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Exploring the role of social identities in presidential candidate evaluation

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Abstract

Exploring the role of social identities in presidential candidate evaluation

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This research demonstrates how the social identities of race and gender can influence presidential candidate evaluation. Specifically, it emphasizes that political ideology and gender attitudes can play a significant role in how we respond to political candidates' social identities when making our evaluations. Through an empirical study, we explore how individuals' political ideologies and attitudes towards women in authority impact individuals' evaluations of leaders with different social identities. Results suggest that it is not the candidate specifically nor their social identities that lead to biases in evaluations, but the perspectives of the evaluators that contribute to these biases. We find that, overall, individuals do not favor men over women, nor do they have a general preference for White candidates over Black candidates. We also find that political ideology predicts evaluations of White candidates with greater conservatism predicting greater support and that attitudes toward women in authority predict evaluations of the female candidate such that people who hold more traditional attitudes report lower evaluations. The present research contributes to our understanding of the various and subtle factors that influence biases in leader evaluations.

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

Exploring the role of social identities in presidential candidate evaluation

Thesis presented

by

Taylor Michals

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by *Student Name* has been approved by his/her committee as satisfactory completion of the thesis requirement to earn honors in leadership studies.

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Table of Contents

I. <u>CHAPTER ONE</u>

Introduction

It is hard to imagine a version of America where women and Blacks were not provided the right to participate in our democratic process. Though these groups have not always held the right to vote, our views of women and Blacks and their capabilities have grown expansively throughout recent decades. Women are no longer solely viewed as homemakers, but also as strong, capable individuals with the potential to affect change. In 2008, 14.8 percent of Fortune 500 company board members were women (Gunelius, 2008). Unfortunately, however, only 4.2 percent of Fortune 500 company board members are currently CEO's ("Where's the Diversity in Fortune 500 CEOs?"). Similarly, there are only six Black Fortune 500 company CEO's, which accounts for 1.2 percent of all Fortune 500 company CEO's ("Where's the Diversity in Fortune 500 CEOs?"). Currently, Congress is approximately seventeen percent female, a record number for the body (Manning, 2012). Additionally, the 112th Congress is only 7.9 percent Black, also a record statistic (Manning, 2012). This discrepancy shows that women and Blacks still face barriers in trying to climb corporate and political leadership ladders despite these improvements (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1995). Today, leadership roles remain predominantly reserved for White men, making it difficult for women and Blacks to break the "glass ceiling" in organizations (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1995). The possibility of the Democratic party nominating a female to run on its behalf for the presidency of the United States surprised our nation in 2008 (Simon & Hoyt, 2008); the nation was shocked even more when a Black male won the nomination over this candidate, eventually becoming the first African-American president our nation has witnessed. While we are making

strides towards inclusivity of these two groups in our political system, White, male leadership still heavily dominates our political and economic systems. This significantly reduces the presence of strong, innovative ideas and contributions from individuals with vastly diverse backgrounds and experiences.

Gender and Leadership

In 1995, the Federal Glass Ceiling Corporation attributed the lack of women in leadership roles to two kinds of barriers: supply barriers and difference barriers (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1995). The supply barrier refers to the lack of qualified women in today's society due to our education system. However, since women currently hold over 50 percent of all bachelor's degrees and 45 percent of all graduate degrees, it is unlikely that this remains a main barrier for women today (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The difference barrier refers to prejudices, stereotypes and biases regarding gender, cultural, and racial differences in our society. It is likely that this barrier is a major factor that hinders women from earning top leadership roles today (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1995). While female leadership has grown in popularity over recent decades, women still face many struggles in regard to how they are perceived as leaders and what behaviors America expects from these women (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, 1995).

Though gender roles are beginning to change slightly, our society still holds specific stereotypes towards gender roles. According to Eagly's Social Role Theory, individuals' beliefs about sexes are "derived from observations of role performances of men and women and thus reflect the sexual division of labor and gender hierarchy of the society" (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). These beliefs form gender roles and, in effect, lead to differences in behavior

between the sexes. Similarly, there are differences in expectations for individuals depending on the gender role to which they belong (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). Even today, the typical role expectations involve the idea that men work all day to financially support their families while women cook dinner and clean their homes (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000).

As sex remains the most automatic method of categorizing individuals, people instantly develop perceptions of other individuals based on stereotypes and place them into a certain category based on sex (Fiske, Haslam, & Fiske, 1991; Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992; van Knippenberg, van Twuyver, & Pepels, 1994). Extensive scholarly research demonstrates that society as a whole views the roles of men and women differently. Similarly, we associate certain traits with role expectations, otherwise known as stereotypes (Eagly, Wood & Diekman, 2000). Men are perceived to hold agentic qualities, meaning that they are perceived to be assertive, confident, and aggressive, while women are perceived to hold communal qualities, such as acting affectionate, sensitive, gentle, and maternal (Bakan, 1966; Eagly 1987). These expectations based on gender norms can adversely impact women in the domain of leadership.

Role Congruity Theory The conflict between the way in which society views leadership roles and gender roles remains a significant issue for women seeking prestigious leadership positions today. In their discussion on the role congruity theory, Eagly and Karau explain that society often views social groups in certain ways, believing most social roles require particular attributes to successfully carry out the role (2002). Prejudice often comes about when these social groups differ from the attributes that society views necessary for successfully carrying out these roles. Society tends to give members of certain social groups poor evaluations in their roles since they differ from the perceived norm for this role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Society holds certain stereotypes regarding women that conflict with the attributes that we expect successful

leaders to hold. These attitudes towards women in positions of authority significantly predict how people evaluate female leaders, with more traditional attitudes reporting lower evaluations (Hoyt & Burnette, 2012). Those who perceive women to hold communal traits and believe that leaders should hold agentic traits find these roles in conflict, leading to prejudice. Since most of society views women as holding communal traits and leadership roles as requiring agentic attributes as the norm, men with agentic traits are typically preferred for leadership roles. Therefore, individuals tend to view women less desirably as leaders in positions of authority.

Gender and Political Leadership Fortunately, society does believe that women should play a role in our political system. It is no longer common for women in the public arena to acknowledge a presence of significant gender bias once elected (Lawless, 2004). However, according to a 1972 Louis Harris national opinion poll, people believe that women are suited for more communal policy roles, such as family matters, poverty issues, and peacemaking efforts, while men are suited for more agentic policy roles, such as the economy, the military and international relationships (Mueller, 1986; Sapiro, 1983). Similarly, men are perceived as the more assertive sex, while women are viewed as more compassionate and compromising (Lawless, 2004). These perceptions directly relate to the fact that women are typically stereotyped as the caretakers in their homes. Gender scholars are concerned about these perceptions since foreign policy and national security matters, which most prefer be handled through agentic leadership, hold grave importance in our current political atmosphere.

