EFFECTS OF STIGMA ON EVALUATIONS OF TRANSGRESSIVE LEADERS AND GROUP MEMBERS.

A thesis submitted by
Ioanna Kapantai
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Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The underrepresentation of stigmatised persons in positions of leadership is evident across contexts. Those who manage to make it to the top of the hierarchy often face further discrimination with earnings lower than their non-stigmatised colleagues (e.g. Noonan et al., 2004). This seems to be especially true for women with disabilities (Majiet & Africa, 2015). Research on the role of stigma in evaluations of leaders is scarce. Instead, literature to date focuses either on evaluations of leaders in general or evaluations of stigmatised groups (e.g., Phelan, Link & Dovidio, 2008; Schwazer & Weiner, 1991; Weiner, 2010). At the same time, research examines the role of attributions in evaluations of stigmatised targets but fails to consider the target's role (leader vs member) (e.g., Armesto & Weisman, 2001; Sahar, 2014).

This thesis attempted to address this gap in the literature in a series of six experimental studies. Studies 1-3 explored the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on the evaluations of transgressive leaders and members. Study 4 extended earlier findings by looking at the role of valence on evaluations. Studies 5-6 additionally emphasised the role of gender in the evaluation of stigmatised leaders and members.

Overall, our findings showed that controllability attributions for stigma affected participants' judgments. Specifically, those who could not be held accountable for their stigma were judged entirely outside of that stigma (judgments similar to those with no stigma). On the contrary, when participants could attribute responsibility for the stigma to the individual, evaluations of the target diminished. Further, our examinations of archival data allowed us to examine the real-life distribution of stigmatised persons in leadership. Our findings showed that stigmatised persons and especially women, were highly underrepresented at the top of the hierarchy.

These finding have significant theoretical and practical implications and attest to the need for government agencies and organisations to ensure the implementation of measures that allow all stigmatised persons equal opportunities for leadership.

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1. INTRODUCTION,

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This thesis is an exploration of how we think of and react to, transgressive stigmatised leaders (six empirical studies in total). This thesis is particularly focused on stigmatised *leaders* (rather than leaders and members) because findings from group dynamics research show that leaders receive an advantage in evaluations (e.g. transgression credit- Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013). While research on leader evaluations is vast, there has been very little research on stigmatised leaders. Therefore, this thesis aimed at exploring whether advantages in evaluations of leaders, hold when the leader is stigmatised.

We manipulated stigma as physical disability. This better allowed us to also examine the effect of causal attributions on evaluations. We hypothesised that when the leader is seen as causally involved in their disability (e.g. drink-and-drive accident that leads to wheelchair use), evaluations will be less positive compared to when the leader is not causally involved- e.g. disability from birth). In line with this, we also hypothesised that transgression credit would more readily be awarded to leaders who were not causally responsible for their stigma (compared to those who were). We then examined the role of valence in causal attributions. We hypothesised that when the causal event had a positive outcome (positive valence), the leader would be evaluated more positively than when the outcome was negative (albeit in both cases, the leader was causally responsible for their disability). Finally, we looked at the role of gender in evaluations of stigmatised leaders. Looking at existing distributions of male and female politicians, we noticed that male disabled politicians, were proportionately much higher in number than female ones. These studies paved the way towards our final experimental study, which investigated the effect of gender, stigma and stigma controllability in the evaluation of transgressive leaders.

Our examinations are important in several ways: they help understand how the incorporation of stigmatised members into groups may affect group dynamics and they highlight the scarcity of stigmatised persons in senior positions as well as the gender disparity in positions of leadership. The following section will briefly outline the existing findings that formed the theoretical basis of this thesis. Each empirical chapter will then include a separate introduction.

1.1.Group Dynamics: Leadership

Humans are a social species (Thomas, Martin & Riggio, 2013) and so, leadership is essential in organising collective action. The effectiveness of such collective action largely depends on our ability to select the 'right leader'. Psychological research attempting to understand what makes 'a good leader' has followed two main approaches: investigating individual differences in leaders or examining leaders within the context of a group (e.g. Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011). The following section will outline relevant findings..

1.1.1. Socio-Cognitive Approaches to Leadership: What do I think?

Examining social context in leadership helps explain how followers' cognitions affect evaluations. One of the first empirical studies to look at leadership as a social process (Lord, Foti & de Vader, 1984) showed that followers' implicit ideas about leadership guide their evaluations. This brought about *leadership categorisation theory,* which proposes that evaluations of leaders will be more positive when followers' implicit ideas about leadership resemble the leader's characteristics: the higher the resemblance, the higher the evaluation.

Like all cognitive schemas, implicit ideas about leadership range from broad notions of leadership to more specific ideas of leadership (these are often context-specific- e.g. political leader vs military leader vs religious leader) (Thomas, Martin & Riggio, 2013). For instance, Blaker and colleagues (2013) showed that participants associated height with perceived dominance, intelligence and health and so, evaluated tall leaders more positively

than short ones (for female leaders, this was only true for intelligence). In a similar way, Jackson, Engstrom & Emmers-Sommer (2007) showed that participants were more likely to choose a male, instead of a female leader ("Think leader, think male"- Jackson, Engstrong, Emmers & Sommer, 2007, p.713). The authors proposed that because men are stereotypically associated with agentic traits and women with communal ones (Eagly & Karau, 2002), ideas of leadership were male-typical. Indeed, empirical evidence has consistently validated this effect of leadership prototypes on evaluations.

However, implicit ideas for leadership are not limited to the self. They include mental representations of interactions with other group members under specific leaders. For example, McIntyre and Foti (2013) showed that when team members think of leadership as a 'shared process', the team's performance is enhanced. These authors combine the socio-cognitive approach to leadership with a group-processes approach, which paves the way to the second part of this section: leadership as a social process.

1.1.2. Group Process & Leadership: The We in I.

Leadership must, by default, be a relational property of groups: leaders cannot *be* without followers and vice versa (Hogg, 2001; Thomas, Martin & Riggio, 2013). Research that looks at leadership as a group process, most commonly operates under the framework of social identity theory (e.g. Haslam et al, 2011; Hogg, 2001; Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003).

The basic tenet of social identity theory is that, by being part of a group (be it a political group, religious group, sports group or any group) our personal identities ('I') are redefined as collective ones ('we'- e.g. 'conservatives/liberals') (Abrams & Hogg, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 2001). The resulting social identities are then associated with a set of norms (group prototype) that positively distinguish the in-group from other groups. Group members' adherence to such norms can help protect the self-esteem (by elevating the in-group's status)

and imbues the world with meaning and order (Tajfel & Turner, 2001; Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). It follows then, that intergroup competition can pose a threat to the image of the in-group. In such cases, group members attempt to sustain intergroup differentiation by maximising the validity of in-group norms through intra-group (within-group) differentiation (*Model of Subjective Group Dynamics:* Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003). Specifically, group members begin to appraise the extent to which other members contribute (positively or negatively) to legitimising the group's superior identity and judge them accordingly (Abrams, Marques, Bown & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). In that way, in-group deviance reduces the validity of the group which results in prejudice and discrimination (Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison & Bown, 2004; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron & Ferrell, 2007). Such discrimination varies depending of the role of the deviant- i.e. leader vs member. The following section will outline findings on reactions to deviance and transgression based on role.

1.1.3. Deviance & Transgression: When leaders go astray.

An abundance of research on group dynamics validates people's tendency to over-derogate in-group deviants because they pose a threat to the image of the group (Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison & Bown, 2004; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron & Ferrell, 2007). The *Black Sheep Effect* (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988) explains that people derogate in-group deviants more than out-group deviants due to the former's proximity to the in-group norm (Biernat, Vescio & Billings, 1999; Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). However, Moreland and Levine (2002) note that group members differ in the extent to which they endorse (and in turn, are expected to endorse) the group's beliefs (full vs normative members). They show that full members' deviation from the in-group norms, poses a more substantial threat to its image and thus leads to harsher evaluations. Pinto and colleagues (2010) also showed that reactions to deviance

vary depending on the deviant member's centrality to the group (the more central, the harsher the evaluation).

The *Social Identity Theory of Leadership* (Hogg, 2001) views leaders as the most prototypical members of a group. Arguably then, deviant leaders should receive the harshest of evaluations, compared to other group members. However, research shows that leaders are, in fact, more likely to be justified for their non-conformity (compared to members)- this is true for both to opinion deviance, likeability and loyalty as well as clear violations of rules or laws (e.g. Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013; Randsley de Moura, Abrams, Marques & Hutchison, 2011). Abrams and colleagues (2008) argue that this double standard can be explained as members allowing the leader to be innovative (*Innovation Credit*) for the benefit of the group. On the contrary, Hollander (1958) understands the difficulty to reject errant leaders as a consequence of their progressively imbued trust from their followers (*idiosyncracy credits:* Hollander, 1958, p. 117). In a series of studies, exploring evaluations of leaders and members in the context of transgressions (a clear violation of a rule or law), Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino (2013) showed that transgressive in-group leaders (but not in-group members or out-group leaders) were awarded *Transgression Credit* and so, received more favourable evaluations.

This thesis explored boundary conditions for transgression credit. We explored whether stigmatisation and controllability attributions for stigma would affect awarding transgression credit.

1.2.Stigma & Attributions

Goffman (2009) understood stigma as a set of discrediting attributes that reduce a person to a tainted one (Goffman, 2009, p. 3). Later, Jones and colleagues (1984) proposed that stigmatising attributes eventually become cognitively represented as social deviance and govern normative members' impressions.

Psychological research has attempted to understand the reasons underlining prejudice towards stigmatised people (e.g. Corrigan, Edwards, Green, Diwan & Penn, 2001; Thornicroft, Rose, Kassam & Sartorius, 2007; Riddell & Watson, 2014). In doing so, however, it has mostly emphasised responses to individual targets and only recently began to look at the effect of stigma on social interactions. Yang and colleagues (2007) suggest that stigma is a multidimensional social process. They argue that individual responses to stigma inadvertently strengthen relevant stereotypes and so, perpetuate marginalisation. In that way, members of stigmatised groups are perceived to be of lower status, lower competence and are burdened with shame. According to the researchers such perceptions threaten normative members' beliefs of a just and orderly existence; this can further perpetuate stigmatisation as a means of self-preservation. Stigmatisation, then, appears to be a decisive mechanism in the outcome of social interactions.

This thesis investigated whether the addition of a stigmatised person in an otherwise non-stigmatised group would affect evaluations of that target. We also explored whether causal attributions for stigma would affect evaluations. Research on attributions of stigma generally looks at controllability and causality. Our studies manipulated controllability so the following section will focus on relevant findings.

1.2.1. Controllability: It's your fault, so I will judge you.

There are two main approaches in attributional research on stigma: attributions are either seen as synonymous with perceptions (Martinko, Harvey & Douglas, 2007; Martinko, Moss, Douglas & Borkowski, 2007) or as the process of establishing causality or controllability for a behaviour (Heider, 1958; Martinko, Harvey & Douglas, 2007; Martinko, Moss, Douglas & Borkowski, 2007). Controllability attributions refer to judgments of whether or not a target had control over a behaviour or event; in this case, their stigma.

Research on controllability attributions for stigma has focused on obesity, homosexuality, mental health, physical illness and others (e.g. Armesto & Weisman, 2001; Crandall, 1994; Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991; Stein, Steinberg, Allwood, Karstaedt & Brouard, 1997). Overall, it appears that when the cause of a stigma can be attributed to the target, evaluations and helping intentions diminish (Shwarzer & Weiner, 1991). For example, Cobb and de Chabert (2002) found that social care providers who thought of HIV as fully controllable, were less likely to help patients. Similarly, Pearl and Lebowitz (2014) found that participants who perceived obesity to be the result of weak willpower or overeating (both controllable causes), were more likely to evaluate targets negatively and ostracise them. In their review, Sikorski and colleagues (2011) confirmed this behavioural pattern and concluded that controllability attributions about obesity were most likely to perpetuate stigmatisation. This effect seems to replicate across several types of stigma including anorexia, heart disease, cancer, depression and other (Brownell et al., 2010; Crandall, 1994; Pearl & Lebowitz, 2014; Zwickert & Rieger, 2013). These findings are important because they clearly show that attributions of controllability affect evaluations as well as, perpetuate marginalisation. To our knowledge, no study to date has investigated the effect of such attributions on inter-group and intra-group dynamics.

This thesis investigated whether controllability attributions for stigma affect evaluations of transgressive leaders. In this thesis, we also manipulated valence associated with stigma: that is, stigma was presented as the result of a positive or negative controllable event. The following section discusses the role of valence in attributions.

1.2.2. Valence: It's not what you did, it's what you caused.

Behavioural attributions are judged on the basis of controllability, intent and cause (singly or not singly caused acts) (Pizaro, Ulhmann & Bloom, 2003; Weiner, 1995). So, when an act is perceived as fully controllable, singly caused and intentional, full blame is awarded (Pizaro,

Ulhmann and Bloom, 2003). However, research to date has, in its majority, examined attributions only in the context of negative, rather than positive deviance.

For example, Pizaro, Ulhmann and Salovey (2003) showed that, deliberate and controllable acts of deviance with a positive outcome (compared to a negative one) can lead to more lenient evaluations of the perpetrator. Pellizzoni, Girotto and Surian (2010) also show that when the side-effects of an action are perceived as positive (vs negative), participants are less likely to consider it fully intentional and likely to evaluate the perpetrator more favourably. This asymmetry in evaluations seems to apply in a variety of age groups and across populations (e.g. Alicke, 2008; Knobe & Burra, 2006; Leslie, Knobe & Cohen, 2006; Young, Cushman, Adolphs, Tranel & Hauser, 2006; Pellizzoni, Girotto & Surian, 2009).

1.3.Gender

1.3.1. Gender & Leadership

Historically, women began to occupy much of the labour force during the early 1990s and also began to aim for positions of leadership which, at the time, were male-dominated. Despite their efforts, women continue to be underrepresented at the top of the occupational hierarchy. For example, while more women are admitted to University degrees a higher proportion of men make it to the top. The annual report for University admissions in the UK (provided by UCAS) showed that in 2017 alone, 37.1% of young women were admitted to a bachelor's degree, in comparison to only 27.3% of men. A similar gender disadvantage is evident in the US where female University graduates are estimated at 34.6% of the population while male University graduates at a lower 33.7%. Despite these imbalances between men and women in education, discrepancies in higher-level positions shift in the opposite direction. For example, in the US, women constitute only 4% of the five highest earning officers in Fortune 500 companies and 0.4% of CEOs (Catalyst, 2001); 13% of

senators, 14% of congressional representatives and 10% of state governors (Eagly & Karau, 2002). A similar trend appears in the UK, Spain, France and other countries and across professions (Basow, 2016; Eagly, 2007).

Psychological research on this gender imbalance has, in its majority, operated under the framework of gender role socialisation (Appelbaum, Audet & Miller, 2003). Biological theories in the field (leadership is an inherently male attribute) appeared early and have generally been discredited (e.g. Bass, 1990; Dobbins & Platz, 1986; Donnell & Hall, 1980). For this reason, the following section will only focus on social-role findings.

1.3.2. Gender Bias in Leadership: Think Leader, Think Male?

In their seminal work, Rose and Jerdee (1973) investigated the effect of sex-role stereotypes on leader evaluations. They showed that leaders were judged according to whether they conformed to occupational gender stereotypes. That is, when female leaders were presented as helping and friendly (stereotype-congruent) they were evaluated more positively than when they were presented as threatening and dominant (stereotype-incongruent). In the same line of reasoning, male supervisors received more positive evaluations when perceived as threatening (stereotype-congruent) than friendly/helping (stereotype-incongruent). Petty and Miles (1976) also showed that subordinates were more satisfied with male supervisors and that this effect remained even when controlling for subordinates' gender. The relative advantage of men in evaluations and their perceived leadership effectiveness was confirmed in a variety of studies (e.g. Petty & Lee, 1975). In their meta-analysis, Eagly, Karau and Makhijani (1995) showed evidence for sex-typing in leadership; that is, men were considered more effective in stereotypically male occupations and women in stereotypically female ones. These findings were crucial for the development of *role-congruity theory* (Eagly & Karau, 2002), one of the most widely used theories for gender bias in leadership.

1.3.3. Role Congruity Theory: You're not supposed to be here, woman!

Role congruity theory outlines a) why women are underrepresented in positions of leadership- 'the glass ceiling' and b) why women who manage to make it to the top, are not given the same opportunities as their male counterparts-'the glass cliff' (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Role incongruity theory is based on the premise that gender roles promote differences in behaviour and that the way gender roles interact with other social roles (in this case, leadership) can explain prejudice (Eagly and Karau, 2002). It proposes that females in positions of leadership stimulate a cognitive inconsistency in perceivers, where attributes women are expected to hold, contradict those that leaders are expected to hold. Specifically, women are stereotypically associated with communal traits (e.g. caring, sympathetic, nurturing) while leaders (and men) with agentic ones (e.g. competent, dominant, confident).

Empirical evidence has consistently confirmed this *spillover* effect (Greer, Stephens & Coleman, 2001) of gender stereotypes in leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Gutek & Morasch & Cohen, 1983; Heilman, Block, Martell, & Simon, 1989; Massengill & di Marco, 1979; Ridgeway, 1997). Cross-cultural examinations (e.g., Schein, 2001) have also showed that when participants described males and managers, they mostly used agentic traits while there was little overlap between trait descriptions of females and managers.

However, while these findings help explain why women are underrepresented in positions of leadership, they cannot account for how some women manage to make it to the top and why gender bias is *perpetuated* in positions of leadership. Theoretically, when women in leadership should no longer be affected by gender-stereotypical inferences. Truly, Dodge, Gilroy and Fenzel (1995) found that when female supervisors were described as 'successful', they were evaluated almost equally positively to male managers. Yet, later empirical evidence showed that when female leaders adopted agentic qualities (by virtue of their role), they continued to face discrimination. For example, Brescoll & Uhlmann (2008)

found that when female managers expressed anger in the workplace (an agentic, leader-typical attribute) they were evaluated more negatively than their male counterparts. Equally, Phelan, Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2008) found that women who displayed agentic qualities were more likely to be perceived as socially deficient than an identically-described man (subsequent hiring decisions were also centered around such evaluations, only for female candidates).

This pattern is clearly illustrated in real-life examples of female leaders: Margaret Thatcher and Angela Merkel. Thinking about these leaders quickly brings to mind the labels that were attached to them: *The Iron Lady* (Eagly & Karau, 2002) and *The Iron Chancellor* (FirstPost, 2018). It becomes clear that such characterisations strip the leaders of their communal attributes and generally carry negative connotations. According to role congruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002) the reason for this is that cognitive inconsistencies between gender and leadership roles continue, but this time, in the opposite direction. More specifically, when a woman adheres to leader-typical characteristics, she may prompt both positive and negative reactions. Attitude research has shown that this type of ambiguity can create a tendency for reactions to polarise-the direction of which depends on context (e.g. Eagly & Chaiken, 2007). In the realm of leadership, negative reactions towards women are likely to occur (and polarise) when, for example, subordinates receive negative feedback (Sinclair & Kunda, 2000). In that way, gender discrimination and negative evaluations of women may perpetuate even after they (women) have attained positions of power.

Overall, it appears that gender discrimination occurs both when women attempt to 'climb the corporate ladder' (Lyness & Thompson, 2000) and at the top. Ryan and Haslam (2005) extend beyond the mere examination of obstacles to leadership to understand women's career prospects at the top. The authors coin the term *the glass cliff* (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, p.81) to suggest that female leaders are appointed to precarious positions that

inadvertently carry increased risk of failure. The following section will outline research on the glass cliff.

1.3.4. Glass Cliffs: Think Crisis, Think Female?

Although women face a number of obstacles in their ascension to leadership, research shows that women now occupy more senior positions than ever (albeit, a slow trend). However, Ryan and Haslam (2005) observe that female leaders are often appointed to precarious positions and in that way, bear more risks than their male antagonists: *the glass cliff.*

Given that women only recently started to break the glass ceiling, experimental evidence on the glass cliff is limited. Ryan, Haslam and Kulich (2010) examined political candidates in the UK from 1966 to show that parties tended to select women candidates only for constituencies that had lower chances of winning. The researchers also showed (Ryan, Haslam & Kulich, 2010) that participants were more likely to select a female candidate for cases that were unwinnable, compared to winnable ones. Bruckmüller and Branscombe (2010) found a similar preference for candidates in organisational settings. Females were appointed leaders in problematic times while males were appointed in promising ones. Ryan & Haslam (2005, 2007) also showed that management graduates, high-school students and organizational supervisors were more likely to select a female leader when the organisation's performance was declining. Some evidence for the selection of females in precarious cases has also been shown for legal attorneys (Ashby, Ryan & Haslam, 2006).

Despite the lack of much experimental evidence in this field, a clear selection pattern for leaders seems to emerge. It therefore becomes evident that women do not only have to prove themselves in their ascension to leadership but also, after. Similar behavioural patterns seem to apply to stigmatized women in the labour force. This thesis explored, in part, evaluations of stigmatized females (vs male) leaders. For this reason, findings on gender, leadership and disablism are discussed in the following section.

1.4. Gender, Disablism & Leadership.

Despite women making up the majority of persons with disabilities, research shows that the percentage of women achieving competitive employment is lower than the percentage of men (Jans & Stoddard, 1999). Those disabled women who manage to get into competitive employment, seem to face further discrimination with earnings lower than their non-disabled female colleagues and disabled and non-disabled male colleagues (e.g. Hale, Hayghe & McNeil, 1994; Noonan et al, 2004). Findings from gender research have shown that women in employment face a number of challenges in the workplace, including gender stereotyping, underestimation of skills and competence and constrictive gender role socialisation (Fassinger, 2002; Lent, Brown & Hackett, 2000; Noonan et al, 2004). In addition to such challenges, women who attempt to ascend to leadership, are also faced with issues of the *glass cliff* (Ryan & Haslam, 2005) and *glass partitions* (Roultsone & Williams, 2014). Presumably then, women with disabilities are faced with a 'triple bind' [1]when seeking leadership positions; role incongruity that attributes itself to both disability and gender, which may disallow ascension to leadership.

