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Adrienne Supino
University of Richmond

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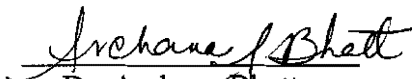
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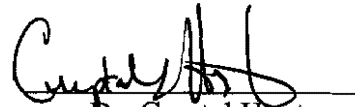
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Submitted to:


Dr. Archana Bhatt


Dr. Crystal Hoyt


Dr. George Goethals

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The War on Inequality: Subtleties in the Perceptions of Women Leaders

Adrienne Supino

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Al Goethals

University of Richmond

Abstract

We studied whether the incongruity between the female gender role and stereotypically masculine leadership roles can lead people, particularly men and sex-typed individuals, to negatively perceive women in this type of leadership role. A study was designed to investigate whether the gender of a potential appointee to the historically masculine leadership role of Secretary of Defense, in either a time of peace or terror, affected people's perceptions of this person. Fifty-three participants read one of four articles containing biographical information about either a male or female candidate for the post, in either a peace context or a terror context. We predicted that the male and female candidates would be rated as equally competent. We predicted, however, that the female candidate would be rated as less influential and would acquire less voting support than her male counterpart in both contexts. Furthermore, we hypothesized that both the male participants, as compared to female participants, and the sex-typed participants, in comparison to others, would rate the female candidate as less influential and would offer her less support across both contexts. Our results revealed that though there were no significant differences between the male senator's and female senator's overall competence, influence, and voting likelihood ratings, the female senator did, in fact, face more subtle forms of discrimination. Though we found that the male candidate's competency ratings and voting likelihood ratings were nearly identical, the participants gave the candidate senator high competency ratings, but lower voting likelihood ratings. We also found a significant three-way interaction between Senator Gender, Participant Gender, and Context. This interaction indicated that male participants rated the female senator as less able to cope with stress in the terror condition than the male senator.

The War on Inequality: Subtleties in the Perceptions of Women Leaders

Our world is getting smaller, yet also more complex than ever before. We have been exposed to the harsh reality of terrorist attacks, to threats of nuclear proliferation, and to war in a country where our enemies are everywhere but unidentifiable. In this time of insecurity we look to our country's leaders to protect us.

But why do we have confidence in these people? Is it because we perceive them as competent and intelligent? Is it because we perceive them as influential and assertive? Most likely, our confidence in them is based on a combination of these characteristics. But perhaps a more interesting question is *why* do we perceive them in this way? Don't misunderstand me—I am not denying that many leaders have demonstrated significant individual accomplishments and capabilities. But are there other cognitive and perceptual factors involved? For example, although we may wish to think that many view women and men as being more equally competent in political leadership roles than before, research shows that “men and women are viewed differently in terms of the traits and characteristics they bring to the political arena (Lawless, 2004, pp. 479).” Lawless' (2004) recent study on how a war-time atmosphere affects citizens' beliefs about the competency of men and women in security related issues demonstrates that voters seem to deem men as more capable of managing crises pertaining to national security and the military.

We must ask ourselves, why exactly are men deemed as more competent in this realm? Is it possible that this sentiment is a result of psychological processes such as stereotyping? If so, how does gender stereotyping affect people's perceptions of a woman's capabilities as a leader whose primary task is to offer us security and protection from terrorists and rogue states? Well, now that is a question worth exploring...

In order to understand this issue, however, we must examine the concept of stereotyping and the effects that stereotyping has on people's perceptions of women in more masculine leadership roles.

Stereotyping

Though it usually carries negative connotations, "stereotype" is merely defined as the association of certain traits with a particular group of individuals. It is well-known, however, that this process can have detrimental effects which will later be discussed. Stereotypes are typically developed through the process of social categorization and through ingroup/outgroup effects (Brehm, Kassin, & Fein, 2005).

Social categorization and intergroup relations. We have a natural tendency to categorize, and social categorization occurs when we classify humans according to attributes such as race, ethnicity, nationality, gender, etc. Categorization in general allows us to order our world and use "our past experiences (Brehm et al., 2005, pp. 136)," to quickly draw conclusions and make decisions. Though categorization is a necessary part of human cognition, it can hinder our ability to see the range of differences among individuals in groups to which we do not belong, and it can also cause us to exaggerate the differences between groups. Furthermore, social categorization can cause us to falsely believe that the traits ascribed to certain groups are strict and immutable, or even biologically determined (Brehm et al., 2005)!

Our perceptions of our ingroups and outgroups also aid in the formation of stereotypes. Groups to which we belong (meaning, that we categorize ourselves as belonging to those groups and we identify with other group members) are considered to be our ingroups. Conversely, those groups with which do not identify are considered to be outgroups. Human beings strive to delineate the differences between ingroups and outgroups, and thus, tend to amplify and

overestimate those differences. Moreover, because we are often unfamiliar with those who are members of outgroups, we are apt to believe that these members are more similar than they actually are. This phenomenon is known as the *outgroup homogeneity effect* (Linville & Jones, 1980).

Social identity theory. According to social identity theory we attempt to bolster our self-esteem through both our personal identity and through the identities of our groups. That is, we tend to try to increase our self esteem through our own individual achievements, and through our association with accomplished groups (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). According to Pickett and Brewer (2001) our social or group identities are related to the need to belong to and feel included in groups (*assimilation*), as well as the need to *contrast* our groups, or make them distinctive, from others (*differentiation*). From this theory it follows that the reason that we tend to *differentiate* between our ingroups and outgroups and *favor* our ingroups, is because we are trying to enhance our self-esteem (Hogg, 2006).

Stereotype activation. When thinking about a stereotyped group, certain attributes that are related to that group, are often called to mind. This experience is known as stereotype activation. The development and activation of certain stereotypes is dependent on situational circumstances, such as culture. Each culture has its own unique social categorization structure which serves to make certain stereotypes more salient than others. Motivational circumstances also influence stereotype activation. For example, people in positions of power will utilize stereotypes in order to preserve their status, and “justify feelings of superiority (Brehm et al., 2005, pp. 138).”

Human beings have a tendency to attribute an individual’s behaviors to personal characteristics without regard for situational influences. This bias is known as the *fundamental attribution error* (Ross, 2001) and it can aid in stereotype perpetuation. As a result of the

fundamental attribution error, we tend to believe that when a person in a stereotyped group behaves in accordance with the stereotype, this behavior is a confirmation of the stereotype and a result of personal characteristics derived from group membership.

We also tend to look for and assimilate evidence that supports our beliefs, and such evidence has increased salience. This tendency is known as the confirmation bias. As a result of this bias, we often tend to notice or even seek information that supports our beliefs, including the common stereotypes of the culture. The effects of the confirmation bias are circular, in that because we are searching for evidence to confirm certain stereotypes, we may treat stereotyped people in a manner which causes them to behave in the way that the stereotype predicts. We then use this induced behavior to sustain our original contentions. In this sense, we create a self-fulfilling prophecy. The self-fulfilling prophecy was exemplified in a study by Word, Zanna, & Cooper (1974) in which black job applicants behaved more nervously and awkwardly than the white applicants when they were interviewed by white participants. The researchers discovered, however, that the white interviewers' racial stereotypes caused them to treat the black interviewees in a colder and more distant manner than the white interviewees. It was this manner that elicited negative behaviors from the black interviewees. These negative behaviors caused the interviewers to confirm the racial stereotype.

What happens, however, when we meet individuals belonging to certain groups, who do not embody the stereotypes attributed to those groups? In the face of contradictions such as this, how do stereotypes persist? Typically, we assimilate the behaviors of stereotyped individuals into their respective stereotypes- even if those behaviors deviate slightly from those stereotypes. When, however, we meet individuals whose behavior deviates greatly from the stereotypes of one or more of their groups, we tend to label them as "exceptions." By describing these people

as anomalies we are able to maintain beliefs about the group in general. Moreover, when people behave in a manner contradictory to the manner in which our stereotypes cause us to expect them to behave we tend to experience *contrast effects*. Contrast effects are stimulated when we perceive these behaviors performed by the “exceptions” as being more extreme than they are in actuality (Brehm et al., 2005).

Furthermore, in order to justify and make sense of “exceptions’ ” we tend to attribute those stereotype violations to situational or circumstantial influences, such as luck. As stated earlier, people generally perceive certain stereotypes as a set of characteristics that are deeply rooted in the sociological or biological “nature” of the group. Thus, by attributing their behaviors to situational factors rather than personal factors resulting from the group’s nature, we are able to maintain our stereotype about the group as a whole (Brehm et al., 2005).

As indicated above, stereotypes are not always accurate, and are most surely not foolproof means to evaluate others. The processes involved in the formation, activation, and persistence of stereotypes can lead to prejudice and discrimination toward certain groups. *Prejudice* occurs when one inaccurately associates negative traits with certain groups, which could thus lead us to develop ill feelings toward the individuals who are members of that group. *Discrimination*, however, occurs if we act on those ill feelings and behave negatively toward the members of that group. Stereotypes can lead us to act unjustly toward an individual of a negatively stereotyped group, we may want to counteract or eliminate them. But can we?

The answer to this question is that we don’t always control the activation of stereotypes. Much research has indicated that stereotyping is often an automatic process. Even individuals who have a lower propensity to use stereotypes can be prompted to unconsciously activate stereotypes- stereotypes that these individuals may not even believe to be true! (Blair, 2001)

Research has shown that both media and our social reference groups (Kelley & Volkart, 1952) teach and reinforce cultural norms, ideals, and expectations. Often times, however, we do not even realize that these certain norms, ideals, and expectations have been activated. For example, a study conducted by Loken (2005) on how the media's portrayal of the "thin ideal" affects women's body image, indicates that the ideals and positive associations made with thinness have been perpetuated by the media and have become almost automatic and unconscious norms for females. These unrealistic norms regarding weight, however, have perpetuated the negative self-perceptions and body dissatisfaction among adolescent women (Loken, 2005).

In a research study conducted by Henderson-King, Henderson-King, & Hoffman (2001), women were exposed to images of physically ideal women or to neutral images. The women exposed to these images were either in a silent room, in the presence of male confederates, or in the presence of male confederates who made statements such as "yeah" or "nice" whenever an image of a physically ideal woman was depicted. The researchers found that after viewing the images of ideal women in the presence of a male who was silent, the female participants were less satisfied with their bodies and had lower self-esteem. After viewing the images of ideal women in the presence of the male confederates who made comments, however, the female participants were found to be more satisfied with their bodies and had a higher degree of self-esteem.

