or evaluator gender ; $F(1, 163)= 0.30, p = .58, \eta^2 = .002$ on perceptions of the target's promotability.

There was a marginally-significant three-way interaction between leader gender, organisational identification and participant gender on perceptions of the target's promotability; F(1, 163)= 3.66, p=.06, $\eta^2=.02$. Further analyses revealed that simple effects were non-significant.

Future Success. There was a significant main effect of identification on future success; $F(1, 163)= 21.72, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. High-identifiers are perceived to be more likely to be successful (M= 6.98, SD= 1.38) than low-identifiers (M= 5.62, SD= 2.03). There was no main effect of target gender; F(1, 163)= 0.61, p= .44, η^2 = .004, or evaluator gender ; F(1, 163)= 0.46, p= .50, η^2 = .003, on perceptions of the target's promotability.

There was a marginally-significant three-way interaction between leader gender, organisational identification and participant gender on perceptions of the target's future success; F(1, 163)=3.39, p=.07, $\eta^2=.02$. Further analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction between target gender for male evaluators; F(1, 57)=4.67, p=.04, $\eta^2=.08$, but not female evaluators; F(1, 57)=0.29, p=.59, $\eta^2=.003$. Men rated the low identified male target (M=5.10, SD=1.53) significantly lower in future success than the high identified male target (M=7.02, SD=1.23); F(1, 57)=12.46, p=.001, $\eta^2=.18$. This pattern was not found for female target (M=5.10, SD=1.53) marginally lower in leadership potential than the low-identified male target (M=5.10, SD=1.53) marginally lower in leadership potential than the low-identified female target (M=6.19, SD=1.35); F(1, 57)=3.68, p=.06, $\eta^2=.06$. This pattern was not found for high identified targets; F(1, 57)=1.22, p=.27, $\eta^2=.02$.



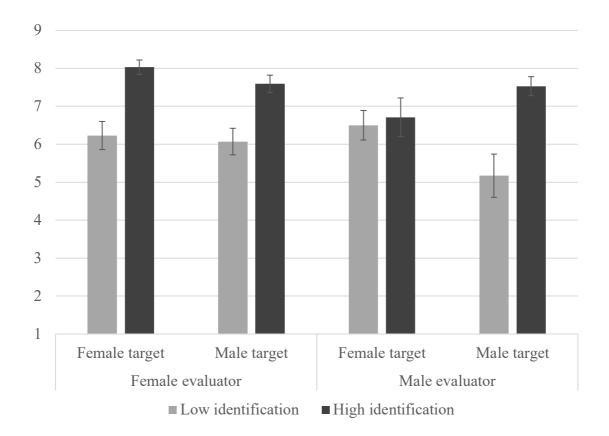


Allocation of Resources. There was a significant main effects of identification on allocation of resources; F(1, 163) = 31.76, p < .001, $\eta^2 = .16$. High-identifiers were more likely to be allocated resources (M = 7.54, SD = 1.36) than low-identifiers (M = 6.05, SD = 1.91). There was a marginally-significant main effect of evaluator gender on allocation of resources; F(1, 163) = 3.71, p = .06, $\eta^2 = .02$. Female participants allocated more resources to prospective leaders (M = 6.93, SD = 1.78) than male participants (M = 6.54, SD = 1.87). There was no main effect of target; F(1, 163) = 1.12, p = .29, $\eta^2 = .01$, on allocation of resources.

There was a significant three-way interaction between leader gender, organisational identification and participant gender on allocation of resources; F(1, 163)=5.39, p=.02, $\eta^2=.03$. Further analyses revealed a significant two-way interaction between target gender for male

evaluators; F(1, 57)=5.99, p=.02, $\eta^2=.10$, but not female evaluators; F(1, 57)=0.20, p=.65, $\eta^2=.002$. Men attributed the low identified male target (M=5.17, SD=2.14) significantly less resources than the high identified male target (M=7.53, SD=1.02); F(1, 57)=14.61, p<.001, $\eta^2=.20$. This pattern was not found for female targets; F(1, 57)=0.11, p=.74, $\eta^2=.002$. In addition, men allocated the low-identified male target (M=5.17, SD=2.14) significantly less resources than the low-identified female target (M=5.17, SD=2.14) significantly less resources than the low-identified female target (M=6.50, SD=1.45); F(1, 57)=4.24, p=.04, $\eta^2=.07$. This pattern was not found for high identified targets; F(1, 57)=1.89, p=.17, $\eta^2=.03$.

Figure 10. Allocation of resources for low-identified and high-identified male and female targets.



Discussion

In support of *Study 4* and hypothesis 10, I found that a target's high organisational identification increases evaluators' perceptions of their leadership potential. In partial support of the hypotheses (hypothesis 11), I found that the gender of the evaluator and target also influences perceptions of leadership potential. Supporting hypothesis 13, women do not differentiate between the genders of candidates, they perceive more leadership potential in high-identifying men and women compared to low-identifying men and women. Men however did differentiate between target genders but not in the direction predicted by hypothesis 13. Whilst both male and female targets benefitted in terms of perceived leadership potential from higher identification, men perceived low-identifying male targets to have significantly less leadership potential than low-identifying female targets. In addition, men were significantly less likely to perceive future success or allocate resources to low-identified male targets. This finding suggests that men have a bias *against* male potential leaders who do not identify with the organisation, contrary to what I had predicted.

One plausible explanation for the unexpected finding is provided by the expectancyviolation of ingroup and outgroup members (Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, Mulholland, 1997). The theory suggests that ingroup members who violate positive expectations receive significantly harsher evaluations than outgroup members who violate positive expectations. In fact, an ingroup member's violation of a positive expectation receives more extreme negative criticism than the positive reaction given to an ingroup member who violates a negative expectation positively (i.e., enacts a positive behaviour when the expectation is negative). In the context of this research, men's centrality in organisational groups may lead to men expecting other men to value their membership of the group, and derive a sense of identity and self-esteem from this membership. As women are more likely to be peripheral members of organisational groups, neither men or women expect them to have

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this strong sense of psychological attachment. Within the wider, shared organisational identity, sociodemographic variables such as gender may form 'subgroups' in which the members have distinct behaviours, norms, and expectations that members of each gender group, depending on their level of identification with that gender group, adhere to (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Based on expectancy-violation theory, male targets who demonstrated low identification with the organisational group should receive significantly harsher criticism for violating the expectancy of identification that was not expected of female targets.

The findings of this study do not appear to reflect talent identification in organisations. Men hold the majority of decision-making positions (Huber & O'Rourke, 2017) and men are overrepresented in leadership positions (Fisk, 2018; Ljungholm, 2018). One possible explanation for why men are traditionally biased *towards* male candidates is that in the absence of confirming information they *assume* that other men are highly identified and thus perceive more leadership potential in them. In the previous study, evaluators were provided with objective information about the target's level of identification and men punished low identifying male applicants for violating expectations about their psychological attachment to the group. It is possible that in the absence of information to the contrary, men may assume that male prospective leaders, those more likely to be central to the organisational group, are more likely to identify with the organisation and thus more likely to have leadership potential. Alternatively, interpersonal similarity between male evaluators and male targets may protect men's 'pitfalls.' To test the notion that a) men assume that male potential leaders identify more with the organisation, and b) men's interpersonal similarity benefits male but not female targets, I conducted Study 6 with men only, measuring as opposed to manipulating their perceptions of male and female targets' organisational identification, interpersonal similarity with the target, and the effects of these on perceptions of leadership potential.

Study 6: Interpersonal Similarity and Central Group Members' Leadership Potential

Study 5 demonstrated that male evaluators perceive leadership potential differently for different gender candidates. More specifically, men perceived significantly less leadership potential in low-identified male prospective leaders than any other applicant. However, a bias by men against male leaders does not seem to reflect what is happening in organisational practice- men hold the majority of decision-making positions and disproportionately identify leadership potential in men (Huber & O'Rourke, 2017). One plausible explanation is that typically, or in the absence of information to the contrary, men assume higher organisational identification in men and thus more readily perceive leadership potential in them. Another plausible explanation is that perceived interpersonal similarity between male evaluators and male targets may protect men's 'pitfalls.' This study tests these explanations by examining men's perceptions of organisational identification as a mediator of the relationship between target gender and perceptions of the target's leadership potential.

Research has shown that interpersonal liking and perceptions of similarity mutually reinforce each other in leadership promotion decisions (Koch et al., 2015). It is plausible therefore that target gender is a moderator of the relationship between interpersonal similarity and perceptions of leadership potential. Leaders are more likely to promote those with the same characteristics as themselves (Rink et al., 2019). Additionally, research has shown that perceived interpersonal similarity increases perceptions of succession potential for male decision-makers but not female decision-makers (Rink et al., 2019). Men are more motivated to promote similar others to maintain their exclusive informal networks (McDonald, 2011). For this reason, this study tests these effects with male decision-makers only as men hold the majority of organisational decision-making positions (Huber & O'Rourke, 2017). The aim of *Study 6* is to examine how male evaluators *perceive* organisational identification and interpersonal similarity with otherwise identical men and women candidates and whether this

explains a) the results of *Study 5* and b) why men may be more likely to identify leadership potential in men than women.

Hypotheses

Unlike *Study 5* there is no manipulation of organisational identification in the current study. In this study there is no manipulation of organisational identification.

Hypothesis 14. I predict that target gender will significantly predict leadership potential such that men will be perceived by male participants to have more leadership potential than women.

Hypothesis 14a. As men are more likely to be central members in organisational groups (Mehra, Kilduff, & Brass, 1998) and identification acts to protect the group's status and identity (Jetten & Spears, 1997), I predict that men are more likely to perceive greater leadership potential in other men because they perceive them to be more highly identified with the organisational group than women. Therefore, I predict that the relationship between target gender and perceptions of the target's leadership potential will be mediated by organisational identification. Men will be attributed greater organisational identification which will partly explain why they are perceived by men to have more leadership potential.

Hypothesis 15. Interpersonal similarity, the extent to which the evaluator perceives personal similarity with the target, will predict perceptions of leadership potential. Evaluators promote those who they perceive to be most similar and share the same characteristics as themselves (Schaubroeck & Lam, 2002; Strauss, Barrick, & Connerley, 2001).

Hypothesis 15a. Because interpersonal similarity is more likely to affect male evaluators, I predict that the relationship between interpersonal similarity with the target and perceptions of leadership potential is moderated by target gender – male evaluators' interpersonal similarity with the target will predict leadership potential for male targets but not

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female targets as men are motivated to maintain their higher status position (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001).

Method

Participants and design

A sample of 103 male participants, full-time employed in the UK, were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. Participants' data was removed from the analysis if they failed the attention check, had missing responses, or timed-out. Therefore, a total of 92 participants' data was included in the analysis (aged 23 - 62; M= 36.79, SD= 9.55).

The study adopted a one-factor between-participants design. The independent variable was target gender with two levels (male vs. female). Participants were allocated to one of two conditions in which they viewed the assessment summary and evaluated a prospective leader who was either male or female. The dependent variables were perceptions of leadership potential, promotability, and future success. The mediator variable was perceptions of organisational identification. I also measured interpersonal similarity with the target as a predictor of leadership potential.

Procedure and materials

Study 6 replicated *Study 5*. However, no information regarding the applicant's identification with the organisation was included. Instead, the employee test scores only provided information on the "Performance Test" and "Skills Test" which were consistent across both conditions. Participants either saw these test scores for "Mark Anderson" or "Sarah Anderson." In both conditions, participants saw an employee profile which described the employee as "male" or "female." Across both conditions, the employee's time at the company was presented as "5 years" and the motivation statement read "It is my long-term career goal to become a senior leader, I think the Future Leaders Programme provides a good opportunity to work towards this."

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions of the applicant on a ninepoint Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = neutral, 9 = very much).

Manipulation Checks. Participants were provided with a list of five names and asked to check the name that referred to the applicant for whom they saw the assessment summary and conversation excerpt to check whether gender was manipulated successfully.

Dependent measures. Measures of organisational identification (previously a manipulation check; α =.90), leadership potential (α =.95), promotability (α =.97), future success (α =.96), role performance (α =.90), and commitment (α = .84) were the same as those used in *Study 4* and *Study 5*.

I measured interpersonal similarity with the target. The first four-item measure was amended from Hoffner and Buchanan (2009) with additional items to test (total α = .84). Identification with the target was measured using 7 items asking participants "*Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements*... I am like this employee/ this employee is someone I emulate/ I do the kinds of things that this employee does/ I never act like this employee is similar to me."

Results

Power analysis.

Using 'Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects' (Shoemann, Boulton & Short, 2017), results showed that with a sample size of 92 and one mediator variable, a power of 0.84 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial observations of correlations indicate no relationship between the gender of the target and interpersonal similarity with the target or perceptions of the target's organisational identification or leadership potential.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4
1 Target gender			09	.03	.12
2 Interpersonal similarity	5.29 (1.20)			.29**	.37**
3 Organisational identification	6.66 (1.02)				.68**
4 Leadership Potential	6.66 (1.17)				

Table 6. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified VariablesNote. *p<.05; **p<.01</td>

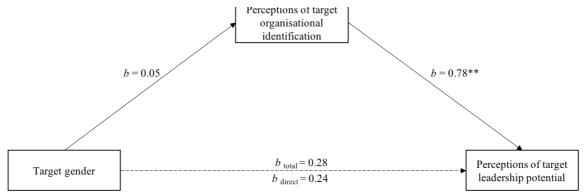
Mediation analysis.

I ran a mediation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 4; see Hayes, 2013) to test perceptions of the target's organisational identification as a mediating factor in the relationship between the target's gender and perceptions of the target's leadership potential.

Gender was not a significant predictor of perceptions of organisational identification (b=0.05, SE= 0.21, t= 0.24, p=.81, 95% CI -0.37, 0.48). Perceptions of organisational identification was a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential (b=0.78, SE=

0.09, t= 8.89, p< .001, 95% CI 0.60, 0.95). The indirect effect via identification was nonsignificant (b= 0.04, SE= 0.17, 95% CI -0.29, 0.38). The direct effect (b= 0.24, SE= 0.18, t=1.34, p= .18, 95% CI -0.11, 0.59) and total effect (b= 0.28, SE= 0.24, t= 1.15, p= .25, 95% CI -0.20, 0.76) were non-significant.

Figure 11. Male participants' perceptions of target organisational identification as a mediator of the relationship between target gender and perceptions of target leadership potential.



Moderation analyses.

I ran a moderated analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 1; see Hayes, 2013) to test the moderating effects of target gender on the association between interpersonal similarity with the target and perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I introduced similarity with the target as the predictor, target gender as the moderator, and perceptions of leadership potential as the outcome.

There was a significant main effect of similarity with the target on perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.97, SE = 0.33, t = 1.95, p = .004, 95% CI 0.31, 1.62) and a significant main effect of target gender on perceptions of leadership potential (b = 2.32, SE = 1.05, t = 2.20, p = .030, 95% CI 0.22, 4.41). There was a marginally-significant interaction

effect between similarity with the target and target gender on perceptions of leadership potential (b = -0.37, SE = 0.19, t = -1.90, p = .060, 95% CI -0.75, 0.02). Conditional effects showed that similarity with the target was a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential for men (b = 0.60, SE = 0.15, t = 3.92, p < .001, 95% CI 0.29, 0.90), and a marginallysignificant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential for women (b = 0.23, SE = 0.12, t =1.94, p = .056, 95% CI -0.01, 0.47).

Moderated-mediation analyses.

Although perceptions of organisational identification do not mediate the relationship between target gender and perceptions of a target's leadership potential, I found that target gender does interact with interpersonal similarity with the target to predict perceptions of the target's leadership potential. Overall, I have found that a) organisational identification predicts perceptions of a target's leadership potential and b) men are more likely to differentiate between male and female prospective leaders and c) men's similarity with the target increases perceptions of leadership potential for male targets but not female targets. With the aim of better understanding the relationship between these variables collectively, it makes sense to examine whether target gender interacts with similarity with the target to predict perceptions of organisational identification and perceptions of the target's leadership potential for male targets.

Drawing on the findings, I ran a moderated analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 8; see Hayes, 2013) to test the moderating effects of target gender on the association between interpersonal similarity with the target and perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I introduced similarity with the target as the predictor, target gender as the moderator, perceptions of organisational identification as the mediator, and perceptions of leadership potential as the outcome.

Similarity with the target significantly predicted perceptions of target organisational identification (b = 0.68, SE = 0.30, t = 2.28, p = .03, 95% CI 0.09, 1.28). Target gender did not predict perceptions of organisational identification (b = 1.52, SE = 0.96, t = 1.57, p = .12, 95% CI -0.40, 3.44). Similarity with the target and target gender did not interact to predict perceptions of the target's organisational identification (b = -0.27, SE = 0.18, t = -1.50, p = .14, 95% CI -0.62, 0.09). Similarity with the target marginally predicted perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.49, SE = 0.26, t = 1.89, p = .06, 95% CI -0.03, 1.01). Perceptions of the target's organisational identification significantly predicted perceptions of the target's leadership potential (b = 0.70, SE = 0.09, t = 7.73, p < .001, 95% CI 0.52, 0.88). Target gender did not predict perceptions of the target's leadership potential (b = 1.26, SE = 0.83, t = 1.52, p = .13, 95% CI -0.38, 2.90). Similarity with the target and target gender did not interact to predict perceptions of leadership potential when accounting for perceptions of organisational identification (b = -0.18, SE = 0.15, t = -1.21, p = .23, 95% CI -0.48, 0.12). Conditional direct effects of similarity with the target on perceptions of leadership potential was significant for male targets (b = 0.31, SE = 0.12, t = 2.47, p = .02, 95% CI 0.06, 0.55) but not female targets (b = 0.12, SE = 0.09, t = 1.33, p = .18, 95% CI -0.06, 0.31). The indirect pathway, perceptions of organisational identification as a mediator of the relationship between identification with the target and perceptions of the target's leadership potential, was significant for male targets (b =0.29, SE = 0.12, 95% CI 0.09, 0.58) but not female targets (b = 0.11, SE = 0.10, 95% CI -0.08, 0.30). The difference between these condition indirect effects was non-significant (b = -0.19, *SE* = 0.15, 95% CI -0.51, 0.08).

Discussion

Failing to support hypothesis 14, the results suggest that men do not perceive higher organisational identification in male prospective leaders compared to female prospective leaders. Therefore, I did not find support for this hypothesis or hypothesis 14a, that perceptions

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of organisational identification will mediate the relationship between target gender and perceptions of leadership potential. I did however find partial support for hypothesis 15 and 15a. When evaluators are men, perceived interpersonal similarity with male prospective leaders but not female prospective leaders predicted perceptions of leadership potential. This provides another empirical example of male evaluators using different processes to determine men and women's leadership potential- when perceived similarity with the target is high/ low, the likelihood of being perceived as having leadership potential significantly increases/ decreases for male prospective leaders but this relationship is only marginal for female prospective leaders. This study did not explain why these findings were observed. Previous research has suggested that men act to maintain their higher status in organisational groups (Danbold &Huo, 2017). However, men perceive the same amount of organisational identification in women as they do in men, therefore they do not perceive women to be low identifiers and therefore a threat to the organisational identity (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997). This finding was replicated in the moderated-mediation analysis; no interaction was found between identification with the target and target gender on perceptions of organisational identification. Instead, findings suggest that differences in men's evaluation of men and women may be down to gender alone as opposed to the interaction of gender with other intragroup processes.

Overall, male prospective leaders may benefit from male evaluators' interpersonal similarity, yet this does not explain why men perceive significantly less leadership potential in low-identified male prospective leaders but not low-identified female prospective leaders. In the absence of information regarding a target's organisational identification, men perceive no differences between male and female prospective leaders in terms of their organisational identification or leadership potential. One explanation is that information regarding a male prospective leader's low identification violates expectations. Expectancy-violation will be discussed in the *General Discussion*.

General Discussion

Summary of Results

Overall, I found partial support for my hypotheses. Organisational identification affects perceptions of leadership potential. In addition, I found that this relationship is mediated by perceptions of greater role performance. Perceptions of organisational commitment mediates the relationship between target organisational identification and promotability and allocation of resources. Perceptions of motivation mediates the relationship between target organisational identification and promotability and allocation identification and perceptions of future success.

Perhaps the most unexpected findings were observed in Study 5. I observed a significant interaction between target organisational identification, target gender, and evaluator gender for perceptions of leadership potential, future success, and allocation of resources, but not in the direction hypothesised. Whilst I expected men who were evaluators to perceive significantly less leadership potential in low-identified female prospective leaders compared to any other prospective leader, I instead found that men who were evaluators perceived significantly less leadership potential in low-identified male prospective leaders compared to any other prospective leader. Attempting to make sense of these findings in *Study 6*, I found no evidence that without information regarding a target's organisational identification, male prospective leaders are afforded more organisational identification and consequential leadership potential than female prospective leaders when evaluated by men. I did however find that men's interpersonal similarity with the target predicts male but not female prospective leaders' leadership potential. This however does not address why low-identified men are perceived to have less leadership potential than any other prospective leader when evaluated by men. One possible explanation is that men who are evaluators *expect* men to identify with the organisational ingroup, whereas they do not expect women to identify with this group. It is also likely that women who are evaluators, due to their position in and relationship with the organisational group, are likely to expect men and women to identify with the group to the same degree.

The expectancy-violation hypothesis suggests that targets who go against expectations are punished more than those who act in line with expectations are rewarded. As such, men punished low identifying male applicants for violating expectations about their psychological attachment to the group. In addition, if women are not expected to identify with the organisation, they are not punished as harshly if they do not identify but are rewarded if they do. For men, violating expectations by not identifying with the organisation yields greater punishment in terms of perceived leadership potential, future success, and allocation of resources, than the reward for identifying with the organisation. Interestingly, these results were not replicated for promotion, suggesting that although low-identified men may be perceived by men to have little leadership potential, they would not necessarily rule them out of promotion decisions.

Limitations

Identification is a psychological attachment between the individual and their group. Therefore, it is not something that can be readily operationalised or consequently displayed explicitly to evaluators. My manipulation of organisational identification has followed previous manipulations (e.g., Steffens et al., 2015) in which a conversation is used to convey a target who explicitly identifies with the group through their own use of statements such as "I am proud" to be a member of the group or that the group is "very important" to them. Nonetheless, in real life contexts it is unlikely that the prospective leader's organisational identification is one way to overcome this pitfall.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this chapter was the multicollinearity between measures of leadership potential and promotability and future success. In an attempt to increase

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the validity of the scale to measure perceptions of leadership potential by increasing the number of items from elsewhere in the literature, the issue of multicollinearity arose with the other measures. In *Chapter 3*, the scale measuring perceptions of leadership potential did not correlate as highly with promotability and future success. Due to the high alpha reliability of the seven-item scale, I will adopt the full scale with the possibility of reducing it in the case that correlations exceed .8. However, many of the correlations in this chapter were extremely high, it is possible that the manipulations of low and high identification drove these effects.

Implications

I identified two outcomes of organisational identification which highlight the subjectivity of social identity constructs in measuring or perceiving organisational leadership potential. The first is role performance and the second is leadership potential. Those high in organisational identification are attributed greater role performance. Although research shows that highidentifiers are more likely to display higher performance and engage in organisational citizenship behaviours, indication that the employee feels a strong attachment to the organisation should not be sufficient to indicate their level of performance. I observed in Chapter 3 that performance is a subjective indicator of leadership potential, and I have added to this the finding that organisational identification is an subjective indicator of role performance. Arguments against the use of role performance to identify leadership potential (Church, 2015) are strengthened by the findings of Study 4 showing that evaluations of performance are also likely to be based on subjectivity. As highlighted in the limitations of these studies, an employee's psychological relationship with their organisation is not going to be perceived objectively by other organisational members, for example men as prototypical members are more likely to be expected to identify with the organisation and therefore are more likely to benefit from evaluations of higher performance and leadership potential than non-prototypical women. Overall, perceptions of a target's organisational identification makes using role performance even less predictive of leadership potential.

