

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Abstract approved: 

Previous research suggests that voters see the Office of the Presidency of the United States as a masculine office. Likewise, research examining characteristics of candidates for public office and voting behavior indicates that voters see middle-aged, white men as the most qualified person to hold the Office of the Presidency. Women who seek high public office, specifically the presidency, are seen as better able to handle issues of compassion (e.g., social issues) than issues of a militaristic or foreign policy nature. To see a woman as qualified to hold the Office of the Presidency, voters must also see her as having masculine characteristics. If voters see a female candidate as masculine, the evidence suggesting she is not at a disadvantage when running against a male candidate is mixed. The present study attempted to determine whether participants view a female candidate with masculine characteristics as more qualified for the Presidency than a male candidate with feminine characteristics. Specifically, it was hypothesized that (a) participants would rate men as more effective than women on masculine tasks, regardless of their job history, and (b) participants would rate women as more effective on feminine tasks, regardless of their job history. Results failed to support the hypotheses.

**SHE'S MASCULINE, BUT IS SHE PRESIDENTIAL MATERIAL?
AN EXAMINATION OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE PRESIDENTIAL
CHARACTERISTICS**

A Thesis

Presented to

the Division of Psychology and Special Education

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In Partial Fulfillment

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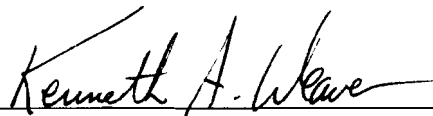
Master of Science

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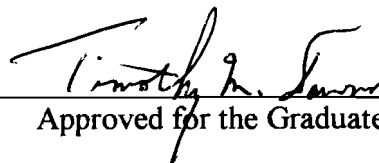
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sex differences in competency ratings of men versus women running for the United States Presidency is a new phenomenon, because women have officially been on the presidential ticket since 1984, when Geraldine Ferraro was the Democratic vice-presidential candidate. That women are recently assuming leadership positions in the United States which were once strictly reserved for men may reflect an ongoing transformation in society's concept of sex roles and social attitudes towards women (Ferree, 1974). A change in social views of sex roles presumably precedes a change in how people perceive men and women differently. Women's recent entry into the traditionally masculine role of political leadership (Carlson & Boring, 1981; Powell & Butterfield, 1987), examining how the general public views women both in terms of their specific abilities as well as their perceived weaknesses.

An examination of the social perceptions of female presidential candidates is informative for several reasons. First, societal views of sex roles have changed within the last century (Heer & Grossbard-Schechtman, 1981; Mason & Lu, 1988; Olsen & Douglas, 1997; Rose, 1974; Wilkie, 1993), and an analysis of social perceptions of a woman running for the United States Presidency would provide information as to the nature of those sex role changes. For example, if voters view a woman as an acceptable president, but competent only in those duties they deem "less important," (e.g., dealing with issues pertaining to racial equality), then society does not truly see women as acceptable in the presidential role. This inconsistency in voter confidence of women's abilities might indicate that, despite changes occurring in favor of equalization of sex roles, there are still

barriers to what society will allow women to do. Second, delineating the factors involved in ratings of presidential candidates may lead to a greater understanding of voting behavior. A more complete knowledge of what factors influence individuals to vote for a certain candidate over another candidate may not only aid candidates in deciding what messages they wish to send out and how they wish to send them, but may help voters decide what they desire in a political leader as well, hopefully leading to more mature and informed voting behavior. Third, participants view men and women as possessing different competencies, and an investigation into ratings of competency of a female presidential candidate might clarify what abilities voters see as important in a president, as well as whether voters see women as possessing those abilities (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Koch, 1999; Rosenwasser, Rogers, Fling, Silvers-Pickens, & Butemeyer, 1987; Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988).

Women and Candidacy

Regarding the female candidate seeking elected office, Darcy and Schramm (1977) found that women do not appear to be at a disadvantage to men when seeking political office in the United States. Surveying the election and demographic data from the 1970, 1972, and 1974 races for the United States House of Representatives, the authors found that the female candidates were not at a disadvantage to male candidates. A decade later, Kelley and McAllister (1984) supported these results by revealing that once a woman is nominated by her respective party, she has nearly an equal chance of winning an election as a man.