The researchers assert that this increase in self-esteem and body satisfaction was due to the male confederates' comments. They claim that the comments made women *aware* of the "thin ideal" and the notions associated with it, and thus, allowed women to block the norm's effects. On the other hand, the researchers contend that the female participants who were alone

in the room were more negatively affected by the images because they had unconsciously activated the associations of the “thin ideal”, and this unawareness prevented them from blocking the effects of the norm. This research demonstrates the strong effects that norms can have when unconsciously activated.

We also learn about common stereotypes through of socio-cultural messages and norms that are constantly relayed and reinforced through the media and social interactions. Similarly to the ways in which the “thin ideal” has become an automatically triggered norm for females, stereotypes can become automatically triggered when we begin to think about people who belong to stereotyped groups. Since often times we do not even realize that a stereotype has been triggered, we may not recognize how the activation of this particular stereotype has altered our views about stereotyped individuals and our actions toward them (Brehm et al., 2005).

For example, Devine (1989) exposed her participants to a number of subliminal word images that were related to the “black” stereotype (i.e. images that read, “Africa”, “welfare”, etc). Since the images were subliminal, the participants were unaware that they had seen them. Devine found, however, that these images did in fact unconsciously trigger the “black” stereotype in the participants causing them to perceive another person’s ambiguous actions in a “more negative, hostile light (Brehm et al., 2005, pp. 145).”

Certain situational and motivational factors, however, also influence the probability that a stereotype will be unconsciously activated. As stated previously, one’s culture makes certain stereotypes more salient than others. Therefore, the frequency with which one activates certain stereotypes is often dependent upon which stereotypes he or she is commonly exposed to in his or her culture.

The amount of information as well as the type of information available to a perceiver also influences the probability that a particular stereotype will be activated. If the information available touches on even just some components of the stereotype, it is likely to activate the entire stereotype in the perceiver. If, however, there is only a small amount information *and* that information is “emotionally neutral,” the likelihood that the stereotype will be activated is dependent upon the propensity of the perceiver to form prejudiced opinions in general. Those who tend to believe that stereotypic traits are naturally inherent in a group are referred to as entity theorists (Levy, Plaks, Hong, Chiu, & Dweck, 2001). Since entity theorists are more likely to believe that individuals belonging to stereotyped groups behave in certain ways because of their membership in that group, they are more likely to use stereotypes even if minimal information is given (Lepore & Brown, 1997). Those who have a greater tendency to notice differences among the members of stereotyped group are referred to as incremental theorists (Levy, Plaks, Hong, Chiu, & Dweck, 2001). Incremental theorists are less likely to engage in unconscious stereotype activation upon encountering minimal information.

Moreover, the type of information given also influences which particular stereotype becomes activated. For example, when one encounters information about a black woman, the kind of information available affects the degree to which a stereotype about race becomes salient and the degree to which a stereotype about gender becomes salient. If the black woman is described a caring mother and housewife, the female gender stereotyped will most likely be triggered. If, however, the black woman is described as a six foot tall basketball player, a stereotype about black people will most likely be activated (Macrae, Bodenhausen, & Milne, 1995).

In addition to the information available to the perceiver, the perceiver's goals and motivations during an interaction also influence stereotype activation. One's desire to enhance his or her self-esteem or self-image is a major motivational influence. In fact, the need to enhance or maintain their level self-esteem can cause people who are "low in prejudice to activate negative stereotypes (Brehm et al., 2005, pp. 145)." By using a negative stereotype and contrasting oneself to that stereotype, a person is likely to feel better about him or herself. It has been suggested that people who are motivated by goals relating to self-esteem are more likely to unconsciously activate these negative stereotypes (Fein & Spencer, 1997).

Our motivations or goals can, however, also implicitly inhibit stereotype activation (Brehm et al., 2005). In a study conducted by Sinclair and Kunda (1999), white Canadian students were either praised or chastised by a black doctor. When the participants were praised, positive stereotypes about doctors were triggered, while concurrently, negative stereotypes about black people were suppressed. However, when the participants were chastised, they were more likely to express negative stereotypes about black people.

One may now ask, *if stereotypes are often automatically activated, is there a way in which we can consciously inhibit them?* Some research suggests that even if some people succeed in suppressing the stereotype initially, rebound effects- effects occurring when one unconsciously activates a stereotype after first consciously attempting to inhibit it- can still occur. Fortunately, other research indicates that some people are able to successfully suppress stereotypes. For example, people who are better at thought suppression as well as younger people (as opposed to older people) are better able to repress stereotypes. Furthermore, people who are low in prejudice as well as those are incremental theorists are usually more successful in eliminating rebound effects after consciously inhibiting stereotypes than people high in prejudice

or entity theorists, simply because low-prejudice people or entity theorists are more likely to view people in a stereotyped group as more distinct. In other words, low prejudice or incremental theorists tend to focus more closely on the personal—or *individuating*—information regarding a stereotyped individual (Brehm et al., 2005).

If, in judging a stereotyped individual, one focuses on individuating information, he or she may be less likely to apply that stereotype to the individual. For example, in a study by Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, & Hepburn (1980), when participants were asked to judge the assertiveness or passiveness of a male and female who had been described as acting assertively or passively, the participants were more likely to ignore the gender stereotypes (the belief that men are assertive and women are passive), and make their judgments based on the individuals' actions instead. It would then follow that the longer one is exposed to or interacts with a stereotyped individual, and thus, the more he or she learns about that individual, the less likely he or she will be to apply the stereotype. Even more interesting, however, is that research has also shown that even individuating information that is “not clearly relevant to a judgment that they have to make (Brehm et al., 2005, pp. 148),” may reduce the impact of stereotypes as well.

As indicated previously, motivation can also play a significant role in reducing stereotype activation. If one is motivated, especially out of necessity, to make accurate judgments about a stereotyped individual, he or she will be better able to disregard the stereotypes that may have otherwise been activated. Motivation to offset or set aside stereotypes can, however, also result in a “disconfirmation bias” in which we purposely seek out information that disconfirms the stereotype (Brehm et al., 2005).

Though one may be motivated to make accurate judgments about stereotyped individuals, research also indicates that if one's capacity to think or process information has become

incapacitated through the effects of alcohol, emotions, and even drowsiness, a perceiver may be more likely to allow stereotypes to affect their perceptions and judgments of an individual in a stereotyped category. Thus, an individual must have both the motivation and the cognitive ability necessary to deactivate stereotypes (Brehm et al., 2005).

Gender stereotyping

Now that we know that stereotyping is the association of a particular trait or set of traits with a particular social group, we must ask ourselves, whether there are gender stereotypes. Research indicates that there are, in fact, certain characteristics or traits that are typically associated with men and certain characteristics or traits that are typically associated with women. In recent study conducted by Hosoda and Stone (2002) 173 male and female participants were asked to rate 300 traits on the degree to which they considered those traits to be stereotypically feminine, and which traits they considered to be stereotypically masculine. Fifty-seven additional participants were asked to indicate whether they believed each of the 300 traits was positive, negative, or neutral.

Hosoda and Stone (2002) found that both male and female participants identified twelve fundamental characteristics describing the male/masculine stereotype. Five of these characteristics were considered to be favorable traits: handsome, aggressive, tough, courageous, strong; five were considered to be unfavorable: forceful, boastful, arrogant, egotistical; and the last two were considered to be neutral: masculine and dominant.

The researchers also identified nine fundamental characteristics that both the male and female participants associated with the female/feminine stereotype. Five of these traits were considered favorable: affectionate, sensitive, appreciative, sentimental, sympathetic; two of these traits were considered unfavorable: nagging and fussy; and two were considered neutral:

feminine and emotional. Importantly, the researchers found that unlike the female participants, male participants commonly associated sexy, and rattlebrained with the feminine stereotype, but were less likely to associate the traits, capable, intelligent, alert, insightful, versatile, and thorough with the feminine stereotype. Unlike the male participants, however, the female participants included the positive traits, adaptable, poised, sophisticated, organized, imaginative, changeable, dependable, enthusiastic, responsible, and reliable in the feminine stereotype.

Evidence suggests that gender roles are imposed on us from the time we are born. Research has indicated that a baby's sex influences the ways in which parents view and behave toward that child. For example, in a study conducted by Rubin, Provenzano, & Luria (1974) the parents of fifteen male and fifteen female infants similar in weight, height, and general physical appearance were asked to describe their babies. The female infants were described as "softer, smaller, and more finely featured" by both parents, while the male infants were described as "stronger, larger, more alert, and better coordinated" by their fathers.

Furthermore, research has shown that the ways in which parents treat their children often depends upon the child's sex. For example, a study conducted by Morrongiello, Midgett, & Stanton (2000) indicated that mothers of daughters interfered more often than mothers of sons when the child was engaging in risky play behaviors. The mothers of daughters were also more inclined to warn their daughters that risky playing could result in their getting hurt, while mothers of sons were more likely to promote their son's risky behavior. It is this type of role socialization that causes gender stereotypes to become ingrained.

Like most other stereotypes, gender stereotypes are perpetuated and activated through our social relations and socio-cultural messages relayed through the media. Though, unlike in past decades, our current media messages do not necessarily portray women as "powerless," some of

these messages still employ, and thereby perpetuate, gender stereotypes. For example, many television advertisements continue to use women to sell a product and imply that the female is the “reward” for he (or she) who purchases that product. In this way, the objectification and sexualization of women is perpetuated. It is messages such as these that probably led to the males in Hosoda and Stone’s (2002) study to associate “sexiness” with the female stereotype.

Media messages, however, are not the only means by which gender stereotypes endure. In fact, social role theory suggests that the perceived differences between the sexes are exaggerated by the difference in the types of social roles that women typically follow and the types of social roles that men typically follow. The emergence of a division of labor between men and women spurred by biological and social forces, has led men to typically take jobs that are more focused on business or physical labor, while leading women to take “lower-status jobs” or those in child-care. People are more likely to behave in ways that are appropriate to the roles or jobs that they hold, and since men typically hold jobs that often provide them with economic, social, and political power, men are thus viewed as being “naturally” more powerful than women. That is, instead of attributing the “dominant” behaviors of men and the “domestic” behaviors of women to the jobs in which they hold, people tend to employ the *fundamental attribution error* and thus perceive that these behaviors are derived from the nature of one’s gender.

