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Leadership and intergroup relations : which leader is more favorable or more effective while leading distinct subgroups?

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Leadership and Intergroup Relations:

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by

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<u>Abstract</u>

Leadership and Intergroup Relations:

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While leading distinct subgroups nowadays, leaders need to address intergroup bias and establish beneficial intergroup relations. They could do so by promoting a collective identity that emphasizes commonality between subgroups or an intergroup relational identity that recognizes distinct characteristics of both subgroups and focuses on their dependency on each other as part of the identity. The research investigated the influence of leader's rhetoric and race interacting with moderators like identity distinctiveness threat on leader evaluation and intergroup bias. The results showed a complicated relationship between how much a leader was liked and how effective a leader could be.

<u>Signature Page for Leadership Studies Honors Thesis</u>

Leadership and Intergroup Relations:

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Thesis presented

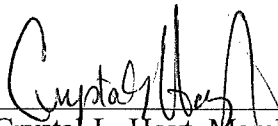by

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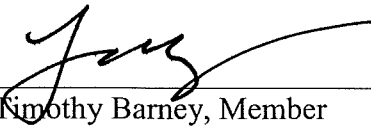
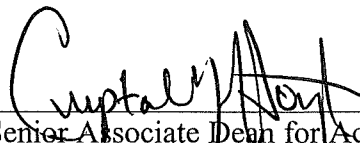Approved as to style and content by:

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Leadership and Intergroup Relations:

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Introduction

My name is Jieyi Ding. I also have an English name as Crystal. These two names

reminded me all the time of my identities as both a Chinese and a college student at University of

Richmond. I have friends who are really different from each other, but it has been bothering me

that I could never really hang out with my Chinese friends and my American friends at the same

time. People of different identities all have their own groups and these groups are so separate that

they seldom interact with each other. How can I make them interact so that I do not need to pick

whom I am going to spend time with? Starting from here, I cannot stop questioning the role of

identities, intergroup relations, and what's more, the role of leaders in connecting diverse groups.

In my research on social identity, I have found that leaders can shape identities in ways that

make salient those identities that can potentially overcome group differences and reduce

outgroup bias. This work may help answer the questions that my own identities raise.

In this literature review I will proceed as follows. I'll discuss first the fundamentals of the

self-concept and social identity, then how context can make different social identities salient,

next how leaders can shape identities in ways that reduce intergroup bias, and in the end a recent

study that points the way to how leaders can do this.

Literature Review

Social Identity Theory

People possess multiple identities (James, 1890). The characteristics, the appearance, the

relations, the roles are all part of people's identities. According to social identity theory, there are

personal identity and social identity that both construct the self (Hogg, Abrams, & Brewer,

2017). Personal identity refers to one's characteristics and qualities including one's interests, preferences, aspirations, beliefs etc., while social identity mainly comes from the roles one identifies with, groups one belongs to, categories, and relations (Forsyth, 2018). Individual can possess multiple identities and belong to multiple groups. James (1890) talked about a man's social self in the Principles of Psychology. Men are social animals. They like to be noticed and get responses in the interaction. "A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him and carry an image of him in their mind" (James, 1890). Constructing different social identities from their diverse relationships with others, people find out who they are in the world. Both personal and social identities are integral to whole selves and play an important role in human behaviors. Most of the people differentiate them from each other, while some people feel fused with one group and thus their personal and social identities overlap and function equivalently (Swann, Gómez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009). In the research done by Swann et al. (2009), they found that when people feel strongly identified with one group and take their membership as part of their personal identities, they are extremely committed to the group. What's more, they bring to the group "a motivationally potent personal self" and thus they are willing to take on some extreme behaviors, like risky ones, for the group.

Different identities are salient under different situations, which means that certain environment makes the membership of certain group stronger (Stets & Burke, 2000). For example, a Chinese in China will probably not think about his or her identity as a Chinese or an Asian too much, while for a Chinese in America, the identity as an Asian will become salient because the environment activates it. The same race or nationality makes a person a majority or a minority in different situations. Therefore, identity salience emphasizes individual and situational variability (Stets & Burke, 2000). Researchers have manipulated identity salience to study its

effect on human behaviors. Yopyk and Prentice (2005) manipulated the identity salience of student-athletes and found out that when their student identity was made salient, they performed better in a challenging math test compared with when their athlete identity made salient. Inzlicht and Ben-Zeev (2000) manipulated gender salience by varying the gender composition of a group of three and found out that when the woman identity was made salient in the group with fewer women, they performed worse on a math test. McGlone and Aronson (2006) found out that females whose student identity was made more salient performed better in spatial reasoning test than those whose gender identity was made more salient.

