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

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Department of Psychology

DePaul University

By

Kristin Elizabeth Mann

May 3, 2016

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Biography

The author was born in Springboro, Ohio, July 23, 1985. She graduated from the Miami Valley High School in Dayton, Ohio. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from the George Washington University in 2007, and a Master of Arts degree in Industrial-Organizational Psychology from DePaul University in 2012.

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Abstract

This research explored the influences that sexual orientation and gender norm adherence play in impacting perceptions of a leader's hirability into and evaluation within a leadership role. Though sexual minority issues in the workplace represent a growing field of research, investigations into sexual orientation's impact on outcomes relevant to leadership remain scant. As increasing numbers of openly gay and lesbian men and women take positions of leadership, there is a need for more information regarding the experiences of sexual minority leaders, with potential benefits to these individuals, their organizations, and related stakeholders. The research conducted here was intended to address this gap by investigating the effect of a leader's sexual orientation and adherence to gender role behavioral norms on perceptions of their leadership in both stereotypically masculine and feminine leadership roles. Participants were asked to review and evaluate the qualifications of a male or a female candidate of heterosexual or gay/lesbian sexual orientation for a managerial position in retail sales. This position was described in particularly masculine/agentive or feminine/communal terms. They then viewed the candidate's interview video, with the applicant displaying either an agentive or a communal behavioral style, and subsequently provided an evaluation of his or her effectiveness as a leader. Drawing from both role congruity theory and sexual orientation research, it was hypothesized that discrimination will occur based on the distances between stereotypes of gay men and lesbian women (specifically, that gay men are feminine and lesbian women are masculine), gender role

expectations of men and women, and beliefs about a leader role's requirements. It was expected that gay men would be perceived as less hireable into a leadership position than heterosexual men, and even more so for positions with masculine-typed tasks, while lesbian women would be perceived as more hireable into a masculine-typed leadership position than heterosexual women. It was further expected that, when a male leader uses an agentic (masculine) style, they would be perceived as more effective if they are heterosexual than if they are gay. On the other hand, lesbian women who enact agentic behaviors would be evaluated as less effective than heterosexual agentic women. However, the masculine stereotype of lesbian women was predicted to null the effects of prejudice demonstrated in evaluations of communal female leaders' effectiveness, so that lesbian women who enacted a communal (feminine) style were expected to receive more positive evaluations of leader effectiveness than heterosexual communal women. Although findings did not support hypotheses, several significant interactions were revealed in unexpected directions. Sexual orientation had no influence on men or women's hirability into leader roles, regardless of the requirements, and no impact on ratings of female leader's effectiveness. Similarly, both gay and heterosexual men received similar ratings of effectiveness when employing a communal style; however, while this rating did not change when gay men instead used an agentic style, ratings for heterosexual men were significantly lower. Implications are discussed in light of recent cultural shifts around beliefs about and attitudes toward LGBT individuals.

Introduction

In October of 2014, Apple's Tim Cook became the first CEO of a Fortune 500 to identify as openly gay, publicly addressing the topic in an editorial for *Bloomsberg Businessweek* (Cook, 2014). Rumors regarding Cook's sexual orientation had followed him since he had taken the helm at Apple in 2011. In fact, *Out* magazine had already thrice accorded him the top position in their annual list of the fifty most powerful gay and lesbian individuals in the United States (Holpuch, 2013), with a second place position in 2014 ("The 8th Annual Power 50," 2014). However, he had never before publicly addressed the topic of his sexual orientation, in part, he explained, because of the possible response: he did not want to be defined solely by his sexual orientation.

Cook's story highlights several important social trends. First, there is an increasing public awareness of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Of adult Americans polled in 2013, 87% report that they personally know someone who is gay or lesbian – up from 61% in 1993 (Pew Research Center, 2013). Further, the public is showing greater acceptance. Between 2007 and 2014, there was an 11% increase (from 49% to 60%) in those who answered yes to the question of whether society should "accept homosexuality" (Pew Research Center, 2014). Second, gay and lesbian individuals are in the workplace and taking leadership positions. However, there appears to remain some trepidation regarding openly referring to one's minority sexual orientation, even at the highest levels of management, in part because of the impact it may have on others' perceptions of one's leadership.

As an important part of one's social identity, sexual orientation is likely to have a multi-faceted impact on the leadership experience. However, there are few scholarly publications that have investigated issues relating to LGBT individuals as organizational leaders. This dearth is particularly noticeable in the field of industrial-organizational (I-O) psychology. Several authors have highlighted the need for in depth research into the presumed effects of sexual minority status on access to leadership, the shaping of leaders' behavior, and perceptions of leadership quality (Eagly & Chin, 2010; Fassinger, Shullman, & Stevenson, 2010). Though these questions seem ideally suited to I-O psychology's expertise, I-O researchers have only recently begun to tackle LGBT workplace issues (King & Cortina, 2010; Zickar, 2010), and questions relevant to organizational leadership remain largely unexplored. As the LGBT community gains visibility, the need for such research grows more urgent, and the time is right: the current cultural climate's emphasis on the importance of diversity and inclusion offers the ideal opportunity for I-O research into identity status dimensions and their effects on leadership experience (Fassinger et al., 2010).

This research thus offers a timely investigation into the influence of leaders' sexual orientation on perceptions of their leadership. Using a social role theory perspective, it examined the influence of sexual orientation (heterosexual or lesbian/gay) on perceptions of a person's (1) hirability into leadership roles, and (2) behavioral effectiveness as a leader. Consistent with role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig & Eagly, 2014), it was expected that discrimination would be contextually based on apparent dissimilarities between

sexual orientation stereotypes, gender role expectations, and leader role requirements. Specifically, prejudice would arise when there is a perceived incongruity between an individual's stereotypical qualities as determined by their gender and sexual orientation, and the qualities that individual is expected to have based on leader role requirements and gender role norms. This would then lead to differences in perceptions of the individual's potential to fill a leader role, ultimately impacting evaluations of the individual's behavior within that role.

This introduction provides background for the research at hand, reviewing relevant literature from sexual orientation and gender role research to develop an understanding of sexual orientation discrimination in the context of leadership. The first section describes the current state of research examining the impact of sexual orientation in the workplace, revealing evidence of a gender difference in sexual minority discrimination. Inspired by this, the second section offers an overview of gender role literature, detailing traditional gender role assumptions, relevant findings, and a role congruity theory of disadvantages faced by women in leadership. The third section then integrates research on gender roles and sexual orientation in a discussion of implicit inversion theory and related prejudicial attitudes. Finally, the last section applies findings from previous sections to develop a theory of prejudice in perceptions of gay men and lesbian women seeking to occupy or currently occupying positions of leadership.

Sexual Orientation Discrimination in the Workplace

Discrimination against sexual minority groups in the workplace is not uncommon. Findings from self-report measures reveal that between 15% and 43%

of LGBT individuals have experienced some form of employment discrimination. Further, many heterosexual employees have witnessed a discriminatory act (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). Damaging to the employee's mental and physical health, sexual discrimination certainly has a negative impact at the individual level; however, it can also prove detrimental to the organization as a whole. Perception of workplace heterosexism by LGBT employees slows overall organizational productivity through decreased employee job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and organizational self-esteem, as well as increased turnover intentions and job anxiety (King & Cortina, 2010). Organizations that choose to ignore LGBT employees may thus be doing so to their own detriment.

With discrimination tied to both social and economic outcomes (King & Cortina, 2010), organizations have impetus to find ways to better manage sexual orientation diversity. One way to do this is by adjusting policy. In the past, discriminatory practices were often institutionalized, with rules such as "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" explicitly included in organizational guidelines. Not only did the implementation of such policies result in direct discrimination, they further exacerbated the problem by creating a community that fostered bias against LGBT individuals (Barron & Hebl, 2010). However, explicitly anti-gay policies are becoming increasingly rare, in part because of legislative action. As of 2014, twenty-one states prohibit sexual orientation bias in hiring, promotion, job assignment, termination, compensation, and harassment (American Civil Liberties Union, 2014), though there is not yet an analogous statute established at the federal level.

Even where not yet legally mandated, organizations are more frequently rooting out institutionalized heterosexism in favor of LGBT-friendly policies. Consumers appear to respond well to this: companies that implement such policies see no change in stock market price at worst, and an increase in firm value at best (Johnston & Malina, 2008; Wang & Schwarz, 2010). In fact, while there was once concern that promoting sexual orientation equality might result in backlash from conservative stakeholders, consumers are now becoming less tolerant of prejudicial attitudes. Americans have become increasingly supportive of LGBT equality, and may in fact retaliate against organizations and their leaders who appear anti-gay. Brendan Eich's tenure at Mozilla offers a pertinent example. Two weeks after his promotion to chief executive officer in March 2014, it was discovered that Eich had made donations in support of California's 2008 anti-marriage equality bill, Proposition 8. Consumer response was so immediate and so negative that he stepped down within the week (Barr, 2014).

As popular opinion shifts more heavily in support of sexual orientation equality, it is likely that explicit discrimination against gay and lesbian employees will be prohibited nationwide. However, sexual minority discrimination is not solely driven by policy: it may also be reflective of an innate prejudice against LGBT individuals at the individual level (Embrick, Walther, & Wickens, 2007). A manager's implicitly held beliefs about and attitudes toward sexual minority group members can subconsciously influence his or her evaluation of an LGBT employee, which can in turn have an impact on his or her decision-making. A more insidious driver of discrimination, organizational leaders cannot address

innate prejudice simply by adjusting policy. However, they can more proactively manage sexual orientation diversity by having an understanding of where such prejudice comes from, and by being aware of the discrimination that might result. This research thus serves to provide insight into sexual orientation prejudice and resulting discrimination against leaders.

The importance of workplace context. In developing awareness around prejudice, it is necessary to consider the impact of contextual elements. The emergence and impact of prejudice is dependent on context. Role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) makes this point explicit, and is used here to investigate this phenomenon in a leadership context. The theory's main premise holds that while a stereotype itself is a neutral construct, prejudice arises when group stereotypes are incongruent with stereotypes based on particular social roles (i.e., the attributes and behaviors ascribed and prescribed by the social role) (Eagly, 2004; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig & Eagly, 2014). Consistent with Koenig and Eagly's (2014) definition, prejudice is defined here as "a less favorable attitude (in context) toward people who are stereotypically mismatched with the requirements of a role compared with those who are well matched" (p. 71). These less favorable attitudes can then negatively influence evaluations of the person and his or her behaviors – in other words, discrimination based on group membership. In short, prejudice describes the unfavorable attitude, and discrimination the negative result.

Role congruity theory suggests that, by influencing attitudes, sexual orientation stereotypes play a factor in the discrimination lesbian and gay

employees report experiencing in the workplace. To understand such discrimination, it is thus necessary to understand the stereotypes applied to sexual minority individuals. However, not all sexual minority groups are assigned the same stereotype. As is detailed later in this introduction, the stereotypes applied to gay men and lesbian women are quite different, and strongly associated with gender (Worthen, 2013). This highlights two points relevant to the research at hand: (1) gender is a necessary construct to include in any examination of sexual orientation in the workplace, as perceiver stereotypes and attitudes are dictated by both variables; and (2) as a result of their distinct stereotypes, gay men and lesbian women are likely to have different experiences when outcomes are compared to those of their heterosexual counterparts. Literature outside of I-O psychology supports this notion, revealing gender differences in terms of sexual orientation's impact on two important workplace outcomes: compensation and hiring.

Compensation research suggests an inverse relationship between gender and sexual orientation in overall compensation. While gay men report lower earnings than heterosexual men, lesbian women actually report higher earnings than heterosexual women (Allegretto & Arthur, 2001; Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007; Berg & Lien, 2002; Black, Hoda, Sanders, & Taylor, 2003; Blandford, 2003; Schmitt, 2008). The difference in women's wages is somewhat surprising. If women workers are disadvantaged by their gender, then common sense might suggest that lesbian women will be doubly disadvantaged by a stigmatized sexual orientation in ways that would negatively impact their compensation (e.g., job

status, salary). However, as compared to observed frequencies in the general population, lesbian women are in fact overrepresented in America's better-paid women workers (Peplau & Fingerhut, 2004). In studies conducted between 2000 and 2008, the reported earning penalty for gay men varied between 14% and 32%, while the earning premium for lesbian women varied between 17% and 34% (Schmitt, 2008). Though there is some variation based on how a study defines sexual orientation (e.g., having a same-sex partner in the last five years, self-identified sexual orientation, sexual attraction) the same general principle holds across the literature.

Over the last decade, a small but growing field of research has examined the influence of sexual orientation on hiring decisions, with differences appearing across genders once again. Many of these studies have indicated that although sexual minorities do appear to experience some amount of discrimination, this does not result in a statistically significant difference in outcomes (Hebl, Foster, Mannix, & Dovidio, 2002; Van Hove & Lievens, 2003). However, in each of these studies sexual orientation was examined at the population-wide level, grouping men and women together. As in compensation, there appear to be gender differences in sexual minority discrimination.

Evidence indicates that, as compared to their heterosexual counterparts, gay men do experience hiring discrimination. In the first large-scale audit study of its kind, Tilcsik (2011) examined discrimination against gay male applicants. Over a period of six months, Tilcsik sent a pair of résumés to 1,769 job postings describing two similarly qualified applicants. Each applicant listed a position as

treasurer of one of two college organizations: the *Gay and Lesbian Alliance* or the *Progressive and Socialist Alliance*. The overall callback rate was 9.35%.

However, the total percentage of applicants who received an interview invitation was lower for gay male applicants (7.2%) than those without a direct indicator of sexual orientation (11.5%). When a male applicant was presumed to be gay, an employer was 40% less likely to give him a call.

Findings for women are less clear, but seem to suggest that lesbian women are considered more hireable than heterosexual women. In a study that included male and female applicants, both lesbian women and gay men were rated as less hireable than heterosexual men, but more hireable than heterosexual women (Horvath & Ryan, 2003). A similar study found that sexual orientation influenced ratings of hirability, but only for male participants (Pichler, Varma, & Bruce, 2010). Further, the influence of a man or a woman's sexual orientation changed depending on the job role for which they were being hired, sales manager or registered nurse. Upon further investigation of male participant ratings, the authors concluded that while they did not differentiate between heterosexual male and female applicants, male participants did rate lesbian women as more hireable than gay men. The mean rating was higher for lesbian women than heterosexual women, though it was not noted whether this result was significant. Gender may thus explain earlier non-significant findings of sexual orientation's influence on perceived hirability. By not taking gender into account, the penalty against gay men perhaps is made null by the premium experienced by lesbian women.