To assess the presence of sex stereotypes in evaluations of candidates for election to the United States Senate, Koch (1999) examined data on those qualities voters liked

and disliked in men and women running for the Senate. Koch did this by using the American National Election Study from 1988 and 1990 and the Pooled Senate Election Study from 1992. He then grouped the likes and dislikes into eight categories: (a) competence/experience, (b) leadership, (c) strength in foreign policy issues, (d) strength in social issues, (e) strength in military issues, (f) morality, (g) aggressiveness, and (h) ethics. Participants favored male candidates for their competence, whereas participants favored female candidates for their perceived strength in social issues. In addition, participants praised women more often for their leadership abilities and ethics, although they also cited these same characteristics more often as deficiencies. In fact, participants gave female candidates positive comments more often than they did male candidates. In support of Darcy and Schramm (1977) and Kelley and McAllister (1984), Koch concluded that despite the indication of sex stereotypes in the data, female candidates are not at a disadvantage when seeking political office.

Contrasting data exist regarding women's ability to assume political office.

Ambrosius and Welch (1984) studied the electoral progress of female candidates for all state offices in Nebraska, Missouri, and Iowa from 1950 to 1978. The authors found an increase in the number of women candidates during this time period, as well as an increase in the number of women voters. Although the authors found that female incumbents generally did as well as male incumbents in nonpartisan races, when they controlled for party and incumbency, women were at an approximately 11% disadvantage to men in races for the state legislature. Therefore, the data appear mixed regarding women's equality as political candidates.

Physical Attractiveness and Being Elected

Data are mixed regarding the influence of a candidate's physical attractiveness on chances of being elected. Regarding physical attractiveness in general, Gillen (1981) found that perceived masculinity increases with physically attractive men, and perceived femininity increases with physically attractive women. Sigelman, Sigelman, Thomas, and Ribich (1986) explored the relation between sex, physical attractiveness, and electability, as well as whether voters view masculinity or femininity more favorably in a candidate. Specifically, the study examined the "beauty is beastly" effect, which says attractiveness is advantageous to a man and disadvantageous to a woman seeking high public office. Using descriptions of candidates, the authors presented attractive, moderately attractive, and unattractive male and female candidates running against a moderately attractive male incumbent for a higher public office and a lower public office. The authors also had the participants rate the candidates' masculinity and femininity. Results indicated that men consistently discriminated against women, contradicting previous research which suggests women are only minimally discriminated against. Women, on the other hand, perceived both sexes equally. Regarding the "beauty is beastly" hypothesis, participants viewed attractive men as more electable than their female counterparts. Overall, data indicated that electability decreased with attractiveness. For women, however, beauty was consistently neither a liability nor an asset, and their attractiveness aided them when they ran for a lower office, such as county clerk. Finally, participants perceived the male candidates as more masculine than the female candidates, and consequently men fared better in the elections. The authors concluded that, despite research to the contrary, sex of

the candidate does matter, although physical attractiveness may only be a significant factor for women seeking lower-level positions.

Lewis and Bierly (1990) sought to clarify whether physical attractiveness of a candidate had positive or negative effects on ratings of competence; specifically, whether there exists a positive relation between physical attractiveness and perceived competence for men, and a negative relation between physical attractiveness and perceived competency in women. Participants viewed photographs of male and female members of the United States House of Representatives and indicated whether they were attractive or unattractive, competent or incompetent. Results failed to confirm the researchers' suspicions of physical attractiveness as an asset to men but a liability to women; physical attractiveness aided both men and women. The authors also found evidence of a so-called similarity effect with female voters, but not with male voters. The authors defined the similarity effect as the tendency of participants to favor individuals who are similar to themselves on any given characteristic, most notably sex.

Similarity of Candidate and Getting Elected

The so-called similarity effect can be highly influential in determining behavior in elementary and high school children (Goethals & Nelson, 1973; Olsen & Willemsen, 1978), as well as in individuals in business situations (Brock, 1965). The influence of sex similarity is related to voting for a candidate (Garrett & Brooks, 1987; Plutzer & Zipp, 1996). Believing that the research showing that women candidates are not discriminated against may hide the possibility that women tend to vote for women and men tend to vote for men, Plutzer and Zipp (1996) analyzed the data from 14 statewide elections in which a woman was one of the two major candidates in order to investigate the effects of sex

similarity on partisan politics. It was the authors' impression that with the increase in women running for political office a conflict may arise between party allegiance and crossing party lines to vote for a candidate of the same sex. Their results indicated that sex similarity effects were significant in 8 of 14 states. The authors concluded sex-similarity competes with party affiliation in determining voting behavior. They suggest that if the number of women running for political office continues to increase, a difference in voting behavior may develop between men and women. This difference would be reinforced through women's particular policy preferences and tendency to vote for women candidates.

