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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

THE IMPACT OF PERSON-CENTERED COMMUNICATIONS  
ON POLITICAL CANDIDATE EVALUATION:  
AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
PROGRAM IN APPLIED SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

BY

RANDALL A. RENSTROM

CHICAGO, IL

DECEMBER 2010

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank everyone who made this dissertation possible. Dr. R. Scott Tindale, Dr. Tracy De Hart, and Dr. Anne Sutter were extremely generous with their time, energy, and knowledge, and I am grateful for their willingness to serve on my dissertation committee. Indeed, throughout my entire five years at Loyola University Chicago they have always been overwhelmingly helpful and patient whenever I would knock on their office doors or send them an email full of questions. And, as chair of my dissertation committee and academic advisor for the graduate program, Dr. Victor Ottati has been invaluable and I cannot imagine having completed this dissertation without him. From developing research ideas and hypotheses to running analyses and interpreting results, he was an indispensable part of the process, always helping me stay on track whenever I was in danger of veering off course and providing sage advice whenever I hit a bump in the road. I consider myself extremely lucky to have had Dr. Ottati shepherd me through the Psychology PhD program. I would also like to thank all of the other faculty members and staff of the Psychology Department at Loyola for their guidance and wisdom as I made my way through the program. Likewise, my fellow Psychology graduate students were an unending source of encouragement, advice, and good-humor.

A special thanks goes to the Graduate School at Loyola University Chicago for providing the funds to help me complete my research and writing. By awarding me an Advanced Doctoral Fellowship during the 2009-2010 school year, I was able to make

significant progress toward completing this dissertation and graduating with my degree. Although I often found myself exasperated by their numerous forms, deadlines, and paperwork, the Graduate School's overall generosity to me during my time at Loyola has been much appreciated.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family for their unwavering support and encouragement. Although I don't think they ever quite fully understood what it was that I did day-to-day at Loyola—conversations about my dissertation often involved lots of polite smiling and nodding—they were immensely encouraging throughout the entire process. I do not believe I would have been able to complete my degree without their love and support.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTER ONE: POLITICAL CANDIDATE EVALUATION	1
Determinants of Political Candidate Evaluation	1
CHAPTER TWO: PERSON-CENTERED COMMUNICATIONS	15
Person-centeredness	15
CHAPTER THREE: STUDY 1 OVERVIEW	25
Overview and Hypotheses	25
CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY 1 METHODOLOGY	36
Method	36
CHAPTER FIVE: STUDY 1 RESULTS	43
Regression Analyses and Results	44
CHAPTER SIX: STUDY 1 DISCUSSION	60
CHAPTER SEVEN: STUDY 2 INTRODUCTION—THREAT, IDEOLOGY, AND PERSON-CENTEREDNESS	66
Situational Conditions and the Effect of Person-centeredness	66
Individual Differences and the Effect of Person-centeredness	69
CHAPTER EIGHT: STUDY 2 OVERVIEW	71
Overview and Hypotheses	71
CHAPTER NINE: STUDY 2 METHODOLOGY	77
Method	77
CHAPTER TEN: STUDY 2 RESULTS	82
Regression Analyses and Results	82
CHAPTER ELEVEN: STUDY 2 DISCUSSION	94
CHAPTER TWELVE: GENERAL DISCUSSION	99
Future Directions and Conclusions	104

APPENDIX A: PERSON-CENTERED STIMULUS MATERIALS LOW AND HIGH PC, MALE CANDIDATE-MALE VOTER CONDITIONS	108
APPENDIX B: STUDY 1 SURVEY	111
APPENDIX C: NEWSPAPER ARTICLES FOR TERRORISM THREAT AND CONTROL PRIMES, WITH FILLER SURVEY	123
APPENDIX D: STUDY 2 SURVEY	127
APPENDIX E: REGRESSION TABLES, STUDIES 1 AND 2	138
REFERENCE LIST	157
VITA	168

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Study 1 Hypotheses: Predicted Effects on Attitude and Voting Likelihood Ratings	27
2. Study 2 Hypotheses: Predicted Effects on Attitude and Voting Likelihood Ratings	73



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate (Study 1)	45
2. Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate (Study 1)	47
3. Two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 1)	49
4. Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 1)	51
5. Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on ratings of candidate's socio-emotional traits (Study 1)	54
6. Three-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on ratings of candidate's instrumental traits (Study 1)	57
7. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate (Study 2)	87
8. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 2)	89
9. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on performance ratings of the candidate on socio-emotional issues (Study 2)	91
10. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on performance ratings of the candidate on instrumental issues (Study 2)	93

## **ABSTRACT**

“Person-centeredness” refers to how empathetic and warm a person’s communication style is. Although the role of person-centeredness has been documented in various areas concerning interpersonal relations, person-centeredness has not been explored in the political realm. This project investigated how person-centered communications can influence impressions and evaluations of political candidates. In the first study, person-centered (PC) messages were shown to impact candidate trait ratings. Candidates using low PC messages were associated with more instrumental traits but fewer socio-emotional traits, while high PC candidates were assumed to have more socio-emotional traits but fewer instrumental traits. Similar results were found when participants rated a candidate’s ability to handle socio-emotional and instrumental issues. With regard to global attitudes and voting likelihood, high PC candidates were preferred over low, however this PC effect was moderated by the candidate’s gender, with female candidates showing a stronger PC effect than males. Study 2 investigated whether the PC effects shown in Study 1 would weaken or reverse in certain situations, specifically under conditions of threat where high PC candidates may be less desirable compared to low. Study 2 also explored whether individual differences within participants, namely political conservatism and authoritarianism, would moderate the PC effect. Overall results are discussed in terms of the benefits and costs of using PC messages and gender differences within politics.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **POLITICAL CANDIDATE EVALUATION**

#### **Determinants of Political Candidate Evaluation**

Voters may use a wealth of information about a political candidate in order to arrive at an overall evaluation of that candidate. This information includes politically relevant content such as the candidate's issue stances, ideological orientation, and party identification, but it also includes non-political factors such as the personality characteristics of the candidate as well as demographic cues like gender, race, and physical attractiveness. A selection of these political and non-political factors are considered and weighted by the voter during the decision-making process, allowing him or her to arrive at an overall evaluation of the candidate (and, ultimately, to decide how to cast his or her election ballot). Although the literature in psychology and political science has investigated many of these determinants, certain factors – such as the degree to which the candidate engages in an empathetic, supportive, *person-centered* communication style – have gone relatively unexplored.

#### **Political Determinants**

Ideally, when evaluating political candidates and casting ballots, the most prominent factors the electorate should consider are those related to governance. That is, information that is politically relevant should carry the most weight – where the candidate stands on the issues and what policies he or she is proposing to implement, his

or her political philosophy and ideological approach to tackling societal problems, and their political party affiliation. Although non-political factors such as demographics and personality can significantly influence candidate evaluation, there is no doubt that political factors are extremely important when voters evaluate political candidates running for public office.

**Ideological orientation and party membership.** Two of the most prominent determinants of candidate evaluation are the candidate's ideological orientation (Converse, 1964) and party identification (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960). While each is a distinct construct, both operate in similar ways in the cognitive process of evaluation. With regard to political ideology, voters tend to prefer those who have a similar ideology (e.g., liberal, moderate, conservative) to their own (Ottati, Wyer, Deiger, & Houston, 2002). Although some researchers have argued that individuals do not organize their beliefs ideologically and indeed cannot even place themselves on the ideological scale as “liberals” or “conservatives” (Converse, 1964; Luttbeg & Gant, 1985), political ideology does appear to significantly influence candidate evaluation. As Jost (2006) has pointed out, roughly two-thirds of the electorate *can* place themselves on such an ideological continuum when asked, and they do so willingly and with a fair degree of accuracy and stability (Conover & Feldman, 1981; Feldman, 2003). Furthermore, self-placement on this liberal-conservative ideological continuum accounts for 85 percent of the variance in voting intentions in Presidential elections from 1972 to 2004, suggesting that citizens utilize political ideology when evaluating candidates since it can so highly predict the feelings, thoughts, and actions of the electorate (Jost, 2006).

Party identification is used in much the same way, with voters preferring candidates who share their party identification (e.g., Democrat, Republican, Libertarian) over candidates who do not (Ottati et al., 2002). Voters often use party identification as a stereotype, “filling in” missing information about a candidate with party-consistent information (Conover & Feldman, 1989). For example, a Republican voter may prefer a Republican candidate because that voter believes the candidate supports lifting the restrictions on gun ownership, even if the candidate has not expressed his or her opinion on the issue. Hence, party can be used as a stereotype when voters evaluate a political candidate.

Both party and ideological stereotypes can function as heuristic cues and directly impact candidate evaluation, particularly when voters have little individuating information about a political candidate or, conversely, when voters have *too much* information about the candidate. In the former case, voters evaluate a candidate based upon party or ideology simply because the voters have no other substantive information about the candidate to evaluate. Thus, the stereotypes directly guide evaluation. In the latter situation where voters are overwhelmed with information about the candidate and the evaluation process becomes too complex or difficult, voters may rely upon party and ideological stereotypes to simplify the decision-making process (Ottati, 1990).

Party and ideological stereotypes can also act indirectly on candidate evaluation. That is, party and ideology can serve as expectancies that produce a stereotype-consistent bias when voters process information or make inferences about political candidates (Ottati et al., 2002). For example, voters are more likely to encode issues stances that are

consistent with the candidate's party or ideology than issues positions that are inconsistent with partisan or ideological expectations (Lodge & Hamill, 1986).

**Issue positions.** In order to make an informed choice during elections, one hopes that voters primarily rely on the candidate's stated issue positions on social and political policies (e.g., abortion, taxation, immigration, etc.). The degree to which voters and candidates have similar issue positions – so-called “issue agreement” – can have a significant impact on candidate evaluation. When engaging in issue-based evaluation of candidates, a candidate's issue position that is in agreement with the voter's own issue stance will positively affect that voter's evaluation of the candidate. Conversely, when the voter and the candidate disagree on a particular issue, candidate evaluation will be negatively affected (Ottati et al., 2002). Thus, when using issues stances as a basis for judgment, voters prefer those candidates with whom they share the most issue positions (i.e., the candidate where issue-agreement is highest) over candidates with whom they share less.

Issue-based voting and evaluation is obviously more cognitively effortful than heuristic-based evaluation that relies on cues such as party affiliation or ideology. Not only must voters determine the degree to which a certain candidate agrees with them on various issues, but not all issues are treated equally. Voters assign greater weight to personally important issues over other issues which are less personally relevant or important (Krosnick, 1988; Krosnick, Berent, & Boninger, 1994). And, the weight ascribed to the various issues is affected by how accessible the important or relevant issues are in the minds of the voters at the time (Fazio & Williams, 1986), whether the

issue positions are positively or negatively evaluated (Lau, 1985), how certain the voter is that the candidate actually holds a certain issue position or “belief certainty” (Fishbein, Middlestadt, & Jean-Kyung, 1985; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1981), and how frequently and recently the issues have been covered in the media (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

### **Non-political Determinants**

While party identification, ideology, and issue positions are all politically relevant factors that can affect candidate evaluation, they are not the only factors. Namely, non-political factors such as the candidate’s race, gender, physical attractiveness, and personality characteristics can also have a strong bearing on voters’ attitude toward a candidate.

**Physical attractiveness.** Just as physical attractiveness can affect a host of everyday interpersonal judgments (see Eagly, Ashmore, Makhijani, & Longo, 1991 for a review), the overall physical attractiveness of a political candidate can also impact evaluations of that candidate (Ottati & Deiger, 2002). The most well-known example of physical attractiveness influencing political judgments is the 1960 Presidential debate between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon. Voters who listened to the debate between Kennedy and Nixon on the radio perceived Nixon to have won whereas those voters who watched the debate on television believed Kennedy had won, and researchers believe these differing perceptions may have been due to the attractiveness of the two candidates (Druckman, 2003; Kraus, 1988). Whereas Kennedy appeared youthful, handsome, and vibrant on television, Nixon appeared older and less attractive with bags under his eyes and sweat on his brow (in part because Nixon refused make-up before

appearing on camera). Thus, television viewers were (partially) swayed toward Kennedy because of his attractiveness. Physical attractiveness was not an issue for those listening on the radio, and so those voters presumably preferred Nixon because of his stated policy positions.

Further scientific research on attractiveness has supported this anecdotal evidence from the Kennedy-Nixon debate. Holding other factors constant, more physically attractive candidates are preferred by voters over less attractive candidates (Budesheim & DePaola, 1994; Rosenberg, Bohan, McCafferty, & Harris, 1986; Sigelman, Sigleman, & Fowler, 1987). Furthermore, evaluations of candidates' competence based solely upon their physical appearance were shown to accurately predict the outcome of Congressional elections at levels better than chance (Todorov, Mandisodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005; Willis & Todorov, 2006).

The influence of physical attractiveness has been attributed to a so-called "halo effect." In addition to beauty, physically attractive individuals are stereotyped and assumed to possess other socially desirable qualities such as warmth, intelligence, competence, and success (Dion, Berscheid, & Hatfield, 1972). Thus, political candidates who are perceived as more physically attractive in the eyes of the voter are also then assumed to have other desirable traits relevant to political office such as competence and interpersonal warmth (Riggle, Ottati, Wyer, Kuklinski, & Schwarz, 1992; Rosenberg et al., 1986). This then leads to more positive evaluations of the candidate and a greater likelihood that the candidate will win elected office.



That said, the effect of physical attractiveness on candidate evaluation is complex, especially when the nature of the evaluation is taken into consideration and if there is other relevant information about the candidate available to the voter. When voters are solely presented with a photograph of a political candidate, attractive candidates are evaluated more positively than unattractive candidates (Ottati, 1990; Riggle et al., 1992). When a photograph is accompanied by more diagnostically relevant information such as the candidate's issues positions and party affiliation, the impact of physical attractiveness varies depending on whether the voter is making a singular judgment of one candidate or is engaging in a comparative judgment task between two candidates. When judging a single candidate, voters rely exclusively on the relevant political information such as his or her issues positions and do not use party identification or the physical attractiveness stereotype to evaluate the candidate. When making a comparison between two political candidates, the attractiveness of the candidates does impact the evaluations by the voters (Budesheim & DePaola, 1994; Ottati, 1990; Rosenberg et al., 1986), however its impact may only occur when the photograph is clearly visible or is salient to the voter at the time of judgment (Riggle et al., 1992). In sum, when voters know relatively little about a single candidate or must make a relatively complex decision regarding two competing political candidates, stereotypes regarding physical attractiveness can be used as a heuristic cue during the evaluation process (Ottati & Deiger, 2002).

**Race.** The race or ethnicity of a political candidate can influence voters' evaluation of that candidate (Ottati et al., 2002). When evaluating two candidates of relatively equal status, voters tend to favor candidates who share their race while more

negatively evaluating candidates of a different race. In particular, racism against African-Americans has a long history in American politics. Most researchers agree that so-called “old-fashioned” racism of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has subsided; the belief that Blacks are biologically inferior and should be formally segregated from Whites is not readily found within the American population (although it does still exist in some places). In its place, however, a more subtle form of racism may still persist within the American socio-political system to the detriment of minority candidates.

Sears and his colleagues (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997) contend that a more modern form of racism – symbolic racism – affects political attitudes and political judgments. Symbolic racism consists of anti-Black affect paired with the belief by Whites that African-Americans violate the Protestant Work Ethic. Individuals who engage in “symbolic racism” may not explicitly express racist sentiments toward African-Americans, but instead express negative attitudes in a more subtle and indirect fashion (e.g., denying that discrimination still exists, faulting minority groups for problems with race relations, claiming an African-American Presidential candidate was not born in America and thus not eligible to be President, etc.) And in the political realm, it has been shown that those scoring higher in symbolic racism tend to have more negative evaluations of African-American political candidates and more negative evaluations of policies that primarily affect African-Americans (Moskowitz & Stroh, 1994; Sears & Henry, 2005; Sears et al., 1997). As such, an African-American political candidate can be at a disadvantage electorally compared to a

White candidate, even if both candidates share similar issue positions, party affiliations, or ideologies.

**Gender.** In addition to race, the gender of the candidate is another demographic characteristic that can influence a voter's evaluation of the candidate. However, the impact of a politician's gender is quite complex. Once on the ballot, women are not any more or less successful at winning elective office compared to men (Huddy & Capelos, 2002). The large gap between the number of men and the number of women holding elected office stems from the fact that women are less likely to run for office in the first place. Women show lesser interest in running for elected office because of a number of factors including: less external support for their candidacy, lower levels of personal income, more demanding obligations to their home and family, and issues of self-confidence in which women do not perceive themselves as being qualified enough to hold certain political offices (Lawless & Fox, 2008). But again, once women make the decision to run for public office, their overall electoral performance is equal to that of male politicians.

But that is not to say that the influence of gender on candidate evaluation is absent once a female candidate is on the ballot. When attempting to assess a political candidate's areas of expertise, research has shown that voters rely on gender stereotypes. Because women are perceived as being more empathetic, compassionate, and warmer compared to men (McKee & Sheriffs, 1957), female political candidates are assumed to be more adept at handling "compassion" issues such as health care, education, and poverty (which are viewed as more "feminine" issues) and are seen as being less

knowledgeable in the areas of foreign affairs, business, and the military (stereotypical “masculine” issues). A reverse pattern is seen for male politicians. Voters assume male politicians are less able to handle health care and poverty but instead have more expertise in business, defense, and the military (Leeper, 1990; Rosenwasser & Seale, 1988; Shapiro & Mahajan, 1986). Ironically, women do not seem to be perceived as better able to handle so-called “women’s issues” such as abortion, the gender gap in wages, or sexual harassment in the workplace (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a).

Given these gender stereotypes and the different perceptions of expertise between the two genders, the impact of a political candidate’s gender depends upon the prevailing issues in a particular election. If issues such as health care, education, or social welfare are prominent in a given election, then a female candidate may be viewed as more capable to handle those important issues and thus evaluated more positively by the voters (which would, presumably, lead to more votes being cast for that female politician). Conversely, if international conflicts or defense issues are dominating the election, then female candidates may be hindered because of gender stereotypes and evaluated less positively by the electorate; male candidates in such elections may be viewed as having more knowledge and expertise regarding those issues. As such, the impact of the candidate’s gender is moderated by the prevailing issues being debated in the election (Dolan, 2001; Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003).

**Personality traits.** In addition to political factors and the demographic characteristics of the candidate, the voter may also look to a political candidate’s own personality traits as a way of arriving at an overall global evaluation of that candidate

(Funk, 1996; Kinder, 1986). At first, the role of personality characteristics was given little attention in the literature on candidate evaluation. Research focused on the more prominent and supposedly “rational” factors affecting candidate evaluation (e.g., issues positions, ideology, party affiliation) whereas voting based partly upon a candidate’s personality was deemed inappropriate, superficial, and less rational (Funk, 1996). With time, however, it was recognized that a politician’s personality characteristics do exert a substantial influence on political attitudes and voting behavior (Markus, 1982). Not only do voters prefer candidates that share their issue positions, ideology, and/or party affiliation, but voters also have preferences when it comes to how competent, trustworthy, honest, intelligent, or interpersonally warm political candidates are (to name just a few pertinent traits).

Previous research suggests that there are two relatively stable superordinate dimensions or categories that voters use to organize the personal traits of a political candidate: a dimension revolving around instrumental traits related to job performance (e.g., competence, intelligence) and a dimension concerning more socio-emotional interpersonal traits (e.g., warmth, empathy). For example, Kinder (1986) distinguishes leadership and competence traits (both of which can be combined into a “performance-based” dimension) from integrity and empathy traits (the “interpersonal character” dimension). Similarly, Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, and Sullivan (1990) make a distinction between task-oriented traits (i.e., those traits that “have a clear professional component”) and socio-emotional traits (i.e., traits that are “purely personal and character-oriented”).

When voters are asked to report which qualities are most important to them when judging political candidates, the traits of competence and integrity or trustworthiness are often mentioned whereas empathy traits are rarely brought up (Kinder, 1986; Kinder, Peters, Abelson, & Fiske, 1980; Miller, Wattenberg, & Malanchuk, 1986). It is likely that citizens *do* consider socio-emotional traits like empathy and warmth to be important but are simply reluctant to mention them in survey research due to social desirability. Although it is appropriate and acceptable to use a candidate's issue positions and ideology in the evaluation process, using a candidate's personality – especially those socio-emotional traits that are not directly relevant to performance and holding public office – may be perceived as less appropriate. In fact, research has shown that instrumental traits *and* socio-emotional traits do impact candidate evaluation, however voters oftentimes ascribe more weight or importance to instrumental traits like competence and leadership over socio-emotional traits such as warmth or empathy (Kinder, 1986; McCurley & Mondak, 1995; Miller et al., 1986; Mondak, 1995).

Overall, a fair amount of research has investigated the impact and nature of instrumental traits like competence and leadership – for example, the effect of uncertainty on perceptions of leadership (Glasgow & Alvarez, 2000), how perceptions of competence (via attractiveness) contribute to electoral success (Todorov et al., 2005), how politicians can use issues and messaging to convey an impression of competence, strength, and leadership (Druckman, Jacobs, & Ostermeier, 2004), and the impact of threat versus security on the weight assigned to candidate leadership (Merolla & Zechmeister, 2006). And yet, the role of socio-emotional traits has not been explored as thoroughly in the

literature. This is unfortunate since socio-emotional traits like empathy clearly have a significant influence on candidate evaluation (even if its influence is not always as large as that of instrumental traits). Indeed, politicians and political insiders consider the role of socio-emotional traits to be quite important (see Fenno, 1978). Political campaigns and advertisements make a concerted effort to show their candidate as being empathetic, warm, and interpersonally kind. Likewise, in more general (non-political) situations, traits like empathy and warmth play major roles in how we perceive others and in the development of interpersonal liking (Rosenberg & Sedlak, 1972; Wojciszke, Bazinska, & Jaworski, 1998).

Thus, while traits such as competence, integrity, and leadership are undoubtedly important when judging political candidates, the role of empathetic traits (such as being comforting, interpersonally kind, and emotionally supportive) still warrants investigation. Successful political candidates often display empathy and emotional understanding when interacting with voters. Bill Clinton famously was able to emotionally engage with voters and “feel their pain.” More recently, Barack Obama showed similar qualities when listening to voters’ problems during the 2008 Presidential race. In New Hampshire one voter decided to cast her ballot for Obama after hearing him talk about and listen to the concerns of voters, noting that she was “so impressed” with his “genuine empathy for people's stories” (Schoenberg, 2007). Another noted that “he [Obama] pays attention. He doesn't get ruffled. Somehow, he can focus in on the conversation and be a part of it rather than just sweep past us like so many politicians do” (Nichols, 2008).

Unfortunately, only a few studies have experimentally looked at the impact of empathy and socio-emotionality on candidate evaluation (e.g., Funk, 1996; Hoyt et al., 2009; Oeldorf-Hirsch, Allen, & Zhang, 2007), and in those studies the political candidates have not always *displayed* empathy or kindness. For example, many previous studies simply had participants read a written description of a candidate that *explicitly told* the reader whether the candidate was warm, friendly, and empathetic or not (e.g., Funk, 1996; Hoyt et al., 2009). Rather than observe interpersonal interactions or read about behaviors that would *imply* that a political candidate has traits like warmth or empathy, oftentimes study participants were explicitly told the candidate in question does, in fact, possess those interpersonal traits.



## CHAPTER TWO

### PERSON-CENTERED COMMUNICATIONS

#### Person-centeredness

This project seeks to expand the literature on socio-emotionality and candidate evaluation by scientifically investigating the impact of compassion, emotional supportiveness, and empathy on candidate evaluation, specifically a particular behavioral manifestation of compassion and empathy – having a sensitive, caring, *person-centered* communication style. Compared to many previous candidate evaluation studies, the present work takes a somewhat more nuanced approach by manipulating the candidate’s communication style with regard to person-centeredness – the degree to which one is comforting, empathetic, and emotionally sensitive to others with whom they are interacting. Not only is this more reflective of the real world in which candidates must interpersonally *display* traits such as empathy and kindness both in what they verbally express to others and in how they behave socially (as opposed to explicitly stating they possess a certain trait like empathy), but it also elucidates the connections between how a candidate behaves, what personal traits the candidate is then perceived to have, and how that candidate is ultimately evaluated by the voter.

Before considering how person-centeredness might impact candidate evaluation, however, it is necessary to review past research regarding the effects of person-centeredness in *non-political* contexts. The degree to which an individual is “person-

centered” refers to how sensitive, empathetic, and emotionally supportive he or she is in response to another person in distress or in need. In comforting contexts, person-centeredness concerns the extent to which messages explicitly acknowledge, legitimize, elaborate on, and contextualize the distressed person’s feelings and perspective. A highly person-centered communication is one in which the individual explicitly recognizes and legitimizes the feelings of the other distressed person, elaborates on those feelings, and puts them into a broader context. A moderately person-centered communication implicitly recognizes the distressed person’s feelings, attempts to re-direct the person’s attention away from the distressing event, and/or provides a non-feeling-centered explanation for the event. A low person-centered communication ignores, denies, or challenges the emotions of the person in need, failing to take that person’s perspective into account and perhaps even telling the person how he or she *should* be feeling (Burleson, 1994).

Comforting messages that are scored higher in the person-centered hierarchy are regarded as more sophisticated both structurally and developmentally. As Burleson (1994) notes, “explicitly acknowledging, elaborating, and legitimizing the [distressed] other’s feelings requires advanced cognitive abilities through which the other’s perspective can be recognized, internally represented, coordinated with relevant perspectives, and integrated with the speaker’s own understanding of the situation.” In other words, communications that are higher in person-centeredness are seen as more advanced and sophisticated behaviors because they require individuals to think about people, feelings, and social situations with a greater degree of complexity and

involvement. Because low person-centered messages do not necessarily involve elaboration upon or acknowledgement of another person's feelings, their use does not require a high level of cognitive functioning and are thus deemed to be less sophisticated (Burleson, 1994).