Research in this domain is scarce and so far as we are aware, only includes a small number of qualitative studies. Noonan and colleagues (2004) interviewed 17 disabled women in senior positions and in a range of professions including education, business and politics. Participants highlighted the importance of the interaction between their gender and disability identities. Similarly, in their examination of disabled women's leadership experiences in Zimbabwe, Majiet and Africa (2015) documented that participants generally struggled with social exclusion, architectural impediments (travel to and back from work), gender

[1] The 'double bind' describes how presumed differences between male and female characteristics can foster stereotypical evaluations that limit effective behaviours at work (Catalyst, 2007).

discrimination and lack of mentoring and support in the workplace. These are summarised in a participant's account: "I feel that men are a little better accepted, better considered as important compared to women due to the patriarchal system, strengthened by stubborn cultural, traditional and superstitious beliefs and practices. The issues of unemployment, family planning, and access to health care are the problems women with disabilities face" (Majiet & Africa, 2015, p. 106).

These findings highlight the importance of examining the interaction between gender and disability in relation to leadership (especially in an experimental setting). Given the scarcity of research in this domain, this thesis also examined the role of gender and stigma (combined) on evaluations of transgressive leaders (see Chapter 5 & 6 for more details).

1.5.Structure of Thesis

This thesis contains nine chapters: a literature review chapter that introduces findings which formed the theoretical basis of this thesis (Chapter 1), six empirical chapters (Chapters 2-7), a general discussion (Chapter 8) and final conclusions (Chapter 9). Chapters 2-4 examine the role of stigma controllability on the evaluation of transgressive leaders and members (first three empirical studies). Chapter 5 introduces the role of valence (fourth empirical study) associated with stigma controllability (negative vs positive valence; drink-and-drive accident leads to wheelchair use vs feeding birds leads to accident and to wheelchair use). Chapter 6 extends findings by looking at the roles of gender and stigma in real-life contexts (fifth study-archival): it presents an archival investigation of the representation of stigmatised males and females in politics. Chapter 7 combines all findings into a final experimental study (sixth empirical study) that looks at the role of all gender, stigma, transgression and role (leader vs member) on evaluations. Chapter 8 examines in detail findings and limitations from this line of research while Chapter 9 offers final conclusions.

2. STUDY 1: REACTIONS TO STIGMATISED LEADERS

2.1.Introduction

Churchill's *black dog*- to whom a nation's fate was entrusted- is one of the key attributes that laymen and professionals associate the leader with (e.g. Ghaemi, 2015). Despite that, Churchill won the war against Hitler and is thought by many as a great leader. When looking back in history, we can find several leaders troubled by physical or mental illness. In the world of fiction, Shakespeare paints the image of Richard III as 'deformed' and 'monstrous' while in the real world, notions of disability become quickly associated with Nelson Mandela (one damaged arm), Napoleon (only one eye), Roosevelt (wheelchair), John McCain (limited use of arms) and others. In reference to Richard III, critics often suggest that Shakespeare's portrayal of the King as physically different, aimed at engendering in the public, concerns over his moral character. Similarly, in a BCC programme, Sergeant (2015) ponders about whether Churchill's issues posed a risk to his ability and questions and whether his depression would disqualify him as a member of parliament today. The question then arises: what do we think of stigmatised leaders and do our judgments change according to the responsibility they bear for their stigma?

Research on the role of stigma in evaluations of leaders is scarce. Instead, literature to date focuses on either evaluations of leaders in general or evaluations of stigmatised groups. At the same time, research examines the role of attributions in evaluations of stigmatised targets but fails to consider the target's role or status (e.g. leader vs member). This study examines reactions to stigmatised leaders on the basis of controllability attributions.

2.1.1. General & Controllability Attributions

Attributions begin with a behavioural outcome and aim at identifying the locus of its cause (Weiner, 2010). Contrary to the vast majority of social psychology, attribution theories emphasise post-behavioural appraisals in order to provide a framework for understanding

subsequent behaviour. Social psychological literature, adopts two main approaches in the understanding of attributions; in some cases, attributions are seen as synonymous with perceptions (Martinko, Havery & Douglas, 2007) while in others, they are seen as the process of establishing causality for positive and/or negative behaviours (Heider, 1958; Martinko, Harvey & Douglas, 2007). In this chapter, we examine attributions as causal explanations- as originally formulated by Heider (1958) and later developed by Weiner (1972).

Heider (1958) was interested in the type of information individuals use to make attributions of intent and motive (Heider, 1958; Turban, Hoon Tan, Brown & Sheldon, 2007). These ideas were further developed by Kelley (1973) who focused on the effect of informational consistency and distinctiveness in the attributional process and Weiner (1972, 1986) who emphasised the role of ascriptions of controllability, causality and stability on reactions to the target. Weiner's (1972, 1986) formulations have been widely applied to the understanding of reactions to stigmatised targets (Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991; Weiner, 1988). In this context, attribution theorists have generally investigated the effect of perceived controllability (a concept linked to the notion of responsibility) on affective and behavioural responses to stigma (Weiner, 1988).

Herein, controllable causes are understood as caused by the self by lack of personal control (Pizzaro, Ulhmann & Bloom, 2003). The following section outlines existing research on the effect of controllability attributions on evaluations of stigmatised persons.

2.1.2. Controllability Attributions & Stigma.

Ascribing responsibility of a negative event to a person leads to more negative evaluations of that person. Schwazer & Weiner (1991) used vignettes to examine the effect of onset responsibility (i.e. controllability) on blame, pity and social support. When stigmatised targets were perceived as responsible for their condition, participants assigned more blame and less pity to them and reported lower intentions to offer support. Similarly, Armesto &

Weisman (2001) found that parents more readily rejected their children's homosexuality when it was perceived as a personal choice (controllable) rather than biologically determined. Similarly, Cobb and de Chabert (2002) showed that social care providers tended to discriminate against HIV patients (less willing to offer help) when they ascribed patients responsibility for their illness.

Similar patterns of behaviour emerge in a variety of contexts (eg. Obsesity, cancer, depression, anorexia) (Crandall, 1994). For example, when mothers of diabetic children attributed causality to themselves (as compared to hereditary/environmental factors), they showed higher self-blame and diminished coping (Affleck, Allen, Tennen, McGrade & Ratzan, 1985). Similarly, Piliavin, Rodin & Piliavin (1969) found that people were more sympathetic and helpful towards persons whose distress originated in uncontrollable causes (eg. Illness as the result of hereditary factors) as compared to controllable ones. In their review, Sikorski and colleagues (2011) concluded that prejudice against and the stigmatisation of, obesity are often the result of controllability attributions. That is, when obesity is associated with weak willpower and/or overeating (controllable causes), individuals tend to ostracise and negatively evaluate targets. Pearl & Lebowitz (2014) also showed that the attribution of personal responsibility on issues with weight was associated with greater prejudice and blame towards the target. This has important implications in society: Brownell and colleagues (2010) mention that despite evidence that American citizens are increasingly concerned with healthy nutrition, obesity is on the rise and continues to be commonly attributed to personal responsibility. Such an approach diminishes the importance of adequately regulating the food industry (an example of which is the recent restrictions in junk food distribution in schools- Mozaffarian, Anegell, Lang & Rivera, 2018) and can strengthen prejudicial attitudes towards obese individuals (Brownell et al., 2010).

Therefore, while health issues are not the focus of this study, the examination of controllability attributions can have important real-life implications and especially so, with regards to errant leaders. In addition, several caveats in attributional research further highlight the need for more extensive examinations of controllability attributions for stigma. Specifically, much of the attributional research to date has relied on correlational analyses with only a small number of studies directly testing the effect of controllability attributions on evaluations of stigmatised targets (eg. Armesto & Weisman, 2001; Sahar, 2014). In turn, the majority of research has examined reactions towards individual targets and paid little attention to the social context. In this way, research on stigma is limited in its capacity to account for the role of controllability attributions in intra-group processes (rather than individually).

The following section will give a brief summary of existing findings on the function and effect of attributions in intra-group dynamics.

2.1.3. Group Attributions: Members' Attributions & Leader Evaluations

Research on causal attributions in the context of groups, generally focuses on members' attributions towards other members (and not leaders). Given that leaders receive a double standard in evaluations (Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013) understanding the ways in which members attribute responsibility to leaders is necessary. This section will outline key findings with regards to members' evaluations of leaders and controllability attributions in the context of groups.

2.1.4. Biased Evaluations of Leaders

Findings from the social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) consistently show that errant in-group leaders are justified for their non-conformity and receive a double standard in terms of punishment and rewards (in comparison to members). Numerous real-life examples can attest to this trend including the 2015 FIFA corruption scandal (Laughland, 2017).

Hollander (1958) proposed that the difficulty to reject deviant leaders stems from the trust followers have progressively imbued onto them. That is, leaders gradually receive *idiosyncrancy credits,* which allow them to implement counter-normative changes; *innovation credit*. In a series of seven studies, Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques and Hutchinson (2008) asked participants to judge in-group and out-group members on their attitudes towards asylum seeking. These attitudes were portrayed as either normative, pro-normative or anti-normative. The findings showed that deviant in-group leaders (e.g. anti-normative attitudes), managed to retain their high perceived prototypicality and were more readily awarded innovation credit.

Research shows a similar pattern of evaluations in the context of transgressions (clear breaches of rules or laws). Transgressions differ from deviance (norm non-adherence) because they reflect clear breaches of established rules or laws (Abrams et al., 2013). Accordingly, evaluating transgressive leaders can be particularly challenging for members as they risk appearing disloyal and disrupting the group's functioning (Abrams, Randlsey de Moura & Travalino, 2013). Abrams, Randlsey de Moura and Travaglino (2013) used a range of scenarios (e.g. corporate scenario, sports scenario) to examine participants' evaluations of transgressive members and leaders. For example, in one scenario, university teams used bribery to win a competition. In another scenario, the leader of a sports team verbally abused the referee following a decision that risked the in-group's success. Other scenarios used the minimal group paradigm to portray transgressive behaviours (e.g. blackmail) used to promote the in-group's success. The findings showed that transgressive in-group leaders tended to receive more favourable evaluations than transgressive in-group members and out-group leaders (*Transgression Credit*). Importantly, research also showed that this double standard in evaluations of leaders (*Transgression Credit)* only applied when the leader was a) perceived to act for the benefit of the group (Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino,

2013), b) did not show racist ideology (Abrams, Travaglino, Randsley de Moura & May, 2014) and c) was acting as part of a small group (Travaglino, Randsley de Moura & Yetkili, 2015).

This thesis investigated attributions of stigma controllability as a boundary condition for transgression credit. A particular focus was placed on transgressive stigmatised leaders (rather than in-group and out-group members) and especially so with regards to their leader prototypicality (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008) stereotypicality (Hains, Hogg & Duck, 2006; Lord & Hall, 2003; Schyns & Shilling, 2011) and conferral (Abrams, Travaglino, Marques, Pino & Levine, 2018) and general evaluations.

As outlined earlier, leader prototypicality reflects the extent to which the leader encompasses the norms of the group (the group prototype). Given the importance of the leader in maintaining followers' self-esteem (outlined earlier), it follows that prototypical leaders are evaluated more positively than non-prototypical ones (Abrams, Randsley de Moura, Marques & Hutchison, 2008; Barreto & Hogg, 2017; Foti, Fraser & Lord, 1982; Ullrich, Christ & van Dick, 2009; Van Dijke & De Cremer, 2010). Importantly however, empirical evidence has consistently validated that leaders who transgress remain their prototypicality and continue to be evaluated more positively than members who transgress (Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013; Abrams, Travaglino, Marques, Pinto & Levine, 2018). In that way, they receive a double standard in evaluations and are more readily awarded transgression credit. We wanted to examine whether stigma and stigma controllability would affect participants' judgments of leadership prototypicality and evaluations.

Outside of prototypicality, leadership effectiveness is also dependent on the extent to which the leader matches followers' implicit ideas about leadership (Hains, Hogg & Duck, 2006; Hogg, 1992). Specifically, *leadership categorisation theory* (Lord, Foti & de Vader,

1984) proposes that people's leadership schemas contain a range of personality trains and/or behaviours that are characteristic of leaders (e.g., charismatic, competent, male- Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lord, Foti & de Vader, 1984; Jackson, Engstrom & Emmers-Sommer, 2007; Thomas, Martin & Riggio, 2013). Accordingly, stereotypicality judgments reflect the extent to which the leader upholds generally typical notions of leadership. An abundance of research has shown that a) members often rely on leadership schemas in their evaluations of leaders (e.g., Hains, Hogg & Duck, 2006; Lord & Hall, 2003), b) that stereotypical leaders are evaluated more positively than non-stereotypical ones (e.g., Hogg, Hains & Mason, 1998) and c) that stereotypical leaders are more likely to be justified for their non-conformity (e.g., Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013; Hains, Hogg & Duck, 1997). We wanted to examine whether stigma and stigma controllability would affect participants' judgments of leadership stereotypicality and evaluations.

Finally, we borrowed definitions of leadership conferral from Abrams and colleagues (2018) to measure whether stigma and stigma controllability will affect participants' judgments. Leadership conferral (Abrams, 2012; Abrams, Travaglino, Marques, Pino & Levine, 2018) proposes that members are more likely to evaluate the leader positively merely by virtue of their role. In that way, and owing to attributional biases (Hains, Hogg & Duck, 2006) followers are likely to infer that the mere occupancy of a leadership role presumes the leader is more capable, committed and has greater expertise than other members of the group (Abrams, 2012; Abrams, Travaglino, Marques, Pino & Levine, 2018).

2.1.5. Members' Attributions

Arceneaux & Stein (2006) examined the way in which the Allison Tropical Storm in the US affected citizens' causal attributions towards politicians and their votes in the subsequent Houston mayoral election. When citizens attributed the results of the natural disaster to poor governmental preparation (controllable cause), they were willing to blame elected officials.

In turn, citizens who believed the government had inadequately prepared for the flood, were less likely to vote for the incumbent mayor. This finding is particularly important as it showcases not only how controllability attributions can affect reactions to leaders in the abstract but also how they can influence behaviour.

Several studies have highlighted the importance of members' perceptions of leader intentions towards them in the leader-member exchange. These examinations do not, however, emphasise controllability attributions. The primary goal of this study was to test whether evaluations of stigmatised leaders will be affected by attributions of controllability. Controllability of stigma was manipulated by describing the leader as a wheelchair user either due to a birth defect (uncontrollable) or a drink-and-drive accident (controllable condition). For baseline comparisons, a control condition was added (no stigma).

2.2. Hypotheses

H1: Leaders with uncontrollable stigma will be evaluated more positively than leaders with controllable stigma and no stigma.

H2: Leaders with uncontrollable stigma will be perceived as more prototypical and stereotypical than leaders with controllable or no stigma.

H3: Leaders with uncontrollable stigma will be higher in conferral than leaders with controllable or no stigma.

H4: Leaders with controllable stigma will be evaluated more negatively than leaders with uncontrollable and no stigma.

H5: Leaders with controllable stigma will be perceived as less prototypical and less stereotypical than leaders with controllable and no stigma.

H6: Leaders with controllable stigma will be lower in conferral than leaders with uncontrollable and no stigma.

H7: Leaders with no stigma will be evaluated more positively than leaders with controllable stigma

H8: Leaders with no stigma will be evaluated more negative than leaders with uncontrollable stigma

H9: Leaders with no stigma will be perceived as more prototypical and stereotypical than leaders with controllable stigma

H10: Leaders with no stigma will be perceived as less prototypical and stereotypical than leaders with uncontrollable stigma

H11: Leaders with no stigma will be scored higher in conferral than leaders with controllable stigma

H12: Leaders with no stigma will be scored lower in conferral than leaders with uncontrollable stigma.

2.3.Method

Participants

267 participants were collected using the online crowdsourcing website, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). 51 participants (19.1%) were 25yrs of age or under, 144 participants (53.9%) ranged between 26 and 40, 49 participants (18.4%) ranged between 41 and 45 and 21 participants (7.9%) were 56 or older. 2 (0.7%) participants did not indicate their age. 141 participants were male (52.8%) and 123 were female (46.1%). One participant (0.4%) identified their gender as ‘other’ and 2 participants (0.7%) did not wish to indicate their gender. 216 participants (80.9%) were Caucasian/White, 16 (6%) were Hispanic,11 (4.1%) were Black, 16 (6%) were Asian, 6 (2.2%) were Mixed Race and 2 (0.7%) did not wish to identify their ethnic background.

Procedure & Materials

A survey was formed using the online software, Qualtrics. The survey was then linked to and made available on MTurk. The study was described as a study on evaluations of teams and their members. Participants voluntarily signed up, in return for a reward of 1USD.

Participants completed a consent form and a demographics form. They were then asked to imagine a soccer team that represented their college or university. To enhance their imagination, participants were also asked to put down the name of their team and the rival team as well their colours-this was then embedded in the manipulation text.

Participants were randomly presented with one of three scenarios according to condition. In the scenarios, participants were informed that their team had made it to the top four places of the national competitions and the next match was crucial for remaining in the top four. Participants were then presented with information about the stigmatised leader (manager) which varied according to condition. In the uncontrollable condition, the manager was presented as confined to a wheelchair from birth. In the controllable condition, the manager was presented as confined to a wheelchair following a car accident where the manager was driving drunk. In the control condition, the manager did not carry a stigma. Across conditions, the manager transgressed by asking one of the normative members to "take a dive and get a penalty" for the in-group team and "try to send one of their best players off the field" (for more information about the scenarios and manipulations, please see Appendix A).

The realm of soccer was chosen not only due to its cross-cultural relevance and global reach but also as it met the conditions necessary for examining transgression credit; namely, a) an unexpected and atypical behaviour, b) a clear breach of rules and c) the role of the transgressor relative to the group (leader/manager).

Dependent Measures

Evaluations: Participants rated how warm, competent, admirable, likeable, approachable pitiable, disgusting, dishonest, enviable and clever the manager and member were (adapted from: Fiske et al.,2002). Participants indicated their responses using a 7-point Likert type scale (*1=not at all, 7=completely).* The items formed a reliable scale at α = .87 for the manager and α = .85 for the member.

Leader Prototypicality: Participants also completed a measure of leader prototypicality which was adapted from van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg (2005). The measure asked participants to write down the characteristics and qualities most shared by group members. Participants were then asked the following questions: "*To what extent does the [leader] have these characteristics and qualities?", "To what extent is the [leader] typical of the [in-group team]?", "To what extent do you think the [leader] is representative of the [in-group] team?", "To what extent is [the leader] a model member of the [in-group]?".* Responses were recorded using a 7-point Likert scale (*1=not at all, 7=completely).* The scale was reliable at α = .95

Leader Stereotypicality: Participants responded to two measures of leader stereotypicality. The first measure of stereotypicality was adapted from Platow & Van Knippenberg (2001) and consisted of five items. This measure emphasized how typical the leader was and items were: "*[The leader] acts like a representative member of the team", "[The leader] is a very typical team player", "[The leader] shows a lot of loyalty to the group", "[The leader] does an excellent job"*. Participants responded using a 5-point Likert scale (*1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree).* The scale was reliable at α= .95.

The second measure was adapted from Schyns & Schilling (2011) and tapped into abstract leader characteristics. The scale consisted of eight items (*Dedicated, Charismatic, Motivated, Committed, Powerful, Loyal, Honest, Strong).* A seven-point Likert scale was

used (*1=not at all, 7=completely).* The scale was reliable at α= .93. Two separate measures were included because they focused on different aspects of stereotypicality.

2.4.Results

2.4.1. Analytic Strategy

We first conducted Factor Analyses for measures of leader prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and each measure of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2012; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) to ensure all items loaded on a single factor. We then conducted a GLM using SPSS to examine the effect of Type of Stigma (Uncontrollable, Controllable, No Stigma) on these measures. For evaluations, we created a within-subjects factor for Target (Transgressive Leader vs Normative Member) and conducted a GLM using a 3 (Type of Stigma: Uncontrollable, Controllable, No Stigma) x 2 (Target: Transgressive Leader vs Normative Member) design with between-subjects on the Type of Stigma factor and repeated measures on the Target factor.

2.4.2. Factor Analyses

Leader Prototypicality: We conducted a factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood and Promax rotation to ensure all items loaded on the same factor. The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .86, above the recommended value of .6 and Barlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (6,240) = 1044.07, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at at χ^2 (2,240) = 2.13, $p < .001$ There were no cross-loading items.

Leader Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011): We conducted a factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood and Promax rotation to ensure the items loaded on the same factor. The analysis revealed a single factor fitting to each measure. The KMO measure of

sampling adequacy was .95 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (28,239) = 1577.20, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (20,239) = 201.05, $p < .001$.

Leader Stereotypicality (Platow & Van Knippenberg, 2001): We conducted a factor analysis using Maximum Likelihood and Promax rotation to ensure the items loaded on the same factor. The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .89 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was χ^2 (10, 239) = 1308.01, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (5, 239) = 38.18 $p < .001$.

2.4.3. GLM: Descriptive Tables & Findings

Table 1. *Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality and Stereotypicality (both measures) by Type of Stigma*

	Prototypicality		Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling)		Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg)	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	3.25	0.17	4.14	0.14	2.65	0.12
Controllable	2.55	0.18	3.78	0.15	2.13	0.13
No Stigma	3.22	0.17	4.49	0.14	2.67	0.12

Table 2. *Means and Standard Errors for Evaluations by Type of Stigma and Target*

	Transgressive Leader		Normative Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	3.74	0.11	4.45	0.10
Controllable	3.08	0.11	4.44	0.10
No Stigma	3.48	0.11	4.34	0.10

Leader Prototypicality: We performed a GLM analysis to examine the effect of conditions on perceived leader prototypicality. There was a significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Leader Prototypicality $F(2, 240) = 5.22$, $p < .01$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Participants regarded leaders with uncontrollable stigma as more prototypical ($M = 3.25$, $SE = .17$) than leaders with controllable stigma ($M = 2.55$, $SE = .18$) (Mean Difference = .69, $p = .005$). Leaders with no stigma ($M = 3.22$, $SE = 0.17$) were seen as more prototypical than leaders with controllable stigma (Mean Difference = .67, $p = .007$). There was no significant difference in perceptions of leaders with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma.