Garrett and Brooks (1987) examined the color of ballot, sex of candidate, and sex of voter on candidate preference in three experiments. In the final and most revealing experiment, participants were given two sheets of paper, one which contained the platform of a male and a female candidate which they were instructed to read. The second sheet of paper was a ballot, either green or pink in color, on which they were asked to vote for their preferred candidate. Sex-similarity of the candidate was much more influential in determining voting behavior than color of ballot, especially when the researchers presented the candidate of the same sex on the participants' preferred color of paper.

Private Life and Candidate Preference

Ogletree, Coffey, and May (1992) investigated whether male presidential candidates with past problems are at an advantage to female candidates in terms of electability. After reading a description of a candidate, participants rated the effectiveness of the candidate in several presidential duties, as well as their chances of winning the election. Results revealed that participants viewed a man with past psychological problems

as more electable than three of four female candidates with past psychological problems. Interestingly, in the one instance where participants rated the woman as more electable than the man, the woman had a history of illegal drug use.

Age and Candidacy

Sigelman and Sigelman (1982) noted sexism may be less of a factor in determining preference for, and perceptions of, political candidates than ageism. The authors simulated a mayoral race in which a 47- or 53-year old white man ran against a 47- or 53-year old white woman, a 47- or 53-year old black woman, a 47- or 53-year old black man, a 31-year old white man, and a 72-year old white man, in two candidate races. Participants were distributed equally across age groups. In four of the five races the 47- or 53-year old white man was victorious. In the only race which he lost, he was defeated by the 31-year-old white man who garnered 57.5% of the votes. The authors took these results to signify that the effects of age on candidate preference are far more pronounced than the effects of race or sex.

Piliavin (1987) explored the same topic and also found that age was a significant factor in determining voting behavior, but not as significant as sex. Using 1,507 participants, Piliavin designed a hypothetical small-town mayoral race in which a middle aged (47- or 53-year-old) man ran against either (a) a middle-aged white woman, (b) a middle-aged black woman, (c) a middle-aged black man, (d) a 31-year-old white man, or (e) a 72-year-old white man. In all cases but two, the male candidate “won,” failing to support the conclusion by Sigelman and Sigelman (1982) that sexism is not as strong a predictor of voting behavior as ageism.

Masculinity and Femininity of Presidential Roles

Participants view certain public offices as more sex stereotypic than others; whether a candidate fits that sex stereotype can greatly affect whether voters will elect him or her. Carlson and Boring (1981) suggested that running for an elected office is seen as a masculine act. In order to clarify this point and examine the relevance of sex-role stereotypes in the 1984 presidential election, Powel and Butterfield (1987) developed the concept of a “good president” and “good vice-president” from research indicating business managers are typically described in masculine terms. The authors developed masculinity and femininity scores of a hypothetical good president and a hypothetical good vice-president based on the scores of participants who took the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (Bem, 1981). The authors found that the good president and good vice-president scored significantly higher in terms of masculinity than femininity. Using the same method, the authors also examined the masculinity and femininity ratings of each of the candidates and compared the scores with the profiles of the good president and good vice-president. Their results indicated that Geraldine Ferraro was the only candidate whose profile did not differ significantly from that of the good president. The authors took these results to mean that a woman could be viewed as possessing the desired traits of a president. The authors also found that voters see the presidential and vice-presidential roles in terms of masculine sex-role stereotypes, and that sex of the candidate did influence descriptions of presidential candidates. The authors concluded that voters may indeed view women as possessing desired presidential characteristics, but only if the voters also see them as high in masculinity.

Rosenwasser et al. (1987) explored perceptions of candidates in masculine and feminine roles by having participants read a brief description of a candidate and rate his or her effectiveness on 10 items previously determined to be masculine, feminine, or neutral. Participants also completed scores on the Attitude Towards Women Scale (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (Spence & Helmreich, 1978), and the Public Opinion Scale (Cherry & Byrne, 1977). Participants rated women as most effective on the feminine items and men most effective on masculine items. These results complemented previous data indicating voters generally view women as competent in performing more feminine presidential tasks. Voters view men as competent in performing more masculine presidential tasks. Regarding the masculine items on the Attitudes Towards Women Scale, results revealed that those participants with less favorable attitudes towards women were more likely to rate women significantly lower than men. Conversely, participants with more favorable attitudes towards women were more likely to rate women higher on feminine items than men. Overall, the authors concluded that little evidence existed to indicate that sexism keeps women from holding political office; instead, they suggested that a lack of female candidates was responsible for an under representation of women in political offices.