I observed that male prospective leaders who are low identified are less likely to be perceived as having leadership potential by men. In addition, men did not perceive differences between high and low identified female prospective leaders. Steffens and colleagues (2015) suggested that identification may be a route to leadership for non-prototypical groups in organisations such as women. My results suggest that this is not the case, in order for female prospective leaders to be stand-out to men, it is likely that they have to go beyond psychological attachment as seen in *Study 3*. In addition, *Study 6* supports Rink and colleagues' (2019) findings that men differentiate in terms of interpersonal similarity and this process benefits men over women, which likely perpetuates the promotion of men into talent pipelines.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

Adding to the findings of *Chapter 3*, and in line with the thesis's overarching hypotheses, this chapter further demonstrates the role of social identity processes and sociodemographic differences in assessments of leadership potential. Through three promotion simulation experiments, I have provided further empirical evidence for the interactive role of social identity constructs and gender in evaluations of leadership potential. *Study 4* identified target organisational identification as a social identity construct which affects evaluators' perceptions of the target's leadership potential through the process of attributing the target greater role performance. *Study 5* supported and extended the findings of *Study 4*, demonstrating that men who are decision-makers differentiate between male and female high and low identifiers. The findings of this study showed that this differentiation is to men's disadvantage, with men attributing low identified male prospective leaders less leadership potential than any other prospective leader. Organisational identification was less important for female prospective leaders when evaluated by men. Finally, *Study 6* aimed to clarify the findings of *Study 5*.

Although men were not attributed greater organisational identification, they were more likely to benefit from male evaluator's interpersonal similarity than women. However, this was not linked to attributing them greater organisational identification. Instead, interpersonal similarity could act to defend men's higher status position relative to women in organisational contexts. In the next chapter, I address some of the methodological concerns raised in *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4* by using field samples to examine real world managers' perceptions of their employees' leadership potential in field samples. In addition, social identity constructs are measured and not manipulated.

Chapter 5: Social Identity in Managerial Assessments of Leadership Potential

Chapter Overview

This chapter specifically examines the perceptions of leadership potential from the perspective of UK managers. In the previous chapters I examined perceptions of an ingroup member's leadership potential, ultimately it is managers whose perceptions of leadership potential, these studies were important to establish that social identity processes are key in predicting leadership potential. In this chapter I directly investigate the evaluations that managers make of their employees. Specifically, this chapter utilises two samples of managers in the UK to examine whether the same social identity processes as identified in previous chapters occur when managers are evaluating their real-life direct reports. Study 7 further examines the findings of Study 3. I found that men are most likely to recognise female targets' leadership potential when they are both high-performing and organisation prototypical. I also found that social identity constructs did not affect men's evaluations of male targets. To investigate this these processes further, I examine whether managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality predicts their perceptions of leadership potential for high-performing female subordinates but not high-performing male subordinates. Results suggest that this is not the case, perceptions of prototypicality do not predict leadership potential for high-performing male or female subordinates. However, results also show that when the subordinate's age is considered, managers' perceptions of employee prototypicality predicts perceptions of leadership potential for older women but no other group. Study 8 examines the relationship between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential for UK managers in a multinational accounting firm. This study adds to the findings of this thesis by determining whether the relationships between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential occur in practice, and when I control for variations in organisational culture. Results

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show that managers' perceptions of an employee's organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, and interpersonal similarity with the employee all predict manager-rated leadership potential. These findings support my original hypotheses, that social identity constructs are related to, and likely inform, managers' identification of leadership potential in their employees. In addition, perceptions of employee performance mediate the relationship between social identity constructs and manager-rated leadership potential and promotability. Overall, this chapter supports out hypotheses for the role of social identity processes in manager perceptions of leadership potential and the interaction of sociodemographic identities in forming those perceptions.

Field Samples in Organisational Research

It is necessary for Psychology to be "bolder in its choices of study populations if it is to be relevant to real-world problems." Ginges, Atran, Sachdeva, and Medin (2011, p. 3)

Early applications of social psychology to organisational contexts maintained traditional psychological samples to answer research questions. Traditional social psychological participant samples include undergraduate students and opportunity or convenience sampling. Undergraduate students are the most accessible population for psychology researchers and thus have been utilised as the population in which to study many basic psychological phenomena (Lucas, 2003).

Drawing conclusions beyond basic psychological phenomena from student populations has significant pitfalls (Bello, Leung, Radebaugh, Tung, & van Witteloostuijn, 2009), including the tendency for students to be politically liberal, have knowledge of psychology above that of the general population, and a lack of "real world" employment experience (Banyard & Hunt, 2000). Undergraduate student samples are considered homogenous, representing a small and specific group of individuals who are western, educated, industrialised, rich, and democratic (WEIRD); Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Particularly relevant to this body of work, results from undergraduate student samples cannot be generalised to organisational phenomena that require measuring career-related constructs (Anderson, 2003; Landy, 2008) such as organisational leadership potential.

One opportunity for social psychologists to overcome sampling barriers and to access wider and more diverse samples is provided by online crowdsourcing sites (Barchard & Williams, 2008). Online crowdsourcing sites, such as Prolific or MTurk, allow for prescreening of large pools of registered users to recruit specific target samples. Online panel data (OPD) ensures that difficult-to-reach participant samples take part in research with the aim of

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better understanding the attitudes, perceptions, and responses of individuals familiar with specific contexts (e.g., organisational leadership). Online panels can be recruited directly via online crowdsourcing sites or they can be contacted through research participant recruitment agencies. Online data collection is convenient, flexible, and provides quick access to large numbers of research participants (Truell, Bartlett, & Alexander, 2002). Whilst initial concerns regarding online data collection prevented wide adoption of this sampling method, research demonstrating the reliability of online data collection has encouraged its uptake across the social sciences (Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010). Behrend, Sharek, Meade, and Wiebe (2011) found that participant samples recruited via online crowdsourcing were typically older, had more work experience, and were more diverse ethnically compared to university student samples. In addition, the reliability of data from online crowdsourcing was the same or better than that of an undergraduate student sample.

Chapter 3 and *Chapter 4* of this thesis so far draw on online crowdsourcing samples from Prolific, utilising the ability to recruit from the UK working population. Recruiting research participants who are employed in the UK overcomes the issue of undergraduate student populations who have limited exposure to organisational contexts. This is because they provide the same level of data quality as student samples and better represent the group of interest (Kees, 2017). In addition, it provides greater control by keeping the context specific to the UK workforce. This is particularly beneficial as cross-cultural gender studies vary considerably in their findings (Jogulu & Wood, 2008). Data collection for *Study 7* utilises a participant recruitment agency (Qualtrics) to identify and recruit participants with more specific demographics than those available through Prolific. For *Study 7*, the pre-screening included: male, working in the UK, in a management role with at least one male and one female direct report. Alternatively, field samples recruited within one organisation provide a specific context that can control for extraneous factors that cross-organisational samples (e.g. from

panel and crowdsourcing data) cannot account for, thus increasing the ecological validity of the findings. For *Study 8* I recruited a field sample of UK-based managers operating in one organisation which is a multinational accounting firm.

Complementary Methods in Organisational Research

Traditional quantitative methods in social psychology research adopt survey and experimental designs. In this section I will summarise the advantages and disadvantages of each method and argue why it is beneficial to adopt a multimethod approach.

The tension that exists between laboratory experiments and field research is caused by the need to balance control with ecological validity. Whilst laboratory experiments can control the manipulation of the variable of interest, measure its effects and thus draw conclusions regarding causality, these results do not guarantee generalisability to real-world phenomena (Wulff, 2019). One solution to this paradox for organisational research is to conduct field experiments. Examples of field experiments include vignette studies that utilise participants' unique context, such as *Studies* 1 - 6 in this thesis. Field experiments provide the benefit of control over the independent variable whilst ensuring ecological validity by designing the vignette or manipulation to replicate stimuli in participants' everyday environment. This approach to organisational research allows causality to be determined. Vignette studies have been applied effectively to study workplace discrimination with relevant populations (Finseraas, Kotsdam, & Torsvik, 2016).

Field experiments offer insights on gender bias in the workplace, but the results from these experiments are often less pervasive than the results of surveys utilising regression analysis (Azmat & Petrongolo, 2014). It makes sense then to ensure that a combination of experimental and survey techniques is adopted to determine both the causality and the extent of bias in workplace phenomena. Survey techniques have traditionally dominated organisational behaviour research (Curall & Towler, 2003) but they have been increasingly overtaken by experimental methods due to the limitations surrounding causality and control (Wulff, 2019). Another pitfall of organisational survey research is that social desirability bias and low response rates are amplified when applied to sensitive issues such as prejudice and diversity (Dalton & Metzger, 1992). Nonetheless, field surveys play an important role in understanding organisational issues (Jehn & Jonsen, 2010) by providing the opportunity to understand organisational members' attitudes and perceptions and determine the relationships between variables of interest for specific groups (Jack & Raturi, 2006). In the case of this chapter, the specific group whose perceptions I aim to examine is managers.

The Role of Managers in Talent Identification

Managers play a key role in delegating work, reviewing performance and providing feedback to employees (Axelrod, 2015). In addition, research by the Corporate Research Forum (2016) found that organisations rely on single-managerial assessments of leadership potential. Thus, managers play a key role in implementing organisations' talent management systems (Swailes, Downs, & Orr, 2014). Although the effectiveness of managerial ratings of potential have been criticised, their ratings are the primary source of information for organisations regarding who is and who is not a high-potential (Silzer & Church, 2009).

Managers often know who they like but not necessarily who is doing the best job (Hogan, Lusk, & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2018). Thus, being 'rewarding' to work with is often confused with high-performance. Irrespective of objective performance or potential, managers evaluations of leadership potential are influenced by an employee's popularity amongst colleagues and managers (Marinova, Moon, & Kamdar, 2013). In addition, white male managers are more likely to identify succession potential in individuals who they perceive to be like them, whose poses extra barriers to women and minority ethnic individuals (Cunningham, 2007). Hogan and colleauges (2018) suggested that often those identified as having leadership potential by their managers are not high-potentials but are those with

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effective impression management skills; those more likely to lead managers to believe that they *do* have leadership potential. As such, positive manager ratings of leadership potential are unlikely to be indicative of an individual's ability to effectively lead and grow the organisation in the future but are instead likely to lead to the misidentification of talent.

Despite the evidence that impression management skills are what drives positive managerial evaluations of leadership potential (Hogan et al., 2018), I suggest that social identity processes are likely to play a key role in predicting managerial evaluations of leadership potential. Ultimately, I converge with Hogan and colleagues (2018) in suggesting that if managerial ratings of potential were objective, women would be greater represented in talent pipelines and leadership positions. Quantifying the negative effects of biased and subjective managerial ratings of leadership potential, Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell and Ristikari (2011) report that women would represent 15% of board positions if leadership talent was measured objectively. Overall, the Corporate Research Forum (2016) conclude that the identification of organisational leadership potential is a political process in which the views of line managers are overly reliant.

Study 7: The Role of Prototypicality for High-Performing Men and Women

Higher Standards for Women

In organisational contexts, women are held to higher standards than men for performance appraisals, promotion decisions, and leadership attainment. Research has demonstrated that decision-makers will *move the goal posts*, change the criteria (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008), and use subjective justifications for outcomes that disadvantage women in career outcomes (Biernat, Tocci, & Williams, 2012). Ultimately, in order for women to achieve the same career outcomes as their male counterparts, they must be unquestionably and objectively superior.

Extant research has documented higher standards for women in evaluations. For example, negative hiring outcomes for agentic women have been attributed to perceptions of a deficiency in social skills, even when other applicants were hired based on their competence, an attribute that agentic women were perceived to also have (Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Rudman, 2008). In addition, women in management positions receive lower competence ratings than their male counterparts when there is ambiguity regarding their success (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004). When women are exceptional (i.e. unquestionably and objectively superior) gender bias is less likely to occur. For example, providing further information about applicants only reduces gender bias when the additional information demonstrates women's high performance (Koch et al., 2015). Further evidence is demonstrated by gender bias preferring male hires in job applicants but not early tenure-track applicants (Steinpreis et al. 1999).

Men Drive Gender Bias

The phenomena that "women like women more than men like men" (Rudman & Goodwin, 2004) suggests that women's ingroup bias is stronger than men's ingroup bias. Nonetheless, men's outgroup bias is stronger than women's outgroup bias. Social

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psychological research demonstrating a gender bias of holding women to higher standards shows that this is largely driven by men (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Men hold stronger biases in general (Atewologun, Cornish, & Tresh, 2018) and one reason for this is because they have more to lose in terms of power, status, and resources with the increasing diversity of organisational groups (Wilkins & Kaiser, 2014). Men react more negatively to messages promoting organisational diversity and are more likely to experience physiological responses indicative of threat when receiving pro-diversity messages (Dover, Major, & Kaiser, 2016). The social identity approach (Turner et al., 1987) posits that group members aim to protect the homogeneity of their group against identity threat (Wilkins, Wellman, & Kaiser, 2013). Men, as more prototypical members of organisational groups than women, may have greater motivation to defend the homogeneity of the group and their higher status within it (Danbold & Huo, 2017; Eibach & Keegan, 2006). As such, it makes sense that men would hold women to higher standards for leadership from the perspective of the social identity approach.

Previous research from the social identity approach has shown that a leader's performance can compensate for their non-prototypicality in terms of follower endorsement (Giessner & Van Knippenberg, & Sleebos, 2008). I suggest that when evaluators are men, this compensation is only granted to male but not female leaders. Previous findings have shown that when leader gender is unknown, evaluators assume that the leader is male (Schein & Davidson, 1993) which may explain why social identity research consistently finds a strong and significant role of social identity processes at play in leader evaluations. What has not been explored is the social identity processes at play when a potential leader is presented as female. It is likely that traditional social identity processes do not play out in the same way for men and women; I found evidence of this in *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4*.

In *Chapter 3*, I found that male evaluators perceive leadership potential in female targets when the female target is both high-performing and organisation prototypical. Men did

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not perceive the same amount of leadership potential in male targets with the same attributes. Eagly's (2005) rationale that neither a track record nor endorsing the values of the group are sufficient for women to gain the support of men to attain a leadership position because women are perceived to be 'outsiders' may apply here. Nonetheless, exceptional women have their leadership potential recognised by men. These arguments suggest that when women go *above and beyond*, they are perceived as having leadership potential in the eyes of male group members who are evaluators. I extend this hypothesis to male managers, as gender bias in managerial assessments of performance and promotion potential have been demonstrated considerably (Landau, 1995). Men are more readily perceived as having leadership potential by male evaluators, because of interpersonal similarity (Rink et al., 2019), leader prototypes (Nye & Forsyth, 1991; Powell & Butterfield, 2017), and gender and leader stereotypes (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women's leadership potential is not as easily recognised, but social identity processes facilitate the recognition of their leadership potential. As such, the aim of *Study 7* is to test if male managers use the same or different processes to perceive leadership potential in high-performing men.

Hypothesis

Hypothesis 16. I predict that when male managers assess the leadership potential of their high-performing subordinates, women's organisation prototypicality (i.e., the degree to which they represent and embody the values of the group) is considered, but men's is not. I expect gender to moderate the relationship between male managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and their perceptions of employee leadership potential, such that prototypicality will predict leadership potential for high-performing female but not high-performing male employees.

Method

Participants and design

Participants were recruited via Qualtrics panel survey participant recruitment agency. This method of participant recruitment allows for a more specific target population to be reached. A field sample of 125 UK male managers, who manage both male and female employees, took part in the study (aged 18 - 70; M = 42.39, SD = 11.23).

The study adopted an experimental design with employee gender (male vs. female) as the independent variable. Male managers were asked to think about either a high-performing male direct report (employee) or a high-performing female direct report (employee) depending on the randomly allocated condition that they were assigned to. The study measured their perceptions of the employee's performance, organisation prototypicality and leadership potential. In addition, demographic questions including age and gender were asked about both the evaluator (participant) and the target (employee).

Procedure and materials

Participants who met the selection criteria were invited to take part in the study. The study was administered online through Qualtrics survey software. Participants were asked to create a unique identification code for anonymity and removal of data.

The instructions to participants were presented in the following way: "Please think about your **highest-performing [male employee/ female employee]** (direct report). A highperformer is someone who is highly effective in fulfilling their roles and responsibilities, has a strong track record of success, and outperforms other employees."

Demographic questions were included in the study to gather information on participants' gender and age. Once participants had completed the demographic questions they were asked to complete the measures of interest. Participants were asked to report their employee's gender and age. In addition, participants recorded their perceptions of the employee's performance, organisation prototypicality, and leadership potential.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions on a nine-point Likert scale (1= *strongly disagree*, 5= *neutral*, 9= *strongly agree* or 1= *not at all*, 5= *neutral*, 9= *very much*).

Performance. To measure manager perceptions of employee performance, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *This employee adequately completed assigned duties/ this employee fulfils responsibilities specified in the job description/ this employee performs tasks that are expected of him or her/ this employee meets formal performance requirements of their job/ this employee engages in activities that will directly affect his or her performance evaluation/ this employee neglects aspects of the job he or she is obligated to perform/ this employee fails to perform essential duties." This measure of performance was developed by Williams and Anderson (1991). A mean score was used for the index of performance, with higher scores indicating higher perceived performance (\alpha = .79).*

Prototypicality. To measure manager perceptions of organisation prototypicality, participants were asked "*Thinking about the same employee, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *This employee represents what is characteristic of people at our company/ this employee is representative of our company's members/ this employee is a good example of the kind of people who work at our company/ this employee is common/ this employee the stands for what people who work at our company have in common/ this employee*.

is not representative of the kind of people who work at our company/ this employee is very similar to most people at our company. " A mean score was used for the index of organisation prototypicality, with higher scores indicating higher perceived organisation prototypicality (α = .64). Scale analysis revealed that item 5 reduced the reliability of the scale and therefore this item was omitted from the scale (final α = .78).

Leadership potential. To measure manager perceptions of leadership potential, participants were asked "*Thinking about the same employee, please indicate to what extent you perceive the employee to have...* Leadership potential/ the potential to become a successful leader/ the capability to become a leader/ the potential to become an effective leader/ the potential to learn leadership skills/ the potential to advance to a leadership position/ the potential to become a role-model for his/ her current co-workers." A mean score was used for the index of leadership potential, with higher scores indicating higher perceived leadership potential ($\alpha = .96$).

Results

Power analysis.

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 125 for a multiple linear regression analysis with two predictors, to detect an effect size of between 0.02 (small) and 0.15 (medium), a power of between .35 and .99 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial observation of the correlations shows that employee gender is unrelated to manager perceptions of performance, organisation prototypicality, or leadership potential. In addition, employee age is unrelated to manager perceptions of performance, organisation prototypicality, or leadership potential. Performance and prototypicality are related to each other, and both related to leadership potential.

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	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5
1 Employee Gender			17	03	.04	.07
2 Employee Age				.17	003	.004
3 Performance	6.55(1.43)				.24**	.40**
4 Prototypicality	6.80(1.25)					.49**
5 Leadership Potential	7.25(1.51)					

Table 7. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Moderation analysis.

To test the hypothesis, that managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality will predict managers' perceptions of female (but not male) employees' leadership potential, I conducted a moderation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 1; See Hayes, 2013) with manager-rated organisation prototypicality as the predictor variable, employee gender as the moderator variable, and manager-rated leadership potential as the outcome variable. All employees are perceived by their managers to be high-performing based on the instructions given to participants in the survey. Therefore, I added perceptions of employee performance as a co-variate in the analysis as performance co-varies with prototypicality (as identified in *Chapter 3*).

There was no main effect of manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality on manager perceptions of employee leadership potential (b = 0.21, SE = 0.27, t = 0.78, p = .44, 95% CI -0.33, 0.75). There was no main effect of employee gender on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = -1.32, SE = 1.34, t = -0.99, p = .33, 95% CI - 3.98, 1.33). There was no interaction between manager perceptions of employee organisation

prototypical and employee gender on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.22, SE = 0.19, t = 1.14, p = .26, 95% CI -0.16, 0.61).

Moderated-moderation analysis.

Perhaps if women in general are not evaluated through different processes to men, women's intersectional identities may shed more light on the stark inequity in leadership attainment. Age is another demographic variable that has been linked to disadvantageous outcomes, namely for older people (Posthuma & Campion, 2009). Older people are associated with poorer and declining performance, resistance to change, and less ability to learn new things (DeArmond et al., 2006; Krings, Sczesny, & Kluge, 2010; Posthuma & Campion, 2008). In addition, older workers are perceived to come at a higher cost in terms of shorter tenure due to retirement and thus wasted training, and higher wages due to experience (Posthuma & Campion, 2008). Interview and performance ratings are often biased by age (Gordon & Arvey, 2004; Finkelstein & Farrell, 2007).

In a study by Duncan & Loretto (2003) examining ageism and the gendered nature of ageism, results showed that women across all age groups were more likely to experience ageist attitudes. Gender and age biases do not work in isolation of one another, in fact Itzin and Phillipson (1993, 1995) argue that gender alone is insufficient to explain women's career barriers and claimed that "gendered ageism" is central to organisational culture. Gendered ageism refers to the double jeopardy experienced by older women who are marginalised based on both their gender and age (Barrett & Naiman-Sessions, 2016). As both gender and age categorisations subordinate older women, it is likely that managers' perceptions of leadership potential are likely to rely on higher standards for older women specifically, compared to older men or younger women. As such, although I did not find that gender moderates the relationship between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and manager

perceptions of leadership potential for women, I may find that this is the case for older women (i.e., gender and age moderate this relationship).

To test whether manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality predicts managers perceptions of employee leadership potential differently for men and women of different ages, I conducted a moderated-moderation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 3; See Hayes, 2013). The analysis was conducted with manager-rated employee organisation prototypicality as the predictor variable, employee gender and employee age as moderator variables, and manager-rated leadership potential as the outcome variable. As with the moderation analysis, I included manager perceptions of employee performance as a covariate.

There was a significant main effect of manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 2.50, SE = 1.03, t = 2.44, p = .02, 95% CI 0.47, 4.53). There was a marginally-significant main effect of employee gender on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 10.07, SE = 5.08, t = 1.98, p = .05, 95% CI 0.004, 20.15). There was a main effect of employee age on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.45, SE = 0.18, t = 2.50, p = .01, 95% CI 0.09, 0.80). There was a main effect of manager perceptions of employee performance (co-variate) on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.34, SE = 0.08, t = 4.19, p < .001, 95% CI 0.18, 0.50).

There was a marginally-significant interaction between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypical and employee gender on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = -1.25, SE = 0.73, t = -1.71, p = .09, 95% CI -2.70, 0.20). There was a significant interaction between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and employee age on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = -0.06, SE = 0.03, t = -2.29, p = .02, 95% CI -0.11, -0.01). There was a significant interaction between employee

gender and employee age on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = -0.30, SE = 0.13, t = -2.27, p = .02, 95% CI -0.56, -0.04).

There was a significant three-way interaction between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, employee gender, and employee age on manager perceptions of leadership potential (b = 0.04, SE = 0.02, t = 2.03, p = .04, 95% CI 0.001, 0.08). Conditional effects showed that manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality predicted manager perceptions of leadership potential for older women (b = 0.88, SE = 0.27, t = 3.26, p = .002, 95% CI 0.35, 1.41) but not older men (b = 0.21, SE = 0.15, t = 1.37, p = .17, 95% CI -0.09, 0.51). Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality predicted manager perceptions of leadership potential for younger women (b = 0.49, SE = 0.21, t = 2.35, p = .02, 95% CI 0.08, 0.90) and younger men (b = 0.66, SE = 0.16, t = 4.16, p < .001, 95% CI 0.35, 0.98).

