LEADERSHIP AND IDENTITY DISRUPTION

By

Lily Syfers

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Committee Membership

Dr. Amber Gaffney, Committee Chair

Dr. Amanda Hahn, Committee Member

Dr. Benjamin Graham, Committee Member

Dr. Christopher Aberson, Program Graduate Coordinator

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Abstract

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Given that leaders have the ability to create, modify and reinforce group identity, it is important to understand the effect of leader prototype violation on the group identity, and subsequent leader preferences. An experiment ($N = 191$), examined the effect of leader prototype violation and self-conceptual uncertainty on evaluations of subsequent leadership. Although results did not support the primary hypotheses that the leader who was removed would be evaluated more harshly than the leader who completed term, and that under high uncertainty support for the non-prototypical candidate would increase the most when the previous leader was removed, exploratory analyses showed that evaluations of the prototypical candidate were strongest under low uncertainty as group identification increased, whereas support for the non-prototypical leader decreased under low uncertainty as group identification increased. These findings expand previous research, providing further support for the idea that leaders provide an important identity function that can be impacted by conceptual self-uncertainty.

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Introduction

Leaders are typically the faces of their groups. People often elect and support leaders who represent their group to the world. Yet, notable leaders throughout history have violated group norms, leading to a forced removal from their post. Nixon's resignation after the Watergate Scandal and the subsequent illumination of corruption in the Nixon Administration provides a famous example. Nixon's high approval ratings pre-impeachment and his procurement of the majority popular vote suggest that the American people favored him as their representative. Post-scandal, his approval ratings rapidly declined, articles of impeachment were issued, and Nixon resigned from office. Not every impeachment unfolded in this manner. Following Bill Clinton's scandalous sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky and his subsequent impeachment trials, his approval ratings climbed to 60%, one of his highest ratings as U.S. president, and this approval rating endured throughout the impeachment proceedings (Gallup, 1999). Despite both presidents violating American cultural norms, the public formed different opinions of each.

Each presidents' transgressions, in part, likely shaped the nature of their respective political parties. How does group identity change following "bad" leadership? Clinton and Nixon both represented their political parties, and America as a whole. Does a leader's transgression have lasting impact on group identity? Americans were deeply polarized following the Watergate scandal, with about half of Republicans and only 13% of Democrats approving of Nixon after he left office.

Leadership is a fundamental aspect of group life and leaders wield significant influence within their groups. Famous leaders throughout history have significantly shaped the past and present world, demonstrating the strength of their power and influence. Because of this, leadership is an important area of inquiry. Much research on leadership has focused on the individual qualities that make someone a leader, and how leaders shape their followers (see Hogg, 2001). Historically, this work has focused on the traits leaders possess that allow them to change and influence followers, rather than on the dynamic relationship between group and leader, which shapes both followers and leaders.

For example, some leadership theories have looked at leaders' roles in facilitating the appropriate exchange of resources between leader and followers (e.g., Burns, 1978), and highlight the importance of high quality leader-follower relationships on worker attitudes (Martin, Thomas, Charles, Epitropaki, &, McNamara, 2005). Other research has focused on transformational leaders who have the ability to transform their group and lead the collective toward a common goal (Conger & Kanungo, 1987; see also, Judge & Piccolo, 2004). Similarly, work demonstrates that charismatic leaders might have the ability to increase their followers' output and productivity toward achieving group-related goals (Jung & Sosik, 2006). Leader categorization theory (Lord, Foti, &, De Vader, 1984) highlights the role of leadership schemas in determining followers' perceptions of leaders' success. A leadership schema is a cognitive framework which includes all the characteristics that people associate with leaders, and multiple leader schemas exist to accommodate different contexts. However, similar to the aforementioned theories, leader

categorization theory relies on what the leader possesses in determining the likelihood that followers will find her effective and support her. Whereas a leader clearly possesses traits that are conducive for her or his effectiveness and helping the group to achieve its goals, these theories do not consider the critical component of group processes in determining leader establishment and success. A leader does not exist without a group thus it is necessary to understand the nature of group processes with respect to leadership, particularly the role of group-based identity in the leadership process. Groups provide their members with a sense of shared identity, also known as a social identity (Hogg, 2001). To fully understand leadership, leadership research must account for the role of group processes and group identity.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) conceptualizes personal identity as being partially derived from an individual's social groups. Because leaders represent their group's identity to the world, they are integral in creating and defining social identity (Reicher, Haslam, &, Hopkins, 2005). Social identity theory originally addressed intergroup relations between dominant and marginalized/subordinate groups in a society and the potential of social revolution and change. It seeks to explain the processes through which social hierarchy exists and through which this structure can be altered (Reicher, 2004). Importantly, for the study of leadership, it addresses the nature of human identity, presenting identity as an intricate network involving the influence of context and culture.

According to social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), individuals derive a sense of who they are from their social groups. Social identities function similarly to personal identities, except instead of capturing only attributes unique to the individual, a social identity also distinguishes one group from another group. Self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, &, Wetherell, 1987) outlines the mechanism through which this occurs - self and social categorization. Ingroup members hold a consensual prototype delineating the beliefs, actions and feelings that best represent the group, and this is the framework from which group members obtain a group-based identity. A prototype is a "fuzzy set of attributes" that represents the core identity of each group and distinguishes one group from another. A prototype exists when all group members' cognitive representation of the group includes shared characteristics, values, attitudes and behaviors (Hogg, 2001, p. 187).

People belong to multiple social groups, and the social context determines which of these group identities will become salient (Ellemers & Haslam, 2011). A student in class might identify herself as a student, viewing herself as disciplined, academic and studious, whereas at a soccer game, she might view herself most strongly through the lens of a soccer player and team member, focusing on team spirit, athleticism and skill. The social identity people derive from their group memberships becomes a facet of their personal identity, and it is in this way that SIT portrays identity as a multifaceted, fluid system of identities which fluctuate based on salience and social context. Social groups provide an individual with a socially prescribed identity which is integrated into their self-concept and their behavior becomes influenced by the norms, values, and traditions

associated with the social identity in question (Reicher, 2004). In a context that promotes the salience of a group membership, individuals will depersonalize into the characteristics defining their social group, seeing themselves and others through the lens of focal attributes of that specific group membership. This psychological process functions to establish group membership within the individual, from which it has much more influence on behavior than external labels which are not a part of the self- concept (Reicher, 2004; Turner, &, Reynolds, 2012).

Norms are created and conformed to in a process called referent informational influence (Turner, 1982), through which people attend to others' behavior and attitudes to ensure that the individual and other group members are conforming appropriately to the group norms. This type of influence occurs as a function of social categorization of the self and others, in which a person views the self and ingroup members through the lens of the group prototype and views outgroup members through a subjective perception/stereotype of the outgroup. An individual's categorizing of the self and others into social groups while simultaneously viewing people through group prototypes/stereotypes is the foundation of group differentiation processes.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) posited that individuals have an intrinsic motivation for a positive self-concept. This drives ingroup members to seek positive distinctiveness for the ingroup from other groups, as increasing the status and favorability of a self-relevant ingroup does the same for the individual's own self-concept. Group members do this by comparing the ingroup to other groups on characteristics which hold subjective evaluative significance. These characteristics are context and culturally dependent.

Because social groups rarely engage in regulated competitions that objectively determine the "best" group in a relevant domain, these comparisons mainly function to increase the individual's subjective perception of the ingroup's favorability and have positive influence on the self-concept.

Identity and behavior cannot be separated, nor can the influence of context on both be ignored. This is significant because it draws the focus of intergroup relations away from factors possessed solely by the individual and recognizes it as a collective movement relying on shared principles between ingroup and outgroup members (Reicher, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Because leaders play a crucial role in representing and defining a group's identity, it is important to account for the role of group-based identities both in supporting leaders and in leader-induced group change. Prototypical leaders (i.e., those deemed to closely approximate the group's prototype) are an important source of information regarding group norms, informing individuals of who they are (Hogg, van Knippenberg, &, Rast, 2016). Because social identities are part of an individual's self-concept, leaders who effectively represent what it means to be part of these groups share a personal identification with their followers. A leader of this type represents the individual as well as the group, becoming part of the individual's identity. If group identity is influential by being part of the individual's self-concept (Turner & Reynolds, 2012), presumably the same is true for leadership that effectively represents group identity.

Social Identity Theory of Leadership

The social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) views leadership as a group process, facilitated by the social cognitive processes which influence social identity and group identification. These cognitive processes are outlined by self-categorization theory (Turner, 1982). In a context in which group membership is salient, an individual will categorize the self and others into ingroup and outgroup members, viewing all, including the self, in terms of the relevant prototype for each group. Through this categorization process, the individual's self-concept changes and becomes merged with the relevant prototype, maximizing similarities within groups and differences between groups. This process is key to aligning the behavior and attitudes of ingroup members with the group identity, as the individual now views her world through the framework of her prototype. Pro-group behavior such as conforming to group norms, cohesion, and cooperation result from this process, as well as stereotyping (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Through self-categorization, group identity becomes part of the self, and fundamental for people's perceptions and evaluations of their worlds. Hence, the core principle of the social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2011), that ingroup prototypicality is an increasingly important domain for determining leader effectiveness as group membership becomes salient, relates directly to group identification processes. On a very basic level, the social identity theory of leadership proposes that effective leadership is a function of the leader's prototypicality.