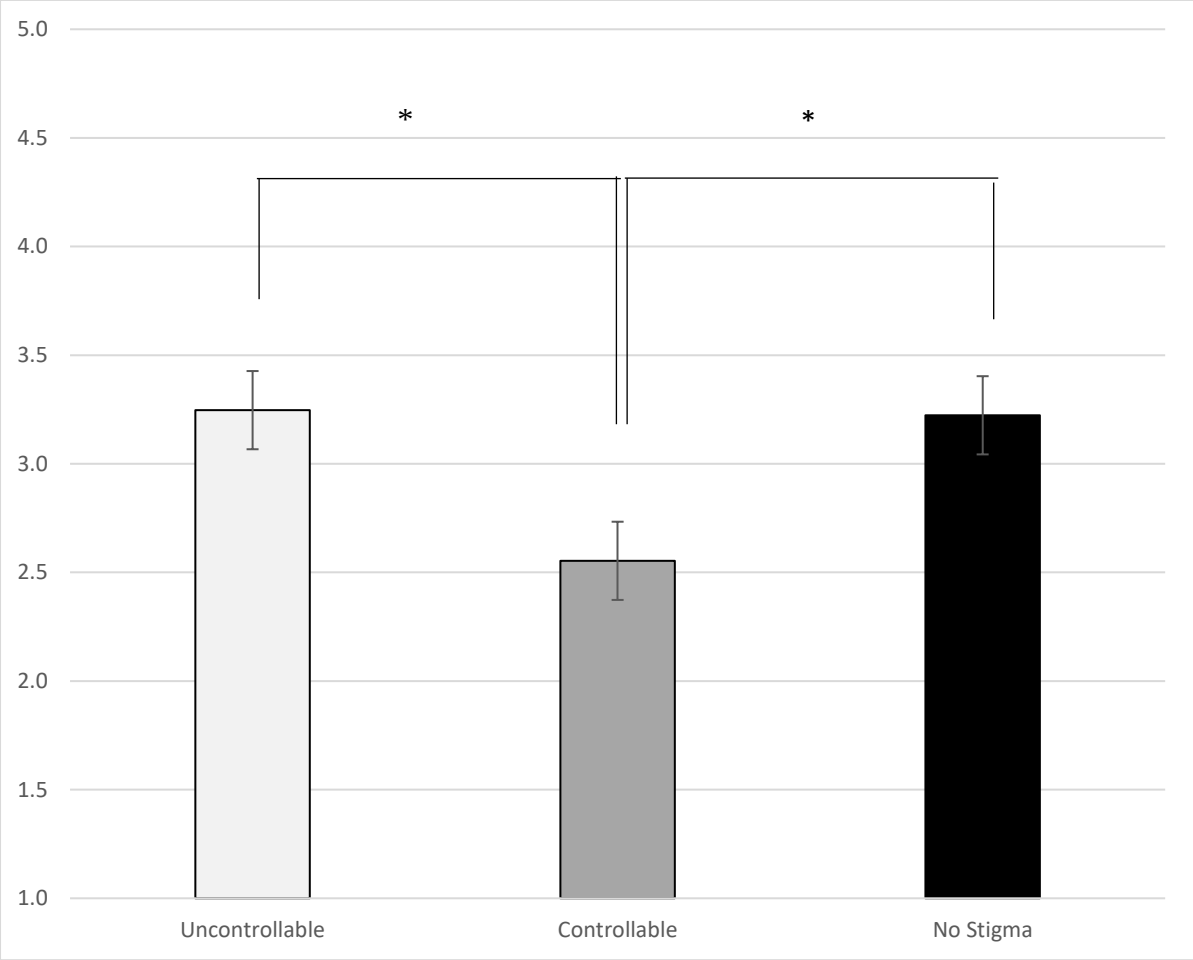

Figure 1. Effects of condition on leader's perceived prototypicality. Error bars represent standard error. Prototypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-7(strongly agree) scale.

Leader Stereotypicality -Schyns & Schilling (2012) measure: Our GLM analysis showed a significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Leader Stereotypicality $F(2, 239) = 5.89$, $p = .003$, $\eta p^2 = .05$. Participants regarded leaders with uncontrollable stigma as more

stereotypical (*M* = 4.14, *SE* = .14) than leaders with controllable stigma (*M* = 3.78, *SE* = -.15). Leaders with no stigma were perceived as the most stereotypical (*M* = 4.49, *SE* = .14). However, examinations of pairwise comparisons indicated that only differences between leaders with controllable stigma and leaders with no stigma were significant (Mean Difference= .71, *p* = .001).

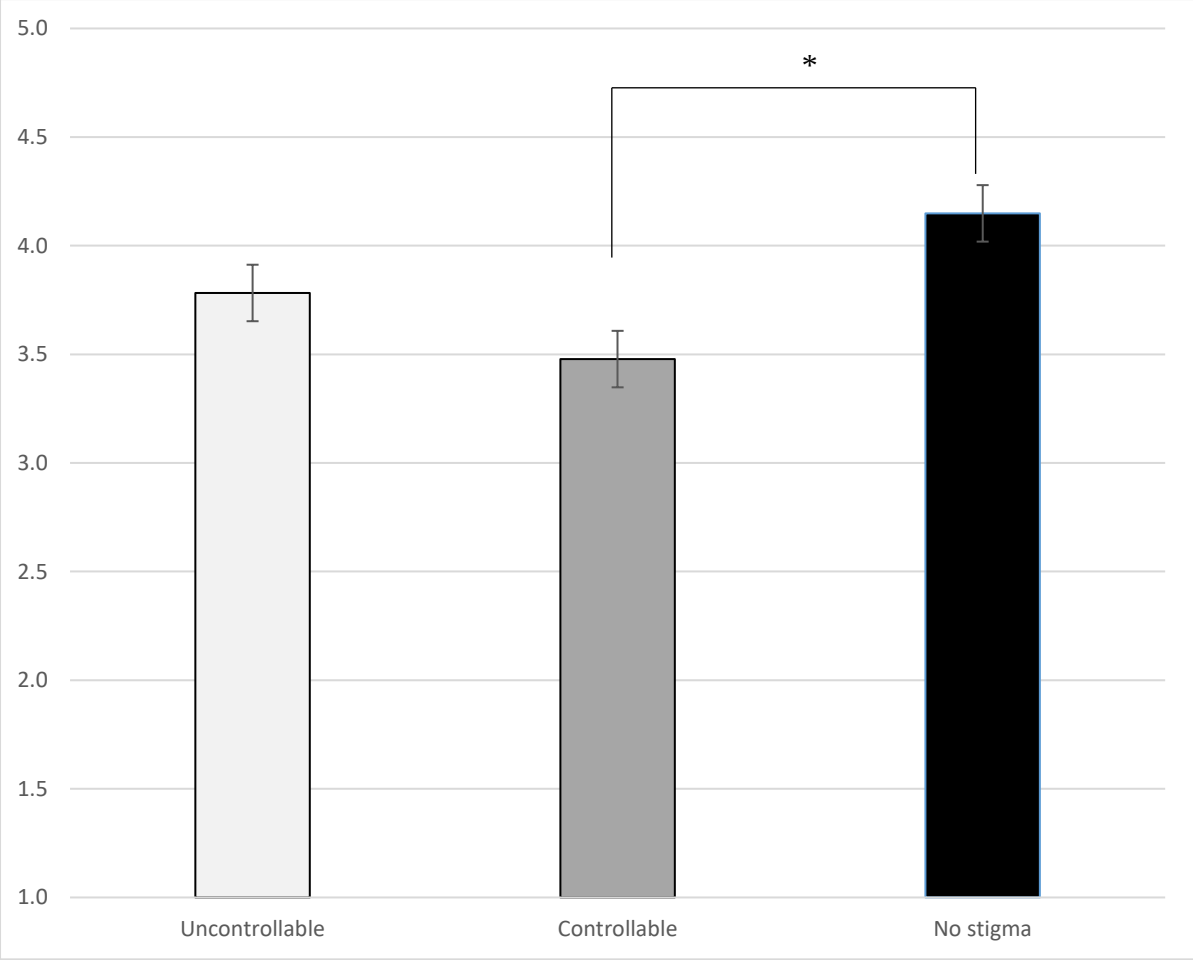

Figure 2. Effects of condition on leader's perceived stereotypicality [Schyns & Schilling (2012) measure]. Error bars represent standard error. Stereotypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-7(strongly agree) scale.

Leader Stereotypicality -Platow & Van Knippenberg, 2001**:** We used GLM SPSS to examine the effect of conditions on stereotypicality. There was a significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Leader Stereotypicality $F(2, 239) = 6.17$, $p = .002$, $\eta p^2 = .05$. Pairwise comparisons showed that participants regarded leaders with uncontrollable stigma (*M* = 2.65, *SE* = .12) as more stereotypical than leaders with controllable stigma (*M* = 2.13, *SE* = .13)

(Mean Difference = .52, p = .003). Leaders with no stigma were perceived as more stereotypical (M = 2.67, SE = 0.12) that those with controllable stigma (Mean Difference = .54, p = .002). Examinations of pairwise comparisons also indicated that differences between leaders with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma were non-significant.

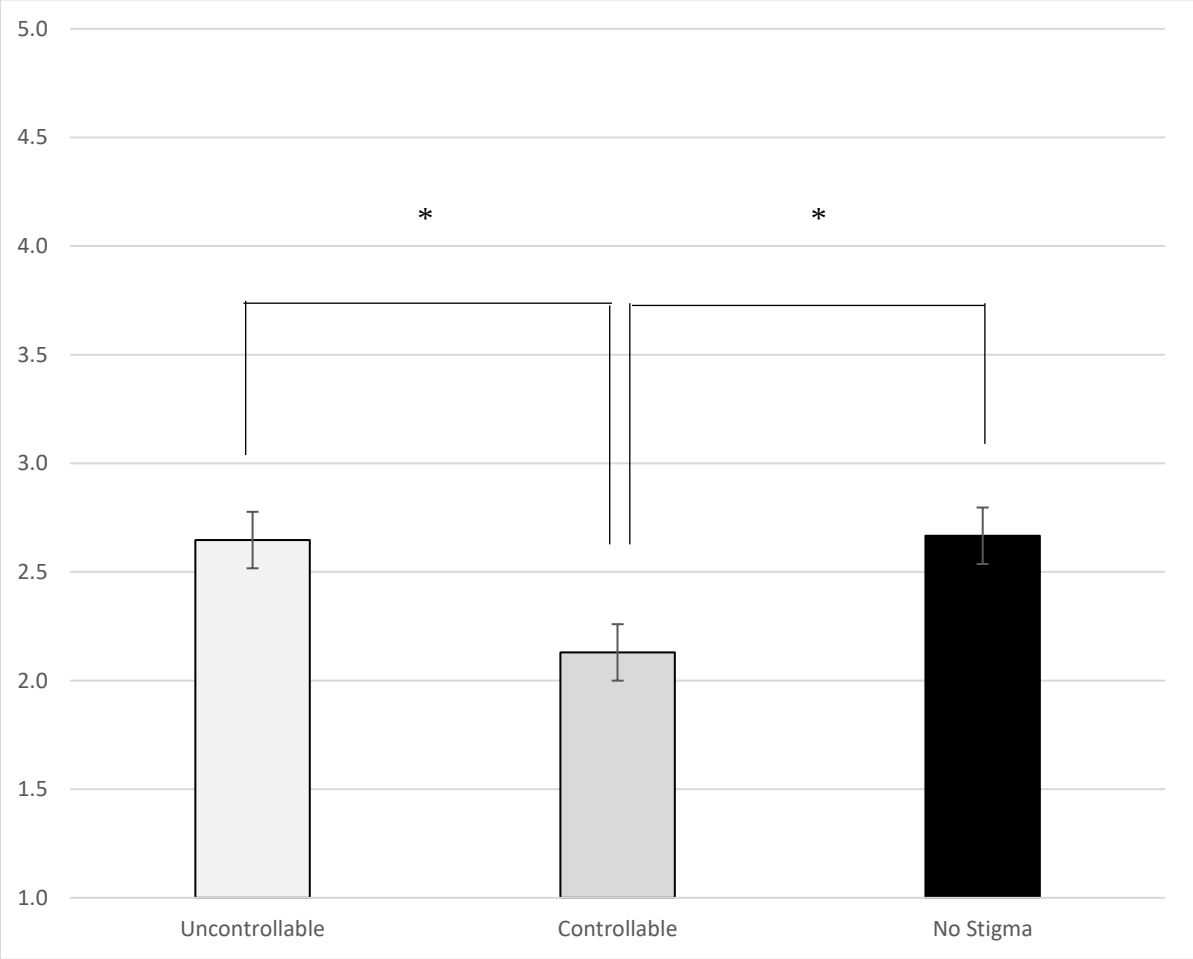

Figure 3. Effects of condition on leader's perceived stereotypicality (Platow & VK measure). Error bars represent standard error. Stereotypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale.

Evaluations: We created a repeated measures factor for Target (Transgressive vs Normative) and conducted a GLM for a 3 (Type of Stigma: Controllable, Uncontrollable, No Stigma) x 2 (Target: Transgressive Leader vs Normative Member) design with between-subjects on Type of Stigma and repeated measures on the target factor. Our analysis violated the assumption of sphericity so we used the Greenhouse-Greiner corrections. There was a significant main effect of Target, $F(1, 245)= 182.99$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .43$. There was also a

significant main effect of Type of Stigma $F(2, 251)= 3.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .32$. This was qualified by a significant Type of Stigma x Target interaction $F(1, 245) = 7.24$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .05$.

Examination of simple effects of Stigma within Target showed that the leader was evaluated significantly more positively in the uncontrollable condition ($M = 3.74$, $SE = 0.11$) and the controllable ($M = 3.08$, $SE = 0.11$) conditions (Mean Difference = .66, $p = .042$). There was no significant difference in the evaluations of transgressive leaders with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma.

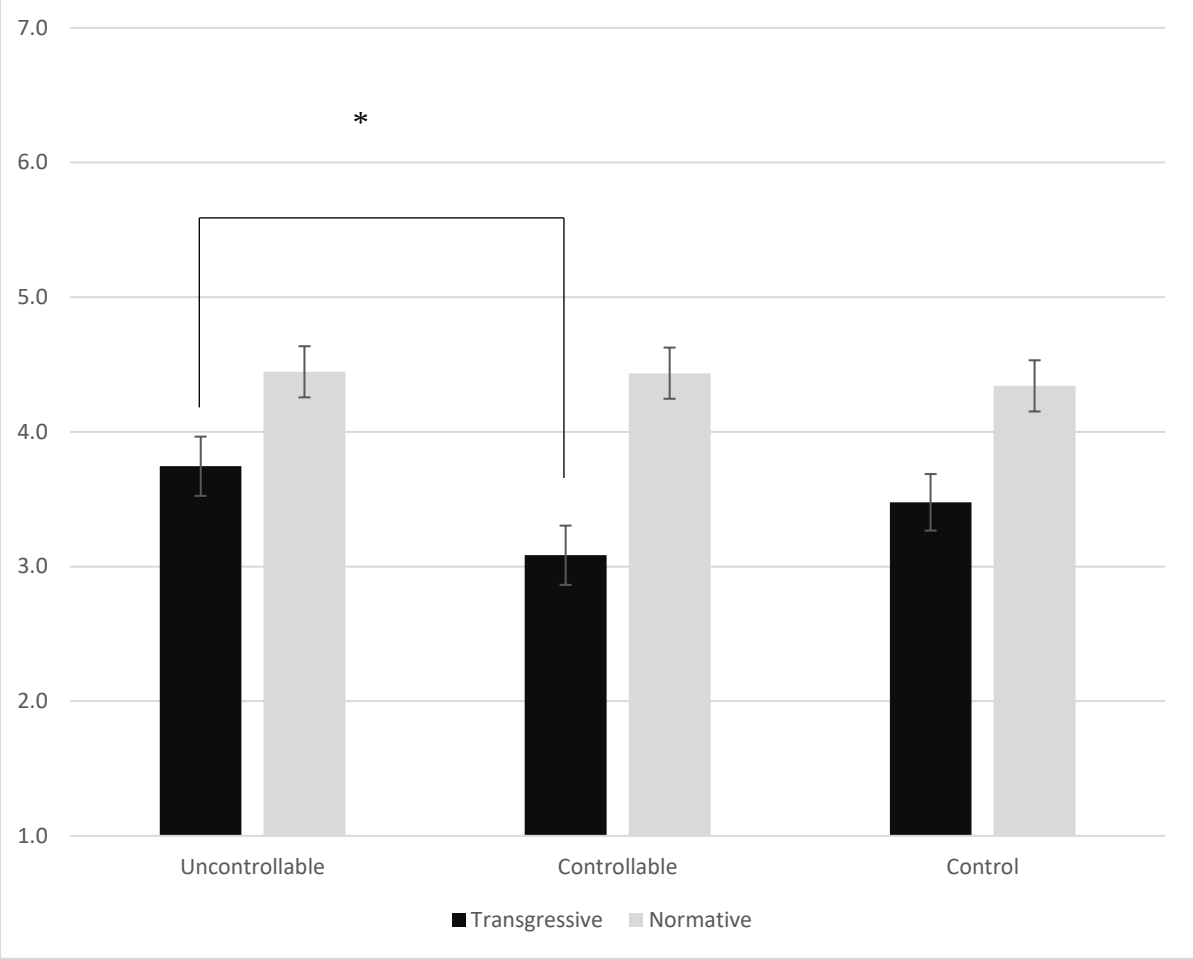

Figure 4. Effects of type of stigma on evaluations of transgressive leader and normative member. Error bars represent confidence intervals. Evaluations: 1 (not at all)- 7 (completely) scale.

Examination of specific evaluation items showed that, participants evaluated those with uncontrollable stigma as more warm ($M = 3.74$, $SE = 0.14$) than those with controllable stigma ($M = 2.85$, $SE = 0.14$) (Mean Difference = .89, $p < .001$) and those with no stigma as

more warm (M = 3.40, SE = 0.13) than those with controllable stigma (Mean Difference = 0.55, p =.03) . The same pattern was true for judgments of competence: those with uncontrollable stigma were thought to be more competent (M = 3.27, SE = 0.15) than those with controllable stigma (M = 2.41, SE = 0.15) (Mean Difference = 0.86, $p < .001$) and those with no stigma (M = 3.04, SE = 0.15) as more competent than those with controllable stigma (Mean Difference = 0.63, p = .005). Those with uncontrollable stigma were also seen as more approachable (M = 4.16, SE = 0.16) than those with controllable stigma (M = 3.32, SE = 0.16) (Mean Difference = 0.84, p = .001). There was no significant difference in the how approachable those with no stigma and those with controllable stigma were seen to be. Participants found the those with uncontrollable stigma (M = 4.75, SE = 0.10) more disgusting than those with no stigma (M = 4.41, SE = 0.10) (Mean Difference = 0.34, p = .005). Similarly, participants found those with uncontrollable stigma to be more dishonest (M = 5.44, SE = 0.14) than those with no stigma (M = 5.02, SE = 0.14) (Mean Difference = 0.42, p =.027).

2.5.Discussion

This study investigated the effect of controllability attributions on reactions to transgressive stigmatised leaders. The results suggest that controllability significantly affected evaluations. Specifically, transgressive leaders that were not seemingly responsible for their stigmatising attribute (uncontrollable stigma-birth defect), were evaluated more positively than stigmatised leaders who were perceived as responsible (controllable stigma). Additionally, contrary to our initial predictions, leaders with no stigma and leaders with uncontrollable stigma were evaluated almost equally. Arguably then, when stigmatised leaders are seen to have no control over their stigma, they are evaluated just as leniently as leaders with no stigma. This highlights the importance of controllability attributions because it indicates that having no control over the cause of stigma, in a way, negates its otherwise negative impact.

This finding may explain why transgressions committed by some individuals in positions of high status may, at times, be excused and/or discounted. For instance, during the recent Oscar Pistorius trial (2014), one of the main arguments for the defence focused on Pistorius' physical disability. Pistorius attempted to diffuse responsibility for his transgression by drawing attention to his disability (Davis, 2014). This example illustrates how attributions of controllability for stigma may result in reduced blame and punishment of transgressors.

2.5.1. Further Questions

Aside from the evaluations measure (discussed earlier), this study also included measures of prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and stereotypicality (measure 1 adapted from: Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001; measure 2 adapted from: Schyns & Schilling, 2012). The reason for their addition was purely exploratory.

However, our findings showed that participants generally regarded leaders with uncontrollable stigma as more prototypical and more stereotypical than those with controllable stigma. Leaders with no stigma were also generally considered the most prototypical and stereotypical.

These findings are important because they indicate that existing prototypes of leaders may not include stigmatised persons. An abundance of empirical evidence has shown that evaluations of leaders are often guided by prototypes. For instance, Epitropaki and Martin (2005) showed that participants were more likely to evaluate tall leaders more positively, due to prototypical conceptions of leaders as tall. Similarly, Eagly and Karau (2002) found that female leaders were evaluated more negatively, due to prototypical conceptions of leaders as being male and holding agentic traits. Given the small proportion of stigmatised persons in senior positions, it could be argued that prototypes of leadership may not include such marginalised members of society. In that way, evaluations of stigmatised leaders may be diminished, due to their lower perceived prototypicality. The next two studies further

examine the role of prototypicality and stereotypicality in the evaluation of stigmatised leaders. Our next study, also investigated the role of stigma controllability in the evaluation of stigmatised members.

2.5.2. Limitations.

This study examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma only with respect to leaders. However, an abundance of research in the social identity literature has examined differences in members' reactions to deviant group members and leaders, both in the intra-group and intergroup level. For instance, the *Subjective Group Dynamics Model (SGDM)* suggests that individuals maximise the validity of in-group norms and intergroup differentiation through *intra-group* differentiation (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003; Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010)). In this way, when in-group deviance occurs (in intergroup contexts), members evaluate other members based on the extent to which they legitimise the in-group's norms and the its superior identity (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Therefore, this study could have also investigated whether intergroup contexts affect the ways in which stigmatised transgressive leaders are evaluated.