Discussion

Study 7 has demonstrated that there exists a gender bias in managerial assessments of leadership potential. However, this gender bias is dependent on age with a disadvantage for older women. Further testing the finding of *Study* 3, that women who are both high-performing and prototypical are perceived as having leadership potential in the eyes of male evaluators, this study examined whether gender moderated the relationship between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and manager perceptions of employee leadership potential. Although, as per hypothesis 16, I expected to find that this relationship would occur for women but not men, I instead found that this relationship only occurred for older women and no other group.

Gendered ageism (Itzin & Phillipson, 1993) refers to the "double jeopardy" faced by older women as they are marginalised based on their gender and their age. This theorisation emerged as researchers acknowledged that age as a social and identity marker causes social divisions and inequalities, but is also one of many dimensions of identity difference that interact to determine individuals' power in social relations (Gullette, 20014; Krekula, 2007; Krekula & Johnson, 2016; Nikander, 2002). In previous chapters of this thesis, theorising has not been concerned with women's intersectional identities (i.e., women with multiple identities that each categorise the individual as subordinate; Baer et al., 2010). However, the concept of intersectionality arose from the critique that "feminism claimed to speak universally for all women" (McCall, 2005). In fact, it is apparent that gender bias in managerial perceptions of leadership potential does not manifest in the same way for different groups of women, at least different age groups of women. Applying a lens of intersectionality allows for a more accurate picture of power differences for the powerless versus the powerful, and for a deeper understanding of the manifestation of unequal outcomes (Moore, 2009). Evidence of bias against older women is demonstrated in the literature, older women have more barriers to tackle for re-entry into the workplace, lower earning and lower pension benefits (Stypińska & Nikander, 2018). In addition, women's physical appearance increases discrimination of older women and reduces their ability to be prototypical or perceived as leader-like (Clarke & Griffin, 2008; Handy, & Davy, 2007). But intersectional bias against women is not limited to age, evidence suggests that older minority ethnic women are hindered even more so than their white counterparts in self-employment and entrepreneurship (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2008) and wider discrimination in employment (Moore, 2009; van den Heuvel & van Santvoort, 2011). One limitation of this study is that, based on the nature of the sample, I were only able to examine the intersection of gender with age and not identities beyond that.

This study contributes to our understanding of how leadership potential is perceived by managers through further examining these causal findings with a "real life" sample of UK managers. What would have enhanced the sample is managers working within one organisation as this increases the internal validity and controls for differences across organisational culture

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and sector. Overall, ecological validity is better. *Study 8* utilises this more specific managerial sample to examine the strengths of relationships and processes by which social identity constructs relate to manager perceptions of leadership potential.

Study 8: Social Identity Constructs and Manager Ratings of Leadership Potential

Subjective ingroup evaluations.

In social identity research concerned with leadership, followers' reactions are primarily of interest. For example, research framed by social identity have examined the conditions that lead to group members' endorsement of new leaders and reactions to leaders (e.g. Abrams, Randsley de Moura, & Travaglino, 2013). What has not been explored yet is how emerging or potential leaders are perceived or endorsed by current leaders or those in a more powerful position. We know that bias favouring similar others in succession potential is more likely to occur for men than women (Rink et al., 2019) but we do not know whether ingroup biases occur for managers predicting who of their subordinates will be effective at leading in the business in the future.

Managers play a key role in career outcomes for their subordinates, including identifying leadership potential. The Corporate Research Forum's research found that 73% of companies included in their research relied on single-manager ratings for identifying high-potentials (Chamorro-Premuzic & Pillans, 2016). One way in which managers' perceptions are biased is through 'managerial mindsets' (Dweck, 1999), that whether a manager believes that skills and abilities are fixed (i.e. cannot be developed) or are flexible (i.e. can be developed) affects how they support, nurture, and develop their employees. Managers' implicit person theories have an impact on employee performance appraisals (Dweck, 2006), the identification of talent (Heslin, 2009), managerial coaching (Heslin, VandeWalle, & Latham, 2006) and the likelihood of equal outcomes across demographic groups (Levy, Stroessner, & Dweck, 1998). The 'like me' hypothesis (Meltzoff, 2005) and halo effect (McDonald, 1999) describe other ways in which managers' evaluations are biased by affinity (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Stocker, 2015) which is perpetuated when managers overlook information about individuals

that challenges their stereotypes (Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck, & Sherman, 2001). Managers with fixed mindsets are less likely to challenge or check their evaluations even when they are based on minimal performance (Gervey, Chiu, Hong, & Dwekc, 1999; Hong, Chiu, Dweck, & Sacks, 1997). Overall, research suggests that individual differences in the way that managers perceive traits and skills (Dweck, 1999) and the manifestation of the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) creates a managerial bias in recognising leadership potential (Wickens, 2002). This bias goes unchallenged when potential is viewed as something that is inherent in the individual (Silzer & Church, 2009).

I suggest that the social identity approach can provide further insight on how manager perceptions of subordinates' leadership potential are biased. I have demonstrated that organisational group members endorse prototypical and highly-identified employees as highpotentials, supporting previous work from the social identity approach on group members' endorsements of ingroup members with these social-identity-related attributes. I suggest that these perceptions extend to managers' endorsement of subordinate ingroup members. That is, managers use social identity processes in their evaluations of leadership potential.

Organisational culture and context

Women are more likely to become leaders in industries which endorse 'feminine' (i.e., communal) qualities, such as healthcare or education or supporting functions in business such as human resources (Bowles & McGinn, 2005; Gipson et al., 2017). In line with my previous arguments regarding the role of perceptions of organisation prototypicality in assessments of leadership potential, evaluators perceive and judge the congruence between potential appointments and the organisational culture (Sarris & Kirby, 2005). The role of perceived organisation prototypicality is demonstrated in findings that women are less likely to attain leadership positions in masculine organisational cultures in which the majority of employees and leaders are men (Elesser & Lever, 2011). This lack of prototypicality affects women's

access to mentorship, faciliatory networks, and the capital required for leadership attainment (Simpson, 2009). As such, to shed light on how social identity biases may manifest in managers' perceptions of leadership potential, I start by examining my hypotheses within one organisation, to control for context and culture.

Previous research has demonstrated the role of members' prototypicality in group members endorsing their leadership (Hogg, 2000). In addition, high-identifiers are perceived to be more likely to demonstrate leader behaviours through acting on behalf of the group even at the detriment of personal goals (Ruggieri & Abbate, 2013). Finally, interpersonal liking and perceptions of similarity are key determinants of favourable career outcomes for employees (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) and perceiving succession potential in subordinates (Landau, 1995; Rink et al., 2019). I therefore suggest that both social identity constructs examined in this thesis – prototypicality and organisational identification - play a unique role in manager evaluations of leadership potential as managers assess whether the target is "one of us," also "for us" (Steffens et al., 2015) and is "like me" which all contribute to the assumption or prediction that the individual will make an effective leader in the future.

I found in *Study 4* that group members' perceptions of the target's performance mediated the relationship between the target's organisational identification and perceptions of the target's leadership potential. In addition, commitment also mediated the relationship between the target's organisational identification and perceptions of the target's promotability. In *Study 8*, I test manager perceptions of performance and commitment as mediators of the relationships between all social identity variables and manager evaluations of leadership potential and promotability.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 17. I predict that when examined both independently and simultaneously, manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and organisational identification

will each independently and significantly predict manager perceptions of leadership potential and promotability. I expect these results for managers' interpersonal similarity with the employee also.

Hypothesis 18. I predict that only manager perceptions of performance will explain the relationship between all social identity constructs and manager perceptions of leadership potential and promotability. I predict that manager perceptions of commitment will explain the relationship between manager perceptions of organisational identification and leadership potential only, given the link between identification and commitment (Gautam, van Dick, & Wagner, 2004; Sass & Canary, 1991; van Knippenberg & Sleebos, 2006).

Method

Participants and design

Participants were recruited through an organisational collaboration with a multinational accounting firm using a field study sample of managers in the firm based in the UK. The data collection took place with the company's sites across the UK only. A total of 50 managers from the company took part in the survey (30 males, 20 females, aged 27 - 61; M = 43.42, SD = 7.99).

The study adopted a correlational design. I measured the relationships between manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, employee identification, leadership potential, and promotability.

Procedure and materials

Participants were invited to take part in the survey. The survey was administered online through Qualtrics survey software, with the link to the questionnaire sent out by Heads of Service. Participants were asked to create a unique identification code for anonymity and removal of data. Demographic questions were included in the study to gather information on participants' gender and age. Once participants had completed the demographic questions, they were asked to complete the measured outlined below. Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions on a seven-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 3= neutral, 7= very much). The organisation recommended using a scale with less points for usability. In addition, items were reduced due to time constraints and to increase the likelihood that surveys would be completed.

Prototypicality. To measure manager perceptions of organisation prototypicality, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *this employee is representative of the firm's people/ this employee is a good example of the kind of people who work at the firm/ this employee stands for what people who work at the firm have in common/ this employee is very similar to most people at the firm.*" A mean score was used for the index of manager perceptions of employee prototypicality, with higher scores indicating higher manager-rated organisation prototypicality ($\alpha = .93$).

Organisational identification. To measure manager perceptions of organisation identification, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree* with the following statements... this employee feels strong ties with the firm/ the firm is important to this employee/ this employee feels proud to be a member of the firm/ this employee often regrets that he/she belongs to the firm/ this employees feels a strong sense of belonging to the firm is an important part of this employee's self-image/ this employee is glad to be a member of the firm." A mean score was used for the index of manager perceptions of employee organisational identification, with higher scores indicating higher manager-rated organisational identification ($\alpha = .86$).

Employee similarity. To measure manager interpersonal similarity with the employee, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements: I am like this employee/I do the kinds of things that this employee does/ this employee thinks like me/ this employee is similar to me."* A mean score was used for the index of managers' similarity with the employee, with higher scores indicating higher manager identification with the employee ($\alpha = .92$).

Leadership potential. To measure manager perceptions of employee leadership potential, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you perceive the employee to have*... *Leadership potential/ the potential to become a successful leader/ the ability to advance to a leadership position/ the potential to become a role model for his/her current co-workers.*" A mean score was used for the index of manager perceptions of employee leadership potential, with higher scores indicating higher manager-rated leadership potential ($\alpha = .96$).

Promotability. To measure manager perceptions of employee promotability, participants were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *This employee will probably be promoted to a higher level position/ I believe that this employee has what it takes to be promoted to a higher-level position/ If I had to select a successor for my position, it would be this employee.*" A mean score was used for the index of manager perceptions of employee promotability, with higher scores indicating higher manager-rated promotability ($\alpha = .85$).

Results

Power analysis.

I conducted a power analysis to ensure that a sample of 50 managers would be sufficient for detecting the regression relationship between social identity constructs and manager perceptions of leadership potential. Using G*Power software, the sample size recommendation to achieve 0.90 - 0.95 power, with a minimum effect size of 0.2 for a linear multiple regression

with three predictors, was between 34 and 56. On this basis I decided to proceed with the analysis.

Correlations.

Initial observation of the correlations supports my hypothesis, that there is a relationship between each social identity construct (i.e., manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, organisational identification and managers' identification with the employee) and manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotion. In the full analyses I will examine whether these relationships remain when the predictor variables are examined simultaneously and whether these relationships are mediated by manager perceptions of employee performance and organisational commitment.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5
1 Prototypicality	5.28 (1.31)		.62**	.70**	.57**	.53**
2 Organisational Identification	5.23 (0.97)			.60**	.59**	.47**
3 Employee Identification	4.78 (1.50)				.66**	.62**
4 Leadership Potential	5.54 (1.34)					.79**
5 Promotability	5.30 (1.55)					

Table 8. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Regression analyses.

Prototypicality. I conducted simple linear regression analyses to examine manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality as an independent predictor of manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotability.

The results indicate that manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality can account for manager ratings of leadership potential; R^2 = .32, F(1, 47)= 22.55, p<.001. It was found that manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality significantly predicted manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .57, t(48)= 4.75, p< .001).

The results indicate that manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality can account for manager ratings of promotability; R^2 = .28, F(1, 47)= 18.35, p<.001. It was found that manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality significantly predicted manager perceptions of promotability (β = .53, t(48)= 4.28, p< .001).

Organisational identification. I conducted simple linear regression analyses to examine manager perceptions of employee organisational identification as an independent predictor of manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotability.

The results indicate that manager perceptions of employee organisational identification can account for manager ratings of leadership potential; R^2 = .35, F(1, 47)= 25.40, p<.001. It was found that manager perceptions of employee organisational identification significantly predicted manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .59, t(48)= 5.04, p< .001).

The results indicate that manager perceptions of employee organisational identification can account for manager ratings of promotability; $R^2 = .22$, F(1, 47) = 13.42, p = .001. It was found that manager perceptions of employee organisational identification significantly predicted manager perceptions of promotability ($\beta = .47$, t(48) = 3.66, p = .001).

Employee similarity. I conducted simple linear regression analyses to examine managers' similarity with the employee as an independent predictor of manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotability.

The results indicate that employee similarity can account for manager ratings of leadership potential; R^2 = .44, F(1, 47)= 36.61, p<.001. It was found that employee similarity

significantly predicted manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .66, *t*(48)= 6.05, *p*< .001).

The results indicate that employee similarity can account for manager ratings of promotability; R^2 = .39, F(1, 47)= 29.51, p<.001. It was found that employee similarity significantly predicted manager perceptions of promotability (β = .62, t(48)= 5.43, p< .001).

Multiple linear regression. I conducted a multiple regression analyses to examine manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, and employee identification as predictors of manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotability.

Entering the predictor variables simultaneously, the results indicate that the social identity constructs can account for manager ratings of leadership potential; R^2 = .50, F(3, 45)= 15.23, p<.001. Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality did not predict manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .11, t(48)= 0.74, p= .46). Manager perceptions of employee organisational identification (β = .27, t(48)= 1.92, p= .06) was a marginally-significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential. Managers' identification with the employee (employee identification) was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .42, t(48)= 2.78, p= .01).

Entering the predictor variables simultaneously, the results indicate that social identity constructs can account for manager ratings of promotion; R^2 = .41, F(3, 45)= 10.52, p<.001. Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality (β = .16, t(48)= 0.93, p= .36) and manager perceptions of employee organisational identification (β = .11, t(48)= 0.69, p= .49) did not predict manager perceptions of leadership potential. Managers' identification with the employee (employee identification) was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (β = .45, t(48)= 2.73, p= .01).

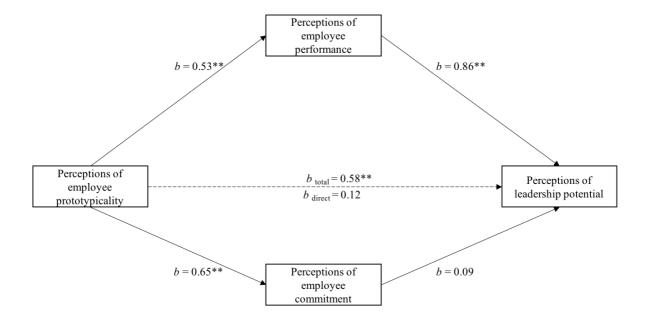
Mediation analyses

I conducted mediational analyses using PROCESS (Model 4; See Hayes, 2013) to examine the extent to which the relationship between social identity constructs and leadership potential is mediated by manager perceptions of employee performance and commitment. As identified in *Chapter 4*, perceptions of performance and commitment mediate the relationship between employee organisational identification and perceptions of leadership potential and promotability. These mediational analyses examine whether these mediations a) occur for manager ratings specifically, and b) extend to organisation prototypicality and managers' identification with the employee.

Prototypicality. I examined manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality as the predictor variable, performance and commitment as the mediator variables, and manager perceptions of leadership potential (Model A) and manager perceptions of promotability (Model B) as the outcome variables.

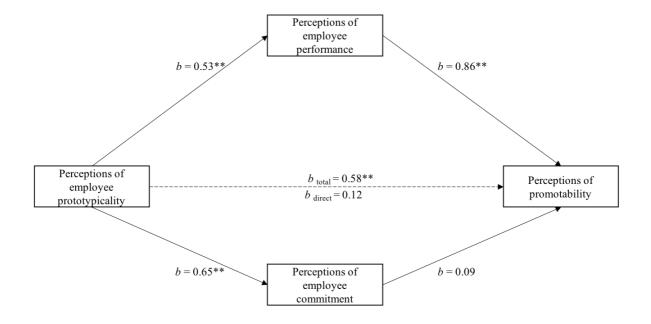
Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.53, SE= 0.10, t= 5.19, p<.001, 95% CI 0.32, 0.73), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.93, SE= 0.11, t= 8.46, p<.001, 95% CI 0.71, 1.16). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.49, SE= 0.18, 95% CI 0.07, 0.79). Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.65, SE= 0.11, t= 5.97, p<.001, 95% CI 0.43, 0.86), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.65, SE= 0.10, t= 1.20, p= .24, 95% CI -0.08, 0.33). The indirect effect (b= 0.01, SE= 0.10, t= 0.10, p= .92, 95% CI -0.20, 0.22) was non-significant. The total effect (b= 0.58, SE= 0.12, t= 4.75, p<.001, 95% CI 0.34, 0.83) was significant.

Figure 12. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and perceptions of employee leadership potential.



Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.53, SE= 0.10, t= 5.19, p<.001, 95% CI 0.32, 0.73), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of promotability (b= 0.86, SE= 0.18, t= 4.79, p<.001, 95% CI 0.50, 1.22). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.45, SE= 0.19, 95% CI 0.08, 0.84). Manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.65, SE= 0.11, t= 5.97, p<.001, 95% CI 0.43, 0.86), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.09, SE= 0.17, t= 0.55, p= .58, 95% CI -0.25, 0.43). The indirect effect via commitment was non-significant (b= 0.06, SE= 0.13, 95% CI -0.21, 0.31). The direct effect (b= 0.12, SE= 0.17, t= 0.70, p= .49, 95% CI -0.22, 0.46) was non-significant. The total effect (b= 0.58, SE= 0.12, t= 4.75, p<.001, 95% CI 0.34, 0.83) was significant.

Figure 13. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and perceptions of employee promotability.

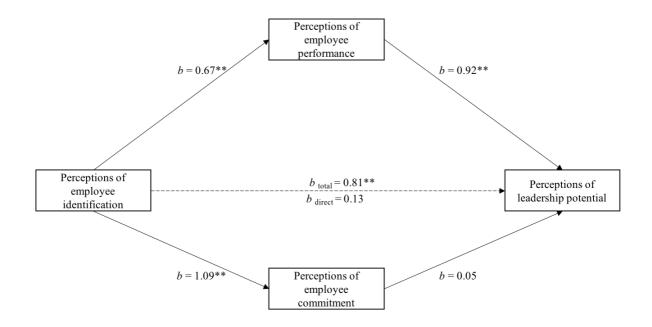


Organisational identification. I examined manager perceptions of employee organisational identification as the predictor variable, performance and commitment as the mediator variables, and manager perceptions of leadership potential (Model A) and manager perceptions of promotability (Model B) as the outcome variables.

Manager perceptions of employee organisational identification was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.67, SE= 0.14, t= 4.84, p<.001, 95% CI 0.39, 0.95), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.92, SE= 0.10, t= 8.83, p<.001, 95% CI 0.71, 1.13). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.68, SE= 0.29, 95% CI 0.08, 1.24). Manager perceptions of employee organisational identification was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, se= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.92, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.93, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.87, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.50, SE= 0.50, S

0.05, SE= 0.14, t= 0.40, p= .69, 95% CI -0.22, 0.33). The indirect effect via commitment was non-significant (b= 0.06, SE= 0.16, 95% CI -0.20, 0.43). The direct effect (b= 0.13, SE= 0.17, t= 0.73, p= .47, 95% CI -0.23, 0.49) was non-significant. The total effect (b= 0.81, SE= 0.16, t= 5.04, p<.001, 95% CI 0.49, 1.14) was significant.

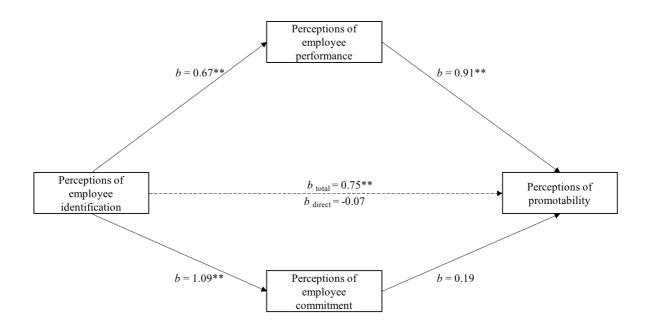
Figure 14. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' perceptions of employee organisational identification and perceptions of employee leadership potential.



Manager perceptions of employee organisational identification was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.67, SE= 0.14, t= 4.84, p<.001, 95% CI 0.39, 0.95), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of promotability (b= 0.91, SE= 0.17, t= 5.32, p<.001, 95% CI 0.57, 1.26). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.61, SE= 0.24, 95% CI 0.13, 1.08). Manager perceptions of employee organisational identification was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 1.09, SE= 0.11, t= 10.29, p<.001, 95% CI 0.88, 1.30), manager perceptions of organisational commitment was not a significant predictor of manager perceptions of promotability (b= 0.19, SE= 0.23, t=

0.84, *p*= .41, 95% CI -0.26, 0.64). The indirect effect via commitment was non-significant (*b*= 0.21, SE= 0.29, 95% CI -0.31, 0.85). The direct effect (*b*= -0.07, SE= 0.29, *t*= -0.24, *p*= .81, 95% CI -0.66, 0.452) was non-significant. The total effect (*b*= 0.75, SE= 0.20, *t*= 3.66, *p*<.001, 95% CI 0.34, 1.16) was significant.

Figure 15. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' perceptions of employee organisational identification and perceptions of employee promotability.

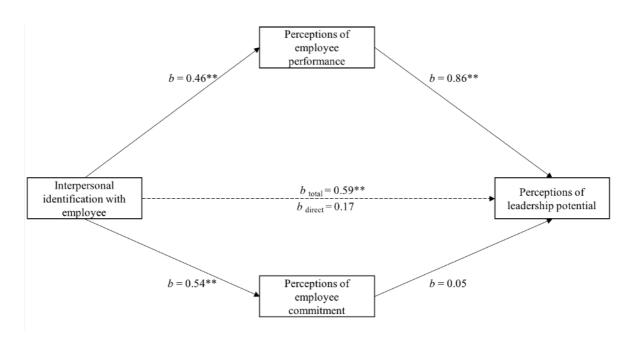


Employee similarity. I examined managers' similarity with the employee as the predictor variable, performance and commitment as the mediator variables, and manager perceptions of leadership potential (Model A) and manager perceptions of promotability (Model B) as the outcome variables.

Employee similarity was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.46, SE= 0.09, t= 5.20, p<.001, 95% CI 0.28, 0.64), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.86, SE= 0.11, t= 8.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.64, 1.07). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.40, SE= 0.13, 95% CI 0.10, 0.61). Employee similarity was

a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.54, SE= 0.10, t= 5.52, p<.001, 95% CI 0.34, 0.73), manager perceptions of organisational commitment was not a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential (b= 0.05, SE= 0.10, t= 0.47, p= .64, 95% CI -0.15, 0.24). The indirect via commitment was non-significant (b= 0.02, SE= 0.05, 95% CI -0.07, 0.14). The direct effect (b= 0.17, SE= 0.08, t= 2.05, p= .05, 95% CI 0.003, 0.34) and the total effect (b= 0.59, SE= 0.10, t= 6.05, p<.001, 95% CI 0.40, 0.79) were significant.

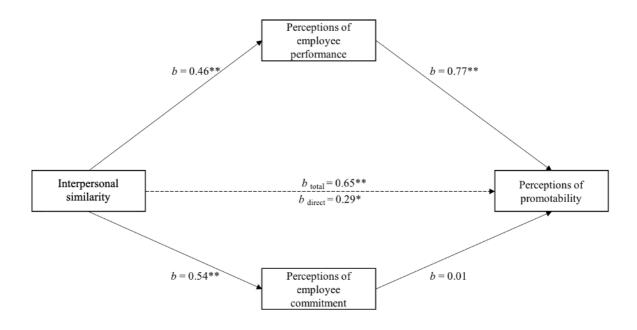
Figure 16. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' similarity with the employee and perceptions of employee leadership potential.



