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THE EFFECTS OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND BEHAVIORAL STYLE
ON PERCEPTIONS OF MEN'S LEADERSHIP POTENTIAL AND
EFFECTIVENESS

A Thesis

Presented in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

BY

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MAY, 2013

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In August 2011, Steve Jobs announced his intention to step down as CEO of Apple, and encouraged the board of directors to select Apple COO Tim Cook as his successor. The board heeded his advice, and Cook took the position immediately after Jobs' retirement. Thus, Cook became leader of number thirty-five on the Fortune 500 and the first openly gay CEO of any company ever ranked on the list.

Cook's appointment highlights several social trends. Firstly, the public is reporting an increasing awareness of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community. Between 1992 and 2010, the number of Americans who stated that they knew someone who was gay or lesbian jumped from 42% to 77% (Montopoli, 2010). Secondly, LGBTQ individuals are in the workplace and taking on leadership roles; however, there are few scholarly publications—particularly in the field of industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology—that have investigated issues relating to LGBTQ individuals as organizational leaders.

This study was intended to address these issues by examining the perceived potential and effectiveness of a gay male leader in an interview context. The study examined the interaction between sexual orientation and behavioral style, and its influence on leadership evaluation. By integrating Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory and Kite and Deaux's (1987) implicit inversion theory, it was hypothesized that a gay male leader would experience discrimination similar to that which a heterosexual female leader encounters.

Specifically, a gay man would be perceived to have both less leadership potential and less leadership effectiveness than a heterosexual man.¹

This section will provide a background for the study and its hypothesis. It will first investigate the lack of LGBTQ-related I-O psychology research and related potential consequences, and then expand its scope to consider related research in other fields. Next, the need for LGBTQ-related research on the specific area of leadership will be explored. Following this, role congruity theory and implicit inversion theory will be defined, discussed, and finally, integrated as a basis for the study's hypothesis.

Industrial-Organizational Psychology and LGBTQ Research

Though scarce, research on sexual minority issues in the workplace does exist. However, there is a noticeable shortage of work generated by I-O psychologists (King & Cortina, 2010; Zickar, 2010). This dearth is particularly conspicuous when compared to I-O's abundance of work on racial and gender minorities. The recency of openly LGBTQ stakeholder prevalence offers one explanation for I-O's lack of LGBTQ research. Some have argued that I-O researchers more often act as responsive agents than they do progressive; research trends tend to lag behind current topics of interest in applied settings (Cascio & Aguinas, 2008). With the relative newness of LGBTQ stakeholder concern, I-O research might be experiencing this kind of delay. Clair, Beatty, and MacLean (2005) attribute I-O's prior neglect to the invisibility of sexual orientation.

¹Gender and sexual orientation terminology follows guidelines determined by the American Psychological Association and published in *American Psychologist* in 1991.

Categorical descriptors such as race and gender are more salient, and have been consistently used to define populations in cultural contexts. Conversely, sexual orientation is not a readily observable variable; rather, it plays a large role in an individual's invisible social identity. Sexual minority groups were considered outside of the cultural norm for much of United States history. Fearing discrimination, few LGBTQ individuals chose to "come out", as consequences of workplace prejudice against those bearing a stigmatized identity included job loss, limited career advancement, difficulty finding a mentor, and isolation at work (Cox, 1993). A lack of organizational resources dedicated to LGBTQ issues was therefore the result of a lack of LGBTQ stakeholder prevalence.

Several I-O psychologists have encouraged their peers to move to a more humanistic perspective (Lefkowitz, 2008). However, as Zickar (2010) points out, scholars cannot be forced to research that which they do not wish to study. For those who are working directly with an organization, that organization's interests influence research subject matter. Often, these clients are interested in increasing productivity, profitability, and efficiency, and they will hire consultants in the I-O field with these business objectives in mind. I-O psychologists can thus expect to be compensated by research in related areas, such as motivation, training, and teams. Excluding discrimination cases, there is little monetary compensation for research on social justice issues in the workplace (Lefkowitz, 2005). I-O psychologists are thus put in conflict with humanistic values and business goals, and often, need for a business salary drives them to focus on the latter (Lefkowitz, 2005). Zickar concludes I-O psychologists should try to draw a clear connection

between LGBTQ and organizational imperatives to encourage client interest. Additionally, the field should generally be more receptive to research that lacks such an organizational imperative. However, as will be further discussed in the following section, this in fact may be an organizational imperative that has gone ignored. Organizations may be missing out on key knowledge that could help improve LGBTQ employee wellbeing and, consequently, organizational productivity. Thus, I-O's presence in LGBTQ workplace literature would be practically beneficial as well as humanistic.

LGBTQ-Related Workplace Research in Other Fields

Though I-O psychology has not actively investigated LGBTQ-related workplace issues, a small but informative selection of articles has been generated from an active base of authors in other fields. Two lines of research—compensation and employee discrimination—dominate this literature. Badgett's (1995) seminal piece on wage discrimination began a long line of studies examining salary differences individuals of differing sexual orientations (Allegretto & Arthur, 2001; Berg & Lien, 2002; Black et al., 2003; Blandford, 2003). Estimates of the salary difference between gay and heterosexual men range from 9% and 32%, with most studies reporting numbers on the higher end of this range (Badgett, Holning, Sears, & Ho, 2007). Several workplace discrimination studies have also been published, primarily relying upon LGBTQ self-report measures in their methods. Since the mid-1990s, studies have found that between 15% and 43% of LGBTQ people report having experienced employment discrimination; further, many heterosexual individuals who have been surveyed

report having witnessed some form of LGBTQ workplace discrimination (Badgett et al., 2007). Organizational policies can act as both reasons for and examples of this prejudice; that is, policies such as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” can serve to create a community that fosters bias against LGBTQ individuals (Barron & Hebl, 2010), or they can reflect the organization’s innate bias against LGBTQ individuals (Embrick, Walther, & Wickens, 2007).

Other work has investigated the economic influence of an organization’s relationship to LGBTQ stakeholders. There is a suspicion among some organizations that having a reputation for managing sexual orientation diversity will be economically disadvantageous, resulting in backlash from conservative stakeholders. The literature does not support this suspicion (King & Cortina, 2010; Wang & Schwarz, 2010). In 2008, Johnston and Malina compared stock market price change to scores on the Human Rights Campaign’s annual Corporate Equality Index (CEI) for 203 firms. Using seven dimensions, the CEI measures firms annually on implementation of sexual orientation diversity management. The authors found that those companies with high scores suffered a neutral effect at worst; that is, they experienced neither loss nor gain in stock market price as an immediate result of the published report. It was thus concluded that by implementing sexual orientation diversity management policies, companies could satisfy LGBTQ employees and consumers without fear of public backlash.

Several studies have reported that those organizations that choose to ignore their LGBTQ stakeholders may be doing so to their own detriment. King and Cortina (2010) thoroughly examine the potential problems organizations may

encounter by neglecting LGBTQ diversity management. For example, an organizational manager may ignore sexual orientation as a potential change lever. Individual-level LGBTQ employee interests are overlooked, legal workplace discrimination continues, and the mental and physical health of the individuals deteriorate as a result. Additionally, King and Cortina note that the perception of workplace heterosexism by LGBTQ employees has been negatively associated with job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job anxiety, and positively associated with turnover intentions and organizational self-esteem. They note that each of these variables can have a negative effect on organizational productivity. Moreover, employees with low organizational commitment are less apt to follow through with organizational change. In order to maintain the imperative goal of success, the organization must address the LGBTQ imperative of equality by providing anti-discriminatory policies (King & Cortina, 2010).

Only very recently have scholars turned to the question of sexual orientation's influence on employability. In 2011, András Tilcsik published the first large-scale audit study of discrimination against gay men. Over a period of six months, Tilcsik sent a pair of résumés to 1,769 job postings directed at recent college graduate young professionals. These résumés detailed the experiences of two similarly well-qualified applicants, both acting as treasurer of a collegiate organization. This organization was noted as either the *Gay and Lesbian Alliance* or the *Progressive and Socialist Alliance*. Because the cultural norm is to generally avoid discussion regarding sexual orientation, the treasurer's necessary duties were crafted to appear highly relevant to the position at hand. No control

group was used. While 7.2% of the gay male applicants received an interview invitation, the percentage was higher for the other group at 11.5%. With an overall callback rate of 9.35%, this was a 40% jump in likelihood of receiving a call. Tilcsik observed that the findings imply that an openly gay man would have to search far longer for a position.

Though the literature described above has generated significant findings, it offers a limited perspective of LGBTQ work experience. Other important vocational topics have yet to be examined. Among these, there has been a call for thorough examination of LGBTQ leadership in the organizational setting. The research proposed in this article is intended to answer that call.

LGBTQ and Leadership in the Workplace

As the LGBTQ community gains visibility, the need for inquiries into the effects of sexual orientation on leadership has become more urgent. It is clear that LGBTQ individuals take on leadership positions, with or without the scholarly attention. It is reasonable to assume that sexual orientation and the “coming out” process has an effect on leadership attributes and experience (Fassinger, Shullman, & Stevenson, 2010). However, little is known as to what this effect may be, or how a leader, group, or organization might be able to utilize it to their benefit. This could be especially important in a work context, where bureaucratic hierarchies increase the likelihood of an LGBTQ leader.

Fassinger, Shullman, and Stevenson (2010) examined the dearth of LGBTQ leadership literature. They argued that the current cultural climate, with its focus on diversity and inclusion, provides the ideal opportunity for research

into identity status dimensions and their effects on leadership experience, particularly for individuals in stigmatized minority groups. Researchers need not view LGBTQ identities as problematic per se; rather, they can observe the ways that stigma and marginalization affects both the leader and the subordinates, both positively and negatively. The authors emphasize the importance of situation on the effects of LGBTQ leadership, ending the article by asking researchers to start exploring the conditions under which sexual orientation is particularly influential to leadership experience.

By focusing their final question, Fassinger et al.'s (2010) provided the inspiration for the research at hand. This study addressed two research questions, as follows:

1. How does sexual orientation affect perceptions of male leadership potential and effectiveness?
2. How do a male leader's personal attributes interact with sexual orientation to influence perceptions of male leadership potential and effectiveness?

Because of the lack of directly relevant research, literature from other fields of research—gender minority workplace discrimination and stereotypes of gay men—was employed to assess the answers to these questions. More specifically, Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory was used alongside Kite and Deaux's (1987) implicit inversion theory to investigate and generate hypotheses on the potential consequences of sexual orientation on leadership hirability and effectiveness ratings.