Prototypical group members are influential as a result of self and social categorization (Turner et al., 1987). Depersonalization occurs when an ingroup member

views the self and others through the lens of an ingroup identity/prototype, instead of the unique qualities that distinguish individuals from one another (Turner & Oakes, 1989). Group prototypes are informative, because they are both prescriptive and descriptive in nature. Prototypes inform group members about how to act, think and feel, making it necessary for group members to hold a consensual prototype, otherwise group identity is unclear. To ensure self and others' adherence to the prototype and group norms, members attend to each other's behavior. Thus, prototypical members, being most representative of group identity, are important sources of group normative information and provide information regarding the group identity (Hogg et al., 2016).

The attention that group members pay to prototypical members lends prototypical members advantages in influence within the group. Because prototypical leaders best represent the group identity, they are therefore seen as embodying the core group values, and fellow group members tend to trust them (van Knippenberg, 2011). Specifically, this leads ingroup members to believe that their prototypical leader is motivated by the best interests of the group, although this may not always be accurate (Hogg et al., 2016), and this trust persists even after leaders fail (Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). Steffens, Haslam, Ryan, and Kessler (2013), demonstrated a causal relationship between leader prototypicality and perceived leader performance. Prototypicality enhanced followers' perceptions of leader performance, and both performance and prototypicality bolster a leader's ability to define the group identity. This may have implications for the sense of enduring trust which followers appear to afford to their prototypical leaders, even after they fail (see Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). An esteemed leader who wields influence over the group

identity may be allotted trust even when going against the grain and acting in a non-prototypical manner.

Prototypical members are likely granted internal attributions for their prototypicality by their followers, who view their prototypical attributes to be stable, internal, personality characteristics (Hogg, 2001). Strong group identification increases personal identification with a prototypical leader, as the leader exemplifies the characteristics individuals associate with their group, and therefore with themselves (Hogg, 2001). When followers identify with a prototypical leader through a personal relationship (relational identification) this increases perceptions of the leader's charisma, a multidimensional trait in which a leader is perceived to be extraordinary and ideally representative of their group, as well as capable of arousing internal motivation in their followers (Jayakody, 2008; Steffens, Haslam, &, Reicher, 2014). Followers often attribute leader charisma, like prototypicality, to internal characteristics and stable personality traits. This favorable view prompts followers to perceive such a leader favorably as a person, not only as being effective in a leadership position (Hogg, 2001). Charismatic leadership is related to positive changes in follower motivation and performance, further implicating the influential position that prototypical leaders hold (Jung & Sosik, 2006; Nohe, Michaelis, Mengis, Zhang, & Sonntag, 2013).

Their position as a reference point for group normative information provides prototypical leaders with the ability to shape their group's identity. Prototypical leaders are "entrepreneurs of identity" (Reicher et al., 2005, p. 556) and can reinforce, adjust, or largely change the existing prototype, through several means including rhetoric, ingroup

comparisons (e.g., comparisons to ingroup deviants and marginal members), rhetoric

consistent behavior, and manipulating group salience (Hogg et al., 2012). Typically,

prototypical leaders demonstrate high group identification, which increases ingroup

favoritism and dedication to ingroup goals, meaning that prototypical leaders usually

work in the best interest of their groups (see Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). However,

prototypical leaders may not always be good, even though their followers may perceive

them as such. For example, Giessner and van Knippenberg (2008) demonstrated that

followers will still endorse a prototypical leader after that leader fails to achieve a group

goal. Similarly, Ullrich, Christ and van Dick (2009) found that perceived voice was

significantly less influential on leader endorsement if the leader was prototypical. Even

when important factors such as leader goal attainment and receptiveness to follower voice

is lacking, the extent to which a leader represents their group is still a significant

determinant of leader endorsement. The power of prototypicality may allow for

prototypical leaders to engage in unsavory behavior without major accountability from

followers. Group members generally view prototypical leaders positively (Hogg, 2001),

but the endorsement of leaders based on prototypicality may produce leadership which is

detrimental for the group. Research on leader transgression credit outlines and explains

the leeway followers give to leaders who engage in inappropriate behavior (Abrams, de

Moura, &, Travaglino, 2013).

Leader Transgression Credit

When ingroup leaders transgress in a competitive situation, group members

sometimes fail to penalize them. For example, Abrams et al., (2013) presented a situation

in which either an ingroup or outgroup soccer captain or player became angry when the

opposing team was awarded a debatable penalty, yelling at the referee and acting rudely

toward the opposing players. The ingroup captain was evaluated less harshly than an

ingroup member or outgroup captain or member. A transgression is a clear violation of

known laws or rules which cannot be retracted, and research has demonstrated, in

comparison to outgroup leaders or other ingroup members, ingroup leaders are evaluated

less harshly after transgressing (Abrams et al., 2013; Travaglino, Abrams, de Moura, &,

Yetkili, 2015). This special leeway given to leaders by followers is termed "transgression

credit." There are boundaries to transgression credit however, including leader expressed

racism and small group sizes (Abrams, Travaglino, de Moura, &, May, 2014; Travaglino

et al., 2015). Also, transgression credit may apply only when followers believe that the

leader is working in the best interest of the group (Abrams et al., 2013). This is consistent

with the social identity of leadership research which highlights the increased perception

of a prototypical leader's investment in the group and encourages follower trust and

leader endorsement (Hogg et al., 2012).

  Leader prototypicality plays an important role in transgression credit. For

example, when a leader transgressed with a racist motivation, followers withheld

transgression credit (Abrams et al., 2014). The sample for this study was comprised of

Kent University students, and racism may not be an accepted norm in this sample. If the

participants were openly racist or came from a population where racism was acceptable,

then racism would be prototypical of the group, and transgression credit may be granted.

Prototypicality holds influence in the ethical norms of groups as well. The relationship

between ethical leadership and perceived leader effectiveness is partially mediated by prototypicality (Kalshoven & Den Hartog, 2009). This highlights the role of prototypicality in the perceived morality of a leader's actions, and how it is influential in determining follower's subsequent evaluations of the leader. Another boundary to transgression credit may be failing to maintain a leadership position. Rast, Hackett, Alabastro and Hogg (2015) examined Republican's perceptions of Mitt Romney's prototypicality before and after the 2012 presidential election. After losing the election, strongly identified Republicans perceived Romney as less prototypical of the Republican party. This indicates that it is that status of being a leader that imbues certain individuals with the ability to push group boundaries, and that prototypicality is implicated in leader support.

Followers perceive prototypical leaders as more competent than non-prototypical leaders (Steffens et al., 2013), and perceived competency is related to less harsh judgments of leaders who have committed transgressions (Shapiro, Boss, Salas & Tangirala, 2011). Because prototypicality increases followers' trust in a leader and perceptions that the leader works in the service of the group's best interest (Hogg et al., 2012; van Knippenberg, 2011), this may result in followers being less critical of a prototypical leader's actions, versus the actions of a non-prototypical leader. Group members believe that their prototypical leaders hold positive leadership traits (e.g., charisma, trustworthiness; see Hogg et al., 2012). This grants them credit for failures and norm violations, which may give them an advantage over non-prototypical leaders in a similar context. Importantly, perceptions of a leader's transgressions as "bad",

"immoral", or even embarrassing, lay in the subjective nature in which group members perceive their own group with respect to other groups, and how the act affects the overall integrity of the ingroup identity (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, &, Marques, 2003; Pinto, Marques, Levine, &, Abrams, 2016)

Subjective Group Dynamics

Some threats to the integrity of the group include low uniformity between ingroup members, uncertainty about the group status and group identity, and group members who deviate from group norms (Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, &, Ferrell, 2007; Marques, Abrams, &, Serodio, 2001; Pinto et al., 2016;). Ingroup deviants (those who deviate from group norms) violate group norms in two primary ways. Pro norm deviants behave consistently with the values and identity of the group, although their position is exaggerated. In contrast, anti-norm deviants violate ingroup norms and take a position that veers toward the norms of another group, thus blurring the intergroup distinction. Abrams, Marques, Bown and Henson (2000) manipulated deviance by presenting profiles of employees who were rated on seven personality dimensions. All normative and deviant profiles were similar on four dimensions. The pro norm deviants were rated significantly higher than the normative employees, and the anti-norm deviants were rated significantly lower than the normative employees, on the three remaining dimensions.

People tend to rate normative ingroup members more positively than deviant members, although they tend to favor pro-norm deviants over anti-norm deviants, as anti-norm deviants threaten group identity by expressing attitudes and behaviors consistent with relevant and sometimes competing outgroups (Abrams et al., 2000). In an intergroup

context, individuals pay more attention to the behavior of fellow ingroup members than

the outgroup, derogate ingroup deviants more than outgroup deviants, and affirm ingroup

normative members more than normative outgroup members, as ingroup members are

responsible for presenting and upholding the group identity. Although anti-norm deviants

are generally derogated, there are conditions under which attitudes can shift toward those

of the deviant. For example, group member status can influence the appraisal of an anti-

norm deviant. Full group members are those who are active and accepted members in the

group, and marginal members used to be full members but lost social status after not

meeting group expectations, or beginning to deidentify with the group (Pinto, Marques,

Levine, &, Abrams, 2010). When a full group member is the deviant, and a normative

group member is marginal, the deviant is evaluated less harshly than when the roles are

switched. This situation is also when opinion shift toward the deviant position is most

likely (Pinto et al., 2016).