Employee similarity was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of employee performance (b= 0.46, SE= 0.09, t= 5.20, p<.001, 95% CI 0.28, 0.64), and manager perceptions of employee performance was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of promotability (b= 0.77, SE= 0.17, t= 4.43, p<.001, 95% CI 0.42, 1.12). The indirect effect via performance was significant (b= 0.35, SE= 0.12, 95% CI 0.09, 0.58). Employee similarity was a significant predictor of manager perceptions of organisational commitment (b= 0.54, SE= 0.10, t= 5.52,

p<.001, 95% CI 0.34, 0.73), manager perceptions of organisational commitment was not a significant predictor of manager perceptions of promotability (b= 0.01, SE= 0.16, t= 0.06, p= .95, 95% CI -0.31, 0.33). The indirect via commitment was non-significant (b= 0.01, SE= 0.11, 95% CI -0.22, 0.20). The direct effect (b= 0.29, SE= 0.14, t= 2.08, p= .04, 95% CI 0.01, 0.56) and the total effect (b= 0.65, SE= 0.12, t= 5.43, p<.001, 95% CI 0.41, 0.89) were significant.

Figure 17. Managers' perceptions of employee performance and commitment as mediators of the relationship between managers' similarity with the employee and perceptions of employee promotability.



Discussion

Study 8 demonstrated the relationships between social identity constructs and perceived leadership potential from the perspective of managers. I found that each social identity construct (manager perceptions of employee prototypicality, organisational identification, and managers' similarity with the employee), all predict manager perceptions of leadership potential and promotability. Interestingly, prototypicality was no longer a significant predictor of leadership potential when examined collectively with manager perceptions of organisational identification and managers' similarity with the employee. As such, it would suggest that being

"one of us" is perhaps not as important as being both "for us" and "like me" when managers evaluate their subordinates' leadership potential, though organisational identification was only a marginally-significant predictor. The results of the study also demonstrate that perceptions of employee performance mediate the relationships between managers' perceptions of their employee's position and relationship with the group and their perceptions of the employee's leadership potential.

There are a number of implications for talent management. First, as discussed elsewhere in this thesis, performance is an often-adopted yet uninformative indicator of leadership potential (Robinson et al., 2009; Silzer & Church, 2009). This study further demonstrates that performance is not only adopted but that it is subjectively perceived. I found that managers' perceptions of employee performance are related to the manager's perceptions regarding that employee's position in and relationship with the organisational group when these social identity constructs should be unrelated to objective performance. Thus, managers' use of performance to determine leadership potential further contributes to the bias and subjectivity in assessments.

To fully test the hypotheses of this thesis it would have been beneficial to collect enough data to test the role of manager-employee gender in these relationships. However, the small sample size limited my ability to do this. Conducting a study of this nature with one organisation provides the benefit of a consistent organisational culture in which to examine these phenomena. On the other hand, it limits the generalisability of findings because previous research has demonstrated how women's leadership attainment varies across organisational culture and context (Bowles & McGinn, 2005; Elesser & Lever, 2011; Gipson et al., 2017). Nonetheless, this study provides an interesting first step in spotlighting the relationship between arguably uninformative social identity constructs and manager perceptions of leadership potential.

General Discussion

Summary of Results

The results of these studies show that both social identity bias and gender bias exist in practicing managers' perceptions of leadership potential.

Study 7 found that older women's leadership potential is recognised through a different process to any other group, demonstrated through the significant relationship between managers' perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality and leadership potential for high-performing older women but no other group. The relationship between managers' perceptions of organisation prototypicality and leadership potential was not significant for any other high-performing group, including younger women and older men. These findings further demonstrate the interaction between social identity processes and sociodemographic differences. Although I expected to find that women in general were held to higher standards than men, I found that this only occurred for older women. This finding suggests that gender bias in perceptions of leadership potential is perhaps subtler than initially hypothesised. It is possible that it is the case that younger women may be perceived by male managers as having leadership potential in the same way that men are, but as this potential becomes unfulfilled older women are held to higher standards of having to prove that they still have 'what it takes' to lead. Women's access to social capital in the workplace is often restricted (Shortland, 2011), but social capital is what is required to reach leadership beyond technical knowledge and competence (Seibert, Kraimer, & Liden, 2001). It is possible that while younger women are perceived as having leadership potential, restrictions to gaining social capital throughout their career reduce perceptions of their leadership potential.

Study 8 supported my earlier findings that social identity constructs relate to perceptions of leadership potential. In this study however, I were able to demonstrate that these relationships occur in real-life manager and subordinate evaluations. Previously, I tested these

relationships hypothetically, using mock assessment summaries and embedding this in participants' organisational context. Although I were previously able to demonstrate causality between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential, I did not show this with practicing managers or real-life targets. Supported by earlier causal evidence, *Study 7* and *Study 8* has demonstrated that these relationships do exist for practising managers and their employees.

Limitations

One key limitation of *Study 8* is the small sample size. The small sample size prevented an analysis of the data that would explore the interaction of sociodemographic differences and social identity constructs for managers perceptions of leadership potential. The small sample size is indicative of the challenges with conducting research in organisations. Had I been successful in recruiting higher numbers of managers for this study, I would have been able to examine whether male managers relate social identity constructs to leadership potential differently for male and female employees. Because I have so far only observed gender differences in perceptions of leadership potential when I also consider the gender of the evaluator, the sample size would have to be considerably larger in order to test my hypotheses regarding the interaction of social identity constructs and sociodemographic differences for practising managers.

The correlational nature of the survey meant that causality could not be determined. Specifically, I argue that a manager's perceptions of their employee's social identity in relation to the organisation predicts their perceptions of the employee's performance. It could also be the case that perceptions of an employee's performance predict perceptions of the employee's position in and relationship with the group. For example, followers infer prototypicality from an individual's performance and vice-versa as determined in *Chapter 3* and previous research (Steffens, Haslam, Ryan, & Kessler, 2013).

Implications

There are a number of credible implications that arise when the data shows bias in practicing managers' assessments of their employees. First, I found that older women are held to higher standards in managers' perceptions of leadership potential. Second, I found that employees' position in and relationship with the organisation relates to managers' perceptions of leadership potential. Finally, I found that perceptions of employee performance explain the relationship with the organisation in and relationship with the organisation in and relationship with the organisation and managers' perceptions of employees' leadership potential.

Perceiving leadership potential in older women through different processes has a range of detrimental effects for older women themselves, younger women, and the organisation. To start with the individual, older women who may once have been perceived as high-potential lose the opportunity to fulfil their leadership potential and demonstrate their leadership capability. The negative and pronounced effects of ageing for older women means that ageing acts as a force that inhibits women's fulfilment of their potential. That is, as increasing career opportunities arise, these opportunities are counteracted with negative perceptions of women's older age. This paints progression of ethnic equality in a negative light. That is, whilst younger women's leadership potential may be perceived by male managers, opportunities to fulfil that potential become scarcer and criteria gets harsher to the point where older women are no longer perceived to have the potential to lead. Men on the other hand are perceived to have leadership potential in the younger and older age groups. Younger men's potential can be fulfilled through stretch opportunities and lower criteria for success, which then maintains their leadership potential in older age. Older women demonstrating their leadership potential through different processes may explain why women are more likely to leave the workforce early (Singh, Vinnicombe, & Kumra, 2006) and why older men are represented in corporate leadership when older women are not (Jyrkinen, 2014). Not only does this negatively affect older women, it has

Chapter 5: Manager-Rated Leadership Potential

effects on younger women who aspire to leadership who cannot see women role models (Cole, 2016). Women role models are associated with higher retainment of women in the workforce and better representation of women in leadership, particularly in male-dominated fields (Drury, Siy & Cheryan, 2011). When women look up and do not see other women at the top of their organisations, they are less likely to see leadership as a career option for themselves (Cole, 2016). Low retainment of high-potential women in organisations has caused the gender gap in talent management (Tatli, Vassilopoulou, & Özbilgin, 2013). As such, the implications of holding older women to higher standards of demonstrating their potential are three-fold. Older women face career barriers to the point that they quit the workforce, younger women do not see female role models in leadership, and the organisation loses high-potentials females who could effectively lead the organisation to maintain competitive advantage.

The relationships between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential for managers has its own implications. Extant research on leadership potential has worked to define leadership potential based on the most indicative predictors of effective leadership (Finkelstein, Costanza, & Goodwin, 2018). This research has only alluded to managerial biases in assessments of leadership potential but has focused primarily on improving the accuracy and reliability of indicators (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Dries, 2013). My finding that managers' perceptions of performance mediate the relationships between social identity processes and managers' perceptions of leadership potential suggests that a halo effect occurs in which performance and leadership potential are not accurately determined. It is likely that other indicators of leadership potential (e.g. emotional intelligence) are also biased by the same social identity processes. Overall, perceptions of how an employee fits and belongs in the organisation, as well as managers' perceived similarity with them, are likely to play a role in assessments of leadership potential. Ultimately, this leads to the promotion of individuals who are not objectively more likely to be effective leaders but maintain and protects

the group's identity. This explains why single-manager evaluations are ineffective (Heslin, 2009) and why measures of leadership potential are not reliable. Promoting similar others and those who are prototypical results in a lack of diversity and innovation which is counterintuitive given that the role of talent management is to identify future leaders who can innovate and drive the organisation's competitive advantage.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter contributes to our understanding of the role of and relationships between social identity processes and managers' perceptions of leadership potential. In addition, I have examined the interaction between social identity constructs and sociodemographic identities, highlighting the gendered ageism apparent in evaluations of leadership potential. Through a panel survey utilising an experimental design and a field study survey, I have tested my hypotheses with practising managers to demonstrate the implications for talent management in organisational practice. First, Study 7 explored the finding of Study 3 in Chapter 3, to determine whether managers higher standards of performance and organisation prototypicality are associated with women's leadership potential but not men's leadership potential. I partially found support for this, finding that these higher standards are associated with leadership potential for older women but no other group (i.e., older men or younger people). I will discuss the role of intersectionality in Chapter 7, the General Discussion of this thesis. In Study 8, I demonstrated the relationship between all social identity constructs of interest in this thesis and manager perceptions of leadership potential and promotability, applying my experimental findings to the "real world". I conclude that attributions of performance for employees perceived to be organisation prototypical and identified with the organisation play a key role in explaining the relationships between social identity constructs and managers' perceptions of leadership potential and promotability.

Chapter 6: Social Identity, Social Stereotypes and Self-Rated Leadership Potential

Chapter Overview

Existing research into leadership potential, including my empirical research conducted in *Chapters 3 - 5*, has focused primarily on evaluator- target dyadic relationships, namely how an evaluator perceives the target's leadership potential (e.g., Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Heslin, 2009; Peters & Haslam, 2018). This chapter takes a new perspective by investigating self-rated leadership potential (i.e., the amount of leadership potential individuals attribute to themselves). Little is known about the social-psychological antecedents of self-rated leadership potential and the extent to which this could be influenced by social identity processes and stereotypes about the social groups that individuals belong to. *Study 9* examines the interaction between target (participant) gender and their self-rated social identity constructs on their selfrated leadership potential. Results revealed that social identity constructs have limited association with self-rated leadership potential for men or women, but this relationship changes with target (participant) age, suggesting that position and relationship with the organisational group may protect older men's but not older women's self-rated leadership potential. Study 10 extends this research on self-rated leadership potential to examine whether societal stereotypes about gender and age groups and leadership can explain more than internal social identity processes when it comes to self-rated leadership potential. Results are observed in the same direction as *Study 9*, endorsing leadership-incongruent stereotypes are more relevant for older than younger employees, and gender differences exist for this age group but not the younger employee age group.

Outcomes of High-Potential Identification

There is much debate around the benefits and disadvantages of companies explicitly identifying their high-potentials. Individuals identified as high-potential report significantly higher organisational distributive justice than those not identified as high-potential. These perceptions of distributive justice mediate the relationship between organisational identification and job satisfaction. The same study found that perceptions of procedural justice moderated the relationship between perceived distributive justice and work effort (Gelens, Hofmans, Dries, & Pepermans, 2014).

Talent identification does not need to be explicit in order to elicit positive and negative outcomes in employees. Perceptions of high-potential identification have also shown to relate to positive work outcomes for those who perceive themselves to have been identified as high-potential. For example, perceiving oneself to be identified as high potential is associated with commitment to increasing performance demands, commitment to building competencies, active support for the organisation's strategic priorities, identification, and reduced turnover intentions (Björkman, Ehrnrooth, Mäkelä, Smale, & Sumelius, 2013). Research suggests that those who perceive themselves to have been identified as high-potential are more motivated to fulfil the commitments and duties of leaders.

In addition to explicit and perceived high-potential identification, feedback can also elicit positive or negative outcomes. Recent research conducted by Steffens and colleagues (2018) examined the consequences of receiving feedback about one's own leadership potential. Specifically, Steffens and colleagues (2018) showed that those who were told that they have low leadership potential showed less ambition to become leaders and performed less well in subsequent tasks compared to those who are told that they have high leadership potential. As leadership ambition and performance are attributes used to identify leadership potential (Dries & Pepermans, 2012; Robinson et al., 2010; Silzer & Church, 2009), this can undoubtedly affect leadership attainment by increasing or reducing confidence in one's own leadership abilities and affecting others' assessments of the individual's leadership potential. It is apparent that being associated with having leadership potential, explicitly or perceived, becomes a selffulfilling prophecy.

Research to date has been primarily concerned with either reactions to and outcomes of being identified as a high-potential or how leadership potential is identified/ perceived in others. What is less understood however is the social psychological antecedents of self-rated leadership potential. Given the plethora of research evidencing the positive outcomes of being identified as having leadership potential, and the negative outcomes of knowing one is not a high-potential, it is important to examine how psychological processes may contribute to employees' own self-evaluations. It is possible that one's own self-evaluations, just as other-evaluations, become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Therefore, it is important to understand what may predict self-evaluations in order to address detrimental outcomes for women, maintaining the gender gap in leadership.

Study 9: Social Identity and Men and Women's Self-Rated Leadership Potential Social Identity and Self-Evaluation

One's position in, and relationship with, their group affects others' perceptions of their ability to lead the group. As demonstrated in this thesis, prototypical and highly identified individuals are perceived to have more leadership potential than group members who are non-prototypical or low-identified with the organisational group. Social identity theorists have typically focused on other-evaluations of group members, as it is fundamentally support from the group that determines leadership emergence and effectiveness. However, there is an increasing interest on the self and the outcomes of one's self-evaluations. For example, there is a strong and consistent body of social identity research on how intragroup social comparisons impact individuals' attitudes and actions towards their group.

Members may be highly prototypical and highly identified, and thus elicit support from other organisational members. However, if that individual's self-evaluations are not congruent (i.e., if they doubt their own prototypicality or leadership competency), their perceived potential to lead may not be fulfilled. Individuals pay attention to the behaviours, norms, and attributes displayed in a group and reach intragroup agreement regarding what and who is prototypical (Hogg & Gaffney, 2014). Through social comparison processes, members determine their own degree of prototypicality. If a member feels that they are not prototypical in comparison to other members of the group, this is likely to affect their self-evaluated leadership potential.

Social comparison processes guide members' understanding of what it means to be prototypical within a group (Hogg & Gaffney, 2014). Social comparison theory is derived from Festinger (1954a,1954b), who suggested that a fundamental drive to understand with confidence the extent our abilities drives and opinions. The challenge with finding objective indicators of these realities has led to us to using others as points of reference, gaining

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confidence about who we are from similar others (i.e. the ingroup) about our abilities and opinions. As such, social comparison helps us to better understand ourselves and reduce aversive uncertainties regarding our self-concept. However, whilst individuals' responses to intragroup comparisons have been examined in terms of support for the group's identity, harsher judgements on ingroup members, and intergroup bias, outcomes for the individual within their group are less understood. Social comparison research has suggested that members use social identity strategies to reduce uncertainty regarding their position in the group. However, this research has not considered what happens when reaching the group's prototype is not possible. For example, women may embody the values of the group but represent a minority subgroup in physical terms in organisational settings.

Gender, Social Identity and Self-Evaluation

To date, and as discussed in the previous section, social identity processes act as a means by which members of organisational groups may gain influence over others to assume positions of leadership. However, the social identity approach gives limited attention to the interaction between social identity processes and sociodemographic differences. I have reviewed this argument in *Chapter 2*. In this thesis, I have explored how social identity processes interact with gender differences to inform others' perceptions of individuals' leadership potential. Thus, I have provided evidence that the two must be considered interactively when looking to explain how social identity processes may explain outcomes in talent identification and why these outcomes may be different for men and women. Whilst I have examined other-evaluations of leadership potential, and I have also now considered how social identity processes may explain self-evaluations, I am yet to consider what is likely to happen when I consider gender in self-evaluations of leadership potential in addition to social identity processes. As with other-evaluations of leadership potential, I expect an interaction between

target gender and social identity processes for self-evaluations of leadership potential, which I refer to as "self-rated leadership potential."

Women are typically marginalised members of organisational groups. The marginalisation of women acts to protect the higher status of men in organisational domains, who have more power over people and resources. However, feeling peripheral can lead to feelings of depression, uncertainty, and low self-esteem (Hohman, Gaffney, & Hogg, 2017). To reduce the negative effects of feeling peripheral, peripheral group members are more likely to self-stereotype than prototypical group members (Pickett, Bonner, & Coleman, 2002). By attributing themselves the characteristics of the group, women can perceive themselves to be prototypical of the group and thus reduce uncertainty around their position and role in the group (Hohman et al., 2017). As such, I would expect women to self-rate the same degree of self-rated prototypicality as men as they embody the most representative form of the group that they can psychologically embody. This serves as a method of uncertainty reduction.

In self- and leadership-evaluations, the identity of the group and its members becomes salient as the individual engages in intragroup comparisons to determine prototypicality. Thus, in these intragroup comparisons, women as peripheral group members are more likely to acknowledge their lesser fit with the physical attributes of the group, bringing into question their sense of self within the group and their future position in the group (Hohman et al., 2017). Although peripheral members are more likely to engage in group-oriented behaviours to increase their centrality, women's lack of physical representation is likely to act as a barrier between their self-rated prototypicality and self-rated leadership potential of the organisational group. As such, women may self-report as being prototypical of the group, but this does not translate into self-rated leadership potential. On the other hand, self-rated prototypicality predicts self-rated leadership potential for men as they are able to fully embody the physical and psychological attributes of the group.

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An alternative way in which peripheral members can reduce the aversive state of identity uncertainty is by increasing their group identification (Grant & Hogg, 2012). Uncertainty-identity theory (Hogg, 2000, 2007, 2012a) posits that individuals are motivated to reduce negative emotions elicited by feelings of uncertainty with regards to their membership of, and sense of self within, a given group. As such, I would expect women to report the same degree of organisational identification as men to serve as a method of uncertainty reduction. This is because organisations, as a group in which boundaries are clearly defined through employment, structure and hierarchy are clear with explicit shared goals, are high entitativity groups (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996) and therefore are better at reducing identity uncertainty than low entitativity groups. Nonetheless, women's lack of leadership attainment is not caused by less ambition or leadership aspirations that men (Ellemers et al., 2012; Peters et al., 2013). Instead, research suggests that even after controlling for identification with the group, women are less optimistic about attaining leadership position and anticipate greater career challenges than men (Keller et al., 2013). As such, while organisational identification may assert men's relationship with the organisation to the degree that they perceive no barriers to advancement, women's organisational identification does not provide this safety net.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 19. Men's self-ratings of their ability and leadership are typically higher than women's (Brutus, Fleenor, & McCauley, 1999). Women are less optimistic than men about attaining leadership positions (Keller et al., 2013). Therefore, I predict that there will be a relationship between gender and self-rated leadership potential, such that men (vs. women) will have higher self-rated leadership potential.

Hypothesis 20. Women are more likely to be peripheral group members in organisational contexts (Simpson, 2000). While they may be perceived as prototypical with respect to organisational values and behaviours, their gender reinforces their numerical

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minority identity and men's dominance as the numerical majority (Alexandre, Waldzus, & Wenzel, 2016; Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004). Therefore, while men can reach prototypicality on all psychological and physical dimensions in organisational domains, women can only reach prototypicality in terms of psychological dimensions. Peripheral members of groups who perceive themselves to lack prototypicality can raise their standing in the group by engaging in behaviours that promote the group's identity, such as increasing their psychological attachment to the group (Hohman et al., 2017). Nonetheless, women still predict career obstacles compared to men in their pursuit of leadership. Therefore, I predict that selfrating of prototypicality and identification will have different outcomes for men and women's self-rated leadership potential. Whilst both social identity constructs will positively predict self-rated leadership potential for men, I predict that they will not predict self-rated leadership potential for women. I predict that the relationship between self-rated prototypicality and selfrated leadership potential, and organisational identification and self-rated leadership potential, will not be significant for women because they a) cannot fully embody the prototypical form of the organizational group which reinforces men as the dominant organizational group (Alexandre, Waldzus, & Wenzel, 2016; Waldzus et al., 2004) and b) perceive career barriers to leadership compared to men.

Method

Participants and design

Participants were recruited through an organisation collaboration with a multinational accounting firm using a field study sample of employees based in the UK. The data collection took place with the company's sites across the UK only. A total of 194 employees from the company took part in the survey (109 males, 85 females, aged 18 - 63; M = 35.70, SD = 11.42).

This study adopted a correlational design. I measured the relationships between target (participant) gender, self-rated prototypicality, organisational identification, manager identification, and self-rated leadership potential.

Procedure and materials

Participants were invited to take part in the survey. The survey was administered online through Qualtrics survey software. Participants were asked to create a unique identification code for anonymity and removal of data. Demographic questions were included in the study to gather information on participants' gender and age. Once participants had completed the demographic questions, they were asked to complete the measured outlined below.

Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures

All items required participants to respond with their perceptions on a seven-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 3= neutral, 7= very much). The organisation recommended using a scale with less points for usability. In addition, items were reduced due to time constraints and to increase the likelihood that surveys would be completed.

Self-rated prototypicality. To measure self-rated prototypicality to the organisation, employees were asked "Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements... I represent what is characteristic of the people in the Organisation/ I am representative of the Organisation's members/I am a good example of the kind of people who work in the Organisation/ I stand for what people who work in the Organisation have in common/I am not representative of the kind of people who work in the Organisation/I am very similar to most people in the Organisation." A mean score was used for the index of self-rated organisation prototypicality, with higher scores indicating higher self-rated organisation prototypicality ($\alpha = .88$).

Organisational identification. To measure organisational identification, employees were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *I feel strong ties with the Organisation/ This Organisation is important to me/ I feel proud to be a member of this Organisation/ I often regret that I belong to this Organisation/ I feel a strong sense of belonging to the Organisation/ Belonging to the Organisation is an important part of my self-image/ I am glad to be a member of the Organisation.*" A mean score was used for the index of organisational identification, with higher scores indicating higher organisational identification ($\alpha = .91$).

Manager similarity. To measure employees' perceived similarity with their manager, employees were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements*... *I am like my manager/My manager is someone I emulate/I do the kinds of things that my manager does/I never act like my manager/My manager thinks like me/My manager behaves like me/My manager is similar to me.*" A mean score was used for the index of manager similarity, with higher scores indicating employees' higher identification with their manager ($\alpha = .92$).

Self-rated leadership potential. To measure self-rated leadership potential, employees were asked "*Please indicate to what extent you perceive yourself to have... leadership potential/ the potential to become a successful leader/ the capability to become a leader the potential to become an effective leader/ the potential to learn leadership skills/ the potential to advance to a leadership position/ the potential to become a role model for my colleagues.*" A mean score was used for the index of self-rated leadership potential, with higher scores indicating higher self-rated leadership potential ($\alpha = .90$).