In social identity theory, there are two main processes involved- self-categorization and social comparison (Stets & Burke, 2000). People classify themselves into certain categories based on the existing social structure and extract that connection as part of their selves. They put people into two categories- people who are like them and people who are unlike them and create the concepts of "in-group" and "out-group" (Cuhadar & Dayton, 2011). Self-categorization accentuates perceived similarities between people in the same group and perceived differences between people in different groups. Social comparison builds on the process of self-categorization and makes people preferably evaluate their identified groups compared with other groups (Stets & Burke, 2000).

The phenomenon of ingroup favoritism and intergroup discrimination is attributed to the competition for a positive social identity and positive distinctiveness (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2001; Hogg et al., 2017). Festinger (1954) developed a theory of social comparison processes stating that people tend to evaluate their opinions and abilities by comparing them with those of other people. They also tend to think of themselves as having good abilities and correct opinions because they have a need for positive self-esteem, a self-enhancement motive (Goethals &

Darley, 1987; Hogg, 2001). Goethals and Darley (1987) built on Festinger's social comparison theory which was mostly on the interpersonal level and emphasized intergroup processes incorporating social identity theory. One way to maintain or increase one's self-esteem is to compare one's own groups with the outgroups and more favorably evaluate their ingroup. In this way, their positive social identity from the ingroup is protected and maintained and thus they feel good about themselves as well as more identified with their ingroup.

Tajfel proposed a minimal group paradigm in which all the factors were eliminated except the group categorization of "us and them" and found out that it was sufficient to have only group categorization for people to discriminate against the outgroup like allocating fewer resources to them. There is a correlation between ingroup identification, discrimination and evaluative bias in favor of the ingroup. When people identified with their ingroup strongly, they discriminated against the outgroup and then identified with the ingroup even more. They also felt more satisfied and happier to be a member of their group after they discriminated against the outgroup compared with before (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2001; Brown, 2000). However, although a positive correlation between ingroup identification and ingroup bias aligns with ideas of social identity theory, researchers do not show that it is a simple positive correlation. There are many different factors that can mediate the relationship. What's more, there are different strategies in response to challenges to positive distinctiveness including "individual mobility", "social creativity", and "social competition". Ingroup bias is only one of them that falls under social competition (Turner & Reynolds, 2001).

Leadership and Identity

Leaders lead through influencing others. "Leaders achieve their effectiveness chiefly through the stories they relate" (Gardner, 1995). Leaders exert their influence by communicating

and embodying their stories. In other words, stories entail the identities of leaders. And the receptions to the stories on the part of followers influence their identities depending on the competition between stories told by leaders and stories of themselves. In the mutual process of telling and receiving, leaders affect followers' identities, their perception, and their interaction with others.

According to Hogg (2001), leadership is a group process and social identity theory offers a way of understanding leadership. A social identity theory of leadership brought up by Hogg (2001) focuses on leaders as prototypical members of the ingroup. The prototypes are "context specific, multidimensional fuzzy sets of attributes that define and prescribe attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that characterize one group and distinguish it from other groups" (Hogg, 2001). Those who represent the group prototype really well appear to be the most influential people in the group and emerge as leaders while members conform to the prototype. During the depersonalization when people are viewed as matches to the prototype rather than unique and multifaceted individuals, as the prototypical similarities between members in the group got accentuated, people feel more identified with the group and like the leaders more based on their perceived prototypicality, which made leaders exert their power and remain influential in the group.

