Gay, Straight, or Slightly Bent? The Interaction of Leader Sexual Orientation and Gender on Leadership Evaluations

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Gay, Straight, or Slightly Bent?
The Interaction of Leader Gender and Sexual Orientation on Leadership Evaluations

by

Fred Macoukji

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Department of Psychology with a concentration in Industrial Organizational Psychology College of Arts and Sciences University of South Florida

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my loving parents, Farid and Lina Macoukji, who have always led by example in regards to chasing their dreams and never hesitating to put in the effort necessary to see those dreams through to fruition, as well as to my wonderful sister, Lana Macoukji Hudgins, who has always provided me an unwavering source of moral support. Love you pooks!
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ABSTRACT

Existing research has shown that gender stereotypes regarding characteristics of men and women influence others’ perceptions of their fit with organizational roles, including leadership roles (cf. Eagly & Karau, 2002). However, little research has examined stereotypes regarding other demographic characteristics (e.g., race, sexual orientation) and how they may interact with gender stereotypes to influence leadership evaluations. The current study examined whether leader gender and sexual orientation interact to influence subordinate evaluations of leader effectiveness, likability, and boss desirability using an experimental design. In addition to examining whether leader gender and sexual orientation interact to predict leader evaluations, the present study also examined why, or the mechanisms, that underlie these effects. Specifically, the present study evaluated two potential mediators: (1) role incongruity, perceptions that there is a misfit between the characteristics of an individual and the role on communality (or warmth) and agency (or competence) and (2) moral outrage, affective reactions of contempt, anger, and disgust toward individuals and/or groups who violate societal mores. Results indicate that gay and lesbian leaders were perceived to be less agentic and more communal than their heterosexual counterparts, though leader gender and sexual orientation did not interact in predicting perceptions of agency and communality. However, in the whole sample, leader gender and sexual orientation did interact to predict moral outrage. When examining moderated mediation analyses, moral outrage mediated the relationship between leader demographics and evaluations of leader effectiveness (but not leader likability) for gay male leaders. Results from the present
study helps to inform researchers and practitioners regarding how and why stereotypes influence others’ leadership evaluations and suggest entry points for interventions designed to minimize discrimination against sexual minorities in organizational settings.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The last several years have born witness to significant changes in U.S. law pertaining to the treatment of gays and lesbians. This includes the repeal of the Don’t Ask Don’t Tell policy forbidding openly gay and lesbian individuals from serving in the military, as well as the legalization of gay marriage in six states (in addition to our nation’s capital). Despite all of these recent strides towards equality, a recent report from Catalyst reports that between 10-28% of gay, lesbian, and transgender workers report being passed up for promotion due to their sexual orientation (Catalyst, 2012). It is important to note that although these are self-reports of discrimination and the validity of these reports as actual incidents of discrimination may be called into question, perceptions of discrimination have been strongly linked to important personal (i.e., mental illness, psychological distress, well-being, positive self-perceptions and life satisfaction; Pascoe & Richman, 2009) and organizational outcomes (i.e., career commitment, organizational self-esteem, organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and turnover intentions; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Therefore, perceptions of discrimination are still of critical interest to scholars and policy makers.

Gays and lesbians are estimated to constitute between 4 and 6.7% of the American population (Catalyst, 2012), and yet there has been little research on how stereotypes of gays and lesbians influence others’ perceptions of how capable, likable, and desirable gay and lesbian individuals are as leaders. By examining others’ perceptions of this understudied group, the current study will add to the literature by assessing how gay and lesbian leaders are evaluated in
organizational settings and may identify barriers to their success and upward mobility in organizations. Practical implications of this study include understanding how stereotypes based on sexual orientation (and their interaction with other demographic factors, such as gender) influence evaluations of leadership and its implications for the equitable representation of all people, regardless of their demographic characteristics, in management roles.

One reason why it is critical to understand people’s perceptions of gay and lesbian leaders is the potentially deleterious effect of sexual orientation discrimination on the career paths of sexual minorities. In addition to the results reported by Catalyst (2012), other studies have also found that sexual minorities perceive career barriers due to their sexual orientation. For example, a study conducted by the Williams Institute (2011) reports that 10% of gay, lesbian, or bisexual workers reported being denied a promotion because of their sexual orientation in 2007. In 2000, 18% of gay, lesbian, or bisexual workers reported experiencing discrimination in applying for or keeping their jobs (The Williams Institute, 2011). To explore what factors contribute to the high prevalence of reported discrimination by gay and lesbian workers and to better understand the nature (or form) of discrimination faced by sexual minorities, the current study will explore whether sexual orientation influences performance and interpersonal evaluations of gay male and lesbian leaders in managerial roles and also the underlying mechanisms behind people’s (negative) evaluations.

In the present study, I focus on gay and lesbian leaders as opposed to gay and lesbian employees more generally because there is a gap in the literature looking at sexual minority managers (e.g., Eagly & Chen, 2010; Fassinger, Shullman, & Stevenson, 2010). Although the literature has examined outcomes for certain underrepresented groups in leadership roles, particularly women (e.g., Schein 1973; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Eagly & Karau 2002;
Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rosette & Tost, 2010), there has been considerably less research examining the influence of other demographic characteristics, including sexual orientation, on leadership emergence and effectiveness. This is of particular concern considering the prevalence of reported discrimination against gays and lesbians, which may impede their access to leadership positions. The present study will examine how gay and lesbian leaders are evaluated by subordinates relative to heterosexual leaders of both genders. Specifically, I examine whether sexual minority leaders are viewed as less effectiveness, less likable, and/or less desirable as a boss compared to their heterosexual counterparts. Furthermore, I also examine whether perceptions of gay and lesbian leaders differ from each other due to differences in stereotypes about these two groups (Herek, 2002; Geiger, Harwood, & Hummert, 2006; Madon, 1997).

This study will also explore the mediating mechanisms that explain why sexual minority leaders may be disadvantaged in leadership evaluations. In particular, I evaluate two potential mediators of this relationship. The first mediator is that sexual minority leaders are evaluated more harshly due to role incongruity (i.e., the qualities ascribed to sexual minorities do not overlap or are incongruous with those ascribed to leaders; Eagly & Karau, 2002). The second mediator is that not only may sexual minority leaders be perceived as incongruous with the leadership role due to stereotypes of their personal characteristics and qualities, but they are further penalized due to their sexual minority status, such that they arouse more negative emotions (i.e., contempt, anger, and/or disgust) due to negative perceptions by others based on perceived violations of social norms governing sexual conduct. Thus, the present study seeks to explain not only whether gay and lesbian leaders are evaluated more harshly than heterosexual men and women leaders, but also why they may be evaluated more negatively.
In the sections below, I will first explore the established literature examining impact of gender on leadership evaluations, reviewing how gender stereotypes influence the extent to which people perceive individuals as being suitable for leadership roles. Second, I will extend previous research by arguing that sexual orientation stereotypes interact with gender stereotypes to predict leadership evaluations. Third, I will review the literature on performance evaluations of leaders, introducing three leadership criteria of interest: leader effectiveness, leader likability, and boss desirability and present differentiated hypotheses regarding how leader gender and sexual orientation will interact to influence these three different types of leadership evaluations. Finally, I will describe two potential mediators (i.e., role incongruity and moral outrage) that I believe explain why gay and lesbian leaders may be disadvantaged in leadership evaluations.

The Overlap Between Gender and Leadership Stereotypes

One demographic characteristic that has been systematically linked to leadership evaluations is leader gender. The stereotype literature provides critical information regarding how group membership (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, race, etc.) influences others’ perceptions of the competence and likability of members of a given group. The current study relies on two theories in particular for theoretical development. Specifically, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) helps explain how stereotypes are formed (Fiske et al., 2007), and Role Congruity Theory helps to explain the disparate outcomes experienced by gender, racial, and sexual minorities in terms of why members of certain groups are more strongly represented in certain positions (i.e., leadership roles) than others (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Both of these theories will be explored in the following sections and will be used to generate predictions regarding how leader sexual orientation influences leadership evaluations.
Before exploring how stereotypes influence perceptions, it would be beneficial to provide a definition of what a stereotype is. Stereotypes have been defined as “a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people” (Stroebe & Insko, 1989, p. 5). Stereotypes, as defined above, serve to inform what people’s general beliefs and expectations are when it comes to making evaluations of others based on group membership. To better understand how people form those expectations or stereotypes in the first place, let us first look to the Stereotype Content Model (SCM). In articulating the SCM, Fiske et al. (2007) argue that humans, as social animals, use heuristics to determine where newly encountered out-group members lie along two criteria: warmth (i.e., whether members of that group bear good or ill will towards the perceiver) and competence (i.e., whether members of that group have the power to see those intentions through to fruition). According to the SCM, people evaluate others’ warmth and competence based largely on our expectations of what to expect from the typical member of that group. For example, based on the fact that Jane is an elderly white woman, we might expect her to be higher on warmth due to her gender, but lower on competence due to her being elderly (Fiske et al., 2007).