In a study involving candidate evaluation, nearly 80 percent of respondents stated that foreign policy was "important" or "very important" in determining which candidate they support (Lawless, 2004). Lawless alludes to the 2002 midterm elections, a time when our country was in a heated foreign policy debate, as an example of her hypothesis that women are disadvantaged by

the atmosphere of war (2004). In 2000, a record number of women ran to be governor or a member of Congress; however, female representation in these races remained stagnant in 2002, making this election one of two in the past twenty years where the number of female candidates did not increase. The only other election that did not result in an increase in the presence of women during this period of time was in 1994, when crime and immigration were at the forefront of our political agenda (Lawless, 2004). As previously mentioned, a political candidate's stance on foreign policy plays a major factor in whether an individual chooses to support the candidate. At the forefront of the United States' foreign policy stands the president through his or her role as the Commander-in-Chief. According to the Constitution of the United States, the Commander-in-Chief has the authority to put U.S. armed forces on alert and authorize military action (U.S. Constitution - Article 2 Section 2). Research shows that military roles are thought to require agentic attributes (Lawless, 2004).

Similarly, a study from Knowledge Networks found that over one-fourth of the respondents believe men and women in politics are unequal in their self-confidence levels, with men holding greater confidence (Lawless, 2004). One-half of the respondents believe women and men in politics are unequal in their assertiveness and toughness, with men acting more aggressively, and roughly sixty percent of respondents believe women and men in politics are unequal in their compassion levels, with women leading more compassionately (Lawless, 2004). When provided four stereotypical "masculine" traits (self-confident, assertive, tough, and aggressive) and four stereotypical "feminine" traits (compassionate, compromising, sensitive, and emotional), the participants most preferred for politicians to be self-confident, assertive, compassionate and tough. Three of the top four traits mentioned are typically viewed as masculine traits, putting male leaders at a significant advantage in political leadership.

Implicit Leadership Theories and Evaluation

According to Forsyth and Nye, implicit leadership theories are "intuitive assumptions about the naturally occurring relationships among various traits and attributes associated with leadership" (2008). Although certain traits or qualities vary among cultures, research shows that there are specific common qualities that exist at the core of all leadership roles. Implicit leadership theories play a significant role in the way that leaders are perceived and evaluated (Forsyth & Nye, 2008). Typically, followers pay attention to the actions of their leaders, compare these actions with what they perceive the role involves, and then positively evaluate leaders whose actions meet these perceptions. This process is known as the "congruence hypothesis" (Lord & Maher, 1991). While this theory is an effective method of evaluating leaders, it often leads to biases when an individual's perception of a leadership role differs from the characteristics of the leader (Forsyth & Nye, 2008). In particular, it can lead to biases based both on gender and race as there are common qualities which are perceived to be necessary for leadership roles.

Similarly, selecting leaders that fit certain role expectations does not always prove successful. In his book, Blink, Malcolm Gladwell discusses "The Warren Harding Error" where the United States elected a president solely on the basis of fitting certain roles perceived to be typical for the position (2005). Warren Harding was attractive and charismatic, two characteristics that we expect for a president. However, Harding was not particularly bright and is often named as one of the worst presidents in history. This case shows the dangers in simply seeking those whose characteristics fit leadership roles for these types of positions. In the same chapter, Gladwell mentions a study that he conducted involving characteristics of Fortune 500 CEOs (2005). Results found that the typical CEO was a White man who stood above average at

six feet tall, with nearly 33 percent six-feet two inches or taller (Gladwell, 2005). This data

shows that there is an expected type of individual who fits certain leadership roles around our

nation.

More specifically, implicit leadership theories reveal a tension between the perception of

leadership roles and gender roles. According to Eagly and Karau, implicit leadership theories can

lead to disapproval of female leaders since the general perception of leadership is that it requires

agentic characteristics (2002). There are two types of implicit processes: recognition-based

leadership perception process and inference-based leadership perception process (Lord & Maher

1990, 1991). In the recognition-based leadership perception process, individuals automatically

compare the leader with their perception of what the role involves. For women, this process is

often detrimental since female leaders are typically viewed as communal and leadership roles as

agentic. However, women could benefit from the inference-based leadership perception process.

During this process, individuals critique the leader based on their performance. Perceptions of

women who have shown significant leadership skills and have accomplished an impressive

amount in their leadership role will likely be viewed favorably through this process.

Race and Leadership

As women remain underrepresented in leadership roles, so do African Americans in our

society (Livingston & Pearce, 2009). In the United States, White leaders are perceived as more

prototypical than are racial minority leaders (Rosette, et al., 2008). Since prototypical leaders are

White, this poses a problem for Blacks holding leadership positions. Previous research has found

that Blacks are often perceived as less effective leaders than Whites due to negative stereotypes

regarding Blacks which conflict perceptions of the leader role (Beatty, 1973; Ford, Kraiger, &

Schectman, 1986; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Knight, Hebl, Foster & Mannix, 2003; Powell & Butterfield, 1997). Scholars Livingston and Pearce found that Black male leaders find success by possessing disarming mechanisms such as a baby-face, otherwise known as "the teddy-bear effect" (Livingston & Pearce, 2009). Whereas Black male leaders are not well-received for acting aggressively, they receive better evaluations when acting communally (Livingston & Pearce, 2009). The scholars predict that one reason White men perceive agentic, Black men less positively may involve the fact that White men feel a sense of power struggle against agentic, Black men (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2011). For this reason, White men prefer communal, Black men who do not threaten their dominance. It is also important to recognize that perceptions of leaders and race vary depending on the gender of the leader.

Recognizing that prior research in gender and leadership mainly only involved perceptions of White women in leadership roles, scholars Livingston, Rosette, and Washington decided to further explore if the results would be the same for Black women (2011). This study measured whether or not race is a factor in the level of backlash women receive for acting with agency. This study compared Black female, White female, Black male, and White male leaders. These scholars provided two possibilities for how Black women will be evaluated and why. First, since White men are perceived as the norm for leadership roles, Black women may be scrutinized as leaders due to the fact that they deviate from both gender norms and racial norms for leadership roles (Ensari & Miller, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Another possibility is that Black women may actually be evaluated more favorably since they are non-prototypical for both their race and their gender, creating few expectations for the types of leadership styles Black women should utilize (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2011). Since the prototypical Black is male and the prototypical female is White, Black women remain in the non-prototypical category

(Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Sesko & Biernat, 2010). Overall, Livingston, Rosette and Washington hypothesize that Black female leaders will not receive great backlash for having agentic attributes.

The results show that individuals are more accepting of dominant Black female leaders than dominant White female leaders; they also found that participants preferred for both Black female and White males to be agentic, while White females and Black males should be communal (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2011). Adding on to this literature, Rosette and Livingston completed another study which found that Black female leaders actually suffer from "double jeopardy" in evaluations due to their dual-subordinate identities, but only in conditions of organizational failure (Rosette & Livingston, 2012). Black women receive the most negative evaluations in cases of failure. This adds another factor regarding gender and leadership styles to the role congruity theory as these prejudices change when race is a factor. According to these studies, it is necessary to consider both the race and gender of leaders together in examining the effectiveness of agentic leadership.

Race and Political Leadership A main domain where race impacts leadership is politics. Currently, only 43 of the 541 members of the United States Congress are Black (Manning, 2012). This poses a significant issue in terms of representative leadership. Perceptions that favor White leaders over Black leaders contribute to this discrepancy with political leadership. Similarly, race predicts support for Black candidates, with White individuals viewing Black candidates less favorably (Hajnal, 2007). As "being White" is perceived as the prototypical characteristic for leadership, this negatively impacts Black candidates' chances of winning elections (Rosette, et al., 2008).