Literature on Gender

This section will explore the foundations of role congruity theory by first describing gender role expectations, and then applying those expectations to the concept of leadership.

Gender Roles

First published in Eagly and Karau (2002), role congruity theory is grounded in Eagly's (1987) presentation of social role theory. This posits that there are socially shared expectations of those individuals who either occupy a specific position in society or belong to a recognized social category. There are two categories of role expectations, labeled here as descriptive and prescriptive norms. Descriptive norms are the expectations of what an individual in a particular social role actually does; looking at that same individual, prescriptive norms are the expectations of what he or she should ideally do (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Thus, social role theory describes the perceiver's idea of what a member of a particular social group both will and should do. Further, it proposes that role expectations can influence how a group member will act, as he or she becomes socialized to understand what is expected of individuals in that role, and conditioned to act accordingly.

Gender role theory, then, takes social role theory and uses it to explain gender role expectations. Gender roles are culturally constructed beliefs as to what attributes, norms, and values, are common to each gender respectively (Eagly, 1987). These beliefs are often based on inferences drawn from an observation, and can remain ingrained long after the original observation.

American culture has a history of distinctive gender role beliefs, particularly in regard to leadership. Men have both been expected to take on and have indeed commonly acted in higher status leader roles, where women have fulfilled gender role expectations in lower status dependent roles (Eagly et al., 2000). More succinctly, men have lead while women have followed. Using gender role theory, these positions and their implied necessary attributes describe how a man or a woman both is expected to act and how they ought to act. That is, men are leaders, and they should act in a manner befitting leaders, whereas women are and should act as followers. These attributes hint at a larger divide between two behavioral styles – agentic and communal – which social role theory holds as the key differentiation between expected gender behaviors (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Should a man want to be a good leader, he should take on agentic characteristics stereotypically applied to good leaders (Rudman & Glick, 1999). An agentic individual is competitive, aggressive, forceful, and dominant. These common agentic qualities are considered masculine, and attributable to males. Women, on the other hand, are expected to have communal qualities. A communal individual, stereotypically feminine and female, is considered kind, thoughtful, sensitive to others' feelings, and submissive (Rudman & Glick, 2001). To reiterate, it is culturally expected that a leader is male, and a good leader should have agentic, masculine qualities; conversely, a follower is female, and a good follower should have communal, feminine qualities.

These culturally ingrained expectations influence the reaction to individuals of both genders; specifically, social pressures lead individuals to favor gender role consistent behavior. They tend to react negatively to individuals who do not fulfill their expectations (Rudman & Glick, 1999). For example, if a woman acts in an agentic manner, she is violating her gender role. She is then at risk of being subjected to prejudiced reactions (Eagly, et al., 1995). This phenomenon is explained in Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory.

Gender and Leadership

Using gender role theory as a foundation, role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) investigates the disadvantages women face as leaders. It distinguishes two unique biases that result from social role expectations of a leader. Time and time again, leadership has been defined as a stereotypically masculine construct (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Carli & Eagly, 2001; Embry, Padgett, & Caldwell, 2008). A recent meta-analysis found that this remains true, though to a lesser degree in the last decade (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). While many advances have been made toward a break in the glass ceiling, it is still news when a female is promoted to a CEO position at a Fortune 500 company. In 2012, the number of Fortune 500 female CEOs will reach a record high at 18, or approximately 3% of the total. Though this is a particularly extreme example, multiple scholars have documented gender disparities in hirability both in- and outside the lab (Gaucher, Friesen, & Kay, 2011; Juodvalkis, Greg, Hogue, Svyantek, & DeLamarter, 2003; Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snavely, 2008). Further, several studies and subsequent reviews have found that female leaders are likely

to be evaluated less favorably than otherwise equivalent male leaders (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Bartol & Butterfield, 1976; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Pratch & Jacobwitz, 1996; Wexley & Pulakos, 1983).

Role congruity theory states that the two biases explicated by social role theory—descriptive and prescriptive—are the products of gender role expectations, or stereotypes, and both may have a detrimental effect on an individual's perception of female leadership. However, they influence distinct aspects of female leadership discrimination. Specifically, descriptive bias implies that women are less likely to be hired to a leadership position; and should she be hired, prescriptive bias implies that a female leader is likely to be evaluated less favorably than an otherwise equivalent male leader.

The term 'descriptive gender bias' describes an individual's belief that women are and act in a certain way—particularly, that they act femininely. This principle is present in an organization to the extent that female coworkers are described as nurturing, caring, warm, etc., all feminine attributes (Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snively, 2008). According to role congruity theory, descriptive bias has a greater influence on hiring decisions for leadership positions. A leader, as described in earlier paragraphs, is a stereotypically masculine construct, and is attributed with agentic qualities. Following this line of thought, woman is not a leader because she is feminine, and leaders are masculine. Therefore, women are not considered viable options for leadership positions.

Prescriptive gender bias adds a second dimension to discriminatory practices against female leaders. This bias is an implicitly held belief as to how a

woman should be and act. The difference is slight, but essential. Prescriptive bias implies a judgment: a woman should behave femininely, and act in feminine ways. This logic extends to leader stereotype as well. Because leadership requires necessary masculine qualities, a good leader should behave agentially. A leader who does not behave in such a manner is apt to be rated as less effective (Eagly et al., 1995). However, a female leader violates her prescribed feminine gender role when she takes on these qualities. This manifests itself in largely negative evaluations for female leaders when compared to otherwise equal male leaders. Agentic women, when compared to agentic men, have been described as less hireable, less nice (Rudman & Glick, 1997), and less socially skilled (Rudman & Glick, 1999). A woman who fulfills her role as a good leader is violating her gender role and is likely to incur prejudicial, hostile reactions.

Several moderating variables will affect role definitions as described above, further complicating the relationship between gender and leadership. Generally, a perceiver's level of prejudice increases with the widening gender incongruity between a leader's sex and the role itself. For descriptive prejudice, certain variables increase the incongruity between female gender role and leader role. For prescriptive prejudice, other variables increase the incongruity between a good leader's agentic qualities and a woman's fulfillment of feminine prescriptive norms. One moderating variable is the sex of the perceiver (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Though prejudice can exist in any perceiver, several studies have reported more extreme responses in men. Thus, a male perceiver will be more apt than a

female to discriminate against a female leader; however, discrimination will be present in both audiences.

The masculinity of the leader role acts as a second moderating variable (Eagly & Karau, 2002), and is of primary interest to this study. Here, again, women are at a disadvantage; if the leadership role is defined in exceptionally agentic terms, a woman fulfilling this definition will experience a greater level of prejudice than a woman fulfilling a more communally defined leadership role. Though the generic leader is considered masculine, certain leadership positions are described using terms that are more agentic and less communal. The leader's industry, for example, may be either stereotypically masculine, implying the need for a masculine leader. There is also evidence that the level of leadership has an effect on definition of masculinity. For example, executive management are often described as competitive and aggressive, much more the agentic description. These positions often carry with them a more masculine stereotype, putting women at an even greater disadvantage. Additionally, the feminization of a level may not suppress discrimination. A recent trend has feminized mid-level management by describing such a manager's need for human relations abilities. Under the role congruity theory, women would be considered as having more potential and effectiveness in a mid-managerial position. However, agentic women applying for these positions are perceived to be less socially skilled than agentic males and, consequentially, are still less likely to be hired (Rudman & Glick, 1999). While a masculinized leader definition puts women at a more severe disadvantage, a feminized definition does not necessarily quell discrimination.

Gay Men and Implicit Inversion Theory

Though the two elements are distinct from one another, sexuality is often discussed in tandem with gender. Further, people tend to make assumptions about one based on the other (Levahot & Lambert, 2007). This has had a great effect on stereotypes attributed to gay men. In 1987, Kite and Deaux conducted a study to address this phenomenon. In their study, they asked participants to list the qualities they thought were characteristic to one of four randomly assigned groups: gay men; lesbian women; heterosexual men; and heterosexual women. They were then given a list of attributes and asked to rate the likelihood that an individual in the group they were assigned had that particular attribute. According to their findings, gay men were perceived to be more like heterosexual women, whereas lesbian women were perceived to be more like heterosexual men. The authors called this phenomenon the implicit inversion theory. Subsequent research has reported similar findings (Jackson, Lewandowski, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997; Levahot & Lambert, 2007; Madon, 1997; Schope & Eliason, 2004; Wong, McCreary, Carpenter, Engle, & Roksana, 1999).

This perception of femininity has resulted in two stereotypic subgroups for gay men. While the first reflects the perception that gay men exhibit positive female sex-typed qualities, there is a second stereotype that suggests that gay men exhibit female sex-typed qualities that violate the male gender role (Madon, 1997). This latter subtype is hypothesized to give rise to bias against gay men. That is, gay men are likely to experience prejudice because they are violating their gender role (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007; Schope & Eilason, 2004).

Connecting Role Congruity Theory and Implicit Inversion Theory

The literature thus reviewed has produced two theories that are of particular interest to this study: role congruity theory and implicit inversion theory. This study is not the first to consider the implications of integrating role theory with implicit inversion theory. Wong, McCreary, Carpenter, Engle, and Korchynsky (1999) tested a potential model that used social-role theory and implicit inversion theory to investigate gender roles and gender role conformity influence on perceived sexual orientation. They found that those individuals in stereotypically feminine occupations (e.g., nurse) were rated as more feminine than those in stereotypically masculine occupations (e.g., mechanic). Further, men who rated higher on femininity were rated more likely to be gay. Therefore, there is some evidence that a relationship exists between implicit inversion theory and social role theory.

Though both heterosexual women and gay men may be attributed feminine stereotypes, perceivers tend to respond differently to gay men who fulfill this image. Whereas feminine, heterosexual women are acting in a manner congruous to their gender role, feminine, gay men violate both gender and sexuality stereotypes. Hence, though these “double violators” act in a manner consistent with expectation (e.g., in a feminine way), they experience the highest level of prejudice. Lehavot and Lambert (2007) offer an explanation based on the extent of femininity, wherein feminine gay men trigger “pre-stored” animosity toward lesbians and gay men based on the perceiver’s intrinsic belief that such sexual orientations are wrong on principle. In applying this to the research at

hand, agentic, gay male leaders violate only sexuality stereotype. Conversely, communal, gay male leaders are considered “double violators” and are more likely to experience prejudicial discrimination.