Sexual orientation in the context of leadership. Gay men and lesbian women appear to have different experiences of workplace discrimination, which may in part be the result of differing stereotypes. It is expected that the attitudes driving these findings will also influence leadership perceptions and related outcomes, with gender differences emerging; however, this field remains unexplored. An extensive literature review revealed only two published studies examining the influence of both sexual orientation and gender on leadership experience, both of which focused solely on lesbian women (Heintz, 2010; Pringle, 2008). This is somewhat explained by sexual orientation's invisibility. Though an important part of one's social identity, sexual orientation is not a readily observable variable (cf. Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005). As a categorical descriptor, gender is more salient, and may lead to more immediate stigmatization in light of the historically gendered expectations of leadership. In fact, this point was explicitly stated in the two identified studies (Heintz, 2010; Pringle, 2008), which both used qualitative methods to explore the experience of lesbian women in managerial positions. When asked to consider the influence of their various social identities, managers noted their visible gender identity was more of a hindrance than was their sexuality, but that the two interacted to make workplace politics more difficult to navigate.

Considering the vast number of studies examining gender and leadership, it is somewhat surprising to find so little of this research that incorporates consideration of sexual orientation. The intricate inter-relationships between biological sex, gender roles, and sexual orientation will almost certainly play a

part in perceptions of leadership (Collins, 2012; Gedro, 2010). To date, no study has yet examined the combined effect of a leader's sexual orientation and gender on others' evaluations of their leadership.

Because of the current lack of a leadership theory inclusive of sexual orientation, and in consideration of the demonstrated interactive influence of both gender and sexual orientation on other important workplace outcomes, this research employs gender and leadership theory to provide direction for hypotheses. Specifically, it uses the primary tenet of role congruity theory—that prejudice emerges when there is distance between group stereotype and social role—to examine the impact of incongruities between gender stereotype and leader role, sexual orientation stereotype and gender role, and sexual orientation stereotype and leader role. It is expected that these relationships will influence perceptions of an individual's potential to fill a leadership role, and evaluations of their behavior when in that role. These three relationships are described in turn in the following sections, using theory to detail relevant group stereotypes and related attitudes.

Gender Roles and Leadership

This section describes the core construct of gender roles, related attitudes, and their influence in the context of leadership.

Gender roles. Gender roles emerged as Eagly's (1987) extension of social role theory, which posits that there are socially shared expectations of people who either occupy a specific position in a society or belong to a recognized social category (Biddle, 1979; Sarbin & Allen, 1968). These expectations are of two

kinds, labeled here as descriptive and prescriptive norms. Descriptive norms are culturally engrained beliefs of how group members *actually* behave, and are synonymous with descriptions of group stereotype (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Prescriptive norms are expectations of how those same group members *ought* to behave, or how a member should ideally act. Eagly (1987) applied the concept of social roles to gender by defining gender roles as culturally constructed beliefs about the attributes of men and women, both actual and ideal (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 2001).

As described by social role theory, these socially shared beliefs stem from cultural observations of the group. Perceivers make inferences about peoples' inner dispositions based upon the types of behaviors in which they engage. When someone performs an action—leading an army to war, for example—observers draw conclusions about that individual based on the qualities they believe required of someone to lead that group. Accordingly, American gender roles have emerged as a result of centuries spent observing men act as breadwinners and occupying higher status roles of leadership, and women act as homemakers and occupying lower status roles: men are masculine and leaders, and women are feminine and followers. Over time, these attributes become considered not only appropriate, but also attractive in someone of that gender (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gender roles dictate both what is expected of and preferred in a man (i.e., qualities and behaviors required of high-status leaders) and a woman (i.e., qualities and behaviors befitting a low-status caretaker).

Gender role expectations are often described in terms of two dimensions: agentic and communal (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Pratch & Jacobowitz, 1996). The agentic dimension consists of attributes related to self-assertion and independence, such as being competitive, aggressive, forceful, displaying competence—qualities typically ascribed as required in a leader (Eagly & Karau, 2002). An agentic behavior style is thus considered masculine. In holding positions of leadership, men are expected to display high levels of agentic characteristics (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987). The communal dimension, on the other hand, is a feminine style that primarily describes a concern of the welfare of others. Women are expected to show high levels of communal attributes, such as kindness, thoughtfulness, sensitivity to others' feelings, and submissiveness (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987). In sum, it is believed that men and leaders should be agentic with masculine qualities, while women and followers are and should be communal with feminine qualities.

Attitudes toward gender role violation. Behavior is generally favored when it is consistent with one's gender role. Perceivers tend to react negatively to individuals who do not fulfill engendered expectations, especially if their behavior runs counter to gender role (Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Fairchild, 2004). For example, when a woman acts in an agentic, masculine manner, she is violating her gender role. She is then at risk of being subjected to negative reactions (Eagly, Karau, & Makhijani, 1995; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Indeed, when compared to agentic men,

agentic women tend to receive lower ratings on niceness (Rudman & Glick, 2001) and social skills (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

Reactions to gender role violation can be even more negative when observed in men (Levy, Taylor, & Gelman, 1995; McCreary, 1994). It may be that femininity is generally viewed less favorably because of its perceived lower status (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012; McCreary, 1994). Alternatively, male behavior that runs counter to stereotype may tap into assumptions about sexual orientation: feminine men are more likely to be perceived as gay (Wong, McCreary, Carpenter, Engle, & Korchynsky, 1999). Considering this, and the fact that research has consistently found sexual prejudice to be highest in heterosexual males (Herek, 2000; Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman, & Snyder, 2006), it is possible that negative reactions toward gender role violations are related to connections made to sexual orientation.

Gender and leadership: Role congruity theory. Leadership has long been conceptualized as a masculine construct (Ayman & Korabik, 2010), as evidenced by extensive research in multiple paradigms (e.g., Powell & Butterfield, 1979; Schein, 1973, 1975; Shinar, 1975). When asked to imagine a stereotypical leader, that leader is most often described as a man (Embry, Padgett, & Caldwell, 2008; Willemsen, 2002). This belief is certainly changing, with non-traditional forms of leadership that incorporate feminine-stereotyped attributes proving more effective at times (e.g., transformational leadership); however, the perceived gender role violation that results from the incongruent expectations for women and leaders offers one explanation for the apparent disadvantages faced

by women in leadership. There remains a sizable difference in the numbers of men and women employed in top leadership positions. In their 2013 census of Fortune 500 companies, Catalyst (a non-profit organization) listed a record high of 23 women positioned as CEOs, or only 4.6% of all Fortune 500 companies. Additionally, they noted that women held only 16.9% of corporate board seats, marking the eighth year in which there was no significant year-by-year increase (Catalyst, 2013). Multiple scholars have documented gender disparities in hirability in both the field and the lab (Gaucher, Frisen, & Kay, 2011; Juodvalkis, Greg, Hogue, Svyantek, & DeLamarter, 2003; Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snavely, 2008). Additionally, a number of publications have revealed that female leaders are likely to be evaluated less favorably than otherwise equivalent male leaders (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Bartol & Butterfield, 1976; Eagly, et al., 1992; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Pratch & Jacobwitz, 1996; Wexley & Pulakos, 1982).

Role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) proposes that women occupying or seeking to occupy leadership roles experience prejudice because of incongruent role expectations. The theory investigates the influence of descriptive and prescriptive norms on two forms of prejudice: (a) less favorable appraisal of women's leadership potential as compared to men, and (b) less favorable appraisal of women's actual leadership behaviors as compared to men.

The first form of prejudice emerges as a result of descriptive norms, the gender stereotypes that dictate the belief that women are feminine. Women are typically ascribed the feminine qualities associated with communal behaviors, which are unlike those expected in and desired of leaders. Descriptive gender bias

is thus predicted to influence the general hiring process: because women do not have the qualities expected of a leader, they are not considered suitable, and are thus are not hired into leader positions.

The second form of prejudice, prescriptive gender bias, is of a more insidious nature. Prescriptive norms dictate implicitly held beliefs as to how women ought to act. This bias thus implies a judgment: women should act femininely, so a woman is “good” if she behaves in a feminine way. This same logic also applies to leadership: because leadership requires agentic attributes, a “good” leader behaves in an agentic, masculine way, while a leader that is not agentic may be rated as less effective. However, a female leader who employs an agentic behavior style violates her prescribed gender role. This manifests itself as largely negative evaluations for female leaders when compared to otherwise equal male leaders. This effect has been demonstrated in research, whereby women are evaluated less favorably than men (Lyness & Heilman, 2006), and more so when they employ a masculine style (Eagly et al., 1992). In an apt description, Rudman and Glick (2001) write, “...women who strive for leadership positions are in a double bind: They can enact communal behaviors and be liked but not respected or enact agentic behaviors and be respected but not liked.”

Certain factors moderate the relationship between role congruity and discriminatory practices. As a general principle, moderators are variables that change the perceived distance between gender and leader roles. The greater the distance, the less likely women will be perceived to be able to fulfill the

requirements of that role (descriptive bias), and the more negative a perceiver's reaction if they do so successfully (prescriptive bias).

The masculinity of a leader role acts as one such moderator. While leadership is generally defined as a masculine construct, perception of a leader role's requirements can vary widely. Certain aspects of a role – such as its specific requirements – may strengthen the perceived agency required to fulfill it successfully. The more masculine the leader role's definition, the less likely a woman – an individual attributed a feminine stereotype with communal qualities – will be able to satisfy, or fit, that position. Further, the better a female leader bucks gender role expectations by fulfilling those requirements, the more likely she is to be rated poorly in comparison to a male in the same position (Eagly et al., 1995). Thus, bias against women will be stronger when a leadership role is defined in predominantly masculine terms, requiring agentic qualities, and less prevalent when the definition includes more feminine terms with suggested communal qualities.

Sex of the perceiver also moderates the relationship between role congruity and bias, and for several reasons. First, men tend to have a more masculine construal of leadership requirements (Schein, 1973, 1975; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011), widening the gap between gender stereotype and role requirements. Second, men tend to evaluate gender role violations more negatively than women (Sirin, McCreary, & Mahalik, 2004), such as that of a female leader who meets the role's agentic requirements. A male perceiver will

therefore be more likely to discriminate against a female leader, though prejudice can certainly arise in both audiences.

Research regarding the descriptive-prescriptive bias framework offers additional insight regarding role congruity theory's proposed relationships. Descriptive bias may be undercut by providing judgment-relevant behavioral information (e.g., a candidate's previous work performance in a similar situation); however, prescriptive bias will persevere (Gill, 2004; Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snavely, 2008; Rudman & Glick, 1999). When a perceiver receives this new information, they discard the "best guess" determined by descriptive bias. However, the information can be simultaneously perceived as evidence of one's prescribed violation, which has moral implications. An illustrated example provides some clarification: John the hiring manager believes that all women are and should be passive, while all leaders are and should be aggressive. When he receives a resume from a female applicant, he at first assumes that the applicant is passive and therefore unsuitable for the job. If he then meets her and finds she is aggressive, then he will discard that descriptive bias and no longer think her unsuitable for the leadership position. However, because he believes all women should be passive, he will judge her behavior negatively based on her violation of that prescriptive norm. In sum, while future judgments may be free from descriptive prejudice, they are impacted by the observer's reaction to the perceived defiance of social norms (Gill, 2004).

Though originally introduced in the context of discrimination against female leaders, role congruity theory is applicable to other groups based on its

central tenet: discrimination arises as a consequence of prejudice, which is driven by a perceived incompatibility between group stereotypes and role characteristics (Eagly & Diekmann, 2005). In other words, when a member of some group seeks to fill a role of some kind, prejudice emerges when there are key differences between the group's stereotype and beliefs about the role's requirements. While much of the available role congruity research has focused on discrimination against women (e.g., Knobloch-Westerwick & Glynn, 2013; O'Connor et al., 2010), particularly in terms of fulfilling leadership positions, others have found evidence of prejudice resulting from role incongruity in groups differing by age (Diekmann & Hirnisey, 2007, Krings, Sczesny, & Kluge, 2011) and mental illness (Koenig & Eagly, 2013). The current research extends this tradition by applying role congruity assumptions to groups of different sexual orientation. In light of the close relationship between gender and sexual orientation, it is expected that the two prejudices that emerge in perceptions of female leaders—descriptive and prescriptive—will also be influential in the research at hand, impacting perceptions of potential in a leadership role and effectiveness of behavior within that role.

Sexual Orientation

Though gender and sexual orientation are distinct constructs, assumptions about one are often made based on the other. This section uses implicit inversion theory to examine how gender role assumptions relate to and impact sexual orientation stereotypes.

Stereotypes: Implicit inversion theory. Kite and Deaux (1987)

addressed the gender stereotyping of sexual orientation in their presentation of the implicit inversion theory. They proposed an inverse relationship between perceptions of sexual orientation and gender: gay men are perceived to be more like heterosexual women than heterosexual men, and lesbian women more like heterosexual men than heterosexual women. In a two-part study, Kite and Deaux asked participants to list the qualities they associated with one of four target conditions: heterosexual male; heterosexual female; gay male; or lesbian female. They then asked participants to rate the likelihood that their target individual possessed certain attributes. In support of IIT's assumptions, they found that participants were more likely to list and apply similarly masculine attributes to lesbian women and heterosexual men, while applying feminine attributes to gay men and heterosexual women. A recent publication replicated both this study and its findings, indicating that these stereotypes remain present today (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009a).

Subsequent research has generally supported the implicit inversion phenomenon in both male and female observers (Boysen, Fisher, DeJesus, Vogel, & Madon, 2011; Jackson, Lewandowski, Ingram, & Hodge, 1997; Madon, 1997; Mitchell & Ellis, 2011, 2013; Wong et al., 1999). Like heterosexual women, gay men are perceived to be less masculine/more feminine than heterosexual males, and more likely to possess feminine characteristics than masculine. Conversely, lesbian women are rated more masculine/less feminine than heterosexual females, and more likely to possess masculine characteristics than feminine. These

attributions are made regardless of the target individual's age, persisting into late adulthood (Wright & Canetto, 2009), dictating stereotypes applied to each group.

The inverse phenomenon may be weaker in perceptions of lesbian women than those of gay men. In one study, the inverse effect was apparent only for perceptions of gay men; lesbian women were rated as more masculine than heterosexual women, but less so than heterosexual men (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). Another study found that observers rated lesbian women as equally likely to possess either a key masculine attribute (i.e., competence) or a feminine attribute (i.e., warmth) (Brambilla, Carnaghi, & Ravenna, 2011). There thus appears to be yet another distinction between genders in related to stereotype.