However, the level of sophistication of a communication should not overshadow the primary goal of the communication in the first place – to successfully alleviate distress in an attempt to make an upset person feel better. And research has shown that messages that are higher in person-centeredness are perceived to be more sensitive and effective in reducing emotional distress. Such communications are evaluated more favorably and are seen as more helpful, supportive, and appropriate compared to moderate or low person-centered messages (for a review see Burleson et al., 2005). Along similar lines, those individuals using high person-centered messages are looked upon more positively and are better liked than those who use less sophisticated, low person-centered messages (Burleson & Sampter, 1985; Samter, Burleson, & Murphy, 1987). And the use of highly person-centered communications does not just benefit the emotionally distressed individual. Users of more sophisticated comforting messages actually report feeling better about themselves compared to those using less sophisticated messages (Notarius & Herrick, 1988). Thus, high person-centered communications can benefit both the speaker and the recipient of the communications.

### **Person-centeredness and Gender Roles**

The impact of person-centered communications can be affected by one's gender. However, it should be noted that men and women have many more similarities to one

another than differences when it comes to comforting messages and emotional support (MacGeorge, Graves, Feng, Gillihan, & Burleson, 2004). Both men and women share similar beliefs about what counts as sensitive emotional support, they both evaluate comforting messages as highly desirable, and often times both will seek out the same types of emotional support when under duress. With regard to person-centered communications specifically, both men and women interpret and perceive highly person-centered messages as more sensitive, helpful, and effective in reducing distress compared to low person-centered messages (Jones & Burleson, 2003; Samter et al., 1987).

That said, some studies have found slight gender differences within this overall pattern (e.g., Jones & Burleson, 1997; Kunkel & Burleson, 1999; Rack, Burleson, Bodie, Holmstrom, & Servaty-Seib, 2008). In these studies, women rated communications high in person-centeredness somewhat more favorably than men did. Men, on the other hand, rated low person-centered communications somewhat more favorably compared to women. However, even in these cases the gender differences existed within a larger (and perhaps more important) pattern of similarity: both men and women rated highly person-centered communications as superior to those that were lower in person-centeredness.

Furthermore, some true differences between men and women are evident when it comes to *using* supportive communications, specifically what type of person-centered messages are used and by whom. When attempting to comfort someone in distress, women are more likely to use highly person-centered messages compared to men and indeed are more successful at communicating in a highly person-centered manner (Hale, Tighe, & Mongeau, 1997; MacGeorge, Gillihan, Samter, & Clark, 2003; Samter, 2002).

So while men and women both *perceive* person-centered messages in a similar fashion – finding highly person-centered messages to be the most supportive and effective compared to low person-centered messages – they exhibit differential skills in *producing and using* such messages. Women are more apt and more adept at utilizing effective person-centered messages than men. This may explain why both men and women seek out the support of females when under emotional distress (e.g., Flaherty & Richman, 1989).

It has been suggested that women are more adept at supportive communication due to a gendered socialization process in Western societies in which men and women are socialized into certain gender roles (Eagly, 1987). According to this explanation, women are more skillful at communicating more sensitively because nurturance and emotional supportiveness in general is expected of them in a gendered society. Men, on the other hand, are not expected to be nurturing and comforting but instead are expected to engage in more instrumental roles in society (e.g., working outside the home, earning money, etc.) As such, women use more “nurturing” or “comforting” language (i.e., highly person-centered) while men do not. And furthermore, these gender differences regarding the use of supportive communications has led to gendered perceptions of the messages themselves. Messages that are high in person-centeredness are often judged to be more “feminine” in character while messages low in person-centeredness are seen as more “masculine” (Kunkel & Burleson, 1999).

The gender-typing of high person-centered messages as “feminine” and low person-centered messages as “masculine” has implications for the person using those

messages. For example, the use of “feminine” highly person-centered communications by a man can be seen as a violation of male gender role expectancies and thus may lead to more negative evaluations of that man (even though he is using what is perceived by both men and women to be the best communication style for reducing emotional distress). Conversely, women who *fail* to utilize sensitive, emotionally supportive messages may also be judged more negatively due to perceived violations of gender norms and expectancies. Indeed, some research has posited that, when interpersonally communicating with others, violations of gender norms can be distracting and lead to less favorable perceptions of the speaker that is violating those gender norms (see Lindsey & Zakahi, 1998 for a review). However, this effect may only occur during actual face-to-face interactions when gender-based norms are more likely to be activated or made salient (Deaux & Major, 1987).

The research on gender role violations and person-centeredness specifically is a bit mixed. Some research has found evidence that gender role expectancies cause men to resist using highly person-centered messages toward others (especially toward other men). Even though men perceive highly person-centered messages to be more effective and helpful (just like women do), they avoid using such “feminine” messages because they recognize societal gender norms and seek to behave in ways that conform to those norms (Burleson, Holmstrom, & Gilstrap, 2005).

Similarly, other studies have indicated that perceptions of the speaker or helper engaging in person-centered communications are affected by the speaker’s gender, particularly when the speaker is female and is engaging in low person-centered

messaging. Holmstrom, Burleson, and Jones (2005) found that men show greater liking for female helpers who use low person-centered messages compared to male helpers who use the same low person-centered messages (although in both instances the messages themselves, being low in person-centeredness, are judged as relatively ineffective and unsupportive regardless of the helper's sex). Women, on the other hand, showed greater dislike for other women who utilized low person-centered messages compared to men who also engaged in low person-centered communications, and these women rated such female helpers as less effective and less supportive compared to male helpers (even though both helpers were identically low in person-centeredness). The authors suggest that, because women are more invested in and sensitive to feminine roles and gender expectancies, it is more upsetting to them when another woman violates those expectations (particularly in a gender-salient context such as providing emotional comfort). Overall, when female helpers used "masculine" (low person-centered) messages, they were viewed as less supportive and less effective by other women.

However, other research has suggested that when it comes to actually receiving face-to-face support, the gender of the "helper" or "speaker" does not matter much in comparison to the nature of what the helper is saying (Jones & Burleson, 2003). The sex of the helper does *not* explain much of the variance in perceptions of that helper by the person being helped. Rather, whether that speaker is engaging in high versus low person-centered messaging *does* matter significantly more and explains a great deal more variance (with high person-centered speakers been evaluated more positively and being seen as more effective in reducing distress than low or moderate person-centered

speakers). In these studies, male participants engaged in an actual comforting conversation where they disclosed an upsetting personal event to a confederate and then received person-centered communications from the confederate helper. (This is in contrast to reading about or witnessing someone else's conversation, as was the case in many previous person-centered experiments.) In these face-to-face encounters, the gender of the person helping the male participant did not significantly affect the participants' perceptions of the interaction or of the helper. Rather, the communication itself – whether it was high or low in person-centeredness – influenced the male participants' attitude toward the helper. Thus, perhaps men find adherence to gender roles to be important up until the point they actually *need* emotional support themselves, in which case the *message* becomes much more important than the gender of the messenger.

### **Person-centeredness and Gender Role Rigidity**

As discussed in the previous section, one's gender can play a role in what types of person-centered communications are used and how they are perceived by others. However, the key construct in this moderating relationship appears to be adherence to *gender roles* and not necessarily gender itself (although gender is highly correlated with gender roles, with most men wanting to appear masculine and most women wanting to appear feminine). As such, rather than having gender be the key moderator to the effects of person-centeredness, a better moderating construct may be *gender schematicity* which specifically incorporates the notion of gender roles into the relationship. As an individual difference variable, gender schematicity refers to the degree to which a person relies upon



and is invested in culturally proscribed conceptions of masculinity, femininity, and gender roles (Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982). Gender schematics tend to possess rigid, narrow expectations of what is “typical” masculine and feminine behavior and are quick to use such stereotypic expectations when interpreting and evaluating others. Men who are highly gender schematic are especially sensitive to gender role violations, particular violations by other men (Lindsey & Zakahi, 1998). Schematic women, likewise, would be especially attuned to gender norms and would negatively evaluate other women who deviate from the “nurturing” expectancy.

When it comes to person-centeredness, gender schematicity in men has been found to be negatively correlated with the number of highly person-centered messages produced by those men. In other words, the more a man relies on rigid gender expectancies and indicates that “masculinity” is important to his sense of self, the less likely he is to communicate in a highly person-centered fashion. Instead, male gender schematics are more likely to engage in low person-centered messaging (i.e., stereotypic “masculine” behavior that is less emotional). And, when it comes to evaluating others who are communicating, highly gender schematic men are more likely to negatively judge other men who violate perceived gender norms and engage in a highly person-centered communication style (Burleson et al., 2005). Less research has been done on person-centeredness and gender schematic women – women who also heavily rely on traditional gender norms when evaluating others and who see “femininity” as being especially important to their identity. However, one would expect schematic women to respond much like schematic men, using more messages that are stereotypically

“feminine” (in this instance, high person-centered communications) and judging norm-violating people more harshly than non-schematic women would.

In sum, the degree to which one possesses rigid gender expectations can impact how that individual perceives person-centered messages and the speakers who use them. Those who adhere to rigid traditional gender roles are likely to associate men with lower levels of person-centeredness and women with high person-centeredness, and they are likely to negatively evaluate those who deviate from those gender expectancies. For those who have less rigid and more open expectations of how men and women might behave, there should be a greater willingness to accept those who deviate from traditional gender roles (e.g., men who are highly person-centered and women who are low in person-centeredness).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **STUDY 1 OVERVIEW**

#### **Overview and Hypotheses**

Overall, “person-centered” communications that are supportive and emotionally sensitive have been found to be important within a host of domains. These include maintaining interpersonal relationships (Albrecht, Burleson, & Goldsmith, 1994), child-rearing and parental attachment (Coble, Gantt, & Mallinckrodt, 1996), coping (Stroebe & Stroebe, 1996), bereavement (Rack et al., 2008; Servaty-Seib & Burleson, 2007), and even in health and wellness (Wills & Fegan, 2001). However, the specific role of person-centeredness has yet to be investigated in the political realm. Given that voters often want to emotionally connect with their elected officials, and because voters perceive socio-emotional characteristics to be important in the candidate evaluation process, person-centered messages might be expected to elicit effects in a political communication context that resemble those obtained in non-political domains. Overall, examining these effects within the political domain will shed light on a variety of unique and interesting hypotheses previously untested and unaddressed in past research.

The present research investigates the effects of person-centered messages on political candidate evaluation in two separate experimental studies. The first study focuses on person-centeredness and gender, specifically on how person-centered communications affect attitudes toward male and female political candidates both on

overall global attitudes toward the candidate as well as ratings on specific individual traits (i.e., how the candidate is rated in terms of warmth, kindness, competence, strength, etc.) In this first experiment, the level of person-centeredness that a political candidate uses when communicating with a voter at a town-hall meeting was manipulated. In addition to person-centeredness, the gender of both the candidate and the town-hall voter was manipulated across conditions, allowing one to see if candidate evaluations differ or change when candidates violate gender norms (e.g., when a male candidate uses “feminine” high person-centered messages and when female candidates engage in “masculine” low person-centered messages). Finally, gender schematicity was also measured as a participant-level moderating variable. The impact of person-centeredness and gender was assessed on two primary dependent variables – attitude toward the political candidate and likelihood of voting for the candidate. Secondary dependent measures were also explored such as the participants’ judgment of traits the candidate is perceived to possess (i.e., traits relating to instrumentality vs. warmth/expressiveness; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a), as well as performance ratings of the candidate on several issues (i.e., how well the candidate can handle “compassion” issues such as healthcare and education as opposed to more “instrumental” issues like military affairs).

### **Predicted Effects on Attitude Toward the Candidate and Voting Likelihood**

**Person-centered Hypothesis.** Study 1 focuses on how candidate evaluation is influenced by person-centered communications and candidate gender. It is hypothesized that individuals’ perceptions of speakers using person-centered messages in the political realm will be similar to the perceptions of such speakers in other domains. More

Table 1  
Study 1 Hypotheses: Predicted Effects on Attitude and Voting Likelihood Ratings

Hypothesis	Predicted Effect
Person-centered Hypothesis	PC main effect
Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis	PC x CG two-way
Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis	PC x CG x VG three-way
Magnified Gender Role Hypothesis	GS x PC x CG three-way
Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis	GS x PC x CG x VG four-way

*Note.* PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

specifically, according to the *Person-centered Hypothesis*, when a political candidate speaks with a voter/constituent and engages in communications that are high in person-centeredness, participants who witness that conversation should evaluate the political candidate more positively compared to a candidate who utilizes messages that are lower in person-centeredness. Likewise, it is hypothesized that participants' likelihood of casting a ballot for that politician will similarly increase when the candidate is high in person-centeredness as compared to low. (See Table 1 for a full list of Study 1 hypotheses for the attitude and voting likelihood dependent variables.)

**Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis.** It is also expected that the main effect of person-centeredness described above will be moderated by the political candidate's gender. That is, when study participants view a conversation between a political candidate and a voter, a female candidate will be evaluated more positively when she

engages in highly person-centered communications with the voter compared to a male who uses high person-centered messages (because the female candidate is in line with gender role expectancies whereas the man is in violation). Conversely, a female candidate should be evaluated more negatively when she fails to be supportive by using low person-centered messages (a violation of gender norms for women). Along the same lines, compared to female candidates, male candidates should be judged more positively when they are low in person-centeredness and evaluated more negatively when they violate gender-norms by engaging in emotionally supportive, high person-centered messaging. Thus, according to the *Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis*, a two-way interaction between the candidate's gender and person-centeredness should emerge when predicting attitudes toward the candidate and likelihood of voting for the candidate. The effect of person-centeredness (high vs. low) should be stronger for the female candidate and smaller for the male candidate.

**Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis.** An expanded version of the preceding interaction includes the gender of the recipient of the person-centered messages, in this case the town-hall voter with whom the candidate is speaking. Specifically, the *Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis* predicts a three-way interaction between the candidate's level of person-centeredness, the candidate's gender, and the gender of the town-hall voter who is receiving the candidate's messages. Again, it is predicted that candidates should be judged more unfavorably when they violate gender role expectancies (male candidates who are highly person-centered and female candidates who are low). However, it is hypothesized that the favorability of males using

high person-centered messages should decrease significantly more when the male candidate is talking to a male town-hall voter as opposed to a female voter. As previous research has suggested, men utilize low person-centered communications, in part, to maintain a masculine gender-identity, especially when they are interacting with *other men* (Burlison et al., 2005). Thus, participants should perceive a highly person-centered communication between two men as a more extreme violation of gender role expectancies and subsequently evaluate that male candidate more harshly. That is, the *Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis* predicts that the *Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis* discussed in the previous section is most likely to be supported when the candidate is high in person-centeredness and town-hall voter is male, because male-male interactions should be perceived as a starker violation of gender role expectancies.

**Hypotheses involving gender role rigidity.** The interactions involving person-centeredness and gender described above might also be moderated by the participants' own expectations regarding gender roles. As discussed previously, gender schematicity is an individual difference measure concerning the degree to which one expects men and women to act in accordance with traditional gender roles. More specifically, high gender schematics are quite rigid when it comes to gender norms, expecting men to act in a masculine manner and women to act in a feminine manner. Those who are less rigid (low in gender schematicity) would be more tolerant and accepting of those who violate traditional gender expectancies.

The *Magnified Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis* predicts that the two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender (i.e., the effect predicted

by the *Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis*) should be magnified for those high in gender schematicity. Individuals who are high in gender schematicity should be especially sensitive to violations of gender role expectancies. They should find it especially troublesome for male politicians to be using messages high in person-centeredness when communicating, and thus these individuals should evaluate highly person-centered male candidates more negatively than male candidates using lower person-centered messages. Likewise, high gender schematics should also be more likely to negatively evaluate female politicians who utilize low person-centered messages (that is, females who violate gender norms by failing to speak in a nurturing, sensitive, highly person-centered manner). Overall, a three-way interaction should emerge involving person-centeredness, the gender of the candidate, and the participant's own level of gender role rigidity. High schematics, being particularly attuned to gender expectancies, should show greater dislike for male and female candidates who seemingly violate their respective gender roles when it comes to interpersonal communication.

And, just as the two-way may be magnified for high gender schematics, the three-way interaction predicted by the *Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis* may be magnified for participants high in gender schematicity. Specifically, the *Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis* predicts a four-way interaction between the candidate's person-centeredness, the candidate's gender, the gender of the town-hall voter, and the participant's level of gender schematicity. Again, individuals who are more rigid in terms of gender roles are expected to be more sensitive to violations of gender norms, thus male-male interactions that are highly person-centered should be



judged more negatively by high gender schematics compared to those individuals who are less rigid and more open to violations of gender norms. For those low in gender schematicity, the gender of the candidate and town-hall voter should not matter as much (if at all) when evaluating the candidate; only the level of person-centeredness should exert an effect on attitude and voting likelihood ratings. (Again, see Table 1 for a full list of hypotheses for the attitude and voting likelihood dependent variables.)

### **Predicted Effects on Trait and Performance Ratings**

As stated previously, the primary dependent measures are the attitude toward the political candidate and the likelihood of voting for the candidate for office. However, the effects of person-centeredness and gender may extend to other evaluations, namely perceptions of the candidate's instrumentality and warmth/expressiveness (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a) and performance ratings on "socio-emotional" and "instrumental" issues (i.e., how capable the candidate is when it comes to issues like social welfare, health care, military spending, terrorism, foreign affairs, etc.)

**Trait perceptions.** Since person-centered communications are, in essence, behavioral manifestations of empathy, warmth, and compassion, it is expected that person-centeredness will have the most direct impact on the more socio-emotional or warmth/expressive dimension (e.g., ratings of empathy, compassion, warmth, etc.) However, person-centeredness may also influence perceptions of the candidate on instrumental traits (e.g., strength, toughness, etc.) Therefore, the connection between socio-emotional and instrumental traits will be explored, and how person-centeredness affects these trait perceptions.

A communication style that is high in person-centeredness should obviously correspond to a high rating for the candidate on socio-emotionality and low person-centeredness should correspond to lower ratings. However, the ratings on this socio-emotionality dimension may be related to ratings on the instrumental dimension in a number of ways. Firstly, there might be a “halo effect” – whenever candidate ratings on the socio-emotional dimension increase, trait ratings on the instrumental dimension also would increase (and when ratings on socio-emotional traits decreases, instrumental trait ratings also decreases). In other words, there is no moderation by trait dimension (socio-emotional vs. instrumental). Under this hypothesized framework, high person-centeredness affects all traits positively and low person-centeredness affects all traits negatively, regardless of trait dimension.

Conversely, the socio-emotional trait dimension could be *inversely* related to the instrumental dimension when it comes to person-centered communications. Research has shown that some variables differentially impact these two trait dimensions. For example, individuals displaying high status or power are perceived as having more instrumental traits and fewer socio-emotional traits, compared to individuals with low status or power who are perceived as lower on instrumentality but higher on socio-emotionality (Gerber, 1993, 1996). Person-centeredness may operate in a similar fashion to power or status. That is, high person-centeredness might increase ratings of socio-emotional traits but decrease ratings on instrumental traits. Low person-centeredness might decrease socio-emotional trait ratings but increase instrumental trait ratings. Unlike the “halo effect” described above that posited a positive relation between socio-emotional and instrumental

traits (i.e., trait ratings all go up or down together), this relationship assumes that socio-emotional and instrumental traits are *negatively* related. That is, this second perspective assumes that the *presence* of warmth and compassion leads to a (relatively) lesser rating on instrumentality whereas a *lack* of warmth leads to a (relatively) higher rating on instrumentality.

Finally, the socio-emotional and instrumental dimensions could be completely orthogonal and unrelated. This would also produce moderation by trait dimension, but a different pattern of moderation than was described above. In this particular case, high person-centeredness would increase positive ratings on socio-emotionality but have no effect on instrumental ratings like strength or toughness. Low person-centeredness would lead to a more negative rating on socio-emotional traits but again have no impact on instrumental trait ratings. In other words, mean differences should be found for the amount of socio-emotionality the candidate is perceived to possess as a function of person-centeredness (low vs. moderate vs. high), but no differences in instrumental trait ratings should be found across low and high person-centered candidates.<sup>1</sup>

**Performance ratings.** Ratings of the candidate's performance in various issue domains should follow a similar pattern as the trait dimensions described above. As noted previously, certain issues are perceived to revolve around the concepts of

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the relationship between the socio-emotional trait dimension and the instrumental trait dimension is somewhat independent of whether the particular level of person-centeredness is perceived to be positive or negative. For example, high person-centeredness can be perceived as positive (as in the case of the main Person-centered Hypothesis). However, this positive assessment could be due to seeing the candidate as having high warmth only, high warmth *and* high instrumentality, or having high warmth and *low* instrumentality. Likewise, when high person-centeredness is perceived to be negative (as is the case when a male uses high person-centered language), this negative attitude could be because the candidate is perceived to be high in warmth solely (a violation of male gender norms) *or* because he is perceived as being high in warmth *and* low in instrumentality.

compassion and warmth more than others, for example, healthcare, welfare, and poverty policies. These so-called “compassion” or “socio-emotional” issues are often judged to be more “feminine” in nature and therefore female candidates are perceived to have greater expertise in such areas (because females are stereotyped as more compassionate). Similarly, certain issues are perceived to be more “instrumental” or “masculine.” These instrumental issues, such as military affairs, business regulation, and national defense, are then judged to be better handled by male candidates (again, because male candidates are stereotyped to be higher in instrumentality).

At issue here will be how person-centeredness affects ratings of perceived expertise or ability to handle various issues. As with trait perceptions, it could be that ratings on instrumental and socio-emotional issues rise and fall together as a function of person-centeredness. When person-centeredness is high, it may cause the candidate to be seen as having the ability to handle both socio-emotional issues (e.g., healthcare, welfare, education, etc.) *and* instrumental issues (e.g., military spending, business, etc.) When person-centeredness is low, it may then decrease the perceived ability to handle all these issues. If this is the case, the issue dimension (socio-emotional vs. instrumental) should fail to moderate effects of person-centeredness on performance ratings.

Or, instead of being positively related, expertise in socio-emotional and instrumental issues could be inversely related. That is, when one is perceived to be strong in one area, they are perceived as weaker in the other (and vice versa). For example, high person-centeredness may increase the candidate’s perceived ability to handle socio-emotional issues (presumably because high person-centeredness is

increasing perceptions of empathy and compassion) but may decrease the perception that the candidate can handle instrumental issues. Low person-centeredness, on the other hand, may lower perceived expertise on socio-emotional issues but this may correspond to an increase in perceptions that the candidate can handle instrumental issues (presumably because the candidate is judged to be higher in instrumental traits like strength or toughness). If this is the case, the distinction between socio-emotional and instrumental issues will moderate the effects of person-centeredness on performance ratings.

Finally, person-centeredness may end up only affecting perceived expertise solely on socio-emotional issues and have no impact on the candidate's perceived ability to handle instrumental issues. Again, a pattern of moderation would be predicted if this is the case, but a pattern different than the one previously described. A candidate *high* in person-centeredness would be perceived as being *more* able to handle socio-emotional issues and a candidate *low* in person-centeredness would be perceived as having *less* ability to handle socio-emotional issues. However, perceptions of the candidate's ability to handle instrumental issues may be the same across all levels of person-centeredness.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **STUDY 1 METHODOLOGY**

#### **Method**

##### **Participants**

Two hundred eighty undergraduate students from the subject pool of Loyola University Chicago's introductory psychology course were recruited to participate in exchange for course credit. Three participants were removed from the sample because they failed to properly follow instructions, leaving a total of 277 participants. The sample was 74% female and 26% male, and participants' ages ranged from 18 to 27 years old ( $M = 18.58$ ).

##### **Procedure and Design**

Upon enrolling, participants were brought in groups into a classroom and randomly assigned to conditions. They were asked to read a transcript of a conversation that supposedly occurred between a state senator running for reelection in a neighboring state and a voter at a town-hall meeting. In the conversation, the voter brings up a personal hardship (i.e., no longer being able to afford college) to which the candidate responds. The voter's gender, the candidate's gender, and the "person-centeredness" of the candidate's response were manipulated between subjects, making the overall design a 2 (person-centeredness: low vs. high) X 2 (candidate gender: male vs. female) X 2 (town-hall voter gender: male vs. female) factorial.

After reading the conversation transcript, participants exchanged their transcript for a survey packet. In the packet, participants reported their global evaluation of (attitude toward) the candidate, their likelihood of voting for the candidate, their impressions of the candidate's traits (instrumental vs. socio-emotional trait ratings), and perceived performance ratings of the candidate (ability to handle instrumental vs. socio-emotional issues). Next, participant-level moderators were assessed. These variables included the participant's political ideology, party identification, and gender schematicity. Finally, demographic items were measured including the participant's age, gender, and race. Once participants were done completing the survey packets, they were debriefed, thanked for their participation, and dismissed.

## **Materials**

The transcript of the conversation between the candidate and the town-hall voter was modeled after similar stimulus materials used in previous person-centered research (Holmstrom et al., 2005; Samter et al., 1987, 2002), which themselves are based upon a "person-centered hierarchy" developed by Burleson (1982). In the low person-centered (PC) condition, the candidate told the town-hall voter how he or she should act in the situation and advised the voter to forget about the problem, thus challenging the legitimacy of the voter's feelings and failing to take into account the voter's perspective. In the high PC condition, the political candidate explicitly acknowledged and elaborated on the voter's feelings and suggested a context by which the distressing situation might be viewed.

Ratings by independent coders indicated the high PC response by the candidate was, indeed, high in person-centeredness while the low PC response was low ( $\kappa = .98$ ). Further pilot testing with a sample of nineteen undergraduate participants supported the coders conclusions. The high PC messages were rated as more sensitive ( $F = 10.522, p = .001$ ), supportive ( $F = 5.088, p = .019$ ), and emotionally responsive ( $F = 4.022, p = .038$ ) than the low PC messages. In terms of believability and realism, however, the high PC and low PC transcripts did not differ. No differences were found when participants were asked to rate how realistic the conversations were ( $F = .393, p = .682$ ), how authentic ( $F = .742, p = .492$ ), believable ( $F = .636, p = .542$ ), and how easy it was to imagine such a conversation actually taking place between a politician and a voter ( $F = .105, p = .901$ ).