Rationale

This research was inspired by Fassinger et al.’s (2010) call for research on issues that face LGBTQ individuals in leadership positions in the workplace today. The study narrowed its focus to examine the impact of sexual orientation and behavioral style on perceptions of male leadership. By integrating implicit inversion theory with a corollary of social role theory—role congruity theory—the reviewed literature served as a basis for hypothesis and variable selection. Because implicit inversion theory states that gay men are perceived to be more like heterosexual women than heterosexual men, it was hypothesized that gay men would experience discrimination based on the same biases that face heterosexual women seeking or holding leadership positions. As the field is new, this research provides a unique contribution as one of the first studies to investigate the reasons behind and consequences of bias against LGBTQ workplace leaders, and the first to do so for gay men.

Statement of Hypotheses

Hypothesis I. There will be a main effect for sexual orientation such that gay men will be perceived to have less leadership potential than heterosexual men.

Hypothesis II. There will be a main effect for sexual orientation such that gay men will be perceived as less effective leaders than heterosexual men.

Hypothesis III. There will be an interaction between sexual orientation and behavioral style, such that gay men who enact agentic behaviors will be perceived to have more leadership potential than gay men who enact communal behaviors.

Hypothesis IV. There will be an interaction between sexual orientation and behavioral style, such that gay men who use an agentic behavioral style will be perceived as more effective leaders than gay men who use a communal behavioral style.

Research Questions

Research Question I. To what extent does a perceiver's level of negative attitudes toward gay men have an effect on their evaluations of leader hirability and effectiveness?

CHAPTER II

METHOD

The study was completed at DePaul University, a mid-sized Catholic university located in Chicago, Illinois. Participants were undergraduate students enrolled in one of two introductory psychology courses. These classes allow students the option of participating in experiments to fulfill a five-hour research requirement per course. Students volunteered using DePaul's Experiment Management System, completed the study online, and received one research credit hour in return for their participation.

Research Participants

A total of 386 individuals participated in the study. Twenty-three participants were identified as having incorrectly followed instructions crucial to the behavioral style manipulation; their data was excluded from reported demographics and subsequent analyses, leaving a total of 363 participants. Categorical descriptive statistics are reported in detail in Table 1. Continuous descriptive variables are included in Table 2.

Participants were largely female ($n = 246$, 68%), Caucasian ($n = 225$, 62%), and in the first year ($n = 123$, 34%) or second year ($n = 100$, 28%) of college. Their median age was 19 years (ranging from 18 to 46; $M = 21.32$, $SD = 2.96$). Using an 11-point scale to indicate their sexual orientation (1 labeled as "Heterosexual" and 11 as "Gay"), the pool's average sexual orientation score was 1.64 ($SD = 1.83$). When asked to identify their relationship status, 59% ($n = 213$) reported that they were single and not in a committed relationship, 38% ($n = 138$)

Table 1 Summary of participant demographic data

Variable	N	% Reporting
Gender	363	
Female	246	67.8
Male	117	32.2
Year in school	362	
Freshman	123	34.0
Sophomore	100	27.6
Junior	82	22.7
Senior	53	14.6
Other	4	1.1
Ethnicity	363	
Caucasian	225	62.0
Black or African-American	32	8.8
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	64	17.6
Asian	23	6.3
Pacific Islander	2	0.6
Native American	3	0.8
Other	14	3.9
Relationship status	361	
Single, not in a committed relationship	213	59.0
Single, in a committed relationship	138	38.2
Married	8	2.2
Other	2	0.6
Religion	362	
Protestant Christian	13	3.6
Roman Catholic	122	33.7
Other Christian	75	20.7
Jewish	9	2.5
Muslim	11	3.0
Hindu	5	1.4
Buddhist	6	1.7
Agnostic	20	5.5
Atheist	27	7.5
None	59	16.3
Other	15	4.1
Political party	360	
Democrat	203	56.4
Republican	53	14.7
Independent	92	25.6
Other	12	3.3

as single and in a committed relationship, and 2% ($n = 8$) as married. A majority of the pool identified the Democratic Party as the political party with whom they were most closely aligned ($n = 203$, 56%). When rating their position on social issues using an 11-point scale, with 1 labeled as “Liberal” and 11 as “Conservative,” participants answered on the liberal side ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 2.79$).

Design

The study used a 3×2 (Sexual Orientation \times Behavioral Style) design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of six possible conditions based on two independent variables: sexual orientation of the applicant (heterosexual, gay, N/A) and behavioral style of the applicant (agentic, communal). The behavior styles were enacted so that the agentic individual appeared competitive, forceful, and aggressive, whereas the communal individual would appear humble, thoughtful, and sensitive to others’ feelings.

Procedure

Prior to the study, participants filled out the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) (see Appendix A). This scale was included in DePaul University’s Experimental Management System prescreening survey. Students who use this system are asked, but not required, to complete their answers to this survey prior to participating in any research. Participants would therefore be unable to explicitly connect the scale to the study itself.

A homonegativity scale is designed to measure negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. This particular scale was chosen for three reasons: it was created specifically to measure modern attitudes; it has been validated on several

occasions (Morrison, 2003; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Rye & Meaney, 2010); and it tends to result in more normally distributed data than other scales (Morrison, 2003; Rye & Meaney, 2010).

Students who did not respond to the Homonegativity Scale questions in the prescreening were not restricted from entering the study to avoid potential threats to internal validity related to selection. The topic of sexual orientation and related issues is considered to be divisive, and can elicit convictions that are particularly extreme. Students who responded to the questions, then, may only have been those with strong convictions. Should only those students have been allowed to participate, results may have been skewed towards an extreme that does not appropriately represent the population of students at DePaul. To avoid this, all eligible students were allowed to participate. Of the 363 participants, 57% ($n = 205$) elected to complete the questionnaire. These scores were used solely in analysis of Research Question I: to what extent does a perceiver's level of negative attitudes toward gay men have an effect on their leadership role hirability and effectiveness evaluations of gay men?

In the main portion of the study, participants were first directed to a consent form that described the study's purpose as investigating the effects of interview medium on applicant evaluation (see Appendix B). This deception was necessary. The potential biases in question are implicitly held attitudes. To know what an individual thinks or feels, he or she must explicitly state his or her opinion. However, individuals may not feel comfortable expressing their true feelings on the subject. Social pressures, such as the desire not to appear

prejudiced against people with a particular sexual orientation, may influence their response. Indeed, an individual may not even be aware that they hold any bias whatsoever. To circumvent these problems and their potential influence on final results, participants could not be informed of the study's actual purpose of studying the effects of sexual orientation on perception of male leadership. They were instead lead to believe that they were evaluating an actual applicant, referred to as Candidate A, for a managerial position at a marketing research firm. Additionally, they were informed that Candidate A had provided all documents in his application, and only his name has been altered to hide his identity. Finally, they were informed that IP addresses would not be collected; thus, participants will not be identifiable in this way.

Participants completed the study online using a link to Qualtrics, an online survey-hosting website. They were first directed to an instructions screen (see Appendix C). There, participants were again informed that the study's purpose was to investigate the effects of interview medium on applicant evaluation. They were asked to carefully review the proceeding documents and interview. Following the instruction page, the participant clicked to the next screen to read a brief description of the job opening (see Appendix D). The job was described as a managerial position at a marketing research firm. This position was carefully chosen for its perceived gender neutrality; that is, observers do not perceive it as either a primarily masculine or a primarily feminine position (Cabrera, Saur, & Thomas-Hunt, 2009). Further, the occupation's gender split between men and women is relatively even; of those marketing managers in the United States,

45.2% are women (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2011). This was intended to avoid gender bias based on a masculinized or feminized position, which might have then lead to a problem with prescriptive bias.

Participants were then asked to view a resume and brief biography ostensibly provided by Candidate A (see Appendices E and F). Additionally, they were informed that they would be asked to answer five questions on the following page to test their knowledge of the information. The resume was the same for all conditions. Participants were then randomly assigned to view one of three possible biographies, indicating SO condition. All biographies were identical with the exception of the last line. In two biographies, the candidate's living conditions were discussed, stating that he lived in New York with either his husband or his wife; the third did not mention living conditions. This difference acted as the experimental manipulation, implying that the candidate described in one of the first two biographies was either not heterosexual (implied gay sexual orientation) or not gay (implied heterosexual sexual orientation). The provided location was deliberate, as New York was one of six states that granted marriage licenses to same-sex couples at the time the study was launched. The third biography, which did not include relationship information, acted as a control. Because of sexuality norms, however, it was postulated that participants would assume that he was heterosexual. Though it was possible that the candidate is bisexual, it was further presumed that the commonly held conception of the hetero/gay binary would elicit an inference that the candidate was either heterosexual or gay in all three conditions. To ensure that participants had taken note of the manipulation, one of

the five questions that followed the biography asked them to identify with whom Candidate A lived. If the participant wrongly answered a question, he or she was provided with the correct answer, and asked to remain on the page until he or she had corrected the response.

Once participants correctly answered all five questions, they moved on to view a prerecorded video of the candidate in an interview-like setting. The same actor was used for both videos. In the video, Candidate A responded to a series of pre-written questions while seated in an interview setting. Participants were randomly assigned to view one of two possible versions of this interview. Both videos were of similar length (approximately six minutes). In one, Candidate A used an agentic behavioral style to describe his techniques in equally agentic terms; in the other, Candidate A used a communal behavioral style to describe his techniques in equally communal terms. The scripts for these videos (see Appendix H) were derived from Rudman and Glick's (1999, 2001) research on the interaction between gender and behavioral type on interview evaluation; they were altered slightly to better suit a marketing research managerial position. The intention was for the participant to be evaluating a leader who enacted either a communal or an agentic behavioral style. Participants were unable to pause, rewind, or fast-forward the video.

As the sole enactment of an independent variable of interest, it was vital that participants viewed the interview to ensure differentiation between conditions. Participants were presented with a message emphasizing the importance that they view the entire video before moving on to the next page. An

invisible timer was placed on the web page to assess the total time each viewer remained on the page.

Once the video ended, participants were directed to a questionnaire consisting of sixteen questions designed to measure the participant's perception of the candidate's hirability for the position and effectiveness as a leader (see Appendix I). Perceived leadership potential was operationalized as the calculated mean of four items comprising a hirability scale. Hirability questions were selected and adapted from previous studies conducted by Rudman and Glick (2001) and Van Hove and Lievens (2003). Perceived leadership effectiveness was operationalized as the calculated mean of four items comprising an effectiveness scale. Questions addressing effectiveness were selected from Holladay and Coombs (1994) and Rosette and Tost (2010). Accordingly, the study's definition for effectiveness matched that provided by Holladay and Coombs (1994), which states that an effective leader is one who articulates a vision, or a desired future state, and moves followers toward the fulfillment of the vision. The effectiveness scale, then, measured the participant's perception of Candidate A's ability to act in this manner. Answers were measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 7 (Strongly Disagree). As a test of the behavioral style manipulation, four items related to Candidate A's behavior in the video were also included; these items asked participants to rate the candidate on opposing characteristics of agentic and behavioral styles (e.g., competitiveness). An additional four likeability-related questions were included as filler items. Upon

completing the scale, the participant was asked to answer a series of demographic questions (see Appendix J).