Rosenwasser and Seale (1988) looked specifically at how voters see male and female presidential candidates when performing masculine and feminine tasks, and then whether voters rate masculine tasks and feminine tasks differently in terms of importance. In their study, participants read a brief description of a hypothetical presidential candidate and then rated the candidates in terms of effectiveness on 10 items describing various presidential tasks which previous research determined to be either masculine or feminine.

Participants then rated the importance of the tasks. Results supported previous research indicating that participants rate women higher on feminine tasks, and rate men higher on masculine tasks. Participants rated feminine tasks as less important than masculine tasks, leading the researchers to speculate that candidates running for the presidency should be seen as masculine. The authors question whether voters would view a woman with masculine characteristics as qualified for the presidency, or if they would view a feminine man as unqualified.

In light of data indicating men are seen as qualified to handle military and defense issues and women are qualified to work with compassion issues, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) sought to explain why this type of gender stereotyping is apparently so pervasive. Using methods similar to previous research in which participants rated the competencies of male and female candidates, and inferred the candidates inner belief systems, the authors found that voters' differing expectancies from male and female candidates resulted from voters' gender stereotypes about women's and men's personality traits. Specifically, the authors concluded that voters' assumptions of women's emotional capacity and sensitivity leads voters to believe that women have greater competence in issues like health care and education. Similarly, voters' assumptions of men's assertiveness and aggressiveness leads them to believe men are most competent to deal with military and economic issues. The authors state that these stereotypes generally leave women at a great disadvantage when running for political office, because voters do not hold stereotypically feminine traits in as high esteem as stereotypically masculine traits, and that voters view political office, including the United States Presidency, as a masculine role.

Summary

Voters view women as preferable presidential candidates over men in some situations. Data indicate that women will tend to vote for women, based on effects of sex similarity. However, the degree to which men may or may not discriminate against a female candidate is not as clear. Data also indicate that the optimal age of a female candidate is somewhere in middle-age. Possibly most important, however, are the findings that suggest voters may well view a woman as qualified to hold the presidency, but only so long as she is viewed as possessing masculine qualities. This need for voters to perceive a female candidate as masculine raises the question of just how masculine she needs to be, and just how lacking in masculinity a male counterpart must be for the woman to be elected over the man. It is from this point in the research that the present study proceeded.

The current study built on the previous research and explored whether voters perceive a woman with a masculine background as competent in masculine presidential duties, and therefore competent in the role of President of the United States. Specifically, the present research examined whether voters view a woman with naval experience, which research shows to be characteristically masculine, as more competent in 10 presidential tasks than a man with teaching experience at the elementary level, which research shows to be characteristically feminine. Participants read one of four brief descriptions of a candidate and then rated how competent they believe that candidate to be in 10 masculine, feminine, and sex-neutral presidential tasks developed by Rosenwasser et al. (1987). The current study will help clarify whether sex of the candidate ceases to be an influential factor when the female candidate has a history of performing characteristically masculine duties, and whether voters can view a female candidate as more competent than a male

candidate when she has a more masculine background than the male candidate she is running against.

It is hypothesized that, regardless of sex of the participant :

1. Participants will rate men as more effective on masculine items than women, regardless of job history.
2. Participants will rate women as more effective on feminine items than the men, regardless of job history.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

A convenience sample of 120 introductory psychology students, 49 men and 71 women, from Emporia State University served as participants. Among the participants, 31 identified themselves as Republican, 18 as Democrat, 3 as Independent/Other, and 68 indicated no political party affiliation. With regard to age, 87 were between 18 and 20 years, 24 were between 21 and 25 years, 6 were over 25, and 3 were below 18. The students received course credit for their participation.

Design

This study involved three independent variables. The first variable was Participant Sex (male and female). The second variable was the Candidate Sex (male or female). The third variable was Job History (elementary school teacher or naval officer). The three dependent variables were the totaled scores, respectively, of the four masculine items, the four feminine items, and the two neutral items. After collection, three three-way analyses of variance determined the significance of the three variables.

Materials

Four brief descriptions of presidential candidates were developed; two men and two women (see Appendices D-G). In order to give the participants additional information beyond the candidates' sex, the descriptions noted the candidates' professional accomplishments. The descriptions were identical except that one man and one woman served in the Navy, which Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) label a masculine occupation.

One man and one woman were previously an elementary school teacher, which Huddy and Terkildsen label a feminine occupation.