Individual Differences That Can Influence Perceptions of Political Leaders

Political Ideology Ideologies provide a framework for how individuals perceive the environment around them and how they prefer this environment to be structured (Denzau & North, 1994). Political ideology is a measure of an individual's beliefs regarding matters such as economics, social rights, and the role of government. Typically, individuals' beliefs on these different subjects lie on the same side of the spectrum whether conservative, liberal, or somewhere in the middle of the spectrum. This is likely due to a vested interest in the status quo. While conservatives tend to be more accepting of the status quo, liberals often prefer to challenge the status quo and fight for change (Kerlinger, 1984). Since the status quo currently favors White males, it is likely that political ideology can predict preference for White candidates in positions of authority. Similarly, it is likely that political ideology can predict preference for males over females in positions of authority. The present research aims to measure the impact that political ideology has on evaluations of political candidates.

Attitudes toward Women in Authority As mentioned earlier, individuals typically differ in their attitudes toward women in authority. While those who hold traditional views do not favor women in these positions, individuals with progressive views tend to support women in authority. Those with progressive views tend to challenge the status quo, which leads to their acceptance and desire for women to lead. Though we have progressed immensely in recent decades in regard to female leadership, there is still overwhelming support for traditional attitudes toward women in authority roles. Those who hold these traditional views will likely not favor a female leader over a male leader. It is likely that attitudes toward women in authority can predict preference for men in powerful roles (Rudman & Kilianski, 2008; Simon & Hoyt, 2008). This present research aims to examine how individual attitudes toward women in authority

impact evaluations of authority figures. People have developed attitudes toward women which are impactful; these attitudes differ and predict support for women with those holding more traditional attitudes reporting lower evaluations of female political candidates (Hoyt & Burnette, 2012).

The Current Research

        This research attempts to answer whether an emphasis on social identities and the role of Commander-in-Chief affects how individuals evaluate candidates for the presidency of the United States. Similarly, we examined how political ideology or gender authority measures might alter those effects. Through an empirical study, we will examine evaluations of male and female Presidential candidates when the role of the President is briefly described versus when the role of the President is described with an emphasis on the role as Commander-in-Chief. We will provide participants with different descriptions of the presidential candidate, representing each of our four social identities: White male, Black male, White female, Black female.

        Overall, we expect that individuals will favor male over female candidates, as well as White candidates over Black candidates. We expect that those who are more conservative will be less in favor of female and Black candidates, and that those who prefer men in authority will be less in favor of female candidates. We also predict that the Commander-in-Chief centric description of the presidency will result in less favorable evaluations of female candidates and that evaluations of candidates with these descriptions will go in the following order based on greatest preference to least preference: White male, Black female, Black male, White female. This prediction is based on the previously mentioned research which finds that White men and Black women are preferred to display agentic attributes, while Black men and White women are

preferred to show communal attributes. Similarly, all previously mentioned research finds that

men are typically preferred over women for authoritative leadership roles.

II. CHAPTER TWO

Study

Method

Design This study included a 2 (candidate race) x 2 (candidate gender) x 2 (role description) between-subjects design. There were eight different conditions, including: White male, Black male, White female, Black female. Therefore, each survey included one of the following eight conditions: White male with a Commander-in-Chief emphasis, Black male with a Commander-in-Chief emphasis, White female with a Commander-in-Chief emphasis, Black female with a Commander-in-Chief emphasis, White male with the general role of the presidency, Black male with the general role of the presidency, White female with the general role of the presidency, and Black female with the general role of the presidency.

Participants We recruited 249 undergraduate students from the University of Richmond (57.4% male; median age = 20; range: 18-22) to voluntarily participate in a study examining social identities and presidential candidate evaluation. Participants who completed the survey were entered in a raffle to enter one of three $100 prizes. Fifty-two participants did not fully complete the study and their data was not usable for our final sample size of 193 participants.

Procedure and Manipulation Participants were asked to provide informed consent before beginning the survey. Participants were then asked to read a description of the president of the United States' role, a description of a presidential candidate, and a speech made by that presidential candidate. The speech that participants read was taken loosely from a debate between Senator John Kerry and President George Bush in 2004 ("Transcript: Third Presidential Debate"). Participants were provided with a one of two brief descriptions of the role of a United States president in which the saliency of the Commander-in-Chief was manipulated. This

description was manipulated by having half of the descriptions provide a general role of a president and half of the descriptions heavily emphasize the Commander-in-Chief aspect of the role of a president. Similarly, participants evaluated a candidate from one of four social identity groups. After participants read these descriptions and the speech, the survey asked participants to evaluate the presidential candidate and included measures of their attitudes involving gender and authority, as well as their political ideology. Lastly, we asked participants questions on their personal demographics and political beliefs, and then we thanked participants for their time and provided them with instructions to enter the raffle.

Measures

  Candidate Support After reading about the role of a president, a description of the presidential candidate, and a speech made by the candidate, participants responded to a series of measures involving their level of support for the candidate using a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). The first series of questions asked participants to indicate their level of support for the candidate based on a 15-item scale from Hoyt and Burnette (2012). Examples of the statements participants were asked to respond to include: "I would actively volunteer on this candidate's campaign," and "This candidate has the image and behavior of a leader." Items for this scale were scored such that higher numbers represented greater support for the candidate and were reliable ($\alpha = .95$).

  Gender Authority Measures Participants responded to Rudman and Kilianski's (2000) 15-item measure which assesses attitudes towards women in authority. This measure has been proven to be consistent and valid. Using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree), participants indicated their preference between men and women in positions of authority.

Examples of items in this measure include: "Personally, I would rather go to a male doctor than a female doctor," and "In general, I would rather take orders from a man than from a women." Certain items in the measure were recoded such that higher numbers indicate a preference towards men in authority. This scale was relatively reliable (α= .77).

Political Ideology/Conservatism Participants responded to a 2-item measure which assessed their political ideology. These questions included "How liberal/conservative do you tend to be in general?" Political ideology was measured using a scale from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely). We recoded liberal to conservative and combined the two items together. The higher the responses meant higher conservatism. These items are highly correlated (r= .77, p <.001)

Ancillary Measures[1]

Candidate Trait Evaluations The next series of questions were based on leadership traits from Hoyt and Burnette (2012). This series included twenty traits, ten of which were communal traits and ten of which were agentic traits. Examples of these traits included: "Self-confident", "Task-oriented", and "Sympathetic". These questions asked participants to indicate the extent to which they agreed that the candidate possessed the traits. Responses for both the communal and agentic traits were averaged separately, and both scales were reliable (α= .94, α= .89).

Implicit Person Theories Participants responded to an 11-item implicit person theory measure (Levy et al., 1998). Participants answered using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). The purpose of this measure was to determine general implicit theories about individuals and the malleability of human attributes (Chiu et al., 1997). Examples of items in this

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[1] These measures were assessed, but will not be discussed with the main evaluations.

measure include: "People can change even their most basic qualities," and "To be honest, you can't really change your ability to lead."