A leader may have particular influence over group members' normative opinions

because of their powerful and central position. Thus, if a leader expresses deviant

attitudes, a shift toward these attitudes may be more likely than if a regular group

member expresses these attitudes. This is especially pertinent considering the role of

leaders in shaping group identity (Reicher et al., 2005). A shift toward a non-normative

position may indicate the beginning of an identity shift, perhaps opening the door for

group members to support and elect non-prototypical leaders in the future.

Prototypical leaders typically have advantages over non-prototypical leaders in

terms of support. Prototypical leaders tend to be liked, which increases compliance with

their requests, and their follower trust them even after they fail (Giessner & van

Knippenberg 2008; Hogg, 2001). Followers can identify personally with their

prototypical leader, as the leader represents the characteristics associated with the group

identity, and consequently, the characteristics associated with the self (Steffens et al.,

2014). However, there are conditions under which non-prototypical leaders have leverage

in support. Specifically, self-conceptual uncertainty bolsters the preference for non-

prototypical leaders and has implications for group identity (Rast et al., 2012).

Uncertainty-identity Theory

Uncertainty-identity theory (Hogg, 2007) proposes self-conceptual uncertainty as

a motivator for group identification and group membership. Self-conceptual uncertainty

is often troubling, and people tend to be motivated to reduce it. Because each person is

unique, the domains in which uncertainty relates to the self are specific to the individual.

For example, feeling uncertain about academics would relate to the self-concept if school

is highly important to the individual. For someone who is a competitive gymnast,

academics may not be a strong part of the self, meaning uncertainty in this area would not

relate to the gymnast's identity. Identification with a group, especially a highly entitative

group, reduces uncertainty by prescribing attitudes, feelings and behaviors through the

group's prototype. Entitative groups have a clear prototype and tight boundaries, making

their status as a group obvious (Hogg, 2007). Classification of the self and others into

groups through social categorization tells an individual who they are and who they are

not (Gaffney & Hogg, 2017), and as noted by Tajfel and Turner (1979), informs an

individual about their identity and place in society. Uncertainty then, is reduced through

identification with a group where the prototype is clear - where the group has clear cut norms, the boundaries between the ingroup and outgroups are distinct, and member behavior and attitudes are clearly prescribed, i.e., an entitative group (Lickel, Hamilton, Wieczorkowska, Sherman, &, Uhles 2000). A non-entitative group which is vague and undefined will not provide the clear prototype and norms needed to reduce uncertainty (e.g., Gaffney, Rast, &, Hogg, 2018).

Self-conceptual uncertainty has implications in the social identity and group processes involved in leadership. Research on the social identity theory of leadership highlights a consistent preference for prototypical leaders, who are endowed with positive characteristics which increases follower trust and investment (Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). However, under high self-conceptual uncertainty, a different effect emerges. Rast, Gaffney, Hogg, and Crisp (2012) demonstrated the effect of uncertainty on leader support. In two studies, participants at a university were asked to evaluate two false prospective student leaders: one prototypical and one non-prototypical. Overall, the prototypical leader was preferred, but under conditions of high uncertainty, the preference for the prototypical leader weakened, or disappeared. Group identification is implicated by uncertainty in a similar way. In two studies conducted by Reid and Hogg (2005), under low uncertainty participants identified more strongly with a high status (vs. low status) group, but this effect did not exist under high uncertainty. Conversely, under high uncertainty participants identified more strongly with a low status ingroup, and this effect did not exist under low uncertainty. The second study demonstrated that these effects existed only for those who were high in group prototypicality.

In organizational settings, uncertainty is also linked to prototypicality. For employees experiencing role ambiguity, a construct related to uncertainty, leader prototypicality is more strongly related to evaluations of leader effectiveness (Cicero, Pierro & van Knippenberg, 2008), which indicates enhanced attentiveness to prototypes under uncertainty. Research has also indicated that uncertainty interacts with other factors to impact leader support. Uncertainty is posited by Rast, Hogg, and Tomory (2015) to require large cognitive effort, leaving less cognition available to evaluate leaders, compelling individuals to rely on perceptions of leader prototypicality as a shortcut for evaluating leaders. Consistent with this hypothesis, individuals with low need for cognition increase their preference for prototypical leaders under high uncertainty, while those with high need for cognition, who have more cognitive resources available, do not show this preference. Although need for cognition does not necessarily imply cognitive load, it is important to consider the effect of uncertainty on perceptions of prototypicality, and how this may interact with other factors in real life contexts. Drawing from this research, self-conceptual uncertainty appears to enhance attention to the prototype. Under conditions of high uncertainty, individuals will prefer leaders who exemplify certain traits, such as narcissism or autocratic leading styles (Nevicka, Hoogh, Van Vianen, &, Ten Velden, 2013; Rast, Hogg, &, Giessner, 2013). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) describes people's desire for a positive self-concept, which they can derive through perceiving their group positively in comparison to other groups. People high in uncertainty may look for an identity and are focused on identifying with a prototype in general. Because narcissism and autocracy are not traditionally positive traits, this

suggests that uncertainty may produce a widening of the scope of the prototype, so that non-prototypical characteristics might be more acceptable. This may allow leaders some leeway in enacting traditionally non-positive attitudes and behaviors, or even allow the leader to reshape what the group considers positive.

Uncertainty may also have implications for leaders who step down or are removed from leadership posts before the end of term. For example, Richard Nixon resigned from his post after the Watergate Scandal, an event which spurned widespread distrust toward the government amongst the American people. An event such as this undoubtedly produces uncertainty surrounding the future of American politics and leadership. When a central group member, such as a leader, is removed from her group, this disrupts the group structure and may increase feelings of uncertainty. Uncertainty is related to a decrease in trust (Adobor, 2006; Pfattcheicher & Bohm, 2018), which indicates that Nixon's resignation may have increased feelings of uncertainty in the American people about their political leadership. Thus, leaders themselves can increase uncertainty surrounding the group.

The Present Study

Leaders are able to shape group identity through multiple routes, including their own behavior, rhetoric, and even the cognitive states of their followers (Rast, 2015; Rast, Hogg, Giessner, &, Steffen, 2016). In the current political climate, leadership is constantly under critique and leaders often make decisions which violate the norms, values and wellbeing of groups under their jurisdiction. For example, Donald Trump re-defined American presidential norms when he met with, and praised, North Korean leader Kim Jong Un and saluted a North Korean general in June 2018. In July of 2018, Trump met with Russian President Vladimir Putin and publicly disagreed with how own FBI's conclusions about Russian involvement in American elections and signaled a warming relationship with Russia despite Russian meddling in American elections and accused attacks on British soil (one of America's closest allies). Trump provides a potent example of the argument presented in this paper that a leader's influential position allows them to introduce non-prototypical norms and ideas into their group. Republican politicians responded to Trumps meeting with Kin Jong Un positively, a stark contrast to many Republican politician's reactions to Obama floating the idea during his presidency. A poll from CBS demonstrated that while about half of Americans overall disapproved of Trump's behavior during his meeting with Putin, 70% of Republicans approved of how he handled the meeting (Salvanto, De Pinto, Backus, &, Khanna, 2018). Examples such as these demonstrate that norms surrounding presidential conduct and the Republican party may be shifting. Yet, there are many politicians and American citizens calling for

Trump's impeachment, including Republican Dallas State Representative Jason Villalba. According to a CNN poll conducted by SSRS (2018) 42% of Americans support removal of Trump from office. Regardless of how Trump leaves office, he has made a lasting mark on American political norms.

Most research on leadership does not examine how the removal of a leader affects the group structure, and ultimately, the group identity. However, research on leader transgression credit and subjective group dynamics indicates that once a leader is removed from their central position in the group followers may be less inclined to support the leader and be influenced by the leader's ideas and behavior (Abrams et al., 2013; Pinto et al., 2016). Prototypicality has implications in this, as research has illustrated that transgression credit can be revoked if a leader transgresses in a way which violates the group prototype (Abrams et al., 2014). Thus, it is important to consider the aftermath of leader prototype violation and how this is affected by the nature of that leader's exit. Republican reactions to Trump's controversial behaviors indicates that Trump may be redefining the Republican prototype. Would the Republican party continue to support Trump's actions if he undergoes impeachment trials and is removed from leadership? Or, would Republican norms and values move away from Trump, and return to their moderate conservative positions? Removing a leader may disrupt group structure and produce uncertainty surrounding the future of the group. Research demonstrates that non-prototypical leaders are endorsed more under uncertainty and when they are incoming, rather than incumbent or ex leaders. It is important to consider not only the effect of

prototype violation on group identity, but also the nature of a leader's exit from office

following that violation.

Overview of the Research

The present study used an experimental design to manipulate leader condition (a leader who was removed before the end of the leadership term vs. a leader who completed the term) and uncertainty (high vs. low), and measured evaluation of the leader and candidates running to fill the "now open" leadership position. Participants read about a leader who violated the group prototype and was either removed or completed the leadership term, and a prototypical candidate and a non-prototypical candidate running for the previous leader's position. Participants were given an uncertainty manipulation and then evaluated and indicated their support for each candidate. The evaluation of the previous leader was completed before the uncertainty manipulation.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. A leader who is removed from the position will be supported less than a full-term leader.