Although one strategy for leaders to maintain prototype and reduce ingroup deviants is to contrast the ingroup with an "evil" outgroup, leaders nowadays need to lead a much more diverse group with distinct subgroup identities (Hogg et al., 2017). Sometimes, the distinct subgroups do not interact with each other much or even have a competitive or hostile relation. For example, president of a college needs to lead students of different ethnicities, different nationalities, different academic school etc. One way in response to the challenge is to construct a

superordinate identity or a collective identity (Hogg et al., 2017). A superordinate identity is

shared by all the subgroups. If people identify with the collective identity more than their distinct

subgroup identity, they redraw the line between the ingroup and the outgroup and the original

outgroup now becomes part of the ingroup. The process of recategorization was proposed in the

common in-group identity model supported by extensive experimental studies (Hewstone, Rubin,

& Willis, 2002). The presence of a stronger superordinate identity predicted less bias compared

with representations of two distinct groups. However, a superordinate identity may be temporary

especially when subgroup identities like ethnicity and race are really strong. Further, creating a

collective identity may lead to identity distinctiveness threat because the group boundary

becomes blurry and people's identity distinctiveness was not recognized especially when their

distinct subgroup identity is central to their self-identity. In response to the problem of identity

distinctiveness threat, Hogg, van Knippenberg, and Rast (2012a) developed a theory of

intergroup leadership. They proposed another possible way to address intergroup conflicts which

is to construct an intergroup relational identity. Different from a superordinate identity that

overrides subgroup identities, an intergroup relational identity recognizes the distinct subgroup

identity and incorporates its relationship with another subgroup as part of the group identity.

Current Study

The current study built on the research done by Rast, Hogg, and van Knippenberg (2018)

on leaders dealing with intergroup conflict. They conducted three studies to explore participants'

evaluation of their leader or their intergroup bias after their leader promoted intergroup relational

identity or collective identity. The extent to which they perceived their subgroup identity

distinctiveness to be threated was also studied as a variable influencing their leader evaluation or

intergroup bias. While studying native Dutch citizens and students of a university within a

university state system in the first two studies, Rast, Hogg, and van Knippenberg (2018) found

out that leaders promoting intergroup relational identity were more favorable under high identity

distinctiveness threat than under low identity distinctiveness threat, while leaders promoting

collective identity were more favorable under low identity distinctiveness threat than under high

identity distinctiveness threat. In study three, intergroup bias instead of the likeability of the

leader was measured and they studied Faculty of Arts versus Faculty of Science students both in

the Psychology department. It was found that when subgroup identity distinctiveness threat was

high rather than low, promoting an intergroup relational identity reduced intergroup bias and

reduced more than when leaders promoted a collective identity.

The previous studies intended to provide a perspective for leaders to deal with intergroup

conflicts. They all studied the influence of intergroup relationship identity versus collective

identity on participants under high versus low identity distinctiveness threat, although the

dependent variable was different. Both study one and study two measured participants'

evaluation of the leader, while study three only measured their intergroup bias. The current study

intended to replicate the previous results, examining if likability of leaders explains the

relationship between leaders promoting an intergroup relational identity or a collective identity

and intergroup evaluation, as well as investigate how the race of the leader and his rhetoric affect

the evaluation of the leader and intergroup bias between African American students and White

students. Leader's race/ethnicity is a variable that is worth exploring. It provides more context

for people to understand leadership. As suggested by the social identity theory of leadership,

prototypicality plays a significant role in the emergence and effectiveness of leader.

Race/ethnicity could be a factor interacting with prototypicality in the dynamic relationships

between leaders and followers. As race/ethnicity and leadership are studied more and more from

a collective perspective (Ospina & Foldy, 2009), it would be interesting to study whether the race of leader has an influence on their likability and their effectiveness, especially since the leader was going to promote certain message to address interracial group relations.

Methods

Participants and design

Two hundred and thirty-six participants completed the experiment online in exchange for entry into a lottery for three $50 Amazon gift cards. They were recruited from various email announcements, for example, email from their professors. Two hundred and twenty-nine of the participants were University of Richmond undergraduates. Out of all the University of Richmond undergraduates, 137 were White; 39 were Asian-American, Asian, and Pacific Islanders; 17 were African American; 12 were Hispanic-American or Latinos; the rest were bi-racial or multi-racial. Because I focused on intergroup relations at University of Richmond which was a predominantly white institution, I analyzed data from the 137 University of Richmond undergraduate students who identified only as White. The design was a 2 (leader race: Black/White) × 2 (leader rhetoric: intergroup relational identity/collective identity) between-subjects factorial design. Out of 70 students that were assigned to the African America leader condition, 27 participants read the intergroup relational identity passage and 43 participants read the collective identity passage. Out of 67 participants what were assigned to the White leader condition, 45 participants read the intergroup relational identity and 22 participants read the collective identity passage. Identity distinctiveness threat, political ideology, and multicultural/colorblind ideology were measured as potential moderators. Two measured continuous dependent variables were leader evaluation and intergroup bias.