Additionally, this study only focused on the evaluations of stigmatised transgressive leaders and not members. Research on group dynamics and intergroup relations validates people's tendency to over-derogate in-group deviants (people who deviate from the prescriptive norms of the group) as they pose a threat to the group image and in turn, the relative validity of the group (Abrams, Hogg, Marques & Thorkildsen 2005; Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison, & Bown, 2004; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron & Ferrell, 2007; Abrams, Rutland, Ferrell, & Pelletier, 2009; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). For instance, the *Black Sheep Effect* explains that people derogate in-group deviants more than normative members and

out-group deviants less than out-group normative members, as per the former's closer proximity to the in-group norm. Accordingly, controllability attributions for stigma could be investigated in relation to in-group members so that comparisons between leaders and members can be effectively applied. This limitation has been addressed in our subsequent study (Study 2).

3. STUDY 2: REACTIONS TO STIGMATISED MEMBERS

3.1.Background to the current study

Study 1 investigated the role of controllability attributions for stigma on the evaluations of transgressive leaders. Our findings showed that stigmatised transgressive leaders were evaluated more positively when the cause of their stigma was uncontrollable and more negatively when it was controllable. In fact, transgressive leaders with no stigma and transgressive leaders with uncontrollable stigma were evaluated almost equally. This pattern of findings suggests that the when the leader has no control over their stigma, participants may disregard it (the stigma).

Our findings also showed that stigma controllability played a significant role in judgments of stereotypicality and prototypicality. Specifically, leaders with uncontrollable stigma were perceived as more prototypical than leaders with controllable stigma. Equally, leaders with uncontrollable stigma were perceived as more stereotypical than those with controllable stigma. Again, our findings indicated that differences in judgments of prototypicality and stereotypicality were only marginal between the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions. This finding highlights that when stigma cannot be attributed to the person in question, it may not affect followers' judgments.

While our results served as preliminary evidence that transgression credit can be awarded also in the context of stigma, Study 1 merely focused on the examination of leaders,

rather than transgressive members and leaders. Study 2 directly examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on the evaluation of transgressive members.

3.2.Introduction

Our previous study investigated the effect of controllability attributions on the evaluation of transgressive stigmatised leaders. Overall, leaders with uncontrollable stigma were evaluated more positively than leaders with controllable and no stigma. However, our previous study only examined reactions to leaders, and not members. To account for this limitation, this study looked at the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on reactions to transgressive stigmatised members.

This study included a variety of additional dependent measures: Conferral (Abrams, Randsley de Moural & Travaglino, 2013), Moral Responsibility and Causal Responsibility (adapted from Zimmerman, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead, 2011), Group-Based Guilt (Adapted from Cehajic, Effron & Halpering, Liberman & Ross, 2011), perceived Morality of the Transgressor (adapted from Leach, Ellemers & Baretto, 2007) and perceived Morality of the Transgressive Act (adapted from Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey & Hitti, 2013). There are several reasons for the addition of these measures. First, to examine their factor coherence and reliability: given recent accounts that questioned the reliability of social psychological research, we wanted to ensure that the aforementioned dependent measures fitted on a single factor and were reliable. In turn, we wished to replicate existing findings regarding MR, CR and GBG (discussed in more detail under section: Group-Based Guilt, Moral Responsibility, Causal Responsibility). Finally, we wanted to examine the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on the dependent measures. Our analytic strategy is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

3.2.1. Members: Deviance & Evaluations

Group attachment is evident across a wide range of daily activities and behaviours (eg. Attachment to political groups, religion, sports groups). In an attempt to understand how group membership affects behaviour, social psychological research has mainly followed one of two perspectives: inter-group research (eg. Self-categorisation theory, Social Identity Theory) or intra-group research (eg. Black Sheep Effect, Expectancy violation hypothesis). The model of *Subjective Group Dynamics* (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003; Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010) moves beyond this focus to examine how inter-group contexts can affect intra-group dynamics.

3.2.2. Intra-group Research

The model of *Subjective Group Dynamics* (Abrams & Rutland, 2008; Abrams, Rutland & Cameron, 2003; Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010) suggests that in inter-group contexts individuals can sustain differentiation between their group (in-group) and the outgroup by maximising the validity of prescriptive in-group norms (Abrams, Marques, Bown & Henson, 2000). Therefore, members who deviate from the group's norms, threaten the group's legitimacy and image (Abrams, Marques, Bown, & Henson, 2000; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998). Deviant members are then ostracised in order for the group image to be restored, (Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura, Hutchison, & Bown, 2004; Abrams, Rutland, Cameron, & Ferrell, 2007; Abrams, Rutland, Pelletier & Ferrell, 2009; Marques, Abrams, Paez, & Martinez-Taboada, 1998; Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988). According to the *Black Sheep Effect* (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988), out-group deviants are derogated less than out-group normative members, due to the former's proximity to the in-group norm. Indeed, in a study of race-based judgment, Biernat, Vescio and Billings (1999) showed that participants reported more negative evaluations of deviant in-group

members than out-group members. The researchers argued that in-group deviance led to higher perceptions of threat to both the group's image and its prescriptive norms.

A key factor in evaluations is the centrality of the member to the group. The *group socialisation model* (Moreland & Levine, 2002) puts forth that full members are exemplified for endorsing the group's beliefs and are expected to protect the group's identity against the comparable out-group, (more so than normative members). Accordingly, when full members deviate from group norms, they pose a substantial threat to the group image and subsequent evaluations can be more negative than those of normative deviant members. Arguably, this tendency is motivated by the need to maintain the positive validity of the group, which is further more threatened when the transgressive target is more prototypical. Indeed, Pinto and colleagues (2010), showed that central members receive harsher evaluations for transgressions, compared to peripheral members

In this study, we tested reactions to a stigmatised (physically disabled) transgressive group member. Given that ascribing responsibility for a negative event to a person leads to more negative evaluations of that person, we also manipulated the perceived controllability of stigma (uncontrollable vs controllable). We propose that the deviant group member with uncontrollable stigma will be evaluated significantly more positively than the deviant group member with controllable stigma. We also hypothesise that the relationship between controllability of stigma and evaluations will be mediated by group-based guilt: we outline relevant findings below.

3.2.3. Group-Based Guilt

Group-Based Guilt (collective guilt) is experienced when group members are faced with immoral or norm-inconsistent behaviours conducted by other group members. Importantly, group-based guilt is not experienced as a result of an individual's wrongdoings but by virtue of group membership. A variety of studies have replicated this effect.

For example, Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead (2006) showed that when Dutch participants were reminded of Indonesia's colonisation by the Netherlands, they were more likely to experience group-based-guilt. This effect was stronger for high identifiers. McGarty and colleagues (2005) also found that group-based guilt predicted support for federal apology regarding the treatment of Aboriginal Australians.

Iyer, Leach, Pedersen (2004) proposed that experiencing group-based guilt stimulates a re-evaluation of the self (as an individual or group member) and is likely to result in efforts for retributions. For example, Cehajic-Clancy, Effron, Haleprin, Liberman and Ross (2011) showed that, group-based guilt from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, resulted in higher willingness to engage in reparatory actions. Equally, Iyer, Leach and Crosby (2003) showed that guilt predicted white Americans' support for compensation towards African Americans who had faced discrimination in hiring.

This study examined in-group members' experience of collective guilt following a transgression from a fellow in-group member. Importantly, in this study the transgressive in-group member also carried a stigma (wheelchair user), which was either acquired from birth (uncontrollable) or was the result of a drink-and-drive accident (controllable). This distinction allowed us to also examine the role of controllability attributions in the experience of group-based guilt. We hypothesise that stigmatised members who carry a controllable stigma will pose a greater threat to the image of the group than those who carry an uncontrollable one. We therefore hypothesise that guilt will be stronger when the deviant member carries a controllable stigma than an uncontrollable one. Given that the experience of group-based guilt stimulates a re-evaluation of the self and results in efforts for retributions (Iyer, Leach & Pedersen, 2004), we also hypothesise that participants' experience of group-based guilt will lead to greater evaluations as a means of retribution. Accordingly, when faced with a leader with uncontrollable stigma, participants are more likely to experience

greater feelings of guilt and so, evaluate the stigmatized transgressor more favourably (H5, H7).

3.2.4. Morality Measures

In this study, we also measure participants' acceptance of *moral responsibility* (Zimmermann, Abrams, Doosje & Mastead, 2011), judgments of the morality of the perpetrator's act (*morality of the act*- Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey & Hitti, 2013) and the morality of the perpetrator (*morality of person*- Leach, Ellemers and Baretto, 2007). Our decision to measure these distinct concepts was based on fundamental philosophical distinctions between the moral self and moral other (e.g., Batson & Thompson, 2001; Conway & Peetz, 2012; Gray & Graham, 2019) as outline below.

Psychological research describes judgments of sociability and competence as core evaluative items and fundamental to the self (e.g., Anderson & Seidikides, 1991; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007). More contemporary examinations also emphasise morality as a core evaluative component which forms the essence of the self (e.g., Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007; Strogminger & Nichols, 2014). In that way, morality is an integral component of one's identity and empirical evidence suggests that people prefer to attach themselves to groups that uphold moral standards (Bozeman & Ellemers, 2014; Ellemers & van den Bos, 2012; Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007).

This is in line with social identity theorizing which proposes that people's identity is largely defined by their group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A number of studies have shown that moral-norm violations are more threatening to the self than competence-based violations and are more likely to induce disgust amongst group members (e.g., Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi & Cherubini, 2011; Gino, Kouchaki & Galinsky, 2015; Schnall, Haidt, Clore & Jordan, 2008). For instance, Fry (2006) shows that moral transgressions are

likely to result in ostracism and social distancing while acting morally leads to greater respect and acceptance towards the target. Similarly, Pagliaro, Ellemers and Barreto (2011) show that group members are more likely to uphold moral norms (by engaging in moral behaviours) as a means of receiving respect from other in-group members.

This latter finding is particularly important in relation to our studies. Specifically, using the framework of *social identity theory* (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and inter-group dynamics research we earlier noted that members are likely to be ostracised for their non-conformist behaviour. Therefore, given the centrality of morality to the self and the importance of membership to 'moral groups', we wanted to explore whether deviance relative to stigma controllability may affect morality judgments.

Using definitions from Zimmerman, Abrams and Doosje (2011) we use moral responsibility (MR) to mean that, in the context of in-group wrongdoings, members of the in-group feel morally responsible for the consequences of the in-group member's transgressions in the present and future. According to Radzik (2001), accepting moral responsibility (in a sense of moral duty) should then motivate group members to engage in behaviours that favour the victim group (the out-group). In that way, accepting moral responsibility can be taxing in two ways: a) because it is threatening to the image of the self and b) because it implies that group members should engage in reparatory actions (Iyer, Leach, Pedersen & 2004).

Batson & Thompson (2001) show that the motivating factors that underlie one's decision to act morally are largely based on self-interest: that is, people may often want to appear moral but want to avoid "the cost of actually being moral" (Batson & Thomson, 2001, p.54)- *moral hypocrisy.* Given that moral responsibility implicates the self and the 'costs' of being moral, it is arguable that people can judge other group members as being immoral *(morality of the person)* or engaging in immoral acts *(morality of the act)* yet not accept moral

responsibility. Accordingly, the present study uses all, measures of MR, *morality of the act* and *morality of the transgressor*. Still, these measures are mostly used for exploratory purposes and to validate their factor coherence.

3.3.Hypotheses

H1: Transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma will be evaluated more positively than transgressive members with controllable stigma.

H2: There will be no significant difference in evaluations of transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma and transgressive members with no stigma.

H3: Transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma will be perceived as more prorotypical and stereotypical than transgressive members with controllable stigma.

H4: There will be no significant difference in judgments of prototypicality and stereotypicality between transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma.

H5: Transgressive members with ucontrollable stigma will induce a stronger experience of group-based-guilt compared to transgressive members with controllable stigma or no stigma.

H7: Group-based guilt will mediate the relationship between stigma controllability and evaluations.

3.4. Method

Participants

334 American participants were recruited using the online crowdsourcing website, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). 167 of the participants were male (52.2%), 150 females (46.9%) and 3 participants identified their gender as ‘other’ (0.9%).14 participants did not wish to identify their gender (4.2%). Participants ranged from age 20 to age 69 (Mage= 32.41). Among participants, 242 were Caucasian/White (72.5%), 18 were Hispanic (5.4%), 28 were Black (8.4%), 21 Asian (6.3%), 9 Mixed Race (2.7%) and 2 preferred not to say (0.6%). 14

participants preferred not to respond to the question. 24 participants (7.2%) indicated they had some long-term illness and 297 (88.9%) reported they did not. 13 participants did not wish to respond. Participants were also asked to indicate the type of disability they had (they could choose more than one option): 1 (0.3%) participant indicated they had a learning impairment, 3 (0.9%) selected mental impairment, 16 (4.8%) selected physical impairment, 1 (0.3%) sensory impairment, 3 (0.9%) preferred not to say and 2 (0.6%) selected 'other type of impairment'. From those who selected other type of impairment, 1 participant reported *'frequent migraines'* and the other participant reported '*too different, personality wise, to fit in to the mainstream society which means I am semi-homeless and not able to get my basic needs met much of the time, making me function poorly'.*

Procedure & Materials

A survey was formed using the online software, Qualtrics. A link to the survey was then generated and used to publish the survey on the Amazon Mechanical Turk. Subscribers to Amazon's MTurk could then view a brief description of the study and take part in return of 1USD.

Participants were first asked to complete a consent form. The consent form included a brief introduction to the study and information about how their data would be used (e.g., anonymity). Only participants who fully consented (i.e. had read the information provided to them, understood their data would be anonymous and understood they could withdraw from the study at any point) could continue to the survey.

Participants that gave their consent were then asked to respond to some demographic information (age, ethnicity, gender) and whether or not they (or anyone from their close circle) had any form of disability. This information was requested as it allowed us to examine whether direct or close experience with disability could affect the outcome of results (covariance).

Once these measures were completed, participants were presented with a brief introductory passage that asked them to imagine a soccer team that represented their college or university. They were then informed that their team had made it to the top four places of the national competitions and the next match was crucial for remaining in the top 4. In order to enhance participants' identification with the team, they were also asked to write down their team's and their rival team's names and uniform colours, information which was then embedded into the scenario.

The scenario described an important soccer match where in the in-group team (embedded text from participants' responses) was striving to maintain the 4th position on the rank in a game against its main rival (outgroup team-also embedded text). During the game, the stigmatised (type of stigma varied according to condition) member asked a player of the team to "take a dive and get a penalty" as well as "try to send one of the (outgroup) players off the field" –two clear breaches of rules (i.e. transgressions). The transgressive member was presented as a member of the coaching staff.

Stigmatisation conditions included: Uncontrollable stigma (present from birth), Controllable Stigma (the result of a drink-and-drive accident) or No Stigma (Control) (See Appendix C)

Dependent Measures

Evaluations: The evaluations measure was kept constant (cf. Chapter 1, Method; Dependent Measures). The items formed a reliable scale at $\alpha = .88$ for the transgressive member and $\alpha = .85$ for the normative member. Participants indicated their responses using a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from *not at all* to *completely.*

Group-Based Guilt: The measure for guilt was adapted from Cehajik, Effron, Halperin, Liberman & Ross (2011) and included the following five items: 1. The *[stigmatised/ Transgressive member] is in a difficult situation so I feel sorry for the*

[stigmatized/transgressive member], 2. *The [normative member] shouldn't feel bad about taking a dive,* 3. *If our team won, I'd feel guilty,* 4. *[The stigmatized/transgressive member] shouldn't be blamed for trying to help the team*, 5. *All things considered, I can understand how the [stigmatized transgressive member's] condition might make him want to win so much.* The scale was reliable at α =.69. Our reliability analysis showed that removing item 3 would increase the scale's overall reliability. As item 3 emphasized feelings of guilt about the outcome of the transgression rather than the transgression itself, it was removed. The resulting scale was reliable at α =.71. Responses were recorded using a 1 (*not at all*)-7(*completely*), Likert scale.

Prototypicality: The prototypicality measure was kept constant (adapted from: van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and was reliable at α = .96.

Stereotypicality: The first measure of stereotypicality was kept constant (adapted from: Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and was reliable at α = .94. The second measure (adapted from Schyns & Schilling, 2011) was also kept constant and was reliable at α = .93.

Conferral: Participants responded to conferral items (4 items) that were adapted from Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino (2013). The measure was reliable at α= .85. Responses were recorded using a 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from *not at all* to *completely*.

Causal Responsibility: A measure for Causal Responsibility was used and adapted from Zimmermann, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead (2011). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with six (6) items, using a 1-5 scale ranging from *'Strongly Disagree'* to *'Strongly Agree'*. The items asked participants whether the *[transgressive stigmatized member] acted the way the [transgressive stigmatized member] did because the [transgressive stigmatized member]* : 1. *felt there was no other option,* 2. *It was a passing emotion,* 3. *It's the type of person the [transgressive stigmatized member] is,* 4.

The situation called for drastic action, 5. *the [transgressive stigmatized member] was expressing loyalty to the team,* 6. The *[transgressive stigmatized member] feels hatred for the team*. Items 3 and 6 were reverse coded. The resulting reliability analysis showed the scale reliable at α = .65. However, the analysis also revealed that deleting item 6, would increase the scale's overall reliability to α = .72. It was decided that item six may be triggering a focus on emotions rather than assessing CR and so, was deleted from the scale.

Moral Responsibility: The measure of Moral Responsibility was also adapted from Zimmermann, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead (2011). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the two items on the scale using a 1(*strongly disagree)* to 5 (*strongly agree)* scale. Reliability analysis showed the scale was reliable at α= .95.

Morality of the Act: The measure for the perceived morality of the act was adapted from Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey & Hitti (2013) The scale consisted of 4 bipolar items (1-7): *The [transgressive stigmatised member]'s behaviour:* 1. *was okay…not okay,* 2, *could never be justified…would always be justified,* 3. *Does not bother me at all… bothers me a lot,* 4. *Would be no surprise to the [normative member… would be surprising to the [normative member]*. Items 3 and 4 were reverse-coded. The scale was reliable at α= .86. However, our reliability analysis showed that deleting item 4 would increase the scale's overall reliability. Given that item 4 focused on perspective-taking rather than participants' own impressions, it was removed. The reliability of the measure increased to α= .91.

Morality of the Transgressor: The measure for the perceived morality of the transgressor was adapted from Leach, Ellemers & Baretto (2007). The scale included 4 bipolar (1-3) items: *The transgressive stigmatised member is :* 1. *A bad person… a good person*, 2. *Untrustworthy…trustworthy,* 3. *Dishonest…honest,* 4. *Insincere… sincere.* The scale was reliable at α = .88.

Open-Ended Questions: We also added an open-ended question asking participants to explain their feelings and views about the transgressive stigmatised member. The responses were taken into consideration alongside the statistical analysis.

3.5.Results

3.5.1. Analytic Strategy

This study included some additional dependent measures. So, factor analyses were conducted to ensure all items for each scale loaded on a single factor. Factor analyses were performed on: leader prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), both measures of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), conferral items (Abrams, de Moura & Travaglino, 2013), Morality of the Act (Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey & Hitti, 2013), Morality of the Person (Leach, Ellemers and Baretto, 2007), Causal Responsibility (Zimmerman, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead, 2011) and Guilt (Cehajic, Effron, Halperin, Liberman & Ross, 2011). The measure for Moral Responsibility contained only two items and so, factor analysis was not performed on this measure. All factor analyses used Maximum Likelihood estimation with Promax rotation (for the sake of parsimony, the estimation and rotation method will not be repeated under section 'Factor Analyses').

We then created a within-subjects factor with two levels for target (deviant vs normative). We used a GLM (SPSS) to test the effect of conditions on evaluations in a 3 (Type of stigma: uncontrollable, controllable, no stigma) x 2 (Target: Transgressive vs Normative member) design with Target as a within-subjects factor. A GLM (SPSS) was used for the rest of our dependent measures.

3.5.2. Factor Analyses

Leader Prototypicality: The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .85, above the recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (6, 198) = 930.85, $p < .01$. The measure for prototypicality was retained at $\chi^2 = (2, 198) = 9.79$, $p < .001$

Leader Stereotypicality-Platow & van Knippenberg (2001) measure**:**. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable at .89. Bartlett's test of sphericity was also significant at χ^2 (10, 193) = 903.08, $p < .01$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (5, 193) = 15.01, $p < .05$

Leader Stereotypicality- Schyns & Schilling (2011) measure**:** The KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable at .91. Bartlett's test of sphericity was also significant at χ^2 (28, 189) = 1256.18, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (13, 189) = 30.632, p <.001.

Conferral Items: The KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable .76. Bartlett's test of sphericity was also significant at χ^2(6, 187) = 365.48, $p < .01$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (2 ,187) = 18.64, $p < .001$.

Morality of Act: The KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable .72 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2(6, 185) = 510.83, $p < .01$. A single factor was retained at χ^2(2, 185) = 27.11, $p < .01$.

Morality of Person: The KMO measure of sampling adequacy suggested that the sample was factorable .82 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant χ^2(6, 184) = 393.63, $p < .01$. A single factor was retained at χ^2(2, 184) = 11.42, $p < .01$

Causal Responsibility: The factor analysis for the Causal Responsibility measure included only 6 out of 7 items. As mentioned earlier in this chapter (cf. Dependent measures), item 6 was found to reduce the reliability of the measure and so, was removed. The KMO was .73 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2(10, 176) = 184.74, $p < .01$. A single factor was retained at χ^2(5, 176) = 20.35, $p < .01$

Guilt: As mentioned previously, item 3 was removed from the scale. Factor analysis was performed using the remaining four items. The KMO was .65 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2(6, 226) = 200.91, $p < .01$. A single factor was retained at χ^2(2, 226) =

28.30, $p < .01$

3.5.3. GLM

Table 3. *Means and Standard Errors for Evaluations by Type of Stigma and Target*

	Normative Member		Transgressive Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	4.37	0.24	3.68	0.33
Controllable	4.48	0.23	2.94	0.32
No Stigma	4.76	0.25	3.21	0.35

Table 4. *Means and Standard Errors for all dependent variables by Type of Stigma.*

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
CR	2.70	0.81	2.60	0.76	2.71	0.79
MoPerson	1.71	0.59	1.55	0.55	1.65	0.56
Guilt	2.83	1.27	2.71	1.26	3.14	1.41
Conferral	3.89	1.49	3.74	1.51	4.21	1.52
MR	2.99	1.32	3.20	1.22	3.16	1.18
Prototypicality	3.12	1.75	2.84	1.77	2.85	1.41
Stereot.VK	2.59	1.11	2.52	1.16	2.50	1.08
Stereot.Schyns	4.10	1.40	3.81	1.44	4.13	1.18
Ev.Deviant	3.46	1.06	3.17	1.19	3.42	1.04
Ev.Normative	4.57	1.11	4.65	0.86	4.50	0.87
MoAct	3.83	0.67	3.53	0.57	3.66	0.88

Evaluations: The repeated-measures GLM revealed no significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Evaluations and no interaction. However, there was a significant main effect of Target on Evaluations $F(1, 225) = 198.20$, $p < .01$, $\eta p^2 = .27$. Participants evaluated the transgressive member more negatively ($M = 3.35$, $SE = .07$) than the normative member ($M = 4.58$, $SE = .06$).