Binary conceptions of gender. Traditionally, gender is seen as a continuum, and this continuum pits femininity at one end versus masculinity at the other (Brown, 1986). We have, in our language, created binaries or polarities which, in turn, have insinuated that the opposite ends of these binaries are mutually exclusive (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987). Thus, the language that we use to speak about gender actually affects and reflects how we *conceptualize* gender. In viewing

gender through a binary lens, an individual cannot be “both highly masculine and highly feminine (Brown, 1986, pp. 318).” In fact, if one is highly masculine, it must follow that he or she be low in femininity! Through the binary frame females are thus seen as incapable of engaging characteristics such as assertiveness, ruthlessness, dominance, and physical security which are commonly ascribed to the masculine end of the gender binary. The feminine role, on the other hand, is seen as a communal one with which traits such as warm, caring, and nurturing are associated.

We must also acknowledge, however, that gender stereotypes differ from other stereotypes in that they employ prescriptive, as well as descriptive norms. *Descriptive norms* merely describe how people of a stereotyped group do act, while *prescriptive norms* dictate how people of a stereotyped group *should* act (Brehm et al., 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

It must also be noted that classical measures of leadership style conceptualized leadership as a binary continuum as well. For example, Fiedler’s Least Preferred Coworker scale measures one’s propensity to be either relationship-oriented or task-oriented. This scale, however, depicts this dimension of leadership as a binary in which relationship-oriented is at one end, and task-oriented is at the other. Therefore, according to this measurement, a person cannot be both equally task and relationship-oriented—the two styles are portrayed as mutually exclusive.

Gender norms and their relation to leadership. The role congruity theory, developed by Eagly and Karau (2002), posits that the prescriptive and descriptive norms for femininity have traditionally been incongruent with the descriptive norms of the traditional leadership role. The traits conventionally associated with the leadership role are assertiveness, tough-mindedness, strong analytical capabilities, intelligence, and the ability to “set aside personal, emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishment (Billing & Avelsson, 2000).” These

characteristics seem to be more closely aligned with traits, such as aggressive and tough, which are commonly ascribed to the masculine stereotype. However, these characteristics are typically thought to be in direct opposition to traits, such as emotional, which are commonly ascribed to the feminine stereotype. Leadership roles are thus, typically viewed as more masculine (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Task-oriented vs. Interpersonally-oriented styles of leadership. Some aspects of leadership, however, are more associated with women. Early research has typically examined an overarching dimension of leadership style: the task-oriented style versus the interpersonally-oriented style. Another somewhat related dimension—the autocratic style versus the democratic style—has also been examined. The task-oriented leadership style is thought to utilize stereotypical masculine behaviors. In particular, this style is thought to be an agentic method in which the leader is primarily focused on accomplishing the tasks at hand rather than developing and nurturing relationships with his or her subordinates. This style is also closely associated with the autocratic style in which the leader typically makes decisions on his or her own and discourages follower involvement. On the other hand, the interpersonally-oriented leadership style is believed to engage more stereotypical feminine behaviors. The primary focus of a leader employing this style is the development of relationships with subordinates through the use of communal and cooperative behaviors—behaviors often associated with the feminine stereotype. A leader employing the democratic style typically involves the followers in the decision-making process. This collaborative style clearly incorporates the communal behaviors of the interpersonally-oriented style, and thus, they are closely related.

Though much of the laboratory research indicated that women were more apt to utilize the interpersonal style and democratic style than men, and men were more apt to utilize a task

oriented style and autocratic style than women, field research in organizational settings which actually studied male and female managers indicated that there was no significant difference between gender and the manager's propensity to use the interpersonal or task oriented style. These types of field studies did, however, indicate that the male managers were more likely to utilize a more autocratic style, while female managers were more likely to utilize a more democratic style (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

It has been argued, however, that over the past decade or so, with the dissipation of hierarchical forms of organizational management and the move toward a more network oriented form of management, leadership styles that incorporate stereotypically feminine qualities are viewed as more effective styles of leadership. Previously, leaders' authority was derived from their "access to political, economic, or military power (Eagly & Carli, 2003, pp)." Recently, however, leaders have been encouraged to distribute that power and forge cooperative relationships with others, and thus, effective leadership styles are now thought to be less autocratic and directive, but more focused on empowerment of and collaboration with the followers. Thus, the contemporary trend toward a more incorporative and collaborative method of leadership seems to favor the democratic style employed more often by women than men, over the autocratic style used more frequently by men. (Eagly & Carli, 2003)

Gender and Transactional vs. Transformational leadership. Research has also explored another dimension of leadership: transformational leadership versus transactional leadership. The identification of transformational leadership as an effective style in light of contemporary organizational culture changes, may also present women with an advantage in the realm of leadership. Transformational leadership has been defined as a style in which the leader strives to identify with and thus gain the trust of his or her followers so that he or she may be better able to

motivate those followers to collaborate and achieve future-oriented goals. Transformational leadership thus seems to incorporate aspects of the feminine interpersonal style as well as the democratic style discussed previously. In perceiving the transformational style as a highly effectual but more feminine rather than masculine leadership style, the role of the transformational leader may perhaps be viewed as more congruent with and better able to mesh with the female gender role (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Transformational leadership is conceptualized as incorporating four components: idealized influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualized consideration (Bass & Avolio, 1993). Idealized influence, or charisma, is characterized in two ways: as either an attribute or as a behavior. Idealized influence is characterized as an attribute when a leader makes his or her followers feel positively about themselves (e.g. the leader makes his or her followers feel proud of themselves). A leader demonstrates idealized influence behaviors when he or she articulates the goals, values, and missions of the organization. A leader may employ inspirational motivation when he or she expresses “optimism and excitement about goals and future states.” Intellectual stimulation occurs when a leader encourages, promotes, and stimulates new ways of finding solutions to the issues at hand. A leader projects individualized consideration when he or she pays particular attention to and addresses the needs of each individual follower (Bass & Avolio, 1993).

Transactional leadership differs from transformational leadership in that it is primarily task-oriented, and less focused on the creation and maintenance of relationships. This style typically has three components: active management by exception, passive management by exception, and use of contingent rewards. A leader who actively manages by exception is more likely to focus on the mistakes of followers, while a leader who passively manages by exception

typically does not address problems or issues until they become critical. The most positive behavior associated with this style is use of contingent rewards. A leader who makes use of contingent rewards is more likely to provide rewards to followers for favorable performance (Bass & Avolio, 1993).

In examining the research on the propensity of men and women to use transformational and transactional leadership, studies have shown that women, as compared to men, are more apt to employ all of the components of transformational leadership style and are more likely to make use of contingent rewards. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to employ active management by exception, and passive management by exception. It was also found, however, that men are more likely to engage a laissez-faire leadership style in which the leader remains passive and disengaged from the followers (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

As leadership styles emphasizing more feminine qualities, such as the transformational style, are becoming more and more common, women's behaviors and characteristics have also changed so that may be perceived as competent in roles that women in the past have less typically engaged. As more women are attending institutions for higher education and are striving to attain more professional roles, they tend to be rating themselves as more assertive and dominant. In light of these changes it is possible that people are now realizing that women can demonstrate these stereotypically masculine characteristics, but can also still be feminine (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Two-dimensional conceptions of gender. These evolving self-perceptions may be a result of newer conceptualizations of gender as two-dimensional rather than binary. This has been exemplified through the creation of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). Bem's measurement of one's sex role orientation measures masculinity and femininity on separate

scales, which allows for people to score high on both masculinity and femininity, high on one scale but not the other, or low on both. This gender frame posits that masculinity and femininity are independent continua rather than polar opposites on a single binary and thus, mutually exclusive (Brown, 1986).

According to the Bem Sex Role inventory, an individual can either be sex-typed, cross sex-typed, androgynous or undifferentiated. A female who scores higher on the feminine scale than the masculine scale is defined as Sex-Typed, as is a male who scores higher on the masculine scale than the feminine scale. A female who scores higher on the masculine scale, however, is defined as Cross-Sex Typed, as is a male who scores higher on the feminine scale. Individuals who score equally high on both scales are defined as Androgynous, and individuals who score equally low on both scales are said to be Undifferentiated.

Interestingly, research has also shown that one's own sex role orientation can influence his or her perceptions of females in more "masculine" leadership roles. Collins, Waters & Waters (1979) found that males and females who were more sex-typed viewed female managers more negatively than those who were not sex-typed or were more androgynous. They state "it appears that those individuals who are more own sex-stereotyped...have more negative attitudes about other individuals performing cross sex-typed tasks (Collins et al., 1979, pp. 829)."

Similar to gender, leadership can be conceptualized as two-dimensional as well! For example, Bales' (1958) leadership scale portrays the task and relationship oriented styles of leadership as two orthogonal dimensions: aiding achievement by the group, and sociability.

Are females overcoming discrimination? Eagly and Carli (2003) have demonstrated that the prevalence of the transformational leadership style, as well as changes in women's behaviors may be resulting in social perceivers viewing the female gender role as being more congruent

with leadership roles. Stereotype research, however, has shown that many still continue to perceive the leadership role as more masculine because assertiveness (which is considered indicative of a successful leader) is still ascribed to the masculine stereotype and still believed to be incompatible with the feminine role. Despite the fact that female leaders may be able to overcome this negative perception in many fields, it appears that sex discrimination is still quite ubiquitous in stereotypically masculine fields, such as the military. Furthermore, in accordance with the ingroup favorability bias, men, more so than women, have been found to devalue female leaders in male-dominated roles (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

War as a gendered concept. The military's primary function revolves around fighting and winning wars, and as one examines the rhetoric of war, and therefore violence, we can see its link to masculinity. According to Katz (2003), the concepts of violence, physical strength, and thus, dominance, power, and *protection* all serve to define maleness. These traits are seen as being essential in masculinity, hence we tend to attribute the exertion of physical strength and dominance to the common saying that "boys will be boys." It is believed that men have an essence of inascularity- that they "naturally" utilize violence or other forms of physical power to influence others.