Participants were then sent to a debriefing page, where the true purpose of the research was revealed and explained (see Appendix K). The researcher's information was also included as a contact for any further questions.

Finally, participants were directed to a page requesting their research identification number. Because credit could not be awarded without this research identification number, students did not receive credit if they did not provide this. They were reminded that their answers were linked to the information they had provided in the prescreening survey, as indicated in the consent form. To analyze Research Question I ("To what extent does a perceiver's level of negative attitudes toward gay men have an effect on their leadership role hirability and effectiveness evaluations of gay men?"), it was necessary to link their answers from the prescreening survey to those in the study surveys. As previously detailed, the Homonegativity Scale included in the prescreening survey was designed to measure negative attitudes toward gay men. Participant data from the Homonegativity Scale was compared to their impressions of the interviewee in order to analyze the effect negative attitudes towards gay men may have had on interview evaluations.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and reliabilities of all study measures are displayed in Table 2. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. Survey items that used reversed wording were recoded prior to analysis. Items were then grouped by intended scale and grouped item ratings were averaged, resulting in one homonegativity score and four candidate evaluation scores for each participant: a hirability score; an effectiveness score; a likability score; and a manipulation score. Manipulation scale items were coded so that higher scores indicated perceptions of an agentic behavioral style, and lower scores indicated perceptions of a communal behavior style. All scales showed high reliability, with alphas of .86 (hirability scale) or higher.

Participants generally assigned high ratings for the candidate across all conditions, with both hirability and effectiveness data encompassing the range of possible scores (1.00 to 7.00). Hirability data was non-normally distributed, with skewness of -0.91 ($SE = 0.13$) and kurtosis of 0.47 ($SE = 0.26$). Effectiveness data was also non-normally distributed, with skewness of -0.98 ($SE = 0.13$) and kurtosis of 0.90 ($SE = 0.26$).

Manipulation Check

To test the behavioral style manipulation, an independent samples t-test was conducted to look for differences in manipulation scale ratings between the agentic and communal conditions. Homogeneity of variances was violated, as assessed by Levene's Test for Equality of Variances ($p < .001$), so separate

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Intercorrelations of Continuous Variables and Study Measures

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age	362	21.31	2.96	–						
2. Participant sexual orientation ^a	355	1.64	1.83	.00	–					
3. Conservatism ^b	295	3.86	2.79	.05	-.17**	–				
4. Homonegativity	205	2.24	0.78	.08	-.28**	.48**	(.92)			
5. Hirability	363	5.39	1.18	-.17**	.08	.02	-.01	(.86)		
6. Leader effectiveness	363	5.36	1.19	-.17**	.03	-.03	-.01	.81**	(.92)	
7. Likability	363	5.12	1.39	-.06	.06	.02	-.01	.72**	.46**	(.91)

Note: Coefficient alphas are given in parentheses along the diagonal unless not applicable.

^aParticipants reported sexual orientation by selecting a point on a sliding scale in answer to the following question: "Regarding your sexual orientation, where along this scale would you place yourself?" The scale ranged from 1 to 11, with 1 labeled as "Straight," 6 as "Bisexual," and 11 as "Gay/Lesbian."

^bParticipants reported their conservatism by selecting a point on a sliding scale in answer to the following question: "Regarding your position on social issues, where along this scale would you place yourself?" The scale ranged from 1 to 11, where 1 was labeled as "Liberal," 6 as "Middle of the Road," and 11 as labeled "Conservative."

** $p < .01$

variances and the Welch-Satterthwaite correction were used. As previously stated, higher scores were intended to be associated with agentic behaviors, and low scores with communal behaviors. Results supported the manipulation's effectiveness: participants in the agentic behavioral style condition reported higher scores on agentic behavior ($M = 5.25, SD = 0.99$) than participants in the communal style condition ($M = 2.53, SD = 0.78$), a statistically significant difference of 2.72 points on a 7-point scale (95% CI, 2.54 to 2.91), $t(347.72) = 29.19, p < .001$. Participants thus perceived a difference in behavioral style between conditions when the behavioral manipulation held.

Control Group

Midway through data collection ($N = 227$), a series of independent sample t -tests were run to investigate the utility of including a control condition for participants of various sexual orientations. There was a visual trend in the data showing a lack of differentiation between the control and heterosexual sexual orientation conditions. Results supported this observation, showing no significant difference between heterosexual and control conditions for hirability ratings, $t(150) = -0.57, p = .58$, and no significant difference between the groups for effectiveness ratings, $t(150) = 0.12, p = .91$. This was expected; it had been anticipated participants would be guided by sexual norms, so that they would infer the candidate to be heterosexual unless informed otherwise. As no predictions had been made regarding the control condition, the decision was made to exclude it from further data collection and analyses. Data from participants who had been assigned to the condition was included in tests of hypotheses.

Testing of Hypotheses

Two 2×2 ANOVAs (Sexual Orientation \times Behavioral Style) were used to test hypotheses relating to leadership potential, or hirability (Hypothesis I and Hypothesis III), and leadership effectiveness (Hypothesis II and Hypothesis IV). Condition sample sizes, score means, standard deviations, and confidence intervals for hirability, effectiveness, and likability scores are displayed in Table 3. The data violated two assumptions made when using an analysis of variance: Levene's test was significant ($p < .05$) for the first of the two ANOVAs, indicating heterogeneity of variance between groups; additionally, both hirability and effectiveness data were non-normal. However, ANOVAs are considered generally robust against violations of their assumptions, (see Glass, Peckham, & Sanders, 1972); they were therefore utilized here, using Type III sums of squares approach to account for unequal sample sizes across conditions.

Hypotheses I and III

A 2×2 ANOVA was used to investigate effects on leadership potential. Levene's test was significant ($p = .04$), indicating heterogeneity of variance. The first hypothesis stated that there would be a main effect for sexual orientation on perceived leadership potential such that gay men would be rated as less hireable than heterosexual men. Hypothesis I was not supported; there was no main effect for sexual orientation on hirability, $F(1, 285) = 0.17, p = .68, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. Though not related to the hypothesis, there was a significant main effect for behavioral style on hirability, $F(1, 285) = 7.10, p = .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$; the

Table 3

Hirability and Effectiveness Score Means, Standard Deviations, and Confidence Intervals By Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Hirability		Effectiveness		Likability	
		<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI
Agentic							
Heterosexual	68	5.14 (1.39)	[4.85, 5.42]	5.51 (1.19)	[5.22, 5.79]	4.28 (1.51)	[4.00, 4.57]
Gay	76	5.24 (1.22)	[4.97, 5.51]	5.52 (1.21)	[5.25, 5.79]	4.65 (1.34)	[4.38, 4.92]
Communal							
Heterosexual	75	5.68 (0.95)	[5.41, 5.95]	5.42 (1.06)	[5.15, 5.69]	5.89 (0.99)	[5.62, 6.17]
Gay	67	5.46 (1.22)	[5.17, 5.74]	4.93 (1.31)	[4.64, 5.21]	5.88 (0.83)	[5.59, 6.17]

Note: CI = Confidence Interval.

candidate with a communal style was rated as more hireable ($M = 5.57$, $SD = 1.32$) than the candidate who enacted an agentic behavior style ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 1.32$).

Hypothesis III stated that there would be an interaction between sexual orientation and behavioral style such that gay men who enacted agentic behaviors would be rated less hireable than gay men who enacted communal behaviors. Hypothesis III was not supported; there was no interaction effect on hirability, $F(1, 282) = 1.32$, $p = .25$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. Figure 1 shows average scores for hireability across behavioral conditions; as is apparent, differences were minimal between candidates.

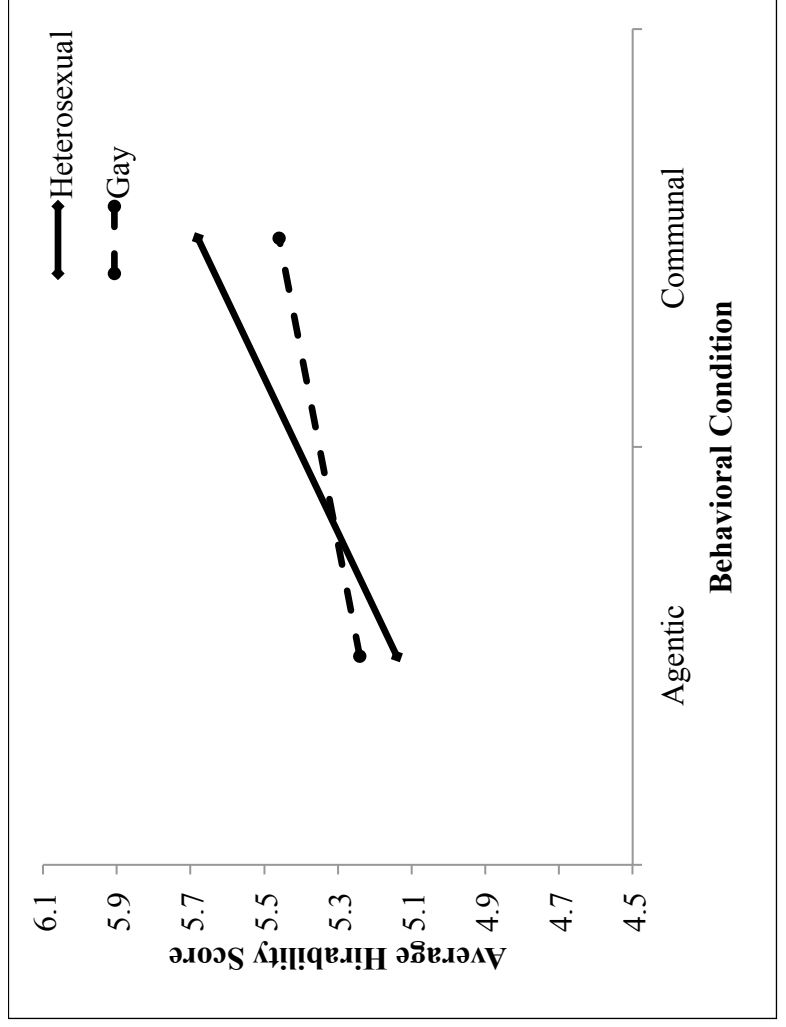
Hypothesis II and IV

A 2×2 ANOVA was used to investigate effects on leadership effectiveness. Levene's test was non-significant ($p = .28$), indicating homogeneity of variance. Hypothesis II stated that there would be a main effect for sexual orientation on effectiveness such that gay men would be rated less effective leaders than heterosexual men. Hypothesis II was not supported, indicating no main effect for sexual orientation on perceived effectiveness, $F(1, 285) = 2.9$, $p = .09$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant main effect for behavioral condition on effectiveness, $F(1, 285) = 5.78$, $p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$.