Rationale. Leaders and central group members have the most influence over identity in groups (Pinto et al., 2016; Reicher et al., 2005). Prototypical leaders in particular are endorsed more than non-prototypical leaders as group identification increases and are trusted even after failing to achieve group goals (Hogg, 2001). A prototypical leader who violates what made that leader prototypical of the group in the first place and is then removed from leadership has multiple strikes against her. That leader loses both her prototypical status and her leadership status. Comparatively, a

leader who is no longer considered prototypical of the group, but is still a leader, remains in a position of influence in re-defining the group identity (Reicher et al., 2005).

Hypothesis 2. Under high levels of uncertainty, the preference for non-prototypical leaders will increase in comparison to low levels of uncertainty, and this effect will be greater in when the leader is removed instead of completing term.

Rationale. When a leader is removed prior to the end of a term, this disrupts the group structure, and makes the norm violation particularly salient in comparison to when a leader completes the term as expected. Thus, in the removal condition, the disruption of group norms and identity may be magnified, and high levels of uncertainty may further compound this effect such that non-prototypical leaders may have some leeway to attract group members attention. This hypothesis follows from Rast et al., (2012) who found that under high levels of uncertainty, preference for non-prototypical leaders increases, such that the difference between preference for prototypical and non-prototypical leaders decreases or disappears completely. Abrams et al., (2005) showed that those who are emerging leaders have the most leeway for being anti-norm deviants in comparison to incumbent or ex leaders.

Method

Institutional Review Board

The present study was exempt from review because the data was previously collected at a Canadian University and approved under that university's institutional review board. The IRB number for the project is IRB 17-124.

Participants

Participants (62.30% female; 36.70% male; 1% other) were 201 university students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses. The majority of participants were Canadian (70.90%), then Chinese (10.10%), Indian (the country India) (3%) and other (16%) Participants were mainly freshman (57.30%) then sophomores (24.60%), juniors (11.60%), seniors (6%), and one graduate student (0.50%). Nether gender nor year in school were significant moderators of either of the hypotheses.

Design

The experiment was a 2 (uncertainty: high vs. low) x 2 (leader condition: removed vs. end term) x 2 (leader prototypicality: prototypical vs. non-prototypical candidates) mixed design that used random assignment to all conditions. Random assignment to conditions was accomplished using the randomizer function on Qualtrics, an online survey platform.

Procedure

Research assistants greeted the participants and sat them at individual computers. After giving informed consent, participants began the study. The study informed the participants that they were to read two articles from the school newspaper about current

leadership on campus. The first article manipulated leader condition and described a leader who was previously elected as student chair of a group called Student Advocates of University of Alberta (SAUA) because of that leader's prototypicality as a UA student, but had recently become non-prototypical of the group. SAUA was a group that intended to represent the interests of the student body, thus being prototypical of the student body. The leader was described as supporting a new policy that would instate exit examinations as additional graduation criteria, which the majority of the student body was against, as an example of the leader's prototype violation. Next, participants were informed that the leader was either removed before the end of the leadership term by an almost unanimous vote by the SAUA board, or that the leader had completed their term and stepped down as is traditional. Following this article, participants completed manipulation checks and filled out a one item measure indicating their support for that leader.

The next article described two leading candidates for election for the next Student Chair of SAUA. The first candidate was described using language indicating that candidate's prototypicality as a typical and ideal student of University of Alberta. The second candidate was described using language indicating that the candidate was non-prototypical of the student body at University of Alberta. Participants then completed manipulation checks, dependent measures and demographics.

Independent Variables and Measures

Leader condition. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions regarding the status of the first leader. Participants in the removal condition read a vignette formatted to look like an article from the school's newspaper, which describes a

formerly prototypical leader who violated the prototype and was removed. Participants in the term condition read the same vignette, but instead of being removed, the prototype violating leader voluntarily stepped down from post after finishing their term.

Uncertainty-prime. Participants were primed with either high or low self-uncertainty, using an uncertainty prime adapted from previous literature. (e.g., Gaffney et al., 2014; Grant & Hogg, 2012; Hogg et al., 2007).

In the high uncertainty condition, students were prompted with the following paragraph:

> Please take a few moments to think about yourself, your future, and where you are going – think about the things that make you feel deeply uncertain and then list and describe 3 things that make you feel uncertain and or confused about who you are.

In the low uncertainty condition, students were prompted with the following paragraph:

> Please take a few moments to think about yourself, your future, and where you are going – think about the things that make you feel very confident and then list and describe 3 things that make you feel confident and or clear about who you are.

Candidate prototypicality. Participants read two vignettes formatted to simulate an article in the school newspaper. One described a prototypical candidate, and one described a non-prototypical candidate. To control for order effects the order of the candidates was randomly alternated.

Dependent Variables and Measures

Leader support. One item measured support for the original leader. "After reading this article, how much do you support Brown as a leader?" Scored on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Candidate preferences. One item asking, "Please use the slider scales to indicate your level of support for each candidate" measured preferences for each candidate. Two slider scales, one for each candidate, allowed participants to indicate their degree of support for each candidate by moving each slider scale. Slider scales were measured on a scale from 1 to 100.

Candidate evaluations. A 12-item measure adapted from Rast et al., (2012) measured support for candidates. Participants filled out the measure twice, once for each candidate. The scale is scored on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), prototypical $\alpha = .93$, non-prototypical $\alpha = .93$. See Appendices K and L for the full scale.

Group-identification. A 9-item measure of group-identification was administered to students. The measure is adapted from Hogg and Hains (1996, 1998) and Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Angela, and Moffitt (2007), and previous research using university students. The scale is scored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), $\alpha = .91$. See Appendix N for full scale.

Refer to Table 1 for bivariate correlations between all dependent variables.

Table 1

Intercorrelations of dependent measures

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Identification	---	.02	.33*	-.03	.34*	-.01
2. Leader support	---	---	-.29*	.30*	-.28*	.35*
3. Preference for prototypical candidate	---	---	---	-.24*	.74*	-.43*
4. Preference for non-. prototypical candidate	---	---	---	---	-.42*	.75*
5. Prototypical evaluation	---	---	---	---	---	-.50*
6. Non- prototypical evaluation	---	---	---	---	---	---

Note. *p < .05

Manipulation Checks

  Uncertainty. A 5-item scale measured self-conceptual uncertainty (Gaffney, Jung, Crano, Hogg, & Aberson, 2018). Scoring for the scale ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), $\alpha = .84$. The manipulation was effective, those in the high uncertainty condition ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.52$) were more uncertain than those in the low uncertainty condition ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.34$), $t(1, 190) = 2.84$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.40$. See Appendix Q for the full scale.

  Leader and candidate checks. Manipulation checks for the leader (removed vs. full term) and candidate (prototypical vs. non-prototypical) consist of two questions for the previous leader, and one question for each candidate. Forced choice responses indicate if participants are correctly perceiving the leader/candidates as prototypical or non-prototypical. See Appendices E and G for the full list of items.

  Overall, the manipulations were effective. Out of the 201 participants, 191 (95%) answered the manipulation checks correctly. Those who did not answer the checks completely were excluded.

Results

Data Screening

Data were analyzed using R and IBM SPSS. Data were cleaned in R and transformed where there were normality violations. Variables with normality violations were leader support, candidate preferences, post identification, uncertainty, self-prototypicality, group attitude prototypicality, and post-test attitudes. Skew and kurtosis values with confidence intervals that excluded zero were considered problematic. The first hypothesis was analyzed in R and SPSS was used to analyze the second hypothesis and run the exploratory analyses. Analyses were run using both transformed and untransformed data. There were no differences between the transformed and untransformed data, so untransformed data was ultimately chosen because it was closest to the raw data. Participants were excluded from analyses if they did not pass the manipulation checks or had missing data. Only two cases needed to be removed because of missing data, and 8 cases were removed because the participants did not pass the manipulation checks. Thus, the final sample was 191 participants.