Furthermore, in accordance with the social role theory, men have traditionally played the role of the "protector." The man provided for his partner and for his family, but he also ensured their security. Thus, in this light, masculinity is seen as "chivalrous"—these men are not wielding power over their women and children in order to suppress them, but rather they are utilizing their dominance, physical strength, and violence in a courageous manner in order to protect their loved ones from harm. The "protector" is thus, seen as brave and virtuous—and masculine (Young, 2003).

What implications does this have for current and future female leaders? Iris Marion

Young (2003) argues that after September 11th, 2001, “the relation of the leaders of the United States to its citizens is well illuminated by interpreting it under the logic of masculinist protection (pp. 3).” The incongruence between the masculine protector role employed by US leaders after the terrorist attacks, and the feminine stereotype is likely to lead perceivers to view a female as incapable of effectively attending to issues regarding the nation’s defense and security. In fact, in examining a recent Gallop poll during September 2005, when asked who would be more capable of handling national security issues, a woman president or a male president, 41.86% answered in favor of a man while only 23.49% answered in favor of a woman.¹ However, when asked who would be more capable of handling domestic policy issues (soft politics, such as education, welfare, etc), only 22.20% claimed a man would be more capable while 45.15% believed that a woman would be more qualified.²

In accordance with role congruity theory, women are thought to be less competent than men in highly masculine positions (the military, for example) when neither the men nor women’s competency has been validated simply because a lack of agency is connoted with the feminine stereotype (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins 2004). Therefore, in order for women in these positions to be perceived as competent as men, they must demonstrate *more* competency than their male counterparts so as to offset the preconceived notions of the female gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). When competency has been determined, however, women are often less liked because their competency in a male domain is used as an indication that they are not abiding by

1

<http://institution.gallup.com/documents/question.aspx?question=154305&Advanced=0&SearchConType=1&SearchTypeAll=woman%20president>

2

<http://institution.gallup.com/documents/question.aspx?question=154306&Advanced=0&SearchConType=1&SearchTypeAll=woman%20president>

the injunctive norms of the female role. (Heilman, et al., 2004). This occurs because in order to demonstrate competency, a female must behave very clearly in accordance with the assertive and tough-minded descriptive norms of the leadership role. As discussed, however, those norms are often incongruent with the warm and nurturing aspects associated with the female gender role. Thus, the women who behave in a manner associated with the traditional leadership role are often recategorized as “bitches” or “dykes” because they are not acting in accordance with the prescriptive norms of the female gender role.

In applying the notion of prescriptive norms to the gender binary, we can see how gender stereotyping can place women in a doublebind if she is in a position in which she needs to employ stereotypically masculine traits (Frye, 1983). This discrepancy between physically being a female and “acting” like a male seems inconsistent to some, and may possibly cause people to view her as being “less” of a woman.

Violation of the prescriptive norms of femininity can have deleterious effects for women. For example, Heilman, et al. (2004) also found that women who are disliked simply because of their competency in a position that is commonly associated with masculinity may be unfavorably evaluated. Although women are viewed as less likeable when they behave in accord with stereotypical male roles because they are seen as violating female gender norms, it has been found that by deliberately incorporating more “feminine” characteristics, such as friendliness and caring, women can increase their influence (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Research, however, also indicates that even if a female attempts to balance masculinity with femininity “it may [still] compromise their advancement to higher level positions because their behavior may appear to less powerful and confident than that of their male counterparts (Eagly & Karau, 2002, pp. 590).” Thus, although likeability and communality may increase a woman’s degree of influence

when she combines these traits with masculine behavior, she will run the risk of reducing other's perceptions of her competency which could possibly offset that influence. Essentially, women must strike a delicate balance between masculine leadership behaviors and feminine communal behaviors in order to effectively lead. This balance, however, is very difficult to find and maintain.

In general, research has indicated that women holding leadership roles in male-dominated fields and women that lead in a more autocratic and directive way were evaluated less favorably than their male counterparts, especially by men (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). We must ask ourselves, however, are men more effective leaders than women? According to a meta-analysis conducted by Eagly, Karau, and Makijani (1995), men were more effective in leadership roles that are "more congenial to men," while females were more effective in leadership roles that are "more congenial to women." Men were found to be more effective in leadership roles that appeared to be more "masculine" or task-oriented, while women were found to be more effective in leadership roles that appeared to be more "feminine" or relationship-oriented. Although, the leadership styles that are currently considered most effective are more feminine or androgynous, women leaders still continue to face negative evaluations—especially in male-dominated fields such as the military (Eagly & Carli 2003).

Study design

Though the most of literature available addresses issues that women in masculine leadership roles face, our curiosity lies more specifically in how the *contextual components* of war-time and peace-time affect people's perceptions of women in traditionally masculine, *national* leadership positions. As noted previously, despite women's changing behaviors and the changing perceptions of the leadership role in general, some research indicates that many still

feel that men are more capable of handling issues of national security. In order for us to get a better understanding of the cognitive processing and reasoning behind this assumption, we have designed a study that is intended to measure the perceived competency of, perceived ability to influence of, and degree of support for a woman in a position whose function is to guard our nation. Clearly, a more nuanced understanding of this issue would be quite pertinent to our country's present and future situation.

The study described below uses a paper and pencil method. Each participant was asked to read one of four hypothetical articles regarding either a hypothetical female or male senator appointed by the President to the masculine leadership position of Secretary of Defense in either a time of war or in a time of peace. The articles are completely hypothetical and are set in the year 2011 in order offset the effects of our current political climate and perceptions of any specific current political figure. As the Secretary of Defense is the principal figure responsible for our country's defense policies and in light of the research on the masculinity of war and issues pertaining to security, the position itself may be masculine and thus most appropriate to our study. Furthermore, we believe that the terror context, as opposed to the peace context, may cause the participants to see the role of Secretary of Defense as being a *hyper*-masculine, protectionist role, and thus, may be seen as *far* more congruent with the male stereotype.

Though each article differs on the gender of the possible appointee and the context, they all contain the exact same biographical and educational information in order to ensure that the competency level remains constant and that the male and female candidates begin at an equal status. The educational and professional information provided indicates that the nominee discussed has a high degree of competence, and would be well qualified to be the Secretary of Defense. As discussed previously, women are often perceived to be less competent than men

unless their competency is validated. Thus, we created an article that described the same exact high degree of competency for the male and female candidates in order to test the idea that if a female's competency is apparent and validated, she will be seen as equally competent as her male counterpart. Furthermore, if the assertion is supported and the female and male candidates are seen as equally competent, we will be able to examine other possible biased perceptions that may be derived from stereotyping and not varying levels of competency. For example, we believed that biases regarding the female candidate's ability to employ leader behaviors, such as acting in an assertive or directive manner, would emerge despite her high level of competency.

Additionally, in order to gauge the effects that war and peace may have on people's perceptions of the candidates, each article described either a peace-keeping context or a terror context. The Peace condition describes a situation in which the United States is undergoing peace keeping negotiations with China and Pakistan, and democratic governments have taken root in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Terror condition describes a situation in which the United States has recently been the victim of more terrorist attacks.

After the participants were given one of the four articles (female candidate/terror context, female candidate/peace context, male candidate/terror context, male candidate/peace context) the participants filled out a set of dependent measures that gauged their view of the candidate's competency, their perception of the candidate's ability to influence, and the participants' likelihood to vote for the candidate if the participant was on the Senate. We asked the participants to rate the nominee's competence, influence, and the likelihood that they would vote for him or her in a direct manner by asking them to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements: *Senator Christine/Chris Johnson would be a competent Secretary of Defense*, *Senator Christine/Chris Johnson would be an influential Secretary of Defense*, and *If*

I held a seat in the US Senate I would vote for Senator Christine Johnson. We also intended to gauge the degree to which the participants thought that the nominee was influential by asking them to indicate the extent to which they believed the nominee to be *persuasive*. Also, in order to further explore the extent to which the participants thought that the nominee was competent, we asked them to indicate the degree to which they believed the nominee to be *able to cope with stress, passive, and intelligent*. The participant was also asked to provide some demographic information (class year, gender, age, home state, and political affiliation) and indicate how liberal or conservative they are. We will be taking the participant's gender into consideration when we analyze the data, and thus we need that particular piece of information.

Before each participant was exposed to one of the four articles and completes the questionnaire, however, he or she first filled out a shortened version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory so that we may gauge the effects that one's sex role orientation may have on his or her perceptions of the candidates.

Hypotheses

In light of the literature, we have hypothesized that the male candidate and female candidates will be seen as equally competent in both contexts as a result of the individuating information that articulates a high level of competency.

We have further hypothesized, however, that the male candidate will be perceived as more influential than the female candidate in the terror context, and that the participants will project a higher likelihood to vote for the male candidate than the female candidate in the terror context. These two hypotheses are based upon the literature's contention that a female demonstrating competency in a highly masculine position would be less liked, and thus, less able to influence others. If one is disliked or perceived as being incapable of influencing her

followers, she may be thought ineffective which would most likely negatively affect one's propensity to vote her into that position.

Although the peace time context may cause the participants' to view the role of Secretary of Defense as being less masculine and protectionist as compared to how they may view the role in the terror condition, the role may still be perceived as being more congruent with masculinity. We thus hypothesize that the male candidate will once again be perceived as more influential than the female candidate and that the participants will express a higher likelihood to vote for the male candidate than the female candidate in the peace context.

We do believe, however, terror context will cause the participants to perceive the role of Secretary of Defense as more hyper-masculine and protectionist than they would in the peacetime context. According to Ritter and Yoder (2004), as the leader's task becomes more masculine, the difference between the gender role and the leadership role becomes more prominent. The terror context could, thus, cause the participants to exaggerate the incongruity between this leadership role and the female gender role. We, therefore, hypothesize that the female candidate will be perceived as being significantly less influential in the terror context as compared to the peacetime context and that the participants would be less likely to vote for the female candidate in the terror context as compared to the peace context. We also hypothesize that the participants will see the male candidate as equally influential and would be equally likely to vote for him across both contexts.

In light of findings that men, more than women, tend to devalue female leaders in male-dominated roles (Eagly & Carli, 2003), we further hypothesize that the male participants will be perceive the female candidate as being less influential and would be less likely to vote for her across both contexts, than the female participants. We further hypothesize that both, the male

participants' rating of the female candidate's influence and the likelihood that they would vote for her, would be significantly greater in the peacetime context than in the terror context.