To manipulate the gender of the candidate, the name of the state senator simply was manipulated on the transcript. For the sample in the “male candidate” condition, the senator’s name on the transcript was “Paul Johnson.” For the female candidate condition, the senator was named “Paula Johnson”. Likewise, the name of the town-hall voter was manipulated to indicate the voter’s gender, “Christopher Smith” versus “Christine Smith.” (See Appendix A for the conversation transcripts.)

**Attitude and behavior intention ratings.** After reading the conversation transcript, participants completed the survey packet containing the dependent measures (see Appendix B). Attitudes toward the candidate were assessed using four items. First, participants indicated their attitude toward the candidate using a “feeling thermometer,” reporting a number from 0 to 100 that represented their feelings about the candidate. Ratings between 50 and 100 indicated favorable and warm attitudes toward the candidate,



with scores near 100 being warmest. Ratings between 0 and 50 indicate an attitude that was unfavorable and colder, with 0 being the least favorable. Participants also rated the candidate on three semantic differential items on a 7-point scale (-3 = *extremely unfavorable* to 3 = *extremely favorable*; -3 = *extremely unlikeable* to 3 = *extremely likeable*; -3 = *negative* to 3 = *positive*). In addition to the attitude ratings, participants also completed a behavioral item, indicating their likelihood of voting for the candidate for office on a 7-point scale (-3 *extremely unlikely* to 3 *extremely likely*).

**Trait ratings.** After completing the global attitude and behavior items, participants were asked to indicate how well specific traits describe the candidate on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all well*, 5 = *Extremely well*). Modeled after trait inference measures used by Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a), half of the items measured traits associated with “warmth and expressiveness” or “socio-emotionality,” stereotypical feminine traits (compassionate, warm, gentle, emotional, sensitive, cautious, feminine, talkative, empathetic). The remaining half assessed traits associated with “instrumentality,” or more stereotypically masculine traits (assertive, tough, resolute, rational, masculine, coarse, aggressive, stern, active, self-confident).

**Performance ratings.** Participants were next asked to indicate how well they thought the candidate could handle several issues on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all well*, 5 = *Extremely well*). Modeled after measures of “issue competency” again by Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a), roughly half of the items assessed performance ratings on stereotypically masculine or “instrumental” issues (military spending, a foreign affairs crisis, reducing budget deficits, dealing with business leaders and industry, domestic

terrorism). The remaining items assessed performance ratings on stereotypically feminine or “socio-emotional” issues (healthcare, assisting the poor, improving the welfare of children, education<sup>1</sup>).

**Political ideology, party, and expertise.** On separate 7-point scales, participants self-reported their political ideology (1 = *strong liberal*, 7 = *strong conservative*) and their political party affiliation (1 = *strong Democrat*, 7 = *strong Republican*). Participants also completed fifteen items measuring their level of political expertise. Items included multiple choice questions where participants had to correctly identify political figures and open-ended questions concerning basic knowledge of government. Because this variable failed to play a significant role in determining participants’ responses, it is not discussed further.

**Global gender schematicity.** Participants also completed six Likert items as a measure of global gender schematicity, the degree to which individuals rely upon and are invested in culturally proscribed conceptions of masculinity, femininity, and gender norms (Markus et al., 1982). Three 7-point items assessed the extent to which participants agreed (-3 = *strongly disagree*, 3 = *strongly agree*) with the notion that men should act in stereotypically masculine ways (“It is important that men act in a masculine manner,” “Men should behave in a masculine manner,” and “It is important that men do NOT act femininely”). Three similar items assessed female gender expectancies (“It is

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<sup>1</sup> In addition to being one of the issues used to assess performance on socio-emotional issues, education was also the topic of the conversation between the state senator and town-hall voter (i.e., not being able to pay for college tuition). This sets up a potential confound. However, regardless if education is included with the other issues in the composite performance rating for “socio-emotional issues” or left out, the results from the regression analyses remain the same, indicating that ratings on the “education” item did not solely account for the effects found on the socio-emotional composite variable.

important for women to act in a feminine manner,” “Women should behave in a feminine manner,” and “It is important that women do NOT act masculinely”).

This particular measure of gender schematicity somewhat differs from previous measures used in past person-centered research. For example, Burleson et al.’s (2005) measure of gender schematicity focused on their participants’ *own personal level* of masculinity and femininity by asking items such as “How well does the term ‘masculine’ (‘feminine’) describe you” and “I think most people see me as...” with responses ranging from 1 (*extremely masculine*) to 5 (*extremely feminine*). Although this measure of self-masculinity (or self-femininity) was shown to successfully moderate some of their effects, it was not as robust as they predicted. This may be because beliefs about one’s *own* level of masculinity or femininity are not necessarily the same as one’s beliefs about how men and women *in general* should behave. For example, a very masculine man may have very liberal views regarding gender norms, believing that men and women need not align themselves with traditional gender roles but instead can behave however they want regardless of cultural expectations. Men can act femininely, it’s just that he himself simply chooses to act in accordance with gender stereotypes (i.e., in a masculine manner). On the other hand, a very masculine man may hold men to the same cultural standards that he holds himself to, believing that all males should always act masculinely and avoid feminine behaviors. Thus, since attitudes toward the candidate are thought to be influenced (in part) by deviations from these cultural norms proscribing how men and women *in general* should stereotypically behave, measuring general agreement with

these gender norms should be a better measure of this moderator than personal levels of masculinity and femininity.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **STUDY 1 RESULTS**

The ratings of the candidate on the thermometer item as well as the three semantic differential items (favorable/unfavorable, likeable/unlikeable, positive/negative) were standardized and then averaged together to form a single composite variable assessing global attitude toward the candidate ( $\alpha = .93$ ). The single behavior intention measure, likelihood of voting for the candidate, was also standardized. With regard to trait assessments, the ten instrumental trait ratings were averaged together and then standardized to arrive at a single measure of the candidate's perceived instrumentality ( $\alpha = .82$ ). The remaining nine socio-emotional items were averaged into a socio-emotional trait index which was then standardized ( $\alpha = .87$ ). Similar procedures were used to form variables for perceived performance ratings (issue competency) on instrumental issues ( $\alpha = .76$ ) and socio-emotional issues ( $\alpha = .88$ ). Thus, in both the trait ratings and performance ratings, higher numbers correspond to higher levels of the variable (i.e., candidate perceived as more instrumental, more socio-emotional, of being more capable of handling instrumental issues, socio-emotional issues). To calculate participants' level of global gender schematicity, the six individual gender schematicity items were simply averaged and then standardized ( $\alpha = .93$ ). Here, higher numbers correspond to higher levels of gender schematicity (i.e., greater belief that men and women should behave in accordance with traditional gender roles).

## **Regression Analyses and Results**

Hierarchical regression with dummy coding was used to analyze the data.

Participants' scores on the dependent variables were predicted based upon the candidate's level of person-centeredness ( $-.5 = \text{low PC}$ ,  $+.5 = \text{high PC}$ ), the candidate's gender ( $-.5 = \text{male}$ ,  $+.5 = \text{female}$ ), the gender of the town-hall voter the candidate spoke to ( $-.5 = \text{male}$ ,  $+.5 = \text{female}$ ), and the participant's own level of gender schematicity (the standardized gender schematicity variable was divided by two so that  $-.5$  corresponded to one standard deviation below the mean and  $+.5$  was one standard deviation above, allowing this moderator variable to be directly compared to the manipulated independent variables within the regression model). As proscribed by Cohen and Cohen (1983), step 1 in the regression tested all main effects, step 2 tested all possible two-way interactions, step 3 the three-way interactions, and finally step 4 tested the lone four-way interaction among all the predictors. Two standardized control variables, the participant's own political ideology and party affiliation, were also normalized and entered into the regression model at step 1.

### **Attitude Toward the Candidate**

The regression model was first used to predict participants' attitude toward the candidate. (Please see Regression Table 1 in Appendix E for a summary of the regression results.) At step 1, the level of person-centeredness displayed by the candidate was the only variable that exerted a significant main effect on attitudes toward the candidate,  $B = .94$ ,  $t = 9.73$ ,  $p < .001$ , thus confirming the Person-centered Hypothesis.

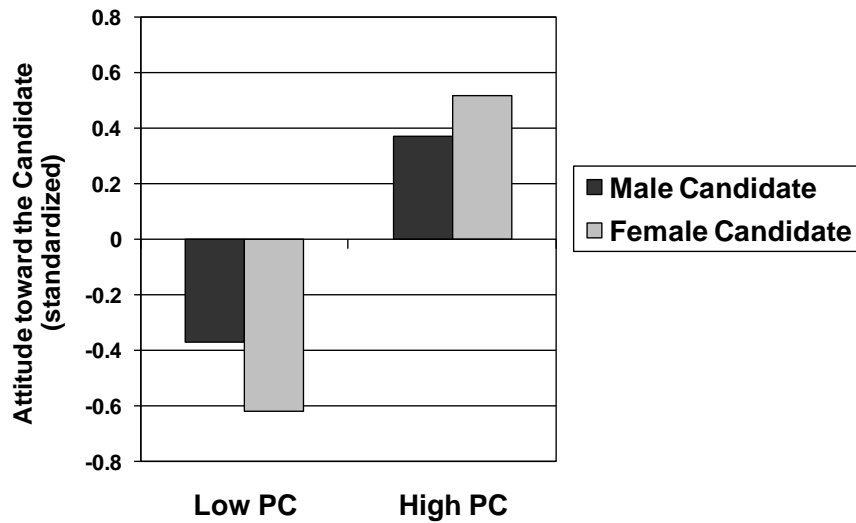


Figure 1. Two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate (Study 1).

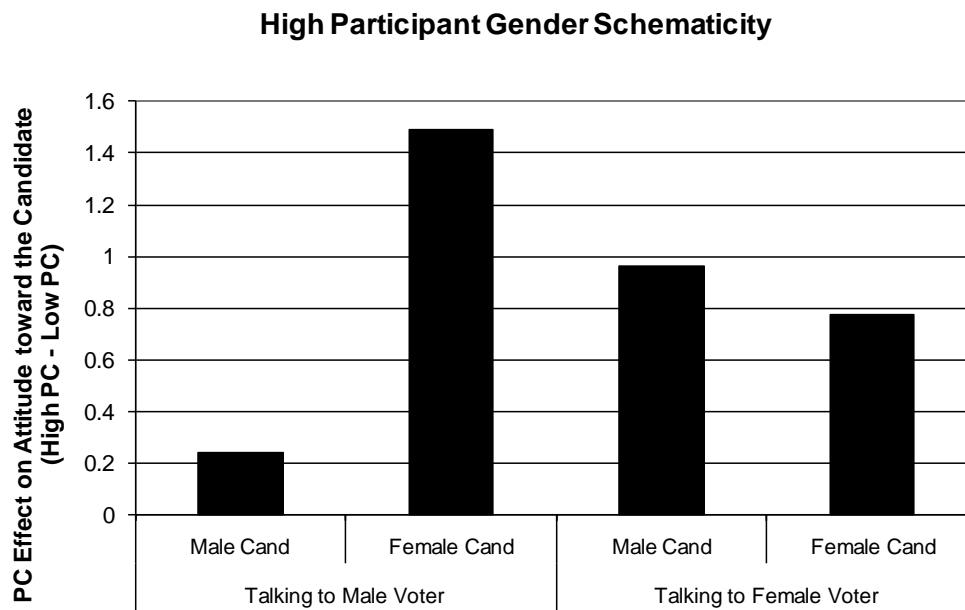
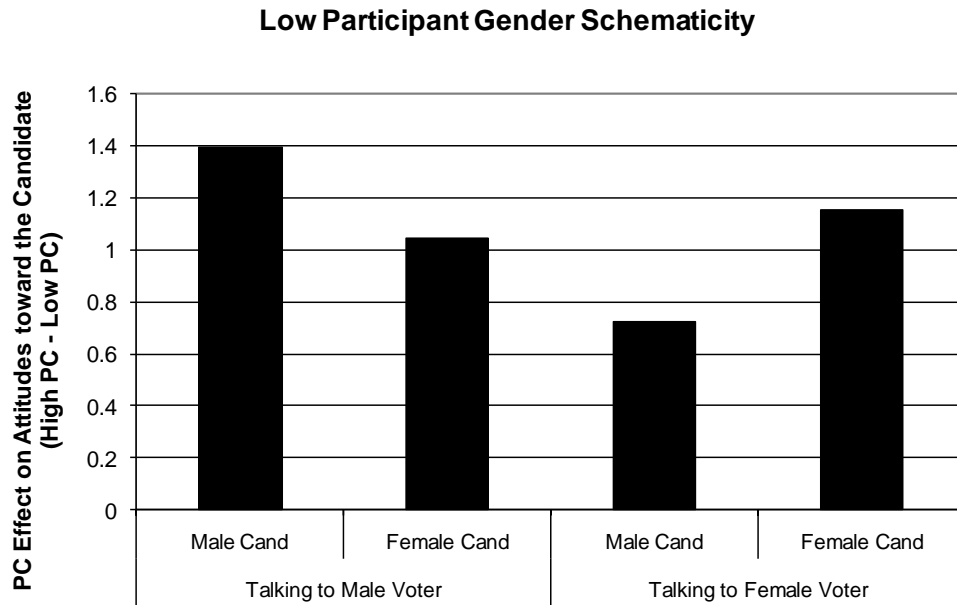
attitudes toward the candidate were more favorable when the candidate spoke in a high PC manner ( $M = .47$ ) compared to low PC ( $M = -.48$ ).

As predicted by the Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis, the interaction between person-centeredness and the candidate's gender emerged at step 2,  $B = .40$ ,  $t = 1.20$ ,  $p = .047$ . As seen in Figure 1, the effect of person-centeredness on attitude ratings is stronger for female candidates than it is for male candidates. High PC female candidates ( $M = .52$ ) were judged somewhat more favorably than high PC male candidates ( $M = .37$ ), although this difference was not statistically significant,  $B = .15$ ,  $t = 1.03$ ,  $p = .30$ . On the other hand, low PC female candidates who violate traditional gender norms were evaluated more harshly ( $M = -.62$ ) compared to low PC male candidates ( $M = -.37$ ),  $B = -.25$ ,  $t = -1.85$ ,  $p = .06$ .

No significant three-way interactions were found at step 3, thus no support was found for either the Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis or the Magnified Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis. However, a significant four-way interaction did emerge at step 4,  $B = -2.22$ ,  $t = -2.70$ ,  $p = .007$ . Figure 2 depicts the “PC effect” (attitude toward the high PC candidate minus the attitude toward the low PC candidate) as a function of participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, and gender of the town-hall voter. For participants low in gender schematicity (one standard deviation below the mean), the PC effect failed to significantly differ across the gender conditions (i.e., for low gender schematic participants, all interactions with PC involving candidate gender and voter gender were nonsignificant,  $p > .16$  in all cases). That is, when rating their attitude toward the candidate, the gender of the candidate and the gender of the town-hall voter did not matter. This confirms the assumption, outlined in the Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis, that individuals low in gender schematicity should treat candidates relatively the same regardless of gender because of their more open-minded views toward gender roles (i.e., their greater acceptance of gender role violators such as women who use low PC messages or men that use high). In general, those low in gender schematicity favored high PC candidates and showed greater dislike for low PC candidates, regardless of the candidate’s gender or the town-hall voter’s gender.

For participants high in gender schematicity, however, the gender of the candidate and town-hall voter *did* matter. For these high gender schematics, the simple three-way interaction between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and voter gender was significant,  $B = -1.53$ ,  $t = -2.28$ ,  $p = .02$ . As illustrated in Figure 2, the PC effect was





*Figure 2.* Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate. Note that the x-axis reflects the “PC effect” – the attitude score for the high PC condition minus the attitude score for the low PC condition (Study 1).

equally moderate when the candidate – either male or female – addressed a female town-hall voter,  $B = -.19$ ,  $t = -.40$ ,  $p = .69$ . However, the PC effect differed markedly when comparing a male candidate to a female candidate who addressed a male town-hall voter,  $B = 1.25$ ,  $t = 3.38$ ,  $p = .001$ . Specifically, the PC effect was extremely small when a male candidate spoke to a male voter but extremely large when a female candidate spoke to a male voter. In other words, high gender schematics expected female candidates to adhere to traditional gender norms when speaking with a male town-hall voter. High PC female candidates were evaluated very positively while low PC female candidates were evaluated quite harshly (illustrated by the large PC effect for this condition seen in Figure 2). However, when the candidate was *male* and addressing a male voter, high gender schematics were more tolerant of low PC messages and less enthusiastic about high PC messages from the male candidate (evident by the small PC effect for this condition). Thus, participants high in gender schematicity exhibited the “magnified gender role effect” only when the candidate addressed a male town-hall voter. Overall, these findings lend support to the Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis.

### **Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate**

Results for participants’ likelihood of voting for the candidate largely mirrored the results for attitude ratings (see Regression Table 2 in Appendix E for full results). At step 1 in the hierarchical regression, a main effect of person-centeredness emerged,  $B = .87$ ,  $t = 7.89$ ,  $p < .001$ . As expected, participants reported a greater inclination to vote for the candidate when the candidate used high PC messages ( $M = .43$ ) as opposed to low ( $M$

= -.44), providing further support for the Person-centered Hypothesis. A significant main effect of gender schematicity also unexpectedly emerged,  $B = .24$ ,  $t = 2.07$ ,  $p = .04$ .

Although the pattern of means was in the predicted direction (see Figure 3), the two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender on likelihood of voting for the candidate was only marginally significant at step 2,  $B = .39$ ,  $t = 1.73$ ,  $p = .08$ . As was seen in the two-way interaction on attitudes toward the candidate, low PC females were judged more harshly than low PC males. Participants showed a far less willingness to vote for a low PC female candidate ( $M = -.60$ ) than a low PC male ( $M = -.34$ ),  $B = -1.69$ ,  $t = 1.73$ ,  $p = .09$ . Intentions of voting for a high PC female candidate ( $M = .47$ ) were slightly greater than those for a high PC male candidate ( $M = .35$ ), although not significantly so,  $B = .13$ ,  $t = .78$ ,  $p = .43$ .

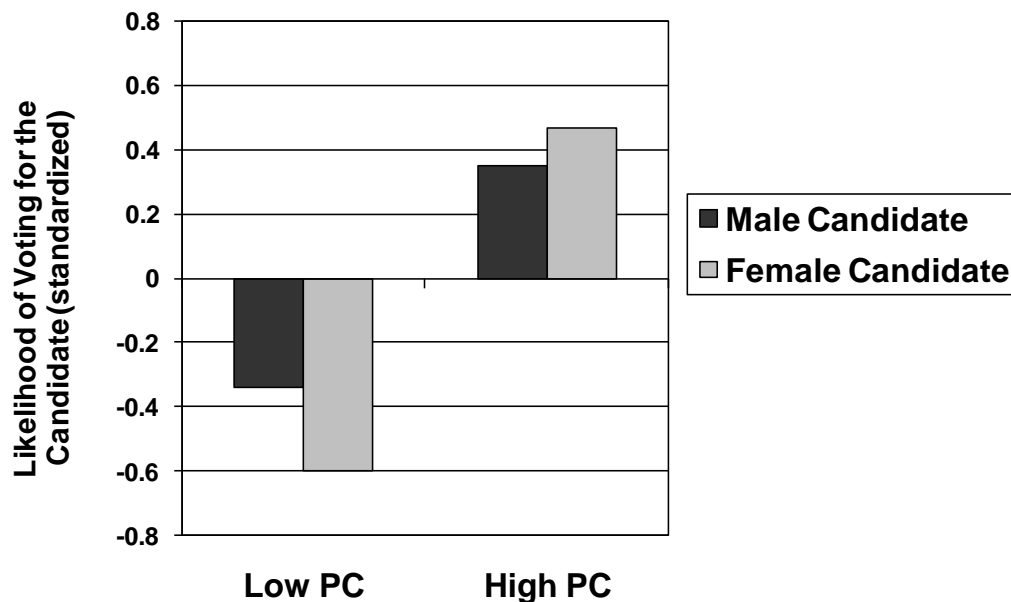
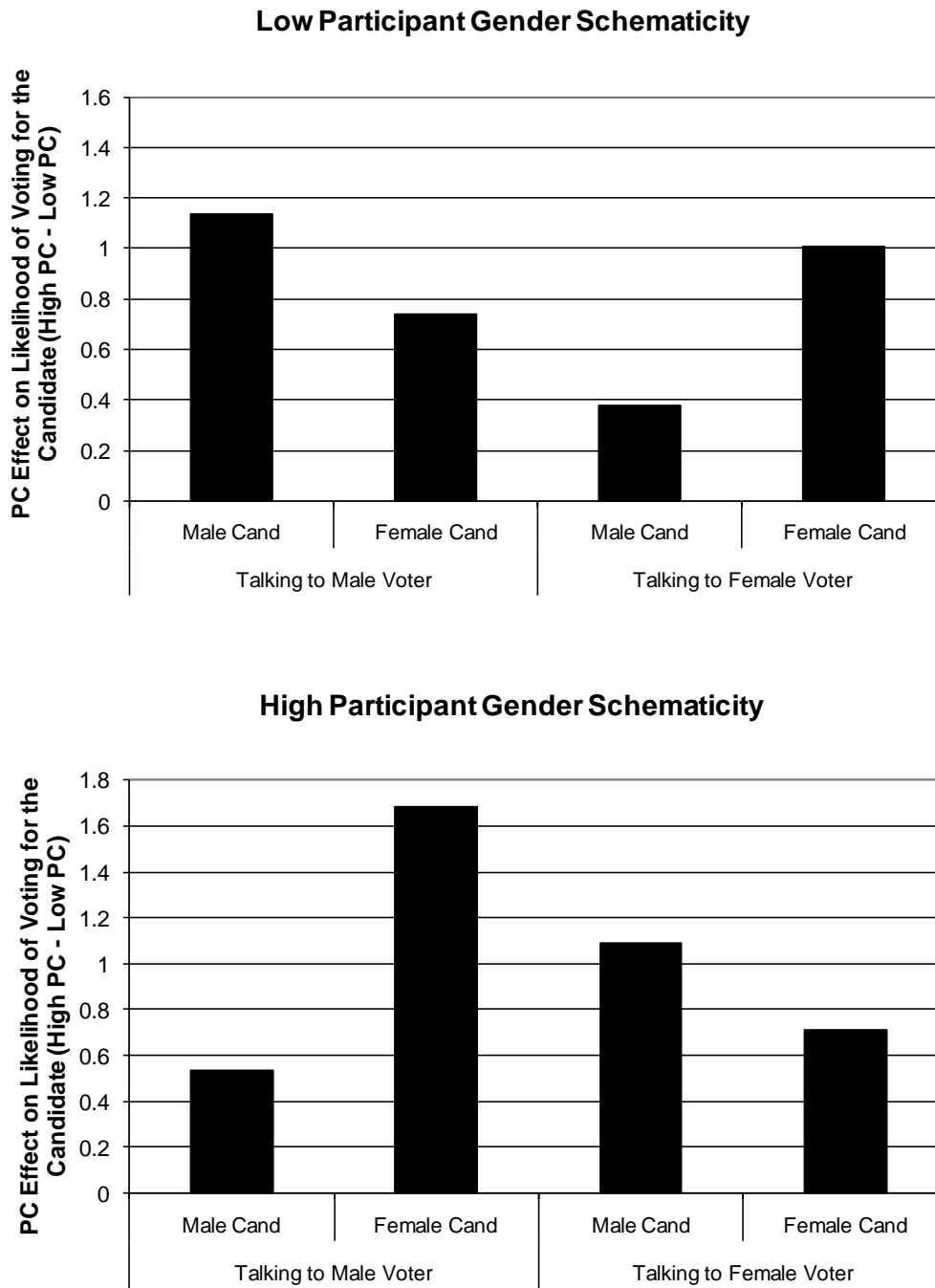


Figure 3. Two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 1).

No three-way interactions were present at step 3 for voting likelihood. There was, however, a four-way significant interaction at step 4,  $B = -2.56$ ,  $t = -2.74$ ,  $p = .01$ . The breakdown of this four-way interaction, seen in Figure 4, somewhat resembles the four-way interaction seen for attitudes toward the political candidate. For those low in gender schematicity, there is no statistical difference among the PC effects across the gender conditions. Once again, the PC effect for these participants failed to be moderated by candidate gender, voter gender, or their combination ( $p > .12$  in all cases). In other words, when determining whether or not to vote for the candidate, participants were influenced by the candidate's level of person-centeredness (with high person-centeredness being preferable to low) but not the gender of the candidate or the gender of the town-hall voter.

For participants high in gender schematicity, the PC effect on voting intentions *did* differ across gender conditions, producing a significant simple three-way interaction between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and voter gender within the high schematicity condition,  $B = -1.43$ ,  $t = -2.42$ ,  $p = .02$ . As was the case in the four-way interaction for attitude ratings, the PC effect was equal when the candidate – either male or female – spoke with female town-hall voter,  $B = -.38$ ,  $t = -.71$ ,  $p = .48$ . A significant difference between the PC effects is found, once again, when comparing a male candidate to a female candidate in the “*male* town-hall voter” condition,  $B = 1.15$ ,  $t = 2.78$ ,  $p = .01$ . Repeating the pattern observed on attitude ratings, the PC effect was extremely large when a female candidate addressed a male voter but much smaller when the candidate was male and speaking to a male voter. This lends further support to the Magnified



*Figure 4.* Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 1). Note that the x-axis reflects the “PC effect” – the voting likelihood score for the high PC condition minus the score for the low PC condition.

Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis. High PC female candidates, adhering to traditional gender norms, were again evaluated very positively by high gender schematics when they were addressing a male voter. Low PC female candidates who violate these norms, on the other hand, were evaluated quite negatively. When the candidate was male and speaking to another male, high gender schematics were once again more accepting of low person-centeredness from the candidate and reacted less positively toward high person-centeredness.