Procedure and measures

Participants took the survey on Qualtrics, an online study platform. First of all, they

completed a measure of identity distinctiveness threat indicating their degree of agreement with

five statements (e.g., "It annoys me when others don't see the important differences between

White students and African American students") on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*,

7 = *strongly agree*). See Appendix I. The statements were adapted from the research conducted

by Rast et al. (2018) and were not reliable in the current study($\alpha = .67$). The scale was more

reliable after the fifth item was taken out ($\alpha = .78$), so the scale without the fifth item was used

later in data analysis. Next, participants were told that they were going to read a statement

written by a potential student leader. They were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions.

The student leader was either Greg Baker, "a junior from the Philadelphia area", or Jamal Jones,

"an African American junior from the Philadelphia area". Greg Baker and Jamal Jones were

names used by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) that were normally perceived to represent a

White person and an African American person respectively. After participants learned about

their leader, they read a passage that addressed the relationship between White students and

African American student within the University of Richmond community. Participants were

randomly assigned to one of the two conditions in which the statement either emphasized their

intergroup relational identity (IRI) or collective identity (CI). In the IRI condition, participants

read the following:

The University of Richmond is full of bright students of all different backgrounds,

including both White students and African American students. While there are a lot of

discussions surrounding the relationship between White students and African American students

within the University of Richmond community, it is important to recognize their distinct and

separate subgroup identities. At the same time, White students and African American students

are mutually dependent on one another for the university's success. Both groups are defined in part by their interdependent relationship: University of Richmond students excel because of the distinct and unique contribution each group makes. Maintaining this group interdependency (White vs African American students) while emphasizing each group's contribution is what makes the University of Richmond great. I hope that you will endorse me as a leader within the University of Richmond community.

In the CI condition, participants read the following:

The University of Richmond is full of bright students of all different backgrounds, including both White students and African American students. While there are a lot of discussions surrounding the relationship between White students and African American students within the University of Richmond community, putting aside whether they are White or African American, they are all students as part of the University of Richmond community. Indeed, together we represent University of Richmond as a leading liberal arts institution. And, both White students and African American students are defined in part by what they share: University of Richmond students excel when these two groups join each other as one large group. Despite any group differences (White vs African American students), we are all the same as part of what makes the University of Richmond great. I hope that you will endorse me as a leader within the University of Richmond community.

After reading the statement, participants evaluated the leader on a 7-point Likert scale ($1 =$ *strongly disagree*, $7 =$ *strongly agree*). Leader evaluation was measured by seven items (e.g., "This student would be a very effective student leader") adapted from the intergroup leadership research (Rast et al., 2018). See Appendix II. The scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .95$). Participants then evaluated African American students in general, the outgroup, and White students in

general, the ingroup, in a random order. They rated the groups on 12 bipolar 7-point trait pairs

(e.g., cold-warm, negative-positive, unstable-stable). See Appendix III. As suggested by Rast et

al. (2018), such evaluation on traits normally reflect people's intergroup attitudes and assess their

intergroup bias. Higher scores indicate more positive evaluations of the group. Intergroup bias

was calculated by subtracting White participants' evaluation of White students from their

evaluation of African American students. More positive scores indicate more favorable attitudes

towards the outgroup. The evaluation scales were reliable for both the group of African

American students ($\alpha = .90$) and the group of White students ($\alpha = .89$). Following the evaluation

of the leader, the ingroup, and the outgroup was demographic information including age, gender,

racial/ ethnic identity, whether participants were international students, and whether English was

their second language. Participants also indicated their political ideology on a 7-point Likert

scale (1 = *strongly liberal*, 7 = *strongly conservative*) as well as their view of multiculturalism/

colorblindness. The multicultural and colorblind ideology was measured by asking participants

to indicate the extent to which they believed that each of four strategies would or would not

improve relations between groups in the US (e.g., "recognizing that there are differences

between racial/ethnic groups"). See Appendix IV. Participants rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1