Attitudes toward gender role violation in sexual minority groups. The implicit inversion phenomenon has negative implications for attitudinal reactions to gay and lesbian individuals when considered in the context of role congruity theory. Prejudicial attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women may be the result of the conflict between the implicit inversion stereotypes and gender roles. Bias increases as that distance widens, and anti-gay prejudice appears to strengthen in correlation with the extent to which a perceiver believes in either the stereotype or traditional gender roles (Horvath & Ryan, 2003). Prejudice against gay men and lesbian women can thus be explained in terms of descriptive and prescriptive norms, oversimplified here for ease of understanding: Gay men are feminine and lesbian women are masculine; however, men should be masculine, and women should be feminine. Therefore, gay men and lesbian women are role incongruent. (An alternative option is offered using heteronormative terminology: Gay men

like men and lesbian women like women; however, men should like women, and women should like men. Therefore, gay men and lesbian women are role incongruent.) To the extent that a perceiver adheres to this belief, sexual orientation will have an effect on evaluations of gay men and lesbian women.

A gay or lesbian individual's actual behavior is also likely to influence attitudes by increasing the perceived violation of prescriptive gender norms. As people react negatively to gender role violation in the general population, "double role violators" – or individuals who violate both behavioral and sexuality gender norms (i.e., feminine gay men, masculine lesbian women; Levahot & Lambert, 2007) – are expected to experience increased levels of prejudice. Indeed, the handful of studies investigating attitudinal reactions to individuals of varying sexual orientations and gender styles have found evidence of this. Schope and Eliason (2004) were early pioneers of this research. They asked participants to read profile vignettes of gay men and lesbian women described as either masculine or feminine, then provide outcome ratings on 15 measures related to their anticipated toward and comfort with the target. Results differed by rater gender. Male participants rated the feminine gay male target as less desirable than the masculine gay male target on one outcome variable, and the masculine lesbian female target on six. Female participant ratings did not differ between the masculine and feminine gay male targets, but they found the masculine lesbian woman to be less desirable on three of 15 outcome variables. These findings reveal a preference for gender role typicality in gay and lesbian individuals; however, no heterosexual targets were included in the design, making it

impossible to determine whether sexual orientation was the primary factor (or a factor what-so-ever) in prejudiced attitudes. Levahot and Lambert (2007) remedied this lack by including heterosexual targets in a similar study, finding support for the notion that sexual orientation did indeed influence ratings of targets of varying behavior styles. High anti-gay prejudiced individuals rated gay and lesbian targets more negatively than heterosexual targets. Gender atypical behavior led to even poorer evaluations from these participants, who rated double role violators more negatively than gay and lesbian targets who adhered to their ascribed gender roles.

More recent research has largely replicated these findings, with the pattern appearing regardless of rater level of anti-gay prejudice (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b; Blashill & Powlishta, 2012). There thus appears to be an interactive influence of sexual orientation and gender-related behavior style on prejudicial attitudes toward a target individual. Consistent with gender role research, these studies also suggest that a target's behavior has an impact on evaluations independent of sexual orientation. When the target is male, feminine targets (heterosexual or gay) are evaluated more negatively than masculine targets; when female, masculine targets (heterosexual or lesbian) are evaluated more negatively than feminine targets (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b; Blashill & Powlishta, 2012; Levahot & Lambert, 2007).

While these findings are generally applicable, there are several differences between sexes. The effect appears to be stronger for evaluations of men, so that reaction to gender role violation through sexual orientation or behavior tends to be

more negative when a target is male than when a target is female. Additionally, while masculine gay men are still rated less favorably than masculine heterosexual men, lesbian women may be “rewarded” for gender typical behaviors by more positive/less negative evaluations than heterosexual women. Research evidence suggests that if a lesbian woman displays behaviors associated with traditional gender roles, she may not experience the same penalty given to heterosexual women. One lab study found that lesbian and heterosexual women were rated as equally competent until they were identified as mothers: heterosexual women were viewed as significantly less competent, while ratings for lesbian women were unchanged (Peplau & Fingerhut, 2004). Such perceptions may influence leadership accessibility and consideration for promotion in the real world, where the average overall salary for lesbian mothers is significantly higher than that of heterosexual mothers (Baumle, 2009). Analysis of the experiences of lesbian women may thus be a bit complex: while a masculine stereotype may help in terms of perceived employability – indeed, male raters have reported wanting to work more with both lesbian females than they did gay males (Blashill & Powlishta, 2012) – gender role typical behavior is necessary to avoid biased evaluations.

Attitudinal literature thus reveals a complex interplay between sex, gender roles, and sexual orientation in understanding anti-gay prejudice. Three key findings appear especially relevant to the study at hand. First, prejudice appears to be strongest when an individual is a double violator (i.e., feminine gay male, masculine lesbian female). Second, role violations in men are viewed more

negatively than role violations in women. Finally, the masculine stereotype of lesbian women may somewhat null the effects of prejudice demonstrated in evaluations of communal female leaders.

This research is among the first to examine the influence of context on attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. The influence of context on attitudes has not yet been explored. If prejudice is elicited from a perceived violation of prescriptive norms, how might these relationships change if a target seeks to occupy a masculine role such as leadership? In considering sex, gender role expectations, behavior style, and sexual orientation, which variable or interaction will have the most weight in determining bias against a leader? This study investigated these and other questions relevant to perceptions of leadership.

Rationale

Evidence suggests that the stereotypes and expectations dictated by sexual orientation, gender, and leader role requirements interactively influence attitudes toward leaders. However, this combination has yet to be investigated in an experimental setting. The research presented here thus offers a unique contribution as among the first to examine the discriminatory impact of prejudicial attitudes in a leadership context. Specifically, it inspected the incongruity between stereotypes of gay men and lesbian women, gender role expectations of men and women, and beliefs about a leader role's requirements. Consistent with Eagly and Karau's (2002) role congruity theory, it was predicted that discrimination would occur in the form of both descriptive and prescriptive prejudices.

Descriptive prejudice was expected to emerge as a result of the incongruity between sexual minority stereotype (gay men are feminine; lesbian women are masculine) and a leader role's requirements (agency/masculinity) to impact perceptions of an individual's hirability into a leadership role. The distance between these two constructs — that is, stereotype and a leader role's perceived requirements — is dictated by their strength and content (e.g., clearly defining the role's requirements in agentic, masculine terms, as opposed to communal, feminine terms), with increased distance resulting in decreased perceptions of an individual's hirability into a leadership position.¹ It was thus expected that gay men would be perceived as less suitable for a leadership position than heterosexual men, and even more so for positions with agentic-typed tasks. The masculine stereotype applied to lesbian women, on the other hand, is more closely aligned with stereotypical leadership requirements. Theoretically, this may make lesbian women more hireable into those positions than heterosexual women; however, this is a much weaker stereotype than that accorded gay men, and appears to have a less significant effect on other workplace outcomes (e.g.,

¹Descriptive prejudice is based on the stereotype's prediction of a person's ability to fulfill a particular role's requirements. As the research at hand is examining descriptive bias in a leadership context, the focus here is on the stereotype's fulfillment of leader role requirements, not a particular gender role. Incongruence between sexual orientation stereotype and gender role expectations is instead expected to have an impact in terms of prescriptive prejudice.

compensation, general hirability). Because of this, and in tandem with leadership's weakening masculine stereotype, it was expected that sexual orientation would not generally influence a woman's perceived leadership role potential. However, if the position is described in a way that emphasizes the need for agency, the decreased incongruity between sexual orientation stereotype and leader role requirements would lead lesbian women to be rated as more hireable into the position than heterosexual women.

Prescriptive prejudice is a bit more complex, as it emerges from the interplay between sexual orientation stereotype and both gender and leader roles to influence evaluation of leadership behavior effectiveness. As pointed out by Fassinger and colleagues (2010), attitudinal research indicates that the supposed 'transgression' of gender roles by gay men and lesbian women in leadership positions is likely to place them at a greater risk of negative reactions than does adherence to behaviors considered more appropriate for their gender. It was therefore expected that behavioral adherence to sexual orientation stereotypes of (feminine) gay men and (masculine) lesbian women – deviating from gender role norms – would lead to more negative reactions, above and beyond those that accompany gender role violation in heterosexual individuals. These negative attitudes would result in lower evaluations of leadership effectiveness.

In examining responses to male stereotypes and men's behavior, it was expected that gay men who enact feminine, communal behaviors would receive the most negative responses and evaluated as less effective than heterosexual, communal men, and gay, agentic men. In women, the story is a bit more

convoluted, as the incongruence between women's gender role expectations and masculine leader role stereotypes must also be taken into account. Again, 'double role violators'—lesbian women who enact masculine, agentic behaviors—were expected to be responded to most negatively, and thus be rated less effective leaders than heterosexual woman with a similar behavior style. However, the attitudinal literature also indicates the masculine stereotype of lesbian women may null the effects of prejudice demonstrated in evaluations of communal female leaders' effectiveness. In other words, lesbian leaders who enact a communal style may be rewarded for bucking sexual orientation stereotype, while heterosexual women using a communal style are simply perceived as less effective leaders. It was predicted that this would result in more positive evaluations of communal behavior when enacted by a lesbian leader rather than a heterosexual leader.

As gay men and lesbian women appear to have different experiences in terms of employment discrimination, hypotheses were posed using gender-specific language to allow separate examination of the influence of sexual orientation on men and women. This is consistent with Worthen's (2013) recommendation that attitudes toward sexual minority groups be examined separately, as efforts to combat prejudices are more likely to be successful when based on research that explores how these attitudes are similar as well as how they differ. Because their methods are otherwise identical, both studies were run in a single design, as detailed in the method section here for ease of implementation;

however, data was analyzed separately with analyses directed to the hypotheses posed for each specific gender rather than encompassing both.

Statement of Hypotheses Relating to Male Candidates (Study 1)

HI. Gay men would be perceived to be less hireable into a leadership role than heterosexual men.

HII. Gay men would be perceived to be less hireable when a leadership role requires an agentic behavioral style than when the role requires a communal style.

HIII. Gay men who enact a communal style would be evaluated as less effective leaders than heterosexual men who enact a communal style.

Statement of Hypotheses Relating to Female Candidates (Study 2)

HIV. When a leadership role requires an agentic behavioral style, lesbian women would be perceived to be more hireable into that role than heterosexual women.

HV. Lesbian women who enact a communal style would be evaluated as more effective leaders than heterosexual women who enact a communal style.

HVI. Lesbian women who enact an agentic style would be evaluated as less effective leaders than heterosexual women who enact an agentic style.

Research Question

RQI: How does a leader's sexual orientation influence perceptions of their behavioral effectiveness for leadership positions of varying role requirements (i.e., agentic or communal)?

General Method

Overview

Two parallel studies – one evaluating the male candidate, and a second evaluating the female candidate – were run simultaneously, with each employing a 2×2×2 (Target Sexual Orientation, Target Behavior Style, Leader Role Requirements) design. In each study, participants were asked to make ratings of a candidate for a retail sales manager position, with candidates varying in sexual orientation and behavior style and the available job described in either prototypically masculine or feminine terms. Behavior styles were enacted so agentic targets appeared forceful, competitive, dominating, and aggressive, while communal targets appeared humble, thoughtful, sensitive to others' feelings, and caring.

While procedures were largely identical, hypotheses were specific to the target's gender and required unique and separate analyses. However, because deception was an essential tool in the methodological design, it was necessary that participants took part in only one of the two studies to mitigate the risk that they participate in the second study while already aware of its true purpose. Both studies were thus run simultaneously under the same title, and participants were randomly assigned to one of sixteen possible conditions based on these four variables: the target's gender (man, woman), the target's sexual orientation (gay, heterosexual), the target's behavior style (agentic, communal), and the leader role's requirements as identified in the job description (agentic/masculine-typed,

communal/feminine-typed). Data was then divided by target gender and analyzed separately.

Research Participants

Specific demographic details are described for each study independently in a separate methods section; generally, however, participants were individuals based in the United States who were over 18 and registered as “workers” on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an online labor market where “requesters” can post jobs that workers can then choose to do for pay. MTurk has grown increasingly popular with behavioral researchers since its launch in 2005, a result of the website’s streamlined process of study design, participant recruitment, and data collection. With over 200,000 workers currently engaged around the world, the site also offers access to a large, diverse, and stable participant pool. Research indicates that MTurk is a valid source of data for behavioral science researchers: MTurk respondents are often more representative of the U.S. population than in-person convenience samples, and the data obtained are at least as reliable as those obtained via traditional methods (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Mason & Suri, 2011). It was estimated that the study will take an average of twenty minutes, and participants were thus financially compensated \$1.00 in total for its completion. This is in line with expectations of payment for MTurk workers, with \$1.00 for a 30-minute study being considered a reasonable rate of pay (Barger, Behrend, Sharek, & Sinar, 2011).

Manipulations

Manipulations included the job's description and the candidate's sexual orientation and behavior style.

Job description. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two job descriptions describing the same job in either highly masculine or highly feminine terms (see Appendices A and B). These descriptions were derived from Gaucher, Friesen, and Kay's (2011) research on the effects of gendered wording in job advertisements for male-dominated (e.g., plumber), female-dominated (e.g., nurse), and neutral (e.g., retail sales manager) occupations. The advertisements thus described the same gender-neutral job in highly gendered wording, mitigating the potential additional impact of job stereotype on gender-related perceptions of job requirements in the research at hand.

Sexual orientation. The candidate's sexual orientation was indicated in a single line in his or her brief biography, noting that he or she was married to either a man or a woman (see Appendices C and D). Though sexuality is fluid and it is possible that the candidate identified with another form of sexuality (e.g., bisexuality), the commonly held binary interpretation of sexual orientation was likely to elicit an inference that the candidate is either heterosexual or gay.

Behavior style. Behavior style was manipulated in the interview video, where the candidate enacted either an agentic or a communal style. Candidates who used an agentic behavior style described themselves as having agentic leadership qualities (e.g., competitive, self-confident, ambitious, aggressive), while candidates who employed a communal style described themselves in

communal terms (e.g., affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic). The scripts for these videos (see Appendix E) were derived from Rudman and Glick's (1999, 2001) research on the interactive influence of gender and behavior on applicant evaluation.

Measures

Measures included items evaluating the candidate's hirability, effectiveness, competence, and likability.

Hirability. Hirability was measured using a single-item scale developed by Horvath and Ryan (2003) and used in several previous investigations of sexual orientation and hirability (Horvath & Ryan, 2003; Pichler et al., 2010). The item uses a 100-point scale, with five anchors used to guide ratings (0 = extremely unqualified; 25 = moderately unqualified; 50 = barely qualified; 75 = adequately qualified; 100 = extremely qualified).