Prototypicality, Stereotypicality (both measures), Conferral, Moral Responsibility, Causal Responsibility, Morality of Person, Morality of Act, Guilt: Our GLM analysis showed no significant main effect of condition on these dependent measures (all Fs <2, all p>.14)

3.5.4. Further analyses- Regressions & Mediations

As there was no significant main effect of condition for any of our dependent measures, we ran Bivariate correlations to further explore the relationships between the variables (see Table 5).

Table 5.*Correlations between all dependent measures*

	Guilt	Ev.Deviant	MoAct	MoPerson	Conferral	CR	MR	Ev.Normative	Prototyp	Stereot.VK
Ev.Deviant	.63***									
MoAct	.74***	.65***								
MoPerson	.65***	.70***	.76***							
Conferral	.70***	.62***	.75***	.69***						
CR	.61***	.57***	.56***	.58***	.63***					
MR	-.51***	-.47***	-.62***	-.55***	-.49***	-.53***				
Ev.Normative	-.02	.17	.12	-.08	.03	-.03	.01			
Prototyp.	.67***	.77***	.76***	.80***	.70***	.54***	-.48***	-.05		
Stereot.VK	.71***	.73***	.79***	.78***	.77***	.65***	-.59***	-.02	.87***	
Stereot.Schyns	.54***	.69***	.59***	.65***	.61***	.66***	-.55***	-.05	.69***	.76***

***Correlation is significant at the 0.001 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.*Means and Standard Errors for dependent variables by Type of Stigma.*

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
CR	2.70	0.81	2.60	0.76	2.71	0.79
MoPerson	1.71	0.59	1.55	0.55	1.65	0.56
Guilt	2.83	1.27	2.71	1.26	3.14	1.41
Conferral	3.89	1.49	3.74	1.51	4.21	1.52
MR	2.99	1.32	3.20	1.22	3.16	1.18
Prototypicality	3.12	1.75	2.84	1.77	2.85	1.41
Stereot.VK	2.59	1.11	2.52	1.16	2.50	1.08
Stereot.Schyns	4.10	1.40	3.81	1.44	4.13	1.18
Ev.Deviant	3.46	1.06	3.17	1.19	3.42	1.04
Ev.Normative	4.57	1.11	4.65	0.86	4.50	0.87
MoAct	3.83	0.67	3.53	0.57	3.66	0.88

As expected our analysis revealed that perceived prototypicality was highly correlated with perceived stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling measure: $r(189) = .69$; Platow & van Knippenberg measure: $r(193) = .87$) and conferral ($r(187) = .70$). Evaluations were also highly correlated with prototypicality ($r(198) = .77$), stereotypicality (Schyns & Schillings measure : $r(189) = .69$); Platow & van Knippenberg measure: $r(193) = .73$) and conferral ($r(187) = .62$).

Guilt and evaluations of the transgressive stigmatised member (deviant) were significantly correlated (r (226) = .63). Earlier, we hypothesised (**H5, H6, H7)** that stigma controllability would predict evaluations through guilt. We tested this prediction using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10,000 bootstraps) with Conditions as the predictor, Evaluations as the outcome and Guilt as the mediator. The model did not significantly explain Evaluations.

However, looking at the correlations more closely, we noticed that perceived morality of the person and evaluations were highly correlated (r (183) = .70). We therefore tested whether evaluations predicted perceptions of the transgressor's morality through Guilt.

Earlier in this chapter, we mentioned that the experience of group-based guilt stimulates a re-evaluation of the self and results in efforts for retributions (Iyer, Leach & Pedersen, 2004). Accordingly, we hypothesised that participants' experience of group-based guilt will lead to more positive evaluations as a means of retribution. Our findings contradicted our predictions.

However, having looked at the correlations more closely and given empirical evidence that suggests group members value morality most highly (Batson & Thompson, 2001) we tested whether the experience of guilt mediated the relationship between evaluations (the main focus of empirical investigations in this thesis) and morality judgments and so, whether guilt predicted judgments of the transgressor's morality.

We tested this model using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10,000 bootstraps) with Evaluations as the predictor, Morality of Person as the outcome and Guilt as the mediator. The model significantly explained perceived morality of person F (2, 170) = 111.50, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .55$ and explained 74% of the variance. Guilt significantly mediated the association between Evaluations and Morality of Person: indirect effect: $b = .14$, $SE = .03$, $t = 4.97$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.08, .19]; total effect: $b = .36$, $SE = .03$, $t = 13.24$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.31, .41] ; direct effect: $b = .25$, $SE = .03$, $t = 7.45$, $p < .001$,95% CI [.19, .32]. The model shows that higher evaluations led to increased feelings of guilt and in turn, higher perceptions of the perpetrator's morality (see Figure 5, Table 7)

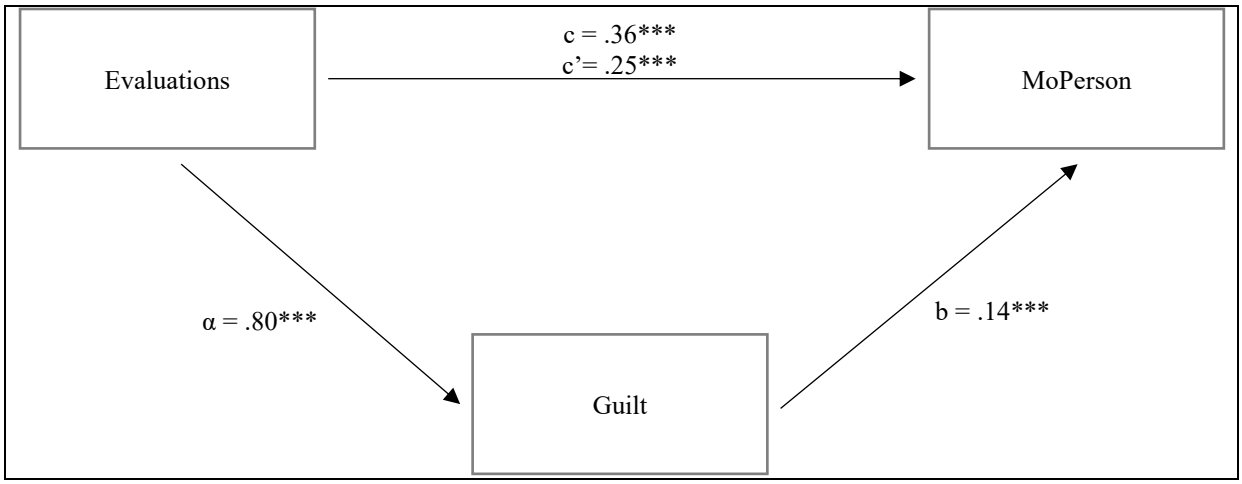

Figure 5. Mediation model of the relationship between Evaluations and Morality of Person, mediated by Guilt (Transgressor). Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

Table 7
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person, Evaluations and Guilt.

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
MoPerson	1.71	0.59	1.55	0.55	1.65	0.56
Ev.Deviant	3.46	1.06	3.17	1.19	3.42	1.04
Ev.Normative	4.57	1.11	4.65	0.86	4.50	0.87
Guilt	2.83	1.27	2.71	1.26	3.14	1.41

Given previous findings that Causal responsibility predicts MR via Group-Based guilt we wanted to examine whether this effect replicated in our study in order to further ensure the reliability of our measures. For that reason, we first examined the correlations between the variables. Indeed, Moral Responsibility was moderately correlated to group based guilt ($r(187) = -.51$) and causal responsibility (r (176) = -.53). Causal responsibility and group-based guilt were also highly correlated (r (176) = .61) (see Table 5). To test our hypothesis, we used Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10,000 bootstraps) with Causal responsibility as the predictor, Group-Based Guilt as the outcome and Moral responsibility as the mediator. This model significantly explained Group-based Guilt $F(2, 173) = 61.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .42$. Our findings showed that MR significantly mediated the association between CR and Guilt . Mediator's indirect effect: $b = -.30$, $SE = .07$, $t = -4.00$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.71, 2.63]; total effect: $b = 1.05$, $SE = .10$, $t = 10.04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.84, 1.25]; direct effect: $b = 80$, $SE = .12$, $t = 6.78$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.56, 1.03]. The model showed that increased in CR led to lower MR and in turn lower feelings of Guilt. Increased CR led to increased feelings of guilt.

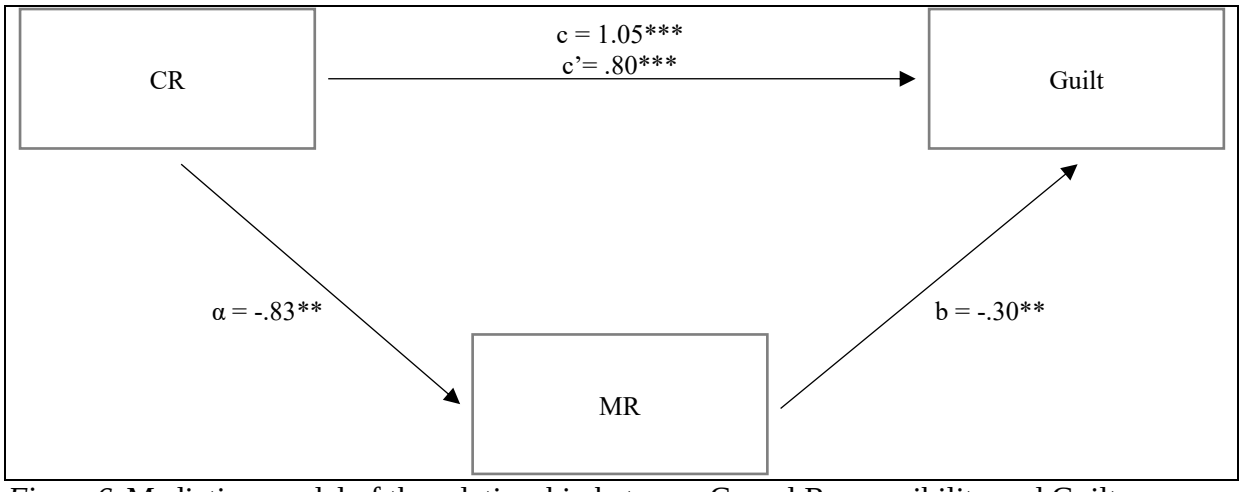

Figure 6. Mediation model of the relationship between Causal Responsibility and Guilt, mediated by Moral Responsibility. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

Table 8. *Means and Standard Errors for Moral Responsibility (MR), Causal Responsibility (CR) and Guilt*

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
MR	2.99	1.32	3.20	1.22	3.16	1.18
CR	2.70	0.81	2.60	0.76	2.71	0.79
Guilt	2.83	1.27	2.71	1.26	3.14	1.41

3.6.Discussion

This study's aims were two-fold: a) to explore the effects of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of transgressive members and b) to evaluate factor coherence and reliability for measures of Moral Responsibility (MR), Causal Responsibility (CR), Group-Based Guilt (GBG), Morality of the Transgressor and Morality of the Act as well as replicate previous findings for the relationship between MR, CR and GBG. The results of this study showed no significant main effect of conditions on the evaluations of transgressive members and no significant main effect of conditions on any of the dependent measures. While the present findings fail to confirm our hypothesis (H1-H4), they serve as indicators that transgressive leaders do indeed receive more lenient evaluations than transgressive members, even in the context of stigma.

As expected, Study 1 showed that leaders with uncontrollable stigma were evaluated more positively than leaders with controllable stigma. This effect did not seem to replicate for transgressive members (Study 2). We argue that this further highlights the double-standard in evaluations of leaders. This is more systematically examined in our next study (Study 3).

In turn, this study also showed that evaluations predicted the perceived morality of the transgressor through guilt. Looking at the means across conditions, it became clear that transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma were evaluated almost equally both in terms of general evaluations and in terms of their morality (this pattern was also observed in Study 1). It is arguable therefore, that when in-group members cannot be held responsible for their stigma, naïve judges disregard their transgressions in evaluations. This is important because it points towards a trend, where information about the controllability of stigma alone can shape evaluations and in turn, the affective experience of guilt. In turn, the more negative this affective experience the more moral the perpetrator is perceived to be. We further examined its relationship to evaluations in our subsequent study-study 3.

Finally, a peripheral aim of this study was to examine factor coherence and reliability for measures of MR, CR, GBG, Morality of the Transgressor and Morality of the Act. Our analyses showed that each measure loaded on a single factor and was highly reliable.

3.6.1. Limitations

The current study examined reactions to stigmatised transgressive members and so, did not create comparisons between leaders and members. However, issues of moral and causal responsibility may be more relevant to the leader, rather than the member. Specifically, CR emphasizes who caused the wrongdoing whilst MR focuses on the current consequences of the wrongdoing and the needs of the victim group (given a defined relationship between the two groups). Thus, CR may be rejected, should the perpetrator be a member (as compared to a leader). Arguably, accepting CR could challenge the positive distinctiveness of the group whilst rejecting CR would entail less damaging psychological processes. Similarly, given leaders are perceived to be more prototypical, yet receive a double standard for rewards and punishment, levels of causal and moral responsibility may

differ when leaders are the perpetrators. Our subsequent study addresses these limitations by comparing reactions to both leaders and members.

In turn, in the current study, the transgressive member was presented as a 'coaching staff member' which may have engendered ambiguities about the member's status. This limitation has also been addressed in our subsequent study.

4. STUDY 3: REACTIONS TO STIGMATISED MEMBERS AND LEADERS

4.1.Background to Current Study

Our first study looked at evaluations of transgressive stigmatised leaders (Chapter 2) while our second study looked at evaluations of transgressive stigmatised members (Chapter 3). In Study 1, we hypothesised that transgressive leaders that carried an uncontrollable stigma (e.g. from birth) would be evaluated more positively than those with a controllable one (e.g. result of own action) and those with no stigma. Indeed, our findings showed that for most evaluation items, transgressive leaders with uncontrollable stigma were judged more favourably than transgressive leaders with controllable stigma. There was no significant difference in evaluations between uncontrollable and no stigma leaders. Study 2 aimed at examining evaluations of transgressive stigmatised members as well as establishing factor coherence for a variety of dependent measures. We hypothesised that transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma will be evaluated more positively than those with controllable stigma and no stigma (pattern of results to be similar to those in Study 1). Study 2 showed no main effect of stigma controllability on the evaluation of transgressive members. Study 2 confirmed factor coherence and high reliability across measures. Further examination of the data in Study 2, showed that guilt mediated the relationship between evaluations and the morality of transgressor. This latter examination was merely exploratory and so, was further

explored in Study 3. In turn, Study 3 incorporated both a leader and a member, in order to create comparisons between the two.

Study 3 (see below) tested the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on both transgressive members and leaders. It employed a 2 (Role: Member Vs Leader) x 3 (Type of Stigma: Uncontrollable, Controllable, No Stigma) between-subjects design. In order to diminish any confounding variables and potential for error, we used the same sports context. In the current study the leader was presented as part of the coaching staff whilst the member was presented as groundstaff member.

4.2.Method

Participants

398 American participants were collected using the online crowdsourcing website, Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Of those, 75 were excluded due to missing data, leaving 325 participant responses for analysis. 147 participants were male (45.5%), 175 were female (54.2%) and one participant selected 'Other' (0.3%). Participants' age ranged from 18years to 87years (Mage= 35.29). 242 participants (74.9%) were Caucasian, 22 were Hispanic (6.8%), 35 Black (10.8%), 16 Asian (5%) and 8 Mixed (2.5%). 44 participants (13.6%) had a disability: 5 had a learning impairment (1.5%), 13 a mental impairment (4%), 23 a physical impairment (7.1%), 3 a sensory impairment (0.9%), 4 another type of impairment (1.2%) and 3 preferred not to say (0.9%).

Procedure & Materials

A survey was formed using the online software, Qualtrics. A link to the survey was then generated and used to publish the survey on Amazon Mechanical Turk. Subscribers to Amazon's MTurk could then view a brief description of the study and take part. They were rewarded 1USD for completing the survey.

The procedure was similar to those in Studies 1 and 2. Participants were first asked to complete a consent form and a demographics form. They were also asked whether they had any form of contact with disability. They were then presented with the experimental scenario.

Stigmatisation conditions included: Uncontrollable stigma (present from birth), Controllable Stigma (the result of a drink-and-drive accident) or No Stigma (Control). The leader was portrayed as part of the coaching staff while the member was portrayed as part of the groundstaff (Appendix D).

Dependent Measures

Evaluations: The measure for evaluations was kept constant and was reliable at α = .88 for the leader and α = .86 for the member.

Group-Based Guilt: Item 3 (*If our team won the game, I'd feel guilty*) was removed from the scale as it reduced its reliability. Item 5 (*All things considered, I can understand how the [stigmatized transgressive leader's/member's] condition might make him want to win so much)* was also deleted as it focused on perspective-taking rather than the experience of guilt. The scale was reliable at α = .75

Leader Prototypicality: The scale for leader prototypicality was kept constant. The scale was reliable at α = .96

Leader Stereotypicaity: Both measures of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011 measure; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) were kept constant. The measure adapted from Platow and van Knippenberg was realiable at α = .92. The measure was adapted from Schyns & Schilling (2011**)** was reliable at α = .92.

Conferral Items: The measure was kept constant and was reliable at α = .85

Moral Responsibility: The scale was kept constant and was reliable at α = .93.

Causal Responsibility: The scale was kept constant. Items three (*It's the type of person [the leader/member] is*) and six (*[the leader/memver] feels hatred for the team*) were

reverse-coded. The resulting reliability analysis showed the scale reliable at α = .56. The analysis also showed that excluding item six would increase the overall reliability. Given that item six may be triggering a focus on emotions (rather than assessing CR), it was deleted. The scale was moderately reliable at α = .65.

Morality of the Act: The measure was kept constant and item 4 was, again, removed. The resulting reliability was α = .89.

Morality of the Transgressor: The measure was kept constant and was realiable at α = .95.

Open-Ended Questions: Finally, participants were asked to note their feelings and views about Pat in an open-ended format. The responses were taken into consideration alongside the statistical analysis. 442t

4.3.Results

4.3.1. Analytic strategy

Data analysis is divided into three sections: 1. Factor analyses, 2. GLM and 3. Regressions and Mediations. Factor analyses (1) were conducted on measures of prototypicality, stereotypicality and conferral to ensure items for each measure loaded on a single factor. In turn, we conducted a GLM (SPSS) in a 3 (Type of Stigma: Uncontrollable, Controllable, No stimga) x 2 (Role: Leader vs Member) between-participants design which, unless stated otherwise, was applied to all dependent measures. Finally, in order to further explore the data and confirm findings from Study 2, we ran linear regressions and mediations. Findings are discussed below.

4.3.2. Factor Analyses

All factor analyses used Maximum Likelihood estimation and Promax Rotation. For the sake of parsimony, this will not be repeated below.

Prototypicality: The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .87, above the commonly recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (6, 323) = 1349.86, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (2, 323) = 10.64, $p = .005$.

Stereotypicality: Factor analysis on the Platow & van Knippenberg (2001) measure showed the KMO measure of sampling adequeacy to be .87 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity to be significant at χ^2 (10, 323) = 1212.91, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (5, 323) = 46.48, $p < .001$.

The same procedure was applied to the Schyns & Schilling (2011) measure of stereotypicality. The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .90 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 323) = 1966.95, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (5, 323) = 46.48, $p < .001$.

Conferral: The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .74 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (6, 323)= 658.52, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (2, 323) = 22.84, $p < .001$.

4.3.3. GLM

We created a between-subjects factor with two levels for Role (1: Leader, 2: Member) and a between-subjects factor with three levels for Type of stigma (1: Uncontrollable Stigma, 2: Controllable stigma, 3: No Stigma). We conducted a GLM (SPSS) in a 2 (Role) x 3 (Type of Stigma) between-subjects design to test the effect of conditions on the dependent measures.

Table 9a. *Means and Standard Errors for all dependent variables by Type of Stigma and Role*

		Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Moral Responsibility	Leader	3.08	0.16	3.94	0.16	3.33	0.17
	Member	3.41	0.19	3.27	0.20	3.08	0.17
Morality of Act	Leader	3.61	0.14	3.37	0.14	3.69	0.14
	Member	3.94	0.15	3.34	0.15	3.71	0.14
Causal Responsibility	Leader	3.04	0.10	2.92	0.10	3.28	0.11
	Member	3.06	0.11	3.01	0.11	3.12	0.10
Guilt	Leader	2.87	0.23	2.42	0.24	3.73	0.25
	Member	2.88	0.25	2.70	0.26	2.90	0.23
Stereotypciality (VK)	Leader	2.98	0.18	2.31	0.18	3.18	0.19
	Member	2.97	0.19	2.59	0.19	2.84	0.18

Table 9b. *Means and Standard Errors for all dependent variables by Type of Stigma and Role*

		Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stereotypicality (Schyns)	Leader	4.43	0.21	3.44	0.22	4.90	0.22
	Member	4.57	0.22	3.74	0.23	4.24	0.21
Conferral	Leader	4.61	0.24	3.57	0.25	4.81	0.25
	Member	4.14	0.26	3.77	0.26	4.13	0.24
Morality of Person	Leader	3.79	0.27	2.65	0.28	3.58	0.29
	Member	3.51	0.29	3.13	0.30	3.26	0.27
Evaluations	Leader	4.06	0.18	3.19	0.18	3.68	0.19
	Member	3.83	0.19	3.33	0.20	3.71	0.18
Prototypicality	Leader	3.38	0.28	2.38	0.29	3.41	0.30
	Member	3.39	0.30	2.72	0.31	3.23	0.28

Prototypicality

The analysis revealed no main effect of Role on Prototypicality and no significant interaction (all *F*s <1, all *p*s > .1). However, the analysis showed a significant main effect of Type of Stigma $F(2, 323)=6.15$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .05$ on Prototypicality. Pairwise comparisons revealed a significant difference in perceived prototypicality between the uncontrollable ($M = 3.42$, $SE =. 19$) and controllable ($M = 2.55$, $SE = .19$) stigma conditions (Mean Difference = .88, $p =.002$) and the controllable and No stigma ($M = 3.25$, $SE = .18$) conditions (Mean Difference = -.70, $p = .007$).