Additionally, in accord with Collins et al's (1979) findings that sex-typed individuals were more likely to perceive others engaging in cross-sex typed tasks more negatively, we posit that the more sex-typed male and female participants, as opposed to the more cross sex-typed participants, would perceive the female candidate as being less influential and would be less likely to vote for her in both contexts. We also hypothesized that the sex-typed participants' rating of the female candidate's influence and the likelihood that they would vote for her would be significantly greater in the peace context than in the terror context.

Method

Participants

Thirty-seven female and sixteen male University of Richmond students ranging in age from 18 to 22 participated in this study. All of the participants were students in the University of Richmond's Psychology 100 class. These students voluntarily participated in the study after learning that they would receive one credit toward a Psychology 100 class requirement. Of the 53 participants, 34 were first year students, 13 were second year students, 5 were third year students, and one participant did not indicate his or her year. Additionally, 39 of the participants were from the Northeast region of the United States, 7 were from the Southeast, 3 were from the Midwest, 3 were from the West, and one participant was not from the United States.

Furthermore, 20 of the participants identified themselves as Democrats, 10 as Republicans, 19 as Independents, and 4 having another political affiliation. Twenty-one participants indicated that they have Moderate political views, 19 indicated that they have Somewhat Liberal views, 4 indicated that they have Very Liberal views, 8 indicated that they have Somewhat Conservative

views, and 1 indicated that he or she had Very Conservative views. All students were told that the study in which they were about to participate was designed to measure people's general perceptions of presidential appointees.

Materials and Measures

30-measure Bem Sex Role Inventory (shortened version). The Bem Sex Role Inventory (shortened version) contains a list of thirty traits. Ten of the traits are considered to be "feminine", ten are considered to be "masculine", and the remaining ten are considered to be "neutral" traits. In order to measure each participant's sex role orientation, each student was asked to write a number 1 through 7 (1 being strongly disagree, 7 being strongly agree) next to each of the thirty traits listed in order to describe the degree to which each trait accurately describes them. (See Appendix A)

Hypothetical article. Each participant was asked to read one of four variations of a hypothetical, fictional article describing a potential Secretary of Defense appointee in the year 2011. Each article contained the same exact fictional biographical information of the potential appointee, describing the candidate's education, professional experience, and qualifications. For example, the candidate was described an individual who "earned [his or her] bachelor's degree in Political Science at Northwestern in 1982, and then moved on to receive a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1985." He or she was also described as having been a partner in a prestigious law firm, a Law professor at New York University, a fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University, as well as visiting research scholar at the Army War College. Furthermore, he or she was said to have been both, a Representative and Senator who currently serves as "Chairperson of the Committee of Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, as a member of the Judiciary Committee."

Though the biographical information was the identical, two variable factors, in each variation of the article, were manipulated: the context and the gender of the potential appointee. Each article contained a few sentences that described one of two hypothetical political climates during the time in which the article was written. The political climate, or context, was either a peace-time context in which the US had recently engaged in peace negotiations with China and Pakistan, or a terror context in which the US had just undergone another terrorist attack. Furthermore, each article described the potential appointee as either a female senator (Christine Johnson) or as a male senator (Chris Johnson) by using the appropriate pronouns and name. Thus, the four article variations were as follows: terror context/ male senator, peace context/ male senator, terror context/ female senator, and peace context/ female senator. (See Appendix B)

Candidate dependent measures. The participants were also given a list of twenty statements regarding the potential presidential appointee described in the hypothetical article. The participants were asked to write a number 1 through 7 (1 being strongly disagree, 7 being strongly agree) next to each statement in order to describe the degree to which he or she agreed or disagreed with that statement. The statements were designed to gauge the degree to which the participant believed the potential Secretary of Defense to be competent (e.g. Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is intelligent, Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is assertive, Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is qualified to be Secretary of Defense), likeable (e.g. Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is likeable, Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is trustworthy), and influential (Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is weak, Senator Christine/Chris Johnson is persuasive). Two of the statements directly asked the participants to indicate the degree to which the potential appointee would be competent and influential in the position of Secretary of

Defense. Furthermore, the participants were also asked the degree to which they would agree or disagree with the statement, "If I held a seat in the US Senate I would vote for Senator Christine/Chris Johnson." An additional question asked the participants to directly indicate whether or not they would vote for the appointee if they were on the Senate by responding to the question "Would you vote for Senator Christine/Chris Johnson" by circling "yes" or "no". It must also be noted that they participants were asked to provide demographic information such as gender, age, class year, etc. (See Appendix C)

Procedure

Each student arrived at the designated room during the time slot in which he or she agreed to participate. There were 13 sessions, and the number of participants in each session ranged from one participant to eight participants. The experimenter waited for all the students who had intended to participate to arrive and then gave each student a consent form and packet containing the Bem Sex Role Inventory, one of the four hypothetical articles, and the assessment measures (in that order). In distributing the packets, the experimenter was blind as to which article variation the students received. A concerted effort, however, was made to ensure that by the end of the entire study, the male students and the female students received an equal ratio of the article variations. Next, the experimenter explained that the purpose of the study was to measure people's perceptions of presidential appointees, and further proceeded to tell the students that they were to complete the first questionnaire (the Bem Sex Role Inventory) in the packet that they were given, then read the hypothetical article and fill out the proceeding questionnaire. The experimenter further reminded the students that all the information that they provided would remain confidential. The students completed the study as told, and then placed the consent form and packet facedown in a pile on the desk next to the experimenter. The

students were told to remain in the room until all the other participants had finished. The experimenter then debriefed the students, explaining that the true purpose of the study was to understand how gender stereotyping affects people's perceptions of women in masculine leadership roles.

Results

Manipulations

Before we present our major dependent variable results, we must discuss the data pertaining to our manipulations. As indicated previously, two variables were manipulated: the gender of the Senator in the article, and the context of the article. Gender was clearly manipulated as the full name of the senator being described, as well as the appropriate pronouns, were written numerous times in both the article and in the perception measures. There was no specific measure of the subjects' perception of the context manipulation, we did, however, examine a multivariate GLM regarding the context variable. We found that participants in the peace condition gave significantly higher agreement ratings of the statement "*Senator Chris/Christine Johnson would be a competent Secretary of Defense*" ($M = 5.812$) than those participants in the terror condition ($M = 5.225$), $F = 4.367$, $p = 0.042$. These results indicate that the participants were aware of and were affected by the context of each article

Candidate Perceptions

Our original hypothesis was that there would not be a difference between the competency ratings for the male senator and the competency ratings for the female senator, in either the terror context or the peace context. This hypothesis was supported. A multivariate GLM indicated that there was no significant difference between the mean competency rating of the female senator ($M = 6.036$) and mean competency rating of the male senator ($M = 5.944$) $F = 0.214$, n.s.. It

must be noted, however, that both of these means were quite high which could be an indication of a ceiling effect. Also in line with our predictions, there was no significant interaction between Senator Gender and Context on the mean competency ratings of the nominees ($F = 0.233$, n.s.)

We also hypothesized that the male senator would be rated as more influential than the female senator across both contexts, and that the participants' rating of voting likelihood for the male senator would be higher than their rating of voting likelihood for the female senator across both contexts. There were hints of support for these hypotheses. A multivariate GLM indicated, however, that there was no statistically significant difference between the male senator's influence rating ($M = 5.944$) and the female senator's influence rating ($M = 6.036$) across both contexts $F = 2.548$, $p > 0.05$. Similarly to the mean competency ratings, these mean influence ratings were also high, which could once again be indicative of a ceiling effect. However, the multivariate GLM also indicated that there was a trend toward a main effect of Senator Gender on the participant's mean likelihood to vote for the female senator ($M = 5.262$) and mean likelihood to vote for the male senator in ($M = 5.775$, $F = 3.338$, $p < 0.10$) across both contexts. There was no statistically significant interaction between Senator Gender and Context for either the voting likelihood variable ($F = 0.05$, n.s.) or the influence variable ($F = 0.002$, n.s.).

Additionally, we hypothesized that the male participants, as compared with the female participants, would give the male senator a higher voting likelihood rating than the female senator across both contexts, and would also rate the male senator as being more influential than the female senator across both contexts. Again, there was a trend toward support with the male participants' mean voting likelihood rating for the male senator being slightly higher than their mean voting likelihood rating for the female senator ($M(\text{male senator}) = 5.775$, $M(\text{female senator}) = 5.262$, $F = 3.431$, $p < 0.10$). There was no statistically significant difference between

the male participants' mean influence rating for the male senator and their mean influence rating for the female senator ($M(\text{male senator}) = 5.850$, $M(\text{female senator}) = 5.351$, $F = 1.648$, n.s.).

We also hypothesized that both, the male participants' rating of the female candidate's influence and the likelihood that they would vote for her, would be significantly greater in the peacetime context than in the terror context. This hypothesis, however, was not supported. A multivariate GLM indicated the male participants did not give the female nominee in the terror context lower influence ($F = 0.00$, n.s.) or voting likelihood ($F = 1.817$, n.s.) ratings than the female nominee in the peace context. Although there was no three-way interaction for either these dependent variables, a multivariate GLM did indicate that there was a simple effect of Gender on the voting likelihood variable for the female senator, Christine Johnson, in the terror context. The female participants gave Christine Johnson a significantly higher voting likelihood rating ($M = 5.50$) than the male participants ($M = 4.50$) $F = 5.233$, $p = 0.027$.

Though, on the surface, our original hypotheses regarding Senator Gender, Participant Gender, and Context were not supported, we had considered that perhaps discrimination against the female senator would be more subtle. As mentioned previously, the difference between the mean voting likelihood rating for the female senator and the mean voting likelihood rating for the male senator was not statistically significant. It must be noted, however, that the mean voting likelihood rating for the female senator ($M = 5.262$) was slightly lower than the mean voting likelihood rating for the male senator ($M = 5.775$). Also, though there was not statistically significant difference between the mean competency rating for the male senator and the mean competency rating for the female senator, the mean competency rating for the female senator ($M = 6.036$), however, was actually somewhat higher than the mean competency rating for the male senator ($M = 5.944$) $F = 0.214$, (n.s.).