Results

Power analysis

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 194 for a multiple linear regression analysis with two predictors, to detect an effect size of between 0.02 (small) and 0.15 (medium), a power of between .50 and .99 was achieved.

Correlations

Initial observation of the correlations shows that, as hypothesized, there is no relationship between target (participant) gender and self-rated prototypicality or organisational identification. Contrary to my hypothesis, gender is unrelated to self-rated leadership potential. Including target (participant) age as a factor for analysis, to examine the interaction of social identity processes beyond gender and examine intersectional patterns of results, age is associated with leadership potential. These relationships will be explored in more depth in the general analysis.

	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Gender			10	.06	.13	.04	05
2 Age				03	01	02	15*
3 Self-rated Prototypicality	4.77(1.21)				.61**	.25**	.10
4 Identification	5.02(1.15)					.20**	.12
5 Manager Similarity	4.52(1.31)						.21**
6 Leadership Potential	5.56(0.99)						

Table 9. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

Note. *p<.05; **p<.01

Gender

Correlation. I ran Pearson's bivariate correlations to establish the relationships between employee gender and self-rated prototypicality, organisational identification, identification with manager, and self-rated leadership potential. Gender was not significantly associated with self-rated prototypicality r(192)=,06, p=.38, identification with the manager r(192)=.04, p=.57, or self-rated leadership potential r(192)=-.05, p=.54. Gender was marginally-significantly associated with organisational identification r(192)=.13, p=.08. Women are associated with higher organisational identification.

Moderation. To test whether social identity constructs (i.e. the extent to which employees perceive their position and relationship with the group) have different effects for men and women on self-rated leadership potential, I ran a moderation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 1; see Hayes, 2013) with self-rated prototypicality (Model 1), organisational identification (Model 2), and identification with manager (Model 3) as the predictor variables, employee gender as the moderator variable (0=men, 1=women), and selfrated leadership potential as the outcome.

Testing Model 1, there was no main effect of self-rated prototypicality on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.31, SE = 0.19, t = 1.64, p = .10, 95% CI -0.06, 0.68). There was no main effect of employee gender on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.61, SE = 0.58, t = 1.04, p = .30, 95% CI -0.54, 1.76). There was no interaction between self-rated prototypicality and employee gender on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.15, SE = 0.12, t = -1.25, p = .21, 95% CI -0.38, 0.09).

Testing Model 2, there was a marginally-significant main effect of organisational identification on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.35, SE = 0.19, t = 1.82, p = .07, 95% CI

-0.03, 0.74). There was no main effect of employee gender on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.73, SE = 0.65, t = 1.12, p = .27, 95% CI -0.56, 2.02). There was no interaction between employee gender and organisational identification on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.17, SE = 0.13, t = -1.33, p = .18, 95% CI -0.42, 0.08).

Testing Model 3, there was a significant main effect of manager similarity on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.37, SE = 0.17, t = 2.23, p = .03, 95% CI 0.04, 0.70). There was no main effect of employee gender on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.53, SE = 0.51, t = 1.05, p = .30, 95% CI -0.47, 1.53). There was no interaction between employee gender and manager similarity on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.14, SE = 0.11, t = -1.32, p = .19, 95% CI -0.35, 0.07).

Age.

Age is another attribute that has been found to impact others' assessments of individual's leadership potential (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011; Sun et al., 2015). An ageing workforce has exacerbated age inequalities (Appannah & Biggs, 2015; BITC, 2017).

Analysing the impact of social identity processes on gender independently showed little interaction for women or men on self-rated leadership potential. However, the literature on discrimination towards older women indicates that a combined identity of being marginalised in terms of both gender and age may have more pronounced effects than being marginalised based on a single identity (Marcus & Fritzsche, 2015; Purdie-Vaughs & Eibach, 2008). Women and men experience ageism in different ways (Itzin & Phillipson, 1995), with age discrimination targeting women more than men (Duncan & Loretto, 2004). One of the reasons that social identity processes may be harder for older women to utilise than younger women is the physical representation of what it takes to look 'corporate,' with older women even less likely than younger women to embody the physical traits associated with career success (Moore, 2009; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009). In addition, although managers and leaders are

expected to have the knowledge and experience that comes with age, knowledge is associated with and valued in older men and not older women (Jyrkinen & McKie, 2012). Older men are less likely to experience the negative perceptions of ageing than older women.

In the following analyses, I report the interactive effects of social identity processes and target (participant) age on self-rated leadership potential. Following this analysis, I take an intersectional perspective to examine the interaction between target (participant) gender and age and social identity constructs on self-rated leadership potential to compare the effects for older men and older women.

Correlation. I ran Pearson's bivariate correlations to establish the relationships between employee age and self-rated prototypicality, organisational identification, identification with manager, and self-rated leadership potential. Age was not significantly associated with self-rated prototypicality r(192)=-.03, p=.66, organisational identification r(192)=-.006, p=.93, or manager similarity r(192)=-.02, p=.77. Employee age was significantly associated with self-rated leadership potential r(192)=-.15, p=.04. Younger people had higher self-rated leadership potential.

Moderation. To test whether social identity constructs (i.e., the extent to which employees perceive their position and relationship with the group) have different effects for younger and older employees on self-rated leadership potential, I ran a moderation analysis using the PROCESS macro (Model 1; see Hayes, 2013) with self-rated prototypicality (Model 1), organisational identification (Model 2), and identification with manager (Model 3) as the predictor variables, employee age as the continuous moderator variable, and self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

Testing Model 1, there was no main effect of self-rated prototypicality on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.002, SE = 0.20, t = -0.01, p = .99, 95% CI -0.39, 0.39) and no main

effect of employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.02, SE = 0.03, t = -0.86, p = .39, 95% CI -0.07, 0.03). There was no interaction between self-rated prototypicality and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.002, SE = 0.01, t = 0.38, p = .71, 95% CI -0.01, 0.01).

Testing Model 2, there was no main effect of organisational identification on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.22, SE = 0.23, t = 0.94, p = .35, 95% CI -0.24, 0.67) and no main effect of employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.002, SE = 0.03, t = 0.08, p = .94, 95% CI -0.06, 0.06). There was no interaction between organisational identification and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.003, SE = 0.01, t = -0.51, p = .61, 95% CI -0.01, 0.01).

Testing Model 3, there was no main effect of identification with manager on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.15, SE = 0.17, t = 0.91, p = .36, 95% CI -0.18, 0.49) and no main effect of employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.01, SE = 0.02, t = -0.70, p = .49, 95% CI -0.06, 0.03). There was no interaction between identification with manager and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.0004, SE = 0.005, t = 0.09, p = .93, 95% CI -0.01, 0.01).

Gender and age.

I conducted moderation analyses to test the main and interactive effects of employee gender and employee age, with self-rated prototypicality, organisational identification, and identification with manager on self-rated leadership potential at the intersectional level of identity (using model 3 in PROCESS, Hayes, 2013). In total, I tested three models with different predictor variables: self-rated prototypicality (Model 1), organisational identification (Model 2), and identification with manager (Model 3). Employee gender and employee age were the moderator variables. Self-rated leadership potential was the outcome variable across all models. **Self-rated Prototypicality.** I introduced self-rated prototypicality as a predictor, and employee gender and age as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

There was no main effect of self-rated prototypicality (b = -0.95, SE = 0.63, t = -1.50, p = .14, 95% CI -2.19, 0.30) or employee gender (b = -2.59, SE = 2.02, t = -1.28, p = .20, 95% CI -6.57, 1.40) on self-rated leadership potential. There was a significant main effect of employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.17, SE = 0.08, t = -2.01, p = .05, 95% CI -0.34, -0.003).

There was no interaction effect between self-rated prototypicality and employee gender (b = 0.58, SE = 0.40, t = 1.45, p = .15, 95% CI -0.21, 1.37), or between employee gender and employee age (b = 0.09, SE = 0.05, t = 1.68, p = .10, 95% CI -0.02, 0.20) on self-rated leadership potential. There was a significant interaction between self-rated prototypicality and employee age (b = 0.04, SE = 0.02, t = 2.09, p = .04, 95% CI 0.002, 0.07) on self-rated leadership potential.

There was a significant three-way interaction between self-rated prototypicality, employee gender, and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.02, SE = 0.01, t = -1.96, p = .05, 95% CI -0.04, 0.0002). Conditional effects show that self-rated prototypicality is a significant predictor of self-rated leadership potential for older men (b = 0.39, SE = 0.15, t = 2.63, p = .01, 95% CI 0.10, 0.68) but not older women (b = -0.07, SE = 0.12, t = -0.60, p = .55, 95% CI -0.31, 0.17).

Organisational Identification. I introduced organisational identification as a predictor, and employee gender and age as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

There was no main effect of organisational identification (b = -0.82, SE = 0.71, t = -1.16, p = .25, 95% CI -2.22, 0.58) or employee gender (b = -3.55, SE = 2.52, t = 1.41, p = .16, 95% CI -8.53, 1.42) on self-rated leadership potential. There was a marginally-significant main

effect of employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.16, SE = 0.10, t = -1.70, p = .09, 95% CI -0.35, 0.03).

There was no interaction effect between organisational identification and employee gender on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.70, SE = 0.47, t = 1.47, p = .14, 95% CI -0.24, 1.63). There was a marginally-significant interaction between employee gender and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = 0.11, SE = 0.06, t = 1.71, p = .09, 95% CI -0.02, 0.24). There was a marginally-significant interaction between organisational identification and employee age (b = 0.03, SE = 0.02, t = 1.69, p = .09, 95% CI -0.01, 0.07).

There was a marginally-significant three-way interaction between organisational identification, employee gender, and employee age on self-rated leadership potential (b = -0.02, SE = 0.01, t = -1.88, p = .06, 95% CI -0.05, 0.001). Conditional effects show that organisational identification is a significant predictor of self-rated leadership potential for older men (b = 0.30, SE = 0.14, t = 2.19, p = .03, 95% CI 0.03, 0.57) but not older women (b = -0.13, SE = 0.14, t = -0.98, p = .33, 95% CI -0.40, 0.13).

Manager Similarity. I introduced manager similarity as a predictor, and employee gender and age as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

There were no significant main effects of manager similarity (b = -0.12, SE = 0.54, t = -0.22, p = .82, 95% CI -1.20, 0.95), employee gender (b = -0.66, SE = 1.64, t = -0.40, p = .69, 95% CI -3.89, 2.57), or employee age (b = -0.06, SE = 0.07, t = -0.88, p = .38, 95% CI -0.19, 0.07) on self-rated leadership potential.

There were no interaction effects between manager similarity and employee gender (b = 0.19, SE = 0.34, t = 0.54, p = .59, 95% CI -0.49, 0.86), manager similarity and employee age (b = 0.01, SE = 0.01, t = 0.91, p = .36, 95% CI -0.02, 0.04), or employee gender and employee age (b = 0.03, SE = 0.04, t = 0.66, p = .51, 95% CI -0.06, 0.11) on self-rated leadership potential.

The three-way interaction between manager similarity, employee gender, and employee age was non-significant (b = -0.01, SE = 0.01, t = -0.93, p = .35, 95% CI -0.03, 0.01).

Discussion

Study 9 has demonstrated that employees do not perceive social identity constructs in relation to themselves in the same way that they are perceived by others. Studies conducted so far have demonstrated that target prototypicality and identification with the organisation affect others' perceptions of the target's leadership potential. This psychological process is not transferred to self-ratings. That is, self-ratings of leadership potential are not hinged on social identity constructs in the way that other-ratings of leadership potential are. I found no relationship between one's perceptions of their position in the group or their relationship with the group with their self-rated ability to lead the organisation in the future. However, I found a relationship between employees' identification with their manager and higher self-rated leadership potential.

Contrary to hypothesis 19, I found no specific differences between men and women's self-rated leadership potential when examining the role of gender in isolation. I also found no difference in how men and women evaluate themselves in relation to social identity constructs, failing to support hypothesis 20. For example, men were not associated with higher self-rated prototypicality. Examining the role of employee age, older employees were associated with lower self-rated leadership potential. Nonetheless, this was unrelated to any of the social identity constructs. My finding could be related to the sample. The sample recruited in this study are all employees at an accounting firm. It is possible that the findings demonstrating no link between self-rated identity constructs and self-rated leadership potential is context-specific. Testing these hypotheses with an online crowdsourcing sample may provide more comparable results to the previous studies.

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Exploring the relationship between social identity constructs and self-rated leadership potential at the intersectional level of identity, I found that the social identity constructs of selfrated prototypicality and organisational identification are associated with higher self-rated leadership potential for older men but not older women. For older women, an intersecting identity in which both gender and age make you more likely to be a peripheral member of the organisational group makes it less likely that social identity constructs relate to self-rated leadership potential than for those who are marginalised or peripheral based on only one identity (e.g. younger women or older men). Whilst I did not observe a relationship between gender and self-rated leadership potential, I did observe a relationship between age and selfrated leadership potential and the intersectional analyses has shown that social identity constructs play out differently for older men than older women. Perhaps as men get older and their age makes them less likely to be perceived as high potential for leadership, their gender provides a privilege that allows their perceived position in and relationship with the group to protect their status and keep them "in the running" for leadership. Older women however are not afforded this privilege, and regardless of how they perceive their position in or relationship with the group, they no longer perceive themselves to be suitable for leadership. Research conducted by Singh, Vinnicombe, and Kumra (2006) found that older women in corporate firms reported wanting to help other women in their firms, to pass on their experience and key career learnings, driven by their frustration that they felt younger women did not acknowledge the obstinance of the glass ceiling.

Men typically overestimate their performance and other attributes compared to women. Yet the social identity constructs investigated in this study did not shed light on the processes at play. Overall findings indicate that perceived position in and relationship with the group are only related to other-rated leadership potential and not related to self-rated leadership potential. As such, women's underrepresentation in leadership seems not to be caused by women seeing

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themselves as having less leadership potential or by low organisational identification. It is possible that men and women's self-rated leadership potential is instead related to external factors, such as societal stereotypes about the leadership abilities of men and women.

Study 10: Stereotypes and Men and Women's Self-Rated Leadership Potential²

Gender Stereotypes and Leadership

There is no evidence that the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles is caused by women having insufficient skillsets to assume leadership positions (Gipson, Pfaff, Mendelsohn, Catenacci, & Burke, 2017). Instead, research has highlighted the role of psychological biases, namely gender stereotypes, in perpetuating a gender bias in leadership (Hoyt, 2010). Much of this research is focused on how gender stereotypes lead to discriminatory practices against women, but less on how women themselves may be impacted by societal gender stereotypes.

The 'think manager – think male' (Schein, 1993) paradigm evidences the tendency to consolidate the representation of leadership with gender roles of men, because stereotypes of men and of leaders both reflect agency (e.g., independence, assertiveness, confidence). On the other hand, women are generally attributed "communal" traits typically not associated with leadership (e.g., kind, caring, cooperative) as described by role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Research has shown that these gender stereotypes influence children's behaviour from an early age. For example, boys' perceptions of gender stereotypes are associated with their beliefs about the abilities of boys and girls, and predict self-rated competence (Kurtz-Costes et al., 2008). Moreover, girls' implicit gender stereotypes are predicted by their mothers' implicit gender stereotypes about children (Endendijk et al., 2013).

Endorsing Gender Stereotypes

Although high-status groups are more likely to endorse advantageous group stereotypes (Finkelstein et al., 1995; Gordon & Arvey, 2004), theory and research highlight that gender

² This study is published in the following journal publication: Tresh, F., Steeden, B., de Moura, G. R., Leite, A. C., Swift, H. J., & Player, A. (2019). Endorsing and Reinforcing Gender and Age Stereotypes: The Negative Effect on Self-Rated Leadership Potential for Women and Older Workers. *Frontiers in psychology*, *10*. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6482207/

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and age stereotypes are internalized and can have a profound effect on people's self-definitions and behaviours. Theories such as gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) and the expectancy value model (Eccles et al., 1983) argue that gender stereotypes are culturally propagated, through mechanisms such as the socializing influence of parents, and internalized from childhood. For example, when female managers endorse gender stereotypes, they self- stereotype as strong in feminine skills and weak in masculine skills (Eiksson, Smith, & Smith, 2017). This also applies to other contexts. For example, salient math-gender stereotypes about women's underperformance in math have been shown to reduce women's intentions to have a career in math, explained partly by internalized beliefs about their math competence (Song, Zuo, Wen, &Yan, 2017).

Stereotype embodiment theory (Levy, 2009) suggests that age stereotypes, which are learnt when people are young, can lead to similar self-stereotyping in older people. Culturally pervasive negative age stereotypes can become internalized throughout the life course and become increasingly salient and self-relevant as individuals age. Endorsement of negative age stereotypes that denote older people as physically and cognitively less capable than younger people has been found to impact negatively on older people's cognitive functioning, physical health (Wurm, Tesch-Romer, & Tomasik, 2007) and willingness to engage in physical activity (Emile, Chalabaev, Stephan, Corrion, & d'Arripe-Longueville, 2014). Furthermore, the Risks of Ageism Model (RAM) highlights how these stereotyping processes play out in employment contexts to disadvantage older workers (Swift, Abrams, Lamont, & Drury, 2017). For instance, lack of perceived "fit" with the organization, lack of respect, and appreciation of older workers, are important factors that influence older workers intentions to exit the labor market. However, research has yet to show whether younger workers indeed perceive more leadership potential in themselves than older workers do, and whether this is explained by younger worker's greater likelihood of endorsing age stereotypes.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 21. There will be a relationship between gender and self-rated leadership potential, such that men (vs. women) will have higher self-rated leadership potential.

Hypothesis 21a. This relationship will be moderated by endorsement of gender stereotypes. Endorsement of gender stereotypes will negatively predict self-rated leadership potential for women but not men.

Method

Participants and design

Participants were recruited via the online crowdsourcing platform Prolific. I recruited 276 participants initially; 19 participants either failed the attention check, provided identifiable information or timed-out after twenty minutes so their data was not included in the analysis. Total participant numbers comprised 128 men, 124 women, and 2 participants who did not identify as either male or female. Participants were recruited in one of two age categories: 126 participants were in the 18-30 category (M= 25.54, SD= 3.16) and 126 participants were in the age 50 and older category (M= 55.80, SD= 4.98)². The total number of participants included in the analysis was 252. All participants were in full- or part-time employment in the UK. Participants received a payment of £0.50 and the average completion time was 354.77 seconds (SD = 139.90).

This study adopted a correlational design. I measured the relationships between participant gender, endorsement of agentic and communal (gender) stereotypes, and self-rated leadership potential. I also measured the relationships between participant age, endorsement of competence and warmth (age) stereotypes and self-rated leadership potential.

Procedure and materials

Participants were invited to take part in an online survey on Qualtrics (survey software) to understand self-perceptions. They were informed that data would be treated confidentially, would be anonymized for publication, and that participation was voluntary and could be withdrawn at any time. Email contact details for two of the researchers were also supplied, and participants gave their informed consent by clicking to take part in the study. Participants then completed the measures as defined below. Participants were finally presented with a full debrief of the study, and reminded of the researchers' contact details.

Measures.

All questions were scored on a seven-point scale (1 = very much disagree, 7 = very much agree).

Gender stereotype endorsement. Endorsement of gender stereotypes was measured using 14 items asking participants "please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements... Female workers are more communal/ supportive/ competitive/ kinshiporiented/ warmer/ kind/ assertive/ nicer/ stronger/ self-sufficient/ independent/ cooperative/ capable/ confident than male workers." Gender stereotype descriptors were sourced from the existing literature (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Ridgeway, 2011). Items indicating agentic traits were reverse-coded, these included: competitive, assertive, stronger, self-sufficient, independent, and confident.

A mean score was used as the index of endorsement of seven agentic stereotypes ($\alpha =$.89) and seven communal stereotypes ($\alpha =$.89), with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of gender stereotypes. For example, higher scores on agentic stereotypes indicated attitudes that men are more agentic than women. Higher scores on communal stereotypes indicated attitudes that women are more communal than men.

Age stereotype endorsement. Endorsement of age stereotypes was measured using 20 items adapted from the 'Work-related age-based stereotypes scale' (Marcus, Fritzsche, Le, & Reeves, 2016) asking participants "please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements... Older workers are more intellectually competent/ achieve more/

physically capable/ better performers/ productive/ skilled/ perform worse/ suitable for training/ possess greater potential/ learn faster/ more flexible/ able to learn new things/ waste time training/ waste time and money training/ warm-hearted/ warmer personalities/ likeable/ cold/ kind/ friendly than younger workers. " Items indicating competent or adaptable traits were reverse-coded, as were 'negative warm' traits, these included: intellectually competent, achieve more, physically capable, better performers, productive, skilled, suitable for training, possess greater potential, learn faster, more flexible able to learn new things and cold.

The scale measured three dimensions: competence (N=7, $\alpha = .73$), warmth (N=6, $\alpha = .86$), and adaptability (N=7, $\alpha = .68$). Given that no hypotheses were made about adaptability stereotypes and given that this scale had low reliability I did not include this subscale in the analyses reported below. Competence had a low reliability and therefore the scale was reduced to 6 items, omitting the item on physical capability.

A final mean score was used as the index of endorsement of competence stereotypes (α = .81) and warmth stereotypes (α = .86), with higher scores indicating greater endorsement of age stereotypes. For example, a high score on competence stereotypes reflected attitudes that younger people are more competent than older people. A high score on warmth stereotypes indicated attitudes that older people are warmer than younger people.

Self-rated leadership potential. Ratings of one's own leadership potential was measured using 7 items (three items adapted from this thesis and four items adapted from Mueller, Goncalo, & Kamdar, 2010) asking participants "please indicate the extent to which you think you personally have the following... leadership potential/ the potential to become a successful leader/ the capability to be a leader/ the potential to become an effective leader/ the potential to develop leadership skills/ the potential to advance to a leadership position/ the potential to be a leader who is a role model for my co-workers." A mean score was used as the

index of leadership potential ($\alpha = .97$), with higher scores indicating higher self-rated leadership potential.

Results

Power analysis

Using G*Power software to conduct a post-hoc power analysis, results showed that with a sample size of 252 for a multiple linear regression analysis with two predictors, to detect an effect size of between 0.02 (small) and 0.15 (medium), a power of between .61 and .99 was achieved.

Correlations.

Initial observation of the correlations indicates that gender is only associated with endorsement of agentic stereotypes but not self-rated leadership potential. Age on the other hand is associated with endorsement of competence and warmth stereotypes, and self-rated leadership potential. I will explore these associations further in the full analysis.

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	M(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Gender			02	.23**	.06	.03	02	03
2 Age				05	<001	29**	.27**	13*
3 Agentic stereotypes	4.04(0.62)				57**	.33**	41**	12
4 Communal stereotypes	4.17(0.90)					40**	.42**	.08
5 Competence stereotypes	3.85(.61)						70**	01
6 Warmth stereotypes	3.92(0.99)							04
7 Leadership Potential	5.09(1.23)							

Table 10. Means and Pearson Correlation Matrix for Specified Variables

Note. **p*<.05; ***p*<.01

Gender.

Correlation. I ran Pearson's bivariate correlations to establish the relationships between gender and endorsement of agentic stereotypes, endorsement of communal stereotypes and self-rated leadership potential. Failing to support the hypotheses, gender and self-rated leadership potential were not significantly associated; r(251)=-.03, p=.63. In partial support of hypotheses, there was a significant relationship between gender and endorsement of agentic stereotypes, such that men were more likely to endorse agentic stereotypes r(251)=-.23, p <.001. There was no relationship between gender and endorsement of communal stereotypes; r(251)=.06, p=.34.