In addition, the current study used a 10-item list of presidential tasks and a corresponding 5-point competency scale that ranges from 1 (Ineffective) to 5 (Extremely Effective). The scale was developed by Rosenwasser et al. (1987). The list of presidential tasks consists of four masculine tasks, four feminine tasks, and two sex-neutral tasks. The masculine items are: dealing with terrorism, dealing with a military crisis, ensuring an adequate military defense system, and filling the president's role as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The feminine items are: solving problems of the aged, solving problems in our educational system, guaranteeing the rights of racial minorities, and solving problems of the disabled and handicapped. The neutral items are: conserving and wisely utilizing our natural resources, and relating to and leading the American public.

Procedure

The researcher used a table of random numbers to divide the participants into four groups. The researcher gave each participant in Group A (a) an informed consent document, to be filled out and kept separate from the data, (b) a demographic sheet asking for the age, sex, and political party affiliation of the participant, (c) a copy of the naval-experienced male candidate's description, and (d) the 10-item task sheet. The researcher gave Group B the same materials, but substituted the naval-experienced female candidate's description for the naval-experienced male candidate's description. The researcher also gave Group C an informed consent document, a demographic sheet, and the elementary-school-experienced male candidate's description. Finally, the researcher also gave Group D the same materials, but substituted the elementary-school-experienced

female candidate's description with that of the elementary-experienced male candidate.

Due to experimenter miscalculation, the n of the cell of the male participant who read the female teacher description is disproportionately small.

The participants assembled in a large classroom and completed the materials as a group. First they filled out the demographics sheet. Next each participant read the respective candidate's description and then rated the candidate's competency on the 10 items. When the participants completed the questionnaire, they were free to leave. The entire procedure took approximately 10 min.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Participant's ratings of candidate effectiveness in masculine, feminine, and neutral duties were analyzed using three, 2 (sex of participant) x 2 (sex of candidate) x 2 (job history of candidate) analyses of variance. Means and standard deviations on the masculine items are presented in Table 1, whereas Tables 2 and 3 show the means and standard deviations for the feminine items and neutral items, respectively. The ANOVA source tables for the masculine, feminine, and neutral items are presented in Tables 4, 5 and 6, respectively.

Significance was found in terms of candidate job history on the masculine items, $F(1, 119) = 114.99, p < .001$. η^2 indicates this significant factor accounted for 50.70% of the variance. Specifically, participants rated candidates with naval experience as more effective than those candidates with teaching experience.

The ANOVA of the ratings of the feminine items also yielded significance for the job history factor, $F(1, 119) = 18.52, p < .001$. η^2 indicates that this significant factor accounted for 14.20% of the variance. Specifically, participants rated candidates with teaching experience as more effective than those candidates with naval experience.

The ANOVA of the ratings of the neutral items yielded significance for the participant sex factor, $F(1, 119) = 8.2, p < .005$. η^2 indicated that this significant factor accounted for 6.80% of the variance. Specifically, female participants rated candidates overall as more effective on the neutral items than did male participants.

Table 1

Ratings of Effectiveness of Each Candidate on Masculine Items

	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Men			
Male Candidate			
Officer	16.09	2.91	11
Teacher	8.00	3.29	16
Female Candidate			
Officer	14.69	3.28	16
Teacher	8.50	4.68	6
Total Candidate Sex	12.06	4.89	49
Women			
Male Candidate			
Officer	15.79	2.08	14
Teacher	9.35	2.34	17
Female Candidate			
Officer	14.06	4.02	17
Teacher	9.04	2.40	23
Total	11.65	3.99	71

Note. The higher the mean, the higher the candidate's efficacy ratings.

Table 2

Ratings of Effectiveness of Each Candidate on Feminine Items

		<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Men				
	Male Candidate			
	Officer	11.55	3.36	11
	Teacher	14.25	2.72	16
	Female Candidate			
	Officer	12.56	2.73	16
	Teacher	13.50	4.04	6
	Total Candidate Sex	13.00	3.13	49
Women				
	Male Candidate			
	Officer	12.87	3.07	15
	Teacher	14.44	2.63	16
	Female Candidate			
	Officer	12.35	2.47	17
	Teacher	15.65	2.19	23
	Total Candidate Sex	14.00	2.85	71

Note. The higher the mean, the higher the candidate's efficacy ratings.

Table 3Ratings of Effectiveness of Each Candidate on Neutral Items

	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Male Candidate			
Officer	7.73	1.74	11
Teacher	7.50	1.41	16
Female Candidate			
Officer	7.69	1.25	16
Teacher	6.83	1.47	6
Total Candidate Sex	7.53	1.43	49
Women			
Male Candidate			
Officer	8.29	1.33	15
Teacher	8.29	1.26	16
Female Candidate			
Officer	8.35	1.32	17
Teacher	8.52	2.47	23
Total Candidate Sex	8.38	1.74	71

Note. The higher the mean, the higher the candidate's efficacy ratings.