Hypothesis IV expected an interaction effect of sexual orientation and behavioral style on leadership effectiveness score, such that gay men using an agentic behavioral style would be rated as more effective leaders than gay men using a communal behavioral style. The interaction was marginally significant.

Figure 1

Average Hirability Scores for Heterosexual and Gay Candidates across Behavioral Conditions

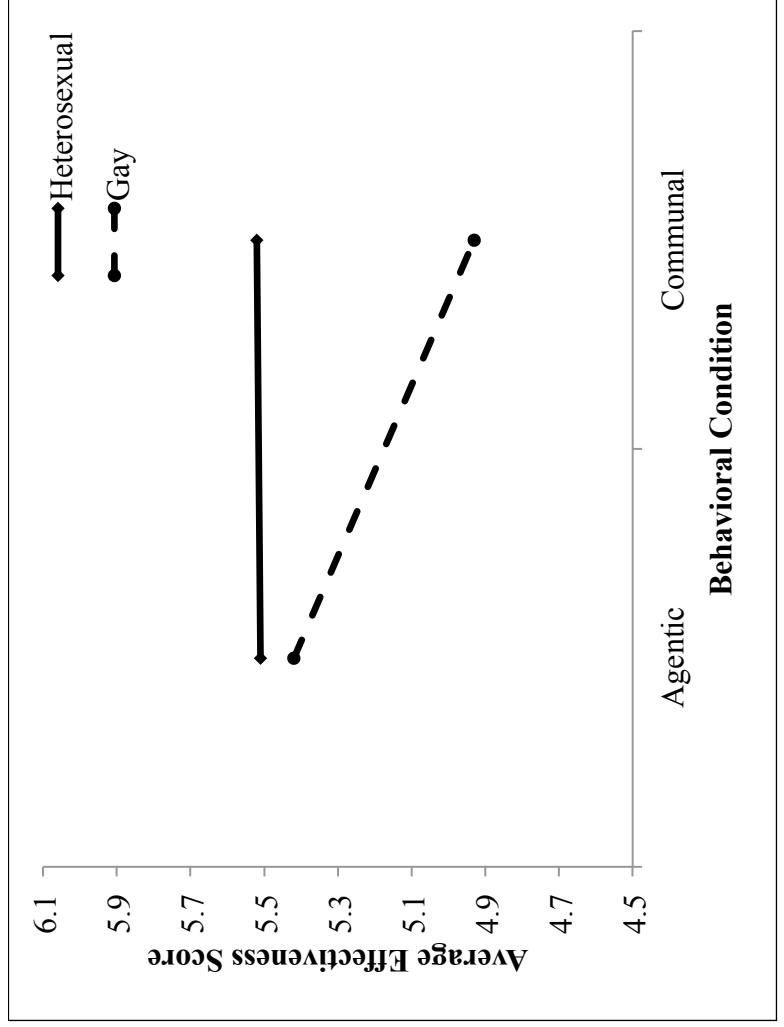


$F(1, 282) = 3.27, p = .07, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. Using Cohen's (1992) guidelines, this would indicate an effect of a small size. Figure 2 shows average effectiveness scores for heterosexual and gay candidates across behavioral conditions.

Though the interaction was only marginally significant, simple effects tests were run to further investigate possible trends in the data. There were several reasons for this decision. First, statistical power was low for analyses of both main effects (sexual orientation, $1 - \beta = .53$; behavioral style, $1 - \beta = .51$) and interaction ($1 - \beta = .50$). This indicated a high likelihood of a Type II error, or failure to reject a false null hypothesis. Second, as detailed in Iacobucci (2002) there are instances where a combination of a high error term and an insignificant simple effect at one level of a variable can wash out the influence of significant effects at other levels in the assessment of the overall interaction. This may be especially problematic in unbalanced designs. Finally, Hypothesis IV was framed as a question of both the interaction and of simple effects, specifically the influence of behavioral style on perceived effectiveness of a gay leader. For the above stated reasons, simple main effects tests using a Bonferroni adjustment were run, but interpreted with the understanding that the marginally significant interaction term removes any certainty regarding their findings. Following Iacobucci (2002) guidelines, only tests for the sexual orientation would be considered indicative of a potential interaction. As simple effects reflect both interaction and the main effect of the variable of interest, the significant findings for behavioral style would make interpretation especially ambiguous; however,

Figure 2

Average Effectiveness Scores for Heterosexual and Gay Candidates across Behavioral Conditions



these tests were included to allow for a more in-depth understanding of the results.

The simple main effects test of sexual orientation revealed no significant difference between behavior styles in the heterosexual condition, $F(1, 282) = 0.18, p = .67, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. However, there was a significant difference across levels in the gay condition, $F(1, 282) = 8.86, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .03$. The gay candidate using an agentic behavioral style was perceived to be a more effective leader ($M = 5.52, SD = 1.21$) than the gay candidate using a communal style ($M = 4.93, SD = 1.31$), $MD = 0.60, SE = 0.20, p < .01$.

Simple main effects for behavioral style were similarly divided. When the candidate used agentic behaviors, the heterosexual and gay candidates were perceived as similarly effective leaders, $F(1, 282) = 0.00, p = .95, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. There was a significant difference between candidates employing a communal style, $F(1, 282) = 8.78, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$, such that the heterosexual candidate was perceived to be more effective ($M = 5.42, SD = 1.06$) than the gay candidate ($M = 4.93, SD = 1.31$), $MD = 0.50, SE = 0.20, p < .05$.

When taken into consideration alongside the marginally significant interaction, results showed partial support for Hypothesis IV. Though there seemed to be an interaction between behavioral style and sexual orientation, it was only marginal significance for the effect; however, data trends appeared to indicate that the gay candidate was generally rated as more effective when using an agentic, masculine behavioral style.

Research Question Testing

The research question regarding the impact of homonegativity on scores was then investigated. Control condition data was included for descriptive statistics, and excluded for investigatory analyses. With a possible range of 1 to 5, homonegativity scores had an actual range of 1.00 to 4.50, with an average of 2.23 ($SD = 0.78$). Homonegativity data was non-normal, with skewness of 0.31 ($SE = 0.17$), and kurtosis of -0.39 ($SE = 0.34$). Men reported higher levels of homonegativity ($M = 2.51$, $SD = 0.85$) than women ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 0.72$), $t(203) = 3.20$, $p < .01$.

A two-step analytical process was used to investigate the potential influence of participant homonegativity on ratings of leadership potential and effectiveness. As not all participants had completed the Homonegativity Scale, it was necessary to first rerun 2×2 ANOVAs for both dependent variables while including data from those who did ($n = 161$). Two 2×2 ANCOVAs were then run using homonegativity score as a covariate, and results compared.

Leadership Potential

The 2×2 ANOVA showed no significant main effect for sexual orientation, $F(1, 160) = 0.00$, $p = .96$, $\eta^2 = .00$, and no significant effect for the interaction, $F(1, 160) = 1.26$, $p = .26$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. As assessed by the visual inspection of a scatterplot, there did not appear to be a linear relationship between homonegativity and hirability scores within any of the conditions, violating ANCOVA's assumption of linearity. The ANCOVA was still run though there did not appear to be a relationship; as expected, results did not change when

homonegativity was included as a covariate: sexual orientation main effect was non-significant, $F(1, 160) = 0.00, p = .96$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, as was the interaction effect, $F(1, 160) = 1.33, p = .25$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. Estimated marginal mean scores remained the same for all conditions (± 0.01). Homonegativity did not appear to influence hirability scores.

Leadership Effectiveness

The 2×2 ANOVA showed no significant main effect for sexual orientation, $F(1, 160) = 0.98, p = .32$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. The interaction effect was significant, $F(1, 160) = 4.13, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Again, there did not appear to be a linear relationship between homonegativity and effectiveness scores. The ANCOVA was run and, as with hirability, results did not change when homonegativity was included as a covariate: sexual orientation main effect was non-significant, $F(1, 160) = 0.97, p = .32$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, and the interaction remained significant, $F(1, 160) = 4.14, p < .04$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Estimated marginal mean scores remained the same for all conditions (± 0.01). A participant's homonegativity did not appear to influence leadership effectiveness scores.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

By integrating ideas from gender and cultural stereotype literatures, this study investigated the proposed theory that gay men in leadership roles encounter similar discrimination to that experienced by heterosexual women, defined by lower ratings of leadership potential and effectiveness than heterosexual men. Generally, results did not support hypotheses. On its own, sexual orientation did not influence perceptions of leadership: gay and heterosexual candidates received the same ratings for both leadership potential and effectiveness. However, it appears likely that sexual orientation becomes influential when behavioral style is taken into effect, as supported by a marginally significant interaction and supplementary simple effects tests. Specifically, the gay candidate who used a communal, feminine style was perceived to be a less effective leader than the gay candidate who used an agentic, masculine style. This was not the case for the heterosexual condition, where behavioral style was had no influence; agentic and communal heterosexual candidates were rated as equally effective leaders. There was no such interaction effect on perceived hirability. Perceptions of a candidate's leadership potential were influenced solely by his behavioral style.

These results, while not supportive of original hypotheses, are explicable when considered within the descriptive-prescriptive bias theoretical framework and its related research. While exploring the question of whether biased judgment can be deterred, several studies have reported that providing judgment-relevant behavioral information (e.g., a candidate's previous work performance in a

similar position) may undercut descriptive stereotyping, but that prescriptive stereotyping will persevere (Gill, 2004; Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snavely, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Gill (2004) offers an integrative explanation for this effect, with roots in both gender role theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and stereotyping literature. Descriptive stereotypes are used to define characteristics ‘typical’ of individuals within the labeled group, and are often constructed as probabilistic “base rates” (e.g., “gay men are *more likely* than heterosexual men to be feminine”). It is used as a “best guess” at what can be expected of said individual. When presented with behavioral evidence that differs from or negates the stereotype, an observer will discard the “best guess” in favor of this new information, theoretically removing descriptive bias from future judgments of the individual. However, this new information is simultaneously viewed as evidence of prescriptive stereotype violation, which has moral implications. Even if the individual’s behavior is not congruent with the stereotype, the observer believes it should be, and reacts negatively. Thus, while future judgments may be free from descriptive bias, they are influenced by the observer’s negative reaction to the individual’s defiance of social norms (Gill, 2004).