III. <u>CHAPTER THREE</u>

Results

Before analyzing the data, we performed two manipulation checks. First, participants responded to the question, "How important is being Commander-in-Chief to the role of the Presidency?" on a scale of 1 (Not important at all) to 5 (Extremely important). Next, we looked at the answers to two questions regarding the political candidate's sex and race in order to provide reliable results. After running an analysis of variance, we found no significance (f (1,192) =.53, p=.468). The first question, "What was the sex of the candidate you read about?", was answered by a 2-item scale including Female and Male. The second question, "What was the candidate's race?", was answered on by a 4-item scale including Caucasian, African-American, Unidentified, or Other.   If those questions were answered inaccurately, we removed their data from our results. This allowed us data that we believed was reliable, leaving us with a sample size of 193.

We conducted an initial analysis to look for main effects or interactions on our dependent variable, which is support of the candidate. We conducted an analysis of variance with the Commander-in-Chief description, candidate race, and candidate gender as the predictors. Results show that there are no main effects or interactions amongst our independent variables (all p > .10), candidate race, candidate sex, and the role of Commander-in-Chief in determining support for the candidate (see Table 1 and 2 in appendices).

Next, we ran four analyses of variance to see if the Commander-in-Chief condition influenced support for candidates from the four different social groups. Overall, we found that the role of Commander-in-Chief does not have a significant influence on how individuals

evaluate presidential candidates based on social identities. The only social group that the

condition has a slight impact on is the Black female candidate (p = .08; see Table 3); there is no

significance for the White male (p= .53; see Table 3.1), Black male (p= .47; see Table 3.2), and

White female (p = 1; see Table 3.3). Thus, the Commander-in-Chief manipulation does not seem

to have influenced perceptions. Therefore, in the remaining analyses, the Commander-in-Chief

manipulation is controlled for.

    Our next analysis examined the role of political ideology on the relationship between

candidate race and candidate evaluation. To test this, we ran a regression analysis, controlling for

the Commander-in-Chief condition, candidate sex, and participant sex. There was an interaction

between ideology and candidate race (B = -.13, p = .029; see Table 4). Simple effects testing

shows that ideology predicts support for White candidates (B = .18, p = .041), but does not

predict support for Black candidates (B = -.08, p = .31; see Table 4.1 in appendices; see Figure 1

below).
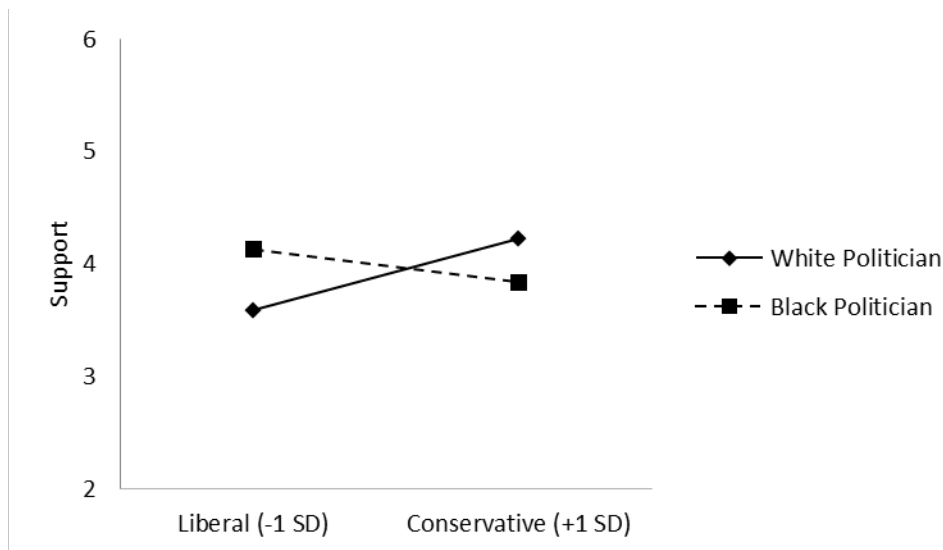
Figure 1: This graph shows that there is an interaction between political ideology and candidate race. Those who are conservative will be more likely to favor the White candidate. However, this does not impact evaluations of the Black candidate.

We ran a similar test looking at the role of ideology on perceiving women and men, but we found that ideology does not have an impact on evaluations by candidate gender.

The final analysis that we conducted examined the role of attitudes towards women in authority on the relationship between candidate gender and candidate evaluation. We ran a regression analysis on this data, controlling for candidate race, participant ideology, and participant sex. There was an interaction between gender authority attitudes and candidate sex ($B = -.28$, p = .0032; see Table 5 in appendices). Simple effects testing shows that gender authority attitudes predict evaluations of the female candidates such that people who hold more traditional attitudes report lower evaluations ($B = -.56$, p = .00). These attitudes do not affect evaluations of men ($B = .00$, p = .94; see Table 5.1 in appendices; see Figure 2 below).
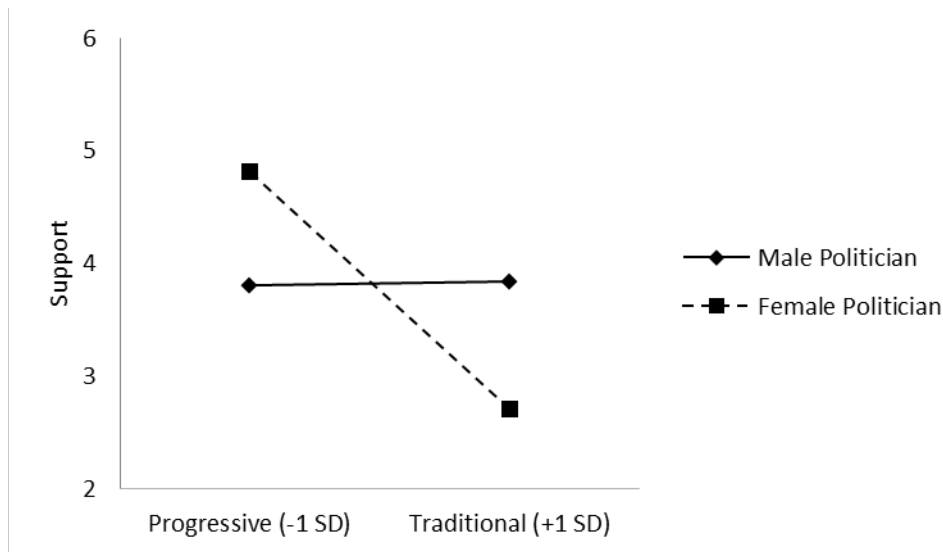
Figure 2: This graph shows that there is an interaction between attitudes towards gender authority and candidate sex. Those who hold more traditional attitudes towards women in authority will be less likely to favor the female candidate. However, this does not impact evaluations of the male candidate.

We ran a test looking at race, but we found that these attitudes do not influence evaluations of candidates by race. There is, however, a correlation between political ideology and gender

attitudes towards women in that those who are more conservative also tend to hold more traditional attitudes regarding women in authority positions (See Table 6 in appendices).

In sum, we found that individuals do not favor male candidates over female candidates overall, nor do they favor White candidates over Black candidates. Similarly, we found that the Commander-in-Chief aspect of the role of the president does not alter evaluations of political candidates regardless of their gender or race. Mainly, our results show that individuals' political ideologies and attitudes towards women in authority roles impact how we respond to political candidates' social identities when making evaluations of the candidates.