### **Socio-Emotional Trait Ratings**

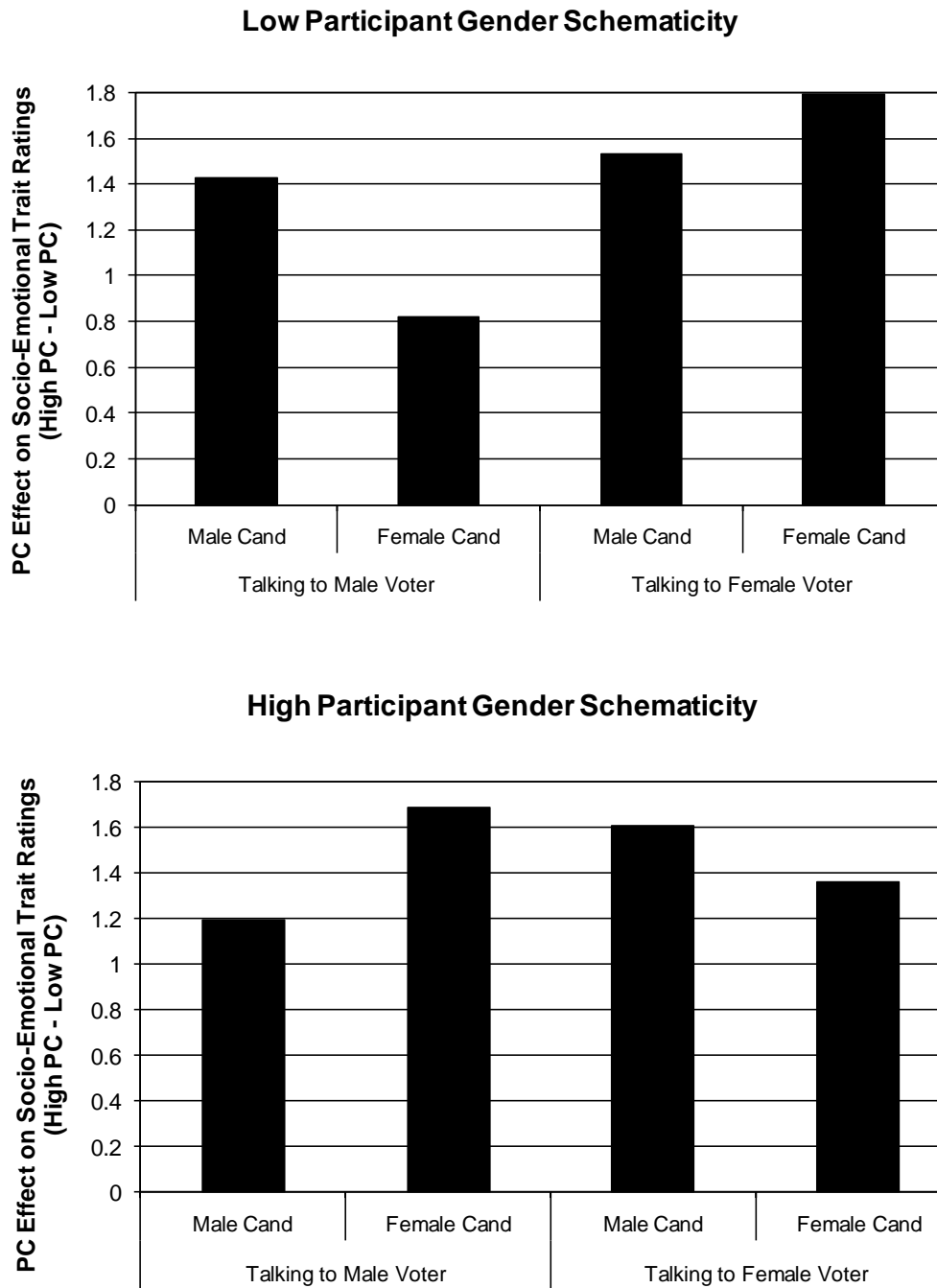
Ratings of the candidate's traits were analyzed next, starting with stereotypically feminine "socio-emotional" trait ratings (e.g., warm, compassionate, sensitive, etc.) As was the case for the other dependent variables, the candidate's level of person-centeredness produced a significant effect,  $B = 1.40$ ,  $t = 15.40$ ,  $p < .001$ . Not surprisingly, participants rated the candidate as having more socio-emotional traits when the candidate's communication was high PC ( $M = .72$ ) compared to low ( $M = -.68$ ). (See Regression Table 3 for full regression results for all steps).

An interaction between participant gender schematicity and candidate gender was the only significant two-way interaction to emerge at step 2,  $B = -.45$ ,  $t = -2.36$ ,  $p = .02$ . For those low in gender schematicity, female candidates ( $M = .11$ ) were judged to have significantly higher levels of socio-emotional traits than male candidates ( $M = -.18$ ),  $B = .29$ ,  $t = 2.31$ ,  $p = .02$ . For participants higher in gender schematicity, however, the gender of the candidate did not matter. Socio-emotional trait ratings for female candidates ( $M = -.04$ ) were statistically the same as ratings for male candidates ( $M = .11$ ),  $B = -.15$ ,  $t = -$

1.13,  $p = .26$ . This result is somewhat counter to expectations, as one would have expected individuals *high* in gender schematicity, not low, to perceive female candidates as having more socio-emotional traits than male candidates. However, because this effect does *not* involve person-centeredness, it is not central to the study.

Step 3 did not yield any significant three-way interactions, but a significant four-way interaction was obtained at step 4,  $B = -1.61$ ,  $t = -2.12$ ,  $p = .04$ . The pattern of results, however, differed from the four-way interactions observed for attitudes toward the candidate and voting likelihood. As seen in the bottom half of Figure 5, the PC effect is uniform for high gender schematics across the gender conditions. While high PC candidates were preferred over low PC candidates, this PC effect was not significantly moderated by candidate gender, voter gender, or their combination ( $p > .12$  in all cases). This pattern is a reverse of the pattern seen for attitudes and voting likelihood in which participants *low* in gender schematicity had equal PC effects. This goes against the supposition that, when evaluating candidates, high gender schematics would utilize gender and traditional gender norms that proscribe who should use highly PC language and who should not.

On the other hand, participants low in gender schematicity showed some marginal differences in the PC effect on socio-emotional trait ratings. Within the low gender schematicity condition, the simple three-way interaction between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and voter gender was marginally significant,  $B = .87$ ,  $t = 1.67$ ,  $p = .09$ . Looking at Figure 5, one can see that the interaction is really being driven by the relatively small PC effect in the female candidate-male voter condition. Indeed, the only



*Figure 5.* Four-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, town-hall voter gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on ratings of candidate's socio-emotional traits (Study 1). Note that the x-axis reflects the "PC effect" – the trait rating score for the high PC condition minus the score for the low PC condition.



significant difference that emerges here is when one compares female candidates speaking to a male versus female town-hall voter,  $B = .97, t = 2.80, p = .01$ . While the PC effect for female candidates speaking with a male voter is rather small, the PC effect for a female candidate speaking to a female voter is comparatively larger. All other comparisons of the PC effect on socio-emotional trait ratings are equal for participants low in gender schematicity ( $p > .12$  in all cases).

### **Instrumental Trait Ratings**

Ratings of the candidate along the other trait dimension, instrumentality, were analyzed next (see Regression Table 4). Ratings of the candidates' instrumentality (e.g., assertive, tough, stern, etc.) were significantly influenced by the level of person-centeredness displayed by the candidate,  $B = -1.08, t = -10.16, p < .001$ . High PC candidates were perceived to possess *fewer* instrumental traits ( $M = -.53$ ) while low PC candidates were rated as *greater* on instrumentality ( $M = .55$ ). Unlike trait ratings along the socio-emotional dimension which *increased* along with higher levels of person-centeredness, ratings of instrumental traits *decreased* as person-centeredness became higher. Indeed, the trait ratings of the candidate were significantly moderated by the trait dimension, instrumental versus socio-emotional,  $F(1,243) = 305.60, p < .001$ .<sup>1</sup>

A significant main effect of the moderator, gender schematicity, also emerged such that greater levels of gender schematicity were associated with higher

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<sup>1</sup> A repeated measures GLM analysis was conducted with trait dimension (instrumental vs. socio-emotional) entered into the model as a repeated measures factor along with the previous predictors and control variables. As indicated, the PC by trait dimension two-way interaction was significant,  $F(1,243) = 305.60, p < .001$ , signaling significant moderation of the PC effect by trait dimension.

instrumentality ratings of the candidate,  $B = .22$ ,  $t = 1.94$ ,  $p = .05$ . No other main effects at step 1 were found, nor were any two-way interactions at step 2.

A single three-way interaction was significant at step 3, the gender schematicity by person-centeredness by candidate gender interaction,  $B = .95$ ,  $t = 2.12$ ,  $p = .04$ . Curiously, analysis of this three-way again yielded results that were contrary to expectations. As seen in Figure 6, while the simple two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness was *not* significant for those *high* in gender schematicity,  $B = .29$ ,  $t = .91$ ,  $p = .36$ , this two-way emerged as significant for those *low* in gender schematicity,  $B = -.66$ ,  $t = -2.18$ ,  $p = .03$ . When scoring the candidates on instrumental traits, high gender schematics rated male and female candidates equally in the low PC condition,  $B = -.13$ ,  $t = -.59$ ,  $p = .56$ , and in the high PC condition,  $B = .16$ ,  $t = .70$ ,  $p = .49$ . Low gender schematics, however, rated high PC female candidates significantly lower on instrumentality compared to high PC males,  $B = -.49$ ,  $t = -2.11$ ,  $p = .04$ . Low PC candidates were rated equally on instrumentality by low gender schematics,  $B = .17$ ,  $t = -.88$ ,  $p = .38$ . Lastly, the four-way interaction at step 4 was not significant.

### **Performance Ratings on Socio-Emotional Issues**

In addition to rating the candidate on socio-emotional traits, participants also rated the candidate's ability to handle socio-emotional issues that are stereotypically more "feminine." Using regression analysis (see Regression Table 5), a main effect of person-centeredness was obtained at step 1,  $B = .88$ ,  $t = 7.99$ ,  $p < .001$ . As expected, candidates higher in person-centeredness ( $M = .46$ ) were perceived to handle socio-emotional issues better than those candidates low in person-centeredness ( $M = -.42$ ). A main effect of

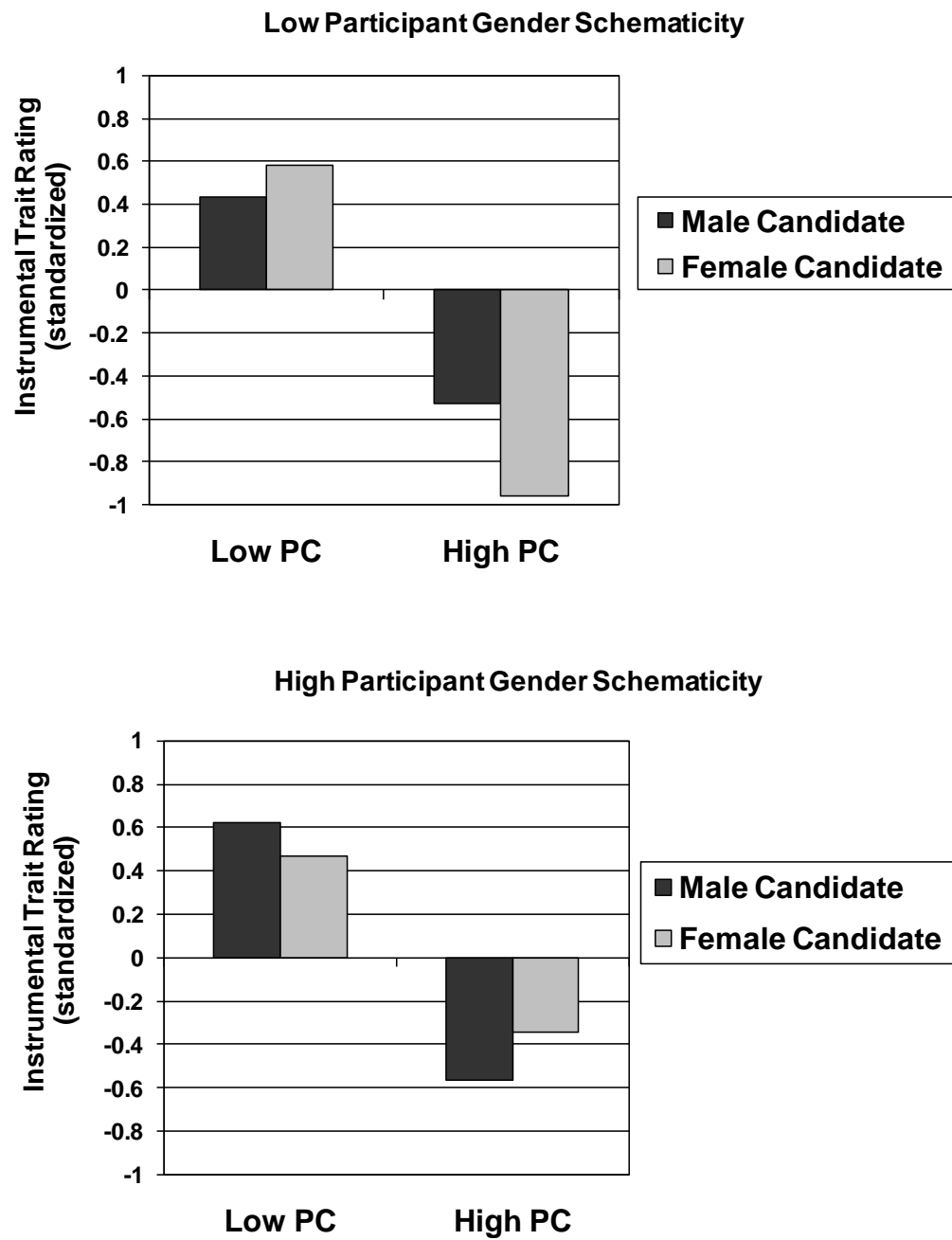


Figure 6. Three-way interaction between participant gender schematicity, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on ratings of candidate's instrumental traits (Study 1).

participant gender schematicity also emerged such that those higher in gender schematicity perceived the candidate to be better equipped to handle socio-emotional issues,  $B = .27$ ,  $t = 2.28$ ,  $p = .02$ .

At step 2, regression analyses revealed a significant gender schematicity by person-centeredness two-way interaction,  $B = .49$ ,  $t = 2.13$ ,  $p = .03$ . For those low in gender schematicity, the high PC candidates ( $M = .48$ ) were perceived to handle socio-emotional issues better than low PC candidates ( $M = -.80$ ),  $B = .64$ ,  $t = 4.12$ ,  $p < .001$ . This pattern was magnified for those high in gender schematicity, with high PC candidates scoring extremely high on socio-emotional issues ( $M = 1.82$ ) compared to low PC candidates ( $M = -1.59$ ),  $B = 1.14$ ,  $t = 7.04$ ,  $p < .001$ .

A significant two-way interaction between gender schematicity and town-hall voter gender unexpectedly emerged as well,  $B = -.49$ ,  $t = -2.21$ ,  $p = .03$ . This was an unanticipated result as the interaction did not involve either person-centeredness or the candidate's gender. While low gender schematics rated the candidate roughly the same on socio-emotionality regardless if the candidate was talking to a male ( $M = -.21$ ) or female voter ( $M = -.11$ ),  $B = .09$ ,  $t = .60$ ,  $p = .55$ , high gender schematics perceived the candidate to be better at handling socio-emotional issues when the candidate was speaking to another male ( $M = .32$ ) as opposed to a female voter ( $M = -.08$ ),  $B = -.40$ ,  $t = -2.51$ ,  $p = .01$ . No three-way or four-way interactions were found at steps 3 and 4.

### **Performance Ratings on Instrumental Issues**

Finally, performance ratings on instrumental issues were analyzed (see Regression Table 6 in Appendix E). Just as the effect of person-centeredness on

instrumental *traits* had the opposite effect compared to socio-emotional traits, the main effect of person-centeredness on perceived expertise on instrumental *issues* was in the opposite direction compared to socio-emotional issues,  $B = -.369$ ,  $t = -2.90$ ,  $p < .01$ .

Whereas lower person-centeredness yielded lower performance ratings on socio-emotional issues, low PC candidates were perceived to be *more* adept at handling instrumental issues ( $M = .19$ ). Conversely, higher levels of person-centeredness were associated with lower performance ratings on instrumental issues ( $M = -.17$ ). As was seen for trait ratings, the effect of person-centeredness on performance ratings for instrumental issues was significantly different than the effect of person-centeredness on performance ratings for socio-emotional issues,  $F(1,249) = 79.10$ ,  $p < .001$ . In other words, the issue dimension, instrumental versus socio-emotional, again moderated the effect of person-centeredness on performance ratings.

The only significant two-way interaction at step 2 was a gender schematicity by town-hall voter gender interaction,  $B = -.61$ ,  $t = -2.41$ ,  $p = .02$ . Curiously, those low in gender schematicity rated the candidate as better able to handle instrumental issues when the candidate was speaking to a female voter ( $M = .05$ ) compared to a male voter ( $M = -.32$ ),  $B = .37$ ,  $t = 2.09$ ,  $p = .04$ . For high gender schematics, this pattern was largely reversed. Here, candidates were rated somewhat better on instrumental issues when they were conversing with a male voter ( $M = .20$ ) as opposed to a female voter ( $M = -.04$ ), although this difference did not reach statistical significance,  $B = -.28$ ,  $t = -1.35$ ,  $p = .17$ . No significant three-way or four-way interactions were obtained at steps 3 and 4 in the regression analysis.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **STUDY 1 DISCUSSION**

Study 1 examined five main hypotheses. When predicting attitudes and voting intention, the Person-centered Hypothesis was confirmed. High PC candidates are greatly preferred over low. Not only were attitudes toward the candidate significantly more positive in the high PC conditions, but participants reported a greater likelihood of actually voting for the candidate.

A main effect of person-centeredness was also found for ratings of the candidate's traits and issue competency. However, these effects of person-centeredness depended upon the dimension of evaluation. While person-centeredness had a positive influence on ratings of the candidate on socio-emotional traits, person-centeredness exhibited a negative impact on instrumental trait ratings. A similar pattern was found for ratings of issue competency. Person-centeredness positively influenced perceptions of the candidate's ability to handle socio-emotional issues but negatively influenced perceptions on instrumental issues. For both trait and issue performance ratings, the effect of person-centeredness was moderated by the dimension of evaluation, instrumental versus socio-emotional. These findings discount the notion that high PC messages simply exert a "halo" effect on all ratings of the candidate (e.g., that high PC candidates would not only be judged more positively on socio-emotional traits like empathy and sensitivity but also on instrumental traits like strength and toughness).

In support of the Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis, a two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was obtained when predicting attitudes. The PC effect was stronger for female candidates than male candidates. Attitudes toward high PC candidates were more positive when the candidate happened to be female as opposed to male, presumably because males are stereotypically not expected to be emotionally responsive and sensitive when communicating to another person. As such, high PC males (who violated gender expectancies) were rated slightly less positively than high PC females (who conformed to gender norms). Conversely, when females violated cultural gender expectancies and failed to be highly PC, they were judged much more harshly than low PC males. Although this two-way interaction was only marginally significant for ratings of voting likelihood, the pattern of means was the same as the pattern seen for attitude ratings. Participants reported a greater inclination to vote for the high PC female candidate compared to a high PC male, but they were less likely to vote for a low PC female candidate compared to a low male. Thus, while candidates can benefit by being highly person-centered, this benefit is moderated by the gender of the candidate.

This two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was not more pronounced when a male town-hall citizen was receiving the person-centeredness messages from the candidate, thus no support was found for the Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis which predicted a three-way interaction between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and voter gender. Nor was the two-way between person-centeredness and candidate gender magnified for participants high in gender

schematicity, therefore no support was found for the Magnified Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis.

However, as predicted by the Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis, a significant four-way interaction emerged when predicting attitude and voting likelihood scores. For participants *low* in gender schematicity, gender of the candidate and town-hall voter did not exert an influence on attitudes ratings of the candidate. High PC candidates were simply preferred over low regardless of the gender of the individuals involved. This makes intuitive sense as low gender schematics do not have the rigid expectation that women should always act in a feminine manner and men in a masculine manner. In other words, these participants may not have necessarily seen high PC males and low PC females as “gender role violators.”

For participants high in gender schematicity, though, gender *did* play a role when forming their attitude toward the candidate. High gender schematics *do* have expectations when it comes to the behavior of men and women, and the violation of these gender role expectancies can be a determinant for negatively evaluating gender role violators. According to cultural norms, not only are men *not* supposed to be highly PC when speaking, but they are *especially not* suppose to be highly PC toward *other men* (see Burleson et al., 2005). In line with this cultural norm, the PC effect (high PC minus low PC) seen in Figure 2 is smallest for high gender schematics rating a male candidate conversing with a male voter. This suggests that, when talking to a male voter, male candidates can “get away with” conversing in a low PC manner. Violating gender expectancies and being highly PC toward that other male, though, can cause a male



candidate to be judged more harshly than a female candidate who is expected to be warm and more sensitive when she speaks. In fact, female candidates themselves are also negatively evaluated by high gender schematics when they fail to speak in a sensitive, highly PC manner, at least when speaking to a male voter. Again in Figure 2, one can see the PC effect is largest for female candidates speaking to a male voter. In sum, when speaking to a male voter, high gender schematics seemed to rigidly hold the candidates to cultural gender norms. Male candidates were expected to *not* be highly PC while it was acceptable for them to be low PC. Female candidates were also expected to behave in line with cultural gender roles. High PC female candidates who aligned with cultural gender norms were positively rated while low PC females who violate those norms were harshly evaluated.

When assessing likelihood of voting for the candidate, the four-way interaction largely followed the same pattern seen for attitude ratings. Participants low in gender schematicity showed no significant differences in the PC effect across conditions while there were differences in the PC effect among high gender schematics. For these participants, the PC effect was the same for male and female candidates when they were addressing a female town-hall voter, but significantly differed when the candidates were addressing a male voter. One may notice, however, that in addition to the small PC effect seen when high gender schematics rated the male candidate-male voter condition, the PC effect was also quite small when high gender schematics rated a female candidate interacting with a female voter. This may suggest that it is somewhat more acceptable for female candidates to be counter-stereotypical and low in person-centeredness when they

converse with another female (at least for those high in gender schematicity). When addressing a male voter though, the PC effect for female candidates was quite large, suggesting that high gender schematics may have evaluated female candidates against traditional gender norms in this particular instance. But again, it should be noted that there was no effect of gender for low gender schematics, once more reinforcing the notion that low gender schematics are more open to counter-stereotypical behaviors such as men being high PC and women being low PC.

The four-way interaction on socio-emotional trait ratings was also significant, but it did not align with the pattern seen for attitude and voting likelihood ratings. Instead of the PC effect being equal across gender conditions for those *low* in gender schematicity, the PC effect was equal across gender conditions for *high* gender schematics – a pattern opposite than what was expected. This overall four-way may have emerged primarily because of the small PC effect for low gender schematics rating the female candidate-male voter condition. In fact, for individuals low in gender schematicity, the PC effect for this condition is the only one that significantly differs from any other condition. One suspects that, if this PC effect was a bit more robust, the four-way interaction observed here would no longer reach statistical significance.

Other unpredicted or unanticipated effects were obtained, however no firm conclusions can be drawn from them. For instance, some interactions emerged that did not involve the main variable of interest, person-centeredness. As just one example, a two-way interaction between participant gender schematicity and voter gender was found for performance ratings on both socio-emotional and instrumental issues, but this effect

does not involve either person-centeredness or candidate gender. Furthermore, it is not evident why high gender schematics would be swayed by the gender of the town-hall voter – who is a rather minor character in the narrative participants read – but *not* the gender of the candidate whom is the target of the actual evaluation. Similarly, other effects did not emerge consistently enough to draw any broad conclusions. For instance, when looking at performance ratings for socio-emotional issues, the two-way interaction between gender schematicity and person-centeredness makes intuitive sense – high PC candidates were perceived to be better adept at handling socio-emotional issues, especially among high gender schematics – however this two-way failed to emerge when assessing performance ratings on instrumental issues (or any other dependent variable for that matter).

The central findings obtained in Study 1 can be summed up as follows. First, strong support was found for the Person-centered Hypothesis as a significant main effect of person-centeredness emerged for all six dependent variables. Secondly, although person-centeredness can boost evaluations and impressions of a candidate, it can diminish perceptions of a candidate's instrumentality. And third, support was also found for the Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis and the Magnified Candidate-Recipient Gender Role Hypothesis, with effects primarily emerging for attitude and voting likelihood ratings. These interactions suggest that a candidate's gender and societal gender norms moderate the impact of person-centered communications, sometimes to the detriment of the candidate.

**CHAPTER SEVEN**

**STUDY 2 INTRODUCTION—THREAT, IDEOLOGY,  
AND PERSON-CENTEREDNESS**

Study 1 showed evidence that high person-centered candidates are largely preferred over low person-centered candidates. However, there may be instances in which this pattern is weakened or even reversed. That is, under certain situational conditions, high person-centered candidates may be less desirable while low person-centered candidates, with their higher perceived levels of instrumentality, may be more preferred. Similarly, across various situations, there may be certain individuals that simply prefer low PC candidates over high PC candidates.

**Situational Conditions and the Effect of Person-centeredness**

Particular situations may cause a weakening or even a reversal of the effect of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation in Study 1. For example, there is evidence that a candidate's instrumentality becomes highly important during times of threat and societal uncertainty. McCann (1997) has found that, during historical periods of heightened social and political threat and instability in the United States, American voters showed an increased desire for candidates exhibiting "strength." Furthermore, experimental research has suggested that under times of threat (specifically under conditions of mortality salience), individuals are drawn to strong, instrumental, task-oriented leaders and show decreased preference for warm, socio-emotional, relationship-

oriented candidates (Cohen, Solomon, Maxfield, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg, 2004; Hoyt, Simon, & Reid, 2009; Landau et al., 2004). Cohen et al. (2004) found that in a mock election, voters under conditions of mortality salience had more *positive* attitudes toward a strong, task-oriented candidate (and were more likely to vote for that strong candidate) and had more *negative* evaluations of a friendly, more egalitarian and relationship-oriented candidate (and, correspondingly, showed less willingness to vote for that candidate).

Regarding gender and threat, Hoyt et al. (2009) suggest that gender stereotypes may play a role when evaluating political candidates under conditions of threat. They found that female participants, when under mortality salience, were more likely to vote for a leadership-oriented candidate who was high in agency (as opposed to a communal, relationship-oriented candidate) regardless of that candidate's own gender. For these female participants under threat, the importance of leadership and instrumental traits took precedence over issues of gender. Male participants under mortality salience, however, showed a preference for *male* candidates who were agentic and leadership-oriented.