Hypothesis 1

A one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) tested the hypothesis that the previous leader would be supported less when removed from the leadership post, in comparison to completing the leadership post. There was no significant difference in leader evaluation when the leader was removed from post ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.34$) and when the leader completed the post ($M = 3.02$, $SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 179) = 0.20$, $p = .66$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Given that leader evaluation was measured on a 7-point Likert scale from 1

(*strongly oppose*) to 7 (*strongly support*) leader in both conditions was evaluated poorly, overall. The results do not support the first hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2

A mixed model ANOVA, with candidate support as the repeated factor and uncertainty (high vs. low) and leader condition (completed vs. removed) as between-subjects factors examined differences in participant's support for each candidate as a function of uncertainty and leader condition. There was no main effect for uncertainty – support for the candidates was not different for those under high or low uncertainty $F(1, 156) = 2.80$, $p = .10$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$. Similarly, there was no main effect for leader condition – preference for the candidates was not influenced by the nature of the previous leader's exit, $Ff(1, 156) = 0.25$, $p = .62$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$. Additionally, the interaction between uncertainty and leader condition was not significant, $F(1, 156) = 0.00$, $p = 1.0$, $\eta_p^2 = .000$. However, there was a significant within subject's effect of candidate support. The prototypical leader ($M = 70.84$, $SD = 20.01$) was preferred over the non-prototypical candidate ($M = 56.40$, $SD = 21.01$), $F(1, 156) = 28.7$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .15$. See Figure 2. These results do not support the hypothesis that under high levels of uncertainty, the preference for non-prototypical leaders will be significantly higher in comparison to low levels of uncertainty, and this effect will be greater in the removal condition.
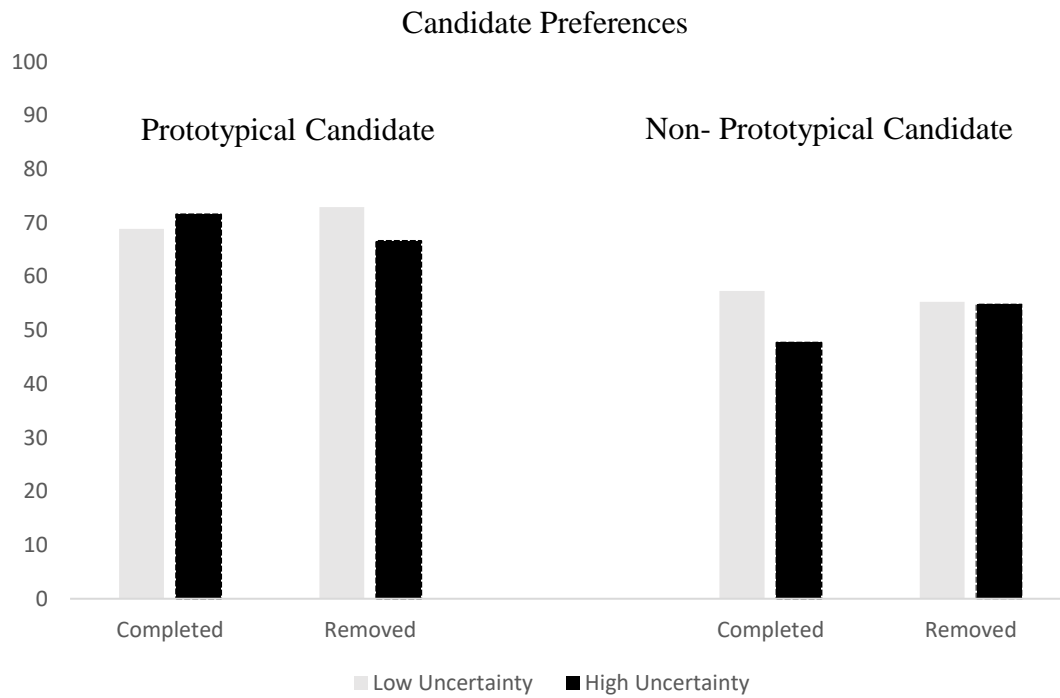
Figure 1. Leader exit and uncertainty on preferences for candidates

Exploratory Analyses

A regression analysis with identification as the moderator and uncertainty (high vs. low) and leader condition (completed vs. removed) as the predictors, used Hayes Process (2012) Model 3 to examine differences in participants' evaluations of the prototypical and non-prototypical candidate. Neither uncertainty (b = -0.02, SE = 0.13; 95% C.I [-0.28 0.24]) nor leader condition (b = -0.02, SE = 0.13; 95% C.I. [-0.27, 0.24]) were significant predictors of evaluations of the prototypical candidate. Identification was a significant predictor of evaluations, such that as identification increased, evaluations became more positive (b = 0.34, SE = 0.06; 95% C.I. [0.21, 0.46]). The three-way interaction of uncertainty, leader condition and post identification was not significant, R^2 change = .001, $F(1, 183)$ = 0.25, p = .62. However, the two-way interaction of uncertainty and post identification was significant (b = -0.36, SE = 0.26; 95% C.I. [-0.62, -0.11]). Simple slopes tests using Process (Hayes, 2012) Model 1 revealed that under high uncertainty, as identification increased, evaluations became more positive (95% C.I. [-0.75, -0.03]). This effect was not significant for those under low uncertainty.

Similarly, for the non-prototypical leader, neither uncertainty (b = -0.13, SE = 0.16; 95% C.I. [-0.28, 0.35]) nor leader condition (b = 0.04, SE =.16; 95% C.I. [-0.44, 0.19]) were significant predictors of evaluations of the non-prototypical candidate. The three-way interaction of uncertainty, leader condition and post-identification was also not significant R^2 change = .01, $F(7, 183)$ = 1.18 p = .28. However, just as with the prototypical candidate, the two-way interaction between uncertainty and identification was significant (b = 0.35, SE = 0.16; 95% C.I. [0.03, 0.66]). Simple slopes tests revealed

that under low uncertainty, support decreased (95% C.I. [-0.94, -0.04]), but this effect

was not significant for those under high uncertainty (95% C.I. [-0.21, 0.69]). See Figures

2 and 3.
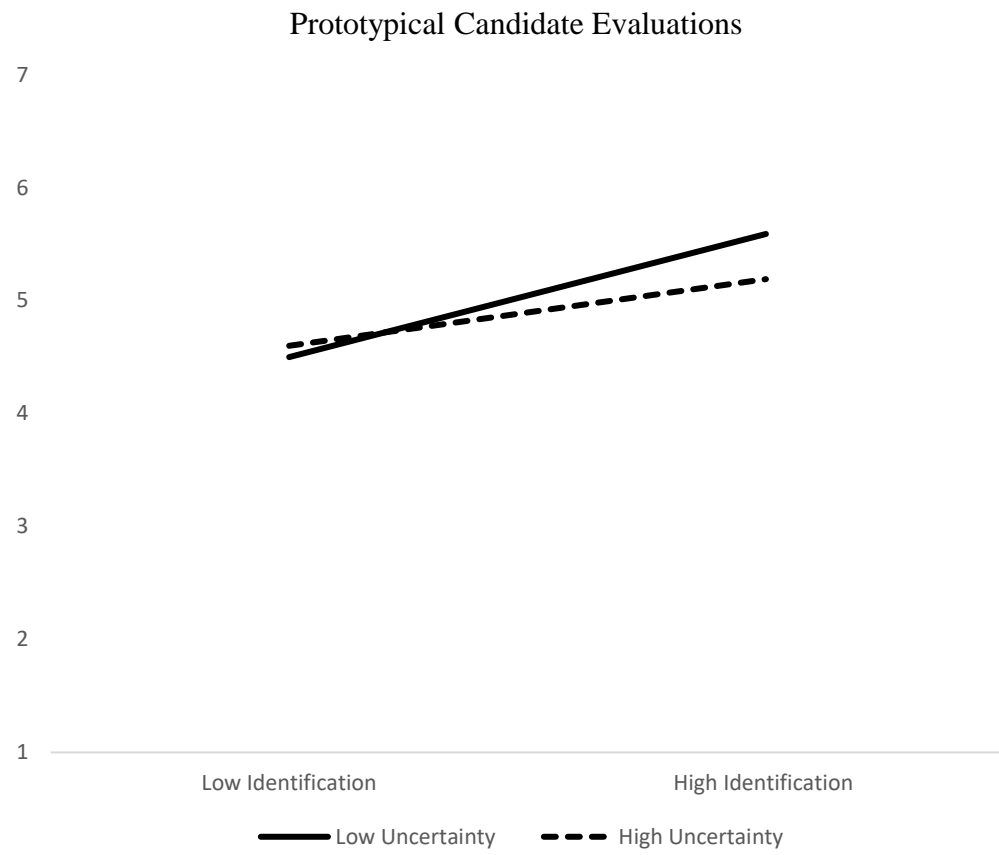
Figure 2. Support for prototypical candidate under identification and uncertainty
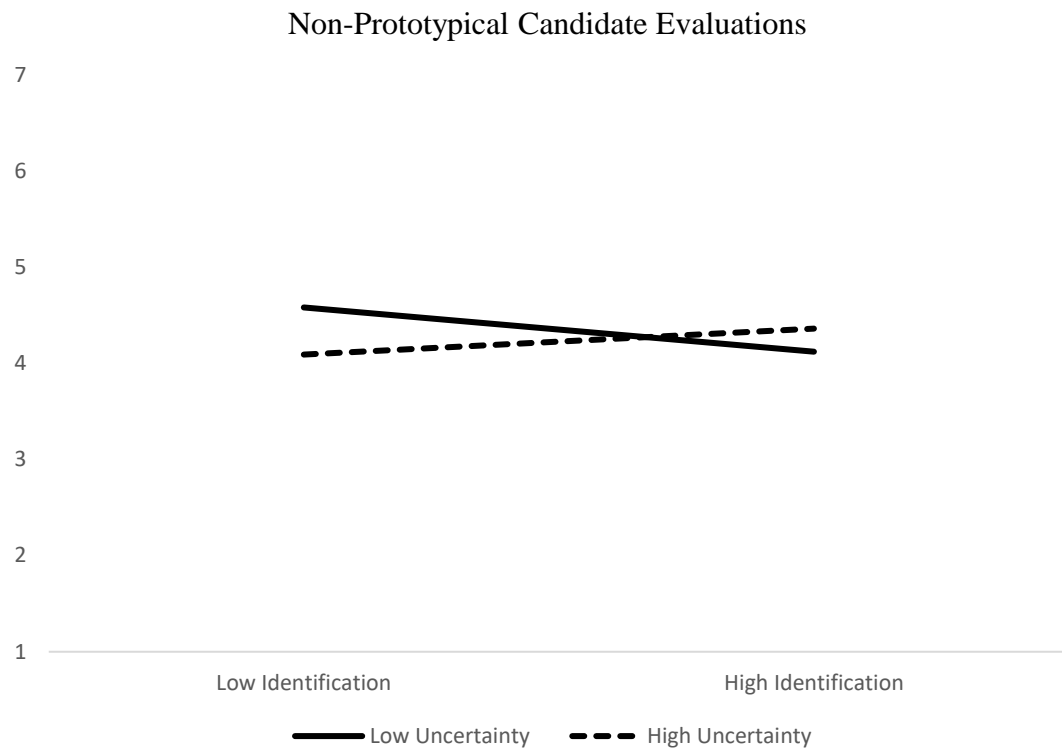
Figure 3. Support for the non-prototypical candidate under identification and uncertainty