IV. <u>CHAPTER 4</u>

Discussion

Leadership is an inherently social process driven in large part by social perceptions. While we have made great strides in breaking the political glass ceiling, there are still major discrepancies in terms of sex and race that prevent women and Blacks from excelling over White males. A major reason for this is the fact that people perceive it necessary for political leaders to hold very specific qualities. People use these intuitive notions and beliefs when perceiving and evaluating leaders. Typically, these initial beliefs do not involve females and Blacks. Thus, there remains a tension between the perception of leadership roles and social identities of sex and race. This can prove detrimental to those leaders who do not embody the traits or identities commonly associated with leadership, particularly women and minority leaders in the domain of politics.

This research demonstrates how the social identities of race and gender can influence presidential candidate evaluation. Specifically, it emphasizes that political ideology and gender attitudes can play a significant role in how we respond to political candidates based on their social identities when making our evaluations of them. Our research shows two important factors: the fact that individuals generally do not prefer one sex or race over another and the fact that political ideology predicts support for White candidates. The present research contributes to our understanding of the various and subtle factors that influence biases in leader evaluations. This is important to understand when studying political leadership and the barriers that prevent women and minorities from excelling in the political domain.

Previous research has examined the ways in which social identities impact evaluations of leaders. This research is significant in that it shows that what the evaluator brings to the table in

terms of political ideology and attitudes toward women in authority influences how they evaluate

political leaders based on social identities. We also found that attitudes toward women in

authority predict evaluations of the female candidates such that people who hold more traditional

attitudes report lower evaluations; however, this is not surprising data. It was to be expected that

those who hold traditional attitudes toward women in authority will not evaluate women highly

based on previous research that finds similar results (Hoyt & Burnette, 2012). Using the gender

authority measure, we saw that traditional attitudes towards women in authority predict less

favorable evaluations of female presidential candidates. This measure is interesting, however, in

that it does not predict evaluations of male candidates in the results. It is important to note that

both female and male participants' attitudes predicted a bias towards women. While people tend

to view a lack of women in our political system as a predominately male-driven issue, we found

that traditional women are equally as biased towards women in these leadership roles. It is

remarkable that a portion of women from this progressive generation of participants still hold

these traditional views towards women in authority. We would assume that agentic roles may

contribute to the belief that women are not fit to lead in high-authority positions. However, as we

saw with the Commander-in-Chief data, this explanation is not the case. This is a topic that

should be further researched by social scientists, as well as by those who are trying to promote

progressive attitudes towards women in authority positions, in order to better understand why

women still hold these traditional views and why those views are held.

Our data also shows that political ideology predicts evaluations of White candidates with

greater conservatism predicting greater support, but does not predict support for Black

candidates. It is not surprising that conservatism leads to more favorable evaluations of White

candidates, but it is surprising that conservatism does not lead to less favorable evaluations of

Black candidates. While liberals tend to challenge the current system and move progressively, conservatives tend to enjoy the status quo (Kerlinger, 1984). Perhaps this is why conservatives tend to favor White candidates, which is the current status quo in our political system. It is interesting that conservatism does not lead to more favorable support for males over females. Since the current status quo at this time involves male leadership, it would make sense for conservatism to predict support for gender as well.

Looking at the data, we found something that was not predicted but is worthy of note. Interestingly, 53 of the 77 women who serve in the House of Representatives are Democrats, as well as 12 of the 17 women serving in the Senate (Manning, 2012). It is not surprising that a significant portion of the women in Congress are Democrats. There is a correlation between political ideology and gender attitudes towards women in that those who are more conservative also tend to hold more traditional attitudes regarding women in authority positions. (See Table 6 in appendices). This supports previous research which claims that those with conservative ideologies tend to favor the status quo (Kerlinger, 1984). As conservative individuals tend to align themselves with the Republican Party, it is likely that Republicans would not be as in favor of women in authority positions, such as membership in Congress. Similarly, 42 of the 43 African-American members of Congress are Democrats. One reason for this is due to the fact that there simply are not as many Black conservatives. Since conservative individuals tend to prefer White political candidates, it is likely that they would vote for a White candidate over a Black candidate. As mentioned previously, conservatives tend to align themselves with the Republican Party; therefore, the fact that African-Americans are significantly underrepresented among Republicans in Congress makes sense.

Limitations and Future Research

There are a few limitations to this study that could be improved upon further research. First, the University of Richmond may not represent an ideal sample. Students are largely among the same age range (18-22) which could impact evaluations. This is a relatively progressive generation compared to previous generations. Similarly, one of the few presidents that this generation has experienced is Barack Obama, who is currently serving as our nation's first African-American president. For that reason alone, there is slight potential that participants viewed Black male leadership as the status quo. Similarly, most University of Richmond students come from similar demographic backgrounds. It would be beneficial to have a larger sample from many different ages, backgrounds, and demographics to participate in this research in the future.

In regard to the Commander-in-Chief manipulation, the description could have been stronger. Similarly, by placing the manipulation at the beginning of the study and not addressing it throughout, it likely did not have as strong of an impact. In order to fully measure whether or not the manipulation is successful, it would be best to continue the emphasis on the Commander-in-Chief role throughout the entire study whenever possible.

Another limitation is that we simply explored whether or not social identities, political ideologies, and attitudes toward women in authority play a role in presidential candidate evaluation. With our current research, we were not able to examine factors that could explain *why* they do so. Therefore, it is hard to draw conclusions based on our results as to how to begin to change the system and ameliorate these impediments for women and Blacks.

Another limitation that may have impacted the significance of our results is that we did not manipulate the age of our candidate. Using 56 years old as our descriptive age did not

provide leeway for evaluations based on age. Since individuals prefer White men and Black women to display agentic, rigid qualities and Black men and White women to demonstrate communal, relatable qualities, it is possible that age may have made a difference. It is likely that White men and Black women would be more positively evaluated if they were older, whereas Black men and White women would receive highest evaluations if they were younger. This could be a significant addition to this area of research in the future.

Summary

This research plays a role in understanding how the social identities of race and gender influence presidential candidate evaluation. While we did not find that highlighting the Commander-in-Chief aspect of the United States Presidency impacts presidential candidate evaluation, we gained a better understanding of how candidates' social identities of race and gender influence their evaluations as leaders. Similarly, we found that it is individuals' political ideologies and attitudes towards women in authority roles that impact the manner in which they perceive and evaluate presidential candidates. This explains that it is not as much the candidate specifically running for office, but the individual differences of the evaluator that influence perceptions of leaders. The present research contributes to our understanding of the different factors that influence biases in leader evaluations.