This reasoning can be used to explain the results at hand. The study’s underlining theory held that descriptive biases related to sexual orientation would influence perceptions of a candidate’s leadership potential. However, those stereotypes were likely discarded when participants were presented with the candidate’s resume and biography, which offered many examples of more relevant leadership behaviors for consideration in judgments of the candidate’s

hirability. Only his behavioral style had any effect on hirability scores—specifically, the communal candidate received higher scores than the agentic candidate. Though the communal candidate did not behave in a manner congruent with masculine stereotypes, participants had already seen evidence of his leadership skills, rendering him as hireable as the agentic candidate. Rather than stereotypes, it is likely that hirability scores were influenced by some other variable. The candidate's perceived likability is one possible influencing variable. Participants were students, and were not required to have recruiting experience. They likely based their decisions using knowledge unique to their frame of reference, such as their previous experience with managers, or by asking whether they would want to work with the candidate. This argument is supported by the high correlation found between hirability and likability scores across all conditions.

The study's second variable of interest, perceived leadership effectiveness, has been theoretically linked to prescriptive bias. As prescriptive stereotypes are not hindered by behavioral information, a perceived violation of social norms would be expected to have an influence on effectiveness scores. Looking at the results, the candidate's sexual orientation alone did not influence perceptions of his leadership effectiveness. Though once considered a violation of sexuality norms, being a gay man may no longer be perceived as breaking some moral code; however, it does appear to increase the importance of adhering to behavioral norms for gender. When presented as gay, the candidate's effectiveness scores were lower when he employed communal behaviors.

Meanwhile, the heterosexual candidate's behavior style did not sway his effectiveness scores; he was perceived to be similarly effective across conditions. This result is paralleled in gender-specific leadership research: while adopting feminine behaviors will reduce role conflict for women as leaders, men in leadership roles are not subjected to such scrutiny, and can be more flexible with their style without consequence to perceptions of their effectiveness as leaders (Hackman, Hillis, Paterson, & Furniss, 1993; Pratch & Jacobowitz, 1996). Consistent with the study's final hypothesis, it may be that gay men and heterosexual women in leadership roles experience similar levels of scrutiny. Enacting behaviors stereotypical of their gender can ameliorate any perceived role incongruity. For gay men, these masculine behaviors confirm both gender stereotypes and expectations of leaders. If gay men or heterosexual women in leadership roles act in a manner that counters stereotypes of their gender, they face the consequences of prescriptive stereotyping: the moral indignation of their peers and subordinates, even if subconscious, can be injurious to evaluations of their effectiveness as leaders.

Unexpectedly, participant homonegativity scores did not appear to have an impact on evaluations of the gay candidate. There are several possible explanations for this finding. It may be that some portion of those individuals who do hold bias against gay men are uncomfortable with it, and thus try to compensate by inflating their evaluations of the gay candidate. This would result in a lack of clear trends between homonegativity and evaluation scores, much like what was found in the current study. The insidious nature of prescriptive bias may

offer another explanation for the unexpected disconnect. Some individuals who had low homonegativity scores may be supportive of LGBTQ rights, but still harbor subconscious moral judgments of gay men's behaviors that are kindled by lack of gender role congruity. Future research is needed to better clarify these results.

Limitations & Implications for Future Research

This study, while orchestrated with the best of intentions, did have certain limitations. These limitations and related implications for future research are detailed.

First, the participant sample was limited, and not necessarily indicative of the larger population. This research made use of an easily accessible participant pool of undergraduate students currently enrolled in psychology courses, and 98% of the study's participants were between the ages of 18 and 29. In comparison to the larger population, this age group appears to have more positive attitudes toward LGBTQ individuals. A recent poll conducted by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago asked over 2000 people to report on their attitudes toward same-sex sexual relations. Nearly half of those polled (approximately 46%) believed that such relations were always or almost always wrong. That number was far smaller for young adults, with only 27% of 18 to 29-year-olds answering in kind. Other age groups were far more divided in their answers: 45% of those aged 30 to 44, 50% of those between the ages of 45-59, and 55% of those aged 65 or higher stated that same-sex relations were wrong (Bowman, Rugg, & Marsico, 2013, p. 5). Young adults in this age range also

show more support than the overall population for several key LGBTQ rights issues, such as marriage equality (73% versus 53%; Newport, 2012) and adoption rights (67% versus 52%; Pew Research Center, 2012, p. 10). These differences are likely to have influenced findings in the current study, so that participants' ratings were less directly influenced by negative feelings toward gay men than one might find with a wider range of ages. Nevertheless, there is a larger public trend of increasingly positive attitudes toward the LGBTQ population. This is in part the result of generational replacement, wherein younger, more supportive generations are becoming adults as older, less accepting generations die; however, Keleher and Smith (2008) has also found that 'tolerance' has increased across all groups beyond the generational effect. Though these results may not be indicative of current attitudes, they may be suggestive of what can be expected in the future. Average participant age may also help explain the lack of a relationship between homonegativity and evaluation scores, as those who voice bias against gay men are becoming an increasingly small minority in this age group, further supporting the argument that some of these participants might have inflated their evaluations of gay men. For a clearer understanding of attitudes in the larger population, future research should employ a broader age range of participants. This could also be used to enhance understanding of attitude differences and related consequences across age ranges.

Second, the scales used to evaluate perceived leadership potential (hirability scale) and effectiveness (effectiveness scale) may not have appropriately measured their unique constructs as intended. Though the scales

were generated using items from previous research, they had never been used in tandem. Mean scores for hirability and effectiveness were significantly related across conditions, with a correlation coefficient higher than is suggested for use in MANOVA analysis (Iacobucci, 2001). In these situations, it is recommended that researchers combine the scales and use factor analysis techniques to determine what items should be kept. This was not ideal for the study in question, as specific hypotheses had been made regarding the variables' unique relationships to the two different kinds of stereotypes. For this reason, two 2×2 ANOVAs were instead employed in analysis. Future research should look to better distinguish between these variables and similar concepts, with specific interest in the differentiation between outcomes related to descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes.

Third, there were a number of statistical concerns relating to the data and its subsequent analysis. The data violated two of the assumptions for ANOVA; specifically, it violated the normality assumption and, for leadership potential, the assumption of homogeneity of variances. This may have influenced ANOVA findings. However, this risk is relatively small, as factorial ANOVAs are generally considered to be robust to these violations (Glass, Peckham, & Sanders, 1972). Additionally, participants were randomly assigned; the resulting heterogeneity of variance for hirability across conditions is not likely indicative of any actual differences between groups, and is perhaps instead related to the concepts being studied (i.e., variability in attitudes toward gay men). The lack of statistical power in the data's analysis is more troubling. To better understand the

interaction between sexual orientation and behavior, future research should seek to collect data from a sample large enough to be sensitive to its small effect size. Additionally, participants could be presented with candidates of varying ability and experience levels; evaluation data for an average candidate is more likely to be normally distributed than the candidate presented in this study.

Fourth, the behavioral style manipulation measure may not have accurately captured participant perceptions of agentic and communal behaviors. Only one scale was used to measure levels of both behaviors, though these are not necessarily opposing constructs. A bipolar measure with both styles on opposite ends may not represent the two styles accurately; rather, a scale that measures the two as bidimensional concepts might be more appropriate. However, this limitation is itself limited. Trapnell and Paulhus (2012) covered this issue at length in a recently published article in which they sought to develop a measure of individual agentic and communal values. They conclude that, while there are reasonable arguments for either stance, most studies conceive of the two as orthogonal concepts; a bipolar scale can therefore be appropriate. Though their article was focused at the value level, this argument could be reasonably made at the behavioral level as well. In fact, the authors explain in a footnote that perceived mutual exclusivity occurs at the behavioral level, as society often requires people to select one or the other (p. 43). As a measure of behavior, it was reasonable to use a bipolar scale in the study at hand.

Finally, a lack of previous research was a limitation in this study; however, this lack also represents an exciting new venue for future research. As a

relatively new area of interest in industrial-organizational psychology, unanswered research questions related to LGBTQ leadership are plentiful, and packed with useful implications. As the population increases in visibility, research should seek to answer these questions to better understand the issues encountered by LGBTQ individuals in leadership roles.

Conclusion

In sum, it appears that a man's sexual orientation alone does not influence perceptions of his leadership effectiveness, but being a gay man magnifies the importance of adhering to gender-stereotypical behavior. Of course, this study cannot be used as certain evidence of this phenomenon; its ambiguity would make even the most liberal of statisticians uneasy. However, the data's trends parallel findings in gender-focused leadership research, with the implication that gay men and heterosexual women experience similar discrimination as leaders. Though the interaction was only marginally significant, it is supported by supplementary simple effects findings that mirror theoretically grounded expectations.

Analogous to findings in studies of gender, it seems that descriptive stereotypes of gay men can be overcome by providing relevant behavioral information when making hiring decisions. However, prescriptive stereotypes will persist. Being gay is not a violation for a male leader if he enacts masculine behaviors; however, a "double violator" of both gender and sexual norms (Lehavot & Lambert, 2007) will ignite prescriptive biases, resulting in lower judgments of effectiveness.

Future research should seek to gain a more certain and in-depth understanding of

this and related phenomena to further illuminate issues important to LGBTQ leadership.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

This study addressed a gap in the industrial-organizational psychology research by investigating perceptions of LGBTQ leaders in the workplace. Specifically, it investigated the theory that gay men and heterosexual women experience similar scrutiny and resulting discrimination when in leadership roles. Participants were 363 psychology students who evaluated an applicant for a managerial position. Participants scored the candidate's leadership potential (hirability) and effectiveness based upon his resume, biography, and short video interview. The candidate's sexual orientation (gay, heterosexual, control) and behavioral style (agentic/masculine, communal/feminine) were manipulated, for a resulting 2 x 3 research design. By integrating gender and leadership theories with stereotyping literature, it was hypothesized that the gay candidate would be perceived to be less hireable and less effective than the heterosexual candidate. Further, an interaction between the candidate's sexual orientation and behavioral style was expected. Specifically, it was hypothesized that scores of hirability and effectiveness would be lower for the gay candidate who employed a communal behavioral style than the gay candidate who used agentic behaviors. There was no main effect found for sexual orientation; gay and heterosexual candidates received similar scores. There was a marginally significant interaction effect on perceived leadership effectiveness in the expected direction. These results are discussed in parallel with findings in gender and leadership literature. Limitations and recommendations for future research directions are discussed.