Discussion

Neither of the primary hypotheses were supported. Although the main predictions did not yield significant results that could inform the gap in literature on the nature of a leader's exit from office and how this affects leadership evaluations, the present study was a first step in developing an experimental design which can test such questions. Exploratory analyses yielded significant findings and demonstrated that uncertainty and post identification interacted to affect evaluations of the prototypical and non-prototypical candidate. These results replicate previous research on leadership under uncertainty and expand this research by adding identification into the model (Rast et al., 2012). Both primary and exploratory analyses contribute to the existing literature and point to areas in which it can be improved.

Primary Analyses

Drawing from research on leadership and influence (Hogg, 2001; Pinto et al., 2016; Reicher et al., 2005) it was expected that the leader who was removed would be evaluated more negatively than the leader who remained in the leadership position. It was also expected that under high uncertainty support for the leader in the removal condition would increase more than the other conditions, based off research demonstrating that support for non-prototypical leaders increases under uncertainty and that incoming leaders have the most leeway for deviance (Abrams et al., 2005; Rast et al., 2012). There are some potential limitations that could have contributed to the current findings not supporting these hypotheses.

First, manipulating a leader's prototype violation has not been done in previous research. Relevant research has manipulated deviance of group members and leaders (Abrams et al., 2013; Pinto et al., 2016), leader prototypicality (Rast et al., 2012), and the content of prototypes (Kim & Wiesenfeld, 2017), but no research to date has attempted to manipulate a leader violating their group's prototype. Prototypicality is complex, involving context dependent characteristics that are often relatively abstract and represent both typical and ideal characteristics of the group. Focusing on ideal or typical characteristics has different implications for perceived status dispersion and social undermining in the group (Hogg, 2001; Kim & Wiesenfeld, 2017). Thus, research often uses existing groups such as universities, sports teams and political parties which have an existing prototype that can be made salient by the experiment (see Gaffney & Hogg, 2017). In the current study, an entirely new and false group was created: Students Association of University of Alberta (SAUA). While this group was described as being composed of students whose purpose was to advocate for the prototypical interests of the student body, the experimental participants were not actual members of this group. SAUA could be considered an outgroup, but the manipulation was designed to make SAUA inclusive of the University of Alberta identity. SAUA was described as sharing the prototypical interests of the University of Alberta student body. Specifically, what made a leader prototypical of SAUA was that the leader was prototypical of University of Alberta. This attempted to make SAUA's prototype the University of Alberta's prototype, and make SAUA an inclusive category for University of Alberta students. The mean identification score was 5.35 (out of 7), indicating that participants had sufficient

identification levels with University of Alberta for this portion of the manipulation to be

effective.

The next section of the manipulation described the previous leader of SAUA,

who was initially elected because of their prototypicality as a UA student, and during his

/her leadership term had begun to no longer represent the values and interests of

UA students. The majority of participants (95%) answered the manipulation check

correctly, indicating that overall, participants understood the prototype violation.

However, it is possible that the manipulation of the prototype violation was not strong

enough. The leader's prototype violation was described using vague descriptive language,

including phrases like "not representative" and "ceased to embody who we are." More

specific examples of how the leader violated the identity of the group may have been

more effective. For example, there are clear instances in which Donald Trump's stance

on issues including healthcare, taxes and religion during his campaign differed from the

traditional GOP platform, and several Republican politicians and strategists such as John

Boehner, Steve Schmidt and John McCain have indicated that Trump is not a traditional

Republican. Materials such as these provide clear examples of ways in which Trump has

violated the traditional Republican identity. The manipulation in the current study

provided an example of the previous leader supporting exit examinations as additional

graduation criteria to demonstrate a specific instance of the leader violating group

identity. However, opposition to exit examinations may not be an integral part of UA

identity, whereas values such as small government and religiosity are core republican

values. The manipulation may have been strengthened had it targeted core values of the

UA identity rather than using abstract language and an example which may be peripheral to the group identity.

Finally, the manipulation of the leader's exit may not have been strong enough. Goeman (2004) identifies two basic forms of leader exit: regular and irregular exit. Irregular exit occurs when a leader is ousted from office before the end of term by forces such as an impeachment or a coup. Using data on real world leadership, compared to leaders who have a regular exit, for whom 92% retire safely from office, 83% of leaders who exited irregularly suffered punishment in the form of imprisonment, exile or death. In experimental conditions, Michener and Lawler (1975) demonstrated that leader endorsement was negatively associated with leader vulnerability, such that the less vulnerable a leader's position is, the more that leader was endorsed by participants. This research indicates that leaders who are removed from office or under threat of removal are viewed less positively than those who retire peacefully. However, the current research did not find any significant effect of leader condition on evaluations of the previous leader, nor on preferences for a future leader. This may be because of time passage, or lack thereof. For example, according to Gallup (1973) polls, as Nixon was beginning to undergo the consequences of his involvement in the Watergate Scandal only 29% of Americans thought Nixon should be impeached, despite his low approval ratings. Overtime did the public opinion slowly shift, and finally in 1974 a clear majority emerged with 57% of Americans endorsing Nixon's impeachment. The manipulation in the present study may have been a time period during which participants could continue

to evaluate the leader's transgressions, and during which the leader was subjected to the

public criticisms and punishments common in real world removal of leadership.

Leadership Under Uncertainty

There was a significant effect of uncertainty and identification on evaluations of

the prototypical and non-prototypical candidates. For the prototypical candidate, as post

identification increased, evaluations became more positive and this effect was strongest

under low uncertainty. For the non-prototypical leader, as post identification increased,

evaluations became more negative and this effect was strongest under low uncertainty.

Under high uncertainty, this effect disappeared. Rast and colleagues (2012) demonstrated

that under high uncertainty support for non-prototypical leaders increase, such that the

gap between support for prototypical and non-prototypical leaders decreases or

disappears. Similarly, high uncertainty also increased support for narcissistic leaders, and

combining high uncertainty with high need for cognition increased support for autocratic

leaders (Nevicka et al., 2013; Rast et al., 2015). Past research has not measured the

interaction between group identification and uncertainty in evaluations of prototypical

and non-prototypical leaders/candidates, making the current research an important

expansion in this area. Consistent with Rast and colleagues (2012) and other research on

uncertainty and leadership (see Hogg, 2010; Rast et al., 2015; Nevicka et al., 2013; Rast,

2015), these results provide support for the idea that self-conceptual uncertainty has

different implications on support for prototypical and non-prototypical

candidates/leaders. Leadership is fundamentally based in group identification, so it is

important to clearly link identification to the effects on uncertainty on leader endorsement

because identification is an inherent part of the theoretical background of these

predictions. Thus, these results support an approach toward leadership that is based in the

social identity perspective.

Limitations

There were notable limitations in the study. First, there was no pilot study testing

the manipulations, which would have allowed for appropriate modification and may have

yielded stronger manipulations in the final experiment. The use of manipulation checks

helped to reduce this limitation by allowing participants who did not answer the checks

correctly to be excluded from analyses. A pilot study would also have been effective for

choosing names for the leader and candidates that were gender neutral. There may have

been a gender effect with the names used for the leader and candidates (Casey Brown for

the previous leader, Alex Long for the non-prototypical candidate and Jordan Smith for

the prototypical candidate), as participants could have interpreted each name to be more

masculine or feminine. Whereas the articles describing each candidate were

counterbalanced to control for order effects, the names for the candidates and leader were

not counterbalanced to prevent a gender effect. There was not a significant difference

between males and females on preference for either candidate, or on leader support, but it

is possible that the preference for the prototypical and non-prototypical candidates was

influenced by their given names.

A final critique of the research, which draws from other literature on leadership

from a social identity perspective, is that the gender and race of the leader and candidates

was not disclosed. Often research chooses to examine the minimal conditions under

which certain group processes occur, but in a political climate that is still heavily

influenced by race and gender, it is not possible to accurately reflect real world processes

without involving race and gender in leadership research. An area in which this research

can be improved is by examining how race and gender moderates group-based leadership

processes.