As we examined the data more closely, we noticed that for the male senator, the mean on the competence measure, *Senator Chris/Christine Johnson would be competent as Secretary of Defense* ($M = 5.944$), translated almost exactly to the mean of the voting likelihood measure ($M = 5.775$). This would be expected as our correlations indicated that competency and voting likelihood were highly correlated $r = 0.646, p = 0.00$. We found, however, that the mean competency rating for the female senator ($M = 6.036$) was much lower than her mean voting likelihood measure ($M = 5.262$).

In order to further investigate this discrepancy, we created a new variable called competency/voting difference (CVD). The difference between ratings of competency and voting likelihood is a constructed variable that indicates the discrepancy between the participant's rating of the statement "Senator Chris/Christine Johnson would be competent as the Secretary of Defense" and the participant's rating of the voting likelihood measure. This CVD score was calculated by subtracting the rating of the voting likelihood measure from the rating of the competency statement. One would expect that the scores of these two measures would be very similar, but a lower rating on the voting likelihood measure than on the competency measure (i.e. a higher CVD score) would likely be indicative of the presence of some sort of discrimination, and thus, we created this variable in order to evaluate the degree of such discrimination.

Sure enough, a multivariate GLM indicated that the female senator's mean CVD score ($M = .774$) was significantly higher than the male senator's mean CVD score ($M = .169$), $F = 7.842, p = 0.007$. In other words, there was a greater decrease from the female senator's competency rating to her voting likelihood rating than there was for the male senator.

We then had to ask ourselves, which participants were rating the female senator as highly competent but then lowering the rating of the likelihood that they would vote for her? A

multivariate GLM indicated that there was a significant interaction between Senator Gender and Participant Gender regarding the CVD score ($F = 4.241, p = 0.045$). In line with our predictions, a multivariate GLM further demonstrated that there was a simple effect of Senator Gender on the male participants' mean CVD ratings for the nominees. The male participants' mean CVD score for the female senator ($M = 1.00$) was significantly higher than their mean CVD score for the male senator ($M = 0.14$), $F = 8.124, p = 0.007$, across contexts. Also in line with our predictions, a multivariate GLM indicated that there was no simple effect of Senator Gender on the female participant's CVD ratings for the nominees ($M(\text{male senator}) = 0.39, M(\text{female senator}) = 0.58, F = 0.502, \text{ n.s.}$).

Not only did the male participants give the female senator a significantly higher CVD rating than the male senator, but a multivariate GLM showed that there was also a simple effect of Senator Gender on the male participants' mean ratings of the nominee's intelligence. The male participants rated the male senator as significantly more intelligent ($M = 6.71$) than the female senator ($M = 5.89$), $F = 5.278, p = 0.026$. There was no simple effect of Senator Gender on the female participants' mean ratings of the nominees' intelligence ($M(\text{male senator}) = 6.50, M(\text{female senator}) = 6.53, F = 0.012, \text{ n.s.}$).

Even more compelling, however, is that a multivariate GLM crossing Senator Gender, Participant Gender, and Context revealed a significant three-way interaction, $F = 5.678, p = 0.021$ regarding the dependent variable, *able to cope with stress*. This three-way interaction was generated by a bias against a specific senator in a specific context by specific set of participants. Namely, the male participants' rated the female senator in the terror context as less able to cope with stress than the male senator in this context. This can best be seen in terms of

three simple effects: a simple effect of Senator Gender, a simple effect of Participant Gender, and a simple effect of Context. (See Table 1)

According to a multivariate GLM, there was a simple effect of Senator Gender on the male participants' mean rating of the nominee's ability to cope with stress in the Terror context. The male participants thought that the male senator in the terror context was significantly better able to cope with stress ($M = 6.00$) than the female senator in the terror context ($M = 4.83$), $F = 6.226$, $p = 0.016$.

A multivariate GLM also indicated that there was simple effect of Participant Gender on the mean ratings of the female senator's ability to cope with stress in the terror context. The male participants' mean rating of the female senator's ability to cope with stress in the terror context was significantly lower ($M = 4.83$) than the female participants' mean rating of the female senator's ability to cope with stress in the terror context ($M = 5.83$), $F = 6.709$, $p = 0.013$.

Finally, a multivariate GLM demonstrated a simple effect of Context on the mean male participants' mean rating of the female senator's ability to cope with stress. The male participants mean rating of the female senator's ability to cope with stress in the terror context ($M = 4.83$) was significantly lower than the male participants mean rating of the female senator's ability to cope with stress in the peace context ($M = 6.00$), $F = 4.566$, $p = 0.038$.

In addition to this three-way interaction, a multivariate GLM indicated that there was also a nearly significant three-way interaction regarding the *passive* variable $F = 3.871$, $p < 0.10$. Again, the male participants' ratings of the female senator's passivity were higher than their ratings of the male senator's passivity in the terror context. This can be seen in two simple effects: a simple effect of Senator Gender and a simple effect of Participant Gender. A multivariate GLM showed that there was a simple effect for Senator Gender on the male

participants' ratings of the nominee's passivity in the terror condition. The male participants believed that the female senator in the terror context was more passive ($M = 3.33$) than the male senator in the terror context ($M = 1.8$), $F = 4.590$, $p = 0.038$.

The GLM multivariate also indicated that there was a simple main effect of Participant Gender on the ratings of the female senator's passivity in the terror context. The male participants mean rating of the female senator's passivity in the terror context ($M = 3.33$) was also significantly lower than the female participants' mean rating of the female senator's passivity in the terror context ($M = 1.92$), $F = 5.747$, $p = 0.021$.

But, before you are quick to mark the male participants as the sole culprits responsible for discriminating against Senator Christine Johnson, we also found a highly significant negative correlation between the sex-typed female participants and the female senator's voting likelihood score, $r = -.576$, $p = 0.010$. In other words, the higher the female participant's same sex-typed score (that is, the larger the positive difference between the participant's score on the feminine scale and the masculine scale), the lower their voting likelihood score for Senator Christine Johnson.

In addition to the CVD score, we also constructed another variable that indicates the discrepancy between each participant's rating of the statement "Senator Chris/Christine Johnson is qualified to be the Secretary of Defense" and the participant's rating of the scale vote measure. We refer to this variable as the QVD score. This score was calculated by subtracting the rating of the voting likelihood statement from the rating of the qualification statement. As in the CVD score, one would expect the scores of these statements to be nearly identical and a higher discrepancy would also likely be indicative of the presence of some sort of discriminatory factor.

Two Pearson correlations also indicated that the greater the female participant's same sex-typed score, the higher the female senator's CVD score ($r = 0.515, p = 0.024$) as well as the female senator's QVD score, $r = 0.642, p = 0.003$.

There were just a few other results of interest. The Pearson correlation indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between the female participants' sex typed scores and the ratings of the male senator's intelligence, $r = 0.535, p = 0.022$. This means that as the female participants' sex-typed scores increased, their ratings of the male senator's intelligence also increased. The Pearson correlation also indicated, however, that there was not a significant relationship between female participants' sex-typed score and the female senator's ratings of intelligence $r = 0.2, p > 0.05$. Essentially, the degree to which the female participants were sex-typed had no bearing on their ratings of the female senator's intelligence.

There was also a significant negative correlation between the female participant's sex typed score and the degree to which the female participants believed Senator Christine Johnson to be manipulative, $r = -0.497, p = 0.030$. In other words, as the female participants' sex-typed scores increased, they rated Christine Johnson as less manipulative. The Pearson correlation also indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between the female participants' sex-typed score and the degree to which they rated the male senator to be manipulative, $r = 0.478, p = 0.045$. This means that as the female participants' sex-typed scores increased, they rated the male senator as *more* manipulative.

Surprisingly, however, despite what the literature suggests, there were no significant correlations between the sex-typed scores of the male participants and the CVD variable, the QVD variable, or the voting likelihood variable for either the female or male senator.

Discussion

Now, let us get back to the question originally posed: how *does* gender affect people perceptions of women in masculine, protectionist leadership roles? The literature on this issue clearly suggests that gender stereotypes can have deleterious effects on people's views of such women, particularly because the female gender role is often seen as being incongruous with the leadership role. Essentially, we expect women to act feminine and we expect those in the leadership role to engage behaviors, such as assertiveness and dominance, that are typically thought to be more masculine- this is especially true of leaders whose primary tasks involve protecting a country's citizens from physical harm.

Not only, however, do we expect women to act feminine, but we also expect that women will be less competent in completing tasks that are stereotypically masculine in nature. Now, it is true that if a woman proves or validates her competency at a stereotypically masculine task, people generally acknowledge her ability. But, even if a woman proves her competency, she faces yet another impediment—dislike and disrespect from her peers for acting in a manner that is inconsistent with our ideas about how people generally believe a woman should act. Clearly, dislike and disrespect for one's leader would affect the amount of influence that she has over her followers, which could then, in turn, hinder her effectiveness. If this situation isn't bad enough, research has also shown that even if a woman acts more communal and relationship oriented in order to balance out the impending dislike that could stem from her engagement of masculine behaviors, this nurturance could dilute her followers' perceptions of her competence!

It seems then, that women leaders must strike a very careful balance between femininity and masculinity- and even then, they could still face negative perceptions. However, as we discussed previously, as more androgynous or feminine leadership styles are thought to be more

effective in today's corporate and organizational culture, and as women change their behaviors, the idea of a female leader is becoming increasingly socially accepted.

Unfortunately, this newfound acceptance has not yet translated to female leaders in male-dominated fields, such as the military. Sadly, women in more masculine, protectionist leadership roles are still subject to prejudice and discrimination. Clearly then, in this Post-September 11th era, when our national security is ambiguous, the issues regarding perceptions of women in national leadership roles that are concerned with our country's protection, are of great importance and warrant further analysis. Furthermore, understanding how gender stereotypes may bias our perceptions of women leaders in these roles may be especially helpful in comprehending our perceptions of our current national female leaders, such as Condoleezza Rice, as well as potential national female leaders, such as Hilary Clinton.