Effectiveness. Effectiveness was measured using a four-item scale. These items were selected from instruments used by Holladay and Coombs (1994) and Rosette and Tost (2010). It follows that this study's definition for effectiveness matched that detailed by Holladay and Coombs, 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 used here thus measured the participant's perception of Candidate A's effectiveness in terms of this description. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with a statement, from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree).

Competence and likability. Competence was measured using a four-item scale derived from questions presented by Chen, Jing, and Lee (2014). Questions asked participants to rate the extent to which they agreed with certain statements such as “Candidate A is skilled.”

Procedure

Participants were recruited via MTurk, where they could choose to accept the task after reading a short description of what it will entail. Once the task was accepted, participants were directed via link to Qualtrics, an external survey-hosting website, where they completed the study. They were first directed to a consent form describing the study as an investigation of the impact of interview medium on evaluations of a job candidate (see Appendix F). This deception was necessary, as the attitudes of interest are related to implicitly held biases. Some individuals may feel uncomfortable with expressing their true feelings out of concern for social context or the desire not to appear prejudiced. Further, they may not actually be aware of an innate prejudice. To avoid influencing results, participants could therefore not be informed of the study’s true purpose. They were instead lead to believe that they were evaluating an actual applicant, Candidate A, for a managing position. Finally, they were informed that information gathered through Amazon MTurk is not completely anonymous. However, while any work performed on MTurk can potentially be linked to a worker's Amazon public profile page, researchers would not be accessing any identifiable information available on that page, and would store MTurk worker IDs separate from other information provided.

After electronically indicating their agreement on the consent form, participants were taken to an instruction screen where they were again reminded of the study's purpose (see Appendix G). There they were asked to carefully review the information in the proceeding pages, as they make their hiring recommendation and evaluation based on what they saw. They were also notified that they would be asked to answer five questions following the review of these materials and prior to their evaluation as a test of their understanding. After confirming that they understand these instructions, participants were taken to a screen displaying the job description for which Candidate A is ostensibly applying. They were then randomly assigned to review one of two possible job descriptions for a retail sales manager position (see Appendices A and B). While providing details for the same job, the job's requirements were described so as to emphasize either the masculine/agentic or the feminine/communal aspects of the position.

Participants then moved on to review the brief biography (see Appendices C and D) and resume (see Appendix H) supposedly provided by Candidate A in his or her application. The same resume was used for all conditions. For each candidate, participants were assigned to one of two possible biographies. These biographies were identical with the sole exception of the candidate's sexual orientation (gay or heterosexual). Sexual orientation was implied by the last line of the biography, which stated that Candidate A lives with a wife or a husband. To ensure that participants take note of this manipulation, they were asked to identify with whom Candidate A lives in one of the five questions testing their

understanding of the material (see Appendix I). If their answer to this or any question was incorrect, they were provided with the accurate response and asked to correct their response before moving on.

Once participants correctly answered all five manipulation check questions, they were directed to the first candidate evaluation questionnaire (see Appendix J). The questionnaire was designed to measure the individual's hirability into a position. It was necessary that participants rate the candidate's job hirability prior to viewing the interview. As noted in the literature review, the "best guess" put forth by descriptive stereotypes can be offset by additional judgment-relevant behavior information (Gill, 2004). Observing the candidate's interview behaviors could have eliminated descriptive bias so that evaluations post-viewing were indicative only of prescriptive bias. Hirability ratings thus had to be given prior to the interview. On an additional note, it was possible that descriptive bias may be influenced by information from the candidate's résumé; however, the threat was minimal. Resumes have been used in previous studies that have found evidence of sexual orientation discrimination in hiring procedures (e.g., Pichler et al., 2010), and in studies that have not (e.g., Van Hove & Lievens, 2003). To further mitigate this risk, the resume was tailored to minimize behavioral descriptions.

After providing their hirability rating, participants viewed a prerecorded video of the candidate in an interview setting. The video showed Candidate A responding to a series of questions like those commonly asked in an interview. With candidates varying in terms of behavior style and sex, participants were

randomly assigned to view one of four possible versions of the video: agentic male, communal male, agentic female, and communal female. The same actor played both male roles, and a second actor played both female roles.

As the sole enactment of behavior style, it was important that participants watch the majority of the interview video. Participants were therefore unable to pause, fast forward, or rewind the video. They were also unable to move forward until the video is complete. A message remained on the page asking them not to move forward until the video is complete, and further reminding them that they would not receive compensation if they moved forward before the video has finished. As the video served as a vital manipulation in the study, it was necessary for the participant to view it in its majority to promote the manipulation's success.

At the conclusion of the video, participants were directed to an 18-item questionnaire (see Appendix K), where items addressed the candidate's effectiveness as a leader, competence, likability, and behavior style as a manipulation check. Participants also rated the candidate again on hirability; however, because this study focused on hirability as it relates to stereotype alone without the influence of a leader's actual behavior, only the first rating taken before participants have viewed the interview was used in hypothesis testing. Participants were then directed to a demographics questionnaire (see Appendix L), and finally, to a debriefing page (see Appendix M), where they were informed of the study's true purpose and reason behind the deception.

Study 1: Male Candidates

In this study, participants were asked to evaluate a male candidate for a managerial position.

Study 1 Method

Participants were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions varying in the male candidate's sexual orientation (heterosexual or gay), his behavior style (agentic or communal), and the terms used to describe the available position (agentic or communal).

Research Participants

A total of 502 individuals participated in this study. Fifty-one participants were identified as either incorrectly following instructions crucial to the behavioral style manipulation, or missing an attention check item in the evaluation questionnaire; their data was excluded from reported demographics and subsequent analyses, leaving a total of 451 participants. Categorical descriptive statistics are reported in detail in Table 1. Range, means, and standard deviations for descriptive variables are included in Table 2; correlations and intercorrelations for these variables are included in Table 3.

Participants were largely female ($n = 261$, 58%), Caucasian ($n = 354$, 79%), college graduates ($n = 180$, 40%), and most commonly hailing from a suburban geographic location ($n = 219$, 49%). Their median age was 36 years (ranging from 18 to 65 or older; $M = 38.54$, $SD = 12.95$). 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 1.91 ($SD = 2.31$). When asked

Table 1

Summary of Participant Demographics for Study 1 (Men)

Variable	N	%
Gender	451	
Female	261	57.9
Male	188	41.7
Other	2	0.4
Ethnicity	450	
Caucasian	354	78.7
Black or African-American	37	8.2
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	33	7.3
Asian	15	3.3
Pacific Islander	0	0
Native American	5	1.1
Other	6	1.3
Education	450	
Some high school	1	0.2
High school diploma	59	13.1
Some college	130	29.0
College	180	40.1
Graduate school or beyond	79	17.6
Geography	448	
Urban	147	32.8
Suburban	219	48.9
Rural	82	18.3
Religion	450	
Protestant Christian	108	24.0
Roman Catholic	63	14.2
Other Christian	54	12.0
Jewish	8	1.8
Muslim	2	0.2
Hindu	4	0.9
Buddhist	7	1.6
Agnostic	57	12.7
Atheist	50	11.1
None	74	16.4
Other	23	5.1
Political party	450	
Democrat	182	40.5
Republican	90	20.0
Independent	159	35.4
Other	18	4.0

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Continuous Variables for Study 1 (Men)

	Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.	Age	451	18-65	38.54	12.95
2.	Participant sexual orientation ^a	446	1-11	1.91	2.31
3.	Participant conservatism ^b	440	1-11	4.60	3.01
4.	Hirability (Time 1)	450	1-100	84.73	12.81
5.	Hirability (Time 2)	444	1-100	80.82	16.58
6.	Leader effectiveness	451	1-7	5.44	1.15
7.	Competence	451	1-7	5.81	0.91
8.	Likability	451	1-7	5.21	1.36

^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."

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Intercorrelations of Continuous Variables and Study Measures for Study 1 (Men)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	–							
2. Participant sexual orientation ^a	-.16**	–						
3. Participant conservatism ^b	.13**	-.30**	–					
4. Hirability (Time 1)	.11*	.01	-.15**	–				
5. Hirability (Time 2)	.08	.12*	-.11*	.52**	–			
6. Leader effectiveness	.03	.12*	-.09*	.39**	.75**	(.92)		
7. Competence	.04	.11*	-.06	.48**	.73**	.81**	(.91)	
8. Likability	.13**	.13**	-.08	.24**	.60**	.65**	.55**	(.90)

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

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

with which political party they were most closely aligned, the majority selected either the Democratic Party ($n = 182$, 41%) or identified as Independent ($n = 159$, 35%). When rating their position on social issues using an 11-point scale, with 1 labeled as “Liberal” and 11 as “Conservative,” participants were slightly on the more liberal side ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 3.01$).

Study 1 Results

Means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and reliability of all Study 1 measures are displayed in Tables 2 and 3. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. Survey items with reverse coding were recoded prior to analysis. Items were grouped by scale and averaged if applicable (e.g., if the scale consisted of more than one item), leaving one evaluation rating taken prior to viewing the interview (e.g., rated hirability at time one), and four evaluation ratings given after: a hirability score at time two; a leadership effectiveness score; a competence score; a likability score; and a manipulation score. Manipulation scale scores were coded so that higher scores indicated perceptions of a more agentic behavior style while lower scores denoted a communal behavior style. All behavioral evaluation scales showed high reliability, with alphas of .86 (manipulation check scale) or higher.

ANOVAs were used to test hypotheses and research questions. Levene’s Test for Equality of Variances was used to test the assumption of homogeneity in all analyses, and violations noted; however, ANOVAs are generally considered robust against violations of its assumptions (see Glass, Peckham, & Sanders, 1972), particularly with large sample sizes and when the smallest group variance

is less than three times the largest. As assessed by examination of residuals, this held true for all analyses in which ANOVAs were employed. The method was thus considered sound, and specific violations are not noted here for analyses.

Manipulation Check

To test the behavioral style manipulation check for Study 1, an independent samples t-test was conducted to examine differences in manipulation scale ratings between the agentic and communal conditions. Homogeneity of variance was not violated, as assessed by Levene's test ($p = .09$). As noted, higher scores were associated with agentic behaviors, while lower scores indicated communal behaviors. Results supported the manipulation's success: participants in the male target's agentic condition reported higher scores of agentic behavior ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 0.96$) than did participants in the male target's communal condition ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 0.85$), a statistically significant difference of 2.51 points on a 7-point scale (95% CI, 2.34 to 2.68), $t(449) = 29.40$, $p < .001$. The behavioral manipulation thus held, as participants were able to perceive a difference in behaviors between conditions.

Testing of Hypotheses

A 2×2 ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Job Description) was employed to test hypotheses related to hirability. Hirability scores collected before the interview were used to test for a main effect of sexual orientation (Hypothesis I) and an interactive effect of sexual orientation and job description (Hypothesis II) on a man's perceived hirability into a leadership position. Condition sample sizes,

score means, standard deviations, and confidence intervals for hirability taken both before and after participants viewed the interview are displayed in Table 4.

The first hypothesis stated that there would be a main effect for sexual orientation on perceived hirability into a role such that gay men would be rated less hireable than heterosexual men. Hypothesis I was not supported: there was no main effect for sexual orientation on hirability ratings, $F(1, 451) = 0.16, p = .69$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Additionally, and while no specific hypotheses were made regarding the effect, there was no main effect was found for job description type on hirability ratings, $F(1, 451) = 0.13, p = .72$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$.

Hypothesis II specified an interactive effect for sexual orientation and job description on perceived hirability such that gay men would be rated less hireable into a leadership role that was described in more agentic, masculine terminology than one that used feminine, communal terms. Hypothesis II was not supported: there was no identified interaction between sexual orientation and job description on ratings of hirability, $F(1, 447) = 0.11, p = .74$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Figure 1 shows average hirability scores across job description conditions; as is apparent, differences were minimal.

A $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Behavioral Style \times Job Description) was conducted to test Hypothesis III, which predicted an interactive effect of sexual orientation and behavior style on a man's perceived leadership behavior effectiveness. Additionally, this was used to investigate the research question of how a candidate's sexual orientation might impact perceptions of his behavioral effectiveness. Condition sample sizes, score means, standard

Table 4

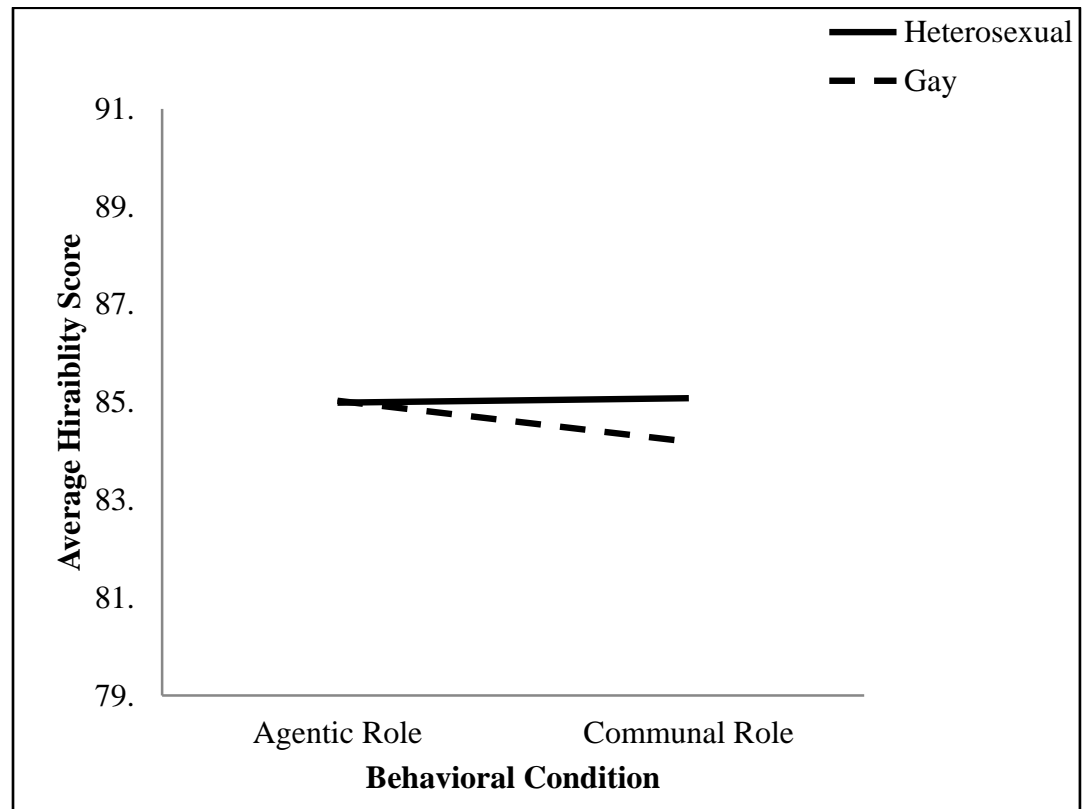
Study 1 (Men) Hirability Score Means, Standard Deviations, and Confidence Intervals By Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Hirability Before Interview ^a		Hirability After Interview	
		<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI
Agentic Role					
Heterosexual	116	84.99 (11.87)	[82.81, 87.17]	79.09 (17.33)	[75.87, 82.30]
Gay	111	85.03 (14.49)	[82.30, 87.75]	81.77 (18.08)	[78.32, 85.22]
Communal Role					
Heterosexual	105	85.08 (12.14)	[82.73, 87.43]	79.63 (16.89)	[76.35, 82.92]
Gay	118	85.40 (12.48)	[81.92, 86.47]	82.54 (14.28)	[79.94, 85.15]

^aScore used in hirability hypothesis testing (Hypotheses I, II, and III).