Overall then, threat and mortality salience may moderate the effect of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation (and, perhaps, the interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender). Threatening conditions may activate the need for instrumental traits like strength and resolute leadership, thus causing individuals to prefer low PC candidates over high PC candidates. Or, alternatively, highly socio-emotional candidates may be perceived as weaker in the eyes of the electorate and therefore high PC candidates would be less preferred during times of threat and instability. Either way,

the effect of PC on candidate evaluation that has been previously established may be weakened during times of threat.

Along similar lines, threat may cause individuals to react more negatively toward those who eschew traditional gender norms (i.e., high PC men and low PC women). A large body of research on terror management theory (Greenberg et al., 1990) has shown that mortality salience often leads individuals to cling to their cultural worldview more closely because one's worldview helps mitigate the anxiety and stress associated with mortality salience (Arndt, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1997; Greenberg et al., 2003). And, in an attempt to protect themselves and their worldview, individuals under mortality salience will often negatively evaluate and derogate those who threaten their traditional cultural worldview (Baldwin & Wesley, 1996; Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Chatel, 1992; Nelson, Moore, Olivetti, & Scott, 1997). For example, Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, and Lyon (1989) found that individuals under mortality salience were more likely to negatively evaluate moral transgressors who violated cultural values and were more likely to positively reward those who upheld cultural values essential to their worldview.

As such, the desire for political candidates to behave in accordance with traditional gender norms may be greater for individuals under threat. Male candidates who use high PC language or female candidates who fail to be comforting by using low PC messages may be evaluated particularly harshly by those under threat because such candidates are behaving in ways that violate traditional cultural values. In other words, when one is threatened or reminded of their own mortality, the desire for men and women

to behave in ways that align with traditional cultural worldviews may be increased (i.e., the desire for women to behave in a feminine manner and men to behave in a masculine manner). More specifically, the interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender may be magnified under conditions of existential threat. Compared to low PC male candidates, low PC females may be even more harshly evaluated for violating gender norms which state that women should be interpersonally sensitive and empathetic. Conversely, high PC females may be evaluated much more positively because they are upholding traditional cultural norms, compared to high PC males who are violating those norms.

### **Individual Differences and the Effect of Person-centeredness**

Just as certain situations may influence the effect of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation, individual differences within people may also moderate the effect of person-centeredness. That is, certain people may show a greater preference for low PC candidates over high PC candidates. When evaluating political candidates, some individuals may be more predisposed to weigh instrumental traits more heavily during the evaluation process, and thus be less impressed by a high PC candidate, while other individuals may put greater emphasis on socio-emotional traits and therefore be more swayed by high PC rhetoric. For example, Barker, Lawrence, and Tavits (2006) found that Democrats tend to place the greatest weight on the traits of compassion and empathy and less weight on more instrumental traits (e.g., integrity, experience, etc.) Republicans, on the other hand, do not weigh empathy heavily but instead focus primarily on traits such as intelligence, integrity, and experience (in other words, more instrumental traits).

This may be part of the reason why voters associate Democrats with compassion and empathy and Republicans are more associated with strength and leadership (Hayes, 2005).

Along similar lines, political conservatives and right-wing authoritarians have a higher regard for instrumental traits like leadership quality and strength, and may deem those traits as more important than socio-emotional traits like empathy, kindness, and sensitivity. Conservatives and right-wing authoritarians are attracted to strong leaders and have a tendency to show deference and submission to those societal leaders whom they perceive to be legitimate (for reviews see Altmeyer, 1981; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). Thus, instrumental traits (e.g., strength, being resolute) are likely ascribed more weight than socio-emotional traits when authoritarians and political conservatives engage in candidate evaluation.

Given these findings, low PC candidates may be evaluated more positively by political conservatives compared to liberals. High PC candidates may be seen as weaker or simply less desirable because they are perceived to possess fewer instrumental traits, and as such may be evaluated more negatively by conservatives. A similar pattern may exist for authoritarians who are also drawn to strength and instrumentality. Compared to those scoring low in authoritarianism, high authoritarians may show greater favorability toward low PC candidates, who are perceived as more instrumental, and less favorability toward high PC candidates, who are perceived as lacking instrumentality.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### STUDY 2 OVERVIEW

#### Overview and Hypotheses

The second experiment in this research project investigates specific conditions in which high person-centered communications may have a more negative effect on candidate evaluation. Overall, the impact of sensitive, person-centered communications may become weakened as a function of the *situation*, that is, times of threat or insecurity, or weakened due to *individual differences* between individuals, with authoritarians and conservatives having a natural predisposition toward leaders with strong instrumental traits rather than socio-emotional traits.

While many of the same independent variables from the first study were manipulated and measured again for Study 2 (namely person-centeredness and candidate gender during a town-hall conversation), a new independent variable was introduced: threat. Half of the participants had the threat of terrorism made salient while the other half did not. As will be discussed further in the Method section, the town-hall voter's gender was not manipulated in Study 2 and instead held constant at male in order to limit the number of independent variables. The town-hall voter was chosen to be male (rather than female) because negative evaluations of gender role violators in Study 1 tended to be the greatest when the candidate was conversing with a male town-hall voter. In addition to the manipulated variables, new participant-level moderators were also added in Study

2, namely authoritarianism and political conservatism. The same primary and secondary dependent measures were investigated and, as will be discussed, many of the effects of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation were expected to change as a function of these situational and dispositional conditions.

### **Predicted Results**

A number of effects obtained in Study 1 are expected to replicate in Study 2. For example, a main effect of person-centeredness should emerge for all of the dependent variables as it did in Study 1. Likewise, the interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender is also expected to be found. Interactions involving candidate gender and authoritarianism or conservatism may appear in Study 2 and resemble the interactions involving candidate gender and participant gender schematicity that were predicted in Study 1. In a way, authoritarians and conservatives can both be said to exhibit a reliance upon rigid cultural norms and traditions – including gender expectancies – and therefore authoritarianism and conservatism may be crude measures of gender schematicity themselves. Thus, to the extent that authoritarianism and political conservatism are correlated with gender schematicity, both authoritarianism and conservatism might produce a pattern of moderation in Study 2 that mimics the “magnification” effects predicted in Study 1 concerning gender schematicity and person-centeredness.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, part of Altemeyer’s (1981) conceptualization of authoritarianism involves the notion of “conventionalism” or the degree to which an individual adheres to societal norms. As such, it is not surprising that individuals high in authoritarianism show a preference for traditional gender roles and have negative reactions toward those who deviate from traditional gender norms (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Duncan, Petersen, & Winter, 1997; Larson & Long, 1988). Thus, authoritarianism might moderate

Table 2  
Study 2 Hypotheses: Predicted Effects on Attitude and Voting Likelihood Ratings

Hypothesis	Predicted Effect
Person-centered Hypothesis (replication)	PC main effect
Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis (replication)	PC x CG two-way
Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Individual Difference Approach	PC x ID two-way
Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Situational Approach	PC x TP two-way
Candidate Gender Role During Threat Hypothesis	PC x CG x TP three-way

*Note.* PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, ID = Participant individual difference (authoritarianism or conservatism), TP = Terrorism threat prime.

**Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Individual Difference Approach.** As stated above, sometimes ideological differences across individuals can lead one to decrease the weight or importance ascribed to socio-emotional traits and increase the influence of instrumental traits in the evaluation process. Individuals high in authoritarianism and conservatism assign greater importance to instrumental traits and exhibit lesser

individuals' perceptions of and reactions to person-centered communications just like gender schematicity was predicted to. While those low in authoritarianism should not be affected by the gender of the speaker engaging in either low or high PC messages, those high in authoritarianism might want speakers to adhere to traditional gender expectancies (that is, for males to use "masculine" low PC messages and for females to use "feminine" high PC messages.)

Likewise, political conservatism also encompasses notions of "conventionalism" and therefore may moderate the effects of person-centeredness in Study 2 just as gender schematicity was predicted to in Study 1. Whereas political liberals are open to cultural change and new experiences, political conservatives show a strong adherence to cultural norms and traditions and perceive the world in more rigid, black-and-white dimensions (Jost et al, 2003; Tamney & Johnson, 1988). And since cultural traditionalism is a fundamental part of (social) conservatism, one might expect political conservatism to influence perceptions of PC messages and those who use them. While political liberals may be more open to violations of gender norms regarding PC communications, political conservatives – just like high authoritarians and gender schematics – may have strong gender expectancies when it comes to the behavior of others and negatively evaluate males and females who violate those traditional norms when using PC messages.

consideration of socio-emotional traits. Therefore, the impact of person-centered communications on candidate evaluation should be diminished or even reversed for strong authoritarians and conservatives. The Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Individual Difference Approach (IDA) predicts a two-way interaction between the candidate's level of person-centeredness and the participants' own level of authoritarianism or political conservatism. Compared to participants who score lower on authoritarianism and conservatism, those who are strong conservatives and/or authoritarians should evaluate high PC candidates less positively because such high PC candidates are perceived as less instrumental. Along similar lines, low PC candidates should be viewed more positively by strong conservatives and authoritarians because low person-centeredness is associated with more instrumentality (as shown in Study 1).

This interaction may result because strong authoritarians and conservatives simply do not weigh socio-emotional traits as heavily (if at all) compared to instrumental traits during the evaluation process, or these individuals may actually infer a connection between socio-emotional traits and instrumental traits. If this is the case, then strong authoritarians and conservatives may interpret the presence of empathy and compassion (as evidenced by high PC communications) to mean that the candidate then also lacks the ability to display firm, resolute, and strong leadership (i.e., instrumental traits).

**Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Situational Approach.** Given past research on the impact of uncertainty and insecurity on candidate evaluation, one might expect that feelings of threat would also moderate the main effect of person-centeredness. That is, when existential threat is primed or made salient, participants might have more favorable

attitudes toward candidates who speak with low levels of person-centeredness (presumably because such candidates are perceived to be strong and resolute and not overly emotional – important qualities in times of threat and insecurity). As shown in Study 1, candidates engaging in high PC messages are viewed as “warm” or “sensitive” but lacking in instrumental traits like strength or leadership. Thus, candidates who convey high person-centeredness might be judged more negatively when threat is salient. According to the *Strong Candidate Hypothesis: Situational Approach*, a two-way interaction between person-centeredness and threat should emerge when predicting candidate evaluation. High person-centeredness should positively influence evaluation when threat is low but more negatively impact evaluation when threat is high.<sup>2</sup>

**Candidate Gender Role During Threat Hypothesis.** The tenets of terror management theory (Greenberg et al., 1990) would suggest the interaction between the candidate’s gender and person-centeredness (as evidenced from Study 1) may also be moderated by a threat prime for an overall three-way interaction. Specifically, the two-way interaction predicted by the *Candidate Gender Role Hypothesis* in Study 1 may be more extreme for those individuals under threat. As outlined earlier, individuals under mortality salience are more likely to punish those who violate cultural values and reward

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<sup>2</sup> Both approaches to the Strong Candidate Hypothesis (IDA and SA) imply that socio-emotional traits like empathy, compassion, and sensitivity may be at least somewhat related to instrumental traits like strength and leadership. One could argue the opposite two-way interaction may emerge, a “*Comfort During Threat Hypothesis*.” Such a hypothesis would suggest that, under times of threat, socio-emotional traits would receive greater weight and importance during the evaluation process (not instrumental traits). If this is the case, the person-centeredness effect should be *amplified* in times of threat and instability, not weakened. A threat prime may, in fact, *increase* the positivity of participants’ reactions to high PC candidates. Likewise, low PC candidates may be judged even more harshly due to their perceived insensitivity during times of uncertainty and insecurity. Such a result, however, would go against previous research showing that voters are drawn to strong instrumental leaders during threatening times (e.g., Cohen et al. 2004, Landau et al., 2004; McCann, 1997).

those who uphold them (Rosenblatt et al., 1989). Therefore, during instances of threat, individuals may show a stronger preference for political candidates who adhere to traditional gender norms. The expectations that men should be resolute and show strength and toughness while women should be sensitive and comforting may become even more critical during times of threat or instability (presumably because such traditional gender norms are an important part of one's values and worldview). Thus, compared to a non-threat condition, participants under threat might evaluate low PC male candidates more positively while more harshly punishing a high PC male who violates gender expectancies. Correspondingly, threatened participants may also show a greater preference for female candidates who engage in high person-centeredness and a lesser preference for females who violate gender norms by being low in person-centeredness. (See Table 2 for a full list of hypotheses for Study 2.)

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **STUDY 2 METHODOLOGY**

#### **Method**

##### **Participants**

For the second study, a new sample of 250 undergraduate students was recruited from the introductory psychology pool at Loyola University Chicago. Two participants were excluded for failing to properly follow instructions, leaving a total of 248 participants. The sample was 69% female and 31% male and had an age range of 18 to 26 ( $M = 18.88$ ).

##### **Procedure and Design**

Upon enrolling, participants were again brought into a classroom in groups and randomly assigned to a condition. Participants were told the study consisted of two unrelated evaluation tasks, the first task being an evaluation of a newspaper article and the second being the evaluation of a political candidate. In fact, the newspaper article served as a threat prime for the candidate evaluation task. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to read an article on the prevalent threat of a terrorist attack in the United States in the near future while the other half were assigned to read a control article about scientists. After completing a short survey of Likert items evaluating the article (e.g., “The article was easy to read,” “The size of the text in the article was too small”), participants then were given one of the conversation transcripts between the state

senator and town-hall voter used in Study 1. Again, the voter brings up a personal hardship (i.e., no longer being able to afford college) to which the candidate responds in either a low or high person-centered manner. This time the town-hall voter's gender was held constant at "male," but candidate gender and person-centeredness were manipulated in the same manner as Study 1, making the overall design a 2 (person-centeredness: low vs. high) X 2 (candidate gender: male vs. female) X 2 (threat: primed vs. not primed) between-subjects design.

After reading the conversation transcript, participants exchanged their transcript for a survey packet. As in Study 1, participants in Study 2 reported their global evaluation of (attitude toward) the candidate, their likelihood of voting for the candidate, their impressions of the candidate's traits (instrumental vs. socio-emotional trait ratings), and perceived performance ratings of the candidate (ability to handle instrumental vs. socio-emotional issues). Participant-level moderators were then assessed, including the participant's political ideology, party identification, and authoritarianism. Finally, demographic items were assessed. Once the survey was completed, participants were debriefed, thanked for their participation, and dismissed.

## **Materials**

In order to prime threat and insecurity, half of the participants read a modified *New York Times* article (Johnston & Stout, 2004) that described the threat of a likely domestic terrorist attack by al-Qaeda in the United States in the near future. The article was used previously by Willer and Adams (2008) to induce threat in their candidate evaluation study. In order to increase the effectiveness of the threat manipulation, Willer



and Adams added language to the text of the article about the likely “possibility of a massive attack, perhaps on the scale of the September 11, 2001 attacks.” That same language was included in the article for the present study. Additionally, references to the “Bush administration” were removed so that the article appeared to be describing the current state of the country. For example, “Bush administration officials” was simply changed to “White House administration officials.” The other half of the participants in the non-threat condition read an unrelated article about scientists (Stark, 2009) that was similar in length to the terrorism article but was non-threatening in nature. (See Appendix C for the priming articles).

The same conversation transcripts from Study 1 were used to manipulate person-centeredness and candidate gender. The town-hall voter in the transcript described a personal problem (no longer being able to afford college tuition) to which the candidate responded either in a low or high PC manner. The gender of the candidate was again manipulated by changing the candidate’s name on the transcript (Paul Johnson vs. Paula Johnson). As mentioned before, the town-hall voter’s gender was held constant at male (Christopher Smith) across all conditions. This was done in an effort to limit the number of independent variables manipulated in Study 2 and to reduce the overall sample size needed for the experiment. Again, the town-hall voter was chosen to be male (rather than female) because negative evaluations of gender role violators in Study 1 tended to be the greatest when the violating candidate was addressing a male town-hall voter. Thus, any predicted effects should be most evident in the male-voter condition.

**Attitude and behavior intention ratings.** After reading the conversation transcript, participants again completed a survey packet of dependent measures (see Appendix D for the full survey). Attitudes toward the candidate were assessed using the same four items from Study 1: candidate rating on a “feeling thermometer” (0 to 100) and three semantic differential ratings (-3 = *extremely unfavorable* to 3 = *extremely favorable*; -3 = *extremely unlikeable* to 3 = *extremely likeable*; -3 = *negative* to 3 = *positive*). Likewise, the same behavioral assessment from Study 1 was used again. Participants indicated their likelihood of voting for the candidate for office on a 7-point scale (-3 = *extremely unlikely* to 3 = *extremely likely*).

**Trait ratings and performance ratings.** Study 2 also utilized the same measures of trait ratings and performance ratings as Study 1. Participants indicated how well various socio-emotional and instrumental traits described the candidate on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all well*, 5 = *Extremely well*). Half of the items measured traits were associated with socio-emotionality (compassionate, warm, gentle, emotional, sensitive, cautious, feminine, talkative, empathetic) while the other half assessed traits associated with instrumentality (assertive, tough, resolute, rational, masculine, coarse, aggressive, stern, active, self-confident). Participants also evaluated how well the candidate could handle several political issues on a 5-point scale (1 = *Not at all well*, 5 = *Extremely well*), half of which were socio-emotional issues (healthcare, assisting the poor, improving the welfare of children, education) and half of which were instrumental issues (military spending, a foreign affairs crisis, reducing budget deficits, dealing with business leaders and industry, domestic terrorism).

**Political ideology, party, and right-wing authoritarianism.** Lastly, the sample completed various participant-level moderators. Participants indicated their political ideology (1 = *strong liberal*, 7 = *strong conservative*), their party affiliation (1 = *strong Democrat*, 7 = *strong Republican*), and completed Altemeyer's (1981) measure of right-wing authoritarianism.

## **CHAPTER TEN**

### **STUDY 2 RESULTS**

Composite variables for Study 2 were constructed in the same manner as they were for Study 1. The four individual attitude assessments of the candidate (thermometer rating, favorable/unfavorable, likeable/unlikeable, positive/negative) were standardized and averaged into a single composite variable assessing global attitude toward the candidate ( $\alpha = .93$ ). For trait ratings, the ten instrumental items were averaged and standardized in a single “instrumentality” trait index ( $\alpha = .76$ ). Similarly, the nine socio-emotional items were combined into an overall “socio-emotionality” trait rating ( $\alpha = .86$ ). The same was done for measures of instrumental issue performance ( $\alpha = .77$ ) and performance on socio-emotional issues ( $\alpha = .89$ ). Once again, higher numbers correspond to higher levels of the variable.

Scores on right-wing authoritarianism were assessed by reverse coding the appropriate items and then averaging the 24 items together into one composite variable such that higher numbers corresponded to higher levels of authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981). The authoritarianism measure was then standardized.

#### **Regression Analyses and Results**

##### **Moderation of Person-centered Effects: Individual Difference Approach (IDA)**

First, analyses were run to test whether any individual differences across participants (i.e., measures of authoritarianism and political ideology) moderated the

effects of person-centeredness and candidate gender. (Tests of the situational moderating variable, threat, are discussed in the next section.) Once again, the data were analyzed using hierarchical regression with dummy coding. Participants' scores were predicted based upon person-centeredness ( $-.5$  = low PC,  $+.5$  = high PC), candidate gender ( $-.5$  = male,  $+.5$  = female), and the participant-level moderating variable, authoritarianism (standardized and divided by two so  $-.5$  corresponded to one standard deviation below the mean and  $+.5$  corresponded to one standard deviation above). Again, step 1 tested all main effects, step 2 tested all possible two-way interactions, and step 3 tested the three-way interaction. Participant political ideology and party were standardized and also entered into the first step of the regression model to serve as control variables.

Unfortunately, with one exception, participant authoritarianism failed to consistently moderate any effect involving person-centeredness across the six outcome measures: attitude rating, voting likelihood, trait ratings, and performance ratings ( $p > .10$  in all cases). The one exception: authoritarianism moderated the PC effect on ratings of the candidate's ability to handle instrumental issues for an overall person-centeredness by authoritarianism two-way interaction,  $B = -.77$ ,  $t = -3.04$ ,  $p < .01$ . For those low in authoritarianism, perceptions of how the candidate could handle instrumental issues was relatively the same regardless if the candidate was low PC ( $M = .01$ ) or high PC ( $M = .06$ ). For high authoritarians, though, a large effect of PC occurred such that low PC candidates ( $M = .25$ ) were perceived to handle instrumental issues better than high PC candidates ( $M = -.47$ ). However, this two-way interaction did not emerge for any other dependent variable. Aside from this lone two-way on instrumental issue performance,

participant authoritarianism did not moderate the main effect of person-centeredness (nor the two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender). Thus, scant evidence was found to support the Strong Candidate Hypothesis: IDA, as no consistent effects emerged when predicting attitudes toward the candidate, voting likelihood, or any trait ratings. (See Regression Tables 7-12 in Appendix E for full regression results with the authoritarianism moderator for all six dependent variables.)

Results are the same if political ideology is used as the moderator instead of right-wing authoritarianism. Both participant-level variables were predicted to be potential moderators of the effects of person-centeredness and candidate gender as both are measures of mental rigidity (see Jost et al., 2003). However, if participant ideology (instead of authoritarianism) is removed as a control variable and instead inserted into the full regression model as a moderating variable that interacts with all other predictors, the results are identical to those obtained when authoritarianism is the moderator.<sup>1</sup>

### **Moderation of Person-centered Effects: Situational Approach (SA)**

Because participant authoritarianism and ideology (i.e., conservatism) largely failed as moderators, they were not included as full predictors in the next regression analysis (although participant ideology was included as a control variable at step 1 along with party identification). A new regression model was constructed to test whether the situational variable, threat, moderated the effects of person-centeredness and candidate gender previously established in Study 1. Hierarchical regression with dummy coding

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<sup>1</sup> Results are also the same if, instead of collapsing across the “threat” variable, only the control “non-threat” condition is analyzed. Even among these participants who were not primed with the terrorism article, neither participant authoritarianism nor ideology significantly moderated any effects involving person-centeredness.

was once again utilized to analyze the data. Participants' scores on the various dependent variables were predicted based upon the candidate's level of person-centeredness (-.5 = low PC, +.5 = high PC), the candidate's gender (-.5 = male, +.5 = female), and the terrorism threat prime (-.5 = no threat, +.5 = threat prime). Step 1 in the regression tested all main effects, step 2 the two-way interactions, and finally step 3 tested the three-way interaction. Participant's own political ideology and party affiliation again served as control variables, being standardized and entered into the regression model at step 1.

**Attitude toward the candidate.** Participants' global attitude toward the candidate was the first dependent variable to be predicted with the regression model. (See Regression Table 13 in Appendix E for a full summary of results.) A main effect of person-centeredness was obtained at step 1,  $B = .94$ ,  $t = 9.47$ ,  $p < .001$ , such that high PC candidates ( $M = .47$ ) were preferred over low ( $M = -.45$ ). All other potential main effects at step 1 were nonsignificant.

The interaction between person-centeredness and threat was not significant at step 2, thus no support was found for the Situational Strong Candidate Hypothesis. However, the significant two-way between person-centeredness and candidate gender from Study 1 replicated here,  $B = .73$ ,  $t = 3.75$ ,  $p < .001$ . High PC female candidates ( $M = .70$ ) were rated more positively than high PC males ( $M = .25$ ),  $B = .44$ ,  $t = 3.09$ ,  $p < .01$ , but low PC males ( $M = -.30$ ) were rated more positively than low PC females ( $M = -.60$ ),  $B = -.30$ ,  $t = -2.19$ ,  $p = .03$ .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For a pure replication of the two-way interaction involving person-centeredness and candidate gender, one would ideally want to only analyze the non-threat condition (as opposed to collapsing across both the threat and non-threat conditions as was done in the regression analysis above). If only data from the non-threat

The three-way at step 3 was significant as predicted by the Candidate Gender Role During Threat Hypothesis,  $B = .85$ ,  $t = 2.16$ ,  $p = .03$ . As shown in Figure 7, the simple two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender is magnified for those participants primed with the threat of terrorism,  $B = 1.16$ ,  $t = 4.19$ ,  $p < .001$ , compared with the control condition,  $B = .31$ ,  $t = 1.15$ ,  $p = .25$ . For those in the threat condition, female candidates who aligned with gender norms (i.e., high PC females,  $M = .83$ ) were much preferred to high PC males ( $M = .14$ ) who violated gender norms,  $B = .72$ ,  $t = 3.51$ ,  $p = .001$ . Low PC males ( $M = -.21$ ), being more stereotype-consistent, were evaluated more positively than low PC females ( $M = -.65$ ), who were harshly judged for their counter-stereotypical language,  $B = -.45$ ,  $t = -2.38$ ,  $p = .02$ .

**Likelihood of voting for the candidate.** The regression model was next used to predict participants' likelihood of actually voting for the candidate (see Regression Table 14 in Appendix E). The results were very similar to those obtained on attitudes toward the candidate. A significant main effect of person-centeredness was found,  $B = .91$ ,  $t = 7.95$ ,  $p < .001$ . Predictably, participants were more likely to vote for high PC candidates ( $M = .46$ ) compared to low ( $M = -.44$ ).

No two-way interactions were obtained for voting likelihood. Although it was significant when predicting attitude ratings, the three-way interaction at step 3 was only marginally significant when predicting voting likelihood,  $B = .86$ ,  $t = 1.86$ ,  $p = .06$ . As

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participants are analyzed, the pattern of means remains the same – high PC females are preferred over high PC males, low PC males are preferred over low PC females – however the interaction does not quite reach statistical significance ( $B = .31$ ,  $t = 1.15$ ,  $p = .25$ ). This may be due to low power, as Study 1 had many more participants ( $N = 277$ ) than the non-threat condition of Study 2 ( $N = 120$ ). In all likelihood, if more non-threat participants were enrolled, it is likely that the two-interaction between PC and candidate gender would have surpassed the threshold for statistical significance.