Table 4Analysis of Variance for Masculine Items

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Job History	1075.96	1	1075.96	114.99*
Candidate Sex	14.05	1	14.05	1.50
Participant Sex	1.51	1	1.51	.16
Job History x Candidate Sex	17.92	1	17.93	1.92
Job History x Participant Sex	13.02	1	13.02	1.39
Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	2.09	1	2.09	.22
Job History x Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	.38	1	.38	.04
Error	1047.98	112	9.36	
Total	2172.92	119		

Note. $p < .001$

Table 5

Analysis of Variance for Feminine Items

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Job History	138.15	1	138.15	18.53*
Candidate Sex	2.10	1	2.10	.28
Participant Sex	17.51	1	17.51	2.34
Job History x Candidate Sex	.90	1	.90	.12
Job History x Participant Sex	6.08	1	6.08	.82
Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	.59	1	.59	.08
Job History x Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	12.65	1	12.65	1.7
Error	835.22	112	7.46	
Total	1013.21	119		

Note. $p < .001$

Table 6Analysis of Variance for Neutral Items

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Job History	1.33	1	1.33	.49
Candidate Sex	.26	1	.26	.10
Participant Sex	22.33	1	22.33	8.22*
Job History x Candidate Sex	.35	1	.35	.13
Job History x Participant Sex	2.58	1	2.58	.95
Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	1.63	1	1.63	.60
Job History x Candidate Sex x Participant Sex	1.01	1	1.01	.37
Error	304.46	112		
Total	333.97	119		

Note. $p < .001$

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present study was to help clarify whether the sex of a presidential candidate ceases to be an influential factor in voting behavior when the female candidate has a history of performing characteristically masculine duties. The study also hoped to ascertain whether voters may view a female candidate as more competent than a male candidate when she has a more masculine background than the male candidate she is running against.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 states that participants will rate a male candidate as more effective on the masculine items than the female candidate, regardless of job history. Results failed to support this hypothesis. Results supported only the conclusion that, on the masculine items, participants rated the candidate with the naval background as more effective than the candidate with the teaching background. There are several possible reasons for the participants' favoring the naval candidate as they did. For one, three of the four masculine items were militaristic in nature, which also makes it reasonable for participants to favor the naval candidate. Secondly, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) note that people view the military as a masculine profession. Because Rosenwasser et al. (1987) determined that individuals view these four items as masculine in nature, it is reasonable that the participants of this study would believe the naval candidate to be more effective in dealing with them. More specifically, it is logical that participants will view candidates with naval experience as more effective in dealing with masculine, militaristic items than they would a candidate with teaching experience.

It is noteworthy that participants did not rate men as more effective than women on masculine items. This finding lends to the conclusion that women are not at an obvious disadvantage to men when seeking the presidency. These results are in line with Darcy and Schramm (1977), and Kelley and McAllister (1984), who concluded that women are not at an overall disadvantage to men when seeking public office.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 states that participants will rate a female candidate as more effective on feminine items than they would a male candidate, regardless of job history. Results failed to support this hypothesis. Participants did not rate women as more effective than men on the feminine items. The data reveal only that participants rated the candidate with the teaching background as more effective than the candidate with the naval background on the feminine items. Despite the lack of significance this finding seems logical, as Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) indicate that the public views the field of education as feminine in nature. These results also indicate that women may not be at an advantage when seeking public office.

There are a couple of possible reasons the hypotheses were not supported. For one, it is possible that this sample was one comprised of individuals who are less attuned to sex differences and differing sex roles. It is also possible that, because this sample was drawn from a college student population, the education level of the individual participants overrode the effects of the candidates' sex.

Results from the neutral items indicate that participants consistently rated the female candidate as more effective than the male candidate. This finding is curious, as Carlson and Boring (1981) and Powell and Butterfield (1987) indicated that participants

view political leadership in general as masculine in nature. These results may lend support for the idea that women and men are at an equal advantage when pursuing public office. Taken collectively, these results suggest that men and women have an equal chance of being elected to high public office.