Conclusion

The present study contributed to the existing literature in several ways. This is the first experiment attempting to manipulate a leader's prototype violation and one of few manipulating a leader's exit from office. Thus, this research is an important stepping stone in developing effective manipulations of this nature.

The argument presented in this paper intended to demonstrate the importance of understanding the effect of a leader's exit on group identity. This is a significant area partly because of the lack of empirical research on this topic. In a world in which leaders are constantly entering and then exiting leadership roles, some in better graces than others, it is necessary to understand how the nature of a leader's exit can change the group identity, and influence future leadership. Following in the footsteps of previous research on leadership under uncertainty, several findings clearly emerged from the study. These results replicate earlier findings that under high self-conceptual uncertainty, group members are more tolerant of a non-prototypical leader and extend these findings by demonstrating the same effect as group identification increases. Identification with a group is important as it is the first fundamental component of group processes, so it is an integral part of leadership endorsement.

Leadership is grounded in group processes and provides information about the collective, as well as the individuals who are the aggregate parts. Thus, understanding the many ways in which leaders wield influence, including the unintentional ways (e.g., an impeachment or coup), or through the cognitive states of their followers (e.g. uncertainty)

is useful in better understanding and predicting the aftermath of certain types of

leadership.

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clinton-poll/index.html

Appendix A

Informed Consent

Agreement to Participate in the Recall Election Opinion Study.

Dear Participant:

We would like to invite you to take part in a student research study on leadership, conducted by Lily Syfers at Humboldt State University. Data collection for this study is taking place at University of Alberta and is being conducted by Dr. David Rast in the Psychology Department at University of Alberta.

PURPOSE & PARTICIPATION: The purpose of this study is to examine how personality styles affect responses to leader rhetoric. There are two parts to this study. The first part of the study will identify your personality type. Then, for the second part we will ask you to read a message from a leader and ask you to evaluate this leader. This study will take up to 20 minutes to complete, for which you will receive ONE research credit.

BENEFITS & RISKS: There are no direct benefits to the participants for this study, however, this research can potentially contribute to the advancement of our understanding of psychological processes. There are no foreseeable psychological or social risks associated with participation in this study; however, as some of the questions address potentially sensitive and personal topics, it is possible to experience psychological or emotional stress. Should you experience any distress, you will always have the option to leave the study or to not answer any questions you are not comfortable

with. Moreover, if any risks should arise, the researcher will inform the participants immediately.

YOUR RIGHTS: It is your right to terminate participation at any time you wish, and may do so without penalty. If you do not want to consent or participate in this study but still want to receive your credit for research participation, you have the option of doing an alternate assignment by clicking on the appropriate box below. This must be selected before leaving this page. The alternative assignment will take the same amount of time to complete and also focuses on leadership and involves a short quiz. Should you choose to not participate, this decision will not affect your status or access to services with the research team, Psychology Department or University of Alberta. Any responses made by individual participants on the questionnaires will remain confidential and anonymous. Questionnaires will be identified only by a researcher-assigned code number. Your names will not be associated with your data, nor will we ask for your name. Because responses are completely anonymous, once you respond to a question your response can no longer be withdrawn. Only researchers associated with the project will have access to the questionnaires. The results of this study may be presented at scholarly conferences, published in professional journals, or presented in class lectures. Only grouped (aggregate) data will be presented. The data will be securely stored on an encrypted hard drive on a password-protected computer in the researcher's laboratory for at least five years.

FURTHER INFORMATION: If you have any questions, please feel free to email the principal investigator, David Rast, at david.rast@ualberta.ca. If you have any questions

or concerns about your rights as a participant, or how this study is being conducted, you may contact the Research Ethics Office at (780)492-2615. This office has no affiliation with the study investigators. Additionally, if you have questions about your research participation you may contact the Research Participation Coordinator at rescred@ualberta.ca or (780)492-5689.

CONSENT: Please mark the appropriate box below, showing that you have read and understood the nature and purpose of the study. By checking the first box, you indicate your willingness to participate in this study.

Yes, I agree to participate in this study.

No, I do not agree to participate and wish to complete the alternative assignment.

Appendix B

Group Identification Pre-Test

Please indicate how much you agree/disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
"I think a lot about myself as a University of Alberta student."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"Being a University of Alberta student is important to me."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"Being a University of Alberta student influences my life choices."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"I participate in recreational sports here at University of Alberta."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"I frequently attend musical events at University of Alberta."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"I frequently participate in University of Alberta recreational events."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

"I often visit home." ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

Appendix C

Attitude Semantic Pre-Test

How negatively/positively do you feel about exit examinations?

Extremely negative	Moderately negative	Slightly negative	Neither negative nor positive	Slightly positive	Moderately positive	Extremely positive
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

How favorably or unfavorably do you feel about exit examinations?

Very unfavorable	Moderately unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Neither unfavorable nor favorable	Somewhat favorable	Moderately favorable	Very favorable
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

How for or against exit examinations are you?

Strongly against	Moderately against	Somewhat against	Neither for nor against	Somewhat for	Moderately for	Strongly for
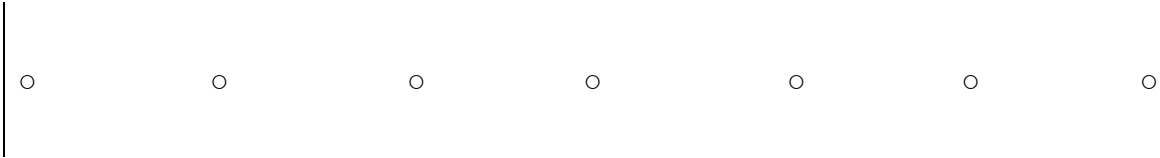
Appendix D[1]

Leader Exit Manipulation

Condition A

In a recent decision, Casey Brown, the former leader of Student Advocates of University of Alberta (SAUA), was removed from post last week. SAUA is a student led committee that aims to represent, and fight for, the interests of our student body at University of Alberta. The core principle of SUAU is to make decisions based on the desires and interests of the student body as a whole, not the individual members of the committee. SAUA gathers information on student interests from surveys, interviews, and our very own Gateway.

Leadership is a role the committee takes seriously, and Brown was chosen based on certain criteria. Initially seeming a perfect choice for leadership, Brown was representative of the student body, sharing the same qualities and experiences as many of the students, and fitting in well with our UA community. Brown was an exceptional student and member of the community, authentically representing what UA students stand for.

But, over time, it became apparent that the SAUA leader did not represent UA as was previously thought. "Casey was great," says Jennifer Li, a junior biology major, adding that Brown "really was one of us." "But soon it became apparent that Casey was different and failed to represent who we are and what we stand for as students of UA." Michael

Taylor, a senior engineering major, agrees with Li, stating "It didn't feel like Casey fit in with us anymore, or was the outstanding student and community member like before." Indeed, Brown had ceased to embody the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of a SAUA and UA student, no longer representing the student body, or the core principle of SAUA. For example, UA administration has recently announced a new motion to introduce exit examinations as additional graduation criteria. Passing such a motion means that, in order to graduate, students not only have to complete necessary units and classes, but will have to take a series of standardized examinations. If students do not make the cut off score, their graduation will be postponed. Not surprisingly, a survey of 1,573 undergraduates yielded a 98% consensus opposing the implementation of exit examinations. SAUA immediately began action opposing the motion, scheduling meetings with administration and speaking out to students on how they can help. Brown shocked both the committee and the student body by siding with the administration during a meeting, stating "Exit examinations will motivate students to be their best, and improve University of Alberta's academic standing."

Last Tuesday, by an almost unanimous vote, Brown was removed from SAUA leadership.

Condition B

In a recent decision, Casey Brown, the former leader of Student Advocates of University of Alberta (SAUA), completed term last week. Leadership terms in SAUA last one year, and after completing a full term, leaders step down and open the position for other

students. SAUA is a student led committee that aims to represent, and fight for, the interests of our student body at University of Alberta. The core principle of SUAU is to make decisions based on the desires and interests of the student body as a whole, not the individual members of the committee. SAUA gathers information on student interests from surveys, interviews, and our very own Gateway.

Leadership is a role the committee takes seriously, and Brown was chosen based on certain criteria. Initially seeming a perfect choice for leadership, Brown was representative of the student body, sharing the same qualities and experiences as many of the students, and fitting in well with our UA community. Brown was an exceptional student and member of the community, authentically representing what UA students stand for.

But, over time, it became apparent that the SAUA leader did not represent UA as was previously thought. "Casey was great," says Jennifer Li, a junior biology major, adding that Brown "really was one of us." "But soon it became apparent that Casey was different and failed to represent who we are and what we stand for as students of UA." Michael Taylor, a senior engineering major, agrees with Li, stating "It didn't feel like Casey fit in with us anymore, or was the outstanding student and community member like before." Indeed, Brown had ceased to embody the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of a SAUA and UA student, no longer representing the student body, or the core principle of SAUA. For example, UA administration has recently announced a new motion to introduce exit examinations as additional graduation criteria. Passing such a motion means that, in order to graduate, students not only have to complete necessary units and classes, but will have

to take a series of standardized examinations. If students do not make the cut off score, their graduation will be postponed. Not surprisingly, a survey of 1,573 undergraduates yielded a 98% consensus opposing the implementation of exit examinations. SAUA immediately began action opposing the motion, scheduling meetings with administration and speaking out to students on how they can help. Brown shocked both the committee and the student body by siding with the administration during a meeting, stating "Exit examinations will motivate students to be their best, and improve University of Alberta's academic standing."