Overall, participants evaluated transgressors with uncontrollable stigma as more prototypical than transgressors with controllable stigma. Participants also evaluated transgressors with no stigma as more prototypical than those with controllable stigma. The transgressor's role did not seem to affect perceptions of prototypicality.

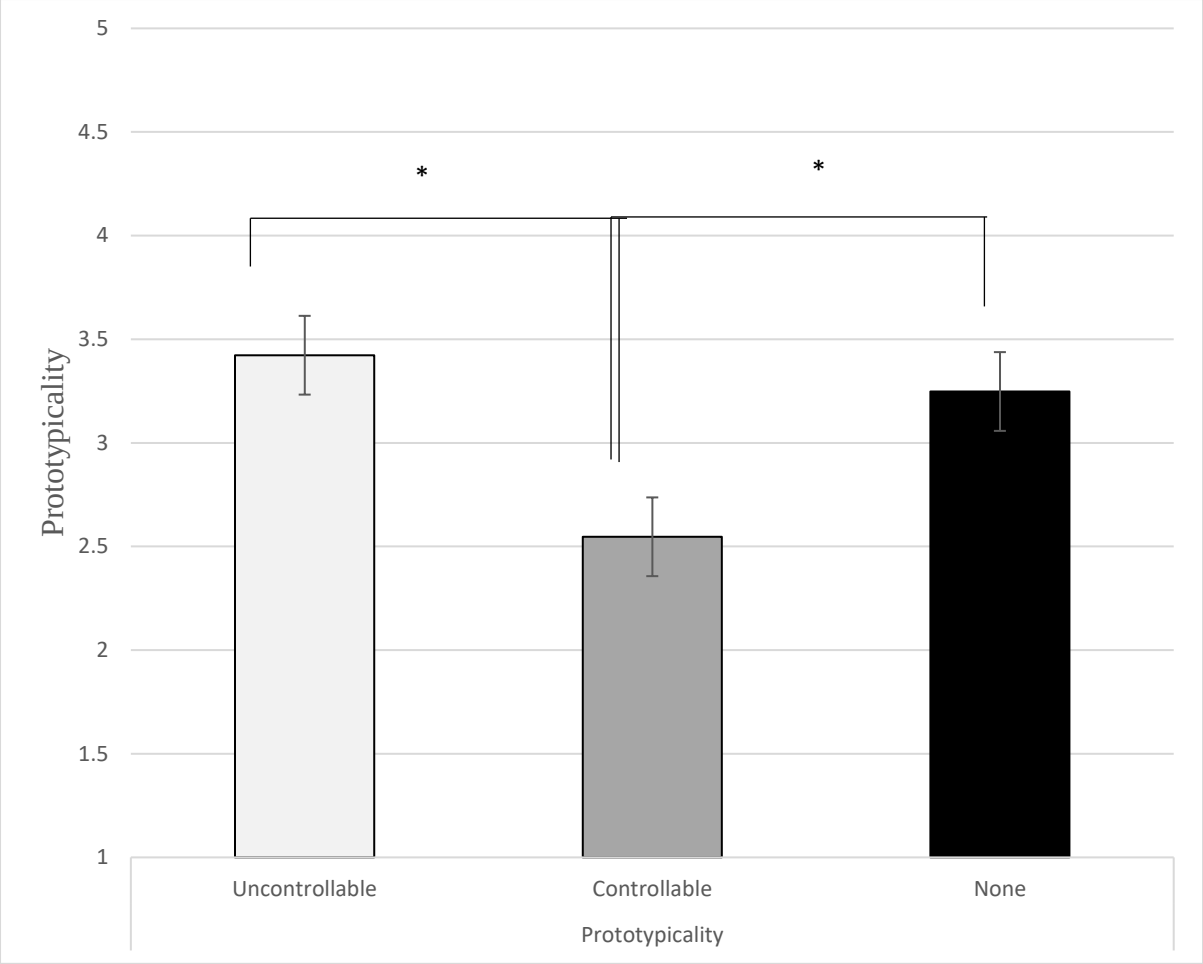

Figure 7. Main effect of Type of Stigma on judgments of Prototypicality. Error bars represent standard error. Prototypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale.

Table 10
Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality by Stigma.

	Leader Prototypicality	
	M	*SE*
Uncontrollable	3.42	0.19
Controllable	2.55	0.19
No Stigma	3.25	0.18

Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001)

There was no significant main effect of Role on judgments of stereotypicality and no interaction (all *F*s < 2, all *p*s > .1). However, the analysis revealed a significant main effect of Type of Stigma F (2, 323) = 6.50, p = .001, ηp^2 = .05 on perceived stereotypicality.

Pairwise comparisons showed a significant difference between uncontrollable (M = 2.99, SE = .12) and controllable stigma (M = 2.46, SE = .12) (Mean Difference = .53, p =.006) and controllable and no stigma (M = 2.98, SE = .12) (Mean Difference = -.52, p =.001), on perceived stereotypicality.

Overall, participants evaluated transgressors with uncontrollable stigma more positively than those with controllable and no stigma. Transgressors with no stigma were evaluated more positively than those with controllable stigma and almost identical to those with uncontrollable stigma.

Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011):

GLM analysis revealed no significant effect of Role on perceived stereotypicality and no interaction (all *F*s ≤ 2.59, all *p*s > .05). However, the analysis did show a significant main effect of Type of Stigma F(2, 323)=15.66, p < .001, ηp^2 = .11 on perceived stereotypicality.

Pairwise comparisons showed a significant difference between uncontrollable stigma (M = 4.54, SE = .14) and controllable stigma (M = 3.54, SE = .14) (Mean Difference =.10, p < .001) and controllable and no stigma (M = 4.49, SE = .14) (Mean Difference = -.95, p < .001).

Overall, it appears that participants regarded transgressors with uncontrollable stigma as most stereotypical, followed by those with no stigma and lastly, those with controllable stigma.

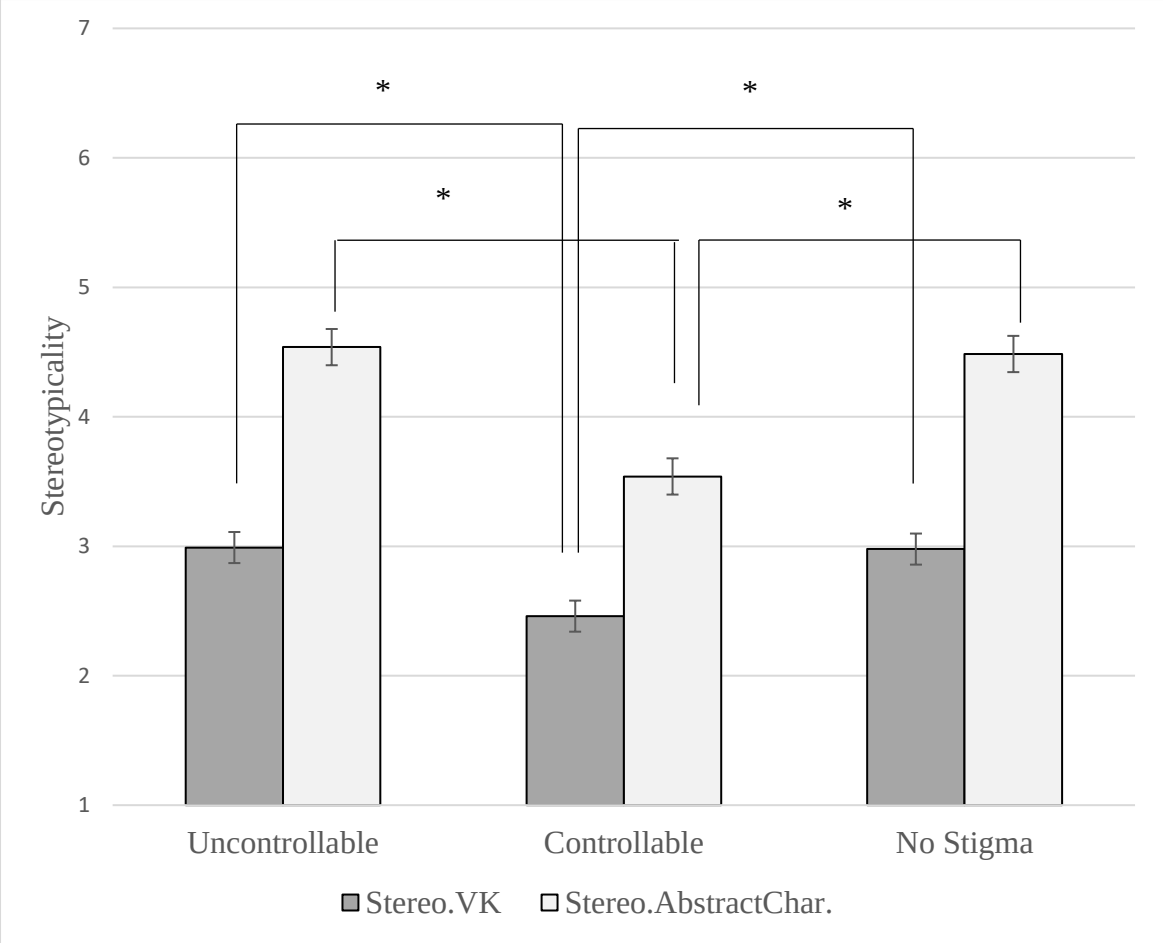

Figure 8. Main effect of Type of Stigma on measures of Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011); Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001). Error bars represent standard error. Stereotypicality VK: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree). Stereotypicality Schyns: 1 (not at all)- 7 (completely).

Table 11
Means and Standard Errors for measures of Stereotypicality by Stigma

		Stereotypicality VK		Stereotypicality Schyns	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	Uncontrollable	2.99	0.12	4.54	0.14
	Controllable	2.46	0.12	3.54	0.14
	No Stigma	2.98	0.12	4.49	0.14

Conferral: No significant main effect of Role on conferral and no interaction (all Fs ≤ 2.83, all ps > .1). Main effect of Type of Stigma on conferral $F(2, 308)=7.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .048$.

Participants found those with uncontrollable stigma (M = 4.28, SE = .15) higher in conferral than those with controllable (M = 3.68, SE = .15) stigma (Mean Difference = 60, $p < .001$) and those with no stigma (M = 4.44, SE = .15) higher than those with controllable stigma (Mean Difference = .76, $p < .001$)

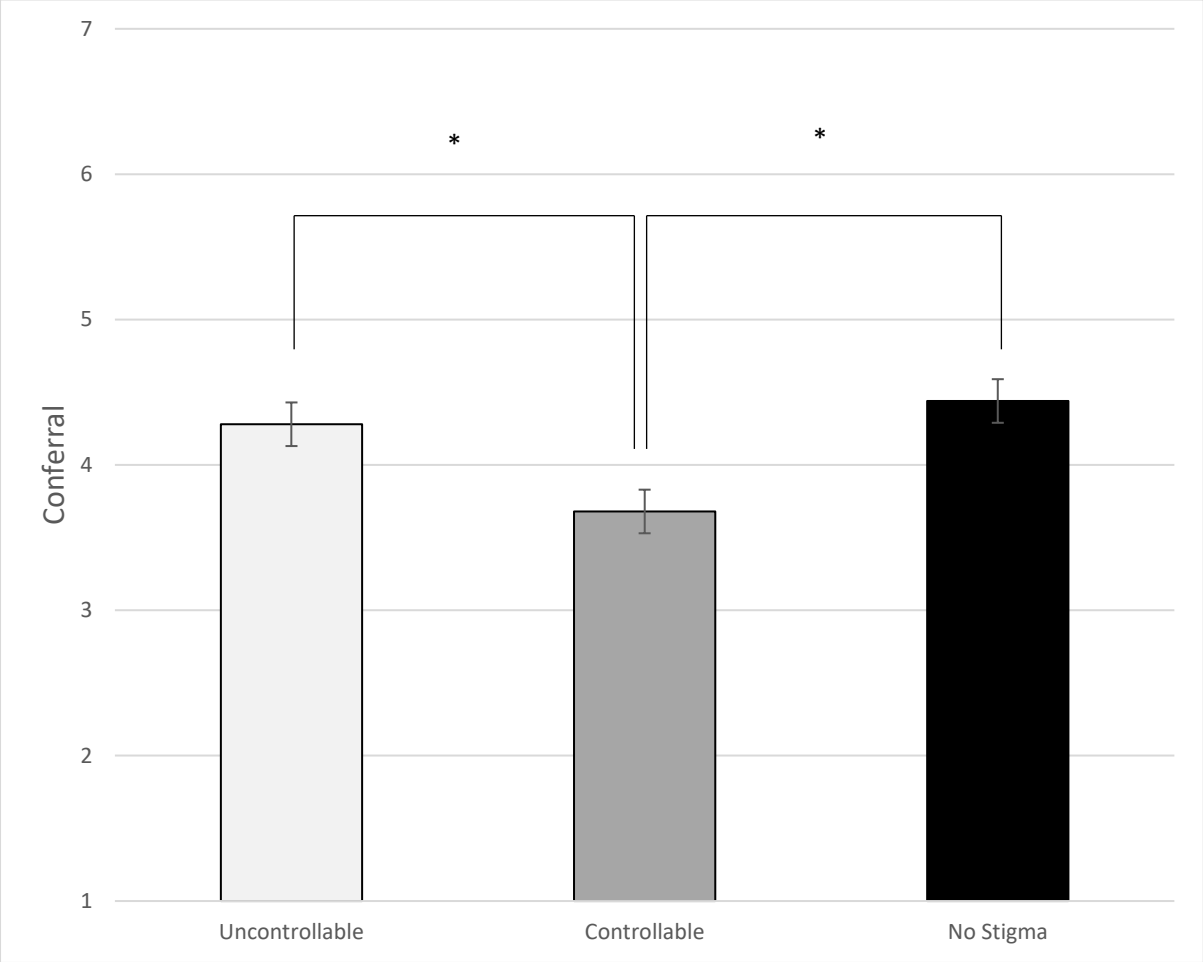

Figure 9. Main effect of Type of Stigma on Conferral. Error bars represent standard error. Conferral: 1(not at all)-7(completely) scale.

Table 12
Means and Standard Errors of Conferral by Type of Stigma

	Conferral	
	M	*SE*
Uncontrollable	4.28	0.15
Controllable	3.68	0.15
No Stigma	4.44	0.15

Evaluations: The analysis revealed no significant main effect of Role on evaluations ($F < 2$, $p > .1$). However, results showed a significant main effect of Type of Stigma $F(2, 322) = 9.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .06$ on evaluations of the transgressor. There was no significant interaction between Role and Type of Stigma for the evaluations of the transgressor ($F < 1$, $p > .1$)

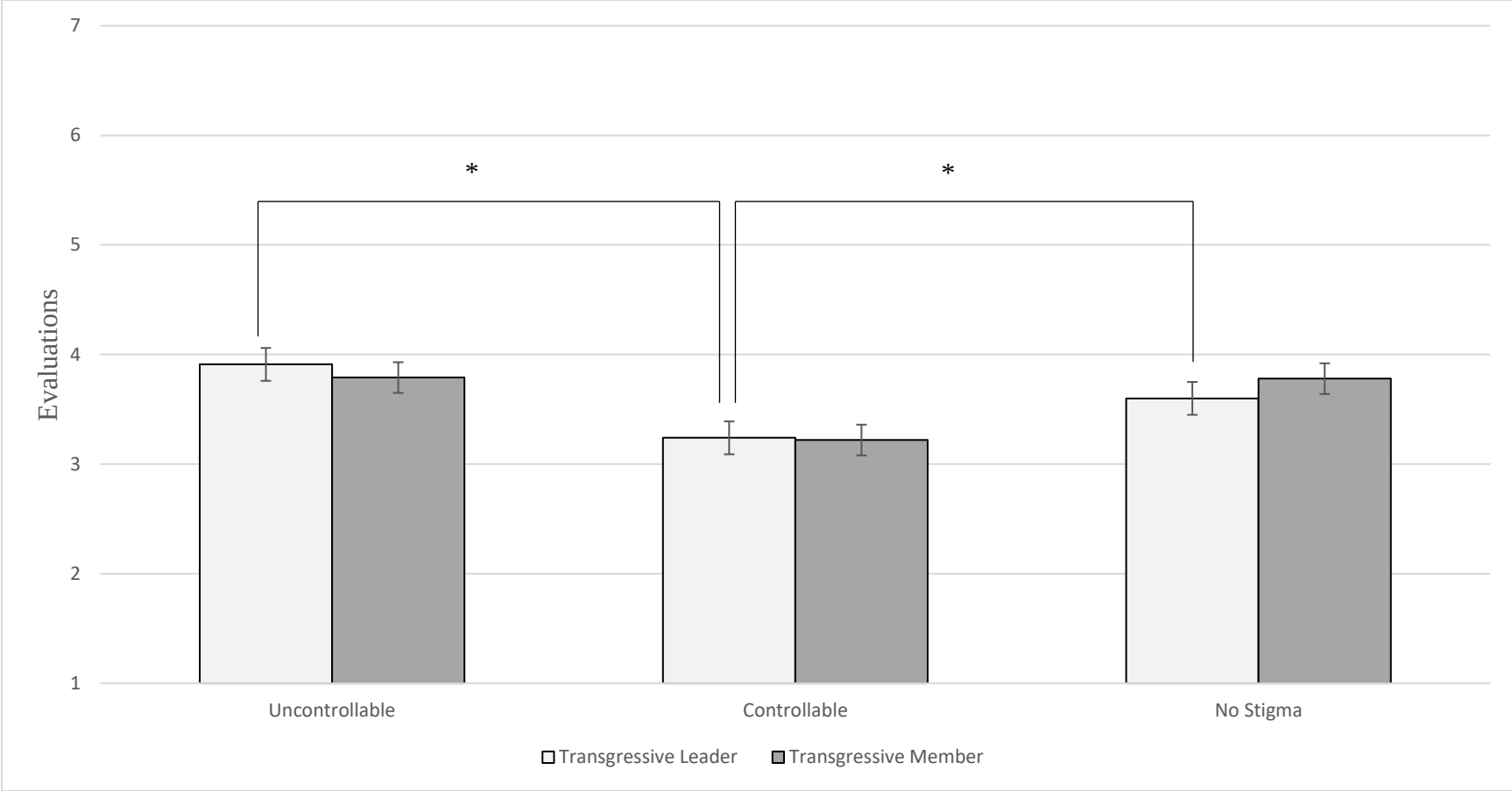

Figure 10. Main effect of Type of Stigma on Evaluations of transgressor. Error bars represent standard error. Evaluations scale: 1(not at all)-7(completely).

Table 13
Means and Standard Errors of Evaluations by Role and Type of Stigma

	Leader						Member					
	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma		Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
Transgressive	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
	3.91	0.14	3.24	0.15	3.60	0.15	3.79	0.15	3.22	0.16	3.78	0.15
Normative	4.42	0.13	4.01	0.13	4.65	0.14	4.46	0.14	4.51	0.14	4.37	0.14

Specific evaluation items.

Warm: Pairwise comparisons showed that participants evaluated the transgressor significantly higher in warmth in the uncontrollable (*M*=3.85, *SE*=.11) than the controllable (*M*=3.23, *SE*=.11) conditions (Mean Difference=.62, *p* = .009).

Competent: Participants evaluated the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=4.18, *SE*=.15) as more competent than the one with controllable stigma (*M*=3.41, *SE*=.16) (Mean Difference=.77, *p* = .003) and the transgressor with no stigma (*M*=4.18, *SE*=.15) as more competent than the one with controllable stigma (Mean Difference=.77, *p* =.001).

Admirable: Participants evaluated the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=3.29, *SE*=.15) as more competent than the one with controllable stigma (*M*=2.55, *SE*=.15) (Mean Difference=.74, *p* = .001) and the one with no stigma (*M*=2.85, *SE*=.15) (Mean Difference=.44, *p* = .027). Surprisingly, a significant difference between evaluations of admiration was also observed for the normative member.

Likeable: Participants perceived the transgressor in the uncontrollable stigma (*M*=3.61, *SE*=.15) condition as more likeable than the transgressor with controllable (*M*=2.91, *SE*=.15) stigma (Mean Difference=.70, *p* = .009).

Approachable: Participants thought of the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=3.93, *SE*=.15) as more approachable than the one with controllable (*M*=3.27, *SE*=.15) stigma (Mean Difference= .66, *p* = .015) and the transgressor with no stigma (*M*=3.83, *SE*= .15) as more approachable than the one with controllable stigma (Mean Difference=.56, *p* = .008).

Disgusting: Participants rated the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=4.85, *SE*=1.54) as less disgusting than the one with controllable (*M*=4.10, *SE*=.18) stigma (Mean Difference=.74, *p* = .005) (this item was reverse-coded).

Enviable: Participants thought the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=2.63, *SE*=1.34) was more enviable than the one with controllable (*M*=2.11, *SE*=.14) stigma (Mean Difference=.52, $p = .022$) and the one with no stigma (*M*=2.78, *SE*=.14) as more enviable than the one with controllable stigma (Mean Difference=.67, $p = .001$)

Clever: Participants thought of the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma (*M*=4.22, *SE*=1.51) as more clever than the one with controllable (*M*=3.26, *SE*=1.52) stigma (Mean Difference=.96, $p < .001$) and the one with no stigma (*M*=3.87, *SE*=1.52) as more clever than the one with controllable stigma (Mean Difference=.61, $p = .006$).