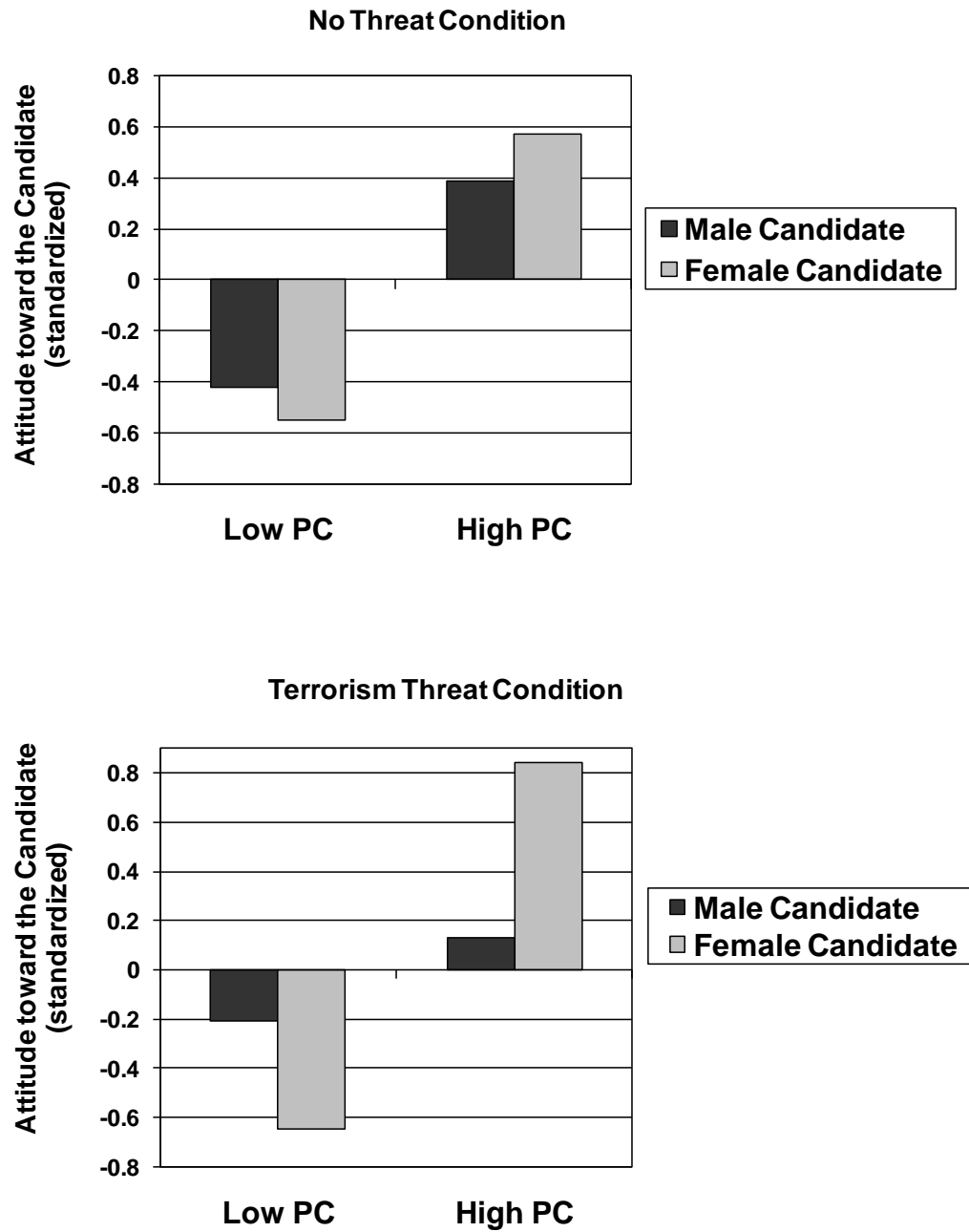


Figure 7. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on attitudes toward the candidate (Study 2).

seen in Figure 8, the pattern of means largely mirrored the pattern seen for attitude ratings, with one minor difference. Again, the predicted two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was magnified for participants in the threat condition,  $B = .68$ ,  $t = 2.09$ ,  $p = .04$ . In the threat condition, participants were marginally more likely to vote for high PC female candidates ( $M = .58$ ) than high PC males ( $M = .23$ ),  $B = .36$ ,  $t = 1.53$ ,  $p = .12$ , and low PC males ( $M = -.28$ ) were somewhat more preferable than low PC females ( $M = -.57$ ),  $B = -.32$ ,  $t = -1.44$ ,  $p = .15$ . For those in the control condition, however, the simple two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was not significant,  $B = -.17$ ,  $t = -.54$ ,  $p = .59$ . And, in a slight reverse of the previously observed pattern, the likelihood of voting for a high PC *male* candidate ( $M = .62$ ) was actually slightly higher than likelihood for voting for a high PC *female* candidate ( $M = .41$ ), although this difference was not significant,  $B = -.21$ ,  $t = -.92$ ,  $p = .36$ .

**Socio-emotional and instrumental trait ratings.** When predicting trait ratings, a main effect of person-centeredness was obtained for both ratings of socio-emotionality,  $B = 1.28$ ,  $t = 12.93$ ,  $p < .001$ , and instrumentality,  $B = -1.01$ ,  $t = -8.93$ ,  $p < .001$ . As was seen in the analysis of trait ratings in Study 1, high PC candidates were associated with higher perceived socio-emotionality ( $M = .66$ ) but lower instrumentality ( $M = -.51$ ). For low PC candidates it was the reverse. Low PC candidates were perceived as more instrumental ( $M = .50$ ) and less socio-emotional ( $M = -.62$ ). And once again, these two main effects were significantly different from one another,  $F(1,226) = 223.99$ ,  $p < .001$ . In other words, the effect of person-centeredness on trait ratings was moderated by the

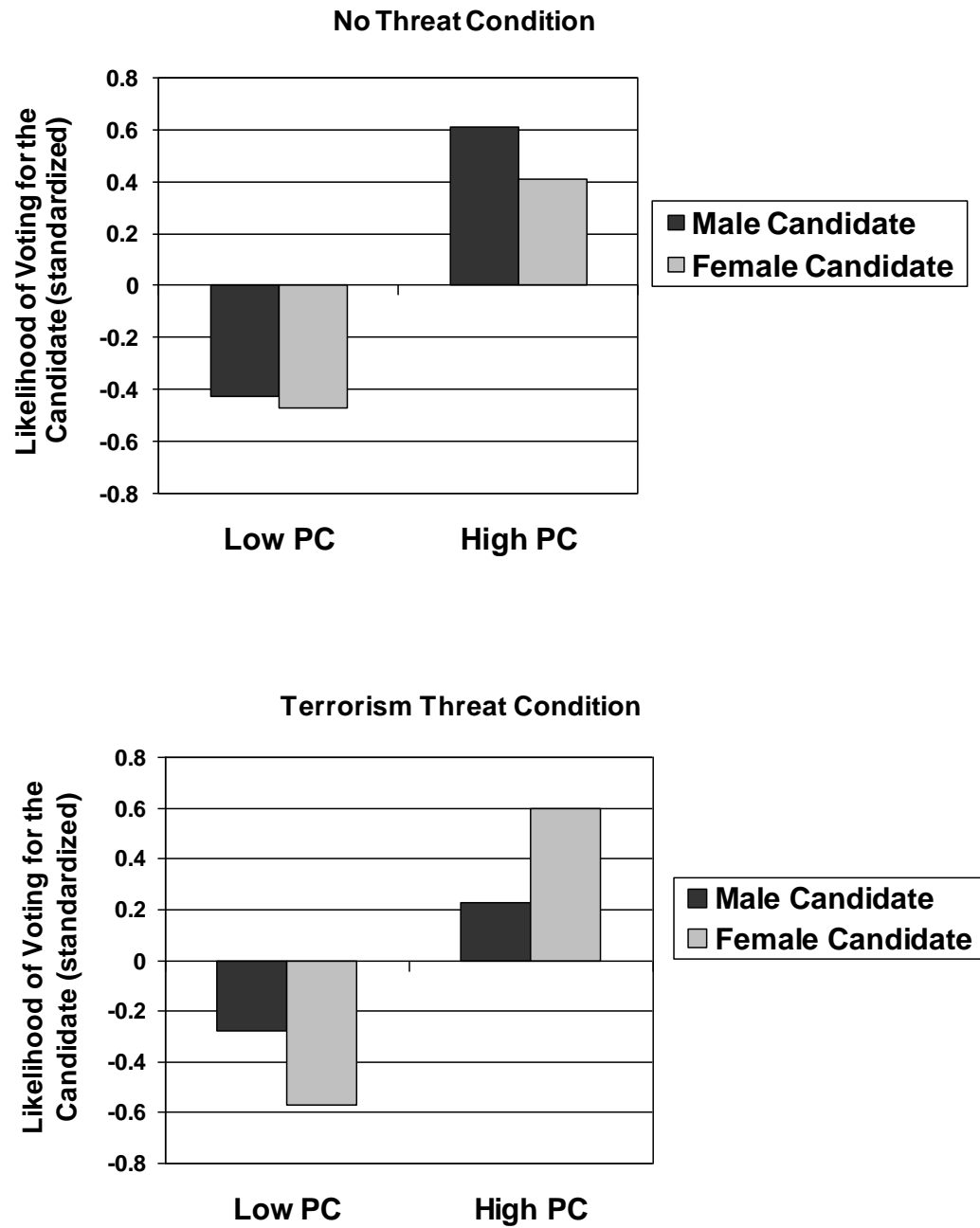


Figure 8. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on likelihood of voting for the candidate (Study 2).

dimension, instrumental versus socio-emotional.<sup>3</sup> No two-way or three-way interactions were found for ratings on either trait dimension (see Regression Tables 15 and 16).

**Performance ratings on socio-emotional and instrumental issues.** As was seen for the other dependent variables, a main effect of person-centeredness occurred for performance ratings, both on socio-emotional issues,  $B = .77, t = 6.52, p < .001$ , as well as instrumental issues,  $B = -.36, t = -2.80, p = .01$  (see Regression Tables 17 and 18). Again, there was moderation by issue dimension, socio-emotional versus instrumental,  $F(1,230) = 63.89, p < .001$ . High PC messages were associated with higher perceived competency regarding socio-emotional issues ( $M = .38$ ) but lesser ability to handle instrumental issues ( $M = -.19$ ). Low PC messages were associated with the reverse – more perceived competency on instrumental issues ( $M = .16$ ) and less on socio-emotional issues ( $M = -.38$ ).

No two-way interactions were found for either dependent variable, although the three-way interaction was significant for performance ratings on socio-emotional issues,  $B = 1.10, t = 2.32, p = .02$ . As seen in Figure 9, the simple two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was quite robust for participants primed with the terrorism threat,  $B = .76, t = 2.25, p = .02$ . High PC female candidates ( $M = .62$ ) were perceived as marginally better at handling socio-emotional issues than high PC males ( $M = .24$ ),  $B = .38, t = 1.52, p = .12$ . Low PC females ( $M = -.47$ ) were judged a bit more

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<sup>3</sup> As was done in Study 1, a repeated measures GLM analysis was conducted here with trait dimension (instrumental vs. socio-emotional) entered into the model as a repeated measures factor along with the previous predictors and control variables. Again, the two-way interaction between PC and the trait dimension factor emerged as significant,  $F(1,226) = 223.99, p < .001$ .

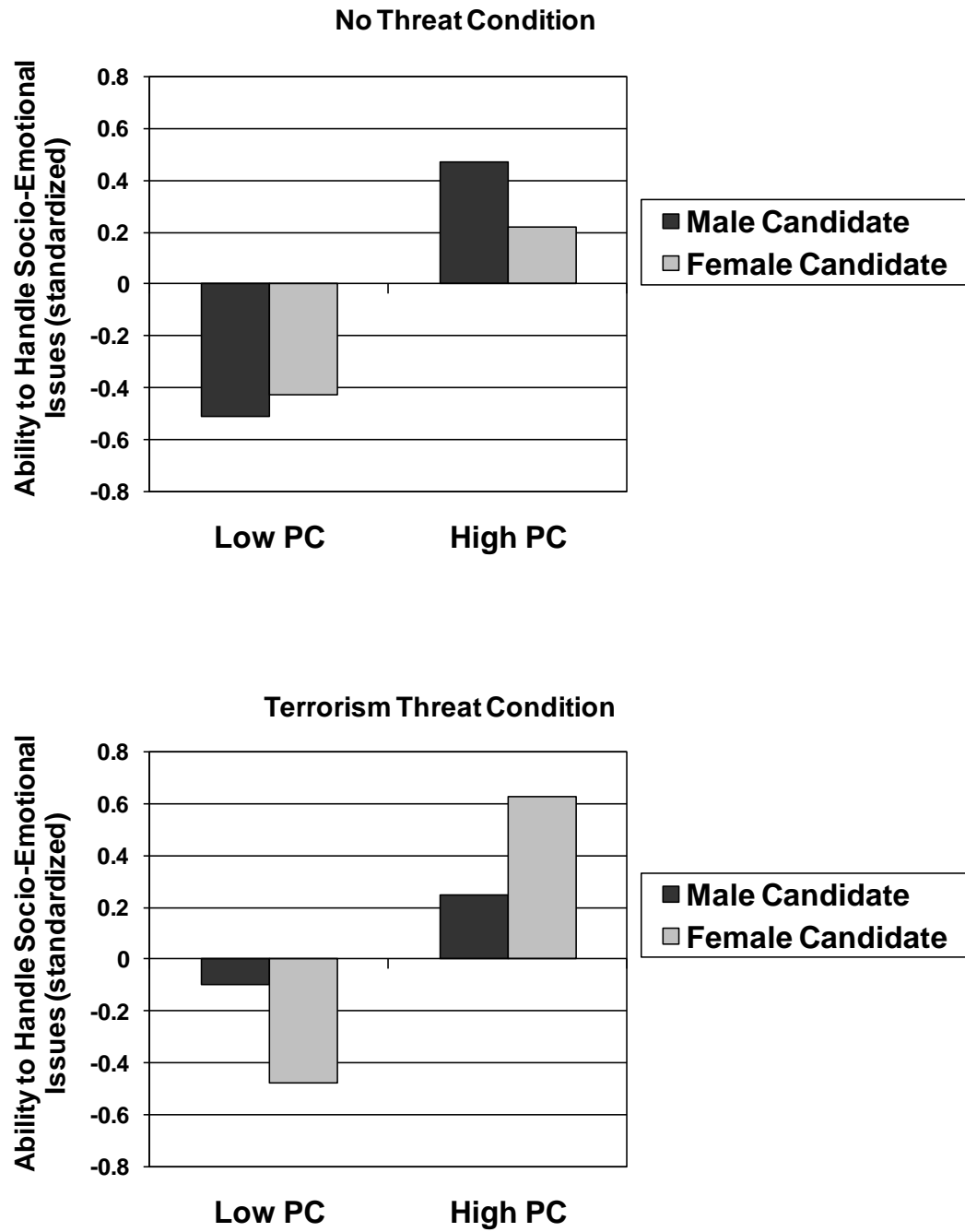


Figure 9. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on performance ratings of the candidate on socio-emotional issues (Study 2).

harshly than low PC males ( $M = -.09$ ),  $B = -.38$ ,  $t = -1.67$ ,  $p = .09$ . This two-way did not appear for those in the control condition,  $B = -.34$ ,  $t = -1.03$ ,  $p = .30$ . Low PC candidates were perceived to handle socio-emotional issues equally regardless if they were male ( $M = -.51$ ) or female ( $M = -.48$ ),  $B = .09$ ,  $t = .37$ ,  $p = .71$ , and high PC male candidates ( $M = .43$ ) were perceived to be roughly the same at handling socio-emotional issues compared to high PC female candidates ( $M = .22$ ),  $B = -.25$ ,  $t = -1.09$ ,  $p = .28$ .

This same three-way interaction was only marginally significant for ratings of perceived expertise on instrumental issues,  $B = .96$ ,  $t = 1.88$ ,  $p = .06$ . As illustrated in Figure 10, the simple two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was not significant for those in the non-threat condition,  $B = -.50$ ,  $t = -1.41$ ,  $p = .16$ . Participants who did not receive the terrorism threat prime rated low PC males ( $M = -.07$ ) and low PC females ( $M = .11$ ) relatively the same on their ability to handle instrumental issues,  $B = .18$ ,  $t = .72$ ,  $p = .47$ . High PC females ( $M = -.26$ ) were judged as slightly less able to handle instrumental issues compared to high PC men ( $M = .06$ ), although not significantly so,  $B = -.32$ ,  $t = -1.28$ ,  $p = .20$ . The simple two-way interaction also was not significant for the threat condition,  $B = .46$ ,  $t = 1.25$ ,  $p = .21$ . For those who received the threat prime, low PC male candidates ( $M = .59$ ) were rated highest on ability to handle instrumental issues. Low PC female candidates ( $M = .004$ ) were judged to be the next highest in competency, followed by high PC male candidates ( $M = -.24$ ) and high PC female candidates (who were rated lowest overall,  $M = -.36$ ).

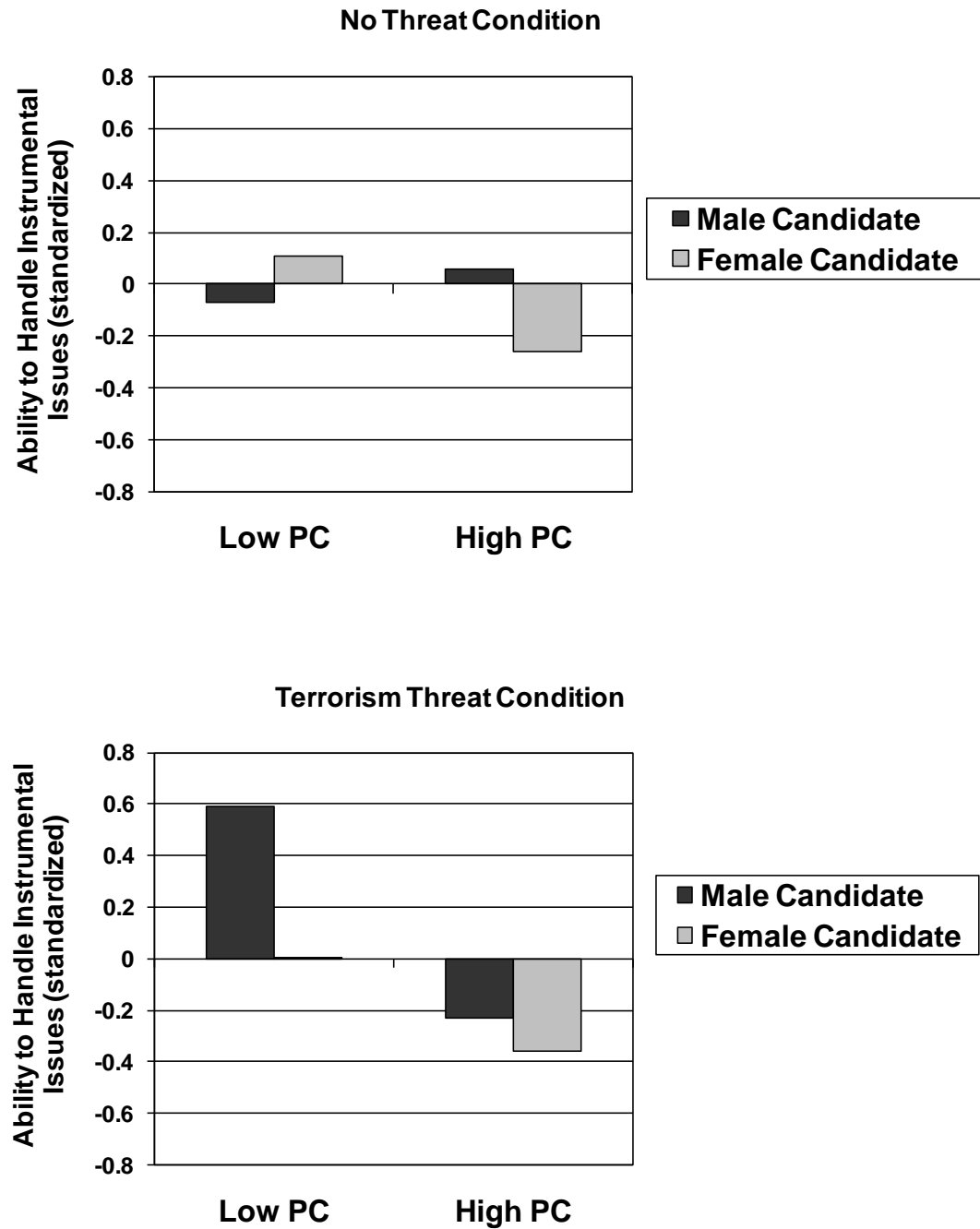


Figure 10. Three-way interaction between the threat manipulation, candidate gender, and person-centeredness (PC) on performance ratings of the candidate on instrumental issues (Study 2).

## **CHAPTER ELEVEN**

### **STUDY 2 DISCUSSION**

A number of effects from Study 1 replicated in Study 2. Most notably, a main effect of person-centeredness emerged for all dependent variables. Regarding attitude and voting likelihood ratings, high PC candidates were once again preferred over low PC candidate. Likewise, the moderation of the PC effect on ratings of instrumentality and socio-emotionality replicated. While high PC messages boosted ratings of socio-emotionality, it lowered ratings of instrumentality (for both trait ratings and issue competency ratings). Conversely, low PC messages positively influenced instrumentality ratings but negatively impacted socio-emotionality ratings (again for both trait and issue ratings). The two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender also emerged again for attitude ratings. While high PC female candidates were preferred over high PC males, low PC males were rated more favorably than low PC females.

Overall, very little evidence was found for the prediction that the main effect of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation would be moderated by situational threat or by individual differences within the participant on authoritarianism or ideology. Aside from the lone interaction that emerged for performance ratings on instrumental issues, authoritarianism and ideology (conservatism) failed to moderate the effects of person-centeredness on attitude ratings, voting likelihood, trait ratings, or performance ratings on socio-emotional issues. Overall, neither political conservatives nor high authoritarians



showed any consistent preference for low PC candidates compared to political liberals or those participants low in authoritarianism. Likewise, when primed with the threat of terrorism, participants did not report more positive impressions or evaluations of low PC candidates compared to those not primed, even though such candidates were perceived to be higher in instrumentality and past research has suggested instrumental candidates are preferred during times of threat and insecurity (e.g., Cohen et al. 2004, Landau et al., 2004; McCann, 1997). This leads one to largely discount both of the Strong Candidate Hypotheses.

The threat prime did, however, moderate the two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender, affirming the Candidate Gender Role During Threat Hypothesis. The two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender was magnified for those primed with the threat of domestic terrorism and was more muted for those in the non-threat control condition. Within the threat condition, female candidates were judged quite favorably when they aligned with gender expectancies and engaged in high PC language. However, when female candidates failed to be highly PC (that is, when they violated traditional gender norms and were low in person-centeredness), they were judged much more harshly. Male candidates who violated cultural norms by using high PC language, on the other hand, were disliked more by participants who were primed with the threat of terrorism compared to those not primed. Low PC males fared better among participants primed with threat compared to those not primed.

Although this same three-way interaction between person-centeredness, gender, and threat was not significant for trait ratings, it did prove significant for ratings on the candidate's ability to handle both socio-emotional and instrumental issues. The simple two-way interaction between candidate gender and person-centeredness was quite robust in the threat prime condition. Candidates were largely expected to align with gender stereotypes. High PC females were rated higher on expertise on socio-emotional issues than high PC males who violated gender norms. Low PC females who violated gender norms also were perceived as having diminished levels of expertise compared to their male counterpart, low PC men. The simple two-ways between person-centeredness and gender were not as pronounced in the non-threat control condition.

Overall, this three-way interaction between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and threat is consistent with the tenets of terror management theory. Individuals who are existentially threatened cling to cultural worldviews more forcefully, and as a result they harshly evaluate those who violate the traditional values and norms of their worldview and they look more favorably upon those who uphold traditional norms (Rosenblatt et al., 1989). Therefore, compared to participants who were not primed, it is not surprising that participants primed with the threat of terrorism would react more favorably toward high PC females and low PC males compared to norm-violating low PC females and high PC males respectively. From the standpoint of traditional cultural norms, women are expected to be more interpersonally sensitive and caring, and thus high PC female candidates fit that cultural norm and are judged positively. It is more acceptable for men to be low in PC because men are not stereotypically expected to be

warm, sensitive, and empathetic. As such, low PC male candidates are also evaluated more positively (at least in comparison to those not primed with a terrorism threat before the candidate evaluation process). Gender role violators – low PC women and high PC men – break from traditional gender norms and are presumably seen as a threat to one's worldview, thus such gender role violators are viewed more negatively by those primed with terrorism.

This connection between threat and person-centered communications warrants further exploration. For example, work in the area of terror management has suggested that self-esteem attenuates the effects of mortality salience (or existential threat). In other words, self-esteem can act as a buffer against feelings of threat and insecurity and can diminish the need to cling to a worldview or derogate those who violate traditional cultural values (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Pinel, Simon, & Jordan, 1993; Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & McGregor, 1997). It may be the case that self-esteem operates in a similar fashion here, attenuating the relationship between threat and evaluations of male and female candidates using person-centered messages. Perhaps the exaggerated simple two-way interaction between person-centeredness and candidate gender seen in the threat condition can be diminished (or even eliminated) if, between the threat and the candidate evaluation task, participants are given a boost to their self-esteem (e.g., self-affirmations, positive feedback about the self from others, etc.) Likewise, trait self-esteem may be a key moderator. The three-way interaction between threat, person-centeredness, and candidate gender may hold true for

those lower in trait self-esteem but be eliminated for those higher in self-esteem. Further research should investigate these possibilities.

## **CHAPTER TWELVE**

### **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

This project is unique in that it is the first experimental investigation into the effects of person-centered communications within the political domain. Additionally, the two studies presented here were more reflective of real world situations than many previous candidate evaluation studies. While participants in previous studies were oftentimes explicitly told a particular candidate possessed certain traits, the present experiments had participants examine and evaluate a political candidate who was interpersonally interacting with a voter, allowing one to make a connection between a candidate's behavior (in this case, the level of person-centeredness he or she displayed when communicating) and the type of traits that the candidate is then perceived to possess.