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VI. <u>APPENDIX</u>

Dependent Variables	Condition		Stat Type	
			Statistic	Std. Error
support	1*	Mean	4.4588	.12932
	2	Mean	4.4538	.17211
	3	Mean	4.3787	.15064
	4	Mean	4.2822	.15326
	5	Mean	4.3006	.13209
	6	Mean	4.4206	.12372
	7	Mean	4.3787	.15064
	8	Mean	4.6306	.15228
comm	1	Mean	3.6793	.13468
	2	Mean	4.0214	.16420
	3	Mean	3.9080	.15351
	4	Mean	3.7444	.15647
	5	Mean	3.6829	.15351
	6	Mean	4.0839	.15734
	7	Mean	3.9080	.15351
	8	Mean	4.3417	.16864
agentic	1	Mean	4.6414	.12070
	2	Mean	4.3607	.16199
	3	Mean	4.4098	.14399
	4	Mean	4.3778	.12903
	5	Mean	4.5769	.13168
	6	Mean	4.5290	.12068
	7	Mean	4.4098	.14399
	8	Mean	4.7250	.13939

*1= White male, Not C-I-C; 2= Black male, Not C-I-C; 3= White female, Not C-I-C; 4= Black female, Not C-I-C; 5= White male, C-I-C; 6= Black male, C-I-C; 7= White female, C-I-C; 8= Black female, C-I-C

Table 1: This table shows that there are no main effects of the variables on candidate support. Similarly, there are no main effects of the variables on communal and agentic traits.

Tests of

Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: support

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	5.399[a]	8	.675	1.282	.256
Intercept	155.617	1	155.617	295.553	.000
I	2.237	1	2.237	4.249	.041
cond	.065	1	.065	.123	.726
race	.597	1	.597	1.134	.288
sex	.291	1	.291	.553	.458
cond * race	.398	1	.398	.755	.386
cond * sex	1.149	1	1.149	2.182	.142
race * sex	.219	1	.219	.415	.520
cond * race * sex	.480	1	.480	.912	.341
Error	87.404	166	.527		
Total	3536.005	175			
Corrected Total	92.803	174			

a. R Squared = .058 (Adjusted R Squared = .013)

Table 2: This table shows that there are no main effects or interactions amongst our independent variables (all p > .10), candidate race, candidate sex, and the role of Commander-in-Chief in determining support for the candidate.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: support

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	4.911[a]	2	2.455	4.466	.017
Intercept	28.885	1	28.885	52.540	.000
I	2.930	1	2.930	5.330	.026
cond	1.675	1	1.675	3.047	.088
Error	23.090	42	.550		
Total	908.655	45			
Corrected Total	28.001	44			

a. R Squared = .175 (Adjusted R Squared = .136)

Table 3: This table shows that the Commander-in-Chief condition has a slight influence on the Black female candidate.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: support

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	1.020[a]	2	.510	1.215	.306
Intercept	46.587	1	46.587	110.963	.000
I	.912	1	.912	2.173	.148
cond	.163	1	.163	.387	.537
Error	18.473	44	.420		
Total	917.593	47			
Corrected Total	19.493	46			

a. R Squared = .052 (Adjusted R Squared = .009)

Table 4: This table shows that the Commander-in-Chief condition has no significance for the White male candidate.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: support

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	.566[a]	2	.283	.520	.598
Intercept	66.229	1	66.229	121.610	.000
I	.168	1	.168	.309	.581
cond	.287	1	.287	.527	.472
Error	23.962	44	.545		
Total	990.344	47			
Corrected Total	24.528	46			

a. R Squared = .023 (Adjusted R Squared = -.021)

Table 3.2: This table shows that the Commander-in-Chief condition has no significance for the Black male candidate.

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: support

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	.167[a]	2	.083	.138	.871
Intercept	22.497	1	22.497	37.236	.000
I	.167	1	.167	.276	.603
cond	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000
Error	19.938	33	.604		
Total	719.413	36			
Corrected Total	20.105	35			

a. R Squared = .008 (Adjusted R Squared = -.052)

Table 3.3: This table shows that the Commander-in-Chief condition has no significance for the White female candidate.

```
Complete Model Regression Summary
      R-sq            F           df1           df2             p           n
      .0627       1.8736       6.0000      168.0000         .0881    175.0000


=====================================================================
              b           se           t           p
constant    3.9371       .2268     17.3579       .0000
I            .2833       .1263      2.2427       .0262
cond         .0108       .0548       .1972       .8439
sex         -.0379       .0555      -.6817       .4964
cons         .0433       .0605       .7144       .4760
race         .0617       .0550      1.1219       .2635
interact    -.1325       .0603     -2.1962       .0294

Interact is defined as:
 cons      X           race


=====================================================================
```

Table 4: This data shows that there was an interaction between ideology and candidate race.

```
Conditional Effect of Focal Predictor at Values of the Moderator Variable
      race            b          se           t            p      LLCI(b)     ULCI(b)
    -1.0514        .1826       .0888      2.0567       .0413        .0073       .3579
      .9486       -.0825       .0823     -1.0021       .3177       -.2449       .0800

Alpha level used for confidence intervals:
  .05
```

Table 4.1: Simple effects testing shows that ideology predicts support for White candidates but does not predict support for Black candidates.

```
Complete Model Regression Summary
      R-sq            F         df1          df2            p            n
     .1035       3.1940      6.0000     166.0000        .0054    173.0000


========================================================================
              b          se           t           p
constant   3.7417       .2817     13.2838        .0000
I           .1992       .1345      1.4810        .1405
race        .0629       .0545      1.1557        .2495
M1          .1119       .0594      1.8852        .0611
GAM        -.2602       .1081     -2.4078        .0171
sex        -.0831       .0566     -1.4693        .1437
interact   -.2866       .0959     -2.9884        .0032

Interact is defined as:
 GAM      X          sex


========================================================================
```

Table 5: This data shows that there was an interaction between gender authority attitudes and candidate sex.

```
Conditional Effect of Focal Predictor at Values of the Moderator Variable
      sex             b          se           t            p      LLCI(b)     ULCI(b)
    -.9364         .0081       .1204       .0674       .9463       -.2296       .2459
    1.0636        -.5650       .1674     -3.3742       .0009       -.8956      -.2344

Alpha level used for confidence intervals:
  .05
```

Table 5.1: Simple effects testing shows that gender authority attitudes predict evaluations of the female candidates such that people who hold more traditional attitudes report lower evaluations. These attitudes do not affect evaluations of men.

Correlations

		support	comm	agentic	GAM	cons
support	Pearson Correlation	1	.604[**]	.663[**]	-.127	.039
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.094	.608
	N	176	176	176	174	176
comm	Pearson Correlation	.604[**]	1	.345[**]	-.044	.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.569	.459
	N	176	176	176	174	176
agentic	Pearson Correlation	.663[**]	.345[**]	1	-.095	-.060
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.210	.432
	N	176	176	176	174	176
GAM	Pearson Correlation	-.127	-.044	-.095	1	.352[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.094	.569	.210		.000
	N	174	174	174	174	174
cons	Pearson Correlation	.039	.056	-.060	.352[**]	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.608	.459	.432	.000	
	N	176	176	176	174	176

[**]. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6: This table shows that there is a correlation between political ideology and gender attitudes towards women in that those who are more conservative also tend to hold more traditional attitudes regarding women in authority positions.

**UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD FOR THE
PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH (IRB)
NOTICE OF ACTION**

Date: November 1, 2012

Name(s): Taylor Michals

Faculty ☐   Student ☒   Other ☐

Faculty Mentor: Dr. Crystal Hoyt

Is this for a class? ☒ yes   ☐ no
If yes, department and course number LDST 497 and 498, Senior Thesis

Project Title: Exploring the Role of Commander-in-Chief in the Political Glass-Ceiling

The IRB has reviewed your research protocol by ☐ full review   ☒ expedited review.
Your application is:

☐	Exempt from further review	Your project does not fall within federal or university guidelines requiring review. If the nature of the project changes, you must resubmit this project for further review.
☒	Approved	Please review the criteria for approval at the end of this form.
☐	Approved with conditions	Please respond via email to the Chair of the IRB how you plan to address the concerns outlined at the end of this form. Research may not begin until the conditions of approval have been met and approved.
☐	Disapproved	The IRB has some concerns regarding your proposed research; therefore, your project cannot be approved at this time. Please contact the Chair of the IRB to discuss the issues outlined at the end of this form.
☐	Incomplete	A decision on your protocol has been temporarily withheld until the information listed at the end of this form is provided for IRB consideration.

_____   November 1, 2012
Richard Kirk Jonas, Chair   Date
Institutional Review Board (1565)

Note: The expedited process is used in this project because it presents minimal risks to subjects and falls under Research Category 7 of OHRP's Expedited Review Procedure. (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Conditions of Approval

Your proposal has been **approved** by the University of Richmond Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research (IRB). This approval is based upon the conditions listed below. It is your responsibility to ensure that your research adheres to these conditions.

1. IRB approval is for a period of one year. If this research project extends beyond one year from the date of this letter a request for renewal of approval must be filed.
2. Any substantive changes in the research project must be reported to the chair of the IRB. Changes shall not be initiated without IRB approval except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to subjects. Based on the proposed changes, a new review may be necessary.
3. Any adverse reaction or other complication of the research which involves real or potential risk or injury to subjects must be reported to Dr. Hoyt and the Chair of the IRB immediately.

Consent Form- University of Richmond

Project Description and Purpose
The purpose of this study is to examine political candidate evaluations. Your participation in this research project involves completing an online survey involving evaluating a candidate and completing personality measures. Completing the survey should take you around 15 minutes.

Assessment of Risks and Benefits
There is no more than minimal risk involved in participating in this study. The questions do not ask that you disclose any identifying or sensitive information and your responses will be treated confidentially. There is no benefit to you in participating in this study other than helping another student complete a research project and being entered into a raffle for the chance to win one of three $100 prizes.

Principal Investigators
The principal investigator is Taylor Michals under the supervision of Dr. Crystal Hoyt. Should you have any questions or concerns, you can contact me at Taylor.Michals@richmond.edu or Dr. Hoyt at Choyt@richmond.edu.

Voluntary Participation
You must be 18 years of in order to participate in this study. Your participation in this project is voluntary and you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation in the project at any time without penalty. You may skip any questions that you do not wish to answer.

Use of Information and Data Collected
Information collected in this study will be used in aggregate form only. The data will be used in an honors research thesis. The information collected may also be presented at academic conferences and/or submitted for publication.

Confidentiality of Records
Your individual results will remain confidential. Only aggregated results will be reported.

Participant's Rights Information
If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research participant, you may contact Dr. R. Kirk Jonas, the Chair of the University of Richmond IRB, at rjonas@richmond.edu or (804) 484-1565.

Participant's Consent
The study has been described to me and I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may discontinue my participation at any time or skip any questions that I do not wish to answer. I understand that my responses will be treated confidentially and used as described. By participating I attest that I am over 18 years of age and that I consent to participate in this study.

By completing the survey, I attest that I am 18 years of age or older and that I consent to participate in this study.

Please read the following description:

Basic Presidential Condition

The President of the United States serves as both the head of state and head of government in our nation. The President is the head of the executive branch of government and serves as the ultimate decisions maker for our nation. The President has the power to grant reprieves and pardons, as well as work with Congress to make treaties. The President can appoint Supreme Court judges, Ambassadors and all other Officers of the United States. The President also has the power to approve or veto Congressional bills. Along with many other responsibilities, the President is responsible for upholding the laws laid out in the Constitution and preserving the values of the United States of America.

Commander-in-Chief centric condition

The President of the United States is the head of the executive branch of government. As the Constitution states, "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States." Thus, one of the most important jobs of the President, is to serve as Commander in Chief. The President has the authority to put U.S. armed forces on alert and authorize military action. The President must make specific strategic decisions regarding the deployment of armed forces and oversee their action. The President also has the power to: grant reprieves and pardons, work with Congress to make treaties, appoint Supreme Court judges, Ambassadors and all other Officers of the United States, and approve or veto Congressional bills. Along with many other responsibilities, the President is responsible for upholding the laws laid out in the Constitution and preserving the values of the United States of America.

1. In no more than one or two sentences, describe the main tasks of being the President of the United States:

Please read the following description of a candidate running for President of the United States. Please pay close attention to this candidate's background as you will be asked about it in future questions:

White male condition
Martin Roberts is a politician from Dayton, Ohio. He received a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Ohio State University where he was student body president. After graduating from George Washington University Law School, Roberts worked in the Office of the Attorney General in Ohio for ten years. He decided to run for Ohio State Senate, where he successfully served two terms. Following his success at the state level, Roberts ran and won three consecutive U.S. Senate elections. Now, at the age of 56, Roberts is running to be the President of the United States. He has a loving wife and two children who live at home in Dayton.

Black male condition
Martin Roberts is a politician from Dayton, Ohio. He received a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Ohio State University where he was student body president. After graduating from George Washington University Law School, Roberts worked in the Office of the Attorney General in Ohio for ten years. He decided to run for Ohio State Senate, where he successfully served two terms. Following his success at the state level, Roberts ran and won three consecutive U.S. Senate elections. Now, at the age of 56, Roberts, an African-American, is running to be the President of the United States. He has a loving wife and two children who live at home in Dayton.

White female condition
Erica Roberts is a politician from Dayton, Ohio. She received a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Ohio State University where she was student body president. After graduating from George Washington University Law School, Roberts worked in the Office of the Attorney General in Ohio for ten years. She decided to run for Ohio State Senate, where she successfully served two terms. Following her success at the state level, Roberts ran and won three consecutive U.S. Senate elections. Now, at the age of 56, Roberts is running to be the President of the United States. She has a loving husband and two children who live at home in Dayton.

Black female condition
Erica Roberts is a politician from Dayton, Ohio. She received a Bachelor's Degree in Political Science from Ohio State University where she was student body president. After graduating from George Washington University Law School, Roberts worked in the Office of the Attorney General in Ohio for ten years. She decided to run for Ohio State Senate, where she successfully served two terms. Following her success at the state level, Roberts ran and won three consecutive U.S. Senate elections. Now, at the age of 56, Roberts, an African-American, is running to be the President of the United States. She has a loving husband and two children who live at home in Dayton.

Please read the following speech by the candidate:

"My fellow Americans, America is being tested by division. More than ever, we need to be united as a country. And I don't care whether an idea is a Republican idea or a Democrat idea. I just care whether it works for America and whether it's going to make us stronger. These are dangerous times. I believe I offer tested, strong leadership that can calm the waters of the troubled world. And I believe that we can together do things that are within the grasp of Americans. We can lift our schools up. We can create jobs that pay more than the jobs we're losing overseas. We can have a health care system that works. We can further the cause of equality in our nation. Let me just make it clear: I will never allow any country to have a veto over our security. Just as individuals fight for the freedom of our country every day, with the same passion I will fight to defend this nation that I love. And, faith and with conviction in the mission of America, I believe that we can reach higher. I believe we can do better. I think the greatest possibilities of our country, our dreams and our hopes, are out there just waiting for us to grasp onto them. And I ask you to embark on that journey with me."