Last Tuesday, after completing a full term as student chair, Brown left post.

1 Participants will be randomly assigned to either condition A or B

Appendix E

Manipulation Checks for Leader Exit

We would like to make sure that you understood the article about Casey Brown's removal from the faculty chair position. This is to ensure The Gateway is effectively divulging information about leadership at University of Alberta. Please answer the following questions about Casey Brown, the former SAUA Student Chair.

Before conflict surrounding Brown's leadership began, UA students seemed to feel that...

Brown fit in with students and embodied the core identity of University of Alberta

Brown did not fit in with students at University of Alberta

How did people feel after Brown left the SAUA leadership position?

Brown represented the values and interests of University of Alberta

Brown no longer represented University of Alberta students or what University of Alberta stands for

After reading this article, how much do you support Brown as a leader?

None at all

A little

A moderate amount

A lot

A great deal

Appendix F[1]

Candidate Manipulation

Condition A

Following the removal of Casey Brown as leader of Student Advocates of University of Alberta (SAUA), the running candidates have been whittled down to two finalists, Riley Smith and Alex Long. Both candidates are senior communications majors. We asked several students to describe Smith and Stewart as a SAUA potential leader.

Riley Smith

"Riley is really one of us (UA students)... A great fit in our school and the perfect example of a UA student," says sophomore social work major Emily Moore, adding that the candidate has "many experiences and values in common with the student body." Steven Lam, a senior mathematics major finds Smith to "embody the identity of UA students," and claims: "When I think UA student, I think of someone just like Riley". When asked for a statement, Smith said "First and foremost, I consider myself to be a typical UA student. I hold the best interests of this school and students at heart, and intend to lead in line with the values and beliefs of UA."

Alex Long

"Alex definitely stands out as an independent thinker at UA that is different from many of the students here. This gives Alex a distinct perspective (different from most others) on the values and attitudes of UA, which is very useful in navigating issues in the school," says Ian Pitter, a sophomore physics major. "Alex represents a unique type of

student." Lexi Keyman, a senior english major describes Long as being "a person who sees things differently than most people at UA" which lends "a useful perspective on student and school issues."

When asked for a personal statement, Long said "I am an unconventional student by UA standards, and this allows me to view issues from a unique and valuable perspective. I do not share many of the same experiences and values as the student body, but I intend to work hard to do what is best for the UA student body."

Condition B

Following the removal of Casey Brown as leader of Student Advocates of University of Alberta (SAUA), the running candidates have been whittled down to two finalists, Riley Smith and Alex Long. Both candidates are senior communications majors. We asked several students to describe Smith and Stewart as a SAUA potential leader.

Alex Long

"Alex definitely stands out as an independent thinker at UA that is different from many of the students here. This gives Alex a distinct perspective (different from most others) on the values and attitudes of UA, which is very useful in navigating issues in the school," says Ian Pitter, a sophomore physics major. "Alex represents a unique type of student." Lexi Keyman, a senior english major describes Long as being "a person who sees things differently than most people at UA" which lends "a useful perspective on student and school issues."

When asked for a personal statement, Long said "I am an unconventional student by UA standards, and this allows me to view issues from a unique and valuable perspective. I do

not share many of the same experiences and values as the student body, but I intend to

work hard to do what is best for the UA student body."

Riley Smith

"Riley is really one of us (UA students)... A great fit in our school and the perfect

example of a UA student," says sophomore social work major Emily Moore, adding that

the candidate has "many experiences and values in common with the student body."

Steven Lam, a senior mathematics major finds Smith to "embody the identity of UA

students," and claims: "When I think UA student, I think of someone just like Riley".

When asked for a statement, Smith said "First and foremost, I consider myself to be a

typical UA student. I hold the best interests of this school and students at heart and intend

to lead in line with the values and beliefs of UA."

1 Participants will be randomly assigned to either condition A or condition B

Appendix G

Candidate Manipulation Checks

We would like to make sure you understand the article about Jordan Smith and Alex Long. This is to ensure The Gateway is effectively divulging information about leadership at University of Alberta. Please answer the next few questions.

Which statement is most similar to how Alex Long is described?

Alex Long is a typical UA student

Alex Long has perspective and values that are different from many UA students

Which statement is most similar to how Jordan Smith is described?

Jordan Smith is representative of University of Alberta students

Jordan smith does not represent the perspective and values of University of Alberta students

Appendix H

Uncertainty Manipulation

Condition A

As part of other work, we check in to find out how people feel about themselves. This helps leadership at University of Alberta understand what students need from their leaders.

There are several things that likely make you feel uncertain about who you are, your future, and where you are going in life. Please take a moment to consider what makes you feel uncertain. Now, please use the boxes below to list three things that make you feel uncertain about yourself and your future.

1. Makes me feel uncertain _____

2. Makes me feel uncertain _____

3. Makes me feel uncertain _____

Condition B

As part of other work, we check in to find out how people feel about themselves. This helps leadership at University of Alberta understand what students need from their leaders.

There are several things that likely make you feel certain about who you are, your future, and where you are going in life. Please take a moment to consider what makes you

feel **certain**. Now, please use the boxes below to list three things that make you feel

certain about yourself and your future.

1. Makes me feel confident _____

2. Makes me feel confident _____

3. Makes me feel confident _____

1 Participants will be randomly assigned to either condition A or B

Appendix I

Candidate Preference

Using the slider scale, please indicate the amount you support each candidate by positioning the marker on the slider scale.

If you had to choose today between the two candidates for Student Chair, which candidate would you choose?

Jordan Smith

Alex Long

Appendix J

Candidate Choice

Please indicate your agreement to each of the following statements about the

candidate you chose to be Student Chair.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
"I prefer this candidate because they are representative of University of Alberta students"	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"I prefer this candidate because they represent a different type of student than what is typical at University of Alberta."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"I prefer this candidate because they are representative of who I am."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix K

Non-Prototypical Candidate Support

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Alex Long is an effective candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alex Long is a good candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"Being a University of Alberta student influences my life choices."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am a strong supporter of Alex Long as a candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would vote for Alex Long in the election for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would vote for Alex Long over the other candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I prefer to see Alex Long rather than the other candidate	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

as Student Chair.							
Alex Long represents the best interest of University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I trust Alex Long as a candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I think that Alex Long is trustworthy.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alex Long is committed to University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Alex Long wants what is best for University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix L

Prototypical Candidate Support

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Jordan Smith is an effective candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jordan Smith is a good candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
"Being a University of Alberta student influences my life choices."	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am a strong supporter of Jordan Smith as a candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would vote for Jordan Smith in the election for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would vote for Jordan Smith over the other candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I prefer to see Jordan Smith rather than the other candidate	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

as Student Chair.							
Jordan Smith represents the best interest of University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I trust Jordan Smith as a candidate for Student Chair.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I think that Jordan Smith is trustworthy.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jordan Smith is committed to University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Jordan Smith wants what is best for University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix M

Attitude Prototypicality

Overall, I would say the attitude that I expressed toward Casey Brown...

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Is a good example of the typical attitude at University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Is a common opinion at University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Is very similar to most attitudes expressed at University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix N

Group Identification Post-Test

Please use the scale to indicate how you feel as a University of Alberta student.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that I belong as a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Being a University of Alberta student in important to me.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In general, I feel like a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I fit in well as a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am similar to other University of Alberta students.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I identify strongly with the University of Alberta student body.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

| I identify with being a University of Alberta student. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Appendix O

Self-Prototypicality

Please use the scale to indicate how you feel about your identity as a University of

Alberta student.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I represent what is characteristic of being an UA student	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am a good example of an UA student	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am similar to most UA students	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I share common interests and ideals with UA students	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am representative of UA students.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix P

Group Identity Uncertainty

Please use the scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that the definition of the University of Alberta identity is unclear.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about what it means to be a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about the characteristics that define being a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about what University of Alberta stands for.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about the distinctiveness of University of Alberta's identity.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

I feel uncertainty that the University of Alberta identity I know is correct.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about my role as an University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain fitting in as a typical University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about other University of Alberta students accepting me as a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about being a representative University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about being recognized as a typical University of Alberta student by other University of Alberta students.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about who I am as a University of Alberta student.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix Q

Uncertainty Manipulation Check

Please use the scale below to indicate your agreement with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am uncertain about myself and the future.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am worried about myself and the future.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am concerned about myself and the future.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
At this very moment, I feel uncertain about myself.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel uncertain about the future of University of Alberta.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix R

Attitude Certainty

Please use the scale to indicate your feelings about your attitude toward exit

examinations.

	Very uncertain	Moderately uncertain	Slightly uncertain	Neither uncertain nor certain	Slightly certain	Moderately certain	Very certain
How uncertain/certain are you that your attitude toward exit examinations is the correct attitude to have?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How uncertain/certain are you that of all the possible attitudes to have toward exit examinations, your attitude reflects the right way to feel and think about the issue?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How uncertain/certain are you	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

about your
attitude
toward exit
examinations?