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Appendix A
Homonegativity Scale

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree

Many gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.

Gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.

Gay men do not have all the rights they need.

The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.

Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.

Gay men still need to protest for equal rights.

Gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.

If gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.

Gay men who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.

Gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.



In today's tough economic times, Americans' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support gay men's organizations.



Gay men have become far too confrontational for equal rights.



Appendix B
Altered Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

INTERVIEW MEDIUMS AND EVALUATIONS

What is the purpose of this research?

We are asking you to be in a research study because we are trying to learn more about the influence of interview media type on the evaluation of a potential job candidate. You are invited to participate in this study because you are currently a psychology student. You must be age 18 or older to be in this study. This study is not approved for the enrollment of people under the age of 18. This study is being conducted by Kristin Mann, a graduate student at DePaul, as a requirement to obtain her Masters Degree. This research is being supervised by her faculty advisor, Alice Stuhlmacher.

How much time will this take?

This study will take about thirty minutes of your time.

What will I be asked to do if I agree to participate in this study?

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to evaluate Candidate A for a managerial position at a marketing firm. You will first review a resume and a brief biography submitted by Candidate A. You will then watch a prerecorded video of Candidate A's interview for the position. Afterward, you will be asked to complete a short survey regarding your perception of Candidate A's abilities and potential in the position. We will also collect some personal information about you such as gender, age, ethnicity/race, relationship status, and religious affiliation. Your information will be kept confidential. You can withdraw your participation at any time prior to submitting your survey.

Will I receive any kind of payment for being in this study?

You will be given one research credit hour for participating. After the survey, you will be asked to provide your psychology subject pool ID number. Thus, your survey answers will be linked to your psychology subject pool ID number. Your current survey responses will be linked via your psychology subject pool ID number to information you provided in the DePaul Experiment Management System prescreening survey previously. *We cannot give you credit for being in this research without your psychology subject pool ID number.* If you exit the survey prior to the end of the survey, or if you choose not to provide this information, you will not receive credit.

What are the risks involved in participating in this study?

Being in this study does not involve any risks other than what you would encounter in daily life. For example, it is possible that others could find out what you said. This risk is minimal, however, as your survey will be completed electronically and labeled only by your psychology subject pool ID number.

What are the benefits of my participation in this study?

You will not personally benefit from being in this study. However, we hope that what we learn will help both employers and potential job candidates.

Can I decide not to participate? If so, are there other options?

Yes, you can choose not to participate. Even if you agree to be in the study now, you can change your mind later and leave the study by simply exiting the survey. Once you submit your responses, we will be unable to remove your data later from the study because we will not have your name, only your psychology subject pool ID number. We do not know which numbers belong to which people. There will be no negative consequences if you decide not to participate or change your mind later. We will not collect any IP addresses with the survey information.

How will the confidentiality of the research records be protected?

The records of this study will be kept confidential. In any report we might publish, we will not include any information that will identify you. Research records will be stored securely and only the researchers will have access to the records that identify you by psychology subject pool ID number. Some people might review our records in order to make sure we are doing what we are supposed to. For example, the DePaul University Institutional Review Board may review your information. If they look at our records, they will keep your information confidential.

Whom can I contact for more information?

If you have questions about this study, please contact Kristin Mann at 937-477-4407, or Alice Stuhlmacher at 773-325-2050. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Susan Loess-Perez, DePaul University's Director of Research Protections at 312-362-7593 or by email at sloesspe@depaul.edu.

You may print a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have all my questions answered. (Check one:)

- I consent to be in this study. I **DO NOT** consent to be in this stud and wish to exit the survey link.

Appendix C
Participant Instructions

Study Instructions

Our team is currently assisting a national marketing firm in evaluating new hiring methods. The purpose of this study is to examine the effects of interview medium (e.g., on the phone, in person, over video conference call, etc.) on the evaluation of the applicant. You will be asked to assess a recent job candidate for a managerial position at the firm based on his resume, a brief biography, and his interview.

In order to examine several interview mediums, we asked the firm to record interviews between the months of August and November in 2011. All videos used were recorded with the expressed consent of the applicant. In today's session, you will be viewing Candidate A's interview responses as a short video on the Internet. The interviewer's voice has been removed to avoid confusion, but you will be provided with the questions asked.

You will be asked to do the following:

- Review the resume and bio submitted by Candidate A. *Please read these carefully*; your evaluation will be based on all materials presented.
- Watch Candidate A's video interview.
- Evaluate Candidate A by completing a brief survey. Choose wisely—each of your answers is significant to our study. You will not be able to return to previous pages once you have moved forward, so take your time and read carefully. Your input is very important!

Let's get started!

IMPORTANT: DO NOT TRY TO RETURN TO A PREVIOUS PAGE WHILE TAKING THIS SURVEY. THIS MAY DISRUPT THE SURVEY: SHOULD THIS OCCUR, WE MAY BE UNABLE TO GIVE YOU CREDIT FOR PARTICIPATION.

Appendix D
Job Description

Employer: [REDACTED].

Position: Marketing Manager.

Job Summary: Reporting to the Senior Director of Marketing, the Marketing Manager will be responsible for overseeing major marketing, advertising and promotional staff and activities. The Marketing Manager will be expected to identify and reach out to potential customers, creating long-lasting and fruitful partnerships with business partners in several major sectors of the industry.

Responsibilities Include:

- Directing the hiring, training, and performance evaluations of marketing staff and overseeing their daily activities
- Acting as leader while working with the team to recommend and implement strategies to achieve marketing goals for assigned clients
- Leading marketing initiatives from concept to completion across cross-functional teams
- Evaluating new marketing opportunities and developing plans for successful execution
- Communicating project progress, risks, expectations, timelines, milestones and other key metrics to Senior Director of Marketing
- Analyzing marketing related data and devising recommendations to support existing, or start new, business decisions or initiatives
- Coordinating and participating in promotional activities or trade shows, working with developers, advertisers, or production managers to market products and services.

Job Qualifications:

- Bachelor's Degree
- 2-4 years of relevant experience
- Proficient in Microsoft Word, Excel, and Powerpoint
- Detail-oriented and motivated team player
- Excellent written and oral communicator
- Ability to inform and entertain using written, oral, and visual media
- Strong interpersonal skills with the ability to effectively develop relationships with all levels of employees and external business partners
- Ability to multi-task and handle a variety of programs and projects simultaneously with excellent project management skills

Appendix E
Candidate Resume

Candidate A

Qualifications: Innovative marketing professional with a successful record of planning and implementing marketing strategies in a variety of industries. Strong computer skills, including ability with Microsoft Office programs, Microsoft Windows, SPSS, and Needle.

Education

BOWDOIN COLLEGE 2001 - 2005

B.A. in Marketing, May 2005

- GPA = 3.8 / 4.0 (Dean's List)
- Minor in Psychology
- Honors Program Student
- Editor, *The Bowdoin Orient*

Work Experience

ROCKFORD PUBLIC RELATIONS & MARKETING Fall 2007 - Winter 2011

Marketing Assistant

Responsible for day-to-day office requirements, including maintaining an e-mail and fax database, organizing market system folders, responding to customer e-mails, and research as needed. Maintained the company website, editing as needed. Acted as the liaison between Marketing and IT to retain of an ongoing list of IT projects and status. Planned and implemented a successful social media strategy.

RED ELECTRIC COFFEE

Fall

2005 - Fall 2007

General Manager

Accountable for the maintenance of a calm, well-organized environment. Monitored and managed a staff of fifteen. Acted as a designer for in-store training techniques. Regularly reviewed store environment and key business indicators to identify problems, concerns, and opportunities for improvement. Responsible for the development and execution of strategic and operational plans for the work group.

BARJON'S BOOKS

Summer 2005

Books & Customer Relations Clerk

Responsible for managing the routine functions of the bookstore. Greeted customers and responded to queries, complaints, and requirements. Compiled daily, weekly, and monthly income reports. Maintained records of regular customers and updated them on new launches. Planned and implemented the creation of a well received website for the store.

References available upon request.

Appendix F
Candidate Biography



CANDIDATE A

Picture of Candidate A

Candidate A, B.A., is a Marketing Specialist with seven years of experience in customer service. A graduate of Bowdoin College, he earned his degree in Marketing in 2005, with the addition of a minor in Psychology. He has used this combination in several diverse industries, including media, food service management, and sales consultation.

Candidate A has spent his last four years reinvigorating the marketing sector of Rockford Public Relations & Marketing with his use of social media technology. While there, he acted as protégé to Rockford's Marketing Manager, regularly taking on responsibilities above and beyond those required of his position. Additionally, he was recognized company-wide when he was awarded the company's Marketing Quality Service Award in 2010.

After leaving Rockford Public Relations and Marketing to pursue new opportunities, Candidate A spent several months as an independent consultant before moving leaving his home state of Maine. He now lives in New York with his [husband Casey OR wife Casey], where he enjoys playing tennis, running, and researching new technology.

Contact Candidate A at XXX-XXX-XXXX or XXX@XXX.XXX to discuss your marketing needs.

Appendix G
Information Check Scale

Information Check

The level of attention paid to an application can have an effect on the evaluation itself. As the employer, you are expected to know Candidate A's background before his interview.

We want to be sure that you were able to read and understand Candidate A's resume and bio so you can give the best evaluation possible. These questions ask about details from the information you just read. Please respond:

1. **Candidate A graduated from...** (A) Carleton College; (B) University of Southern California; (C) Bowdoin College.
2. **In 2010, Candidate A won Rockford Public Relations & Marketing's award for...** (A) Best Smile; (B) Marketing Quality Service; (C) Salesperson of the Year.
3. **Candidate A lives with his...** (A) Husband; (B) Wife; (C) This information was not provided.
4. **According to his bio, Candidate A's hobbies include...** (A) Horseback riding; (B) Playing tennis; (C) Weightlifting.
5. **While at Barjon's Books, Candidate A's responsibilities included...** (A) Greeting the customers; (B) Cleaning the store's windows; (C) Contacting authors to set up book signing events.