Studies have indicated that perceiving others as ranking high on one dimension usually leads one to also perceive a lower score on the other dimension (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2009). When an individual or group is deemed as being high on warmth, they are generally seen as both nonthreatening and incompetent. This heuristic was evolutionarily adaptive as this allowed people to remain vigilant for other, potentially dangerous future threats. For example, upon meeting Joe, a newly hired Asian-American at an organization, coworkers might initially evaluate him as being low on warmth and high on competence based on common perceptions that Asians are cold, but competent (e.g., Fiske et al.,
Thus, although he is expected to be competent, Joe may experience some negative interpersonal consequences at work as coworkers who rely on stereotypes may exclude him from social activities, isolate him from potential career building opportunities, and/or evaluate him as being unlikable.

When applying the SCM to men and women as a group, men are generally perceived as being assertive, dominant, confident, and aggressive (i.e., high competence or agency), whereas women are expected to be gentle, demure, and nurturing (i.e., high warmth or communality; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Duehr & Bono, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Since women, as a group, are perceived to be more communal, they are typically discounted as non-threatening. Consequently, their competence as a group is generally perceived as being low. When applied to the workplace, this means that women are generally expected to be less competent and effective than males in terms of their performance at work (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002; Biernat, Fuegen, & Kobrynowicz, 2010; Leslie, King, Bradley, & Hebl, 2008).

In addition to stereotypes of men and women, people also have stereotypes regarding what it means to be a leader. Eagly and Chin (2010) explored the ways in which our beliefs about the attributes of certain subgroups influence our evaluations of whether or not they fit with leadership roles (i.e., role congruity). They argue that when making judgments regarding whether an individual is fit to lead, people first call to mind what qualities they deem desirable and necessary to succeed in a leadership role (e.g., assertiveness, independence, willingness to take risk; Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002; Duehr & Bono, 2006), then formulate an assessment of the traits and qualities they believe the candidate to possess, comparing those qualities with those required to succeed as a leader. Role Congruity Theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) posits that
differences between stereotyped traits regarding success in the position at hand and perceived characteristics of the candidate result in rejection of the candidate.

This theory also posits that stereotypes need not be negative (in valence) to result in disqualification of the applicant. For example, Eagly and Karau (2002) found that general perceptions of women included expectations that they be gentle, demure, and nurturing. These qualities, while not inherently negative, are at odds with what qualities people expect to find in leaders (i.e., fearless, strong, determined). Furthermore, those qualities deemed necessary and desirable in leaders largely overlapped with qualities associated with men (e.g., Koenig et al., 2011; Schein, 1973, 2001; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996; Duehr & Bono, 2006). Thus, although the stereotype content of females was not inherently negative in nature, the discrepancy between their qualities and the qualities that were deemed necessary and desirable to succeed as a leader led them to be perceived as unfit to lead.

This theory, when applied to gender and leadership, helps to explain why women often experience disparate career outcomes relative to males, limiting their access to upper management positions (Leslie et al., 2008; Weidenfeller, 2012). While women are traditionally seen as being communal or warm (i.e., gentle, demure, nurturing), men are traditionally seen as being agentic or competent (i.e., assertive, dominant, confident, aggressive; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Heilman, Block, & Martell, 1995; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Duehr & Bono, 2006; Koenig et al., 2011). When asked which words out of a list of adjectives best describe leaders, people have historically gravitated to words that fall within the category of agentic traits (e.g., Schein 1973; Heilman et al., 1989; Eagly & Karau, 2002), thereby providing evidence for the previously mentioned congruence between masculine qualities and desirable qualities of leaders.
The Overlap between Gay and Lesbian and Leadership Stereotypes

Having reviewed the more extensive literature on gender stereotypes and their influence on perceptions of leadership performance, I now turn to examine how a different demographic characteristic, sexual orientation, may also influence others’ perceptions of an individual’s suitability to fill a leadership position (and may interact with leader gender to do so). To address this issue, first I review the literature looking at the stereotypes of gay men and lesbians and then examine whether there is a disconnect (i.e., role incongruity) between the stereotypes that people hold of gay men and lesbians and the stereotypes people hold of leaders.

Gay men and lesbians have historically been discriminated against and stigmatized due to their sexual orientation (e.g., Dragowski, Halkitis, Grossman, & D'Augelli, 2011; Case, Fishbein, & Ritchey 2008; Schope & Eliason, 2008; Smith & Ingram, 2004); studies in the 1960s show that people’s perceptions of homosexuals were that they were perverted, mentally ill (Simmons, 1965), and “more harmful than helpful to American life” (Harris, 1965, p. A2). Recently, researchers have begun to differentiate between perceptions of gay males and lesbians, rather than looking at stereotypes of homosexual individuals as a single group. Herek (2002) argues that this differentiation is important, as homosexuality has been ostensibly linked to gender inversion, such that gay males are seen as being feminine and lesbians are seen as masculine; thus, it would be misleading to look at the stereotypes of homosexuals as a group, as different attributes are associated with gay men and lesbians (see also Clausell & Fiske, 2005; Madon, 1997; Geiger et al., 2006).

Gender inversion theory posits that gay males are expected to behave more like females whereas lesbians are expected to behave more like males (Kite & Deaux, 1987).Exploring stereotypes of gay men, common perceptions of this group include being feminine (Simmons,
1965; Herek, 1984, 1987; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), gentle, passive (Gurwitz & Marcus, 1978), compassionate, sensitive to the needs of others (Jackson & Sullivan, 1989), as well as dainty, soft-voiced, and melodramatic (Madon, 1997). Although some of these stereotypes are not necessarily negative in of themselves (i.e., compassionate, sensitive to the needs of others), as a whole, they present a view of gay males that is contrary to what is perceived to be necessary and desirable to perform effectively as a leader, as leadership is seen as requiring predominantly masculine or agentic traits (e.g., Schein, 1973; Heilman et al., 1989; Duehr & Bono, 2006). Thus, the characteristics of gay men as a group are generally incongruous with what is required to succeed as a leader. Drawing from Role Congruity theory, I predict that these stereotypes disqualify gay men from consideration in the minds of others for leadership roles and to receive less positive evaluations of leadership performance when in leadership roles.

Compared to research on stereotypes of gay men, less research has examined stereotypes of lesbians. However, the existing research suggests that due to gender inversion, lesbians are typically viewed as possessing masculine traits. Geiger et al. (2006) reported that lesbians are perceived as masculine, “butch”, and angry. These perceptions consequently make lesbians much more similar to straight men, given that both groups are expected to possess masculine or agentic characteristics. Thus, there should be less perceived incongruity between lesbians and men and leadership roles, compared to women and gay men, as both groups are seen to be more agentic (or competent) than communal (or warm) in nature. Although this inversion gives lesbians an advantage in terms of role congruity and therefore perceptions of competence, lesbians leaders may face the same interpersonal penalties (i.e., perceived as unlikable) as other females who are agentic and therefore presumed to be deficient in communality face (e.g., Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010).
Having found parallels between stereotypes of heterosexual women and gay males, I hypothesize a similar pattern of results for gay males and straight female leaders. Specifically, I hypothesize that both gay men and women leaders will be perceived to be incongruous with the leadership role because of perceptions of high communality and low agency for members of both groups. Furthermore, I hypothesize that gay male leaders will be evaluated more negatively than women leaders. There are two mechanisms with regards to why gay men will be evaluated more harshly, which this study will seek to untangle (see below for details). The first mechanism is that due to gender inversion, gay men as a group are actually perceived as being more feminine (or communal) than women as a group, therefore gay men are perceived to be a greater “misfit” for the leadership role than women. The second mechanism is that in addition to being perceived as possessing primarily communal characteristics (similar to women), gay men leaders suffer additional performance evaluation penalties compared to women leaders for the simple fact that they are homosexual (Herek, 1987, 2002). Regardless of the underlying process explaining the differences in evaluations, it is hypothesized that gay men and heterosexual women leaders will be evaluated more negatively relative to lesbian and heterosexual male leaders.

Similarly, the same parallel can be drawn for lesbian and heterosexual male leaders, with both groups stereotyped as possessing agentic or masculine characteristics, in line with leadership roles. Based on gender inversion, if lesbians are perceived as the most masculine or agentic group (compared to gay men, heterosexual women, and potentially even heterosexual men), I expect lesbians to be evaluated the most positively in leadership roles. Alternatively, due to lesbians being sexual minorities, lesbians may be evaluated more negatively compared to heterosexual male leaders for violating social norms and mores, despite also being seen by others as possessing agentic qualities.
Performance Evaluations of Leaders

In order to examine how a leader’s sexual orientation and gender interact to influence subordinates’ evaluations of leader performance, the present study will examine three leadership criteria\(^1\) that have been previously examined and shown to be important in the literature: leadership effectiveness, likability, and boss desirability (e.g., Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Rosette & Tost, 2010). All three criteria have been studied in previous studies of leadership performance (e.g., Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010) and are moderately correlated (e.g., Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). These three criteria have also been shown to demonstrate differential patterns of relationships with external variables (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010), highlighting the need to assess all three leadership variables to more comprehensively understand others’ evaluations of leaders. Thus, the present study incorporates all three leadership criteria. Below, each criterion is discussed in further detail.