Figure 1

Average Hirability Scores for Heterosexual and Gay Male Candidates across Behavioral Condition : Interaction Not Significant



Note: Interaction not significant, $p = .74$.

Table 5

Study 1 (Men) Evaluation Score Means, Standard Deviations, and Confidence Intervals by Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Effectiveness		Competence		Likability		
		<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	
Agentic Job	Agentic Style							
	Heterosexual	59	4.82 (1.23)	[4.50, 5.14]	5.43 (0.87)	[5.21, 5.66]	3.97 (1.37)	[3.62, 4.33]
	Gay	54	5.70 (1.03)	[5.42, 5.99]	6.05 (0.87)	[5.81, 6.28]	4.77 (1.37)	[4.40, 5.15]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	57	5.61 (0.89)	[5.38, 5.85]	5.91 (0.73)	[5.72, 6.11]	6.00 (0.81)	[5.79, 6.22]
	Gay	57	5.48 (1.07)	[5.20, 5.77]	5.76 (0.86)	[5.54, 5.99]	5.87 (0.86)	[5.64, 6.10]
Communal Job	Agentic Style							
	Heterosexual	50	5.38 (1.47)	[4.96, 5.80]	5.87 (1.03)	[5.57, 6.16]	4.41 (1.44)	[4.00, 4.82]
	Gay	59	5.44 (1.19)	[5.14, 5.75]	5.63 (0.87)	[5.63, 6.09]	4.76 (1.29)	[4.42, 5.09]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	55	5.39 (1.16)	[5.07, 5.70]	5.59 (1.24)	[5.25, 5.92]	5.76 (0.98)	[5.50, 6.02]
	Gay	60	5.62 (0.97)	[5.37, 5.87]	6.00 (0.74)	[5.81, 6.19]	5.97 (0.81)	[5.76, 6.18]
Total	Agentic Style							
	Heterosexual	109	5.08 (1.37)	[4.82, 5.34]	5.63 (0.97)	[5.45, 5.82]	4.17 (1.41)	[3.91, 4.44]
	Gay	113	5.57 (1.12)	[5.36, 5.78]	5.95 (0.87)	[5.79, 6.11]	4.76 (1.32)	[4.52, 5.01]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	112	5.50 (1.04)	[5.31, 5.70]	5.75 (1.02)	[5.56, 5.94]	5.88 (0.90)	[5.72, 6.05]
	Gay	117	5.55 (1.01)	[5.37, 5.74]	5.89 (0.81)	[5.74, 6.03]	5.92 (0.83)	[5.77, 6.07]

deviations, and confidence intervals for effectiveness, competence, and likability ratings are displayed in Table 5. The three-way interaction between a candidate's sexual orientation, his behavior style, and the job's description was significant, $F(1, 443) = 7.60, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. There was a significant interaction between sexual orientation and behavior style, $F(1, 443) = 5.04, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. Additionally, there was a significant main effect for sexual orientation, $F(1, 443) = 6.06, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, and a marginal main effect for behavior style, $F(1, 443) = 3.13, p = .08, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. This interaction was relevant to Hypothesis III, which predicted that gay men who enact a communal style would be evaluated as less effective than heterosexual men who enact a communal style. Simple main effects tests were run to investigate this interaction further.

The simple main effects test for behavior style showed no significant difference between heterosexual and gay candidates in the communal condition, $F(1, 443) = 0.12, p = .71, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. However, there was a significant difference across levels in the agentic condition, $F(1, 443) = 10.45, p = .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. The candidate using an agentic style was rated more effective when identified as gay ($M = 5.57, SD = 1.12$) than when heterosexual ($M = 5.08, SD = 1.37$), $MD = 0.49, SE = 0.11, p = .001$.

Simple main effects for sexual orientation were similarly divided. In examining data for the gay male candidate, there was no significant difference in effectiveness ratings across behavior styles, $F(1, 443) = 0.01, p = .92, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. However, the heterosexual male candidate's ratings differed significantly based on his behavior style, $F(1, 443) = 7.79, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$., again

indicating a small but significant effect. He received significantly higher ratings of effectiveness when employing a communal style ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 1.04$) than when agentic ($M = 5.08$, $SD = 1.37$), $MD = 0.43$, $SE = 0.11$, $p < .01$.

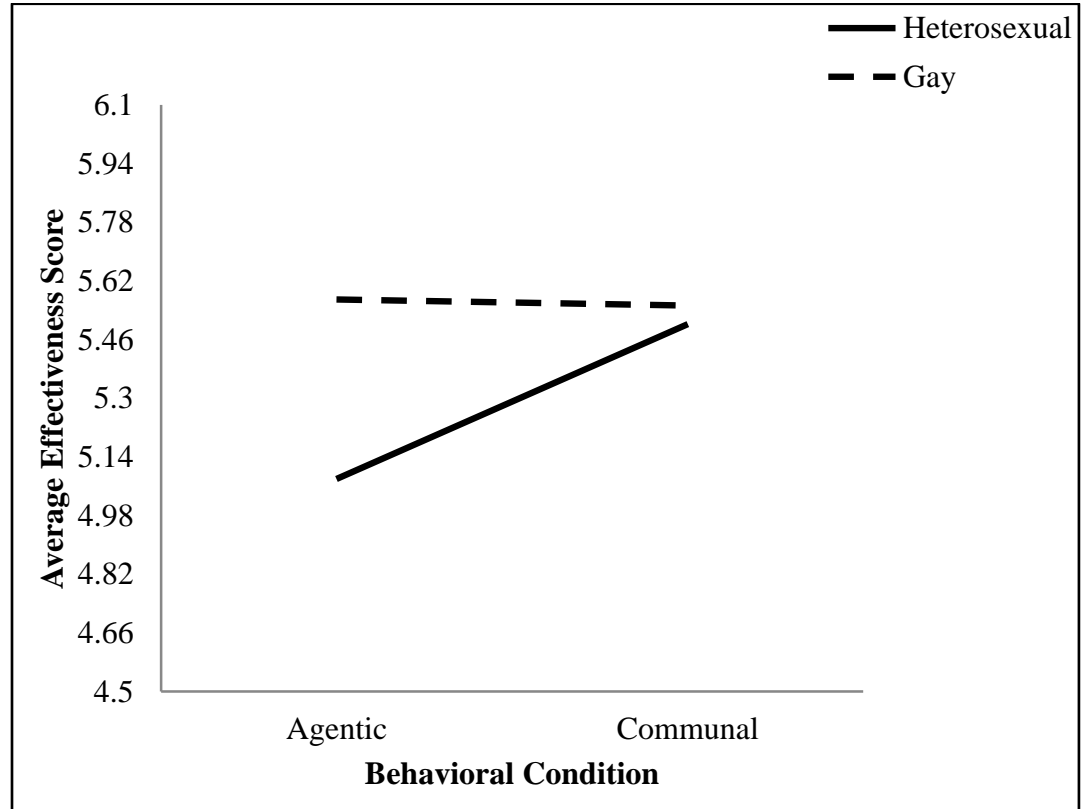
Taken as a whole, results did not support Hypothesis III. Gay men who used a communal style were not seen as less effective than heterosexual, communal men. However, there was a small significant interactive effect for sexual orientation in an unexpected direction: gay men were given similar ratings of effectiveness regardless of behavior style, while heterosexual men were rated slightly less effective when employing an agentic style as compared to both gay men with similar behaviors and communal heterosexual men. Effectiveness evaluations across for gay and heterosexual male candidates across behavior conditions are displayed in Figure 2.

Research Question

Further analyses were conducted to examine the research question of how a job's requirements might interact with both a man's sexual orientation and his behavior style to influence perceptions of his effectiveness. As noted, the three-way interaction between sexual orientation, behavioral condition, and job requirements condition was significant. Findings revealed a significant simple two-way interaction between sexual orientation and behavior style on ratings for effectiveness for the agentic job, $F(1, 443) = 11.32$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, but not for the communal role, $F(1, 443) = 0.30$, $p = .59$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. There was a statistically significant simple main effect in Job A (agentic leadership role) for sexual orientation for a man with an agentic style fulfilling an agentic leadership

Figure 2

Average Effectiveness Scores for Heterosexual and Gay Male Candidates across Behavioral Conditions



Note: Agentic gay male candidate rated more effective, $p < .05$.

role, $F(1, 443) = 17.05, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$, but not for an agentic man in a communal role, $F(1, 443) = 0.38, p = .54$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. All simple pairwise comparisons were run for heterosexual males with an agentic style with a Bonferroni adjustment applied. In the agentic role, an agentic man was rated a more effective leader when gay ($M = 5.70, SD = 1.03$) than when heterosexual ($M = 4.82, SD = 1.23$), $MD = 0.88, SE = 0.22, p < .001$.

Additional Analyses

Several additional analyses were run to investigate (1) the impact of participant gender on findings, and (2) to examine trends observed in the competence and likability data that revealed both similarities and dissimilarities with what was observed in the effectiveness data. A $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Job Requirements \times Participant Gender) showed no significant interaction for measures of hirability, $F(1, 440) = 0.39, p = .54$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. There was a significant main effect for gender, $F(2, 440) = 9.13, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$: female participants generally gave higher hirability ratings for male candidates ($M = 86.98, SD = 11.47$) than did male participants ($M = 81.82, SD = 13.87$), $MD = 5.15, SE = 1.20, p < .001$. A second three-way ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Behavior Style \times Participant Gender) was conducted to examine potential differences across participant gender on measures of leader effectiveness. The interaction was non-significant, $F(1, 441) = 0.00, p = .95$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Again, there was a significant main effect for participant gender on ratings, $F(2, 441) = 6.57, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. Female participants again provided higher ratings for leadership effectiveness for all male leaders ($M = 5.56$,

$SD = 1.13$) than did male participants ($M = 5.24, SD = 1.17$), $MD = 0.37, SE = 0.17, p < .01$.

To examine questions related to ratings of competence, a three-way ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between sexual orientation, behavior style, and job requirement condition, $F(1, 443) = 11.98, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. As with effectiveness, results revealed a significant simple two-way interaction between sexual orientation and behavior style on ratings for the agentic job, $F(1, 443) = 10.00, p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$: an agentic man was rated more competent for the agentic role if he was gay ($M = 6.05, SD = 0.87$) than when heterosexual ($M = 5.43, SD = 0.87$), $MD = 0.61, SE = 0.16, p < .001$. The interaction was not significant for the for the communal role, $F(1, 443) = 3.03, p = .08$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, with the data revealing a trend toward higher competency scores for a communal candidate when that candidate was gay ($M = 6.00, SD = 0.74$) than when heterosexual ($M = 5.56, SD = 1.24$), $MD = 0.42, SE = 0.19, p < .05$. Similarly to the effectiveness ratings, the agentic leader in an agentic role was rated more competent when the leader was gay than when heterosexual. Interestingly, it may also be that gay men were rated slightly more competent than heterosexual men when their behavior matched the job's requirements, regardless of what those requirements are.

A three-way analysis was also conducted to examine these three key variables' interactive effect on a candidate's likability. The overall interactive effect was only marginally significant, $F(1, 443) = 3.31, p = .07$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. There was a significant two-way interaction between sexual orientation and

behavior style, $F(1, 443) = 6.20, p < .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$. A simple main effects test showed a significant difference in likability between gay and heterosexual candidates when using an agentic behavior, $F(1, 443) = 14.86, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, such that gay agentic men were rated significantly more likable ($M = 4.76, SD = 1.32$) than heterosexual agentic men ($M = 4.17, SD = 1.41$), $MD = 0.59, SE = 0.18, p < .01$.

Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 investigated the notion that prejudices emerging from the incongruity between the feminine stereotype attributed to gay men and the masculinity presumed required of leader and gender roles would negatively impact perceptions of a gay man's ability to fulfill a leader role's requirements and the evaluations of his behavior within. The study's results were inconsistent with predictions. Both heterosexual and gay men were rated equally hireable as leaders, regardless of whether it required more agentic or more communal behaviors. Additionally, candidates were generally rated equally effective in all but one case: when using an agentic style with prototypically masculine behaviors, heterosexual men received slightly lower ratings of effectiveness than both agentic gay leaders and communal heterosexual leaders, particularly when the job itself required higher levels of agency. On the other hand, gay leaders were rated equally effective across behavior styles – that is, contrary to expectations, a communal, feminine style (supposed confirmation of the feminine stereotype and thus an additional gender role violation) did not impair their perceived effectiveness. In fact, it appeared that, when a leader's communal

behavior matched the job's communal requirements, data trended toward higher ratings in competency for gay men than heterosexual. In addition, gay, agentic men were rated more competent than their heterosexual counterparts when in an agentic role, and more likable than heterosexual, agentic men in general. Finally, female participants gave higher ratings to male leaders than did male participants in general. The implications of these unexpected findings are discussed in greater detail alongside results from Study 2 in the general discussion.

Study 2: Female Candidate

In Study 2, participants were asked to assess a female candidate for a managerial role in a retail sales position.

Study 2 Method

Participants were randomly placed in one of eight possible conditions varying in candidate sexual orientation (heterosexual or lesbian), her behavior style agentic/masculine or communal/feminine), and the terms used to describe the job (agentic/masculine or communal/feminine).

Research Participants

A total of 495 individuals participated in this study. Fifty-nine participants were identified as either incorrectly followed instructions crucial to the behavioral style manipulation, or missing an attention check item in the evaluation questionnaire; their data was excluded from reported demographics and subsequent analyses. Additionally, one outlier was identified and removed from the data, wherein the participant gave the lesbian candidate a 0 rating of hirability while also reporting an 11 (the highest level of conservatism) in social issue

views. No other participants rated the candidate below a score of 19. As this form of flat out rejection of the candidate based on sexual orientation is not of interest to the study at hand, this participant's data was also excluded from the analysis detailed below, leaving a total of 435 participants. Analyses were run both with and without this participant; the exclusion of this participant did not impact the findings as reported. Categorical descriptive statistics are reported in detail in Table 6. Means and standard deviations for continuous descriptive variables are included in Table 7; correlations and intercorrelations are included in Table 8.