Our nation's current political position and the potential for a female president, in particular, spurred us to investigate the ways in which both the gender of a potential leader and the context of a more masculine leadership role affected people's perceptions of this person. In light of the literature on people's perceptions of women in masculine protectionist roles, we believed that a terrorist situation would cause people to exaggerate the incongruence between the female gender role and the masculine leadership role. In order to test this assumption, we designed a study that would not only gauge people's perceptions of a potential female appointee and a potential male appointee to the role of Secretary of Defense, but would also measure the effects that a peace time and a terror context may have on their perceptions as well.

Although we predicted that the female and male candidate would be perceived as equally competent across both contexts, we did feel that the female candidate would be perceived as less likeable and thus, less influential than her male counterpart. We also hypothesized that perhaps

being perceived as less likeable and influential would make the participants less likely to support her. Though we thought that these effects would be present across both conditions, we believed that they would be amplified in the terror condition.

We didn't think, however, that all the participants would discriminate against the female candidate. After reading the introduction, it has probably become clear to you that some people are more likely than others to discriminate against women. For this reason, we predicted that the male participants and the sex-typed participants of both sexes would be the ones rating the female candidate as less likeable and influential, and would hence be less likely to support her in this position.

After running multiple statistical analyses, we found that, as expected, the male candidate and the female candidate were thought to be equally competent across both contexts. We did not find a significant difference between the male candidate's influence ratings and the female candidate's influence ratings. Though it is possible that the female candidate was viewed as equally competent and influential as her male counterpart, it is also feasible that the female candidate was given such high competency and influence ratings because she was being compared to *other females*. According to Biernat, Manis, and Nelson (1991) we often judge men and women according to different standards. Therefore, a high rating of a stereotypically masculine characteristic by the female standard may actually be a low rating by the standard that we may use to judge men. This phenomenon is described as the shifting standards model. Thus, the female candidate and the male candidate may not have been given similar competency and influence ratings because the participants' perceptions were not skewed by gender stereotypes, but because these gender stereotypes caused the participants to judge the male and female candidates on different standards. In other words, though the female candidate was given a high

competency and influence rating, it is possible that she was rated as highly competent and influential with regards to the standard used to judge women, and that in comparison to her male counterpart she is actually thought to be less competent and influential. Thus, though gender stereotypes could have influenced the perceptions of the participants, these particular competency and influence measurements may not have been able to expose the effects.

We did, however, notice a trend toward a significant difference between the male candidate's voting likelihood ratings and the female candidate's voting likelihood ratings. The participants were giving the female candidate somewhat lower voting likelihood ratings than the male candidates. But who was giving the female senator these low ratings? In examining these results more closely, we found that the male participants were giving the female senator in the terror context significantly lower voting likelihood ratings than the female participants. In accord with the literature, men are more likely to devalue female leaders in masculine leadership roles. I suppose that this could be a result of an ingroup favoritism bias.

Judging from this particular set of results, it seemed as if we were uncovering a slight degree of discrimination. Knowing that perhaps discrimination against women would take more subtle forms than merely low influence and voting likelihood ratings, we began to analyze our data more closely. In doing so, we noticed that though the female candidate was rated as slightly more competent than the male candidate, her voting likelihood rating was lower. It was this peculiarity that caused us to detect another small discrepancy in the data. The male candidate's competency score was nearly identical to his voting likelihood score—this would be expected as competency was highly correlated with voting likelihood. The female candidate's competency score, however, appeared to be significantly higher than her voting likelihood score. This meant that though the participants were acknowledging her high degree of competency, they were

nevertheless, indicating that they still would be less likely to support her! This was clearly an indication that some sort of subtle, maybe even unconscious, degree of discrimination was occurring. In order to test the significance of this difference in the competency score and the voting likelihood score, we created a variable that we termed CVD, the difference between the competence rating and the voting likelihood measure. Sure enough, after running an analysis on the CVD variable, we found that the drop from the female candidate's competency rating to her voting likelihood rating was significant.

But who was discriminating against the female candidate, and on what basis? Now, it probably doesn't come as a surprise that we found that the male participants were giving the female candidate high competency scores and lower voting likelihood scores. But if the male participants perceived the male and female candidate to be equally competent and influential, then what was causing them to give the female candidate lower voting likelihood ratings than the male candidate?

When we began designing this experiment we anticipated that the participants may be less likely to indicate any blatant discrimination against a female candidate by giving her low ratings on items such as competence, influence and voting likelihood. We, therefore, incorporated seventeen additional measures that were intended to gauge the participants' perceptions of certain aspects or dimensions of the candidate's influence and competence. For example, we asked the participants to indicate the extent to which they believed the candidate to be *intelligent, passive, able to cope with stress, likeable* etc.

We believed that these measures might expose a more nuanced and subtle type of discrimination and it seems as though they did! These measures were the key to a clearer understanding of why the male participants were less likely to vote for the female senator in the

terror context, and why they gave her a lower voting likelihood measure than competency measure in general. Not only did the male participants rate the male senator as *more intelligent* than the female senator in both contexts, but the male participants also perceived the male candidate in the terror context to be better *able to cope with stress* and as less *passive* than the female senator in the terror context! We also found that the male participants rated the female senator as being better able to cope with stress and less passive in the peace context than in the terror context. It is clear that the context played an important role in affecting the male participants' perceptions' of both the female candidate's ability to cope with stress and her passivity.

Though the results indicated that the female participants were giving the female senator in the terror context higher "ability to cope with stress" ratings and lower passivity ratings than the male participants, the female participants can not be let off the hook just yet... We found that the more sex-typed the female participants were, the lower their voting likelihood for the female senator!

Before proceeding, we must interject to say that similarly to the CVD variable, we created another variable that measured the discrepancy between the score on the statement "Senator Chris/Christine Johnson is qualified to be the Secretary of Defense" and the voting likelihood score. Again, we believed that a higher rating on the measure "Senator Chris/Christine Johnson is qualified to be the Secretary of Defense" than on the voting likelihood measure would be indicative of the presence of discrimination. We termed this variable, QVD.

Not only did the female senator's voting likelihood scores get lower as the female participants sex-typed scores increased, but the female senator's CVD and QVD scores both increased with the female participants' sex-typed scores. Essentially, in conjunction with the

male participants, the more sex-typed the female participants were, the more likely they were to subtly discriminate against the female senator! Furthermore, the more the female participants' sex-typed scores increased, the greater their intelligence ratings for the male senator. There was, however, no relationship between the female participants' sex-typed scores, and the female senator's intelligence ratings. It is possible that the reason that the more sex-typed female participants' were more likely to give the female senator lower voting likelihood scores and higher CVD and QVD scores than the male senator, was because they believed the male senator to be more intelligent. It may also be that sex-typed women perceive other women engaging in cross-sex typed tasks more negatively, or perhaps they just perceive men as smarter.

Implications

This study has many implications for female leaders in masculine leadership roles- particularly masculine *protectionist* leadership roles. On the surface, it seems that the female and male candidates were seen as equally competent in both the terror and peace contexts, but were they? We designed this study with the *intention* of portraying the two candidates as equally competent- their biographical and professional information was identical. The fact, however, that the participants rated both candidates as highly competent but then lowered their voting likelihood rating for the female candidate demonstrates how muted and subtle discrimination can be. By asking the participants to rate the extent to which they believed the candidates' demonstrated smaller dimensions relating to overall competency (such as *intelligence, the ability to cope with stress, and passivity*), we uncovered underlying biases that can clearly affect one's degree of support for a female candidate, but are often overlooked. While on the surface the participants grant the female senator competence, other measures show that they don't feel that

she is able to handle the Secretary of Defense position. Therefore, their reported respect for her competence does not translate to their support for her candidacy.

Though the female candidate was rated as less intelligent than the male candidate by the male participants across both contexts, her ability to cope with stress and her passivity were only judged negatively by the male participants in the terror context. It seems, then, that one's educational background or one's professional and intellectual accomplishments are not taken as indicative of whether that person will be able to handle stress or lead effectively. It is possible, that without being provided with concrete information regarding a female candidate's ability to cope with stress or her tendency to act passively in a situation in which she must assume a hyper-masculine (and in this case, protectionist) role, people- particularly men- will rely on their stereotypes to judge these capabilities.

Clearly, these results pose a problem for female leaders, as they indicate that less apparent, less obvious gender biases continue to weaken support for female leaders in masculine national leadership roles, especially during times when our country's security has been threatened.

Further considerations

Though this study demonstrated that subtle forms of discrimination can affect people's perceptions of women in traditionally masculine leadership roles, it, like all other investigations, it does have its limitations. Similarly to many social psychological experiments, our participants were college students. Unfortunately, college students are not necessarily the most accurate representation of society in general. Typically, college students are more open-minded and tolerant in their views and opinions than individuals of other (particularly older) generations (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994). Though the use of college students in this study may be considered a

drawback, it may, actually serve to *enhance* the legitimacy of our findings that women still face discrimination. If participants who are commonly considered to be more broadminded are still subtly discriminating against women, perhaps discrimination would be even more pervasive and apparent among the general population!

We also acknowledge that our sample size- particularly the sample of male participants- was fairly small. A larger sample size may have provided a more accurate representation of the population's perceptions, in general. But, despite, the problems that could arise from using data from small samples, we still found statistically significant effects, which may, thus, be an indication that these effects are actually quite powerful. The effects do take into account small sample sizes.

It must also be noted that we did not actually run a manipulation check to measure the strength of the information used to alter the context. We did, however, find that participants in the peace condition gave significantly higher agreement ratings of the statement "*Senator Chris/Christine Johnson would be a competent Secretary of Defense*" than those participants in the terror condition, and we believe this difference in scores is an indication that our context manipulation was effective. Yet, it is possible that the context manipulation was not as effective as we would have liked it to be.

Furthermore, in an effort to both test the theory that a female will be seen as equally competent as her male counterpart if her competency is apparent and validated we provided the participants with information that indicated that the senator described was highly competent. The information provided, however, may have created a ceiling effect. In other words, the appointee may have been portrayed as *so* competent that we ran the risk that the participants' views of the appointee's suitability may not have been affected by the Senator Gender variable.

But even despite the possibility of a ceiling effect, we *still* found that our female senator was discriminated against! It seems then, that this potential ceiling effect, actually served to *exemplify* the strength of these gender stereotypes and their more subtle ramifications.