**Leader Effectiveness.** Leader effectiveness has been defined as the beliefs and perceptions of those who work for a leader regarding that leader’s ability to perform their role as a leader (Kaiser, Hogan, & Craig, 2008). This construct has been linked to many important organizational outcomes such as group performance and productivity, group innovation, organizational financial performance, customer satisfaction, and employee turnover (Curphy, 1993; Fleishman & Harris, 1962; Hogan, Curphy, & Hogan, 1994; García-Morales, Jiménez-Barrionuevo, & Gutiérrez-Gutiérrez, 2012; Kaiser et al., 2008; Yukl, 2008). Effectiveness is

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\(^1\) Although research supports the conceptual distinction between the role of “leader” (i.e., visionary element needed for organizational change and development) and “manager” (i.e., administrative responsibilities for the purposes of maintaining order), Yukl and Lepsinger (2005) argue that these two roles are inter-related. Both roles can, and often are, filled by the same person, and together contribute jointly to valued organizational outcomes (Yukl & Lepsinger, 2005; Simonet & Tett, 2013). Thus, given the practical difficulties of distinguishing between leaders and managers (or leadership and managerial behaviors), many, if not most, studies in the literature have chosen not to make this distinction (e.g., Rosette & Tost 2010; Heilman & Okimoto 2007). Similarly, in line with previous research, the present study uses the terms leader and manager interchangeably.
distinct from, but related to, competence. Competence is the perception of whether or not an individual possesses and implements the appropriate skills set necessary to follow through on their intentions, whereas effectiveness is defined as the extent to which implementation of those skills results in a successful outcome (O’Driscoll, Humphries, & Larsen, 1991). Perceptions of effectiveness is the arguably the most common criterion in leadership studies (e.g., DeRue et al., 2011; Kaiser et al., 2008).

**Leader Likability.** The next leadership criterion of interest is leader likability, which is more strongly related to perceptions of warmth or communality, and denotes an ability to engage successfully in interpersonal relations (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Similar to the relationship between effectiveness and competence, likability is distinct from, yet related to, warmth and communality insofar as warmth and communality refer to characteristics, skills, and traits that leaders possess (e.g., Duehr & Bono, 2006; Heilman & Okimoto 2007), whereas likability is concerned with the outcomes associated with possessing those traits. In terms of outcomes, although effectiveness is most important when it comes to achieving concretely measurable organizational outcomes (e.g., Hargis, Watt, & Piotrowski, 2011), being rated as low on likability may be an indication of an inability to work well with others and relational aspects of leadership have often been emphasized in existing leadership models (e.g., consideration, Judge, Piccolo & Ilies, 2004; transformational leadership, Bass, 1985, Hargis et al., 2011) and poor interpersonal skills has been found to be related to managerial derailment (e.g., Van Velsor & Leslie, 1995). Furthermore, ratings of effectiveness and likability are not isomorphic; previous research studies have found that certain groups (i.e., agentic women leaders) are often evaluated as competent, but not likable (e.g., Heilman & Okimoto, 2007), highlighting the need to include both leadership criteria.
**Boss Desirability.** The final leadership criterion of interest is boss desirability. This variable reflects whether and to what extent one would want to work for the leader in question. While linked to likability ($r=0.58$; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007) desirability is conceptually unique from that construct, as one might desire to work for an interpersonally difficult boss despite their low likability because they enjoy the challenge, believe in the work they do, want the developmental opportunities associated with working for that leader or that particular role, and/or value the perceived status or compensation they would receive in this position. Boss desirability is also distinct from effectiveness, as employees might desire to work for a boss that is perceived as being low on effectiveness if they are seen as being benevolent and friendly towards their subordinates. Thus, I theorize that boss desirability will be predicted by perceptions of effectiveness and likability. Previous research has theorized that boss desirability would be negatively associated with employee turnover and positively associated with job embeddedness (e.g., Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablynski, & Erez, 2001). In addition, as agents of the organization, leaders may serve to attract and recruit future employees (e.g., Alderfer & McCord, 1970; Brookmire, 2013), thus highlighting boss desirability as an important leadership criterion.

**Hypotheses**

Given that agentic traits tend to be most strongly associated with ratings of competence (i.e., effectiveness) and communal traits tend to be most associated with warmth (i.e., likability; Fiske et al., 2007), I hypothesize that violations of each kind would result in penalties within their associated domains (i.e., deficits in agency will result in penalties in ratings of effectiveness and deficits in communality will result in penalties in ratings of likability). Specifically, I hypothesize that gay male leaders, who are perceived as a group to be high on communality and low on agency, would suffer the greatest penalties in perceived competence (i.e., leadership
effectiveness). Furthermore, lesbian leaders, who as a group are perceived to be high on agency and low on communality, will suffer the greatest penalties in perceived likability.

It is worth noting that I do not expect this pattern to work in the opposite direction. Although homosexual males and heterosexual females may theoretically be seen as being more communal and less agentic than heterosexual males and homosexual females, since this communality is tied in to each group’s stereotype content, it is not met with greater likability! That is, individuals belonging to groups stereotyped as being highly communal will not, in effect, be “rewarded” for living up to the expectations of others in terms of adhering to group stereotypes. Similar effects have been observed in previous studies. For example, Heilman and Chen (2005) reported effects suggesting that there is a double standard when evaluating males’ and females’ performance in terms of organizational citizenship performance, such that raters rewarded men for engaging in citizenship behaviors, but women experienced no increase in performance ratings or reward outcomes when performing the same behaviors. Additionally, withholding altruistic behaviors proved detrimental to females, but not to males. Prior research suggests that this is because women are expected to be communal, so breaking with these stereotypes will result in penalties, but will not result in any reward for their “living up to expectations”. Furthermore, when women succeed in agentic roles or tasks, the literature indicates that this may result in negative consequences for women (Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs & Tamkins, 2004; Rudman & Glick, 2001), as they are often assumed to not be sufficiently communal (Heilman & Okimoto 2007), which is a prescriptive aspect of the female gender stereotype.

Consequently, heterosexual male leaders are the only subgroup whose stereotype overlaps with perfectly with leadership stereotypes (i.e., high on agency and low on
communality; Koenig et al., 2011) and do not violate gender stereotypes. Thus, heterosexual male leaders hold an advantage both in being perceived as natural fit for the leadership role (e.g., Schein, 1973; Cann & Siegfried, 1990; Duehr & Bono, 2006) and face none of the penalties experienced by gay and lesbian leaders or heterosexual women leaders. Furthermore, given that there are not strong expectations for communality for men, heterosexual male leaders will not suffer likability penalties for not being warm. Thus, overall heterosexual male leaders will be rated as the most effective and likable leaders.

**Hypothesis 1.** Leader gender and sexual orientation interact to predict ratings of leadership effectiveness, such that (a) gay males will be evaluated as the least effective leaders relative to heterosexual men, heterosexual women, and lesbian leaders, (b) heterosexual women leaders will be evaluated as more effective than gay men leaders, but less effective than lesbian and heterosexual men leaders, (c) lesbian leaders will be evaluated as more effective than gay men and women, but less effective relative to heterosexual men leaders, and (d) heterosexual men will be evaluated as the most effective leaders.

**Hypothesis 2.** Leader gender and sexual orientation interact to predict leader likability, such that (a) lesbian leaders will receive the lowest likability ratings relative to heterosexual men, heterosexual women, and gay male leaders, (b) gay males and heterosexual female leaders will be rated as more likable than lesbian leaders, but not as likable as heterosexual male leaders, and (c) and heterosexual male leaders will be rated as the most likable leaders.

Similarly, given that I anticipate that ratings of boss desirability are predicted in part by ratings of leader effectiveness and likability, heterosexual male leaders, who are predicted to be
rated as the most effective and likable leaders will also be expected to be rated as the most
desirable bosses. In contrast, heterosexual women leaders, gay male leaders, and lesbian leaders
all violate either gender or leadership stereotypes, resulting in penalties in effectiveness or
likability, which will be negatively related to ratings of boss desirability. Specifically,
heterosexual women leaders and gay male leaders are incongruous with leadership stereotypes
because these two groups are perceived to be high on communality and low on agency (resulting
in lower ratings of effectiveness) and lesbian leaders are incongruous with gender stereotypes of
women in that are perceived to be high on agency and low on communality (resulting in lower
ratings of likability).

Hypothesis 3. Leader gender and sexual orientation interact to predict ratings of boss
desirability, such that heterosexual women leaders, gay male leaders, and lesbian leaders
will be rated as less desirable leaders relative to heterosexual men leaders, who will be
rated as the most desirable leaders.

In addition, I believe there may be another layer of complexity: the gender of the
employee. A study by Schope and Eliason (2003) looked at attitudes of heterosexuals in regards
to interacting with homosexuals. They found that heterosexual males were significantly more
uncomfortable with, and held more prejudicial attitudes towards homosexual males and
homosexual females than heterosexual females. In addition, the participants were provided a
number of hypothetical situations describing interactions with a homosexual male or female
(varied by condition) and were asked to indicate how they would behave given the
circumstances. Heterosexual males indicated a greater degree of discriminatory and exclusive
behaviors than did heterosexual females, indicating more negative attitudes and behaviors
towards homosexuals in general. Another study by Brescoll, Uhlmann, Moss-Racusin, and
Sarnell (2011) looked at differences in status for males working for bosses who violate gender norms (e.g., male manager in nursing, female manager in construction) as opposed to working for bosses who are consistent with gender norms (i.e., female manager in nursing, male manager in construction). Brescoll et al. found that participants offered to pay men who worked for a male supervisor in a traditionally feminine industry or for a female boss in a traditionally masculine industry less than males who worked for gender and industry congruent bosses. This effect was only mitigated when the employee’s masculine “credentials” were established (i.e., participants were provided indications of masculinity such as masculine hobbies or pastimes that the employee engaged in). This penalty in terms of lower salary serves as a potential indicator of decreased status for the subordinate. In light of these findings that heterosexual males hold more negative attitudes towards homosexuals of either gender, and that heterosexual males are sensitive to a potential loss in status by working for a gender incongruent boss, it might be anticipated that the gender of the employee (or rater) may impact the extent to which they would desire to work for a sexual minority (i.e., gay or lesbian) manager.