As with Study 1, participants were mostly female ($n = 249, 57\%$), Caucasian ($n = 327, 75\%$), college graduates ($n = 192, 45\%$), and located in suburban areas ($n = 227, 53\%$). Their median age was 35 years (ranging from 18 to 65 or older; $M = 37.60, SD = 12.40$). They identified largely as Democrats ($n = 174, 40\%$) or Independents ($n = 145, 33\%$). On a scale from 1 to 11 (where 1 is labeled as "Heterosexual" and 11 as "Gay", participants indicated an average sexual orientation rating of 1.68 ($SD = 2.03$). When rating their position on social issues, with 1 labeled as "Liberal" and 11 as "Conservative," participants were somewhat moderate with a slight lean toward liberalism in their stance ($M = 4.93, SD = 3.21$).

Study 2 Results

Means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and reliability of all Study 2 measures are displayed in Table 6. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. As with Study 1, survey items with reverse coding were recoded and items grouped by scale prior to analysis, leaving a rating of hirability taken

Table 6

Summary of Participant Demographics for Study 2 (Women)

Variable	N	%
Gender	434	
Female	249	57.4
Male	184	42.4
Other	1	0.2
Ethnicity	435	
Caucasian	327	75.2
Black or African-American	40	9.2
Hispanic or Latino/Latina	20	4.6
Asian	31	7.1
Pacific Islander	3	0.7
Native American	11	2.5
Other	3	0.7
Education	431	
Some high school	2	0.5
High school diploma	33	7.7
Some college	138	32.0
College	192	44.5
Graduate school or beyond	66	15.3
Geography	428	
Urban	122	28.5
Suburban	227	53.0
Rural	79	18.5
Religion	432	
Protestant Christian	104	24.1
Roman Catholic	65	15.0
Other Christian	58	13.4
Jewish	7	1.6
Muslim	5	1.2
Hindu	1	0.2
Buddhist	8	1.9
Agnostic	42	9.7
Atheist	55	12.7
None	67	15.5
Other	20	4.6
Political party	435	
Democrat	174	40.0
Republican	100	23.0
Independent	145	33.3
Other	16	3.7

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations, and Scale Range for Study 2 (Women)

	Variable	<i>n</i>	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.	Age	433	18-65	37.60	12.40
2.	Participant sexual orientation ^a	426	1-11	1.68	2.03
3.	Participant conservatism ^b	415	1-11	4.93	3.21
4.	Hirability (Time 1)	435	1-100	87.04	11.27
5.	Hirability (Time 2)	432	1-100	77.10	19.29
6.	Leader effectiveness	435	1-7	5.10	1.34
7.	Competence	435	1-7	5.81	0.87
8.	Likability	435	1-7	4.47	1.63

^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."

Table 8

Correlations and Intercorrelations of Continuous Variables and Study Measures for Study 2 (Women)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Age	–							
2. Participant sexual orientation ^a	-.15**	–						
3. Participant conservatism ^b	.12*	-.22**	–					
4. Hirability (Time 1)	.12*	-.07	-.01	–				
5. Hirability (Time 2)	.03	.02	-.03	.32**	–			
6. Leader effectiveness	-.03	.07	.03	.27**	.73**	(.95)		
7. Competence	.03	.03	-.05	.41**	.67**	.73**	(.88)	
8. Likability	.07	.03	.08	.14**	.54**	.64**	.41**	(.93)

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

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

prior to the interview, and four evaluation ratings given after (i.e., hirability, leadership effectiveness, competence, likability, and behavior style manipulation check score). All scales showed high reliability, with alphas of .88 (manipulation scale) or higher.

Manipulation Check

An independent samples t-test was used to compare the manipulation scale ratings between agentic and communal conditions used to test the effectiveness of the behavioral style manipulation. Levene's test was non-significant ($p = .63$), indicating homogeneity of variance. With high scores denoting agentic behaviors and low scores as communal behaviors, the manipulation check held: participants in the agentic condition had significantly higher ratings ($M = 5.78, SD = 0.84$) than did those in the communal condition ($M = 2.99, SD = 0.87$), a statistically significant difference of 2.79 on a 7-point scale (95% CI, 2.62 to 2.95), $t(433) = 34.07, p < .001$. Participants reported a difference in behaviors across the conditions; the behavioral manipulation thus held.

Testing of Hypotheses

A 2×2 (Sexual Orientation \times Job Description) ANOVA was used to test the influence of sexual orientation and a leader role's requirements on a woman's perceived hirability into a position. Hirability data taken both before and after the interview was viewed is presented in Table 9.

Hirability scores taken before the interview were used to test Hypothesis IV, which predicted that lesbian women would be rated more hireable than heterosexual women into a leadership role with agentic requirements. Results for

Table 9

Study 2 (Women) Hirability Score Means, Standard Deviations, and Confidence Intervals By Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Hirability Before Interview ^a		Hirability After Interview	
		<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI
Agentic Description					
Heterosexual	109	87.93 (10.67)	[85.90, 89.95]	78.08 (18.88)	[74.50, 81.67]
Lesbian	112	84.88 (12.73)	[82.49, 87.26]	76.77 (17.79)	[73.43, 80.12]
Communal Description					
Heterosexual	110	87.91 (11.17)	[85.80, 90.02]	76.34 (20.83)	[72.38, 80.29]
Lesbian	104	87.53 (10.09)	[85.57, 89.49]	77.21 (19.81)	[73.34, 81.08]

Note: CI = Confidence Interval.

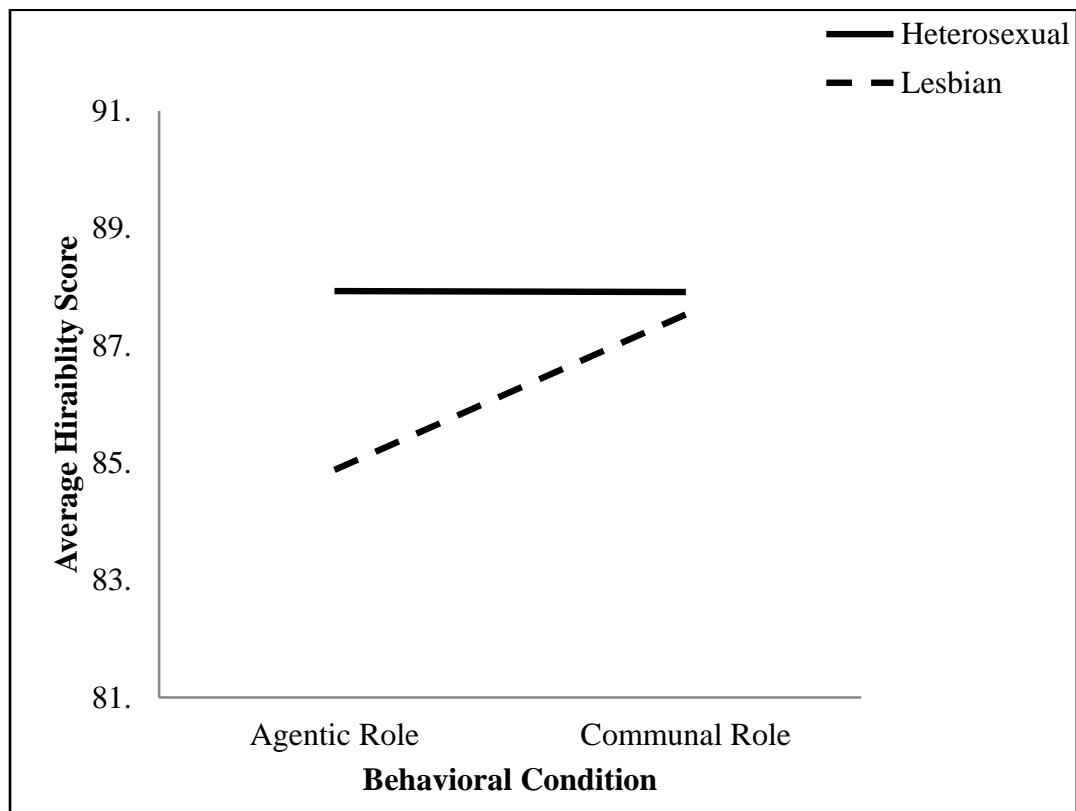
^aScore used in hypothesis testing related to hirability.

such an interactive effect were non-significant, $F(1, 431) = 2.54, p = .22$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. There was also no main effect for sexual orientation on measures of hirability, $F(1, 434) = 2.54, p = .11$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, nor a main effect for job description, $F(1, 434) = 1.50, p = .22$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. At face value, lesbian women applying to the agentic role had the lowest average mean by approximately 3 points ($M = 84.88, SD = 12.73$), while with scores of 87.58, 87.91, and 87.53, the remaining three candidates were rated within 0.5 points of one another.

Though the main effect was non-significant, a simple main effects test was run to investigate possible trends in the data. Several points provided the basis for this decision. First, the observed power for analyses was relatively low for both main effects (sexual orientation, $1 - \beta = .36$; job description, $1 - \beta = .23$) as well as the interaction ($1 - \beta = .24$), indicating a higher risk of Type II error, or failing to reject a false null hypothesis. Second, there are occasions where a non-significant simple effect at one end can wash out the impact of significant interactions at other levels (Iacobucci, 2001). Third, Hypothesis IV was framed as an examination of both the interaction and of simple effects, specifically regarding the influence of a woman's sexual orientation on her perceived hirability into an agentic position. Finally, as presented in Figure 3, a cursory review of the data at face value revealed the possibility of a slight difference in hirability ratings for lesbian women into agentic roles. Further investigation could provide a more nuanced understanding of this pattern; however, this was carried

Figure 3

*Average Hirability Scores for Heterosexual and Lesbian Female Candidates
across Behavioral Conditions: Interaction Not Significant*



Note: Interaction not significant, $p = .22$.

out with the understanding that the non-significant result would make it difficult, if not impossible, to provide any certain interpretation.

Simple main effects tests were thus run using a Bonferroni adjustment. There was not a significant difference in the heterosexual female candidate's hirability ratings between jobs, $F(1, 431) = 0.00, p = .99, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. Additionally, the slight difference in ratings for the lesbian candidate into agentic and communal roles was non-significant, $F(1, 431) = 3.01, p = .08, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$. Simple main effects tests based of job description revealed the possibility of a slight difference between heterosexual and lesbian women's perceived hirability into agentic roles, $F(1, 431) = 4.08, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .01$, with heterosexual women rated marginally more hireable ($M = 87.93, SD = 10.67$) than lesbian women ($M = 84.88, SD = 12.73$), $MD = 3.05, SE = 1.51, p < .05$. There was no such difference for the communal role, $F(1, 431) = 0.06, p = .81, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. Results thus showed no support for Hypothesis IV: lesbian women were not perceived to be more hireable into an agentic leadership roles than heterosexual women, and may in fact be seen as slightly less hireable into these positions.

A $2 \times 2 \times 2$ (Sexual Orientation \times Behavior Style \times Job Description) ANOVA was used to test Hypotheses V and VI (effect of sexual orientation and behavior style on a woman's perceived leadership behavior effectiveness). Means, standard deviations, and confidence intervals by condition for effectiveness, competence, and liability are presented in Table 10. The interaction was not significant, $F(1, 427) = 0.10, p = .75, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. There was no main effect

Table 10

Study 2 (Women) Evaluation Score Means, Standard Deviations, and Confidence Intervals by Condition

Condition	<i>n</i>	Effectiveness		Competence		Likability		
		<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	<i>M (SD)</i>	95% CI	
Agentic Style								
Agentic Job	Heterosexual	55	4.94 (1.33)	[4.58, 5.30]	5.82 (0.80)	[5.61, 6.04]	3.36 (1.34)	[3.00, 3.73]
	Gay	57	4.78 (1.53)	[4.38, 5.19]	5.83 (0.69)	[5.65, 6.02]	3.48 (1.31)	[3.13, 3.83]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	54	5.34 (1.30)	[4.98, 5.69]	5.83 (0.89)	[5.59, 6.07]	5.62 (1.12)	[5.32, 5.93]
	Gay	55	5.29 (1.16)	[4.98, 5.60]	5.59 (0.94)	[5.33, 5.84]	5.40 (1.09)	[5.11, 5.70]
Agentic Style								
Communal Job	Heterosexual	55	4.80 (1.35)	[4.44, 5.17]	5.76 (0.95)	[5.51, 6.02]	3.33 (2.18)	[2.93, 3.73]
	Gay	56	4.94 (1.41)	[4.56, 5.32]	5.98 (0.76)	[5.78, 6.19]	3.53 (1.39)	[3.15, 3.90]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	55	5.48 (1.24)	[5.14, 5.81]	5.90 (1.00)	[5.62, 6.17]	5.70 (1.00)	[5.43, 5.97]
	Gay	48	5.35 (1.24)	[4.99, 5.71]	5.81 (0.93)	[5.54, 6.08]	5.57 (0.95)	[5.30, 5.85]
Agentic Style								
Total	Heterosexual	110	4.87 (1.34)	[4.62, 5.13]	5.79 (0.88)	[5.63, 5.96]	3.35 (1.41)	[3.08, 3.61]
	Gay	113	4.86 (1.47)	[4.59, 5.14]	5.91 (0.73)	[5.78, 6.04]	3.50 (1.35)	[3.25, 3.76]
	Communal Style							
	Heterosexual	109	5.41 (1.27)	[5.17, 5.65]	5.86 (0.94)	[5.68, 6.04]	5.66 (1.06)	[5.46, 5.86]
	Gay	103	5.32 (1.19)	[5.09, 5.55]	5.70 (0.94)	[5.51, 5.87]	5.48 (1.03)	[5.28, 5.7068]

for sexual orientation, $F(1, 427) = 0.16, p = .69$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. The main effect of behavior style was significant, $F(1, 427) = 15.25, p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$, such that the communal candidate was rated a more effective leader ($M = 5.36, SD = 1.23$) than the agentic ($M = 4.87, SD = 1.40$), $MD = 0.50, SE = 0.13, p < .001$. Hypothesis V was not supported: lesbian women who enacted a communal style were not rated more effective than heterosexual communal women. Hypothesis VI was also not supported: agentic lesbian women were not evaluated as less effective leaders than agentic heterosexual women. Effectiveness ratings for lesbian and heterosexual candidates across conditions are displayed in Figure 4.