Implications

Although the main hypotheses were not supported, the results do have implications regarding candidates and voting behavior. First, because the participants favored the candidate with the naval background on the masculine items, future candidates would be wise to emphasize any militaristic experience they have. However, the results of this research may be important for what they do not reveal. The fact that there is an absence of significance with regard to either candidate or participant sex indicates an absence of preferential treatment in terms of candidate sex. Women may feel encouraged by the fact that their sex did not translate into low ratings of effectiveness on masculine tasks. Likewise, men may feel encouraged that being a man did not translate into low ratings of effectiveness on feminine tasks. The data clearly suggest that qualifications are the determining factor in rating a candidate's effectiveness items. These results support Darcy and Schramm (1977) and Kelley and McAllister (1984) that women stand an equal chance of being elected as do men.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study is not without limitations. First, the sample drawn for this study was a convenience sample from a highly specific geographic, economic, and cultural background. Attitudes towards women, sex roles, and the presidency vary highly from one geographic region to another, as well as from economic class to economic class and

cultural background to cultural background. The results here may represent only a rural, Midwestern student perspective that may not be generalizable to other parts of the country. Second, attitudes toward men and women, as well as social concepts of sex roles, are in constant change, meaning extra care is wise when viewing these results. Due to the nature of the subject, the present data are representative only of this particular population at this particular time. If reexamined a year or five years from now, results from this population might be very different. Also, the cell sizes are not equal in the ANOVAs, and in the case of the male participants who rated the female candidate, cell size is substantially unequal to the other cells. Larger sample sizes would be desirable.

Conclusion

Because social attitudes towards women and sex roles are fluid, research examining their relation to voting behavior is always pertinent. As women become candidates for the presidency in the future in presumably larger numbers, future research should continue to explore the nature of how voters view them as both leaders and policymakers. An examination into cultural and economic influences on voting behavior as it relates to electing women would be very beneficial to both candidate and voter, as would investigations into individual notions of masculinity and femininity and their importance in electing leaders.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

The Division of Psychology & Special Education at Emporia State University supports the practice of protection for human subjects participating in research and related activities. The following information is provided so that you can decide whether you wish to participate in the present study. You should be aware that even if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time, and that if you do withdraw from the study, you will not be subjected to reprimand or any other form of reproach.

You are asked to fill out a single questionnaire. Time needed to fill out the questionnaire should not be more than 20 minutes.

"I have read the above statement and have been fully advised of the procedures to be used in this project. I have been given sufficient opportunity to ask any questions I had concerning the procedures and possible risks involved. I understand the potential risks involved and I assume them voluntarily. I likewise understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without being subjected to reproach."

Signature _____

Date _____

APPENDIX B

Application for the Approval of the Use of Human Subjects

1. Name of Principal Investigator(s) (Individual(s) administering the procedures):

Daniel Obarski

2. Departmental Affiliation: **Psychology/Special Education**

3. Person to whom notification should be sent:

Daniel Obarski

1201 Triplet DR #F67

Emporia, KS 66801

4. Telephone: **316-343-9655**

5. Title of Project: **Perceived masculinity of a United States presidential candidate and ratings of competency on presidential tasks.**

6. Funding: **NONE**

7. Project Purpose(s): **THESIS REQUIREMENT**

8. Describe the proposed subjects: (age, sex, race, or other special characteristics, such as students in a specific class, etc.) **Introductory psychology students, ESU**

9. **Describe how the subjects are to be selected:** Volunteer by signing up on posted form

10. Describe the proposed procedures in the Project. Any proposed experimental activities that are included in study, treatments, debriefing, questionnaires, and evaluation, research, development demonstration, (Use projects must be described here. additional page if necessary.)

Students will be given a description of a US presidential candidate and asked to rate how competent they feel they would be on 10 listed presidential tasks. They will also fill out an Attitudes Towards Women Scale.

11. Will questionnaires, tests, or related research instruments not explained in question #9 be used? (if yes, attach a copy to this application.) **NO**

12. Will electrical or mechanical devices be used? device(s.)

(If yes, attach a detailed description) **NO**

13. Do the benefits of the research outweigh the risks to human subjects? should be outlined here. **YES**

14. Are there any possible emergencies which might arise in utilization of human subjects in this project? Details of these emergencies should be provided here. **NO**

15. What provisions will you take for keeping research data private? **The participants will remain anonymous, and all information will be kept confidential.**

APPENDIX C

Likert Items on Which Each Candidate Will be Rated

Please circle how effective you perceive the candidate to be in the following situations:

	Ineffective	Minimally Effective	Somewhat Effective	Very Effective	Extremely Effective
1. Dealing with terrorism.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Solving problems in our educational system.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Dealing with a military crisis.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Conserving & wisely utilizing our natural resources.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Ensuring an adequate military defense system.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Guaranteeing the rights of racial minorities.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Filling the president's role as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Solving problems of the disabled and handicapped.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Relating to and leading the American public.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Solving problems of the aged.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D

The Candidate

Catherine Smith is seeking the Presidency of the United States. She was born and grew up in a small farming town in the Midwest. She was educated at the area public schools, attended the state college and the local institute of technology, ultimately receiving a Bachelor of Science degree.