I anticipate that this effect extends only to male subordinates as a result of the precarious nature of manhood (Vandello, Bosson, Cohen, Dov, Burnaford, & Weaver, 2008). Previous research has found that manhood, relative to womanhood, is more precarious. Men need to earn and continuously reassert their manhood by engaging in masculine actions and activities, while womanhood is in large part biologically-based. Thus, according to this theory, it would be more difficult for women to “lose their womanhood” than it would be for men to “lose their manhood” as womanhood is seen as being benchmarked by physiological development of a woman whereas manhood must be earned and can easily be lost.
I argue that this effect is unique to boss desirability and distinct from likability or effectiveness, as it is possible to like your gay boss or to acknowledge they are capable at doing their job while still not desiring to work for him for fear of it threatening your status or manhood. Regardless of how effective a supervisor may be or how likable a person they are, the threat to manhood for male subordinates remains high, as working for a gender role violating boss has been linked to penalties in perceived manhood status (e.g., Brescoll et al., 2011). Female subordinates are not expected to experience the same penalty in status as males, as the literature indicates the precarious nature of manhood is unique to men alone (Vandello et al., 2008).

*Research Question 1.* Will leader sexual orientation, leader gender, and rater (or direct report) gender interact to predict ratings of boss desirability, such that male raters will find homosexual leaders (i.e., gay men and lesbian leaders) to be less desirable as bosses than female subordinates?

Additionally, I explore two potential mechanisms regarding why gay and lesbian leaders may be evaluated differently than their heterosexual counterparts. First, due to gender inversion, it could be that gay men are perceived to be more feminine, as a group, than women. Therefore, gay men are seen as more incongruous with the leadership role (i.e., greater communality, lowered agency) compared to heterosexual men, lesbians, and even heterosexual women. Similarly, lesbians may be seen as more congruous with the leadership role due to gender inversion; they may actually be perceived as being more masculine than even heterosexual men. This explanation explains negative performance evaluations due solely to role incongruity, these groups are not necessarily perceived negatively (or positively in the case for lesbians), but rather the characteristics they are perceived to possess either do or do not fit with the leadership role.
To accurately assess whether differences in leadership evaluations can be traced to differences in agency and communality between these groups, it is critical to measure these two constructs with an awareness of shifting standards. The presence of shifting standards poses a significant threat to accurate ratings of targets as well as what the interpretations of those ratings signify. For example, Biernat (2012) describes how a man and a woman might both be described subjectively as being “good at math,” but if the prevailing stereotype of women is that they are generally less adept at math, when this man and woman are evaluated on a common rule scale, the man who is considered good at math likely receives a higher objective score (e.g., SAT-Math, GRE-Quantitative, Math GPA). Given that leadership criteria such as leadership effectiveness, likability, and boss desirability are associated with the gendered characteristics of agency and communality, the present study uses a common rule (or objective scale) to assess agency and communality to account for potential shifting standards in ratings of leadership.

Hypothesis 4. Role incongruity (i.e., ratings of agency and communality) mediates the relationship between leader demographic characteristics (i.e., leader gender x sexual orientation) and ratings of (a) leader effectiveness, (b) likability, and (c) boss desirability.

A second possibility is that in addition to role incongruity (i.e., “misfit”), gay and lesbian leaders are evaluated more harshly because they are seen as gender role violators due to their sexual orientation. Previous research has found that heterosexual individuals often experience discomfort when interacting with individuals who are sexual minorities (e.g., Schope & Eliason, 2008). If it is this latter case, I hypothesize that moral outrage also serves as a partial mediator of the relationship between leader characteristics (i.e., leader gender X leader sexual orientation) and leadership evaluations (in addition to perceived role incongruity). Moral outrage is defined
as feelings of anger, contempt, and disgust, which are elicited as a result of a perceived intentional violation of moral principles (e.g., Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010).

To explore why this discomfort exists, I turn to Rozin et al. (1999), which explored the emotions from which moral outrage is derived, which he referred to as the Contempt, Anger and Disgust (CAD) triad. This model is a cluster of three related negative emotions: contempt, anger, and disgust. Anger is a non-moral emotion that is a response to frustration at encountering obstacles impeding one’s ability to accomplish goals. Disgust is an emotion that is characterized by repression and negative affective reactions to reminders of our animal natures such as bodily functions (e.g., sex, eating, defecation, hygiene). These reactions are often also indoctrinated into social mores, which are different than social norms insofar as they dictate the values and moral code of a society as opposed to customs and traditions, and often explain the reasons behind the legislation of morality (e.g., the Biblical laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy). Contempt has an element of feelings of superiority towards others that are perceived as being inferior, much like majority group members often feel towards discriminated against minorities (Izard, 1977). It is conceptually different from disgust and anger in that one typically feels indifference towards the object of contempt (Rozin et al., 1999).

Referring back to the stereotype content regarding society’s general perceptions of gay men as a group, one sees clear violations against social mores in the stereotype that gay males are sexually perverted and mentally ill (i.e., Simmons, 1965). Thus, according to the CAD model, people may be more likely to feel moral outrage towards homosexuals. In addition, there are clear violations against community in the stereotype that they are “more harmful than helpful to American life” (i.e., Harris, 1965, p. A2). Therefore, according to the CAD hypothesis, people may be more likely to feel contempt towards individuals who are homosexual. This present study
will examine whether moral outrage partially mediates the relationship between leader characteristics (i.e., leader sexual orientation X leader gender) and leadership evaluations.

*Hypothesis 5.* Moral outrage mediates the relationship between leader demographic characteristics (i.e., leader gender x sexual orientation) and ratings of (a) leader effectiveness, (b) likability, and (c) boss desirability.
CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

I recruited 333 participants from Amazon’s Mechanical Turk, 316 of which filled out the survey. Of the 316 that provided data, there was an equal distribution in regards to rater gender; 153 (48.4%) were male, 145 (45.9%) were female, and 18 (5.7%) did not report gender. Respondents were primarily white; 228 (72.2%) were Caucasian/White, 27 (8.5%) were Asian, 23 (7.3%) were African American/Black, 13 (4.1%) were Hispanic/Latino, 3 (0.9%) were Native American, 4 (1.3%) were other, and 18 (5.7%) did not report their ethnicity. Participants were all based in the U.S. (as strength and content of stereotypes may vary across cultures; Cuddy et al., 2009). Mean age of participants was 35 years old (median age was 31). All participants were employed full-time (worked a minimum of 30 hours per week). Mean years of work experience for participants was 14 years (median years of work experience was 10.5).

I estimated required sample size by examining number of participants needed to detect mediational effects based on varying estimates of effect sizes (Fritz & MacKinnon, 2007). When estimating moderate effect sizes (or relationships) between the independent variable and the mediator and the mediator and the outcome, Fritz and MacKinnon report that needed sample size was 148 for bias-corrected bootstrap and 162 for percentile bootstrap methods of estimating mediation. Given that I was interested in examining moderated mediation, I doubled the target sample size estimates as it is difficult to estimate the sample size needed for this type of design.
Procedure

Participants were recruited using Amazon’s M-Turk and compensated $0.50 for their participation. Respondents were told that this was a study examining how people are perceived based on their resumes. They were instructed to imagine that they had just been hired for a desired position at a prestigious company, one that was both a logical next step in their career and a great opportunity in of itself and had been given their new boss’s resume. Then they were asked to evaluate their new boss based on the content of the resume. All respondents were randomly assigned to view a single resume from one of four conditions (male or female X heterosexual or homosexual leader). Participants were then asked to report their perceptions of the effectiveness, likability, and desirability as a boss for this leader. In addition, participants were also asked to assess the degree of agency and communality of the leader, and finally, they were also asked to report their affective responses toward the leader (i.e., moral outrage and positively worded antonyms to the moral outrage scale items). Upon completing these ratings, respondents were instructed to provide, based on their impressions from the resume, the presumed demographic characteristics of their new boss (i.e., race, gender, sexual orientation, and age). A manipulation check was included verifying that they detected the cues implying sexual orientation (i.e., identifying the professional association to which the leader belongs). Finally, I collected the demographic information (i.e. race, gender, sexual orientation, and age) of the respondents as well as their MTurk worker ID number for compensation purposes.
Materials

Resumes

The resumes were created by examining actual resumes for mid-level managers, and the resumes were identical across conditions except for leader name and one professional association the leader belonged to. The male and female names for the resumes (Matthew/Sarah Anderson) were obtained from a study by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2003) examining the influence of the names of candidates on whether or not they received call-backs for job interviews. The names were identified by utilizing birth certificate data to generate the most common names for children born in the 1970s. Matthew and Sarah Anderson were found to exhibit moderately positive reactions (they were neither the most, nor the least likely to receive call backs, but were closer to the top of the list in terms of likelihood of receiving call-backs). The primary cue manipulating sexual orientation was one of three professional associations the leader belonged to (i.e., The Tampa Bay Gay and Lesbian Business Society vs. The Tampa Bay Business Society). To examine the external validity of these resumes, they were reviewed by two executives who had previous experience reviewing managerial and executive level resumes. Please see Appendix A for the resumes.