Moderation. Although I found that men were more likely to endorse agentic stereotypes than women, this did not relate to self-rated leadership potential possibly because there was no difference between self-rated leadership potential for men and women. However, it is possible that for women who do endorse gender stereotypes, there is a negative relationship with self-rated leadership potential that does not occur for men. To test this possibility, I conducted exploratory moderation analyses to test the interactive effects of endorsement of gender stereotypes and gender on self-rated leadership potential (using Model 1 in PROCESS, Hayes, 2013). I introduced gender stereotypes as predictors (agentic in model 1, communal in model 2), participant gender as a moderator, and perceptions of self-rated leadership potential as the outcome. Results were non-significant (see Table 11).

Items	В	SE B	t	р	LCI	UCI
Agentic						
Agentic stereotypes	0.21	0.28	0.74	.46	-0.35	0.76
Gender	1.05	0.81	1.29	.20	-0.55	2.65
Agentic stereotypes x Gender	-0.28	0.18	-1.50	.13	-0.64	0.09
Communal						
Communal stereotypes	-0.08	0.27	-0.30	.77	-0.61	0.45
Gender	-0.65	0.75	-0.87	.39	-2.13	0.82
Communal stereotypes x Gender	0.13	0.17	0.77	.44	-0.21	0.48

Table 11. Moderated Regression Analysis for Gender Stereotypes

Age.

Correlation. I ran Pearson's bivariate correlations to establish relationships between age and endorsement of competence stereotypes, endorsement of warmth stereotypes and self-rated leadership potential. In support of hypotheses, there was a significant relationship between age and self-rated leadership potential; r(251)=-.13, p=.04. Younger workers rated more leadership potential in themselves and older workers rated less leadership potential in themselves. There was a significant relationship between age and endorsement of competence stereotypes; r(251)=-.29, p<.001, and age and endorsement of warmth stereotypes; r(251)=.27, p<.001. In partial support of the hypotheses, younger people were more likely to endorse competence stereotypes than older people, and contrary to Hypothesis 4, they were less likely to endorse warmth stereotypes than older people.

Moderation. I found that younger people were more likely to have higher self-rated leadership potential. Furthermore, I found partial support for Hypothesis 4 because younger

were more likely to endorse competence stereotypes than older people. However, this did not relate to self-rated leadership potential. It is possible that for older workers who do endorse age stereotypes, there is a negative relationship with self- rated leadership potential than does not occur for younger workers. I conducted exploratory moderation analyses to test the interactive effects of endorsement of age stereotypes and age on self-rated leadership potential (using model 1 in PROCESS, Hayes, 2013). I introduced age stereotypes as predictors (competence in model 1, warmth in model 2), participant age as a moderator, and self-rated leadership potential as the outcome. Results were non-significant (see Table 12).

Items	В	SE B	t	р	LCI	UCI
Competence						
Competence stereotypes	0.18	0.29	0.62	.54	-0.39	0.74
Age	0.31	0.75	0.42	.68	-1.16	1.79
Competence stereotypes x Gender	-0.17	0.19	-0.92	.36	-0.54	0.20
Warmth						
Warmth stereotypes	0.11	0.27	0.42	.67	-0.42	0.65
Age	0.03	0.75	0.04	.96	-1.45	1.52
Warmth stereotypes x Gender	-0.09	0.18	-0.48	.63	-0.45	0.27

Table 12. Moderated Regression Analysis for Age Stereotypes

Gender and Age.

The literature on discrimination towards older women indicates that a combined identity of being leadership-incongruent in terms of both gender and age may have more pronounced effects than being leadership-incongruent based on a single identity (Duncan & Loretto, 2004). This is echoed in the healthcare context, where internalized negative stereotypes have a

cumulative burden on older women, reducing health care seeking behaviors (Chrisler, Barney, & Palatino, 2016). It is possible that the burden of negative stereotypes that relate to older women's gender and age have a similar effect on their self- rated potential to lead.

I conducted exploratory moderation analyses to test the main and interactive effects of gender and age, with endorsement of gender and age stereotypes, on self-rated leadership potential at the intersectional level of identity (using model 3 in PROCESS, Hayes, 2013). In total, I tested four models: agentic stereotypes (Model A), communal stereotypes (Model B), competence stereotypes (Model C), and warmth stereotypes (Model D). Results of the three- way interactions are reported in text because I am particularly interested in the intersection of age and gender, all other effects are reported in full in Table 4.

Agentic stereotypes. I introduced endorsement of agentic stereotypes as a predictor, and participant gender and participant age as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

Results showed no main effects of endorsement of agentic stereotypes, participant gender or participant age. There were no interaction effects.

Communal stereotypes. I introduced endorsement of communal stereotypes as a predictor, and participant gender and participant age as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

Results showed significant main effects of endorsement of communal stereotypes, participant gender and participant age on self-rated leadership potential. All two-way interaction effects were significant.

Results showed a significant interaction between endorsement of communal stereotypes (that women are more communal than men), participant gender and participant age (b= 0.96, SE= 0.35, t= 2.73, p= .01, 95% CI 0.27, 1.65). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of communal stereotypes had differential effects across age groups for men, F(1,244)= 6.25,

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p=.01, but not women, F(1,244)=1.90, *p*=.17. Endorsement of communal stereotypes was marginally associated with higher self-rated leadership potential for younger men (*b*= 0.28, SE=0.15, t=1.92, p=.06, 95% CI -0.01, 0.57) but not older men (*b*= -0.33, SE=0.20, t=-1.69, p=.09, 95% CI -0.71, 0.06). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of communal stereotypes had differential effects across gender for older workers; F(1,244)=6.71, *p*=.01, but not younger workers; F(1,244)=1.37, *p*=.24. Endorsement of communal stereotypes was associated with higher self-rated leadership potential for older women (*b*= 0.36, *SE*= 0.18, *t*= 1.99, *p*=.05, 95% CI 0.003, 0.72) but not older men (*b*= -0.33, *SE*= 0.20, *t*= -1.69, *p*=.09, 95% CI -0.71, 0.06).

Competence stereotypes. I introduced endorsement of competence stereotypes as a predictor, and participant age and participant gender as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

Results showed a marginally-significant main effect of endorsement of competence stereotypes and significant main effects of participant gender and participant age on self-rated leadership potential. All two-way interactions were significant.

Results showed a significant interaction between endorsement of competence stereotypes (that younger people are more competent than older people), participant age and participant gender (b=-0.91, SE=0.38, t=-2.42, p=.02, 95% CI -1.66, -0.17). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of competence stereotypes had differential effects across gender for older workers, F(1,244)=5.24, p=.02, but not younger workers F(1,244)=1.21, p=.27. Endorsement of competence stereotypes was associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential in older women (b=-0.49, SE=0.20, t=-2.50, p=.01, 95% CI -0.88, - 0.10) but not older men (b=0.14, SE=0.19, t=0.71, p=.48, 95% CI -0.24, 0.51). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of competence stereotypes had differential effects across age groups for women, F(1,244)=5.73, p=.02, but not men, F(1,244)=0.88, p=.35. Endorsement of competence stereotypes was

associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential in older women (b= -0.49, SE= 0.20, t= -2.50, p= .01, 95% CI -0.88, -0.10), but not younger women (b= 0.19, SE= 0.20, t= 0.91, p= .36, 95% CI -0.22, 0.59).

Warmth stereotypes. I introduced endorsement of warmth stereotypes as a predictor, and participant age and participant gender as moderators, with self-rated leadership potential as the outcome.

Results showed significant main effects of endorsement of warmth stereotypes, participant gender and participant age on self-perceived leadership potential. All two-way interaction effects were significant.

Results showed a significant interaction between endorsement of warmth stereotypes (that older people are warmer than younger people), participant age and participant gender (b= 1.13, SE= 0.36, t= 3.14, p= .002, 95% CI 0.42, 1.84). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of warmth stereotypes had differential effects across gender for older workers; F(1,244)= 6.29, p=.01, and marginally-significant effects for younger workers; F(1,244)= 3.61, p=.06. Endorsement of warmth stereotypes was associated with lower self-rated leadership potential for older men (b= -0.41, SE= 0.20, t= -2.10, p= .04, 95% CI -0.80, -0.03) but not older women (b= 0.28, SE= 0.20, t= 1.45, p= .15, 95% CI -0.10, 0.67). There were no effects for younger men (b= 0.22, SE= 0.15, t= 1.44, p= .15, 95% CI -0.08, 0.52) or younger women (b= -0.22, SE= 0.17, t= -1.26, p= .21, 95% CI -0.56, 0.12). Conditional effects showed that endorsement of warmth stereotypes had differential effects for women; F(1,244)= 3.68, p=.06. Endorsement of warmth stereotypes was associated with lowered self-rated leadership younger men (b= -0.41, SE= 0.20, t= -2.10, p= .04, 95% CI -0.80, -0.03), but not not younger men (b= -0.41, SE= 0.20, t= -2.10, p= .04, 95% CI -0.80, -0.03), but not provide that endorsement of warmth stereotypes was associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential for older men (b= -0.41, SE= 0.20, t= -2.10, p= .04, 95% CI -0.80, -0.03), but not younger men (b= 0.22, SE= 0.15, t= 1.44, p= .15, 95% CI -0.08, 0.52). There were no effects for worker is the endorsement of warmth stereotypes was associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential for older men (b= -0.41, SE= 0.20, t= -2.10, p= .04, 95% CI -0.80, -0.03), but not younger men (b= 0.22, SE= 0.15, t= 1.44, p= .15, 95% CI -0.08, 0.52). There were no effects

for younger women (*b*= -0.22, *SE*= 0.17, *t*= -1.26, *p*= .21, 95% CI -0.56, 0.12) or older (*b*= 0.28, *SE*= 0.20, *t*= 1.45, *p*= .15, 95% CI -0.10, 0.67).

Discussion

The results of *Study 10* demonstrate the effects of endorsing leadership-incongruent stereotypes across gender and age groups on self-rated leadership potential. Across the age stereotypes, the effects were negative for older people but this was dependent on gender. Specifically, endorsing stereotypes about older people's warmth was associated with reduced self-rated leadership potential for older men but not older women. Furthermore, endorsing stereotypes about older people's lower competence compared to younger people was associated with reduced self-rated leadership potential for older women but not older men. Nonetheless, older women had higher self-rated leadership potential the more they endorsed stereotypes about women as more communal than men, something that younger women did not benefit from. Interestingly, endorsing stereotypes about women's communality was associated with high self-rated leadership potential for any of the gender or age stereotypes. Overall, the results indicate that endorsing stereotypes about both gender and age have some negative impact on older people but not younger people.

I found that gender was not directly related to self-rated leadership potential which failed to support my hypothesis. I did find however that age was directly related to self-rated leadership potential.

My exploratory analyses shed light on intersectionality issues. There was no negative interaction of gender or age stereotypes for neither younger men nor younger women. For younger men this would be expected given that gender stereotypes are leadership-congruent based on both their gender and age. However, I would expect gender stereotypes to interact for self-rated leadership potential for younger women to some degree because their gender (but

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not age) identity is leadership-incongruent. Perhaps in this study the salience of their age counteracted the negative effects of gender stereotypes, something to investigate in future research.

Age interacted with both age stereotypes and gender stereotypes. Endorsing age stereotypes around competency was detrimental for older women in terms of self-rated leadership potential, compared to their male and younger counterparts. Endorsement of warmth stereotypes had a potentially negative relationship with self-rated leadership potential for older men. Perhaps for older men, the warmth associated with ageing becomes more salient than the agency associated with their gender. This was the opposite for older women, whose self-rated leadership potential increased when they endorsed communal traits about women. Interestingly, agency-based gender stereotypes had no interactive effects. Perhaps the nuances in the intersectional identities of these groups warrants further exploration. For example, intersectional identities become embedded within one another, interacting to form one unique identity through which inequality is experienced (Harnois, 2014; Martin, North, & Phillips, 2018).

The findings could be explained by a generational difference between the participant groups. That is, older people may rely more heavily on all societal stereotypes than younger people. The findings may also reflect the gendered nature of age stereotypes which may explain why age stereotypes were related to self-rated leadership potential differently for older men and older women. Martin and colleagues (2018) explain the gendered expectations of men and women as they age, showing that older men are expected to 'lose' their agency. I found older men who endorse this, indicated by endorsement of older people's warmth, have lowered self-rated leadership potential.

Although I did not find a relationship between gender and self-rated leadership potential, I found this relationship for age. Perhaps the salience of societal gender roles is

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diminishing, or younger women better 'manage' pervasive workplace stereotypes than their older counterparts. However, typical organizational cultures are often stereotypically masculine and younger with respect to the organizational norms, attitudes and behaviors endorsed within the workplace. As women and older people make decisions about job opportunities, these stereotyped cultures are likely to become more salient (Cochran et al., 2013; Kulik, Perera, & Cregan, 2016).

General Discussion

Summary of Results

Overall, I found limited support for my hypotheses. Gender was no associated with self-rated leadership potential in either study. Age was associated with self-rated leadership potential in both studies. Self-rated organisation prototypicality and manager identification did not predict self-rated leadership potential. Organisational identification only marginally predicted self-rated leadership potential. In addition, these social identity constructs did not interact with target (participant) gender to inform self-rated leadership potential. Furthermore, endorsing leadership-incongruent stereotypes about one's group along one identity dimension did not predict self-rated leadership potential.

Across *Study 9* and *Study 10*, it was the addition of target (participant) age that unearthed interactions with both social identity constructs and social stereotypes on self-rated leadership potential. For example, in *Study 9* self-rated prototypicality and organisational identification predicted self-rated leadership potential for older men but not older women. This is in line with my original hypotheses, although I did not account for age, social identity constructs did interact with target (participant) gender. The fact that the hypothesised phenomena only occurred at older ages suggests that social identity constructs may be more less relevant for younger ages as other factors determining one's self-rated leadership potential are more important. It is possible that stereotypes associated men with leadership are enough to provide

Chapter 6: Self-Rated Leadership Potential

men with self-rated leadership potential. As older age stereotypes are leadership-incongruent, older men defend their self-rated leadership potential through their position in and relationship with the group. I found support for this in *Study 10*. Endorsing stereotypes about older people's lower competence compared to younger people was not associated with older men's reduced self-rated leadership potential but endorsing stereotypes about older people's higher warmth compared to younger people was associated with older men's reduced self-rated leadership potential. As older men are negatively affected by stereotypes disassociating their age from leadership, their position in and relationship with the group acts to protect their self-rated leadership potential. Older women do not have this social identity protection and their self-rated leadership potential is increasingly affected by leadership-incongruent stereotypes about their age and their gender.

Limitations

The first limitation of these studies investigating self-rated leadership potential is in *Study 9*. Although I provided rationale and justification for why social identity constructs would not predict self-rated leadership potential in the same way for women that they would for men, I did not measure either of these arguments. For example, asking whether participants felt that they physically represented the group, in addition to psychological representation in terms of values, would have allowed us to examine whether women's limited representation of the organisational group could explain why women's self-rated social identity constructs were not associated with their self-rated leadership potential. In addition, asking participants whether they expected or anticipated any career obstacles in pursuing leadership would have allowed us to examine whether the lack of relationship between self-rated social identity constructs and self-rated leadership potential for women. Nonetheless, social identity constructs did not relate to self-rated leadership potential for either men or women.

Study 9 and *Study 10* demonstrate clear intersectional interactions on self-rated leadership potential for older women in particular. However, the cross-sectional data of this study limits my conclusions. Although I expect that social identity constructs may not benefit women in the same way that they do for men, and endorsing leadership-incongruent stereotypes about one's identity would reduce self-rated leadership potential, I cannot conclude the causal nature of these relationship. In addition, potentially low power was achieved to detect the number of effects based on the hypotheses; insufficient power suggests that effects that may be present are undetected and therefore type II error may have occurred.

Implications

This chapter has introduced a new perspective for examining the subjectivity of leadership potential, looking at antecedents of self-rated leadership potential as opposed to others' perceptions of an individual's leadership potential. I discussed the implications of high-potential identification as well as what happens when individuals perceive feedback about their leadership potential. What I did not know however was how individuals may use and internalise social psychological factors to determine their own self-rated leadership potential. Although I found that social identity constructs and stereotypes are less likely to be used to determine one's own potential to lead for younger employees, there are implications of these findings for older employees. For example, these findings may explain struggles with older women's retention, as they begin to 'opt-out' due to the marginalisation and negative stereotypes of their intersecting identities (Shacklock, Brunetto, & Nelson, 2009).

The major implication is the intersectional outcomes identified in these studies. The analyses at the intersectional level demonstrates the complex ways in which social identity constructs and stereotypes can influence their targets. The results of my research demonstrating that younger women are less affected by gender stereotypes than older women highlight the need for further research to examine other high-level and low-level intersecting identities.

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What impact do gender and racial stereotypes have on minority ethnic women's perceptions of their own leadership potential in comparison to white women? It is likely that, as with older women, the detrimental effects for minority ethnic women are more prominent (Mirza, 2003). This warrants further empirical exploration and emphasizes the need for organisations to address diversity and equality as issues of intersectionality that have otherwise focused on white women for gender initiatives and black men for race initiatives (Ghavami and Peplau, 2013).

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter provides an interesting examination of the relationships between internal social identity processes, external societal stereotypes, and their interaction with target (participant) gender and self-rated leadership potential. Through two survey studies, one with an organisational sample, and one with a UK-wide working sample, I have shown that women rate themselves to have as much leadership potential as men, and that social identity processes and societal stereotypes have no significant relationship with this. Empirical works conducted in this thesis have demonstrated the role of social identity processes on others' perceptions of organisational members leadership potential. In addition, a plethora of research has consistently and robustly evidenced the effects of leadership-incongruent stereotypes about women on evaluations of women's potential to lead and leadership effectiveness. Study 9 demonstrated that self-rated prototypicality, organisational identification and manager identification do not interact with gender to inform self-evaluations of leadership potential. Study 10 demonstrated that societal gender stereotypes do not interact with gender to inform self-evaluations of leadership potential. As gender work makes significant advancements in organisational diversity and women's representation in leadership in the UK, Study 9 and Study 10 point to intersectional nuances that may represent changing attitudes towards a specific,

"accepted" group of women. Implications for intersectionality will be discussed in the next chapter, the *General Discussion* of this thesis.

Chapter Overview

This chapter provides a general discussion of the findings reported in this thesis. I will revert back to the initial overarching aims and hypotheses of this thesis, to situate the research findings in response to these. The summary of results accumulates the insights from ten studies focusing on objective and perceived employees' organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, and interpersonal similarity and the role that these social identity processes play in forming perceptions of other-rated and self-rated leadership potential. Each chapter's findings will also be summarised with respect to target and evaluator gender to address the second aim of this thesis. In addition, the role of perceptions of performance will be discussed. Overall, the summary of findings will lay the foundations for addressing and answering my original research questions. This research has not been conducted without its drawbacks, both anticipated and unanticipated, which are to be expected when examining complex constructs and sensitive issues in typically private contexts such as corporate organisations. I will outline the theoretical and methodological strengths and limitations and how these may be addressed in future research. I will then discuss the implications of these findings for theory and practice, to stimulate further thinking about the role of gender within well-established social psychology frameworks, namely the social identity approach, and actions that organisations can take to improve the accuracy and reliability of their talent management processes. This body of work has opened the door to further research questions so I will outline potential future research avenues. I will then draw final conclusions.

Aims of Thesis

This thesis aimed to investigate the social psychological factors that affect perceptions of organisational leadership potential. This overarching aim emerged from my understanding that

the academic focus on leadership potential was primarily concerned with identifying 'silver bullet;' the traits and skills that would effectively predict future leadership effectiveness (Silzer, Church, Rotolo, & Scott, 2016). Our understanding of how people make leadership decisions from a social psychological perspective is that perceptions are influenced by the social context, including the identities of both the evaluator and the target, and other group expectations. To date, little emphasis has been placed on the social context surrounding the identification of leadership potential. Although the role of cultural fit (Church, 2015) and value fit (Robinson et al., 2009) have been discussed, the arguments have focused on either side of the divide – whether or not measuring these constructs are helpful for identifying leadership potential. I ask the question not of whether they are helpful but whether or not they are adopted, regardless of their place in a model of leadership potential or its predictive validity (or lack thereof). My understanding that bias plays out in decision-making regardless of its usefulness has put me in a unique and privileged position to explore the influence of social psychological variables in perceptions of leadership potential. As discussed, social psychological variables that are alluded to point to the role of 'fit' and from a social psychological perspective the social identity approach provides a robust framework in which to explore 'fit' in the organisation through the social identity constructs of prototypicality and identification. Therefore, my first aim was to explore how social identity processes, namely employees' organisation prototypicality and organisational identification, play out in other organisational members' perceptions of their leadership potential.

I also aimed to investigate the role of target and evaluator gender in the process of identifying leadership potential, and how they may interact with social identity expectations. Women are underrepresented in organisational leadership positions and the talent pipeline even though diversity initiatives are the biggest corporate expenditure, of them gender diversity initiatives are most commonly adopted, and increasing diversity in leadership is a top priority

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(Harjoto, Laksmana, & Yang, 2018). Traditional social psychological theories of leadership focus on traits and leadership styles, such as the role of personality in leader emergence and effectiveness (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002), transformational and transactional leadership styles (Bass, 1990) or charismatic leadership (Conger, 1989). Social psychological theories have also contributed significantly to our understanding of the underrepresentation of women in leadership, such as the *think-manager-think-male* paradigm (Schein & Davidson, 1993) and role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, one observation is that theories of leadership (i.e. what makes a good leader or why leaders emerge in groups) often overlook the role of gender differences in the psychology of these processes. As such, theories of leadership and theories of gender differences in leadership attainment are typically developed independently.

One notable example of a leadership theory that overlooks gender differences in leadership attainment is the social identity approach. The social identity approach (Turner et al., 1987) and the social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) has provided a robust theoretical lens in which to examine leader's emergence and perceptions of leader effectiveness but with little examination of how gender differences within the group may affect traditional social identity processes. I aimed to examine what happens to traditional social identity processes when the potential leader's gender is accounted for. For example, if social identity processes explain subjectivity in evaluations of leadership potential, do social identity processes play out differently for male and female prospective leaders? Could these processes be driving gender biases in the recognition of leadership potential? When examining gender differences within a group it is also important to note the role of evaluator gender because men and women hold different identities, status and power in organisational groups (Lave & Wenger, 1991) which creates marginality for women in organisational groups (Davis, 2001). Research has shown that women's leadership potential is underrecognised because the

stereotypes of women and leadership are incongruent whereas the stereotypes of men and leaders are congruent (Eagly & Karau, 2002). I aimed to examine whether women's leadership potential is also underrecognised because traditional social identity processes (i.e. perceptions of one's representativeness and belonging in the group) play out differently for men and women in organisational contexts. Traditionally the social identity approach would posit that social identity processes play out in the same way for all group members, that if a group member is prototypical they are more likely to emerge as a leader than a non-prototypical group member (Hogg, 2001). Given that in the absence of gender information leaders are assumed to be men (Braun, Stegmann, Hernandez Bark, Junker, & van Dick, 2017; Schein & Davidson, 1993), I aimed to explore whether these social identity processes are reserved for men.

To summarise, the aims of this thesis were two-fold. First, to examine whether social identity processes play out in forming evaluations of employees' organisational leadership potential. Second, to examine whether gender bias interacts with social identity processes to explain disproportionate identification of leadership potential in men compared to women.

Hypotheses

Overall, I hypothesised that social identity constructs would explain perceptions of organisational leadership potential. These two social identity constructs are: organisation prototypicality and organisational identification. An employee's organisation prototypicality, the extent to which an employee represents and embodies the values, norms, and overall identity of the organisation (Cicero, Bonaiuto, Pierro, & van Knippenberg, 2008), will affect how much leadership potential they are perceived to have in the eyes of other organisational group members. An employee's organisational identification (i.e. the extent to which an employee feels a sense of psychological attachment and "oneness" to the organisation; Edwards, 2009), will affect how much leadership potential the employee is perceived to have in the eyes of other organisation;

In relation to gender, I hypothesised that social identity processes would be insufficient for women to have their leadership potential recognised by men. That is, women would be held to standards higher than those theorised by the social identity approach to be perceived as having leadership potential in the eyes of male evaluators. In essence, I hypothesised that social identity processes would explain perceptions of leadership potential in gender-neutral scenarios, as they have done so for leader endorsement and perceptions of leader effectiveness. However, I hypothesised that, when evaluated by men who are typically in the majority and hold greater power and status in organisational contexts (Lave & Wenger, 1991), women must go beyond being "of the group" and "for the group" to be identified as having leadership potential – they also need to excel in performance. As such, I hypothesised an interaction effect between social identity constructs and target and evaluator gender.