During her naval career she served with both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets and as a submariner rose to the rank of lieutenant, working under an admiral in the development of a nuclear submarine program.

After leaving the Navy she returned to her hometown. She worked her own farm and she and her husband ran Smith's Warehouse, a general-purpose seed company. She became involved in the affairs of the community, serving as the first president of the State Planning Association. The following year she won election to her state's Senate. She lost her first gubernatorial campaign, but won the next election, becoming Governor of her home state. She was the National Committee campaign chairperson for the congressional elections three years later.

Last fall she announced her candidacy for president of the United States, and won her party's nomination on the first ballot.

APPENDIX E

The Candidate

Richard Smith is seeking the Presidency of the United States. He was born and grew up in a small farming town in the Midwest. He was educated at the area public schools, attended the state college and the local institute of technology, ultimately receiving a Bachelor of Science degree.

During his teaching career he taught second, fourth and fifth grades and as a teacher won Outstanding Teacher of the Year awards twice, developing new methods of helping children interact in the learning process.

After leaving elementary education he returned to his hometown. He worked his own farm and he and his wife ran Smith's Warehouse, a general-purpose seed company. He became involved in the affairs of the community, serving as the first president of the State Planning Association. The following year he won election to his state's Senate. He lost his first gubernatorial campaign, but won the next election, becoming Governor of his home state. He was the National Committee campaign chairperson for the congressional elections three years later.

Last fall he announced his candidacy for president of the United States, and won his party's nomination on the first ballot.

APPENDIX F

The Candidate

Catherine Smith is seeking the Presidency of the United States. She was born and grew up in a small farming town in the Midwest. She was educated at the area public schools, attended the state college and the local institute of technology, ultimately receiving a Bachelor of Science degree.

During her teaching career she taught second, fourth and fifth grades and as a teacher won Outstanding Teacher of the Year awards twice, developing new methods of helping children interact in the learning process.

After leaving the Navy she returned to her hometown. She worked her own farm and she and her husband ran Smith's Warehouse, a general-purpose seed company. She became involved in the affairs of the community, serving as the first president of the State Planning Association. The following year she won election to her state's Senate. She lost her first gubernatorial campaign, but won the next election, becoming Governor of her home state. She was the National Committee campaign chairperson for the congressional elections three years later.

Last fall she announced her candidacy for president of the United States, and won her party's nomination on the first ballot.

APPENDIX G

The Candidate

Richard Smith is seeking the Presidency of the United States. He was born and grew up in a small farming town in the Midwest. He was educated at the area public schools, attended the state college and the local institute of technology, ultimately receiving a Bachelor of Science degree.

During his naval career he served with both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets and as a submariner rose to the rank of lieutenant, working under an admiral in the development of a nuclear submarine program.

After leaving elementary education he returned to his hometown. He worked his own farm and he and his wife ran Smith's Warehouse, a general-purpose seed company. He became involved in the affairs of the community, serving as the first president of the State Planning Association. The following year he won election to his state's Senate. He lost his first gubernatorial campaign, but won the next election, becoming Governor of his home state. He was the National Committee campaign chairperson for the congressional elections three years later.

Last fall he announced his candidacy for president of the United States, and won his party's nomination on the first ballot.

APPENDIX H
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

You have participated in a research study designed to analyze the effects of voter gender, candidate gender, and candidate job history on ratings of effectiveness for a hypothetical presidential candidate. This study hypothesized that the gender of the candidate would significantly influence how effective voters saw that candidate in performing presidential duties. This study is being done to complete a Masters thesis requirement. Thank you for your participation. Results of the study can be obtained by contacting the researcher at the following address:

Daniel Obarski
1201 Triplet DR #F67
Emporia, KS 66801
316-343-9655

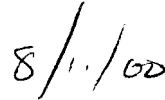
APPENDIX I

PERMISSION TO COPY STATEMENT

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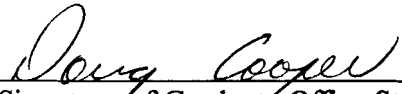
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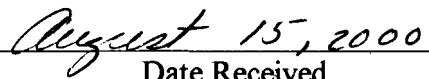
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She's Masculine, but is She
 Presidential Material? An Examination
 of Masculine and Feminine Characteristics
 in Female Presidential Candidates

 Title of Thesis



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