Future research

Though our study did not vary competency levels, in light of our current political situation as well as the rise of females into national leadership positions, it would be fascinating to examine how people would perceive a female candidate for a masculine leadership role who was more competent than her male counterpart. Would gender stereotypes and their resulting biases come into play if competency was varied? And if so, how would they affect people's perceptions of these candidates? Also, how would people perceive a female candidate if her competence was ambiguous or even below the relevant standard required for the position? These are questions that warrant further exploration.

Clearly, factors other than competence influence people's perceptions of a leader's effectiveness. As indicated earlier, a woman demonstrating competence in a masculine leadership role faces the risk of being disliked because her competency may be an indication that she is not acting in a manner consistent with how people typically believe a woman should act. This dislike could substantially weaken her influence, and thus, the degree of support that she may acquire. Our study did include one likeability measure, but we did not find that the female senator was disliked, despite her competency. We did not vary the candidates' likeability, and thus, were not able to thoroughly explore the relationship between people's perceptions of likeability and the effects that it may have on those people's support for a leader. Likeability and its related consequences, however, are factors worthy of closer examination.

Additionally, if, as our research suggests, people's (especially males') perceptions of a female's ability to cope with stress in masculine, protectionist leadership roles lead these people to devalue her leadership ability, it may be helpful to analyze this component of competency in greater depth. Therefore, future research may chose to focus more specifically on views of women's ability to withstand stress. Such research could vary levels of stress and then analyze people's perceptions of a female's ability to cope with those differing degrees stress.

From a communication studies perspective, our research has also served to raise questions regarding the difference between discursive equality and actual material equality. Our study indicates that though people often *say* that they believe men and women to be equal, their actions and actual beliefs may not coincide with their speech. This discourse of gender equality may serve to shroud the fact that gender discrimination and perceptions of gender inequality are still in existence. Thus, future communication research may explore how this articulation of and discourse of gender equality blinds us to the reality of gender discrimination.

Conclusion

We are living in a world with those who believe that they will meet paradise by killing innocent people—with those who believe that the destruction and demise of our nation is the key to all of their problems. It is a frightening thought, but we continue to go about our daily lives, placing them in the hands of our national leaders. We trust these leaders to protect us, but what if these leaders were women? Would we still believe them to be competent and capable of guarding our lives? I would like to think that we would. There is no denying that over the years women have made monumental advancements in terms of equality. But it seems that we have been so blinded by our advancements that we may have been overlooking the detrimental effects of the more understated types of gender discrimination that continue to erode our progress. It is

true that gender discrimination may not be as prevalent and blatant as it has been in the past, but this does not mean that it no longer exists. Sadly, discrimination does still exist—only now in more subtle forms. This is demonstrated, for example, by research on modern racism (Hess, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, & Moore, 1992). It seems that now women are experiencing the effects of modern *sexism*. Though this may be disheartening, the fight is not over. We have the capacity to overcome these biases and their negative consequences. But in order for women to win the war on inequality, we must first identify the psychological enemies so that we can devise more effective ways of defeating them.

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Appendix A

Rate yourself on each item, on a scale from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Never or almost never true						Always or almost always true

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. _____ Defends own beliefs | 2. _____ Tender |
| 3. _____ Conscientious | 4. _____ Independent |
| 5. _____ Sympathetic | 6. _____ Unpredictable |
| 7. _____ Assertive | 8. _____ Sensitive to needs of others |
| 9. _____ Reliable | 10. _____ Strong personality |
| 11. _____ Understanding | 12. _____ Jealous |
| 13. _____ Self-sufficient | 14. _____ Compassionate |
| 15. _____ Sincere | 16. _____ Has leader abilities |
| 17. _____ Eager to soothe hurt feelings | 18. _____ Secretive |
| 19. _____ Willing to take risks | 20. _____ Warm |
| 21. _____ Adaptable | 22. _____ Dominant |
| 23. _____ Affectionate | 24. _____ Conceited |
| 25. _____ Willing to take a stand | 26. _____ Loves children |
| 27. _____ Tactful | 28. _____ Aggressive |
| 29. _____ Gentle | 30. _____ Conventional |

Appendix B

A14

*THE NEW YORK TIMES NATIONAL MONDAY, DECEMBER 5, 2011***Will the Recent Terrorist Attacks on the US Result in a More Aggressive Secretary of Defense?**

By MICHAEL NORTON

Senator Christine Johnson: intelligent, decisive, and strong-willed. Fellow policy makers and colleagues describe her as sharp and analytical. Will she be the next Secretary of Defense? Possibly. Recently, it has been widely anticipated that the Department of Defense will attempt to re-evaluate and possibly reconstruct our current defense strategy reflecting the country's desire for a more pre-emptive strategy in light of the terrorist attacks on the US in October 2009. Issues revolving around troop deployment as well as missile defense research have become top priorities for our nation. It seems, however, that we need a new, fresh, creative mind to orchestrate these vital changes. But who? According to recent Whitehouse reports, Senator Johnson appears to be a leading contender for the position.

Born in Chicago, Illinois Johnson earned a bachelor's degree in Political Science at Northwestern in 1982, and then moved on to receive a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1985. After obtaining a law degree she served as the assistant editor-in-chief of the American Trial Lawyers Association, and was made partner in the prestigious law firm Jennera Wickman LLP. While working for Jennera Wickman LLP for 8 years she also earned a Masters degree in Public Policy with a concentration in International Policy from the University of Chicago. Then, in 1993,

New York University employed Johnson as a Law professor until receiving a position as a fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University in 1998. Following this professorship, she became a visiting research scholar at the Army War College in Carlisle, PA in 2002.

Immediately proceeding this employment at the Army War College, Johnson was elected to the US House of Representatives for the 12th District of Pennsylvania in 2004, during which time she assumed the role of Chairperson of the Committee on International Relations. Johnson was elected to the House for another consecutive term until being recently elected to the Senate in 2008. She currently serves as Chairperson of the Committee of Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, as a member of the Judiciary Committee. Johnson has aided in drafting and advocating for several important laws relating to governmental affairs, and she is well-known for her ability to reach across the aisle and work in a bipartisan fashion.

The terrorist attacks this past October have made it apparent that our Department of Defense is in need of an immediate reformation, and thus, the appointment of a new Secretary of Defense is said to be decided upon in the next few weeks.

Will the Recent Peace-keeping Negotiations Between the US and China and Pakistan Result in a Less Aggressive Secretary of Defense?

By **MICHAEL NORTON**

Senator Christine Johnson: intelligent, decisive, and strong-willed. Fellow policy makers and colleagues describe her as sharp and analytical. Will she be the next Secretary of Defense? Possibly. Recently, it has been widely anticipated that the Department of Defense will attempt to re-evaluate and possibly reconstruct our current defense strategy reflecting the country's desire for a less aggressive strategy in light of the recent establishment of democratic governments in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as current peace-keeping negotiations between the US and China and Pakistan. Issues revolving around a reduction in military spending as well as modernization have become top priorities for our nation. It seems, however, that we need a new, fresh, creative mind to orchestrate these vital changes. But who? According to recent Whitehouse reports, Senator Johnson appears to be a leading contender for the position.

Born in Chicago, Illinois Johnson earned a bachelor's degree in Political Science at Northwestern in 1982, and then moved on to receive a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1985. After obtaining a law degree she served as the assistant editor-in-chief of the American Trial Lawyers Association, and was made partner in the prestigious law firm Jennera Wickman LLP. While working for Jennera Wickman LLP for 8 years she also earned a Masters degree in Public Policy with a

concentration in International Policy from the University of Chicago. Then, in 1993, New York University employed Johnson as a Law professor until receiving a position as a fellow at the John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University in 1998. Following this professorship, she became a visiting research scholar at the Army War College in Carlisle, PA in 2002.

Immediately proceeding this employment at the Army War College, Johnson was elected to the US House of Representatives for the 12th District of Pennsylvania in 2004, during which time she assumed the role of Chairperson of the Committee on International Relations. Johnson was elected to the House for another consecutive term until being recently elected to the Senate in 2008. She currently serves as Chairperson of the Committee of Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, as a member of the Judiciary Committee. Johnson has aided in drafting and advocating for several important laws relating to governmental affairs, and she is well-known for her ability to reach across the aisle and work in a bipartisan fashion.

The peace-keeping negotiations this past October have made it apparent that our Department of Defense is in need of an immediate reformation, and thus, the appointment of a new Secretary of Defense is said to be decided upon in the next few weeks.

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Appendix C

Using the 1 to 7 scale below, please write a number to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

Senator Christine Johnson is:

1. _____ ambitious.
2. _____ selfish.
3. _____ able to cope with stress.
4. _____ self-confident.
5. _____ persuasive.
6. _____ indecisive.
7. _____ hardworking.
8. _____ passive.
9. _____ manipulative.
10. _____ trustworthy.
11. _____ qualified to be the Secretary of Defense.
12. _____ assertive.
13. _____ unproductive.
14. _____ likeable.
15. _____ intelligent.
16. _____ weak.
17. _____ admirable.

Using the same 1 to 7 scale, please write a number to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- 18. ___ Senator Christine Johnson would be a competent Secretary of Defense.
- 19. ___ Senator Christine Johnson would be an influential Secretary of Defense.
- 20. ___ If I held a seat in the US Senate I would vote for Senator Christine Johnson.

Please answer this question by checking either "yes" or "no".

- 20. Would you vote for Senator Christine Johnson?
 Yes _____ No _____

Please check the circle that indicates your:

- 21. Year
 - 1st
 - 2nd
 - 3rd
 - 4th
 - Other _____
- 22. Gender
 - Male
 - Female
- 24. Overall political views
 - Very liberal
 - Somewhat liberal
 - Moderate
 - Somewhat conservative
 - Very conservative
- 23. Political affiliation
 - Democrat
 - Republican
 - Independent
 - Other _____

23. Age:
- 18-19
 - 20-21
 - 22 and over

24. Home region:
- Northeast
 - Southeast
 - Midwest
 - Southwest
 - West

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Table 1

Significant Three-way Interaction: Means for *Ability to Cope with Stress* variable

Male Participants	Male Senator	Peace Context	5.50
		Terror Context	6.00
	Female Senator	Peace Context	6.00
		Terror Context	4.83
Female Participants	Male Senator	Peace Context	5.90
		Terror Context	5.75
	Female Senator	Peace Context	5.29
		Terror Context	5.83