Hypothesising the role of organisation prototypicality in perceptions of leadership potential (*Chapter 3*), I predicted that higher perceptions of employees' prototypicality would increase perceptions of their leadership potential. I hypothesised that target role performance would have the same effect of increasing perceptions of leadership potential. I also hypothesised that organisation prototypicality and target role performance would interact such that a prototypical high-performing employee would be perceived as having more leadership potential than any other employee. Finally, I predicted that when empliyee gender is salient and evaluator gender is considered, women would need to be both high-performing and prototypical in order to be perceived as having leadership potential in the eyes of evaluators who are men. I hypothesised that men would not be held to this standard by men or women who are evaluators, and instead they would be perceived as having leadership potential by demonstrating either organisation prototypicality or role performance.

Furthermore, I hypothesised that organisational identification would shape perceptions of employee leadership potential, akin to the effects of prototypicality *(Chapter 4)*. I predicted

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the same pattern of results for organisational identification as I did for organisation prototypicality. In this chapter I also examined potential mediators for these relationships, based on the literature I predicted that perceptions of the target's performance, organisational commitment, and motivation would mediate the relationship between target organisational identification and perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I also predicted that identification would be sufficient for perceiving leadership potential in male but not female targets for men, and would be sufficient for both male and female targets for women. I also examined the role of perceptions of organisational identification, and interpersonal similarity. I predicted that in the absence of other information men would perceive higher organisational identification in men which would explain high perceptions of leadership potential. I also predicted that gender would moderate the relationship between interpersonal similarity and leadership potential, such that the relationship between interpersonal similarity and leadership potential would be stronger for men than for women, when evaluated by men.

In *Chapter 5*, I aimed to examine previous findings of the thesis and therefore derivedour hypotheses from these findings. For example, testing the interaction between prototypicality and employee gender for high-performing employees evaluated by male managers, I predicted that employee prototypicality would predict manager perceptions of employee leadership potential for female employees but not male employees. In addition, demonstrating the causal link between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential, I hypothesised that social identify constructs, manager perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, and manager interpersonal similarity with the employee, would predict manager perceptions of employee leadership potential as individual and cumulative predictors. Each social identity construct would be a significant predictor of manager perceptions of leadership potential when examined as an individual predictor and when examined as cumulative indicators with the other social identity constructs.

My final hypotheses relate to self-rated leadership potential as measured in *Chapter 6*. I hypothesised that social identity processes would predict self-rated leadership potential for men but not women. That is, women would not perceive that being "of the group," "for the group" or like their manager, would relate to their leadership potential given the career barriers that women anticipate beyond these processes. For men, I predicted that simply fitting in (i.e. self-rated organisation prototypicality), feeling a sense of belonging (i.e. organisational identification) and identifying with their manager would explain their self-rated leadership potential. I also examined the role of stereotypes in self-rated leadership potential. I predicted that endorsing leader-incongruent stereotypes about one's gender would predict lowered self-rated leadership potential for women but not men. Extending my hypotheses to age, I predicted that endorsing leader-incongruent age stereotypes would predict lowered self-rated leadership potential for older but not younger people.

Overall, my hypotheses were based on the premise that differential reliance on social identity processes may explain gender bias in assessments of leadership potential, which ultimately prevents the effective identification of women's leadership potential. In the next section, I summarise the findings of each study and how they relate to my original aims and hypotheses.

Summary of Findings

I found overall support for my hypotheses with respect to both social identity processes, gender of the target and evaluator, and the interaction between these factors.

Study 1 investigated the interaction between target organisation prototypicality and individual role performance on evaluator perceptions of leadership potential. In support of my hypotheses, I found that organisation prototypicality affected perceptions of a target's leadership potential independently, so that prototypical members were perceived to have more leadership potential. Role performance marginally increased perceptions of leadership

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potential. I also found support for my hypothesis that the two factors would interacted to affect perceptions of leadership potential, such that members who scored higher in both dimensions were recognised as higher in leadership potential. Organisation prototypicality and role performance also interacted to affect perceptions of promotability but not future success. In line with previous literature (e.g. Steffens et al., 2013), prototypicality and performance also interacted with each other such that high-performance increased perceptions of prototypicality and prototypicality increased perceptions of performance.

Study 2 tested my manipulations. In Study 1 I found that evidence that organisation prototypicality and role performance interacted such that evaluators inferred one from the other. To ensure that this finding occurred because of the nature of the constructs and not the manipulation, in Study 2 I asked participants to report both the target's objective scores for each of the tests and how felt personally about how well the target performed in each domain. Applicants were presented as male in this study so that I could test the hypothesis that male and female evaluators would not perceive leadership potential in male targets differently. I found that recall of objective performance did not interact, such that organisation prototypicality and role performance were independent due to my manipulations. As hypothesised, I found that subjective perceptions of success in each domain did interact, as found previously in the literature. Finally, I found support for my hypotheses that there was no difference between how male and female evaluators would perceive leadership potential in male targets. I did not support my hypotheses regarding social identity constructs, neither organisation prototypicality or role performance affected perceptions of leadership potential for male targets.

Building directly on the findings of *Study 1* and *Study 2*, *Study 3* demonstrated that the gender of the target and the gender of the evaluator interact with social identity processes, namely the target's organisation prototypicality in affecting evaluators' perceptions of the

target's leadership potential. Supporting my hypotheses, both organisation prototypicality and role performance affected perceptions of the target's leadership potential, promotability, future success, and attribution of leadership traits. I also found that the female applicant overall was perceived to have more leadership potential and be more promotable, although I did not hypothesise this. In order for female targets to be perceived as having leadership potential by male evaluators, they had to be both high-performing and prototypical. Women evaluators on the other hand perceived leadership potential in the high-performing non-prototypical female potential leader. These differences were not observed for male prospective leaders.

Organisational identification is another social identity construct that has received less research attention than prototypicality when investigating the relationship between social identity processes and perceptions of leadership and leadership effectiveness. *Study 4* determined a causal link between target's organisational identification and evaluators' perceptions of the target's leadership potential. Over and above 'high-potential indicators' provided for each prospective leader, evaluators perceived more leadership potential, greater promotability, future success and allocated more resources to the prospective leader who demonstrated higher identification with their organisation through a conversation excerpt with their supervisor than the prospective leader who demonstrated low identification. In this study I also tested potential mediators between organisational identification and leadership potential. Perceptions of the target's performance was consistently identified as a mediator for all outcomes. Perceptions of organisational commitment mediated the relationship between the target's organisational identification and some outcomes, namely promotability and allocation of resources. Perceptions of motivation did not mediate the relationship between organisational identification for any outcomes.

Having established the importance of organisational identification in the recognition of leadership potential in *Study 4*. *Study 5* introduced target and evaluator gender to examine its

interactive effects with target organisational identification on perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I found again the effects of organisational identification on evaluators' perceptions of the target's leadership potential. However, contrary to my hypothesis, I found that male evaluators favoured highly-identified men compared to low-identified men. Specifically, low-identified men were perceived to have significantly less leadership potential, be less likely to succeed in the future, and were allocated less resources when compared to highly-identified men. In contrast, organisational identification did not have the same level of importance when men evaluated female prospective leaders. Women did not differentiate between the gender of the prospective leaders when organisational identification was manipulated. Specifically, women perceived highly-identified employees to have more leadership potential than low-identified employees, irrespective of gender. Men benefit from perceptions of leadership potential in organisational practice which suggests that, to explain these findings, men may be less likely to be perceived as not identified with the organisation. Put clearly, it is possible that men *expect* other men to be highly identified and therefore the expectancy-violation causes greater backlash for men than for women (Bettencourt, Dill, Greathouse, Charlton, & Mulholland, 1997).

Men are more likely to be identified as having leadership potential in the eyes of other men (Rink et al., 2019). Therefore, my finding that low-identified men were perceived to have the least leadership potential by men would suggest that typically men are perceived to strongly identify with their organisation. I tested this rationale with male evaluators in *Study 6*, manipulating whether the evaluator was asked to evaluate a male or female target. I measured perceptions of the target's organisational identification, evaluators' identification with the target, and perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I did not find that men were perceived to be more identified with the organisation than women. I did however find that but not for women. This finding suggests that men's interpersonal similarity may compensate for low-identification in perceiving male target's leadership potential.

Studies 1-6 utilised online samples of employees working in the UK. Although these experimental studies provided strong causal evidence for the role of social identity and gender bias in perceptions of leadership potential, it is ultimately managers who are tasked with identifying leadership potential in their employees and ensuring that the right processes are in place to facilitate their success. Therefore, Study 7 and Study 8 draw on managerial samples to test the key predictors. The aim of *Study* 7 was to test the key finding of *Study* 3, that suggest that women are held to higher standards by male evaluators. I previously found that women must go beyond high-performance and must also be prototypical in order to be perceived as having leadership potential in the eyes of male evaluators. Therefore, I manipulated two conditions in which practising managers were asked to think about either their a) highestperforming male report or b) highest-performing female report. I controlled for performance and examined whether organisation prototypicality would predict perceptions of leadership potential for female but not male employees. I did not observe this in my findings. Instead the effect was qualified by age, and it occured for older female employees and no other group. Therefore, I found partial support for my hypotheses. With practising managers assessing their real-life direct reports, older women are held to higher standards than any other group.

Study 8 also utilised a manager sample but this sample was recruited through the UK division of a multinational accounting firm. The aim of the study was to test the independent and combined relationships between social identity constructs and perceptions of leadership potential for practising managers and their current direct reports. The study found that all three social identity constructs, namely manager's perceptions of employee organisation prototypicality, organisational identification, and managers' interpersonal similarity with the employee independently predicted managers' perceptions of employee leadership potential.

When I examined the relationship of all factors simultaneously, prototypicality was no longer a significant predictor of perceptions of leadership potential, but organisational identification remained marginally significant and interpersonal similarity remained significant. This suggests that being "for the group" and "like me" play a greater role in determining managers' perceptions of leadership potential than being "of the group". Neither organisational prototypicality or organisational identification were significant predictors of promotability, suggesting that interpersonal similarity is most indicative of managers' perceptions of employee promotability. In addition, *Study 8* confirmed that perceptions of employee performance is a consistent mediator of the relationships between social identity constructs and managers' perceptions of target's leadership potential. In support of *Study 4*, organisational commitment was not a significant mediator of the relationship between social identity constructs and manager perceptions of leadership potential.

Studies 1 - 8 of this thesis have been concerned with other peoples' evaluations of an employee's leadership potential. However, research has shown detrimental outcomes for individuals who receive negative feedback regarding their own leadership potential (Steffens et al., 2019). In *Study 9*, utilising an employee sample from an accounting firm, I tested the role of social identity processes in self-rated leadership potential for men and women within their organisational context. Overall I found little relationship between social identity constructs and self-rated leadership potential. Social identity processes did not relate to employees' self-rated leadership potential, suggesting that social identity processes are likely more informative for explaining how group members and managers perceive employees' leadership potential. I found no immediate gender differences, gender was not associated with self-rated leadership potential and gender did not moderate the relationships between social identity processes and self-rated leadership potential. However, age was associated with self-rated leadership potential; older age was associated with lower self-rated leadership potential.

I also observed moderated moderation effects whereby prototypicality and identification predicted self-rated leadership potential for older men but no other group. This finding could suggest that as men get older and experience reduced personal feelings of agency and stereotypes associated with leadership and anticipate these observations from others, social identity processes provide a means by which they can maintain their self-rated leadership potential. Therefore, for older men who identify with the organisation and perceive themselves to be prototypical, they can still perceive opportunity to fulfil their leadership potential. Older women on the other hand do not have this buffer against negative evaluations of ageing, as social identity processes were always less likely to provide them with the means to fulfil their leadership potential. Older women who identify with the organisation and perceive themselves as prototypical do not see these factors as associated with their ability to lead.

Gender and age stereotypes surrounding women's ability to agentic and older people's ability to be competent may provide greater insight on how minority and disadvantaged groups perceive their potential to lead. Finally, *Study 10* extended our understanding of how self-rated leadership potential is assessed based on individual's endorsement of stereotypes about their sociodemographic group. Replicating *Study 9*, I found that gender was not related to self-rated leadership potential but age was related to self-rated leadership potential; older age was associated with lower self-rated leadership potential. I found that endorsing gender and age stereotypes were more likely to explain lowered self-rated leadership potential for older men and women than younger men and women. The effects were only significant when both gender and age were considered, suggesting that endorsing multiple negative stereotypes about your demographic groups has effects at the intersectional level of identity. Older women were associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential the more they endorsed stereotypes about older people being less 'competent' than younger people, compared to older men and younger women. Older men were associated with lowered self-rated leadership potential the

more they endorsed stereotypes about older people being 'warmer' than younger people, compared to younger men and older women.

Research Questions Revisited

Now that I have summarised the findings of this thesis, it makes sense to return to the original research questions and to provide more concrete answers. My first research question relates broadly to the role of social psychology in evaluations of leadership potential, namely 'what are some of the social psychological factors that affect evaluator perceptions of leadership potential?' I can now answer this question more confidently with empirical support. Social identity processes are some of the social psychological factors which play out when forming evaluations of leadership potential. Specifically, the target's organisation prototypicality and organisational identification do affect others' perceptions of the target's leadership potential. These findings are the case for other-evaluations (i.e. an individual's evaluation of someone else, specifically within a shared group) because I found this in the research for both hypothetical organisational group members and practising managers assessing their real-life direct reports. However, these findings are not the case for self-evaluations. In this research self-evaluations of leadership potential were typically unrelated to self-rated organisation prototypicality or organisational identification. The only construct that I measured that was related to both other- and self-evaluations was interpersonal similarity. Interpersonal similarity is not a traditional social identity construct but was introduced in the research to better understand the psychological processes surrounding identification and perceptions of leadership potential (Chapter 4).

My second research question is concerned with the interaction of social psychological factors with gender to better understand the gender gap in talent pipelines and senior leadership positions in the UK. The premise of the research question is based on the assumption that the social psychological processes underpinning subjectivities in leadership potential identification

are contributing to the gender gap. As such, I asked 'how do social psychological factors interact with evaluator and target gender to affect perceptions of leadership potential?' The answer to this question is more complex than the previous as no consistent pattern of results was identified and the nature of bias is subtle (Moss-Racusin, Dovidio, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012). Overall, I found that social identity processes interact with gender in a way that creates higher standards for perceiving women's leadership potential when perceivers or evaluators are men. Some of the ways in which I observed this include the finding that men perceived leadership potential in female prospective leaders when the female prospective leader was both high-performing and organisation prototypical. Also, men's interpersonal similarity benefitted male but not female prospective leaders. The extent to which this applies to all women needs to be investigated further as the managerial sample showed higher standards for older women but not younger women. In other-evaluations, social identity processes did not to interact with gender for female evaluators or male targets. Social identity processes do however interact with gender for self-rated leadership potential in older men. On the other hand, societal stereotypes about women's communality (vs. agency) and older people's warmth (vs. competence) provided further insight into the social psychological factors associated with self-rated leadership potential for older men and older women.

Implications

This body of work has unearthed processes that have significant implications for theory and practice. Particularly, this research has demonstrated the importance of appreciating social cognitive processes at different foci of identity, when addressing gender bias in the recognition of leadership potential.

Theoretical implications

Dynamic social cognitive processes. Social psychological theory should attempt to account for the multiple social cognitive processes that play out in evaluations of others in

order to be more holistic in its approach. This is particularly relevant for leadership theories that may overlook the boundary conditions for individuals emerging or being perceived as effective leaders. For example, theories of leadership broadly are often developed in isolation of theories of why women are less likely to assume leadership positions (i.e., role congruity theory; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Neither approach typically accounts for the other but this does not negate the significant and robust effects observed in support of each. I took the social identity approach (Turner et al., 1985) and the social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) as an example of a leadership theory which assumes consistency across group members' evaluations of other group members aside from the constructs of focus in this perspective. It was clear however that support for group members pursuing leadership is not uniform and depends also on the identities of the evaluator and target over and above traditional social identity processes. In this thesis I examined the gender of these individuals, but it is likely that a number of sociodemographic factors (e.g. race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, disability) play a role in changing the way social identity biases play out. If the social identity approach is to provide a framework in which I examine complex organisational issues, it must develop an appreciation for the role of within-group diversity and how this plays out to interrupt traditional social identity processes.

The social identity approach is only one social psychological perspective that has been applied to better understand bias and subjectivity in perceptions of leadership potential. It is likely that many social psychological perspectives can provide insight on how perceptions of leadership potential are affected by the social context.

Practical implications

Organisations biggest expenditures are talent management and diversity (Trehan & Glover, 2019). The findings of this thesis would suggest that if these priorities are being invested in in isolation, organisations are less likely to secure a return on their investment as the two are

psychologically and practically interrelated. There are three concerns for organisational practice which emerge from this research. First is the subjectivity surrounding perceptions of leadership potential given the efforts to create reliable, valid, and objective assessments. Second is the negative outcomes of perceiving leadership potential in and nurturing the organisations most prototypical individuals. Finally, holding women to higher standards will continue to affect the gender balance in talent pipelines and leadership positions.

Gender bias. Gender bias in assessments of leadership potential will maintain organisational issues of gender diversity in senior leadership and lack of innovation from leadership teams. Research has shown that when cohesive, diverse teams drive innovation (Bantel & Jackson, 1989; Basset-Jones, 2005) and Hubt, Yee, Prince, and Dixon-Flye's (2015) McKinsey report demonstrated that companies with more gender balanced executive leadership teams were 15 percent more likely to reach above-average profitability compared to companies with lower gender diversity in executive leadership. Holding women to higher standards for identifying their potential is the double-edged sword for organisations, affecting their ability to identify true potential and hindering diversity efforts.

Subjectivity of leadership potential. Treating leadership potential as though it is a trait or attribute (Silzer & Church, 2009) fails to acknowledge the role of bias, schemas, and perceptions around individuals' gut feeling of what makes a good leader and how they act on this (Dries & Pepermans, 2012). Many researchers in talent management have alluded to the role of managerial biases and evaluators' tendency to overlook objective criteria in favour of listening to one's own feelings or schemas of 'what good looks like'. Surprisingly, organisations and scholars have continued to try to identify the 'silver bullet' for most effectively identifying their high-potentials to maintain their competitive advantage. The findings of this research would suggest that no 'silver bullet' exists, that having leadership potential depends on a number of identity and contextual factors that are likely to change over

time and are dependent on the manager, the direct report and their relationship. An individual may be perceived as high-potential in the eyes of their current manager, but under the supervision of a new manager who does not identify with them, they are no longer perceived to be a high-potential. This raises the question of why organisations use manager assessments to identify leadership potential. The findings of this thesis would suggest that manager assessments of leadership potential are more reflective of manager perceptions of fit. Fit is not an indicator of leadership potential and may only provide an indication of how an employee is likely to get on in the sense that they abide by expected norms and values (Church & Silzer, 2015). It would be better for organisations to focus on reducing the opportunities for subjectivities to creep into their talent identification processes, or making them more objective altogether, than to invest in developing measurement tools that are being second-guessed by managers.

Prototypicality and cultural fit. Researchers have argued that prototypicality is an unhelpful indicator of leadership potential (Church, 2015; Silzer & Church, 2009) yet this research has demonstrated that it affects perceptions of leadership potential. Church's (2014) criticisms of using culture fit as an indicator of leadership potential neatly summarises why prototypicality is an unhelpful indicator. Measuring cultural fit is fashionable and tells us how a likely it is that an individual can operate effectively in line with norms and values, but this is only relevant when the culture is well-defined, which prototypicality is often not (Hogg, 2001), and does not account for changes in culture or what is required of leaders under varying economic, political and social pressures. For example, identifying leadership potential based on prototypicality inhibits innovative leadership that is required for the organisation to remain competitive (Urbancova, 2013). This approach becomes counterintuitive as organisations seek to identify the most promising future leaders to drive effective change, prototypical leaders may not drive necessary innovations at least in certain contexts, which may explain why 40

percent of internal job moves for high-potentials fail (Corporate Executive Board, 2011). Selecting non-prototypical group members who objectively match the high-potential criteria is likely to lead to better outcomes for the organisation, but only if the leader's non-prototypicality does not jeopardise the relationship between employees and their leader. This is clearly challenging given the robustness of social identity processes. Organisations may benefit from shaping their culture and identity around change and innovation (Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, & Crisp, 2012; Sarros, Cooper, & Santora, 2011).

Strengths and Limitations

There are noteworthy strengths and limitations of the approach to and execution of this research. These aspects of the research include: the theoretical underpinning of the research and its appropriateness, the sampling strategy and populations used to collect the data, and the methodological approach to answering the research questions. I will start by outlining the limitations in these aspects, and address these where possible with arguments for the strengths in each of these approaches.

Theoretical Approach.

The application of the social identity approach to understanding perceptions of leadership potential makes sense for two reasons. First, it is a well-established social psychological perspective with well-developed constructs providing a strong theoretical framework to adopt. Also, it has vast empirical support for explaining leadership processes within a group (Hogg, 2001; Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012). Organisations provide the group context in which to examine social identity processes, as has been demonstrated in successful organisational research and evidence-based interventions grounded in social identity theory (Haslam, Eggins, & Reynolds, 2003; Haslam, Steffens, Peters, Boyce, Mallett, & Fransen, 2017; Peters, Haslam, Ryan, & Steffens, 2014). However, applying the social identity approach

to experimentally examine the role of social identity processes in perceptions of leadership potential is not without its pitfalls.

Manipulations. Manipulating prototypicality and identification is challenging because they are fluid constructs which emerge, develop, and are perceived by others over time. Prototypicality is defined as "multidimensional fuzzy sets of attributes that define and prescribe attitudes, feelings and behaviours that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups" (Hogg, 2001, p.187). Identification is defined as "a self-defining psychological linkage between the individual and the employing organisation" (Edwards, 2009, p. 91). An organisation's culture is not stable therefore perceptions of what the organisational culture is changes and perceptions of who 'fits' changes with it (Church, 2014). As a result, perceptions around what it means to be prototypical, as well as individuals' organisational identification change with changes in the organisation's identity over time (Fuchs & Edwards, 2012). In addition, understanding an individual's representativeness of and psychological attachment to the group relies of knowing both them and the group for an extended period of time. As such, merely manipulating organisation prototypicality through a 'Value Orientation Test' and organisational identification through a hypothetical conversation can only indicate these attributes as opposed to creating the real social cognitive understanding of the employee in relation to the group in the minds of the research participants. I also found that when manipulating organisation prototypicality and role performance, the manipulations interacted such that evaluators inferred one from the other.

However, I counteracted the theoretical limitations of manipulating social identity constructs by also measuring perceptions of social identity constructs and perceptions of employee performance for practising managers and their real-life direct reports in the correlational field studies. Measuring organisation prototypicality and organisational identification, as opposed to manipulating them, ensures that these perceptions are organic, authentic, and well-established.

Samples

A major strength of this research was the participant samples recruited to collect the data. Although undergraduate student samples are a common source of research participants in social psychology research, the nature and context of my research questions meant that an undergraduate student sample would not be the most relevant. I successfully recruited samples of employees and managers working in the UK context which has two major strengths. First, recruiting employees ensures that all participants have at least some work experience and are more likely to be familiar with evaluation and appraisal processes. Second, recruiting from the UK only means that more control over the context was achieved. Overall, this thesis includes the data of 1,672 employees and managers working in the UK took part in this research.