= *extremely unlikely to improve relations*, 7 = *extremely likely to improve relations*). The four

strategies were selected from the eight items developed by Ryan et al. (2007) following Wolsko

et al. (2000). Two were intended to assess multiculturalism and another two were intended to

assess colorblindness. The scale was not reliable ($\alpha = .47$). In the end, as a manipulation check,

participants answered four questions regarding the two statements, one question on the race of

the leader, and one question on whether they were University of Richmond undergraduate

students. See Appendix V.

Results

Table 1 provides information about the key variables and their relationships. There were three predictor variables (leader race, leader rhetoric, and identity distinctiveness threat) and five outcome variables (leader evaluation, evaluation African American students, evaluation of White students, intergroup bias, and political ideology). Political ideology was intended to be measured as a predictor variable but turned out to be an outcome variable. It will be further explained later.

Manipulation check. To check if the race of leader was successfully manipulated, a univariate analysis of variance showed that the leader's race had a significant main effect on the manipulation check question on the leader's race, $F(1, 133) = 62.71$, $p < .001$. There was no main effect of the leader's rhetoric or significant interaction between leader's race and leader's rhetoric. To check if participants who got different statements understand them as I intended, a multivariate general linear model showed that there was a significant main effect of the type of statement they read on their answers to the four manipulation check questions. For the first question, $F(1, 133) = 95.52$, $p < .001$. For the second question, $F(1, 133) = 62.35$, $p < .001$. For the third question, $F(1, 133) = 47.01$, $p < .001$. For the fourth question, $F(1, 133) = 7.55$, $p = .007$. There was no main effect of the race of the leader or interaction between two manipulated variables.

Leader evaluation. A multivariate analysis of variance with evaluation of the leader, African American students, and White students as dependent variables showed that the main effect of leader's race was significant on participants' evaluation on the leader, $F(1, 133) = 10.08$, $p = .002$. No matter what statement the leader made, White students evaluated the African American leader more highly, meaning that they would be more supportive of the leader and that the leader was more representative and favorable. There was no main effect of leader's rhetoric

or interaction between leader's race and rhetoric. Hayes PROCESS macro was used to further

analyze identity distinctiveness threat as a variable and indicated that it had a main effect on

participants' evaluation of the leader, $t(129) = 3.03$, $p = .003$. For the participants who were more

likely to feel threatened if their identity distinctiveness was not recognized, they evaluated the

leader more highly than those with low identity distinctiveness threat. The analysis also

suggested a three way interaction between leader's race, rhetoric, and participants' identity

distinctiveness threat level on their evaluation of the leader, $F(1, 129) = 3.22$, $p = .075$. I will

discuss it later.

Group evaluation. A multivariate analysis of variance with evaluation of the leader,

African American students, and White students as dependent variables showed that there was a

main effect of leader's race on participants' evaluation of African American students in general,

$F(1, 133) = 5.52$, $p = .02$. When the White participants read the statement from the White leader,

their evaluation of African American students was more positive. There was no main effect of

leader's race on White student group's evaluation. A multivariate analysis of variance with

leader evaluation and intergroup bias as dependent variables indicated that there was a main

effect of leader's race on intergroup bias, $F(1, 133) = 6.48$, $p = .012$. There was no main effect of

leader's rhetoric or interaction between leader's race and rhetoric on the evaluation of African

American students or White students or intergroup bias. Hayes PROCESS macro was used to

evaluate the influence of identity distinctive threat along with leader's race and rhetoric. It was

found that there was a marginally significant interaction between identity distinctiveness threat

and leader's race on the evaluation of African American students in general, $t(129) = 1.72$, p

$= .087$. The result suggested a trend towards more positive evaluation of African American

students especially for participants with higher identity distinctiveness threat after they read the

statement from the White leader than the Black leader. It was also found that there was a

significant main effect of identity distinctiveness threat on the evaluation of White students in

general, $t(129) = -2.11$, $p = .036$. When participants showed high rather than low identity

distinctiveness threat, they evaluated White students in general more negatively. When the

influence of the leader's race, rhetoric, and participants' identity distinctiveness threat level on

intergroup bias was evaluated, there was a significant main effect of leader's race, $t(129) = 2.31$,

$p = .022$; there was a significant main effect of identity distinctiveness threat, $t(129) = 2.56$, p

$= .012$; there was a significant interaction between leader's race and participants' identity

distinctiveness threat, $t(129) = 2.11$, $p = .037$.