Measures

Effectiveness. Perceptions of effectiveness were measured using a measure created by Heilman and Okimoto (2007). The scale consisted of four items measuring how competent, effective, productive, and successful the manager was expected to be relative to other managers. An example item is: “How competent do you believe [Matthew/Sarah] is compared to other managers?” The response scale ranged from 1 (not competent at all) to 9 (very competent). Cronbach’s alpha for the current sample was .94.
Likability. Likability was assessed using a scale developed after examining the two item scale used in Heilman and Okimoto (2007). The original study utilized a policy capturing design and asked participants to indicate which target the participant found to be more likable. Since in the present study each participant was only presented with a single resume, only one item was incorporated from that scale, and an additional 2 items were added to improve reliability. The three items were: “How likable do you believe [Matthew/Sarah] to be?” (1= not likable at all to 9 = Very likable), “How much do you think you would like this leader?”(1 = not at all to 9 = very much so), and “How much do you think your co-workers would like [Matthew/Sarah]?” (1 not at all – 9 very much so). Cronbach’s alpha for the current sample was .90.

Boss Desirability. Boss desirability was assessed using a scale developed after looking at the two item scale used in Heilman and Okimoto (2007). As mentioned above, Heilman and Okimoto (2007) used a policy capturing design, and so one of their items had participants indicate preference between targets. The three items for this study are: “If you were transferred to a similar position in a different department with a different supervisor, how much do you think you would prefer your new supervisor over [Matthew/Sarah]?” “How much do you want [Matthew/Sarah] as your boss?” (1 = not at all to 9 = very much so) and “If given the opportunity to transfer to a different department, under a different supervisor, how likely would you be to take that opportunity?” (1 = not likely at all to 9 = very likely). Cronbach’s alpha for the current sample was .52.

Moral Outrage. Moral outrage was assessed using the 7-item scale from Okimoto and Brescoll (2010). Participants were instructed to indicate the extent to which they felt the following emotions towards [Matthew/Sarah]. The emotions/items are: contempt, disdain, anger, irritation, disapproval, disgust, and revulsion. In addition, 7 positively worded items were
derived by using antonyms to the 7 negative items on the moral outrage and were included so that participants were asked both positive and negative emotions regarding the leader, though only the moral outrage scale was of interest. The 7 positive emotions/items that were included were: admiration, respect, calm, at ease, approval, fascination, and excitement. The presentation of positive and negative emotions was randomized. Participants were instructed to indicate the extent to which they felt the following emotions (1= not at all to 7= very much). Cronbach’s alpha for the current sample is .93.

Perceived Agency and Communality. As previously mentioned, Biernat (2012) warned that when studying criteria that are central to a given stereotype, participants may rate targets favorably on subjective scales while demonstrating their actual attitudes towards the stereotyped target when rating on objective (or common rule) scales. As a result, I chose to adapt Heilman and Okimoto (2007)’s agency (6 items; strong, assertive, tough, bold, active, dominant) and communality (4 items; supportive, understanding, sensitive, caring) scales to an objective or common rule format. Consequently, the new response instructions instructed participants to assign a percentile score between 0 and 100 (0% being the lowest and indicating possessing the least of the given trait, 100% being the highest possible score and indicating possessing the most of the given trait) indicating the extent to which they believed the following statements to be true regarding their beliefs about [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at [Matthew/Sarah]’s same organizational level. For example, if they believed [Matthew/Sarah] to be the most supportive supervisor there is relative to other supervisors, they would assign [him/her] a score of 100%. The lower the score they assigned, the less they believed [Matthew/Sarah] possessed the trait compared to other supervisors on the same organizational level. A sample item for communality would be “Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would
assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% in regards to how understanding [he/she] is.” A sample item for agency would be “Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% in regards to how assertive [he/she] is.” Please see Appendix B for a complete list of the procedures, scales, and items presented to participants. Cronbach’s alphas for the agency and communality scales in the current sample were .93.

**Analyses**

Prior to running analyses, I examined the psychometric properties of the scales. While all other scales demonstrated acceptable reliability, the three item scale for boss desirability demonstrated very poor reliability (α=.52). Item analyses indicate that the removal of any one of the three items included in this scale would not markedly improve the reliability of this measure (i.e., α would still be below .60). Therefore, I used the adapted original item from Heilman and Okimoto (2007) as a single-item measure of boss desirability to answer Hypothesis 3 and Research Question 1. To test my hypotheses, first I ran a series of two-way ANOVAs examining the relationship between leader gender, sexual orientation, and their interaction on proposed mediators (i.e., agency, communality, moral outrage) and outcomes (i.e., leader effectiveness, likability, and boss desirability). When coding for gender, I coded males as 0 and females as 1. When coding for sexual orientation, I coded the heterosexual condition as 0 and the homosexual condition as 1. If there was a significant interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation in predicting any of the mediators, then I moved to examining moderated mediation using the PROCESS macro developed by Hayes (2013) to estimate the size of indirect effects using bootstrapping methods (i.e., 10,000 bootstrapping samples, as recommended by Hayes, 2013). Note that path models were estimated separately for leadership effectiveness and likability, as previous research suggests that there is little advantage to simultaneously estimating
multiple dependent variables in the same model as the results largely remain unchanged (Hayes, 2013). Figure 1 summarizes the theoretical model to be tested in the present study.

Before analyzing my results, I also made decisions regarding excluding data. Data were excluded if the participant: 1) failed one or more of the two attention checks in the survey, resulting in the exclusion of 28 participants ($N = 288$), or b) failed to correctly indicate the LGBT association in the manipulation check of the gay or lesbian conditions, resulting in the exclusion of an additional 25 participants ($N = 263$). I chose these exclusion criteria for the restricted sample because it is likely that participants who failed at least one attention check may have been responding at random or carelessly, which if included, might result in erroneous conclusions being drawn from the data, and participants who failed to recall that the leader belonged to a LGBT-related association in the gay and lesbian leader condition indicates that the manipulation was not seen or salient. After implementing these exclusion criteria, I then

Figure 1. Proposed theoretical model
proceeded to run the analyses twice, once including the entire sample (N = 316) and a second time on the restricted sample (N = 263), to examine stability of results.
CHAPTER III
RESULTS

Prior to presenting the analyses relevant to the hypotheses, I have provided a table describing group means, standard deviation, and sample sizes for each of the dependent variables of interest, separated by condition (please see Table 1). This table should help provide some idea of the effect sizes and differences between each of the conditions.

Leader Outcomes

Leader Effectiveness. I examined main effects of leader gender and sexual orientation as well as the two-way interaction between the variables in predicting perceptions of leader effectiveness. When I included all the data, main effects for leader gender ($\beta = -.05, p = .58$) and leader sexual orientation ($\beta = -.06, p = .45$) were non-significant, and the interaction term was also not significant ($\beta = .07, p = .46$). When running analyses on the restricted sample, I found similar results. Main effects for leader gender ($\beta = -.01, p = .87$), leader sexual orientation ($\beta = -.01, p = .95$), and their interaction ($\beta = -.02, p = .84$) were all non-significant in predicting leader effectiveness (see Table 2). Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Leader Likability. When I included all the data, there were no significant main effects for leader gender ($\beta = -.01, p = .92$) or sexual orientation ($\beta = .01, p = .90$), and the results were also non-significant for the leader gender and sexual orientation interaction ($\beta = .03, p = .75$). When conducting analyses on the restricted sample, I found similar results. Main effects for leader gender ($\beta = -.01, p = .94$), leader sexual orientation ($\beta = .04, p = .70$), and their
interaction ($\beta = -.03, p = .80$) were all non-significant in predicting leader likability (see Table 3). Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

**Boss Desirability.** As mentioned above, the three item measure for boss desirability demonstrated poor internal reliability ($\alpha=.52$). Therefore, I decided to try running analyses using the single item measure of boss desirability, derived from Heilman and Okimoto (2006). The item reads “How much do you want [Matthew/Sarah] as your boss?” (1 = not at all to 9 = very much so). When I included all of the data, results were non-significant when looking at main effects for leader gender ($\beta = .01, p = .89$), sexual orientation ($\beta = -.02, p = .77$), and their interaction was also non-significant ($\beta = -.02, p = .86$). When conducting analyses on the restricted sample, I found a similar pattern of results. Main effects for leader gender ($\beta = -.01, p = .94$), sexual orientation ($\beta = -.06, p = .54$), and the interaction of the two was also non-significant ($\beta = .03, p = .79$; see Table 4).