IF RESPONSE IS CORRECT: CORRECT. The correct response is *XXXXXX*.
Two questions remaining.

IF RESPONSE IS INCORRECT:

The correct response is XXXXXX. Please correct your response before proceeding.

1. Candidate A graduated from (C) Bowdoin College.
2. In 2010, Candidate A won Rockford Public Relations and Marketing's award for (B) Marketing Quality Service.
3. Candidate A lives with his (A) Husband, Jim.*
4. While at Barjon's Books, Candidate A's responsibilities included (A) greeting the customers.

Please correct your responses before moving on to the next page.

*Dependent upon the participant's experimental condition.

Appendix H
Interview Scripts

Interview Scripts

Q1: What kind of leadership skills would you bring to the job?

Agentic: I think I'm extremely good at sizing people up quickly, and then delegating responsibility accordingly. I also plan to hire the very best talent that's available, and to make sure that they have the resources to do their job the best that they can. I have to say that I expect a lot of the people who work for me, but I'm up front about that expectation.

Communal: I'm pretty good at delegating responsibilities once I get to know the people who work for me. My goal is to try to match the person to the job that they can grow into. I don't expect people to be perfect right away. I like to create a supportive atmosphere. Plus I think I'm flexible about working around people's scheduling problems.

Q2: What kind of managerial style do you have?

Agentic: There's no question about it, I like to be the boss! I let people know what's expected of them, and I'm able to lean on people if they lag behind. But I'm also quick to spot talent and to promote people who deserve it and who will do their best for me. But I like being in charge – to be the person who makes the decisions. In my experience, that's the best way to get things done well.

Communal: Well, my preference is to get people together, to talk through whatever issues are on the table, and to come to some consensus about the decisions that have to be made. Sometimes people have to be encouraged to speak

up, and I'll do my absolute best to give them that opportunity. I like to have plenty of input from the people who work with me.

Q3: How will you handle conflict resolution?

Agentic: I like to be direct. I have no qualms about saying, "Look, we've got a problem," and addressing the issue head-on. Conflicts are a part of life, and the sooner you address them, the more efficient and productive you'll be.

Communal: Sometimes conflicts simply arise from misunderstandings. So I like to get people together to talk out conflicts when they come up. That way we can come to a solution that works for the whole group.

Q4: What is your philosophy about firing people?

Agentic: I have no problem with letting people go when they aren't doing their part. While I don't go firing people left and right, if someone isn't performing well, I'll talk to them about their performance, tell them that they need to improve and that their job's on the line. Then if I don't see improvement, it's pretty clear they aren't trying and I need to let them go.

Communal: I see the firing process as a last resort. When people aren't performing well it may be because they aren't challenged enough or their skills could be better used somewhere else. I like to talk with the employee to find out what's bothering them or holding them back – maybe try them in a different role. Sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't, but I like to give people a chance.

Q5: What are your technical skills?

Agentic: Basically, I can troubleshoot my way out of anything. I know the Windows operating systems like the back of my hand, no problem. And Windows programs are a snap. Whether they're running on a PC or a Mac I can install them, configure them, and take care of any problems that come up. Plus I'm great at programming in all of the major languages. And of course I can handle any network printer problems. So I think I've got excellent technical skills to offer.

Communal: Well, I've taken several computer classes where we wrote programs using most of the major languages. And I'm familiar with Windows and Mac operating systems. I'm also pretty experienced using Windows programs. I think I'm pretty good at identifying computer problems and troubleshooting. Most of the time people have printer problems and those aren't too hard to fix. So I think I've got some pretty good technical skills to offer.

Q6: Are you a good self-starter? Describe an example where you took the initiative on a project.

Agentic: I'm definitely a self-starter. For example, I worked at an independent bookstore one summer and was really surprised to find out they didn't have a website. I mean, if you don't have a www. in front of your company name, you're locking yourself out of a huge market! Anyway, it was clear they needed one, so I set them up. It worked out so well it increased the store's profits by 10%.

Needless to say, the owners were very happy.

Communal: Sure, I'd consider myself a self-starter, but first I like to know that I'm going in the right direction. Give an example? Well, one summer I designed a website for the bookstore I was working at. They were a small, independent store, and I thought a website could help their business. I suggested it to my boss and she was interested, so we brainstormed some ideas and I asked the other employees and some of the customers what they'd like to see in a website. In the end, I think it turned out pretty well.

Q7: Would you describe yourself as competitive?

Agentic: Oh definitely. I mean that in a healthy way, of course. I'm not obsessed with competition or anything. But I do enjoy competing. To tell you the truth, I hate to lose at anything.

Communal: Well, I wouldn't say that I'm competitive by nature, but of course if competition is necessary I'll try to do the very best I can. Still, if it's all the same to everyone, I'd like everybody to win.

Q8: Why do you want this position? Where do you see yourself in five or ten years?

Agentic: I definitely see this as a springboard to future opportunities. Right now, it seems like an ideal chance to gain more experience and to sharpen my leadership skills. Eventually, though, I'd like to start my own business – possibly

a consulting firm for large corporations. There is a lot of money to be made in this industry, and I'd like to grab a piece of it for myself.

Communal: The best part about this position is that it would allow me to try out some of my managerial ideas. I got into this business not so much for the money there is to be made as for the people I hope to inspire. I don't really know what I'll be doing five or ten years from now. I'm the kind of person who sort of takes things as they come, you know?

Q9: What kind of salary to do you expect?

Agentic: My experience and skills put me at the top of the range for this position. So I would expect no less than that, along with a complete benefits package, of course.

Communal: Well, if I should be lucky enough get the position, I'm sure you'd offer me a fair wage. You know, whatever the going rate is for someone with my skills and experience.

Q10: What supervisory or management positions have you held? What were your responsibilities?

Agentic: I used to manage a coffee shop. My goal was always to increase sales and to keep bringing more customers through the door. I had a really good system going. I streamlined things so that people only did the jobs that they were fastest and best at. And it worked. Sales increased while I was there and the customers were quite pleased with the cleanliness and the efficiency of the place.

Communal: I used to manage a coffee shop, and my focus was mainly on customer service. I think a lot of good customer service comes from satisfied workers, so I tried to keep my team happy and loyal. The customers liked seeing familiar faces behind the counter, and I think that actually kept them coming back.

Neutral Filler questions – answered the same way in both conditions

Q1: Have you traveled much? Would you be willing to do a fair amount of business travel?

Both: I've traveled quite a lot. My friends and I decided that before we graduated from college we should visit all 48 continental states. We came pretty close. We'd spend summers in the car, driving through every state we could. I saw a lot of places that I liked and I'd like a chance to visit again. I think traveling for business would be a good opportunity to do that. So yes, I'd be more than willing to travel for business.

Q2: What are your primary activities outside of work?

Both: I used to run track in college and now I run a lot on my own and with a local group that trains together for races. I also do a lot of reading, and I enjoy going to movies with friends.

Appendix I

Leadership Potential and Effectiveness Scale

10. I like Candidate A.
(O)
11. Candidate A is a
good candidate for the
managerial position. (H)
12. Candidate A seems
like someone who can
effectively lead a team to
success. (E)
13. Candidate A is a
competitive person. (M)
14. Candidate A has the
potential to be a good
manager (H).
15. Candidate A appears
to be an effective leader.
(E)
16. Candidate A is a
humble person. (M)

*Hirability items: 1, 4, 11, 14; Effectiveness items: 6, 9, 12, 15; Manipulation items: 2, 7, 13, 16. Other (likability) items: 2, 5, 8, 10

Appendix J
Demographics Survey

Demographics Survey

Lastly, we want to ask you a few questions about yourself. Remember, these surveys are not completely anonymous; your name will not be attached to your responses, but the responses will be linked to your psychology subject pool ID number.

1. **Gender:** Female/Male/Transgender/Other
2. **Age:** [select an age]
3. **Current Year in School:** Freshman/Sophomore/Junior/Senior/Other
4. **Ethnicity:** Caucasian/Black or African-American/Hispanic or Latino, Latina/Asian/Pacific Islander/Native American/Other
5. **Relationship Status:** Single, Not In a Committed Relationship/Single, In a Committed Relationship/In a Civil Union/Married/Divorced/Widowed/Other
6. **Regarding your sexual orientation, where along this scale would you place yourself?***
Heterosexual (1) – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – Bisexual (6) – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – Gay/Lesbian (11)
7. **What is your religious affiliation?** Protestant/Roman Catholic/Other Christian/Jewish/Muslim/Hindu/Buddhist/Agnostic/Atheist/None/Other
8. **What is your political party affiliation?**
Democrat/Republican/Independent/Other
9. **Regarding your position on social issues, where along this scale would you place yourself?***
Liberal (1) – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5 – Middle of the Road (6) – 7 – 8 – 9 – 10 – Conservative (11)

*Answers to these items were provided using a sliding scale. Only textual labels were provided (i.e., Gay, Bisexual, Heterosexual; Liberal, Middle of the Road, Conservative); numerical values are included here solely for range clarification.

Appendix K
Debriefing Information

The Effects of Sexual Orientation and Behavioral Style on Perception of Male Leadership Potential and Effectiveness

Thank you for participating in our research. In today's study, you were asked to evaluate a candidate for a leadership position based on his resume, biography, and interview. You were led to believe the purpose of this study was to examine the effects of interview medium; however, in reality, the purpose was to examine the effects of sexual orientation (gay or heterosexual) and behavioral style (agentic or communal) on leadership evaluation. An agentic individual is perceived as competitive, aggressive, and dominant, whereas a communal individual is perceived as kind, thoughtful, and submissive.

This deception was necessary. The biases being studied are often unnoticed, even by us. Even if we are aware of them, we may not feel comfortable expressing our true feelings on a subject. Social pressures, like not wanting to seem biased, can keep us from stating our true opinion. If this had happened in the study, the data would not reflect our actual perceptions. In order to avoid this problem, participants could not be informed of the study's actual purpose until debriefing.

As stated earlier, all of your responses will be absolutely confidential. In return, ask that you honor our confidentiality as well—please do not tell anyone about the details of the study. If the other participants are aware of the details of this study, it will bias their responses, and we will not be drawing conclusions about actual perceptions.

We are very grateful for your participation in this research. If you have any questions or concerns, or if you'd like to receive a copy of the results once the study is complete, you may contact the primary researcher, Kristin Mann, at kmann3@depaul.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Susan Loess-Perez, DePaul University's Director of Research Protections at 312-362-7593 or by email at sloesspe@depaul.edu.

Thank you for your participation!