      Political ideology. A univariate analysis of variance showed that there was a significant

main effect of leader's rhetoric on participants' political ideology, $F(1, 133) = 4.47$, $p = .036$.

People who read a statement promoting a collective identity always reported a more conservative

ideology. Correlational tests showed that there was a significantly negative correlation between

their identity distinctiveness threat level and political ideology, $r = -.23$, $p = .007$, and between

their intergroup bias and political ideology, $r = -.26$, $p = .002$. Those who tended to feel less

threatened on their identity distinctiveness indicated a more conservative ideology and showed a

less favorable attitude towards the outgroup.

Discussion

      It was found that White students from University of Richmond generally rated the

hypothetical African American leader more highly than the White leader when the leader talked

about African American students and White students on campus working together to make it

better. They also tended to rate the leader more highly under high identity distinctiveness threat,

especially if it was an African American leader who promoted an intergroup relational identity

than a collective identity. The results replicated those of Rast et al. (2018) in certain way that

people with high level identity distinctiveness threat found the intergroup relational identity

passage more acceptable since they tended to feel that the uniqueness of their identities was

threatened by a collective identity statement which tried to remove the boundary between the

ingroup and the outgroup. The findings also contributed to a controversial part of the literature

on the influence of the leader's race on leadership perception. Ospina and Foldy (2009) reviewed

leadership studies focusing on race and race and found that the results on followers' evaluation

of leaders of different ethnicities were inconsistent. A lot of studies have showed that Black

managers were more negatively evaluated than White managers, but there were also studies that

did not show any difference or that showed a more positive evaluation of African Americans

(Bartoo, Evans, & Stith, 1978; as cited in Ospina & Foldy, 2009). The items used to evaluate

leaders had an effect on the evaluation since people tended to evaluate Black leaders on

interpersonal factors more than task-oriented factors according to Bartoo, Evans, and Stith (1978;

as cited in Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Furthermore, the race of raters who evaluated the leaders also

had an effect on the evaluation and the results were not consistent either. Followers were found

more likely to rate leaders of their own race groups more positively; however, it was also found

that the race of leaders did not really matter for African Americans (Dubey, 1970; as cited in

Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Mount, Sytsma, Hazucha, and Holt (1997; as cited in Ospina & Foldy,

2009) made it more confusing and found that Black followers did rate black bosses more highly

than white bosses, but the race of leaders did not make an influence on White followers. The

present study found that White participants rated the Black leader more highly. One possible

interpretation is that an African American leader talking about interracial relationship was more

typical and fit their expectation more.

I also found that when it was a White leader, the participants rated African American students in general more positively. One possible interpretation is that White participants were more identified with the White leader. Both within the ingroup, White participants responded to the White leader's statements more receptively. As mentioned by Platow and van Knippenberg (2001), social identification with the group influenced perceived leader effectiveness. When members of the group were highly identified with it, ingroup prototypicality of the leader predicted perceived leader effectiveness. Further, I found that participants with high level identity distinctiveness threat evaluated White students more negatively and tended to rate African American students more positively especially when the leader was White rather than African American. Since higher identity distinctiveness threat corresponds to a more liberal ideology which is less pro-white, White participants rated the outgroup more favorably after hearing from a White leader in the high identity distinctiveness threat condition. Although the African American leader was evaluated more highly, the message delivered by the White leader was more effective in reducing intergroup bias.

Another surprising finding in this study is that the statements promoting either a collective identity or an intergroup relationship identity actually influenced the political ideology. It was not clear if it was the collective identity statement pushed participants further right or the other statement pushed participants further more to the liberal side. Political ideology could not be used as a moderator in this study and more is needed to be done to understand the results.