**Proposed Mediators**

**Agency.** I examined main effects and the two-way interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation in predicting perceptions of agency. When I included all the data, there was no significant main effect for leader gender ($\beta = -.08, p = .34$). However, the main effect for leader sexual orientation was significant, such that gay and lesbian leaders were perceived as less agentic than their heterosexual counterparts ($\beta = -.17, p = .04$). There was no significant interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation ($\beta = .16, p = .12$). When conducting analyses on the restricted sample, none of the results were significant, although the main effect for leader sexual orientation was marginally significant ($p < .10$). Main effects for gender ($\beta = -.07, p = .42$), sexual orientation ($\beta = -.16, p = .08$), and the interaction ($\beta = .12, p = .25$) were all non-significant in predicting agency (see Table 5). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.
Communality. When I included all the data, there was a significant main effect for leader sexual orientation, such that gay and lesbian leaders were perceived as more communal than their heterosexual counterparts (β = .17, p = .04). However, there was no significant main effect for leader gender (β = .06, p = .48) and the interaction of leader gender and sexual orientation was also non-significant (β = -.10, p = .34). When conducting analyses on the restricted sample, only leader sexual orientation was a significant predictor of communality (β = .18, p = .04). Leader gender (β = .05, p = .61) and the interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation were non-significant (β = -.10, p = .36; see Table 6). Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Moral Outrage. When I included all the data, the results for moral outrage showed no significant results for the main effects for leader gender (β = -.06, p = .50) or sexual orientation (β = .10, p = .21). The results indicated that the leader gender and sexual orientation interaction was marginally significant (β = -.18, p = .07) and explained 1.4% of the variance in moral outrage (see Table 5). When conducting analyses on the restricted sample, none of the three predictors were statistically significant in predicting moral outrage. Main effects for leader gender (β = -.06, p = .46), sexual orientation (β = .06, p = .48), and the interaction term (β = -.10, p = .36) were all non-significant (see Table 7). Thus, Hypothesis 5 was only partially supported.

Figure 2 graphs the form of the marginally significant interaction in the full sample. The extent to which followers or participants felt moral outrage was dependent on the gender and sexual orientation of the leader. Participants reported the most moral outrage toward the gay male leader (1.98) and the least moral outrage toward the lesbian leader (1.54). Fisher’s least significant difference (LSD) post-hoc tests indicate that the only significant difference was between gay male and lesbian leaders (t = 1.96, p = .05) However, more conservative post-hoc
tests (i.e., Tukey) indicate that none of the differences between the four groups were statistically
significantly different from each other.

![Moral Outrage Graph]

*Figure 2. Interaction of Leader Gender and Sexual Orientation in Predicting Moral Outrage*

**Note: Interaction was marginally significant, p=.065

**Participant Gender**

I also explored the role of participant gender (Research Question 1). I examined whether participant gender interacted with leader characteristics (i.e., gender and sexual orientation) by examining whether there were any significant three-way interactions in predicting leadership outcomes (i.e., leader effectiveness and likability and boss desirability) as well as potential mediators (i.e., agency, communality, and moral outrage). My results indicate that participant gender did not play a role in the present results as there were no significant main effects for participant gender, two-way interactions, or three-way interactions (between participant gender and leader gender and sexual orientation) in any of these analyses (see Tables 8 through 13).
**Moderated Mediation Analyses**

Although the interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation was only marginally significant in predicting moral outrage in the whole sample, I conducted moderated mediation analyses to examine whether moral outrage mediated the relationship between the interaction term (i.e., leader gender X sexual orientation) and leader effectiveness and likeability given that the amount of variance explained by the interaction term is similar or greater in magnitude to other published findings in the field. Aguinis, Beaty, Boik, and Pierce (2005) report that the median effect size for interaction effects over the course of a 30 year review of categorical moderators as .002. That is, the median effect size of the moderator effect explained 0.2% of the variance in outcomes. Thus, despite the fact that the interaction was only marginally significant, the absolute magnitude of this effect is larger than many of the other significant interactions in the literature. Furthermore, this marginal effect may be driven by low statistical power to detect moderating effects (Stone-Romero, Alliger, & Aguinis, 1994).

First, I examined whether moral outrage mediated the moderated effect (i.e., leader gender X sexual orientation) for leader effectiveness. As I found above, the interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation was marginally significant when predicting moral outrage, the confidence interval for the interaction term included zero (LLCI = -1.03, ULCI = 0.03). When looking at the path between moral outrage and leader effectiveness, this path was statistically significant (p < .0001), and the confidence interval did not include zero (LLCI = -6.55, ULCI = -3.75). Thus, moral outrage strongly predicted perceptions of leader effectiveness. The conditional direct effects were non-significant in predicting effectiveness at both values of the moderator (for straight conditions, p = 0.62, LLCI = -5.97, ULCI = 3.55; for gay conditions, p = 0.68, LLCI = -5.570, ULCI = 3.63). Conditional indirect effects indicated that gender
significantly predicted perceptions of effectiveness in the gay condition, but not the straight condition. This was indicated by the confidence interval including zero for the straight condition (LLCI = -2.66, ULCI = 1.24), but did not contain zero for the gay condition (LLCI = 0.13, ULCI = 4.02). When looking at the bootstrapped confidence intervals for the index of moderated mediation, it shows that moderated mediation did indeed take place (LLCI = 0.06, ULCI = 5.58). Thus, gay male leaders were the target of greater moral outrage from others and moral outrage then predicted lower perceptions of leader effectiveness. The $R^2$ for the full model was .15.

Next I tested the same model, this time looking at whether moral outrage mediates the relationship between interactive relationship between leader gender and sexual orientation and leader likability. Although the interaction term was only marginally significant in predicting moral outrage, the path between moral outrage and leader likability was statistically significant ($p<.0001$) and the confidence interval did not include zero (LLCI = -7.01 ULCI = -3.84). The conditional direct effects were non-significant in predicting likability at both values of the moderator (for straight conditions, $p = 0.92$, LLCI = -5.67, ULCI = 5.14; for gay conditions, $p = 0.68$, LLCI = -6.30, ULCI = 4.14). Conditional indirect effects indicated that gender significantly predicted outcomes of likability in the gay condition, but not the straight condition. This was indicated by the confidence interval including zero for the straight condition (LLCI = -2.88, ULCI = 1.32), but not for the gay condition (LLCI = 0.17, ULCI = 4.40). However, when looking at the bootstrapped confidence intervals for the index of moderated mediation, it suggests that moderated mediation did not take place as the confidence interval included zero (LLCI = -0.03, ULCI = 5.93). Thus, moral outrage did not mediate the moderated relationship between leader gender and sexual orientation and perceptions of leader likeability. $R^2$ for the full model was .13.
### Tables

Table 1.

*Means for dependent measures separated by condition*

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<th>Condition</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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Table 2.

**Regression analyses predicting leader effectiveness**

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Table 3.

**Regression analyses predicting leader likability**

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*Regression analyses predicting boss desirability*

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F (3, 312) = .13, p = .94; R² = .00

Table 5.

*Regression analyses predicting agency.*

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F (3, 247) = 1.03, p = .38; R² = .01
### Table 6.

*Regression analyses predicting communality.*

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### Table 7.

*Regression analyses predicting moral outrage.*

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### Table 7.

*Regression analyses predicting moral outrage.*

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Table 8

Three-way interaction predicting leader effectiveness

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\(F (7, 290) = .55, p = .79; R^2 = .01\)

\(F (7, 237) = .913, p = .5; R^2 = .03\)
Table 9

Three-way interaction predicting leader likability

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\[ F (7, 290) = 1.03, \ p = .41; \ R^2 = .02 \]

\[ F (7, 237) = 1.67, \ p = .12; \ R^2 = .05 \]
Table 10

*Three-way interaction predicting boss desirability*

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Table 11

Three-way interaction predicting agency

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\(F (7, 290) = .932, p = .48; R^2 = .02\)

\(F (7, 237) = .931, p = .48; R^2 = .03\)
Table 12

**Three-way interaction predicting communality**

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F (7, 290) = 1.43, p =.2;  \(R^2 = .03\)

F (7, 237) =1.64, p =1.24;  \(R^2 = .05\)
Table 13

*Three-way interaction predicting moral outrage*

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F (7, 290) = 1.25, p = .27; \( R^2 = .03 \)

F (7, 237) = 1.69, p = .11; \( R^2 = .05 \)
CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The present results generally found little and inconsistent support for interactions between leader gender and sexual orientation in predicting leadership ratings (i.e., leader effectiveness and likeability). However, there was some evidence that gay and lesbian leaders were perceived differently than heterosexual leaders. In particular, gay and lesbian leaders were perceived to be less agentic and more communal than presumed heterosexual leaders. These findings somewhat contrasts with Herek’s (2002) assertion that people hold different stereotypes and expectations regarding gay men and lesbians due to gender inversion. Thus, given stereotypes of leaders as agentic, this suggests that gay and lesbian leaders may be perceived as more incongruous with the leadership role than their heterosexual counterparts (though the present results show there were no significant main effects of leader sexual orientation on leader effectiveness and likability).