Research Question

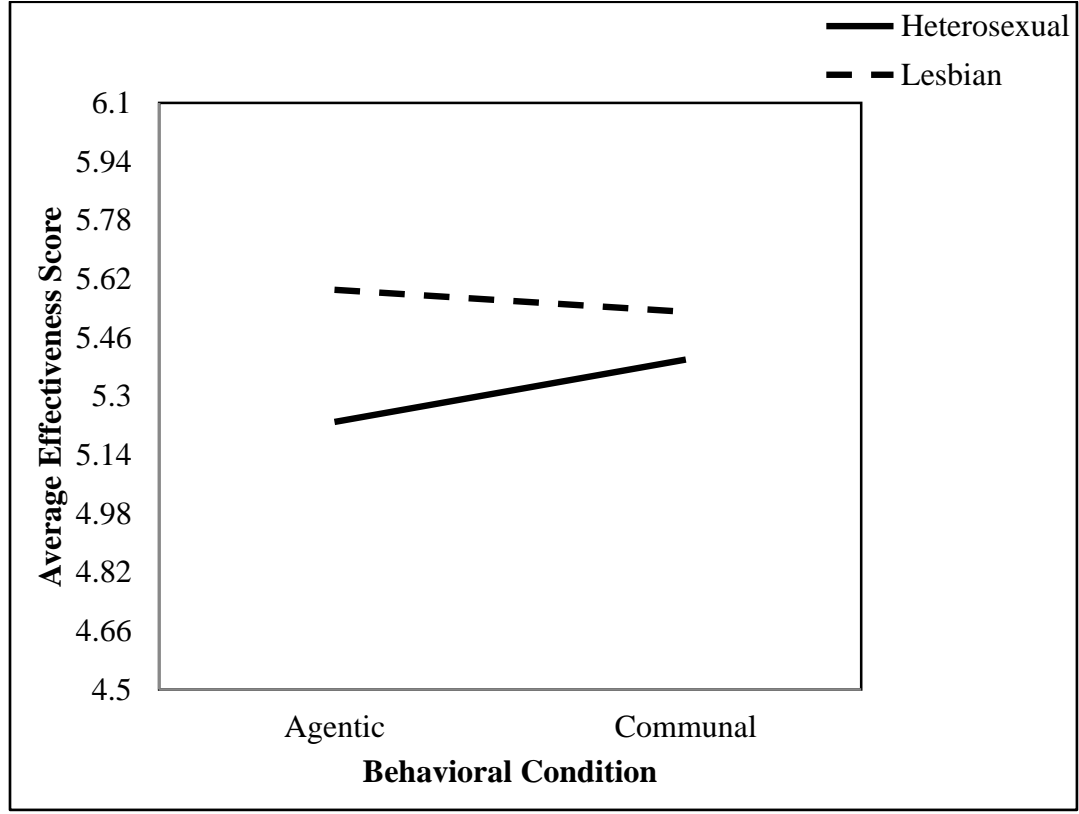
A three-way ANOVA was performed to investigate the question of how sexual orientation might influence perception of the effectiveness of a woman's leadership in roles of varying requirements. The interaction between the job's described requirements and the female leader's sexual orientation and behavior style was non-significant, $F(1, 427) = 0.54, p = .47$, partial $\eta^2 = .00$. Results further showed no statistically significant two-way interactions.

Additional Analyses

As with Study 1, additional analyses were conducted to examine (1) the impact of participant gender, and (2) how sexual orientation, behavior style, and job requirements may impact female leaders' perceived competence and likability. Employing a factorial ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Job Description \times Participant Gender), the three-way interactive effect on hirability ratings was non-

Figure 4

Average Effectiveness Scores for Heterosexual and Lesbian Female Candidates across Behavioral Conditions: Interaction Not Significant



Note: Interaction not significant, $p = .75$.

significant, $F(1, 425) = 0.04, p = .84, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. There was a main effect for participant gender, $F(2, 425) = 4.40, p < .04, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$: female participants generally gave higher ratings of hirability for female candidates ($M = 88.42, SD = 10.85$) than did male participants ($M = 85.17, SD = 11.62$), $MD = 3.25, SE = 1.09, p < .01$. A second factorial ANOVA (Sexual Orientation \times Behavior Style \times Participant Gender) also revealed the three-way interactive effect on measures of effectiveness to be nonsignificant, $F(1, 425) = 0.24, p = .63, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$, but another main effect for participant gender, $F(2, 425) = 9.01, p < .01, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$. Female participants also provided higher effectiveness ratings for female leaders ($M = 5.27, SD = 1.28$) than did male participants ($M = 4.89, SD = 1.40$), $MD = 0.38, SE = 0.13, p < .01$.

A factorial ANOVA revealed the three-way interaction's effect on competence ratings to be non-significant, $F(1, 427) = 0.02, p = .88, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. No significant main or interactive effects were found within the model. A second factorial ANOVA revealed the three-way interactive effect on ratings of likability to be non-significant, $F(1, 427) = 0.00, p = .98, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .00$. There was a significant main effect for behavior style, $F(1, 427) = 331.21, p < .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .44$, such that the communal female candidate was considered more likable ($M = 5.57, SD 1.04$) than the agentic female candidate ($M = 3.43, SD = 1.38$), $MD = 2.15, SE = 0.12, p < .001$.

Study 2 Discussion

Mimicking Study 1, Study 2 investigated the specific and combined impact of sexual orientation and gender role norms on perceptions of female

leaders. Specifically, it examined the diverging impact of the masculine stereotype attributed to lesbian women – its potentially positive influence on perceptions of hirability into a leadership role, and the negative impact on evaluations of behavior within that role as a result of gender role violation.

Results did not support hypotheses. Heterosexual and lesbian women were generally considered equally hireable into a leadership role regardless of its requirements, with the possibility that lesbian women are rated slightly less hireable into more agentic positions. Further, sexual orientation had no influence on evaluations of a woman's leadership effectiveness, regardless of both her actual behavior and the job's description. In addition, sexual orientation did not have an impact on measures of competence nor likability. Finally, as with Study 1, female participants provided higher hirability and leadership effectiveness ratings of candidates than did male participants.

General Discussion

Combining sexual orientation, gender, and leadership literatures, the research at hand posed and tested the theory that evaluations of an individual's leadership would be impacted by perceived incongruities between sexual orientation stereotype, gender role norms, and leader role requirements. It was predicted that the inverse stereotype applied to sexual minority groups (i.e., gay men as feminine, lesbian women as masculine) would influence a gay or lesbian candidate's perceived hirability into a leader role as compared to his or her heterosexual counterpart based on the stereotype's distance from the role's requirements. Additionally, prejudices arising from a sexual minority leader's

perceived gender role violation were predicted to negatively impact leadership effectiveness evaluations of gay and lesbian leaders, particularly when his or her behavior also violated gender role norms. Predictions were generally unsupported, though several interesting interactions did arise. Sexual orientation did not influence evaluations of a woman's potential hirability into a leadership role nor on evaluations of her effectiveness as a leader. His sexual orientation also carried no weight in terms of the male candidate's perceived hirability, but did play an unexpected role in assessments of his behavior: a gay man received the same effectiveness rating regardless of behavior. While a heterosexual man would receive a similar rating if he enacted a communal style, he was actually rated slightly less effective when he exhibited more masculine, agentic behaviors, particularly when his style matched the job's agentic requirements.

Taken together, the two studies detailed here tell an interesting and somewhat perplexing story. Hypotheses were not only unsupported by results; for gay men, they were inverted. Assuming that role congruity does have an impact on descriptive and prescriptive biases – an assertion with a robust foundation of empirical support – these results likely illuminate recent fluctuations in the definitions and perceived relationships between gender role norms, sexual orientation stereotypes, and leader role requirements. This is highlighted by the point that, in a nearly identical study conducted in the years just prior to *Obergefell v. Hodges*, results were in direct contrast to the current findings: gay men only received lower ratings when enacting agentic behaviors, precisely the opposite finding here (Mann, 2012), though again this effect was relatively small.

Indeed, while the current findings may be surprising given previous research, they could reflect a subtle but ongoing paradigm shift in public attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals evidenced in both public and research settings.

Since this research was launched in 2012, the country has seen a drastic change in cultural norms around perceptions and acceptance of the LGBT population. This was highlighted by the Supreme Court's June 2015 ruling in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, in which the Court found marriage to be a fundamental right guaranteed to same-sex couples by the Fourteenth Amendment and issued forth the ruling that instantaneously made marriage equality the national law. With five of its nine justices in favor of the ruling, the Court's decision matched that of the public opinion, with a reported 60% of Americans supported marriage equality in a May 2015 poll – a number remained stable in the month following (McCarthy, 2015).

Indeed, the notion that same-sex attraction is a violation of gender role norms has become increasingly less popular and even nonexistent within certain groups, with implications for prescriptive bias and its related outcomes. In a recent study, Doyle, Rees, and Titus (2015) found that while this belief exists at a societal level, there are vast differences in perceptions regarding the extent to which it is true, with some groups (e.g., liberal LGBT persons) reporting no perceived violation whatsoever. Further, their sample as a whole viewed the violation to be only mild to moderate. The authors concluded that their results indicated positive movement in attitudes toward same-sex marriage, and a growing understanding that gender identity, gender role expression, and sexual

orientation are separate and distinct components of an individual's overall sexual identity.

This transformation around public understanding of sexual identity's role components and expression is ongoing and its ramifications are as yet unclear; however, it is likely to directly impact the stereotypes and attitudes dictating the outcomes relevant to the research at hand. In terms of descriptive bias and the effect on hirability, the potential shift in sexual orientation stereotypes and recent 'feminization' of leadership are of interest. As leadership becomes less of a distinctly masculine construct and continues to incorporate more prototypically feminine qualities, behaviors typically ascribed men and women become equally viable options for fulfilling a leader role, and sexual orientation stereotype as dictated by gender inversion is made a moot point in leadership selection. Indeed, a recent study investigating perceptions of managers varying in gender and sexual orientation found that while the stereotype of a heterosexual male manager corresponded most highly to the prototypical successful manager, the remaining stereotypes (i.e., heterosexual female managers, lesbian female managers, gay male managers) also corresponded at a significant level (Lieberman & Golom, 2015). Each group thus had potential for hirability based on perceived possibility for success, suggesting some level of congruity between the stereotype applied to them and those behaviors typical of a successful leader.

The current political environment could even result in some people attributing more positive stereotypes to all lesbian and gay individuals regardless of gender. In a study published just weeks after the Supreme Court's ruling, gay

and lesbian applicants were indeed perceived to be less hireable than heterosexual applicants when evaluated by men; however, women reported the opposite, rating gay and lesbian applicants more hireable than equally qualified heterosexual counterparts, mediated by their perception of these applicants as more warm and more competent (Everly, Unzueta, & Shih, 2015).

This positive bias offers one explanation for the current findings, where an agentic male leader was rated more effective when identified as gay than when heterosexual, particularly when the role required an agentic style. However, prejudicial attitudes may come into play here. It is worth noting that in the current research, heterosexual male, heterosexual female, and lesbian female leaders shared similar data trends in evaluations of their effectiveness across behavioral conditions – specifically, that they were rated less effective when masculine – leaving the gay male leader the only candidate rated effective regardless of behavior. It is possible that while participants did not penalize the gay male leader for adhering to sexual orientation stereotype and enacting feminine behaviors, they rewarded him when he bucked those expectations, and particularly when those behaviors matched those expected on the job.

This shift in attitudes represents a pendulum effect, with public response swinging from negative punishment of gender role violation to positive reinforcement of gender role adherence in gay men. Interestingly, this is what was originally predicted would occur in evaluations of lesbian women. As gender role violations are typically viewed more negatively in men, it may be that while prejudicial attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals have lessened overall,

they remain more strongly influential in evaluations of gay men than they do lesbian women. This seems likely particularly given the greater strength of the feminine stereotype attributed to gay men as compared to the masculinity attributed lesbian women. Future research should investigate this possibility further. In addition, there has yet to be a published investigation into the implicit inversion phenomenon post-*Obergefell v. Hodges*, and it is unknown whether sexual orientation stereotypes have shifted in strength or content. There is thus an opportunity to update findings on these cultural stereotypes, particularly in light of the increased public awareness of gay and lesbian individuals.

Limitations and Implications

This study, while conducted with the best of intentions, did have certain limitations. These are detailed and their implications considered here.

First, no manipulation check was employed for the job description used as the manipulation for leader role requirements to ensure a difference was noted between agentic and communal conditions. While the descriptions were similarly and successfully employed in previous research conducted by Gaucher, Friesen, and Kay (2011), their study used a within-subjects design in which participants were presented with and provided ratings for both descriptions, allowing for comparison between the two. It is possible that that comparison was necessary in order for the gendered wording to have an effect. However, this is a fair representation of what one would encounter in a real-world application scenario. The intent here was to investigate the perceived incongruity between job requirements varying in gender-prototypical behaviors and sexual orientation

stereotypes. Given that these requirements were developed using gender-specific wording found in actual recruitment scripts for occupations dominated by men or women, this goal was achieved. The manipulation's success was further supported by the difference in effectiveness ratings for agentic heterosexual leaders between job descriptions—specifically, the ratings were significantly lower in the agentic job description condition, but not the communal job description. Though the manipulation appears to have held here, future research should be sure that there is a clear and measurable difference in perceived role requirements.

Second, the open market nature of MTurk may have been a limitation here. No pre-screening was required, and as participants completed the study from their home or other available computer, there was a possibility for attention-based errors. However, several steps were taken to mitigate this risk. No data was included for those who did not watch at least two-thirds of the interview video. Two attention-check items were included in the final evaluation survey, and answer sets examined for both consistency and potential faking. Further, because participants were randomly assigned, there was an equal likelihood of faking across all conditions. Additionally, as previously noted, MTurk has been found to be a reliable source of valid data provided by a sample well that well represents the population in question. With this in mind, and the described precautions in place, the risk for attention-based errors was minimal.

Third, the current research does not examine the impact of individual differences across evaluators on their rating outcomes. It is possible or even probable that answers differed across participant groups. For example, a general

theme emerges across related research whereby women's evaluations of sexual minority groups are less negative than those given by men. In some cases women may even show bias in favor of LGBT individuals. Future research should seek to further investigate these differences and their underlying motivations to gain a better understanding of where these differences might emerge and how they may play out in the workplace.