Overall, it seems that the most significant differences in evaluation measures appear between the uncontrollable and controllable stigma conditions and the controllable and no stigma conditions. When looking at the pairwise comparisons more closely, it becomes evident that mean scores for the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions are not far from one another. This is important because it suggests that evaluations of stigmatized persons are more negative only when the responsibility for the stigma can be attributed to them.

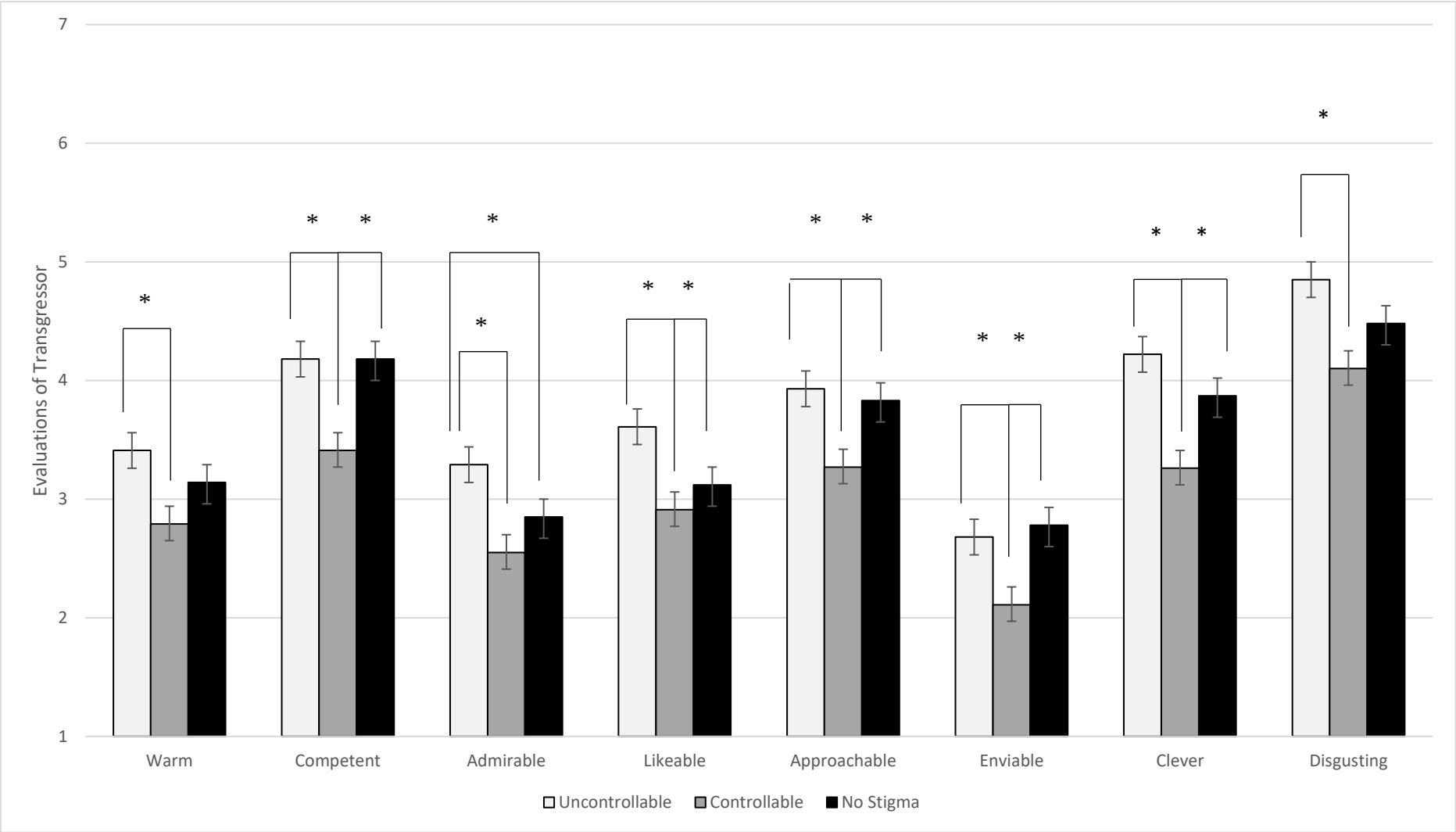

Figure 11. Main effect of type of stigma on specific evaluation items. Evaluations scale 1 (not at all) – 7 (completely). Error bars represent standard error.

Table 14
Means and Standard Errors Evaluations Items for Transgressor

	Warm		Competent		Admirable		Likeable		Approachable		Enviable		Clever		Disgusting	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	3.41	0.15	4.18	0.15	3.29	0.15	3.61	0.15	3.93	0.15	2.68	0.13	4.22	0.15	4.85	0.17
Controllable	2.79	0.15	3.41	0.16	2.55	0.15	2.91	0.15	3.27	0.15	2.11	0.14	3.26	0.15	4.10	0.18
No Stigma	3.14	0.15	4.18	0.15	2.85	0.15	3.12	0.15	3.83	0.15	2.78	0.14	3.87	0.15	4.48	0.18

Morality of Act: There was no significant main effect of Role on the Morality of Act and no interaction (all *F*s< 1, all *p*s >.1). There was, a significant main effect of Type of Stigma on the perceived morality of the act $F(2, 306)= 4.97$, $p = .040$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Participants perceived the act to be more moral in the uncontrollable stigma condition ($M = 3.70$, $SE = .10$), compared to the controllable one ($M = 3.36$, $SE = .10$) (Mean Difference = .40, $p = .014$). Participants thought the act was more moral in the no stigma condition ($M = 3.70$, $SE = .10$) than the controllable one (Mean Difference = -.35, $p = .014$). There was no significant difference between the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions.

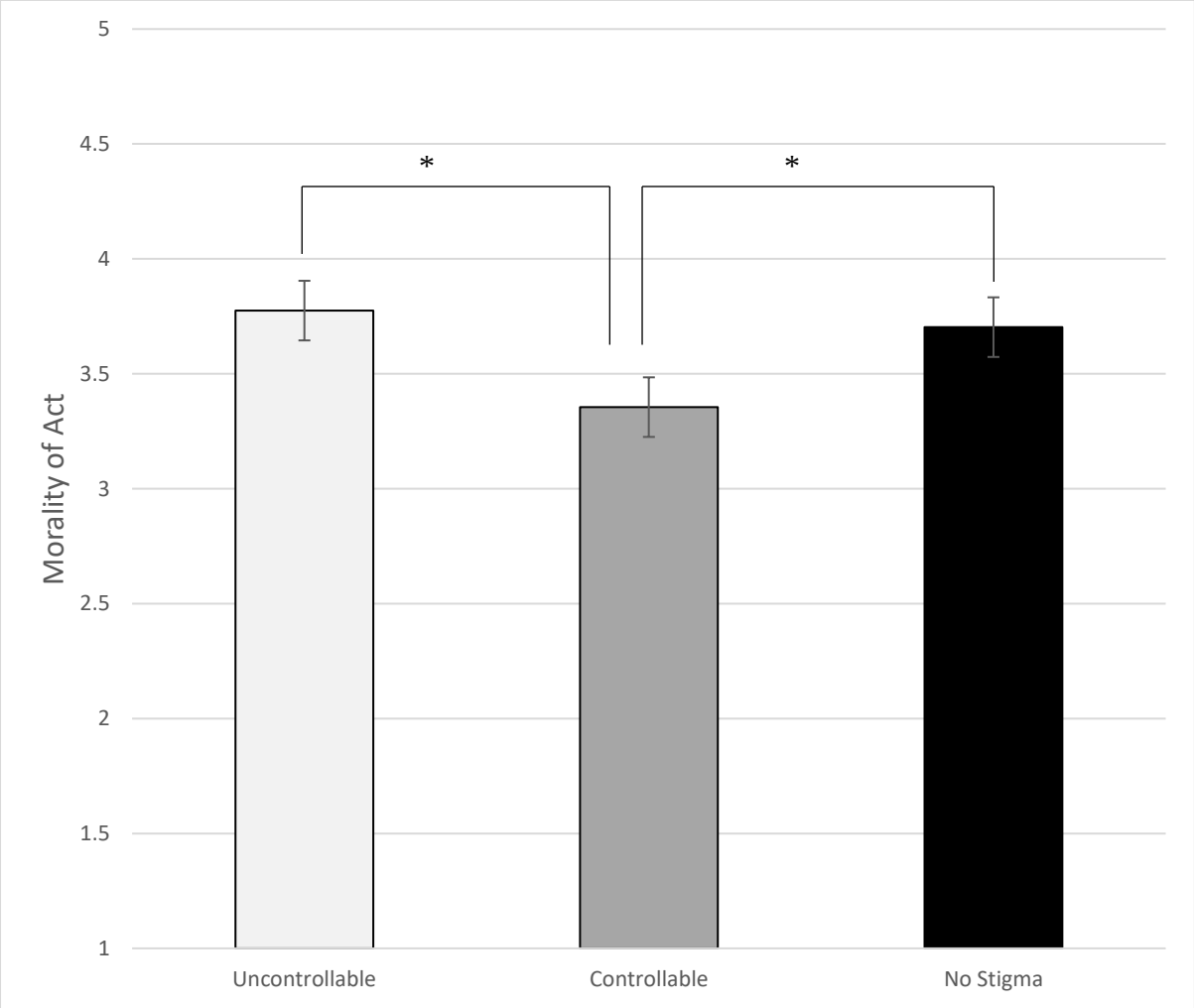

Figure 12. Main effect of Type of Stigma on perceived Morality of Act. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Act: 1-7 (bipolar items).

Table 15
Means and Standard Errors of Morality of Act by Types of Stigma

	M	*SE*
Uncontrollable	3.70	0.10
Controllable	3.36	0.10
No Stigma	3.70	0.10

Morality of Person: Our GLM showed no significant main effect of Role on the perceived morality of the person and no interaction (all *F*s <2, all *p*s >.1). There was, however, a significant main effect of Type of Stigma $F(2, 265) = 3.71$, $p = .008$, $\eta p^2 = .03$.

Pairwise comparisons showed that the transgressor with uncontrollable stigma ($M = 3.65$, $SE = .20$) was evaluated as more moral than the person with controllable ($M=2.89$, $SE = .21$) stigma (Mean Difference = .76, $p = .004$) and that transgressors with no stigma ($M = 3.42$, $SE = .20$) were thought of as more moral than those with controllable ones. Participants also regarded those with no stigma ($M = 3.42$, $SE = .20$) as more moral than those with controllable sitgma ($M=2.89$, $SE = .21$) (Mean Difference = .53, $p = .024$).

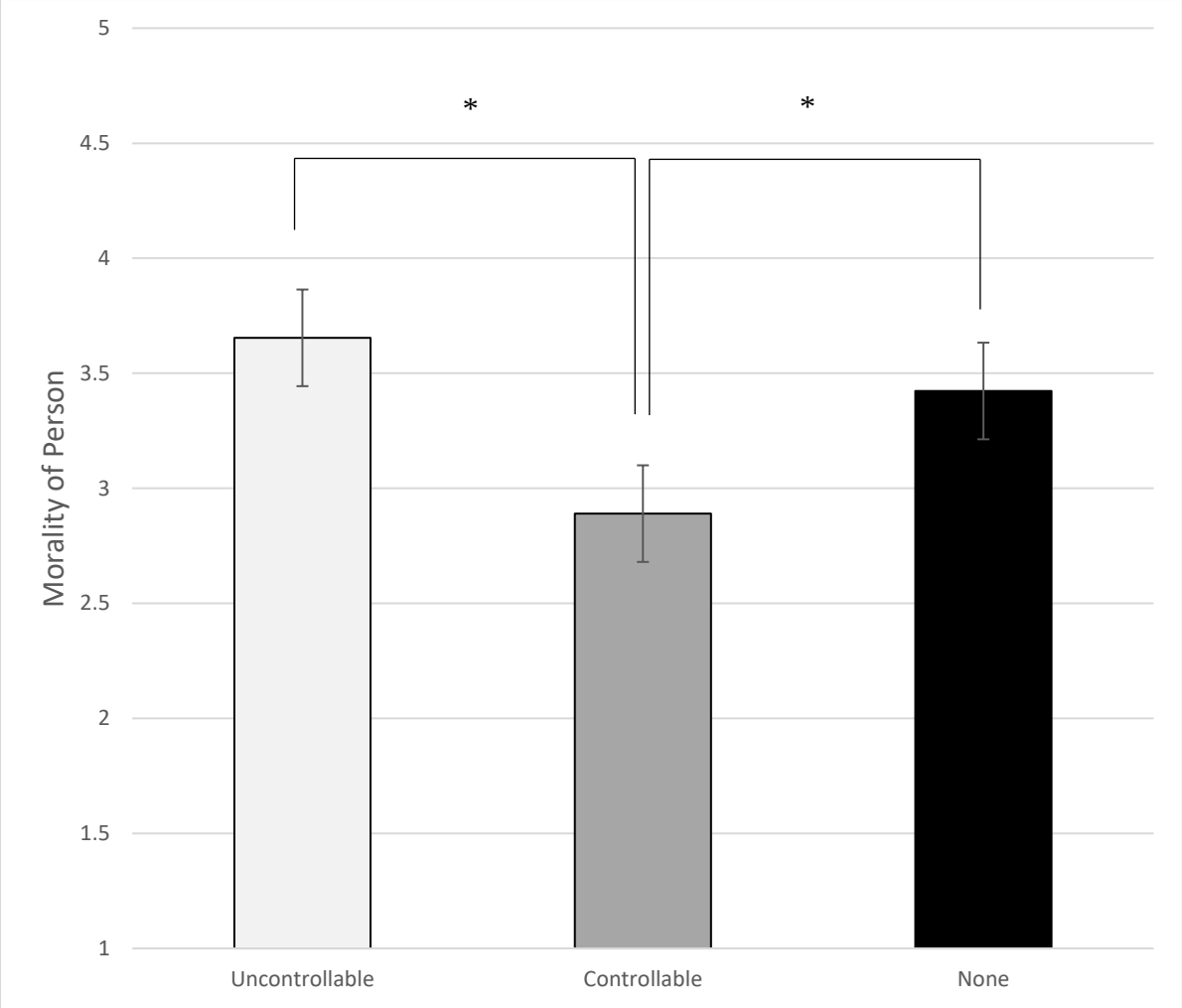

Figure 13. Main effect of Type of Stigma on perceived Morality of Person. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Person: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 16
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person by Type of Stigma

	M	SE
Uncontrollable	3.65	0.20
Controllable	2.89	0.21
No Stigma	3.42	0.20

Moral Responsibility: There was no significant main effect of Role and Type of Stigma on MR (all *F*s <2, all $p > .05$). There was, however, a significant interaction between Role and Type of Stigma $F(2, 207) = 4.12$, $p = .031$, $\eta p^2 = .03$**.** Pairwise comparisons showed that when the leader was transgressive, participants felt more morally responsible in the

controllable condition

(M = 3.94, SE = .16) than the no stigma condition (M = 3.33, SE = .17) and uncontrollable condition (M = 3.08, SE = .16). When the member was transgressive, participants felt more morally responsible in the uncontrollable stigma condition (M = 3.41, SE = .19) than the controllable (M = 3.27, SE = .20) and no stigma (M = 3.08, SE = .18) conditions.

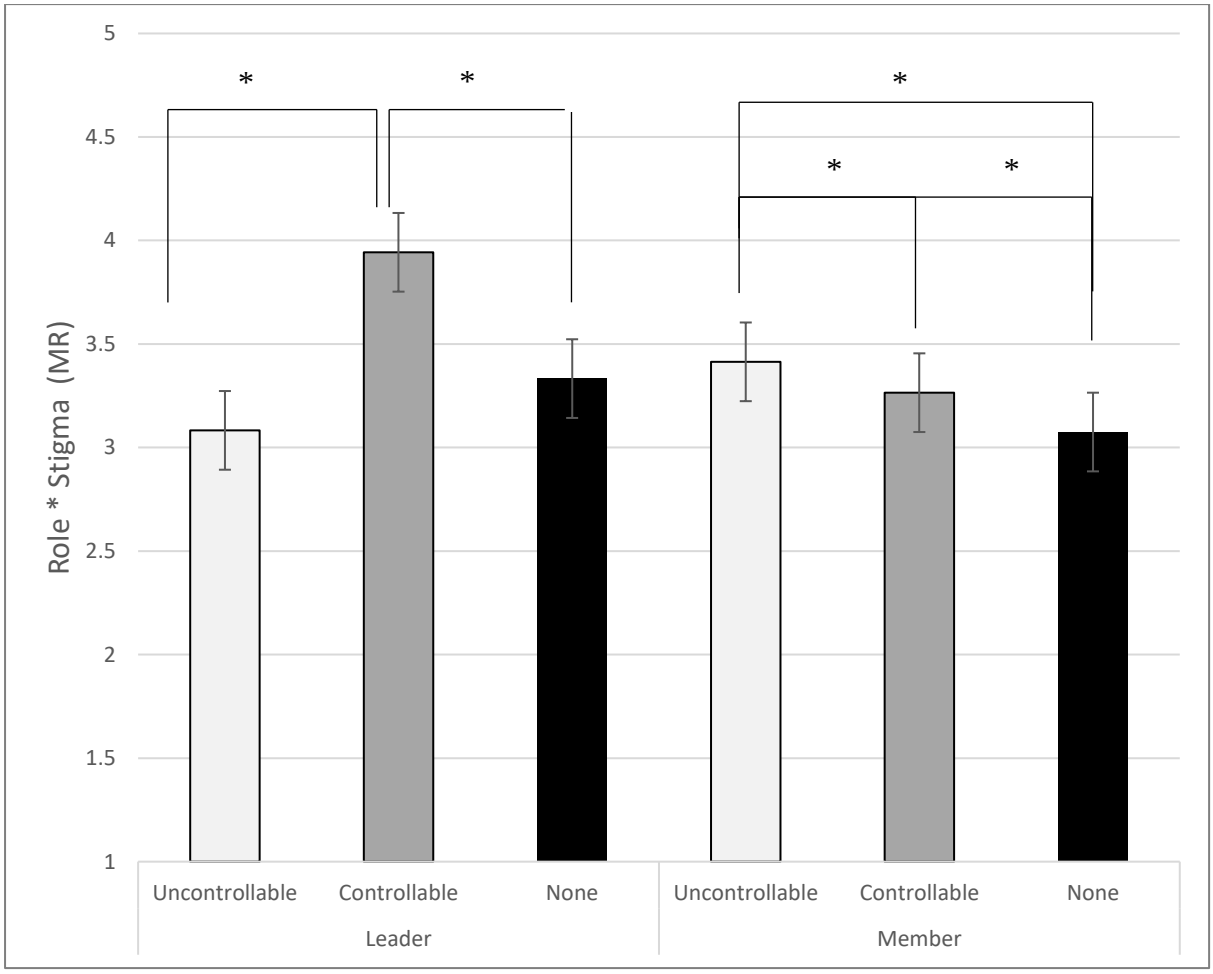

Figure 14. Interaction between Role and Type of Stigma for Moral Responsibility. Error bars represent standard error. Moral Responsibility: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale.

Table 17
Means and Standard Errors for Moral Responsibility by Role and Type of Stigma

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	SE	M	SE	M	SE
Leader	3.08	0.16	3.94	0.16	3.33	0.17
Member	3.41	0.19	3.27	0.20	3.08	0.17

Guilt: There was a significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Guilt $F(2, 215) = 5.03$, $p = .001$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Pairwise comparisons showed that participants felt more guilty in the no stigma condition ($M = 3.33$, $SE = .14$) compared to the controllable stigma condition ($M = 2.59$, $SE = .14$). All other comparisons were non-significant (all Fs < 2, all ps >.1).

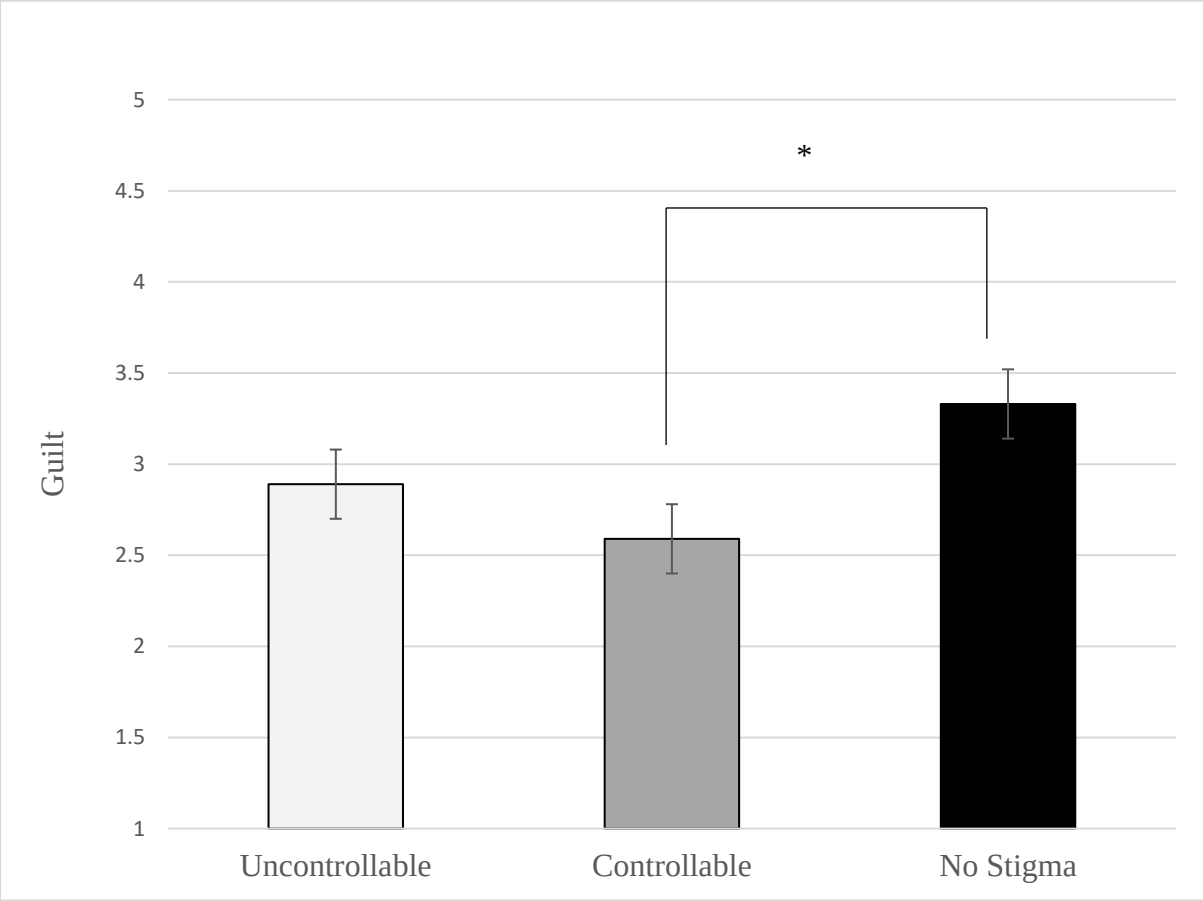

Figure 15. Main effect of Type of Stigma on Guilt. Error bars represent standard error. Moral Responsibility: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale.