The moderated mediation analyses show that moral outrage mediated moderated relationship between leader gender and sexual orientation in predicting perceptions of leader effectiveness, but not leader likeability. Thus, only gay male leaders (but not lesbian leaders) elicited feelings of moral outrage from participants, which in turn was related to lower ratings of leader effectiveness. One possible explanation of this finding may be the precarious nature of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). Since manhood is hard-earned and easily lost, perceptions of gender-norm violations may result in more negative consequences for gay males than lesbians.
The current study demonstrates that moral outrage may be a key outcome and mediator of leadership evaluations of leaders or managers who are members of potentially stigmatized or marginalized groups. My findings support the assertion of previous research (e.g., Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010) that moral outrage (i.e., affective reactions) may be an alternative, though perhaps complementary explanation, to role incongruity regarding why individuals belonging to certain groups may receive lower leadership evaluations. Future research should continue to explore the circumstances under which cognitive versus affective reactions additively or interactively explain perceptions and ratings of leadership.

The present study also highlights the importance and nuances of studying intersectionality. Intersectionality focuses on the role of multiple identities, such as individuals that are both gender minorities (e.g. women) and sexual minorities (e.g. homosexual), and how multiple group memberships influence outcomes for individuals that identify as belonging to multiple groups (Parent, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2013). Although gay and lesbian leaders were rated similarly in participants’ ratings of agency and communality, they were rated differently on moral outrage. Generally, the majority of diversity research in leadership focuses on gender differences (i.e., differential perceptions of male and female leaders) with little research examining race differences or the influence of other demographic categories on leadership evaluations (e.g., Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). The present research suggests that more research that considers intersectionality is needed in the leadership domain, as outcomes may differ based on the intersection of or multiple social identities possessed by leaders.

Limitations

Although the present study had a number of strengths, including an experimental design that allows me to examine causality, there are also some limitations that may limit the
generalizability and stability of my results. One limitation is that the sample for the present study was drawn from Amazon’s M-Turk and the survey was completed online. Therefore, I had little control over the environment in which the survey was taken and participants may have been distracted and responded carelessly. Although I examined the amount of time participants spent on the survey, this is a crude measure of attention as participants could have simply left the survey open on their browser, but not have been actively engaged in completing the study. I conducted supplemental analyses that that excluded potential outliers (i.e., individuals who spent more than an hour on the survey and those that spent less than 5 minutes on the survey) and found that results did not differ from those obtained based on the restricted sample. Future research may benefit from bringing participants into the lab where the researcher has more control over the environment.

Another limitation was that the present results seem to be very sensitive, changing depending upon whether results were based on the full or restricted sample, particularly results for moral outrage. The interaction between leader gender and sexual orientation in predicting moral outrage was marginally significant in the full sample, but non-significant in the restricted sample. It could be that individuals who do not pay as much attention to details might be more likely to operate based on stereotypes and thus their inclusion in the full sample were driving these results. For example, Gilbert and Hixon (1991) found that cognitively distracted individuals were less likely to experience activation of racial stereotypes against Asians (as operationalized by a word completion task), but were more likely to make stereotypical trait attributions about Asians (e.g., greater timidity, less sociability) than those in the control condition (i.e. non-distracted participants). To more directly test the impact of cognitive load on use and reliance on stereotypes, future research could manipulate amount of time participants are
given to review the resume or provide participants with a distraction during or after the resume review and examining the impact of such manipulations on leadership evaluations. Alternatively, non-significance in the restricted sample could simply be due to issues of power, as excluding participants reduces my ability to detect effects or the distribution of moral outrage. My results show that the distribution of moral outrage was non-normal, as relatively few individuals indicated that they felt morally outrage toward the leader being evaluated. Future directions for research should include exploring individual differences with regards to individuals’ propensities to feel moral outrage or prejudice.

Additionally, information pertaining to sexual orientation of the respondents was not collected in the present study. Consequently, although I believe it is unlikely that there was a large enough percentage of sexual minorities in my sample to influence my results (research suggests about 6.7% of the population identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender; Catalyst, 2012), I cannot rule out that this may be another important demographic of respondents that may influence (or moderate) the present findings. Future research should therefore test whether and how sexual orientation of the rater may influence leadership evaluations of gay and lesbian leaders.

Another limitation is the subtlety and ambiguity of the manipulation. Many of the participants in the gay and lesbian conditions correctly identified that this leader belonged to an LGBT association, but appeared to be reluctant to make the inference that the manager was gay or lesbian (perhaps thinking they may be an ally or advocate instead or due to concerns of incorrect classification). In the gay and lesbian conditions, 122 participants out of 163 correctly identified that the leader belonged to an LGBT organization. However, only 62 out of 163 participants said that they learned that the manager was gay or lesbian. Although I believe the
present manipulation might be realistic in that real-world cues about sexual orientation are often ambiguous, the present results may have been more consistent and stronger if the sexual orientation of the leader was interpreted unambiguously by participants.

A final limitation is that the resume described a manager who was quite accomplished. My data shows that across conditions, the manager described in the resume was perceived to be more effective than 75% of his or her peers at the same organizational level. Presenting a potential manager that was highly competent might have inadvertently served to counteract the impact of stereotypical expectations. Rosette and Tost (2010) found that when rating senior level leaders, participants did not discriminate based on leader gender. The logic was that in order to reach higher levels of organizational leadership, the manager must have proven their competence at some point, as organizations do not appoint inexperienced and incompetent individuals to senior levels of management. This effect may have played a role in the current study; thus, results may be different when participants are rating leaders whose competence is more ambiguous or leaders at lower level of the organizational hierarchy (i.e., first-line supervisors). Future research should seek to test these potential boundary conditions regarding when raters do and do not demonstrate bias against sexual minority leaders.

Conclusion

The current study sheds light on how individuals’ respond to cues regarding gender and sexual orientation in their evaluations of leaders. Although leader sexual orientation, either directly or in combination with leader gender, does appear to impact leadership perceptions, these effects generally appear to be relatively small. However, these effects should be qualified by the limitations of the current study design. Given the dearth of research on leader sexual
orientation on leadership outcomes and evaluations, it is my hope that this work stimulates additional research on this topic and on diversity issues in leadership more generally.
REFERENCES


Appendix A: Resumes

**MATTHEW ANDERSON**

14 Biltmore Place · Tampa, FL 33607 · 813-555-6221 · manderson@att.net

*Global Technology Marketing and Sales ~ Telecommunications ~ Partnership Development*

A highly experienced District Manager who has demonstrated the ability to lead diverse teams of professionals to new levels of success in a variety of highly competitive industries, cutting-edge markets, and fast-paced environments. Strong technical and business qualifications with more than 15 years of hands-on experience in strategic planning, business unit development, project and product management, and system engineering strategies.

· Domestic and Global Sales · Key Client Retention · Brand Awareness
· Business Development · Relationship Management · Project Management
  · Career Tracking · Product Development · Training and Teambuilding

**RECENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

**TRADERS INTERNATIONAL**

· Oversaw the start-up and development of this wireless company from the year 2000 - present.
· Managed a team from a successful acquisition of a Philips R & D unit resulting in improved capacity for developing innovative wireless products.
· Developed an ongoing future business plan and both institutional and strategic financing during difficult economic conditions.

**TAMPA BAY GAY AND LESBIAN BUSINESS SOCIETY**

· Founded and led this comprehensive initiative, creating a network of gay and lesbian professionals that currently lists 500 members and over 150 businesses.
· Was recognized in 2010 with an Outstanding Achievement Award by the Tampa Bay Times for bridging gaps and building opportunity for gay and lesbian professionals.
· Developed and maintained a comprehensive mentoring program for gay and lesbian business school graduates to facilitate their transition from graduate school to the world of business.

**OPPENHEIMER**

· Led a team in successfully developing and marketing wireless technology that improved the quality of web based media and communications.
· Enhanced the public image and recognition of the firm’s name within the business community through new business development, community outreach, and networking.
· As manager of the product marketing team, successfully oversaw the entire marketing program implementation for a major product line.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

TRADERS INTERNATIONAL, Wallace, California (2000 - Present)

District Manager (2002 – present)
· Led teams overseeing the development and production of the wireless terminals that established Traders International as a leading competitor in the telecommunications industry.
· Oversee the strategic management and operational oversight of the company's Global Business Development and Operations in order to provide streamlined operations, reduced operating costs, and greater profitability.
· Interface with partners and clients to develop and maintain organizational strategies and proposals for increasing technical efficiency and improving profitability from the ground up.

· Acted as Interim Accounts manager for approximately 18 months during a rapid growth and financing period for the company.
· Secured all funding for a major project involving development and marketing of cutting edge technology that surpassed projected financial expectations.
· Set-up all financial relationships, systems, and processes necessary for US Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) compliance.


Sales & Marketing Manager (1996-2000)
· Directed marketing strategies, business development plans, promotional activities, and product development projects for seven component companies in the Far East.
· Oversaw the management of the company's regional sales team, resulting in increased sales and revenue in the year 2000.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

SOUTHERN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION (2000 – PRESENT)

ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION (2004 – PRESENT)

TAMPA BAY BUSINESS SOCIETY (2004 – PRESENT)
EDUCATION

Master of Business Administration, (1996)
DARTMOUTH UNIVERSITY TUCK SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

Bachelor of Business Marketing, (1988)
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
Sarah Anderson

14 Biltmore Place · Tampa, FL 33607 · 813-555-6221 · sanderson@att.net

Global Technology Marketing and Sales ~ Telecommunications ~ Partnership Development

A highly experienced District Manager who has demonstrated the ability to lead diverse teams of professionals to new levels of success in a variety of highly competitive industries, cutting-edge markets, and fast-paced environments. Strong technical and business qualifications with more than 15 years of hands-on experience in strategic planning, business unit development, project and product management, and system engineering strategies.