Overall, both studies illustrated the benefits (and limitations) that candidates can expect when using person-centered language. In both studies it was established that person-centered communications influence impressions and evaluations of political candidates. Candidates using high person-centered messages (compared to low) are not only evaluated more positively, but individuals' willingness to vote for the candidate also positively increases. However, there are also pitfalls associated with using person-centered language.

When predicting attitude ratings and voting likelihood, it appears that female candidates have more to gain from being highly person-centered in their communication style. Male candidates who use high PC messages are not judged quite as positively as females who use the same messages (although it should be noted that both high PC men and women are judged favorably, and the small difference between high PC men and high PC women was nonsignificant, at least in non-threat conditions). However, female candidates have more to lose by being low in person-centeredness. While it is more acceptable for men to use low PC messages, low PC women are viewed much more negatively. This interaction between gender and person-centeredness reveals a tougher road to travel for women than men. Male candidates are viewed positively when they use high PC language and are not necessarily viewed as harshly for low PC language compared to women. In essence, men can use high PC messages and are in a better position to “get away with” using colder, low PC messages. Women, on the other hand, cannot as easily get away with using low PC messages that are counter to the stereotypical female. (And, as the results of the four-way interactions from Study 1 hint at, getting away with low PC language may be even more difficult for a female candidate if she is speaking with a male individual.)

Furthermore, this interaction between person-centeredness and gender was magnified under conditions of threat, as evidenced by the significant three-way interaction in Study 2 between person-centeredness, candidate gender, and terrorism threat prime. This provides further insight into the benefits and risks posed to political candidates using person-centered language. In order to demonstrate competence and

leadership during times of threat, uncertainty, or instability (such as during a terrorist attack or when engaged in a war), male candidates can use low PC language and not suffer quite as harshly when they are evaluated by the electorate. Female candidates, on the other hand, will be rated much more negatively if they utilize low PC messages during such a threat or crisis; they are expected behave in accordance with traditional gender stereotypes saying women are warm, empathetic, and interpersonal. This is ironic given that women, more so than men, have to prove their bona fides as strong, tough, instrumental leaders who can handle events like international war and terrorist attacks (see Huddy & Capelos, 2002), and therefore women would be more likely to have to utilize low PC language in order to boost perceptions of their instrumentality.

This interaction also highlights some risks to male candidates as well. If a national tragedy such as a terrorist attack did occur, certain events may call for a male candidate to show empathy and high person-centeredness (e.g., comforting victims, explaining injuries and loss of life, etc.) Yet the results here indicate that male candidates may be judged less positively than female candidates when speaking in a highly person-centered manner during a threatening situation, and such candidates may, in fact, be perceived as less instrumental, given the effect high person-centeredness has on ratings of instrumentality.

In both studies, the effect of person-centeredness on trait and performance ratings was moderated by the rating dimension, instrumentality versus socio-emotionality, and this result should also give candidates pause. While adopting a highly PC communication style may benefit a candidate when it comes to socio-emotionality – for

example, being personally seen as warmer, more compassionate, and empathetic as well as better able to handle issues such as healthcare or education – that same candidate will pay a price when it comes to instrumentality. A high PC candidate will be viewed as having fewer instrumental traits like toughness and decisiveness, and they will be perceived as less adept at handling instrumental issues like international affairs or homeland security. Similarly, a candidate who seeks to boost their instrumentality by engaging in low PC language will end up being perceived as less warm and less socio-emotional.

Once again, these results highlight the narrow tightrope that women in particular must negotiate in politics. Female candidates, generally being seen as more socio-emotional than male candidates and often presumed to have more expertise in socio-emotional issues (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a, 1993b), frequently find themselves in the position of having to “prove” themselves as competent, aggressive, executive leaders throughout the course of an election (whereas men are often assumed to have these qualities and thus are not necessarily asked to jump through these same hoops as female candidates are). For instance, it was said that Hillary Clinton had to pass the “Commander-in-Chief test” during her run for the Presidency in 2007 and 2008. In just one of many examples throughout the media, *USA Today* published an article titled “Can Hillary Be Elected Commander in Chief?” which examined whether Hillary Clinton’s positions on foreign policy and national security would allow her to appear tough enough in the eyes of voters to be elected President (Nichols, 2005). Indeed, there were numerous media stories leading up to the 2008 Presidential election that analyzed



whether Hillary Clinton could effectively display the instrumentality necessary to become President. And as Hillary Clinton attempted to position herself as tough-minded, aggressive, and ready to take on the role of the nation's top executive, she found herself slipping when it came to socio-emotionality. As she began to successfully brand herself as tough, resolute, and competent, she paid a price in terms of warmth and empathy. Media reports then shifted and began commenting on Hillary Clinton's lack of socio-emotionality, exemplified by an article in *Slate* entitled "Is Sen. Clinton Warm Enough to Win?" (Dickerson, 2007).

In order to appear tougher and ready to handle instrumental issues, female politicians can adopt a communication style that is lower in person-centeredness. However, as Hillary Clinton discovered during her Presidential run, such politicians will find themselves paying a price when it comes to socio-emotional traits and issues. They will be seen as less warm, less feminine, and perhaps less capable of handling certain compassion issues like education and social welfare. And such a balancing act between instrumentality and socio-emotionality can affect male candidates as well. If a male candidate needs to appear softer and warmer to voters, a highly person-centered communication style will likely do the trick. However, that male candidate may find himself being perceived as less tough and resolute, and less adept at handling stereotypical "masculine" issues like national defense, security, and business regulation. Taken as a whole, candidates – regardless of gender – must carefully consider the trade-off between instrumentality and socio-emotionality when using person-centered language. While high PC language can be beneficial, such a communication strategy can

come at a cost. Likewise, low PC language can raise perceptions of instrumentality but diminish ratings on socio-emotionality.

### **Future Directions and Conclusions**

Future research should address some of the limitations of the present project. Most notably, the interaction between person-centeredness and a candidate's party affiliation is an area ripe for future investigation. The stimulus materials in the present studies purposefully made the candidate non-ideological and did not mention whether the candidate belonged to a particular political party. Likewise, the conversation transcript also purposefully avoided specific issue stances and policy positions so that participants could not infer whether the candidate was a Democrat or Republican. These steps were deliberately taken because it was assumed that the party affiliation of the candidate could (and indeed *would*) interact with the candidate's level of person-centeredness and ultimately affect impressions and evaluations of the candidate.

Party affiliation and person-centeredness may have its biggest impact on trait inferences and issue expertise. While Democratic candidates are often presumed to possess more socio-emotional traits like empathy and compassion, Republicans are often assumed to have more instrumental traits like leadership ability (Hayes, 2005). Such party stereotypes also extend to issues, with Republicans expected to be stronger on instrumental issues while Democrats are assumed to have greater expertise in socio-emotional issues (Petrocik, 1996). However, instrumentality and socio-emotionality have been shown here to be influenced by person-centeredness in both Studies 1 and 2. Therefore, it would be interesting to see what happens to candidate evaluations when

candidates behave in ways counter to party stereotypes with regard to person-centeredness. Are Democrats, assumed to be higher in socio-emotionality, also then assumed to be more likely to use high PC language? And if so, what happens when Democratic candidates fail to be highly PC and engage in low PC rhetoric instead? Similar questions can be posed of Republican candidates, who are perhaps assumed to be most likely to communicate in a low PC manner because Republicans are stereotyped to be more instrumental in nature. What happens when a Republican engages in high PC language? Is such language considered counter-stereotypical and how does this influence candidate evaluations? And this interaction between party and person-centeredness may become even more complicated when candidate gender is added to the mix, although there is research to suggest that, when it comes to trait inferences, stereotypes regarding political party are more powerful than gender stereotypes and indeed may even override gender stereotypes during candidate evaluation (Hayes, 2009).

It would also be beneficial to see if the effects of person-centeredness found in both studies replicate when other communication topics are used. In both Study 1 and 2, the political candidate spoke to the town-hall voter about the affordability of college and ever-increasing tuition costs. Future studies should develop person-centered stimulus materials that revolve around other issues. For example, perhaps the effects of person-centeredness on candidate evaluation are strengthened when the conversation topic is more socio-emotional in nature (e.g., discussing the death of a loved one to cancer because they did not have health insurance) but weakened when the topic is more instrumental (e.g., discussing the need for business regulation to battle unemployment).

Furthermore, future research should investigate whether the effects of person-centeredness are different for different political offices. After all, the traits and qualities a voter seeks in a Presidential candidate can be quite different from the traits one desires in, for instance, a state senator or mayor. Indeed, Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) have found that stereotypical “male” characteristics are more preferred when political candidates are running for national office compared to state and local office. Instrumental traits like strength, resolve, and toughness are more favored among Presidential candidates because Presidents have to deal with national threats, negotiate with hostile countries, and regulate big business.

However, such instrumental traits are not as critical for candidates running for local office (although still important to the electorate and still valuable for local politicians to possess). Given that voters may accept less instrumentality and more socio-emotionality from candidates running for lower offices such as mayor, state senator, or governor, high person-centeredness may be more beneficial to lower office holders than to national candidates. Such lower office holders have more face-to-face contact with the electorate, and therefore high person-centeredness – a largely interpersonal skill – could be much more valuable and beneficial at lower levels of government. Conversely, low person-centeredness may be more acceptable (or even more preferred) among candidates for higher executive office that have less direct contact with everyday people and where instrumental traits may be perceived as more pertinent to successful job performance. For such national office holders, high person-centeredness may be looked upon less positively or perhaps even seen as something of a weakness.

## **Conclusions**

Overall, the research potential of person-centeredness in the political realm is plentiful. It has been established here that person-centered language can impact general attitudes toward a candidate and the likelihood of voting for that candidate, in addition to influencing specific trait inferences and perceived expertise on various political issues. However, the influence of person-centeredness is affected by the candidate's gender. Future research should explore the moderating effect of candidate gender further, and determine if there are other circumstances in which this two-way interaction becomes magnified (in addition to times of terrorist threat) and to see if circumstances exist that can reduce or eliminate this interaction. Likewise, the finding that person-centered messages affect instrumental ratings and socio-emotional ratings in opposite directions opens up a large avenue for potential new research. Future studies should ascertain which specific traits are impacted by high and low person-centered language and how those trait assessments ultimately influence candidate impressions and evaluations.

**APPENDIX A:**  
**PERSON-CENTERED STIMULUS MATERIALS,**  
**LOW AND HIGH PC, MALE CANDIDATE-MALE VOTER CONDITIONS**

Conversation Transcript

*Instructions:* Below is a transcript of a brief conversation occurring at a recent political townhall meeting where voters can “meet and greet” politicians. The conversation is between **Christopher Smith**, a voter, and **Paul Johnson**, a state senator running for re-election. We’re asking you to assume that you hear this conversational exchange during a presentation of the townhall on television. Please read the conversation between the voter and the senator carefully as you will be asked for your impressions of them later. After you have finished reading through the transcript, please turn the page over and wait for the experimenter.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Hello, how are you?

Christopher Smith: Hello. I’m okay. Well, maybe not so okay. You know Kennison University downtown?

Sen. Paul Johnson: Yes.

Christopher Smith: Well, I had to drop out even though I’m just two semesters away from graduating. Kennison raised their tuition this past year again and it just got to be too expensive and I can’t afford to enroll next semester.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Really.

Christopher Smith: Yeah, and I’m worried that I’ll never be able to save up enough to afford tuition and books, especially when the costs keep increasing annually. I know how important getting a bachelor’s degree is nowadays, and I’m concerned I may never graduate with one.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Well, dropping out of college isn’t the end of the world. There are certainly more important things in life. You should focus on all the things that you do have. Really, you should be happy that you still live in a nice community, that you have a family, and that you have a job, even though it may not pay enough for college tuition right now.

Christopher Smith: Yeah, I guess. But I was looking forward to graduating and making a better life for myself soon, and I’m wondering if I’ll ever be able to do that now. I know once someone drops out, they hardly ever get the opportunity to go back and re-enroll in college.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Perhaps you’re just not trying hard enough to save money or to find scholarships. You have to really buckle down and cut corners in order to be able to afford college. And you have to work hard to get good scholarships.

Christopher Smith: Yeah. I just can’t stop thinking about it though.

Sen. Paul Johnson: And that’s one of the reasons why I’m running, because I know this is an issue for people. But, you know, universities are raising tuition and fees all the time so it’s something you probably should have anticipated when you first enrolled. You really should have been thinking about increased costs years ago. Maybe you should have put yourself on a stricter budget back then. And you really can’t blame the university for increasing the cost of tuition when so many people are wanting to enroll.

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Christopher Smith: Well, I had to drop out even though I’m just two semesters away from graduating. Kennison raised their tuition this past year again and it just got to be too expensive and I can’t afford to enroll next semester.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Really.

Christopher Smith: Yeah, and I’m worried that I’ll never be able to save up enough to afford tuition and books, especially when the costs keep increasing annually. I know how important getting a bachelor’s degree is nowadays, and I’m concerned I may never graduate with one.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Well, I can certainly understand why you’re feeling so worried because I know how frustrating it can be to have to pay for college tuition every semester and how the universities keep raising their fees. It can make you crazy trying to pay for it all and focus on your classes at the same time. But I bet in the long run once you have your degree you will be so proud of yourself for all that you accomplished, and it will make you appreciate your hard work all the more.

Christopher Smith: Yeah, I guess. But I was looking forward to graduating and making a better life for myself soon, and I’m wondering if I’ll ever be able to do that now. I know once someone drops out, they hardly ever get the opportunity to go back and re-enroll in college.

Sen. Paul Johnson: Yeah, that’s understandable. I’ve had to take a semester off of college and I know you wonder if you’ll ever get the chance to go back. It’s especially tough when you’re so close to graduating.

Christopher Smith: Yeah. I just can’t stop thinking about it though.

Sen. Paul Johnson: And that’s one of the reasons why I’m running, because I know this is an issue for people. It would be hard *not* to think about a problem like that. The cost of college is definitely a hard thing to deal with, but you’re a hard worker and that’s what counts. You’ve made it this far, so I know your situation will improve, just don’t give up working and saving. I’m sure you’ll be able to go back and graduate sooner than you think.



**APPENDIX B:**  
**STUDY 1 SURVEY**

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Extremely Unfavorable</i>						<i>Extremely Favorable</i>
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Extremely Unlikable</i>						<i>Extremely Likeable</i>
-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Negative</i>						<i>Positive</i>

-3            -2            -1            0            1            2            3  
Extremely    Extremely  
Unlikely    Likely

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Extremely</i>						<i>Extremely</i>
<i>Unfit</i>						<i>Fit</i>

[illegible]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Effective						Effective

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all						Extremely
Supportive						Supportive

***Based on what you know about the Senator, how well do each of the following adjectives describe the Senator?***

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Not Well at All</i>				<i>Extremely Well</i>
_____				Assertive
_____				Compassionate
_____				Tough
_____				Warm
_____				Gentle
_____				Masculine
_____				Emotional
_____				Sensitive
_____				Cautious
_____				Resolute
_____				Rational
_____				Coarse
_____				Aggressive
_____				Feminine
_____				Stern
_____				Active
_____				Self-confident
_____				Talkative
_____				Empathetic

***How well would the Senator handle each of the following issues?***

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Not Well at All</i>				<i>Extremely Well</i>
_____				Education
_____				Military spending
_____				A military or foreign affairs crisis
_____				Healthcare
_____				Reducing budget deficits
_____				Dealing with leaders in business and industry
_____				Assisting the poor
_____				Improving the welfare of children
_____				Domestic terrorism

***Please indicate what you believe to be the Senator's general ideological stance:***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Liberal</i>		<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Conservative</i>

***Please indicate what you believe to be the Senator's Party affiliation:***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Democrat</i>		<i>Republican</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Republican</i>

***Using the 1-5 scale below, please indicate how much you think the Senator displays or possesses the following characteristics:***

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Not at all</i>				<i>A Great Deal</i>

- \_\_\_\_\_ Hard-working
- \_\_\_\_\_ Intelligent
- \_\_\_\_\_ Knowledgeable
- \_\_\_\_\_ Little experience
- \_\_\_\_\_ Lots of mistakes
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unqualified for job
- \_\_\_\_\_ Commands respect
- \_\_\_\_\_ Inspiring
- \_\_\_\_\_ Strong
- \_\_\_\_\_ Weak
- \_\_\_\_\_ No direction
- \_\_\_\_\_ Easily influenced
- \_\_\_\_\_ Decent
- \_\_\_\_\_ Moral
- \_\_\_\_\_ Good example
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dishonest
- \_\_\_\_\_ Lies to public
- \_\_\_\_\_ Power-hungry
- \_\_\_\_\_ Compassionate
- \_\_\_\_\_ Kind
- \_\_\_\_\_ Really cares
- \_\_\_\_\_ Can't understand us/the public
- \_\_\_\_\_ Out of touch
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unfair

**Please indicate where YOU fall on the political scales below:**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strong Liberal	Moderate Liberal	Weak Liberal	Moderate	Weak Conservative	Moderate Conservative	Strong Conservative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strong Democrat	Moderate Democrat	Weak Democrat	Independent	Weak Republican	Moderate Republican	Strong Republican

**For each item, please circle the appropriate answer that describes the individual. Please guess if you are unsure of an answer.**

- 1) Robert Gates
  - a. current U.S. Secretary of State
  - b. current U.S. Secretary of Defense
  - c. current U.S. Attorney General
  - d. former Director of the CIA
- 2) John McCain
  - a. former Vice President of the United States
  - b. current Arizona Senator
  - c. former Speaker of the House of Representatives
  - d. current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- 3) Al Gore
  - a. former director of the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency)
  - b. former President of the United States
  - c. former Vice President of the United States
  - d. current Governor of Tennessee
- 4) John Roberts
  - a. current Attorney General
  - b. current U.S. Secretary of the Interior
  - c. former Virginia Senator
  - d. current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- 5) Nancy Pelosi
  - a. current Speaker of the House of Representatives
  - b. current Majority Leader in the Senate
  - c. former First Lady
  - d. current Director of the FBI
- 6) Mitt Romney
  - a. current Minority Leader in the House of Representatives
  - b. former Governor of Massachusetts
  - c. current Vermont Senator
  - d. former Vice President of the United States

- 7) Arnold Schwarzenegger
  - a. current Mayor of Los Angeles
  - b. current Governor of California
  - c. current California Senator
  - d. former Mayor of San Francisco
- 8) Dick Durbin
  - a. former Governor of Wisconsin
  - b. current Vice President of the United States
  - c. current Secretary of Energy
  - d. current Illinois Senator
- 9) Mitch McConnell
  - a. current Governor of Tennessee
  - b. current Minority Leader in the Senate
  - c. current Speaker of the House of Representative
  - d. former Vice President of the United States
- 10) Hillary Clinton
  - a. current President of the United States
  - b. former Governor of Arkansas
  - c. current Secretary of State
  - d. current Secretary of Defense

***Please answer the following questions about Washington and politics. If you do not know an answer feel free to leave it blank, but please try to answer to the best of your ability on each.***

- 1) Who is the current Vice President of the United States?
- 2) How many seats are there in the Senate?
- 3) Which political party currently controls the House of Representatives?
- 4) At the national level, which political party is more conservative?
- 5) What are the three branches of the federal government?

***Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate number for each question.***

How interested are you in politics?

- (4) Very interested
- (3) Somewhat interested
- (2) Only a little interested
- (1) Not at all interested

How often do you read newspaper or magazine articles about politics?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How often do you watch television shows about politics or political news stories?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How often do you talk about politics with other people?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How much did you follow the 2008 election?

- (4) Very much
- (3) Some
- (2) Little
- (1) Not at all

***Have you ever done any of the following (check all the apply):***

- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Congressman
- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Senator
- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Governor
- ☐ Signed a petition for a political or social campaign or cause
- ☐ Worn a political button for a particular candidate, campaign, or cause
- ☐ Displayed a political bumper sticker on your car
- ☐ Volunteered for a political or social group, cause, or event
- ☐ Donated money to a political candidate, group, or cause

*Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements below by circling the appropriate number on the scales that follow.*

1. It is important that men act in a masculine manner.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

2. Men should behave in a masculine manner.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

3. It is important that men do NOT act femininely.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

4. It is important for women to act in a feminine manner.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

5. Women should behave in a feminine manner.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

6. It is important that women do NOT act masculinely.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>



*Please answer each of the questions about YOURSELF by circling the appropriate number on the scales that follow each question.*

1. How well does the word “masculine” apply to you?

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Not at all</i>						<i>Extremely</i>

2. How well does the word “feminine” apply to you?

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Not at all</i>						<i>Extremely</i>

3. To what degree is being masculine important to your identity?

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A great deal</i>

4. To what degree is being feminine important to your identity?

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Not at all</i>						<i>A great deal</i>

5. Complete this statement about yourself: “I think that most people typically see me as...”:

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Extremely Masculine</i>						<i>Extremely Feminine</i>

*Please indicate the extent to which the following statements are characteristic of YOU by checking the appropriate line*

I would prefer complex to simple problems.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

Thinking is not my idea of fun.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is likely chance  
I will have to think in depth about something.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I find satisfaction in deliberating hard for long hours.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I only think as hard as I have to.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long term ones.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

The idea of relying on thought to make my way to the top appeals to me.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

The notion of thinking abstractly is appealing to me.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that  
is somewhat important but does not require much thought.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

It's enough for me that something gets the job done; I don't care how or why it works.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally.

disagree \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ agree

*Please indicate your:*

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male  
\_\_\_\_\_ Female

Race / Ethnicity (if biracial, please select the ethnicity you most identify with):

\_\_\_\_\_ White/Caucasian (non-Hispanic) \_\_\_\_\_ Middle Eastern \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please  
\_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic/Latino/Latina \_\_\_\_\_ American Indian specify below)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American \_\_\_\_\_ Pacific Islander  
\_\_\_\_\_ Asian

Class Rank: \_\_\_\_\_ Freshman \_\_\_\_\_ Sophomore \_\_\_\_\_ Junior \_\_\_\_\_ Senior

**APPENDIX C:**  
**NEWSPAPER ARTICLES FOR TERRORISM THREAT AND CONTROL**  
**PRIMES, WITH FILLER SURVEY**

## **Bin Laden is said to be Organizing for a U.S. Attack**

(AP) WASHINGTON, DC - Osama bin Laden and his chief lieutenants, operating from hideouts suspected to be along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, are directing an Al Qaeda effort to launch an attack in the United States sometime this year, senior administration officials said on Thursday. White House officials as well as the Department of Homeland Security are cautioning the public to be ready for the possibility of a massive attack, perhaps on the scale of the September 11, 2001 attacks. "What we know about this most recent

information is that it is being directed from the highest levels of the Al Qaeda organization," said a senior official at a briefing for reporters. He added, "We know that this leadership continues to operate along the border area between Afghanistan and Pakistan." Counter-terrorism officials have said for weeks that they are increasingly worried by a continuing stream of intelligence suggesting that Al Qaeda plans to carry out a significant terrorist attack on United States soil this year.

## **Scientists find more dinosaur bones at Utah quarry**

(AP) SALT LAKE CITY - Scientists at one of Utah's major new dinosaur quarries have found 60 to 70 new bones this spring, including what appears to be a 20-foot-long neck bone discovered this week. The latest finds are fresh evidence that the site near Hanksville could be a large and important source of bones in the coming years. "In some places you can't work to remove one bone without finding four or five more," said Scott Williams, exhibits manager at the Burpee Museum of Natural History.

Scientists hope the mix of dinosaurs, trees and other species may help piece together what life was like 145 million to 150 million years ago. The site - called the Hanksville Dinosaur Quarry - is a logjam of sorts, where dinosaur remains are believed to have been washed into place by an ancient stream. In some places, bones are "stacked up like cord-wood," said Jim Kirkland, the state paleontologist. "We're just literally scratching the surface," Williams said.