Fourth, the drastic and unprecedented shift in public awareness of and attitudes toward LGBT individuals was a limitation in terms of the research at hand, with critical implications for those key constructs upon which its theory was founded – that is, sexual orientation stereotypes, gender roles, and attitudes regarding sexual minorities in light of gender role norms. However, this one consequence of is far outweighed by the positive implications for LGBT population and the opportunities now available in terms of research. As public perceptions continue to shift, researchers have a unique chance to investigate the change and its impact in real time. In addition, it is necessary to reexamine related theories long held true – such as the implicit inversion phenomenon – and supplement or adjust these accordingly. Considering the observed upswing in public attitudes, current conditions might be particularly conducive to positive psychology research around the LGBT experience and its impact on leadership experience. Such a drastic sea change is rare, and it is vital that researchers use the opportunity to its fullest.

Finally, in terms of applied implications for practitioners, the research at hand makes evident the continued impact of group stereotypes on measures of an

individual's hirability and effectiveness within leadership roles. Beyond the simple act of maintaining awareness of one's own personal biases and potential prejudices, however, organizations have the potential opportunity to further develop their diversity and inclusion (D&I) programs beyond identifying individual differences and relevant prejudices. A recent trend in D&I programs has recentered efforts around inclusion, lessening the focus on perceived differences across groups and more on efforts around creating inclusive environments. This is done with the intent of freeing employees from the stress of remaining vigilant and on the continued lookout for prejudice and discrimination in the business, arguably allowing them greater time, energy, and related resources to give back to the organization itself. As stereotypes and prejudices continue to shift around the LGBT population, organizations who do this successfully thus have the opportunity to benefit from an LGBT workforce of employees who feel they can bring their full selves to work.

Conclusion

In sum, it appears that sexual orientation alone does not influence perceptions of neither a man nor a woman's hirability into leadership regardless of whether the role has more masculine- or more feminine-typed requirements. In addition, it has no observable effect on evaluations of a woman's effectiveness in a leadership role. On the other hand, gay men who enact an agentic style may be rewarded for adhering to gender role norms with higher evaluations than their heterosexual counterparts. This runs in contrast to previous findings, which have primarily uncovered the negative impact of prejudicial attitudes on evaluations of

gay men. The reasoning for this is as yet unclear and poses a unique challenge for future researchers. As the public continues to shift toward a more progressive and accepting understanding of the LGBT community, it is important that research moves at pace to take full advantage of the opportunity to examine the change and illuminate its impact both generally and on the LGBT leader experience.

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Appendix A

Agentic/Masculine Job Description

Position: Retail Sales Manager

Company Description (from website): "Our ambition is to be the best employer in marketing by delivering a rewarding employment experience. We will challenge our employees to be proud of their chosen career."

Job Qualifications:

- Full-time, variable availability.
- Strong communication skills.
- Ability to work independently.
- The superior candidate will have a self-confident attitude, decisive judgment, and be detail-oriented.

Responsibilities Include:

- Maintain store staff by challenging them to reach their potential as employees.
- Be a leader in your store, representing our exclusive brand.
- You will be the boss of our fast-paced store, with further opportunities for career advancement.
- You'll develop leadership skills and learn business principles.

Appendix B

Communal/Feminine Job Description

Position: Retail Sales Manager

Company Description (from website): "Our hope is to be the best employer in clothing retail by providing a pleasant and rewarding employment experience. We nurture and support our employees, expecting that they will become committed to their chosen career."

Job Qualifications:

- Full-time, flexible availability.
- Cheerful, with excellent communication skills.
- Capable of working with minimal supervision.
- As the ideal candidate, you will have a pleasant attitude, dependable judgment, and be attentive to details.

Responsibilities Include:

- Maintain store staff by encouraging and motivating them to reach their potential as employees.
- Be a role model for your store, representing our exclusive brand.
- You will be the head of our fast-paced store, with further opportunities for career development.
- You will develop interpersonal skills and an understanding of business.

Appendix C

Male Candidate Biography



CANDIDATE A

Candidate A, B.A., is a Retail Sales Manager with seven years of experience. A graduate of the Ohio State University, he earned a degree in Marketing in 2007, 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.

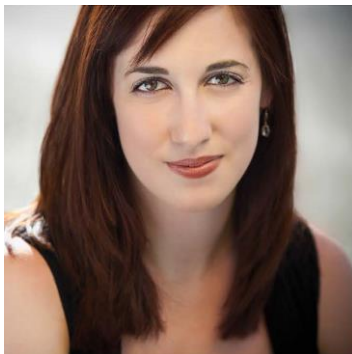
Candidate A has spent his last four years managing the day-to-day operations of a Fielder Corporations department store. While there, he reliably hit and exceeded a sales target of \$1M, staffed, trained, and supervised a team of 15 associates, and developed and managed customer relations to build a solid and dependable customer base.

After leaving the Fielder Corporation new opportunities, Candidate A spent several months as an independent consultant before leaving his home state of Ohio. 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 Retail Sales Manager needs.

Appendix D

Female Candidate Biography



CANDIDATE A

Candidate A, B.A., is a Retail Sales Manager with seven years of experience. A graduate of the Ohio State University, she earned a degree in Marketing in 2007, with the addition of a minor in Psychology. She has used this combination in several diverse industries, including media, food service management, and sales consultation.

Candidate A has spent her last four years managing the day-to-day operations of a Fielder Corporations department store. While there, she reliably hit and exceeded a sales target of \$1M, staffed, trained, and supervised a team of 15 associates, and developed and managed customer relations to build a solid and dependable customer base.

After leaving the Fielder Corporation new opportunities, Candidate A spent several months as an independent consultant before leaving her home state of Ohio. She now lives in New York with her [husband Casey OR wife Casey], where she enjoys playing tennis, running, and researching new technology.

Contact Candidate A at XXX-XXX-XXXX or XXX@XXX.XXX to discuss your Retail Sales Manager needs.

Appendix E

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. 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 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 F

Participant Consent Form

ADULT CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH**EXAMINING INTERVIEW MEDIUMS**

Principal Investigator: Kristin Mann, PhD Candidate, Graduate Student

Institution: DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, USA

Department: Psychology Department, DePaul University

Faculty Advisor: Alice Stuhlmacher, Ph.D, Industrial-Organizational Psychology, Psychology Department, DePaul University

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. This study is being conducted by Kristin Mann, a graduate student at DePaul University, as a requirement to obtain her Doctorate. This research is being supervised by her faculty advisor, Alice Stuhlmacher, PhD.

We hope to include about 1000 people in the research.

Why are you being asked to be in the research?

You are invited to participate in this study because you are a registered worker on Amazon Mechanical Turk and an English-speaker currently residing in the United States. 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.

What is involved in being in the research study?

If you agree to be in this study, being in the research involves evaluating Candidate A for a managerial position in retail sales. You will be randomly assigned to one of several possible experimental conditions using the randomizer software provided by the Qualtrics system, which automatically and randomly assigns each participant to an experimental condition. All conditions follow the same procedure. You will first review a resume and a brief biography submitted by Candidate A. You will be asked five initial questions as a check to ensure that you understood the materials. You will then be asked to provide a brief initial impression of Candidate A's qualifications. 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.

Since you are enrolling in this research study through the Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) site, we need to let you know that information gathered through Amazon MTurk is not completely anonymous. Any work performed on Amazon MTurk can potentially be linked to information about you on your Amazon public profile page, depending on the settings you have for your Amazon profile. Any linking of data by MTurk to your ID is outside of the control of the researcher for this study. We will not be accessing any identifiable information about you that you may have put on your Amazon public profile page. We will store your MTurk worker ID separately from the other information you provide to us. Amazon Mechanical Turk has privacy policies of its own outlined for you in Amazon's privacy agreement. If you have concerns about how your information will be used by Amazon, you should consult them directly.

How much time will this take?

This study will take about 20 minutes of your time.

Are there any 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 may find out what you have said, but we have put protections in place to prevent this from happening. This risk is minimal, however, as your survey will be completed electronically, and while it is linked through MTurk, we will not be accessing any identifiable information that you may have on your Amazon public profile page.

Are there any benefits to participating 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.

Is there any kind of payment, reimbursement or credit for being in this study?

You will be given \$1.00 for participating. After the survey, you will be given a randomly generated code to provide to MTurk, after which you will receive compensation. *We cannot give you financial compensation without this code.* You must watch the interview video in full to receive compensation. If you exit the survey prior to the end of the survey, if you do not watch the entirety of the interview video, or if you choose not to provide the randomly generated code, you will not receive compensation.

Can you decide not to participate?

Your participation is voluntary, which means you can choose not to participate. However, you must complete the study in full in order to receive financial compensation. If you decide not to participate or withdraw from the research before you have completed it in full, you will not receive payment.

Who will see my study information and how will the confidentiality of the information collected for the research be protected?

The research records will be kept and stored securely. Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study or publish a paper to share the research with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered. We will not include your name or any information that will directly identify you. We will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. However, some people might review or copy our records that may identify you in order to make sure we are following the required rules, laws, and regulations. For example, the DePaul University Institutional Review Board may review your information. If they look at our records, they will keep your information confidential.

Who should be contacted for more information about the research?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study or you want to get additional information or provide input about this research, you can contact the researcher, Kristin Mann, at 937-477-4407, or Alice Stuhlmacher at 773-325-2050.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the DePaul Institutional Review Board (IRB). If you have questions about your rights as a research subject you may contact Susan Loess-Perez, DePaul University's Director of Research Compliance, in the Office of Research Services at 312-362-7593 or by email at sloesspe@depaul.edu.

You may also contact DePaul's Office of Research Services if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.

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

Statement of Consent from the Subject:

I have read the above information. I have had all my questions and concerns answered. By checking below, I indicate my consent to be in the research.

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

Appendix G

Participant Instructions

Our team is currently assisting a national retail chain in evaluating new hiring methods for their stores' managerial positions. 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 (Candidate A) for a store's Retail Sales Manager position based on his [her] brief biography, resume, and interview.

In order to examine several interview mediums, we asked the firm to record interviews between the months of August and November 2014. All videos used were recorded with the expressed consent of the applicant. In today's session, you will be viewing Candidate A's interview as a short prerecorded video on the Internet. The interviewer's voice has been removed, but you will be provided with the questions he [she] was asked.

You will be asked to do the following:

- Review the bio and resume submitted by Candidate A. *Please read his [her] materials carefully*; your evaluation will be based on all materials presented.
- Provide an initial impression of his [her] skills (1 question).
- Watch his [her] video interview.
- Evaluate Candidate A by completing a brief survey (18 questions). 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 WILL BE UNABLE TO GIVE YOU COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION.**

Appendix H
Candidate Resume

Phone: XXX-XXX-XXXX
E-mail: XXX@XXX.XXX

Candidate A

Education

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY 2003 - 2007
B.A. in Marketing, May 2005

- GPA = 3.0 / 4.0
- Minor in Psychology
- Contributor, *The Lantern*

Work Experience

FIELDER INC. Fall 2010 - Fall 2014
Store Manager

Responsible for day-to-day office performance of store. Oversee sales, inventory, housekeeping, administration, and compliance to policies/procedures. Motivated staff to achieve performance goals and ensure productive department operations.

RED ELECTRIC COFFEE Fall 2007 - Fall 2010
General Manager

Monitored and managed a small staff. 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.

BARION'S BOOKS Summer 2007
Books & Customer Relations Clerk

Responsible for managing the routine functions of the bookstore. Greeted customers and responded to queries, complaints, and requirements. Planned and implemented the creation of a website for the store.

References available upon request.

Appendix I

Information Check Scale

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/her] 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 five 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) the Ohio State University.
2. **Most recently, Candidate A managed a store operated by...** (A) Sears; (B) Fielder, Inc. (C) T-Mobile.
3. **Candidate A lives with [his/her]...** (A) Husband; (B) Wife; (C) This information was not provided.
4. **According to [his/her] 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) the Ohio State University.
2. Most recently, Candidate A managed a store operated by (B) the Fielder Corporation.
3. Candidate A lives with [his/her] (A) Husband.*
4. According to [his/her] bio, Candidate A's hobbies include (B) playing tennis.
5. While at Barjon's Books, Candidate A's responsibilities included (A) greeting the customers.

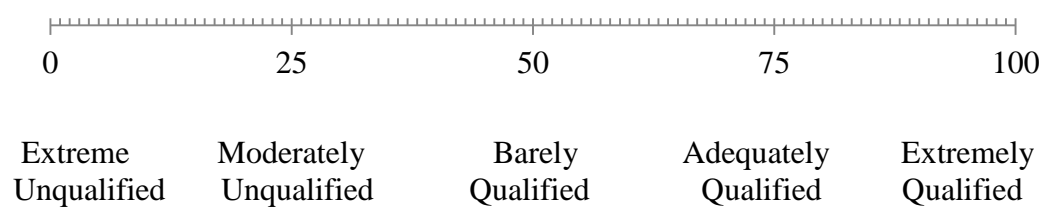
Please correct your responses before moving on to the next page.

*Dependent upon the participant's experimental condition.

Appendix J

Hirability Questionnaire

Rate the extent to which you would recommend hiring Candidate A considering all the information you have thus far (i.e., resume, biography, and job description).



9. Candidate A is someone who makes new friends easily. (L)

10. I like Candidate A. (L)

11. Candidate A is accomplished. (C)

12. Candidate A is someone who can effectively lead a team to success. (E)

13. Candidate A is a competitive person. (M)

14. Candidate A is skilled. (C)

15. Candidate A is an effective leader. (E)

16. Candidate A is a humble person. (M)

17. Candidate A is a good leader. (E)

*Hirability item: 1. Competence items: 2, 5, 11, 14; Leader Effectiveness items: 7, 12, 15, 17; Manipulation items: 4, 8, 13, 16; Likability items: 3, 6, 9, 10.

Appendix L

Demographics Survey

Lastly, we want to ask you a few questions about yourself.

1. **Gender:** Female/Male/Other
2. **Age:** [select an age]
3. **Ethnicity:** Caucasian/Black or African-American/Hispanic or Latino, Latina/Asian/Pacific Islander/Native American/Other
4. **Geography:** Urban/Surburban/Rural
5. **Education Level:** Some High School/High School Diploma/Some College/College/Graduate School or beyond
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 Christian/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 M

Debriefing Information

NOTE: Please keep this information confidential, particularly from other MTurk Workers. As explained below, it is vital that participants remain unaware of the study's actual purpose until its conclusion. It is also very important that no attention check items are shared with other participants. We very much appreciate your confidence and your help in this matter.

The Effects of Sexual Orientation and Behavioral Style on Perception of 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 the candidate's 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), behavioral style (agentic or communal), and gender typing of a leadership role (agentic/masculine or communal/feminine) 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, particularly other MTurk Workers.** 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!