- Domestic and Global Sales · Key Client Retention · Brand Awareness
- Business Development · Relationship Management · Project Management
- Career Tracking · Product Development · Training and Teambuilding

Recent Accomplishments

Traders International

- Oversaw the start-up and development of this wireless company from the year 2000 - present.
- Managed a team from a successful acquisition of a Philips R & D unit resulting in improved capacity for developing innovative wireless products.
- Developed an ongoing future business plan and both institutional and strategic financing during difficult economic conditions.

Tampa Bay Gay and Lesbian Business Society

- Founded and led this comprehensive initiative, creating a network of gay and lesbian professionals that currently lists 500 members and over 150 businesses.
- Was recognized in 2010 with an Outstanding Achievement Award by the Tampa Bay Times for bridging gaps and building opportunity for gay and lesbian professionals.
- Developed and maintained a comprehensive mentoring program for gay and lesbian business school graduates to facilitate their transition from graduate school to the world of business.

Oppenheimer

- Led a team in successfully developing and marketing wireless technology that improved the quality of web based media and communications.
- Enhanced the public image and recognition of the firm's name within the business community through new business development, community outreach, and networking.
· As manager of the product marketing team, successfully oversaw the entire marketing program implementation for a major product line.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

TRADERS INTERNATIONAL, Wallace, California (2000 - Present)

District Manager (2002 – present)
· Led teams overseeing the development and production of the wireless terminals that established Traders International as a leading competitor in the telecommunications industry.
· Oversee the strategic management and operational oversight of the company's Global Business Development and Operations in order to provide streamlined operations, reduced operating costs, and greater profitability.
· Interface with partners and clients to develop and maintain organizational strategies and proposals for increasing technical efficiency and improving profitability from the ground up.

· Acted as Interim Accounts manager for approximately 18 months during a rapid growth and financing period for the company.
· Secured all funding for a major project involving development and marketing of cutting edge technology that surpassed projected financial expectations.
· Set-up all financial relationships, systems, and processes necessary for US Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) compliance.


Sales & Marketing Manager (1996-2000)
· Directed marketing strategies, business development plans, promotional activities, and product development projects for seven component companies in the Far East.
· Oversaw the management of the company's regional sales team, resulting in increased sales and revenue in the year 2000.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

SOUTHERN MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION (2000 – PRESENT)

ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION (2004 – PRESENT)

TAMPA BAY BUSINESS SOCIETY (2004 – PRESENT)

EDUCATION
Master of Business Administration, (1996)
DARTMOUTH UNIVERSITY TUCK SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

Bachelor of Business Marketing, (1988)
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
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MATTHEW ANDERSON

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Appendix B: Survey

Please answer the following questions:

Are you currently employed?  Yes  No

If yes, please answer the following:

Job Title/Position ________________

How many years have you worked at this position ______

How many hours do you work, on average, per week? ____

Please imagine that you have just been hired for a desired position at a prestigious company, one that is both a logical next step in your career and a great opportunity in of itself. Consequently, you have been presented with your future manager’s resume as a way for you to familiarize yourself with him or her and to give you an idea as to what you can expect in working with him or her. Please pay special attention to the details of the resume as you will be asked to recall various details about the resume throughout the remainder of the study.

After reading your new manager’s resume, you will be asked a few questions regarding the details of the resume pertaining to the past experiences, qualifications, and your general first impressions of your future manager.

[Resume for assigned condition]

Please assign a score between 0 and 100% (0 being the lowest possible score and indicating possessing the lowest level of the given trait compared to other managers at the same organizational level and 100 being the highest possible score and indicating possessing the highest level of the given trait compared to other managers at the same organizational level) for each trait for [Matthew/Sarah].

For example, for the first item, if you believe [Matthew/Sarah] to be the most supportive manager there is relative to other managers at the same organizational level, then you would assign [him/her] a score of 100%. If you believe [Matthew/Sarah] to be more supportive than half of other managers at the same organizational level, then you would assign [him/her] a score of 50%. If you believe [Matthew/Sarah] to be the least supportive manager compared to
managers at the same organizational level, then you would assign [him/her] a score 0%. Please feel free to use any number between 0-100.

1. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating the degree of competence for [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level with higher scores indicating greater competence.

___%

2. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating the degree of effectiveness for [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater effectiveness.

___%

3. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how productive you believe [Matthew/Sarah] is relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater productivity.

___%

4. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how successful you believe [Matthew/Sarah] is relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater success.

___%

5. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating the degree of likability for [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater likability.

___%

6. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how much you think you would like [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater likability.
7. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how much you think your co-workers would like [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater likability

___%

8. If you were to transfer to a similar position in a different department with a different manager, what is the probability (between 0% and 100%) you will prefer your new manager to [Matthew/Sarah], with higher scores indicating greater preference for the new manager?

___%

9. For the following item, please enter the value 75%

___%

10. Please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how much you would like to work for [Matthew/Sarah] relative to other managers at the same organizational level, with higher scores indicating greater desire to work for [Matthew/Sarah].

___%

11. If given the opportunity to transfer to a different department under a different supervisor, please assign a percentile score (between 0% and 100%) indicating how likely you would be to take that opportunity, with a higher score indicating a greater inclination to transfer to a different department.

___%

12. The following is a list of skills which are considered both necessary and desirable to succeed as a manager in this company. Please indicate how many examples of each skill you would require of [Matthew/Sarah] before feeling confident that he or she has the ability to perform each skill:

   Decision Making ___
   Interpersonal Relations ___
   Leadership ___
   Monitoring ___
   Motivation ___
   Oral Communication ___
   Problem Solving ___
   Planning ___
Willingness to Seek and Accept Assistance

Please indicate the extent to which you feel the following emotions towards [Matthew/Sarah] on a scale of 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much).

13. Contempt

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<td>Not at all</td>
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14. Disdain

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15. Anger

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16. Irritation

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17. Please select 3

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18. Disapproval

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19. Disgust

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20. Revulsion

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<td>22. Respect</td>
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<td>26. Fascination</td>
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<td>27. Excitement</td>
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28. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on supportiveness.
   ___%

29. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on understanding.
   ___%

30. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on sensitivity.
   ___%

31. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on caring.
   ___%

32. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on strength.
   ___%

33. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on assertiveness.
   ___%

34. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on toughness.
   ___%

35. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on boldness.
   ___%

36. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on activeness.
   ___%

37. Compared to other managers at the same organizational level, I would assign [Matthew/Sarah] a score of ___% on dominance.
38. In [Matthew/Sarah’s] resume, [he/she] had listed professional associations [he/she] was involved in. In the blank spaces below, please list as many of them as you can recall (one association per space).

____________________
____________________
____________________

Did you learn about [Matthew/Sarah’s] age? Yes No

If yes, how old is [Matthew/Sarah]: ______

Did you learn about [Matthew/Sarah’s] gender? Yes No

If yes, what is [Matthew/Sarah’s] gender? Male Female

Did you learn about [Matthew/Sarah’s] race/ethnicity? Yes No

If yes, what is [Matthew/Sarah’s] race/ethnicity:

White/Non-Hispanic _____
Hispanic/Latino _____
African American/Black _____
Asian _____
American Indian/Alaskan Native _____
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander _____
Other _____

Did you learn about [Matthew/Sarah’s] sexual orientation: Yes No

If yes, what is [Matthew/Sarah’s] sexual orientation?

Heterosexual _____
Homosexual _____
Bisexual _____
Transgender _____
Other ___

39. Please provide the following demographic information about yourself

Age: ____

Gender:

Male ____
Female ______

Ethnicity:

White/Non-Hispanic ____
Hispanic/Latino ____
African American/Black ____
Asian ____
American Indian/Alaskan Native ____
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander ___
Other ____

Do you have work experience? Yes No

If yes, how many years of full-time work-experience do you possess: _________

Do you have any managerial experience? Yes No

If yes, how many years of experience working as a manager do you possess: _________

In the space provided, please provide your Amazon MTurk Worker ID # _________
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Fred Macoukji began his studies in psychology during his junior year in high school, taking an Introduction to Psychology course while attending a summer semester at Duke University as part of their Talent Identification Program. It was not until his junior year in college that he discovered his passion for the field of I/O psychology. Working under the supervision of Dr. Derek Avery at the University of Houston, he soon recognized that the study of psychology as it applies to the workplace, particularly in the topic of diversity, would be his calling. After having attended this first conference at SIOP in New Orleans, LA in 2009, he changed his career plans from law school to graduate school, and submitted his first poster the following year at SIOP’s 25th annual conference in Atlanta. He received his B.A. in psychology at the University of Houston in 2009, and enrolled in the Ph.D. program at the University of South Florida with a focus in Industrial Organizational Psychology.

Fred currently resides in Tampa, Florida. In addition to teaching an undergraduate course in I/O psychology, he is actively involved as a board member of a local charity developing a career based formal mentorship program for LGBT undergraduates at the University of South Florida. In his free time, he enjoys cooking, running, and spending time with friends and family.