***Regarding the newspaper article you just read, please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements below by circling the appropriate number on the scales that follow.***

1. The newspaper article was easy to read.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

2. The article was well-written.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

3. The article was too long.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

4. It was easy to comprehend what the author was saying in the newspaper article.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

5. The size of the text in the newspaper article was too small.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>

6. The topic of the newspaper article is important.

-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3
<i>Strongly</i>						<i>Strongly</i>
<i>Disagree</i>						<i>Agree</i>



**APPENDIX D:**  
**STUDY 2 SURVEY**



***Based on what you know about the Senator, how well do each of the following adjectives describe the Senator?***

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Not Well at All</i>				<i>Extremely Well</i>
_____				Assertive
_____				Compassionate
_____				Tough
_____				Warm
_____				Gentle
_____				Masculine
_____				Emotional
_____				Sensitive
_____				Cautious
_____				Resolute
_____				Rational
_____				Coarse
_____				Aggressive
_____				Feminine
_____				Stern
_____				Active
_____				Self-confident
_____				Talkative
_____				Empathetic

***How well would the Senator handle each of the following issues?***

<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Not Well at All</i>				<i>Extremely Well</i>
_____				Education
_____				Military spending
_____				A military or foreign affairs crisis
_____				Healthcare
_____				Reducing budget deficits
_____				Dealing with leaders in business and industry
_____				Assisting the poor
_____				Improving the welfare of children
_____				Domestic terrorism

***Please indicate what you believe to be the Senator's general ideological stance:***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Liberal</i>	<i>Liberal</i>		<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Conservative</i>	<i>Conservative</i>

***Please indicate what you believe to be the Senator's Party affiliation:***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Strong</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Weak</i>	<i>Moderate</i>	<i>Strong</i>
<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Democrat</i>		<i>Republican</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Republican</i>

***Using the 1-5 scale below, please indicate how much you think the Senator displays or possesses the following characteristics:***

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Not at all</i>				<i>A Great Deal</i>

- \_\_\_\_\_ Hard-working
- \_\_\_\_\_ Intelligent
- \_\_\_\_\_ Knowledgeable
- \_\_\_\_\_ Little experience
- \_\_\_\_\_ Lots of mistakes
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unqualified for job
- \_\_\_\_\_ Commands respect
- \_\_\_\_\_ Inspiring
- \_\_\_\_\_ Strong
- \_\_\_\_\_ Weak
- \_\_\_\_\_ No direction
- \_\_\_\_\_ Easily influenced
- \_\_\_\_\_ Decent
- \_\_\_\_\_ Moral
- \_\_\_\_\_ Good example
- \_\_\_\_\_ Dishonest
- \_\_\_\_\_ Lies to public
- \_\_\_\_\_ Power-hungry
- \_\_\_\_\_ Compassionate
- \_\_\_\_\_ Kind
- \_\_\_\_\_ Really cares
- \_\_\_\_\_ Can't understand us/the public
- \_\_\_\_\_ Out of touch
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unfair

***Please indicate where YOU fall on the political scales below:***

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strong Liberal	Moderate Liberal	Weak Liberal	Moderate	Weak Conservative	Moderate Conservative	Strong Conservative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strong Democrat	Moderate Democrat	Weak Democrat	Independent	Weak Republican	Moderate Republican	Strong Republican

***For each item, please circle the appropriate answer that describes the individual. Please guess if you are unsure of an answer.***

- 1) Robert Gates
  - a. current U.S. Secretary of State
  - b. current U.S. Secretary of Defense
  - c. current U.S. Attorney General
  - d. former Director of the CIA
- 2) John McCain
  - a. former Vice President of the United States
  - b. current Arizona Senator
  - c. former Speaker of the House of Representatives
  - d. current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- 3) Al Gore
  - a. former director of the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency)
  - b. former President of the United States
  - c. former Vice President of the United States
  - d. current Governor of Tennessee
- 4) John Roberts
  - a. current Attorney General
  - b. current U.S. Secretary of the Interior
  - c. former Virginia Senator
  - d. current Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- 5) Nancy Pelosi
  - a. current Speaker of the House of Representatives
  - b. current Majority Leader in the Senate
  - c. former First Lady
  - d. current Director of the FBI
- 6) Mitt Romney
  - a. current Minority Leader in the House of Representatives
  - b. former Governor of Massachusetts
  - c. current Vermont Senator
  - d. former Vice President of the United States

- 7) Arnold Schwarzenegger
  - a. current Mayor of Los Angeles
  - b. current Governor of California
  - c. current California Senator
  - d. former Mayor of San Francisco
- 8) Dick Durbin
  - a. former Governor of Wisconsin
  - b. current Vice President of the United States
  - c. current Secretary of Energy
  - d. current Illinois Senator
- 9) Mitch McConnell
  - a. current Governor of Tennessee
  - b. current Minority Leader in the Senate
  - c. current Speaker of the House of Representative
  - d. former Vice President of the United States
- 10) Hillary Clinton
  - a. current President of the United States
  - b. former Governor of Arkansas
  - c. current Secretary of State
  - d. current Secretary of Defense

***Please answer the following questions about Washington and politics. If you do not know an answer feel free to leave it blank, but please try to answer to the best of your ability on each.***

- 6) Who is the current Vice President of the United States?
- 7) How many seats are there in the Senate?
- 8) Which political party currently controls the House of Representatives?
- 9) At the national level, which political party is more conservative?
- 10) What are the three branches of the federal government?

***Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate number for each question.***

How interested are you in politics?

- (4) Very interested
- (3) Somewhat interested
- (2) Only a little interested
- (1) Not at all interested

How often do you read newspaper or magazine articles about politics?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How often do you watch television shows about politics or political news stories?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How often do you talk about politics with other people?

- (5) Daily
- (4) A few times a week
- (3) A few times a month
- (2) Rarely
- (1) Never

How much did you follow the 2008 election?

- (4) Very much
- (3) Some
- (2) Little
- (1) Not at all

***Have you ever done any of the following (check all the apply):***

- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Congressman
- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Senator
- ☐ Wrote a letter to your Governor
- ☐ Signed a petition for a political or social campaign or cause
- ☐ Worn a political button for a particular candidate, campaign, or cause
- ☐ Displayed a political bumper sticker on your car
- ☐ Volunteered for a political or social group, cause, or event
- ☐ Donated money to a political candidate, group, or cause

***Please circle one answer to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.***

1. Laws have to be strictly enforced if we are going to preserve our way of life.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

2. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

3. Women should always remember the promise they make in marriage to obey their husbands.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

4. Our customs and national heritage are the things that have made us great, and certain people should be made to show greater respect for them.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

5. Capital punishment should be completely abolished.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

6. National flags, anthems, and glorification of one's country should all be de-emphasized to promote brotherhood of all men.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

7. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>

8. A lot of our society's rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other peoples follow.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>



9. Our prisons are a shocking disgrace. Criminals are unfortunate people who deserve much better care, instead of so much punishment.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

10. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

11. Organizations like the army and the priesthood have a pretty unhealthy effect upon men because they require strict obedience of commands from supervisors.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

12. One good way to teach certain people right from wrong is to give them a good stiff punishment when they get out of line.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

13. Youngsters should be taught to refuse to fight in a war unless they themselves agree that the war is just and necessary.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

14. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still the mark of a gentleman and, especially, a lady.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

15. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

16. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

17. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

18. Rules about being “well-mannered” and respectable are chains from the past that we should question very thoroughly before accepting.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

19. The courts are right in being easy on drug offenders. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

20. If a child starts becoming a little too unconventional, his parents should see to it he returns to the normal ways expected by society.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

21. Being kind to loafers or criminals will only encourage them to take advantage of your weakness, so it's best to use a firm, tough hand when dealing with them.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

22. A “woman’s place” should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

23. Homosexuals are just as good and virtuous as anybody else, and there is nothing wrong with being one.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

24. It's one thing to question and doubt someone during an election campaign, but once a man becomes the leader of our country we owe him our greatest support and loyalty.

<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Slightly</i>	<i>Somewhat</i>	<i>Strongly</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6

*Please indicate your:*

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_ Male  
\_\_\_\_\_ Female

Race / Ethnicity (if biracial, please select the ethnicity you most identify with):

\_\_\_\_\_ White/Caucasian (non-Hispanic) \_\_\_\_\_ Middle Eastern \_\_\_\_\_ Other (please  
\_\_\_\_\_ Hispanic/Latino/Latina \_\_\_\_\_ American Indian specify below)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Black/African American \_\_\_\_\_ Pacific Islander  
\_\_\_\_\_ Asian

Class Rank: \_\_\_\_\_ Freshman \_\_\_\_\_ Sophomore \_\_\_\_\_ Junior \_\_\_\_\_ Senior

**APPENDIX E:**  
**REGRESSION TABLES,**  
**STUDIES 1 AND 2**

Regression Table 1

Predicting Attitude Toward the Candidate Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.01 (.05)	-.02 (.05)	-.02 (.05)	.00 (.05)
Ideology	.05 (.08)	.05 (.08)	.04 (.08)	.04 (.08)
Party ID	-.08 (.08)	-.07 (.08)	-.06 (.08)	-.06 (.08)
PC	.94** (.10)	.94** (.10)	.95** (.10)	.97** (.10)
CG	-.07 (.10)	-.05 (.10)	-.07 (.10)	-.10 (.10)
VG	.00 (.10)	-.01 (.10)	-.03 (.10)	.01 (.10)
GS	.17 (.10)	.15 (.11)	.14 (.11)	.13 (.11)
PC x CG		.40* (.20)	.40* (.20)	.28 (.20)
PC x VG		-.14 (.20)	-.14 (.20)	-.14 (.20)
CG x VG		.11 (.20)	.12 (.20)	.12 (.20)
GS x PC		-.16 (.21)	-.20 (.21)	-.21 (.21)
GS x CG		-.11 (.20)	-.08 (.21)	-.07 (.21)
GS x VG		-.28 (.20)	-.23 (.21)	-.12 (.21)
PC x CG x VG			-.27 (.41)	-.32 (.41)
GS x PC x CG			.46 (.42)	.49 (.42)
GS x PC x VG			.09 (.41)	.28 (.41)
GS x CG x VG			-.18 (.42)	-.37 (.42)
GS x PC x CG x VG				-2.22* (.82)
$R^2$	.28	.30	.31	.33
$F$ for change in $R^2$	16.77**	1.14	.57	7.31**

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 2

Predicting Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate Using Hierarchical Regression,  
Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.01 (.06)	-.03 (.06)	-.03 (.06)	.00 (.06)
Ideology	-.09 (.09)	-.07 (.09)	-.08 (.09)	-.07 (.09)
Party ID	.08 (.09)	.09 (.09)	-.09 (.09)	.09 (.09)
PC	.87** (.11)	.88** (.11)	.89** (.12)	.91** (.11)
CG	-.05 (.11)	-.07 (.11)	-.08 (.11)	-.11 (.11)
VG	-.08 (.11)	-.08 (.11)	-.08 (.11)	-.04 (.11)
GS	.24 (.12)	.24 (.12)	.23 (.12)	.23 (.12)
PC x CG		.39 (.22)	.38 (.23)	.25 (.23)
PC x VG		-.24 (.23)	-.23 (.23)	-.22 (.23)
CG x VG		-.06 (.23)	-.05 (.23)	-.02 (.23)
GS x PC		.21 (.23)	.19 (.24)	.19 (.24)
GS x CG		-.30 (.23)	-.29 (.24)	-.29 (.23)
GS x VG		-.36 (.23)	-.33 (.23)	-.21 (.23)
PC x CG x VG			-.20 (.47)	-.25 (.46)
GS x PC x CG			.26 (.48)	.27 (.47)
GS x PC x VG			-.17 (.47)	.04 (.47)
GS x CG x VG			-.24 (.47)	-.43 (.47)
GS x PC x CG x VG				-2.56* (.93)
$R^2$	.22	.25	.25	.27
$F$ for change in $R^2$	12.44**	1.46	.28	7.52**

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 3

Predicting Socio-Emotional Trait Rating Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.02 (.04)	.00 (.05)	-.01 (.05)	.01 (.05)
Ideology	.06 (.07)	.06 (.07)	.05 (.07)	.05 (.07)
Party ID	-.14 (.07)	-.15 (.07)	-.14 (.07)	-.14 (.07)
PC	1.40** (.09)	1.42** (.09)	1.41** (.09)	1.43** (.09)
CG	.08 (.09)	.07 (.09)	.08 (.09)	.06 (.09)
VG	-.09 (.09)	-.08 (.09)	-.09 (.09)	-.07 (.09)
GS	.03 (.10)	.07 (.10)	.06 (.10)	.06 (.10)
PC x CG		.05 (.18)	.06 (.18)	-.02 (.19)
PC x VG		.29 (.19)	.29 (.19)	.29 (.19)
CG x VG		.16 (.19)	.20 (.19)	.22 (.19)
GS x PC		.09 (.19)	.06 (.19)	.07 (.19)
GS x CG		-.44* (.19)	-.42* (.19)	-.42* (.19)
GS x VG		-.27 (.18)	-.27 (.19)	-.20 (.19)
PC x CG x VG			.10 (.38)	.06 (.38)
GS x PC x CG			.30 (.39)	.30 (.38)
GS x PC x VG			-.63 (.38)	-.49 (.38)
GS x CG x VG			-.42 (.38)	-.55 (.38)
GS x PC x CG x VG				-1.61* (.76)
$R^2$	.49	.51	.52	.53
$F$ for change in $R^2$	40.49**	1.83	1.34	4.481*

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 4

Predicting Instrumental Trait Rating Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.01 (.05)	.00 (.05)	-.02 (.05)	-.04 (.05)
Ideology	.08 (.08)	.08 (.08)	.05 (.09)	.05 (.09)
Party ID	-.05 (.08)	-.03 (.08)	-.12 (.09)	-.10 (.09)
PC	-1.08** (.11)	-1.07** (.11)	-1.11** (.11)	-1.23** (.11)
CG	-.08 (.11)	-.09 (.11)	-.07 (.11)	-.05 (.11)
VG	.19 (.11)	.18 (.11)	.14 (.11)	.12 (.11)
GS	.22* (.11)	.22* (.11)	.16 (.12)	.17 (.12)
PC x CG		-.23 (.21)	-.18 (.21)	-.10 (.22)
PC x VG		.00 (.22)	-.06 (.22)	-.06 (.22)
CG x VG		.42 (.22)	.51* (.22)	.49* (.22)
GS x PC		.37 (.22)	.26 (.23)	.26 (.23)
GS x CG		.08 (.22)	-.17 (.22)	.17 (.22)
GS x VG		-.07 (.22)	-.12 (.22)	-.19 (.22)
PC x CG x VG			.68 (.44)	.72 (.44)
GS x PC x CG			.95* (.45)	.95* (.45)
GS x PC x VG			-.46 (.44)	-.60 (.44)
GS x CG x VG			.20 (.44)	.32 (.45)
GS x PC x CG x VG				1.55 (.88)
$R^2$	.31	.34	.35	.36
$F$ for change in $R^2$	18.40**	1.61	1.73	3.09

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .



Regression Table 5

Predicting Performance Rating on Socio-Emotional Issues Using Hierarchical  
Regression, Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.02 (.05)	-.02 (.05)	-.03 (.05)	-.01 (.06)
Ideology	.06 (.09)	.08 (.09)	.05 (.09)	.05 (.09)
Party ID	-.01 (.09)	.01 (.09)	.02 (.09)	.02 (.09)
PC	.88** (.11)	.89** (.11)	.85** (.11)	.87** (.11)
CG	.04 (.11)	-.01 (.11)	.04 (.11)	.02 (.11)
VG	-.15 (.11)	-.15 (.11)	-.18 (.11)	-.16 (.11)
GS	.27* (.12)	.28* (.12)	.23* (.12)	.23* (.12)
PC x CG		.16 (.22)	.20 (.22)	.12 (.22)
PC x VG		-.19 (.23)	-.23 (.23)	-.23 (.23)
CG x VG		.23 (.22)	.31 (.23)	.32 (.23)
GS x PC		.49* (.23)	.43 (.23)	.43 (.23)
GS x CG		-.25 (.23)	-.18 (.23)	-.18 (.23)
GS x VG		-.49* (.22)	-.54* (.23)	-.48* (.23)
PC x CG x VG			.66 (.46)	.62 (.46)
GS x PC x CG			.58 (.46)	.59 (.46)
GS x PC x VG			-.71 (.45)	-.59 (.46)
GS x CG x VG			-.13 (.46)	-.25 (.46)
GS x PC x CG x VG				-1.51 (.92)
$R^2$	.24	.28	.30	.31
$F$ for change in $R^2$	13.49**	2.46*	1.42	2.73

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 6

Predicting Performance Rating on Instrumental Issues Using Hierarchical Regression,  
Study 1

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.01 (.06)	-.03 (.06)	-.03 (.06)	-.05 (.06)
Ideology	.08 (.10)	.10 (.10)	.08 (.10)	.08 (.10)
Party ID	-.11 (.10)	-.10 (.10)	-.09 (.10)	-.09 (.10)
PC	-.36** (.12)	-.35** (.12)	-.37** (.13)	-.40** (.13)
CG	-.04 (.12)	-.06 (.12)	-.05 (.13)	-.04 (.13)
VG	.06 (.13)	.06 (.12)	.04 (.13)	.03 (.13)
GS	.19 (.13)	.22 (.13)	.18 (.14)	.19 (.14)
PC x CG		.20 (.25)	.22 (.25)	.28 (.26)
PC x VG		.11 (.26)	.10 (.26)	.10 (.26)
CG x VG		.16 (.26)	.20 (.26)	.19 (.26)
GS x PC		.39 (.26)	.36 (.27)	.36 (.28)
GS x CG		-.29 (.26)	-.25 (.26)	-.25 (.26)
GS x VG		-.61* (.25)	-.64* (.26)	-.70* (.26)
PC x CG x VG			.66 (.52)	.69 (.52)
GS x PC x CG			.19 (.53)	.19 (.53)
GS x PC x VG			-.29 (.52)	-.39 (.53)
GS x CG x VG			-.20 (.52)	-.11 (.53)
GS x PC x CG x VG				1.21 (1.05)
$R^2$	.05	.08	.09	.10
$F$ for change in $R^2$	1.98	1.70	.52	1.32

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, VG = Voter gender, GS = Participant gender schematicity.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 7

Predicting Attitude Toward the Candidate with Individual Difference Moderator  
(Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.04 (.05)	.03 (.05)	.03 (.05)
Ideology	.10 (.09)	.08 (.09)	.09 (.09)
Party ID	-.06 (.08)	-.05 (.08)	-.04 (.08)
PC	.98** (.10)	.98** (.10)	.99** (.10)
CG	.04 (.10)	.06 (.10)	.07 (.10)
AU	.29* (.12)	.24* (.12)	.23* (.12)
PC x CG		.59** (.19)	.60** (.19)
AU x PC		-.21 (.19)	-.18 (.19)
AU x CG		-.36 (.19)	-.35* (.19)
AU x PC x CG			.49 (.39)
$R^2$	.33	.37	.40
$F$ for change in $R^2$	22.22**	5.16*	1.59

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 8

Predicting Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate with Individual Difference Moderator  
(Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.03 (.06)	.02 (.06)	.02 (.06)
Ideology	.09 (.10)	.07 (.10)	.06 (.10)
Party ID	-.07 (.09)	-.04 (.09)	-.04 (.09)
PC	.95** (.11)	.96** (.11)	.96** (.11)
CG	-.08 (.11)	-.07 (.11)	-.07 (.11)
AU	.33* (.14)	.30* (.14)	.31* (.14)
PC x CG		.12 (.23)	.12 (.23)
AU x PC		-.21 (.23)	-.21 (.23)
AU x CG		-.47* (.23)	-.47* (.23)
AU x PC x CG			-.11 (.46)
$R^2$	.25	.27	.27
$F$ for change in $R^2$	15.90**	1.91	.05

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 9

Predicting Socio-Emotional Trait Rating with Individual Difference Moderator  
(Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.03 (.05)	.03 (.05)	.03(.05)
Ideology	.14 (.09)	.14 (.09)	.14 (.09)
Party ID	-.05 (.08)	-.05 (.08)	-.05 (.08)
PC	1.30** (.10)	1.30** (.10)	1.30** (.10)
CG	.00 (.10)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.10)
AU	.18 (.12)	.17 (.12)	.17 (.13)
PC x CG		.09 (.20)	.09 (.20)
AU x PC		-.16 (.20)	-.15 (.20)
AU x CG		-.01 (.20)	-.01 (.20)
AU x PC x CG			-.00 (.41)
$R^2$	.44	.44	.44
$F$ for change in $R^2$	35.95**	.30	.00

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 10

Predicting Instrumental Trait Rating with Individual Difference Moderator  
(Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.01 (.06)	-.02 (.06)	-.02 (.06)
Ideology	.00 (.10)	.00 (.10)	-.01 (.10)
Party ID	-.07 (.10)	-.06 (.10)	-.06 (.10)
PC	-1.01** (.11)	-1.01** (.11)	-1.02** (.12)
CG	-.06 (.11)	-.06 (.12)	-.06 (.12)
AU	.04 (.14)	.03 (.14)	.05 (.14)
PC x CG		-.23 (.23)	-.23 (.23)
AU x PC		-.19 (.23)	-.21 (.23)
AU x CG		-.14 (.23)	-.14 (.23)
AU x PC x CG			-.37 (.47)
$R^2$	.26	.27	.27
$F$ for change in $R^2$	15.89**	.65	.64

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 11

Predicting Performance Rating on Socio-Emotional Issues with Individual Difference  
Moderator (Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.02 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)
Ideology	.13 (.11)	.12 (.11)	.11 (.11)
Party ID	-.09 (.10)	-.07 (.10)	-.07 (.10)
PC	.80** (.12)	.81** (.12)	.80** (.12)
CG	-.06 (.12)	-.06 (.12)	-.06 (.12)
AU	.36* (.15)	.34* (.15)	.34* (.15)
PC x CG		.10 (.24)	.10 (.24)
AU x PC		-.11 (.24)	-.12 (.24)
AU x CG		-.37 (.24)	-.37 (.24)
AU x PC x CG			-.25 (.48)
$R^2$	.20	.21	.22
$F$ for change in $R^2$	11.83**	.97	.28

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 12

Predicting Performance Rating on Instrumental Issues with Individual Difference  
Moderator (Authoritarianism) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.02 (.06)	-.03 (.06)	-.03 (.06)
Ideology	.17 (.12)	.15 (.12)	.15 (.12)
Party ID	-.12 (.11)	-.11 (.11)	-.11 (.11)
PC	-.34** (.13)	-.33** (.13)	-.34** (.13)
CG	-.24 (.13)	-.22 (.13)	-.22 (.13)
AU	-.12 (.16)	-.15 (.16)	-.14 (.16)
PC x CG		-.07 (.25)	-.07 (.26)
AU x PC		-.77** (.25)	-.78** (.25)
AU x CG		-.33 (.26)	-.34 (.26)
AU x PC x CG			-.26 (.51)
$R^2$	.05	.10	.10
$F$ for change in $R^2$	2.42*	3.78*	.27

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, AU = Participant authoritarianism.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .



Regression Table 13

Predicting Attitude Toward the Candidate with Situational Moderator (Terrorism Threat)

Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.01 (.05)	.01 (.05)	.01 (.05)
Ideology	.17* (.08)	.17* (.08)	.17* (.08)
Party ID	-.05 (.08)	-.05 (.08)	-.04 (.08)
PC	.95** (.10)	.94** (.10)	.94** (.10)
CG	.05 (.10)	.07 (.10)	.08 (.10)
TP	.03 (.10)	.03 (.10)	.03 (.10)
PC x CG		.73** (.19)	.74** (.19)
TP x PC		-.04 (.19)	-.05 (.19)
TP x CG		.09 (.19)	.11 (.19)
TP x PC x CG			.84 (.39)
$R^2$	.29	.33	.35
$F$ for change in $R^2$	19.02**	4.74**	4.68*

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

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

Regression Table 14

Predicting Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate with Situational Moderator (Terrorism Threat) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)
Ideology	.18 (.10)	.18 (.10)	.19 (.10)
Party ID	-.06 (.10)	-.06 (.10)	-.05 (.10)
PC	.91** (.11)	.91** (.12)	.91** (.11)
CG	-.06 (.11)	-.06 (.11)	-.05 (.11)
TP	-.05 (.12)	-.05 (.12)	-.05 (.12)
PC x CG		.25 (.23)	.25 (.23)
TP x PC		-.10 (.23)	-.11 (.23)
TP x CG		.13 (.23)	.14 (.23)
TP x PC x CG			.86 (.46)
$R^2$	.22	.23	.24
$F$ for change in $R^2$	13.71**	.57	3.47

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 15

Predicting Socio-Emotional Trait Rating with Situational Moderator (Terrorism Threat)

Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.02 (.05)	.02 (.05)	.02 (.05)
Ideology	.17* (.09)	.17* (.09)	.17* (.09)
Party ID	-.03 (.09)	-.03 (.09)	-.03 (.09)
PC	1.28** (.10)	1.29** (.10)	1.29** (.10)
CG	.00 (.10)	.01 (.10)	.01 (.10)
TP	.12 (.10)	.12 (.10)	.13 (.10)
PC x CG		.17 (.20)	.18 (.20)
TP x PC		.01 (.20)	.02 (.20)
TP x CG		.01 (.20)	.02 (.20)
TP x PC x CG			.61 (.40)
$R^2$	.43	.43	.44
$F$ for change in $R^2$	35.09**	.24	2.30

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

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

Regression Table 16

Predicting Instrumental Trait Rating with Situational Moderator (Terrorism Threat)

Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.01 (.06)	-.01 (.06)	-.01 (.06)
Ideology	.00 (.10)	.00 (.10)	.00 (.10)
Party ID	-.05 (.10)	-.05 (.10)	-.05 (.10)
PC	-1.01** (.11)	-1.01** (.11)	-1.01** (.11)
CG	-.06 (.11)	-.07 (.11)	-.06 (.11)
TP	.11 (.11)	.11 (.12)	.11 (.12)
PC x CG		-.22 (.23)	-.22 (.23)
TP x PC		-.02 (.23)	-.02 (.23)
TP x CG		-.12 (.23)	-.11 (.23)
TP x PC x CG			.41 (.46)
$R^2$	.27	.27	.27
$F$ for change in $R^2$	16.69**	.40	.78

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

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

Regression Table 17

Predicting Performance Rating on Socio-Emotional Issues with Situational Moderator  
(Terrorism Threat) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)	.01 (.06)
Ideology	.22* (.10)	.22* (.10)	.22* (.10)
Party ID	-.06 (.10)	-.06 (.10)	-.04 (.10)
PC	.77** (.12)	.77** (.12)	.77** (.12)
CG	-.06 (.12)	-.05 (.12)	-.04 (.12)
TP	.13 (.12)	.13 (.12)	.14 (.12)
PC x CG		.20 (.24)	.21 (.24)
TP x PC		-.09 (.24)	-.08 (.24)
TP x CG		.06 (.24)	.08 (.24)
TP x PC x CG			1.10* (.48)
$R^2$	.18	.18	.20
$F$ for change in $R^2$	10.34**	.30	5.39*

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

Regression Table 18

Predicting Performance Rating on Instrumental Issues with Situational Moderator  
(Terrorism Threat) Using Hierarchical Regression, Study 2

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Variable	B (SE B)	B (SE B)	B (SE B)
Constant	-.01 (.06)	-.02 (.06)	-.02 (.06)
Ideology	.12 (.11)	.13 (.11)	.13 (.11)
Party ID	-.12 (.11)	-.13 (.11)	-.11 (.11)
PC	-.36** (.13)	-.36** (.13)	-.36** (.13)
CG	-.22 (.13)	-.22 (.13)	-.21 (.13)
TP	.05 (.13)	.04 (.13)	.04 (.13)
PC x CG		-.03 (.25)	-.02 (.25)
TP x PC		-.48 (.25)	-.48 (.25)
TP x CG		-.31 (.25)	-.29 (.25)
TP x PC x CG			.96 (.51)
$R^2$	.05	.07	.08
$F$ for change in $R^2$	2.47*	1.67	3.52

*Note.* Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients and standard errors.

PC = Person-centeredness, CG = Candidate gender, TP = Terrorism threat prime.

\* $p < .05$ .

\*\* $p < .01$ .

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## **VITA**

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