There were several constraints on the current research and further research could be done to make it better. First of all, because University of Richmond was a predominantly white institution, there were not enough African American students participating in the research. If

there could be more African American participants, the interaction between the race of followers

and the race of leader could be further explored and the results could be interpreted in a more

nuanced way. Secondly, the context could be expanded beyond the University of Richmond

community to further study the different influence of the intergroup relational identity and the

collective identity on addressing intergroup bias or conflicts. Thirdly, the relationship between

leader evaluation and intergroup bias is complicated. There seems no simple relationship

between how much people like the leader and how much they are persuaded by that leader.

Therefore, the results give rise to a lot of questions regarding the relationship. If it is not a direct

relationship between how highly a leader is evaluated and how influential the leader is, more

research needs to be done on how influence of leaders happens.

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Appendix I

Identity Distinctiveness Threat Scale

1. It annoys me when others don't see the important differences between White students and African American students.

2. It annoys me when others see White students and African American students as the same.

3. White students and African American students should not be treated as if they are the same.

4. White students and African American students are distinct and separate groups.

5. White students and African American students are similar with blurry group boundaries.

Appendix II

Leader Evaluation Scale

1. This student would be a very effective student leader.

2. This student would represent the interests of University of Richmond students very well.

3. This student would fit in well at UR.

4. I am very likely to trust this student as a leader.

5. I would be a strong supporter of this leader.

6. This student is a very favorable leader.

7. This student would represent the good qualities of UR students.

Appendix III

Group Evaluation Scale

1. Cold-warm

2. Negative-positive

3. Hostile-friendly

4. Suspicious-trusting

5. Contemptuous-respectful

6. Close-minded-open-minded

7. Irresponsible-responsible

8. Disagreeable-agreeable

9. Unstable-stable

10. Unassertive-assertive

11. Submissive-dominant

12. Passive-active

Appendix IV

Multicultural/ Colorblind Ideology Scale

1. Recognizing that there are differences between racial/ethnic groups

2. Emphasizing the importance of appreciating group differences between racial/ethnic
   groups

3. Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their race/ethnicity

4. Adopting a perspective in which one's racial/ethnic group membership is not considered
   important

Appendix IV

Manipulation Check

1. Did the student leader suggest that it is important for White students and African

    American students to recognize their distinct and separate subgroup identities?

2. Did the student leader suggest that White students and African American students are

    mutually dependent on one another and in part defined by their interdependent

    relationship?

3. Did the student leader suggest that White students and African American students are all

    the same as part of the University of Richmond community?

4. Did the student leader suggest that White students and African American students are in

    part defined by their shared integrative group as UR students?

    -   Definitely yes

    -   Probably yes

    -   I'm not sure

    -   Probably no

    -   Definitely no

5. Do you think that the student leader was White or African American?

    -   Definitely White

    -   Probably White

    -   I don't know

    -   Probably African American

    -   Definitely African American

6. Are you an undergraduate student at University of Richmond?

    -   Yes

- No

Table 1

Correlations Among and Descriptive Statistics For Key Study Variables

	M (*SD*)	LRace.	LRhetoric.	LEval.	BEval.	WEval.	Bias	IDThreat.	Polit.
LRace.	.49 (.50)		-.29**	-.31**	.22*	.01	.22*	.03	-.14
LRhetoric.	.47 (.50)			.19*	-.10	-.07	-.03	.01	.22*
LEval.	4.86 (1.29)				.17*	.04	.13	.21*	-.04
BEval.	4.82 (.86)					.58**	.44**	.04	-.16
WEval.	5.19 (.84)						-.48**	-.17*	.08
Bias	.37 (.78)							.23**	-.26**
IDThreat.	3.42 (1.29)								-.23**
Polit.	2.95 (1.72)								

Notes. *N* = 137. LRace. = leader race. For leader race, 0 = African American leader, 1 = White leader. LRhetoric. = leader rhetoric. For leader rhetoric, 0 = intergroup relational identity statement, 1 = collective identity statement. LEval. = leader evaluation. BEval. = evaluation of African American students in general. WEval. = evaluation of White students in general. Bias = intergroup bias. IDThreat. = identity distinctiveness threat. Polit. = political ideology.

** *p* < .01.

* *p* < .05.