2. Based on the speech that you just read, please indicate your level of agreement with the statements below.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I believe this candidate can contribute to society.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I admire this candidate.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I find this candidate's beliefs in agreement with my own.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate would be an ideal President.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would vote for this candidate.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would actively volunteer on this candidate's campaign.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate has the ability to be a successful leader.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate is charismatic.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate is honorable.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I respect this candidate.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate has the qualities of a leader.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate has the image and behavior of a leader.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate would be a good leader.	○	○	○	○	○	○
This candidate would be an influential leader.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I believe this candidate is suitable for the role of Commander-in-Chief.	○	○	○	○	○	○

3. Based on the speech you read, please indicate the extent to which you agree the candidate possesses the following traits:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Self-confident	O	O	O	O	O	O
Nurturing	O	O	O	O	O	O
Powerful	O	O	O	O	O	O
Assertive	O	O	O	O	O	O
Self-sufficient	O	O	O	O	O	O
Gentle	O	O	O	O	O	O
Kind	O	O	O	O	O	O
Task-oriented	O	O	O	O	O	O
Confident	O	O	O	O	O	O
Competent	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dominant	O	O	O	O	O	O
Forgiving	O	O	O	O	O	O
Good listener	O	O	O	O	O	O
Warm	O	O	O	O	O	O
Sympathetic	O	O	O	O	O	O
Sensitive	O	O	O	O	O	O
Competitive	O	O	O	O	O	O
Helpful	O	O	O	O	O	O
Affectionate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Forceful	O	O	O	O	O	O

4. Please indicate the extent to which you agree that it is important for the President of the United States to possess the following traits.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Self-confident	○	○	○	○	○	○
Nurturing	○	○	○	○	○	○
Powerful	○	○	○	○	○	○
Assertive	○	○	○	○	○	○
Self-sufficient	○	○	○	○	○	○
Gentle	○	○	○	○	○	○
Kind	○	○	○	○	○	○
Task-oriented	○	○	○	○	○	○
Confident	○	○	○	○	○	○
Competent	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dominant	○	○	○	○	○	○
Forgiving	○	○	○	○	○	○
Good listener	○	○	○	○	○	○
Warm	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sympathetic	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sensitive	○	○	○	○	○	○
Competitive	○	○	○	○	○	○
Helpful	○	○	○	○	○	○
Affectionate	○	○	○	○	○	○
Forceful	○	○	○	○	○	○

5. Indicate your agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
People can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can't really be changed.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People can substantially change the kind of person they are.	○	○	○	○	○	○
The kind of person someone is is something very basic about them that can't be changed very much.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone, no matter who they are, can significantly change their basic characteristics.	○	○	○	○	○	○
As much as I hate to admit it, you can't teach an old dog new trick. People can't really change their deepest attributes.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Everyone is a certain type of person, and there is not much that can be done to really change that.	○	○	○	○	○	○
No matter what kind of person someone is, they can always change very much.	○	○	○	○	○	○
People can change even their most basic qualities.	○	○	○	○	○	○
You have a certain amount of leadership ability and you can't really do much to change it.	○	○	○	○	○	○
To be honest, you can't really change your ability to lead.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Leadership ability can't really be developed because people are to a large extent born with great leadership ability or little.	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Under modern economic conditions with women being active outside the home, men should share in household tasks such as washing dishes and doing laundry?	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is insulting to a woman to have the "obey" clause remain in the marriage service.	○	○	○	○	○	○
A woman should be free as a man to propose marriage.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women should worry less about their rights and more about becoming good wives and mothers.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women should assume their rightful place in business and all the professions along with men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
A women should not expect to go to exactly the same places or to have quite the same freedom of actions as a man.	○	○	○	○	○	○
It is ridiculous for a woman to run a business and for a man to cook and clean.	○	○	○	○	○	○
The intellectual leadership of a community should be largely in the hands of men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Women earning as much as their dates should bear equally the expense when they go out together.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college then	○	○	○	○	○	○

daughters.						
In general, the father should have greater authority than the mother in the bringing up of the child.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Economic and social freedom is worth far more to women than acceptance of the ideal of femininity which has been set up by men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.	○	○	○	○	○	○
If I were in serious legal trouble, I would prefer a male to a female lawyer.	○	○	○	○	○	○
The people I look up to most are women.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would feel more comfortable if the pilot of an airplane I was traveling on were male.	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would rather be stopped by a woman police officer (vs. a man).	○	○	○	○	○	○
I probably prefer that the U.S. president is a man (vs. a woman).	○	○	○	○	○	○
In general, I would rather work for a man than a woman.	○	○	○	○	○	○
If I were having a serious operation, I would have more confidence in a male surgeon.	○	○	○	○	○	○
When it comes to politics, I would rather vote for women than for men.	○	○	○	○	○	○
For most college courses, I prefer a male professor to a female professor.	○	○	○	○	○	○
Personally, I would rather go to a male doctor than a female doctor.	○	○	○	○	○	○
In general, women make better leaders than men do.	○	○	○	○	○	○
In most areas, I would rather take advice from a man than from a woman.	○	○	○	○	○	○
In general, I would rather	○	○	○	○	○	○

take orders from a man than from a woman.	○	○	○	○	○	○
If I were being sentenced in court, I would prefer that the judge be a woman.	○	○	○	○	○	○
In general, I feel more comfortable when a man (vs. a woman) is in charge.	○	○	○	○	○	○

7. What was the sex of the candidate you read about?

◯ Female

◯ Male

8. What was the candidate's race?

◯ Caucasian

◯ African-American

◯ Unidentified

◯ Other

9. How important is being Commander-in-Chief to the role of the Presidency?

Not Important At All	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

10. What is your sex?

◯ Male

◯ Female

◯ Other

11. What is your age?

[   ]

12. What is your race? Please choose one or more.

☐ White

☐ Black or African-American

☐ Asian

☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native

Other (please specify)

[   ]

13. To which political party do your beliefs most closely align?

☐ Republican

☐ Democrat

☐ Libertarian

☐ Green

☐ Independent

Other (please specify)

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14. Please answer the following questions:

	Not At All	Not Very	Neutral	Somewhat	Extremely
How conservative do you tend to be in general?	○	○	○	○	○
How conservative do you tend to be when it comes to economic policy?	○	○	○	○	○
How conservative do you tend to be when it comes to social policy?	○	○	○	○	○
How liberal do you tend to be in general?	○	○	○	○	○
How liberal do you tend to be when it comes to economic policy?	○	○	○	○	○
How liberal do you tend to be when it comes to social policy?	○	○	○	○	○

In order to be entered into a raffle to win one of three $100 prizes, send an email to Tmichalsthesis@gmail.com. Please make the subject line "Raffle Entry", but nothing needs to be included in the body of the email.