Online crowdsourcing. The strengths and limitations of recruiting participants from the online crowdsourcing site Prolific has been debated considerably in the literature (e.g. Roulin, 2015). Arguments for the use of online crowdsourcing for psychological experiments include greater diversity in the sample population, the ability to pre-screen specific demographics and characteristics, and less knowledge of psychological phenomena compared to undergraduate student populations. On the other hand, undergraduate student samples provide greater control over the context and have consistently produced reliable and replicable results in the study of psychological phenomena. However, when studying psychological phenomena in organisational contexts, students' lack of work experience becomes more of a challenge for generalisability. Therefore, this research drew on more representative samples of employees and managers working in the UK. Both undergraduate student and online crowdsourcing samples rely somewhat on opportunity or convenience sampling. For example, online crowdsourcing provides the option to recruit only those who are registered users on the

site, and access to undergraduate students is easy; neither option is preferable compared to a sample of workers from the same organisation. The successful recruitment of employees and managers from the UK branch of a multinational accounting firm is a major strength for testing my hypotheses with both control and ecological validity.

Field samples. Recruiting two independent (employee and manager) samples from an accounting firm provided high-quality, controlled, and valid data to support my thesis conclusions. However, engaging in an organisation collaboration for data collection was not without its pitfalls and significant hurdles were overcome to finalise data collection. First, concerns were raised over the length of the surveys and repetition of similar questions (i.e. multiple items tapping into one construct). Therefore, the firm pushed-back on full-item measures and I collaboratively reduced the items in the survey to maintain reliability and validity of scales with a fewer number of items. This was a limitation as multiple-item measures are more reliable. Nonetheless, reliable scales were developed based on the data and these matched the scales used in my previous studies. Perhaps due to the time constraints and possible survey fatigue as indicated by the firm, response rates were lower than I had planned for, particularly for the manager responses. In total I had 50 manager responses which was sufficient for the regression analyses, as identified through power analyses. This sample initially provided an opportunity to examine the interaction of social identity processes and employee-manager gender on perceptions of leadership potential but early indicators in the collaboration suggested that I would not be able to collect the sample size needed to test my hypotheses. As a result, regression analyses tested the relationship between social identity processes and manager perceptions of leadership potential as well as mediator variables.

Sample size. Due to high numbers of participants' failing attention checks and timingout of the studies, sample sizes were smaller than planned. Whilst rigorous attention checks can ensure that the data collected and analysed is of sufficient quality, smaller sample sizes can underpower the analysis. Although post-hoc power analysis was conducted for all studies, power was potentially too low to detect moderation effects and exploratory analysis beyond the hypotheses may have been underpowered. In addition, the attempt to increase the ecological validity of the study by providing additional test results on 'high potential indicators' in the experimental studies may have reduced the effect sizes that would otherwise be expected given the previous literature on gender and leadership. Whilst the experimental studies were typically sufficiently powered, it is possible that larger sample sizes would have identified smaller but pertinent effects.

Methodology

Group context. One of the methodological strengths of this research is that every study examined social identity processes and leadership potential specific to the individual's real-life organisational context. Even in the hypothetical evaluation scenarios, participants provided the name of their organisation which was then embedded into the context of the study. This approach ensured that in every scenario the evaluator and the target were members of the same organisational group, thus improving the ecological validity of my findings. In field studies, managers were always asked to evaluate a current direct report to ensure that both the manager and employee were current members of the same organisation.

Study design. Another strength of the experimental designs was the consistent use of a 'high potential indicators' test demonstrating that the prospective leader scored highly in this domain. This approach was used to ensure that the evaluator always had relevant information regarding the prospective leader's potential. This design increased the ecological validity of the findings, as organisational evaluators are likely to have information or knowledge over and above the prospective leaders' position and relationship with the group. Results could not be attributed to the evaluator only having social identity information available in which to evaluate the prospective leader's leadership potential. Support for the validity of vignette studies has been provided in the literature, with findings replicating field study results indicating both generalisability and ecological validity (Doz, 2011; Ganong & Coleman, 2005; Ganong & Coleman, 2006).

Measurement. There are strengths and limitations regarding the measurements used in the studies. Perceptions of leadership potential was initially a three-item scale. However, accessing another measure of perceptions of leadership potential (Mueller, Goncalo, & Kamdar, 2010) led me to combine these items for a seven-point scale and the reliability of this scale was consistently very high. In many studies perceptions of future success and promotability yielded different findings to perceptions of leadership potential and had medium correlations, identifying leadership potential as a unique construct. Nonetheless, many of the constructs were highly correlated, indicating some issues with multicollinearity which the factor analysis identified.

Finally, I measured perceptions of leadership potential and from the results I have inferred outcomes regarding talent management and progression to leadership. This however is only an inference and would require a longitudinal design to measure actual outcomes of perceptions of leadership potential (i.e. whether the individuals perceived to have leadership potential actually become leaders). The only measure used to indicate this was allocation of resources used in *Chapter 4*. Managers are more likely to allocate resources to their perceived high-potential and the findings for this construct correlated with perceptions of leadership potential, but this construct was not used consistently and does not indicate actual outcomes. One of the problems with identifying actual outcomes is that many studies relied on hypothetical appraisal experiments. The methodology would be significantly enhanced with a longitudinal study measuring all of the constructs of interest in an organisation with a group of pre-leadership employees, which I will discuss in the *future research* section of this chapter.

Future Research

Overall, I found evidence on bias in perceptions of leadership potential at the individual, interpersonal, and group level. At the individual level gender identities drove different evaluations of leadership potential for different gender individuals. At the interpersonal level, I found that identification with the target drove perceptions of their leadership potential. This effect was not initially hypothesised but provided an avenue for better understanding the relationship between foci of identification and perceptions of leadership potential for male evaluators. The effects for interpersonal similarity were strong and consistent, particularly for manager perceptions of employee leadership potential and promotability in the field studies. Therefore, future research should investigate interpersonal factors in more depth, and I will provide possibilities for this in the next section. Group level factors included the role of organisation prototypicality and organisational identification in perceptions of leadership potential and the need for actual outcomes for those identified as high potential to examine the true effects of perceptions of leadership potential.

Interpersonal similarity

One pertinent finding in this thesis was the role of interpersonal similarity between the evaluator (manager) and target (employee) in forming perceptions of the target's leadership potential. I found that interpersonal similarity had consistently strong effects for both crowdsourcing participants in a hypothetical scenario and practicing managers evaluating their real-life direct reports. However, I did not explore this in more detail in the scope of this thesis. The role of interpersonal similarity in talent identification has been alluded to (e.g. the 'like me' hypothesis; Dries & Pepermans, 2012) but little research has been conducted on manger-employee interpersonal similarity.

Leader-Member Exchange Theory. It seems a reasonable next step would be to explore the role of similar constructs, such as leader-member-exchange (LMX; Danserau, Cashman, & Graen, 1973) and how this plays out in perceptions of leadership potential. LMX has been linked to positive outcomes for the employee, such as better performance and increased organisational citizenship behaviour (Erdogan & Enders, 2007). Therefore, it is likely to have positive outcomes for the recognition of leadership potential. However, the interaction of LMX with sociodemographic identity cannot be overlooked. Research suggests that LMX relationships are weaker for different-ethnic manager-employee dyads in terms of developing trust and loyalty (Waismel-Manor, Tziner, Berger, & Dikstein, 2010). Examining these interactions provides a potentially promising avenue for evidence-based diversity initiatives focusing on improving the quality of relationships between individuals and their managers. In addition, a better understanding of *why* LMX may explain perceptions of leadership potential can help organisations to determine where to start in addressing these biases. As such, I recommend that mediators of these relationships also be examined.

Intersectionality

More research needs to be conducted to better understand the intersectional findings observed in this thesis. Intersectionality has been grossly underresearched and applied to social psychological theory. Nonetheless, there is vast research evidence spotlighting the implications of intersectional identities on marginalisation and unique career experiences (Atewologun, 2014). I found evidence using field samples that the intersecting identities of gender and age are more likely to disadvantage women than gender alone. Intersectional identities are those that the individual has from birth (e.g. a minority ethnic woman) or they can develop (e.g. an older woman). It is important that the impact of both for talent identification are explored, understood, and accounted for. Gender diversity interventions typically promote white women and ethnic diversity interventions typically promote black men. Minority ethnic women's invisibility and hypervisibility has been demonstrated in the literature (Dickens & Womack, 2019) yet these findings have not been applied to broader theories of leadership. It is apparent that perceptions of leadership potential biased by gender are more likely to be biased by intersectional identities of gender and other disadvantaged or minority identities, such as older age. In order for social psychology to develop theories that can be applied to the workplace, these nuances must be unearthed and accounted for. As I see gender diversity improving in talent pipelines and leadership spaces, I must ask who these women are, and whether they represent all women. If intersectional identities are overlooked in research, it is likely that they will also be overlooked in practice.

Research design

Measuring perceptions of leadership potential provides a positive first step in understanding what is likely to affect how people identify leadership potential in others. Nonetheless, it does not tell us whether or not individuals perceived as having leadership potential are more likely to go on to assume leadership positions. A different approach to research methodology may provide stronger evidence that perceptions of leadership potential has causal outcomes for assuming leadership positions in the future. Future research should consider these outcomes and utilise longitudinal studies to draw causal inferences regarding the links between social identity processes, gender, perceptions of leadership potential and actual leadership attainment.

Organisational context

Intergroup context. As highlighted in the definition of prototypicality, perceiving what is prototypical is dependent on knowing a) what characterises the ingroup and b) how this distinguishes it from outgroups (Hogg, van Knippenberg, & Rast, 2012). The manipulations of prototypicality indicate the target's similarity to the organisational group in terms of values, identity, and behaviours but this does not indicate dissimilarity to outgroup members. Nonetheless, intergroup contexts heighten social identity processes as ingroup members act to

defend the homogeneity and identity of their group (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002). As such, I would expect that an intergroup context would strengthen as opposed to change the findings on social identity processes in this thesis. However, what we do not know is how reactions to female prospective leaders would change in an intergroup context. Vast research has shown how the context changes endorsement of female leaders, such as the glass cliff (Ryan & Haslam, 2005) in which women are more likely to be promoted to precarious leadership positions with greater chance of failure. In addition, Leicht, Randsley de Moura, and Crisp (2014) have shown that exposure to counter-stereotypical role models increases the likelihood that minorities are promoted through less reliance on group prototypicality. Talent management is undertaken with the organisation's competitive advantage in mind but there is no evidence to suggest that potential future leaders are identified with outgroup competitors salient in decision-making. Therefore, it makes sense to begin examining the role of social psychological processes in perceptions of leadership without the salience of outgroup competitors creating an intergroup context as was done in this research. However, future research should examine how intergroup contexts change the interaction between social identity processes and gender on perceptions of leadership potential.

Masculine versus. Feminine Contexts. I hypothesised an interaction between social identity processes and evaluator-target gender in male-dominated organisations. I predicted that men's majority and powerful status in organisations like accountancy firms would set higher standards for women to prove their leadership potential in the eyes of male evaluators. I did not however hypothesise or examine the interaction of social identity processes and evaluator-target gender in female-dominated organisations. Research has shown that women are more likely to become leaders in healthcare and other female-dominated domains (Bowles, 2005; Gipson et al., 2017). Nonetheless, research on the 'glass escalator' demonstrates men's fast-tracked career progression in typically 'feminine' organisational contexts (Wingfield,

2009). New theorising and empirical research are necessary to explore this. For example, men may be perceived as less physically prototypical of the organisational group, as women are in male-dominated organisations, yet research suggests that they progress more quickly (Budig, 2002; Williams, 1992). There are two potential reasons for this. The first is that gender and leader stereotypes are potentially stronger than social identity processes, such that men's stereotypical association with leadership benefits them across any domain. The second is that being perceived as prototypicality is easier for men in typically feminine domains than it is for women in typically masculine domains. That is, the nature of more communal cultures being more inclusive means that men are not perceived as a threat to the homogeneity of the group (organisation) and therefore are received in the same way as women (i.e. that choosing a career in a feminine field must mean that the individual has communal traits). I anticipate that it is a combination of both of these potential reasons, and that is because not only do men benefit from the same social identity processes as women in feminine domains (i.e. are perceived to be prototypical) but they in fact excel in these domains to assume leadership positions which is likely facilitated by congruence between stereotypes of their gender and stereotypes about what a good leader looks and behaves like (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Future research should investigate the interaction of social identity processes and evaluator-target gender for male targets in feminine work domains.

Thesis Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to explore the role of social psychological factors in perceptions of organisational leadership potential. More specifically, how social identity processes play out in the recognition of leadership potential and whether this these processes interact with gender in shaping perceptions of leadership potential. Previous research has shown that social identity processes, namely prototypicality and identification, drive perceptions of leader emergence, leadership effectiveness and overall support for group leaders. In addition, theories of gender

in leadership have shown that women are not afforded the same standards of evaluation as men and often have to objectively outperform men in order to receive comparable ratings. I decided to look at the interaction of these approaches to examine biases in perceptions of women's leadership potential. In eight studies I showed that, in the absence of gender, social identity processes affect the perceptions that people have of others' leadership potential. In a further two studies I showed that self-ratings of leadership potential are associated with both social identity factors and social stereotypes. Overall, gender bias in perceptions of organisational leadership potential seem to be driven by men. Women evaluate male and female prospective leaders similarly, using the same social identity processes. Men on the other hand hold women to higher standards of than they hold men. This thesis adds to our understanding of why assessments of leadership potential are not particularly effective and why women remain underrepresented in talent pipelines and leadership positions in the UK. By demonstrating that these key organisational issues are two sides of the same coin, this thesis provides the evidence for addressing and tackling these issues as one. References

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Appendix A

Prototypicality and Performance Manipulations Study 1:

Non-prototypical, high-performing applicant

Applicant A			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	65	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	65		
Performance			
Delivery	84	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	76	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	80	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	80	strong performance record.	
High-Potential Indic	ators		
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80	employee has strong potential.	

Prototypical, low-performing applicant

Applicant A			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	80		
Performance			
Delivery	65	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	60	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	70	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	65		
High-Potential Indica	tors		
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80		

Non-prototypical, low-performing applicant

Applicant A			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	65	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	65		
Performance			
Delivery	59	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	67	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	69	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	65		
High-Potential Indic	ators		
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an	
Overall test score	80	employee has strong potential.	

Prototypical, high-performing applicant

Applicant A				
Value Orientation				
Value Priority	84	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.		
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.		
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.		
Overall test score	80			
Performance				
Delivery	76	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.		
Achievements	83	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.		
Excellence	81	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.		
Overall test score	80			
High-Potential Indica	tors			
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.		
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.		
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.		
Overall test score	80			

Appendix B

Prototypicality and Performance Manipulations Study 2:

Non-prototypical, high-performing male applicant

		John Atkins
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	59	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	67	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.
Norms & Behaviours	69	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	65	
Performance		
Delivery	76	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	83	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	81	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	80	
High-Potential Indic	ators	
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.
Overall test score	80	

Prototypical, low-performing male applicant

John Atkins			
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	76	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	83	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	81	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	80		
Performance			
Delivery	59	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	67	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	69	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	65		
High-Potential Indica	tors		
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80		

Non-prototypical, low-performing male applicant

		John Atkins
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	65	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	65	
Performance		
Delivery	59	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	67	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	69	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	65	
High-Potential Indic	ators	
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.
Overall test score	80	

Prototypical, high-performing applicant

		John Atkins
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	80	
Performance		
Delivery	76	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	83	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	81	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	80	
High-Potential Indica	tors	
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.
Overall test score	80	

Appendix C

Prototypicality, Performance, and Gender Manipulations Study 3:

Non-prototypical, high-performing male applicant

		John Atkins
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	65	The ' Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	65	
Performance		
Delivery	84	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	76	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	80	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	80	
High-Potential Indic	ators	
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an
Overall test score	80	employee has strong potential.

Non-prototypical, high-performing female applicant

		Sarah Atkins
Gender: FEMALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	65	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	65	
Performance		
Delivery	84	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	76	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	80	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	80	
High-Potential Indic	ators	
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.
Overall test score	80	

Prototypical, low-performing male applicant

John Atkins			
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	80		
Performance			
Delivery	65	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	60	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	70	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	65		
High-Potential Indica	ators		
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80		

Prototypical, low-performing female applicant

Sarah Atkins			
Gender: FEMALE DOB: 06-05-85			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	80		
Performance			
Delivery	65	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	60	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	70	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.	
Overall test score	65		
High-Potential Indica	tors		
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80		

Non-prototypical, low-performing male applicant

		John Atkins	
Gender: MALE			
DOB: 06-05-85			
Value Orientation			
Value Priority	65	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.	
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.	
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has stro values aligned with the organisation.	
Overall test score	65		
Performance			
Delivery	59	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.	
Achievements	67	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	69	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has	
Overall test score	65	strong performance record.	
High-Potential Indic			
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation Drive.	
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.	
Overall test score	80	employee has strong potential.	

Non-prototypical, low-performing female applicant

		Sarah Atkins		
Gender: FEMAL DOB: 06-05-85	E			
Value Orientation				
Value Priority	65	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.		
Organisational Identity	60	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three so tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.		
Norms & Behaviours	70	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong values aligned with the organisation.		
Overall test score	65			
Performance				
Delivery	59	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in th role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.		
Achievements	67	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.		
Excellence	69	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong performance record.		
Overall test score High-Potential Indic	65 ators			
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.		
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation		
Motivation &	78	Drive.		
Drive		A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong potential.		
Overall test score	80	employee has strong potential.		

Prototypical, high-performing male applicant

		John Atkins
Gender: MALE DOB: 06-05-85		
Value Orientation		
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong value aligned with the organisation.
Overall test score	80	
Performance		
Delivery	76	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.
Achievements	83	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.
Excellence	81	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.
Overall test score	80	
High-Potential Indica	tors	
Learning agility	78	The 'High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a rang of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employe has strong potential.
Overall test score	80	

Prototypical, high-performing female applicant

		Sarah Atkins		
Gender: FEMALE DOB: 06-05-85				
Value Orientation				
Value Priority	84	The 'Value-Orientation Test' measures an employee's values in comparison to the values endorsed by the organisation.		
Organisational Identity	76	The overall value-orientation score is calculated based on three sub- tests: Value Priority, Organisational Identity and Norms & Behaviours.		
Norms & Behaviours	80	A value score of 75% or above suggests an employee has strong value aligned with the organisation.		
Overall test score	80			
Performance				
Delivery	76	The 'Performance Test' measures an employee's performance in the role(s) that he/she has conducted during employment.		
Achievements	83	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Delivery, Achievements and Excellence.		
Excellence	81	A performance score of 75% or above suggests an employee has a strong performance record.		
Overall test score	80			
High-Potential Indica	tors			
Learning agility	78	The ' High-Potential Indicators Test' measures the employee on a rang of dimensions that would indicate their potential for leadership.		
Cognitive ability	84	The high-potential indicators overall score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning Agility, Cognitive Ability and Motivation & Drive.		
Motivation & Drive	78	A high-potential indicator score of 75% or above suggests an employed has strong potential.		
Overall test score	80			

Appendix D

Organisational Identification Manipulation Study 4:

Highly-identified applicant

Supervisor:	Do You see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?	
Employee A:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.	
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?	
Employee A:	Absolutely, our successes here are my successes too. We share successes and I am proud of them.	
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?	
Employee A:	Yes, I felt so embarrassed! I care what others think about us, this organisation is part of me after all.	
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.	
Employee A:	Yes, it was, when someone criticizes us I take it as a personal insult!	
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!	
Employee:	Thank you!	

Low-identified applicant

Supervisor:	Do You see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?	
Employee A:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.	
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?	
Employee A:	Not at all, the successes of this organisation are not my successes too. I have my own successes that I am proud of.	
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?	
Employee A:	I didn't feel embarrassed at all. I don't stress about what others think about the organisation, I am an individual after all.	
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.	
Employee A:	Yes, it was, but when someone criticizes the organisation I don't take it as a personal insult!	
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!	
Employee:	Thank you!	

Appendix E

Organisational Identification and Gender Manipulation Study 5:

Highly-identified male applicant

Supervisor:	Do you see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?
John:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?
John:	Absolutely, our successes here are my successes too. We share successes and I am proud of them
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?
John:	Yes, I felt so embarrassed! I care what others think about us, this organisation is part of me after all.
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.
John:	Yes, it was, when someone criticizes us I take it as a personal insult!
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!
John:	Thank you!

Highly-identified female applicant

Supervisor:	Do you see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?
Jennifer:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?
Jennifer:	Absolutely, our successes here are my successes too. We share successes and I am proud of them
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?
Jennifer:	Yes, I felt so embarrassed! I care what others think about us, this organisation is part of me after all.
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.
Jennifer:	Yes, it was, when someone criticizes us I take it as a personal insult!
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!
Jennifer:	Thank you!

Low-identified male applicant

Supervisor:	Do you see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?
John:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?
John:	Not at all, the successes of this organisation are not my successes too. I have my own successes that I am proud of.
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?
John:	I didn't't feel embarrassed at all. I don't stress about what others think about the organisation, I am an individual after all.
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.
John:	Yes, it was, but when someone criticizes the organisation I don't take it as a personal insult!
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!
John:	Thank you!

Low-identified female applicant

Supervisor:	Do you see yourself becoming a leader in this organisation?
Jennifer:	Yes, I think I have the skills and performance to become a good leader here. I've been here for 5 years now.
Supervisor:	And do you see the organisation's successes as your own?
Jennifer:	Not at all, the successes of this organisation are not my successes too. I have my own successes that I am proud of.
Supervisor:	Did you see the story on the news this morning? About our community engagement?
Jennifer:	I didn't't feel embarrassed at all. I don't stress about what others think about the organisation, I am an individual after all.
Supervisor:	It was quite critical wasn't it.
Jennifer:	Yes, it was, but when someone criticizes the organisation I don't take it as a personal insult!
Supervisor:	That is true. Anyway, good luck with your application!
Jennifer:	Thank you!

Appendix F

Gender Manipulation Study 6:

Male applicant

Employee Profile			
Name	Mark Anderson		
Gender	Male		
Time at company	5 years		
Motivation statement (30 words)	It is my long-term career goal to become a senior leader, I think the Future Leaders Programme provides a good opportunity to work towards this.		

Mark Anderson

Performance Test				
Track record	80	The ' Performance test ' measures an employee's performance in their role(s) conducted during employment.		
Achievements	65	The overall performance score is		
Excellence	65	calculated based on three sub-tests: Track record, Achievements and Excellence.		
Overall test score	70	A 'performance' score of 75% or above would suggest an employee has a strong performance record.		
Skills Test				
Learning agility	85	The ' Skills test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate suitability for leadership.		
Cognitive ability	70	The overall skills score is calculated based		
Motivation & drive	70	on three sub-tests: Learning agility, Cognitive ability and Motivation & drive.		
Overall test score	75	A 'skills' score of 75% or above would suggest an employee has strong skills		

Female applicant

Employee Profile		
Name	Sarah Anderson	
Gender	Female	
Time at company	5 years	
Motivation statement (30 words)	It is my long-term career goal to become a senior leader, I think the Future Leaders Programme provides a good opportunity to work towards this.	

Sarah Anderson

Performance Test			
Track record	80	The ' Performance test ' measures an employee's performance in their role(s) conducted during employment.	
Achievements	65	The overall performance score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Track record, Achievements and Excellence.	
Excellence	65		
Overall test score	70	A 'performance' score of 75% or above would suggest an employee has a strong performance record.	
Skills Test			
Learning agility	85	The 'Skills test' measures the employee on a range of dimensions that would indicate suitability for leadership.	
Cognitive ability	70	The overall skills score is calculated based on three sub-tests: Learning agility, Cognitive ability and Motivation & drive.	
Motivation & drive	70		
Overall test score	75	A 'skills' score of 75% or above would suggest an employee has strong skills required for leadership.	