Table 18
Means and Standard Errors for Guilt by Type of Stigma

	M	SE
Uncontrollable	2.89	0.19
Controllable	2.59	0.14
No Stigma	3.33	0.14

Causal Responsibility: There was no main effect of Role and Type of Stigma on CR and no interaction (all *F*s <1, all *p*s >.1).

4.3.4. Regression & Mediations

In chapter 2, we observed that evaluations predicted the perceived morality of the transgressor, through guilt. We attempted to replicate this effect using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4; 10.000 bootstraps) with evaluations as the predictor, guilt as the mediator and morality of person as the outcome. The model significantly explained morality of person $F(2, 262) = 249.36$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .66$ and explained 81% of the variance. Guilt significantly mediated the association between evaluations and morality of person: mediator's indirect effect: $b = .36$, $SE = .05$, $t = 7.49$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.26, .45]; total effect: $b = 1.15$, $SE = .06$, $t = 19.13$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.03, 1.26]; direct effect: $b = .89$, $SE = .06$, $t = 13.72$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.76, 1.01]. That is, the higher the evaluation of the transgressor, the higher the experience of guilt and in turn, the higher the perceived morality of the perpetrator (Figure 16 & Table 19).

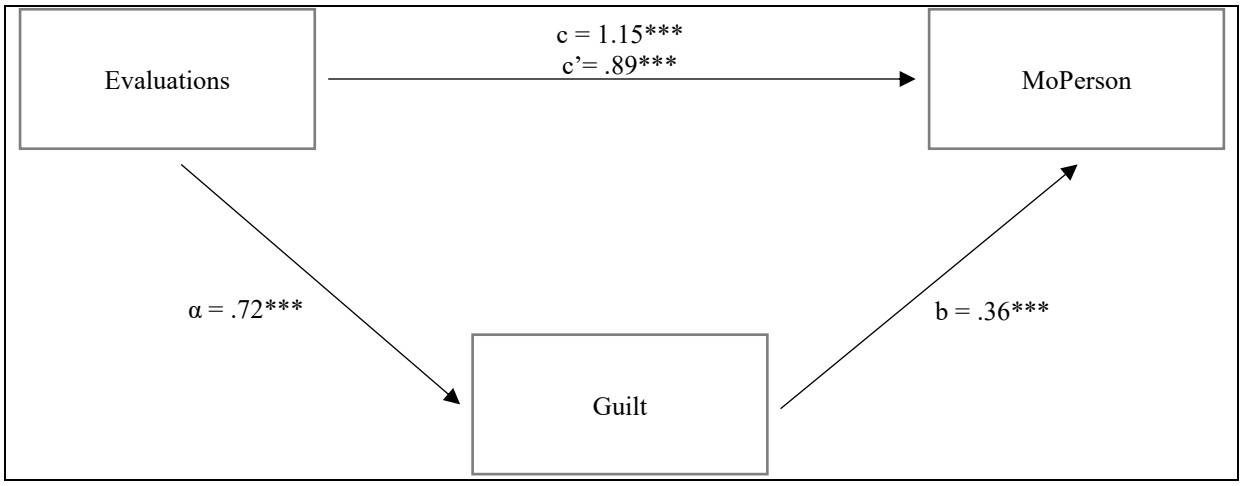

Figure 16. Mediation model of the relationship between Evaluations and Morality of Person, mediated by Guilt. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

Table 19
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person, Guilt and Evaluations of Transgressor.

	Uncontrollable		Controllable		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
MoPerson	3.60	0.18	2.90	0.16	3.43	0.19
Guilt	2.83	0.14	2.58	0.13	3.32	0.16
Evaluations-Transgressor	3.85	0.10	3.23	0.11	3.69	0.11

Table 20
Correlations between Morality of Person and Evaluations of Transgressor

	Guilt	MoPerson
MoPerson	.64***	
Evaluations-Transgressor	.56***	.76***

Prototypicality: Given that our results showed that there was no main effect of Role on perceived prototypicality, we wanted to further explore the relationship between the data. For that reason, we ran Bivariate correlations between perceived prototypicality and the rest of the dependent measures. For the sake of parsimony, we focused on correlations that were above .4 –these are presented in the table below (Table 21).

Table 21
Correlations between Morality of Person, Evaluations of Transgressor, Conferral, Prototypicality (Proto), Stereotypicality (Schyns & van Knippenberg measures) and Morality of Act

	Guilt	MPerson	Evaluations	Conferral	Proto	SteroSchyns
Conferral	.60***	.78***	.59***			
Proto	.51***	.77***	.58***	.69***		
StereoSchyns	NS	.67***	.59***	.59***	.64***	
StereoVK	.51***	.78***	.66***	.62***	.77***	.61***
MAct	NS	.58***	NS	.51***	NS	NS

Correlations significant at $p < .05$*, $p < .01$**, $p < .001$***

Looking at the correlations, it is clear that prototypciality was most highly correlated morality of person (r (146) = .77). To further examine the relationship between the variables, we ran a linear regression with morality of person as the predictor and prototypicality as the outcome. Perceived morality of the transgressor significantly predicted prototypicality: $F(1, 147)$ =

214.05, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .60$. Therefore, the higher the perceived morality of the transgressor, the higher their perceived prototypicality. Possible explanations for this effect are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Stereotypicality: Earlier in this chapter, we also proposed that the endorsement of a stigmatised member into an otherwise normative group may stimulate re-evaluations of the group across a number of variables. At the same time, we proposed that the relative responsibility the stigmatised member carries for their stigma (manipulation) may pose a threat to the values of the group and affect evaluations. We tested the assumption that evaluations of the transgressor were affected by their perceived stereotypicality in two separate linear regressions. First, we used the first stereotypicality measure (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2005) measure as a predictor and evaluations as the outcome. Evaluations were significantly predicted by stereotypicality: F (1, 205) = 156.03, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = 43$ and explained 66% of the variance. The same procedure was applied for the second stereotypicality measure (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) which was used as the predictor in a linear regression with evaluations as the outcome. The model significantly explained Evaluations F (1, 205) = 109.31, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = 35$ and explained 59% of the variance.

In exploring the data further, we run two separate mediation analysis using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4; 10,000 bootstraps). For the first mediation, we used the first measure of stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2005) as the predictor, Evaluations as the outcome and Guilt as the mediator. The model significantly explained Evaluations F (2, 204) =88.71, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .47$ and explained 68% of the variance. Guilt significantly mediated the association between stereotypicality and evaluations: mediator's indirect effect: $b = .18$, $SE = .06$, $t = 9.19$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.08, .27]; total effect: $b = .70$, $SE = .06$, $t = 12.49$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.59, .81]; direct effect: $b = .58$, $SE = .06$, $t = 9.19$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.46, .71].

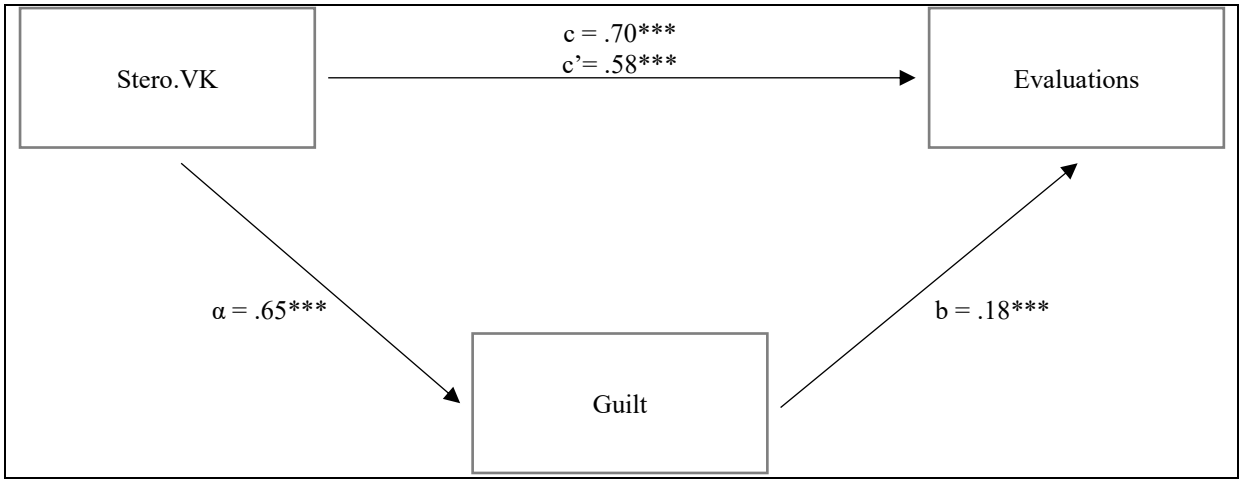

Figure 17. Mediation model of the relationship between Stereotypicality (VK) and Evaluations, mediated by Guilt. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

For the second mediation, we used the second measure of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) as the predictor, Evaluations as the outcome and Guilt as the mediator. The model significantly explained Evaluations F (1, 205) = 109.31, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .35$ and explained 59% of the variance. Guilt significantly mediated the association between stereotypicality and guilt: mediator's indirect effect: $b = .27$, $SE = .05$, $t = 5.68$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.17, .36]; total effect: $b = .51$, $SE = .05$, $t = 10.46$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.42, .61]; direct effect: $b = .41$, $SE = .05$, $t = 8.36$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.31, .51].

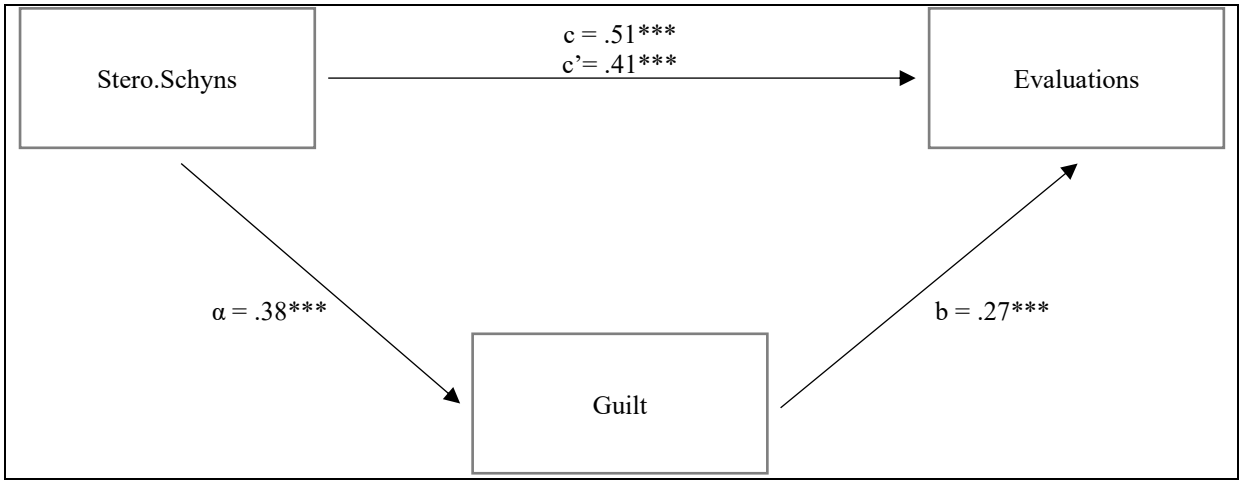

Figure 18. Mediation model of the relationship between Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schillings, 2011) and Evaluations, mediated by Guilt. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.**$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

Our correlations showed that measures of stereotypicality, prototypicality and morality of person were all highly correlated with evaluations. We wanted to explore the relationships between the data further and so, ran separate regressions and mediations.

Table 22
Correlations between Morality of Person, Evaluations, Prototypicality and Stereotypicality (both measures).

	MPerson	Evaluations	Proto	SteroSchyns
MoPerson				
Ev. Transgressive	.77***			
Proto	.77***	.58***		
StereoSchyns	.67***	.59***	.64***	
StereoVK	.78***	.66***	.77***	.61***

Given that the highest correlation was between the Platow & van Knippenberg (2001) stereotypicality measure and the Morality of Person, we first ran a simple linear regression with Stereotypicality and the predictor and Morality of Person as the outcome. Stereotypicality significantly explained morality of person $F(1, 263) = 399.34$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .60$. In turn, we ran a linear regression with stereotypicality as the predictor and evaluations as the outcome. Stereotypicality significantly explained evaluations $F(1, 308) = 288.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .48$. Accordingly, we looked at the relationship between morality of person and evaluations in a simple linear regression with morality of person as the predictor and evaluations as the outcome. Morality of person significantly explained evaluations $F(1, 263) = 3.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .58$.

Given these results we ran a mediation analysis using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4; 10,000 bootstraps) with Stereotypicality as the predictor, Morality of Person as the mediator and Evaluations as the outcome. The model significantly explained evaluations $F(2, 262) = 204.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .61$ and accounted for 78% of the variance. Morality of person significantly mediated the relationship between stereotypicality and evaluations: mediator's indirect effect: $b = .37$, $SE = .04$, $t = 9.14$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.29, .45]; total effect:

b = .70, *SE* = .04, *t* = 15.72, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.61, .79]; direct effect: *b* = .26, *SE* = .06, *t* = 4.26, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.14, .38].

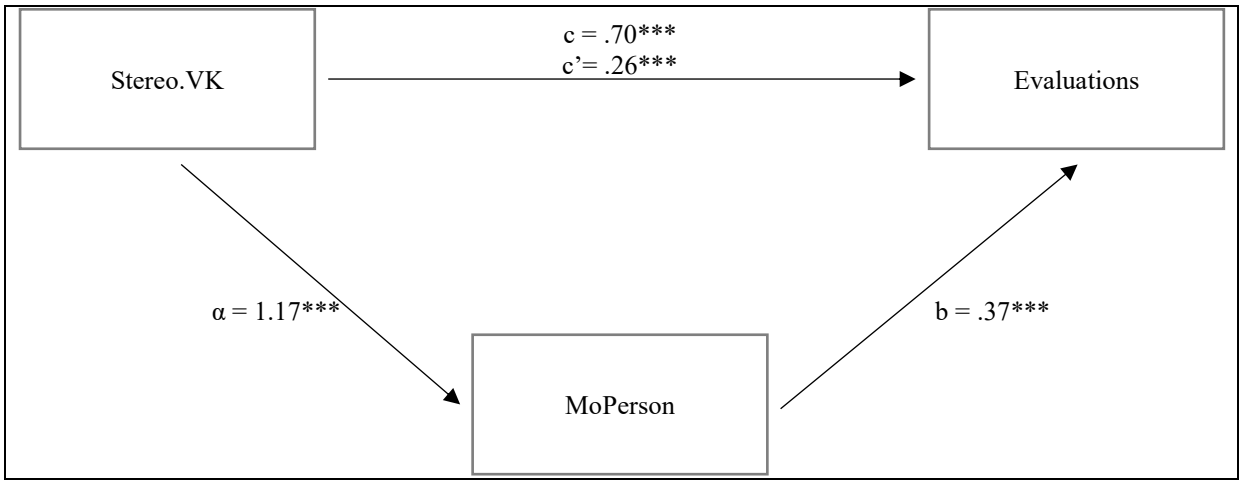

Figure 19. Mediation model of the relationship between Stereotypicality (VK) and Evaluations, mediated by Morality of Person. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* **p* < .05. ***p* < .01 ****p* < .001.

We applied the same process to the second measure of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011). So, we ran a mediation using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4; 10,000 bootstraps) with Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) as the predictor, Evaluations as the outcome and Morality of Person as the mediator. The model significantly explained evaluations *F* (2, 262) = 229.00, *p* < .001, ηp^2 = .63 and explained 80% of the variance. Morality of Person significantly mediated the association between Stereotypicality and Evaluations: mediator's indirect effect: *b* = .37, *SE* = .03, *t* = 11.44, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.31, .44]; total effect: *b* = .56, *SE* = .04, *t* = 14.80, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.48, .63]; direct effect: *b* = .25, *SE* = .04, *t* = 6.25, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.17, .33].

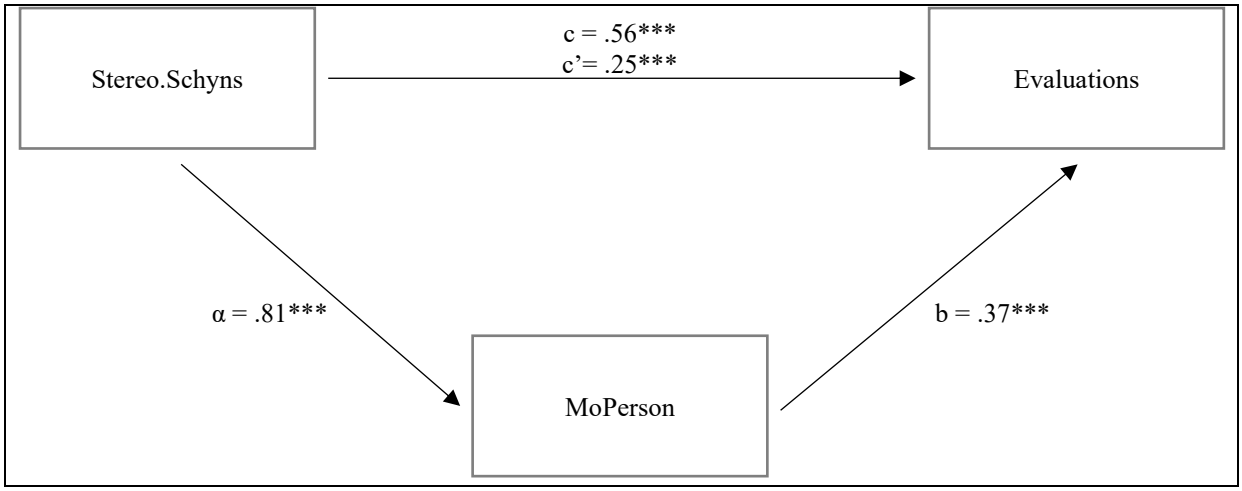

Figure 20. Mediation model of the relationship between Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) and Evaluations, mediated by Morality of Person. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

As prototypicality and stereotypicality were highly correlated, we applied the same process using prototypicality as the predictor. That is, we used Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4; 10,000 bootstraps) to run a mediation with Prototypicality as the predictor, Morality of Person as the mediation and Evaluations as the outcome. The model significantly explained evaluations F (2, 222) = 183.35, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .59$ and explained 77% of the variance. Morality of person significantly mediated the relationship between prototypicality and evaluations. Mediator's indirect effect: $b = .41$, $SE = .04$, $t = 9.63$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [36, .49]. total effect: $b = .44$, $SE = .03$, $t = 13.93$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.38, .50]; direct effect: $b = .13$, $SE = 04$, $t = 3.25$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.05, .22]

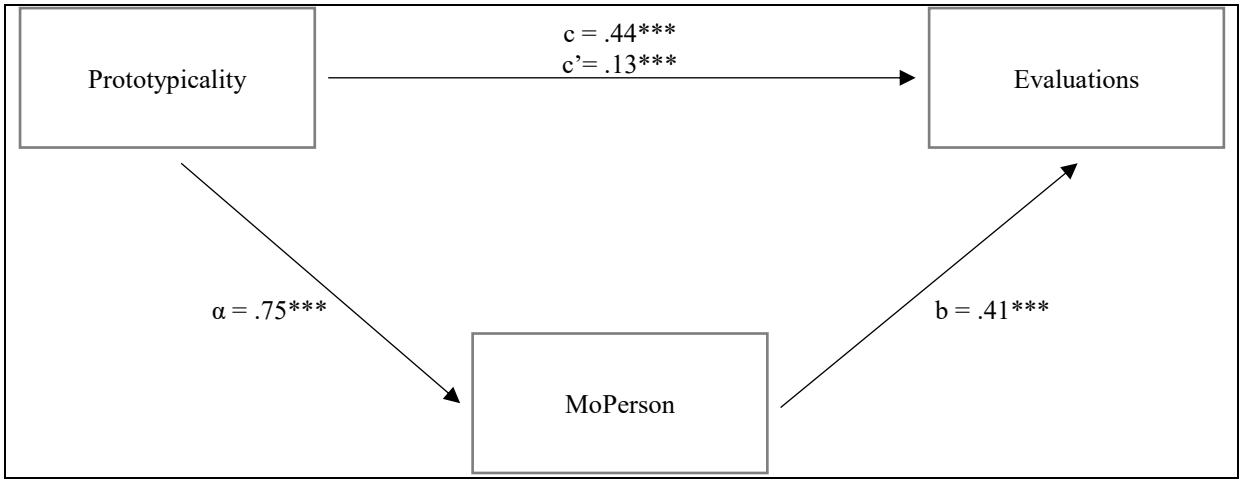

Figure 21. Mediation model of the relationship between Prototypicality (VK) and Evaluations, mediated by Morality of Person. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* **p* < .05. ***p* < .01 ****p* < .001.

The above findings showed a pattern of evaluations whereby, perceptions of prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted evaluations either through the perceived morality of the transgressor *or* the experience of group-based guilt. Morality of Person and Guilt were also highly correlated (*r* (175) = .63).

Earlier in this thesis, we mentioned that psychological research emphasises morality as a core evaluative component and an integral part of the self (e.g., Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007; Strohminger & Nichols, 2014). Accordingly, people prefer to attach themselves to groups that uphold moral standards (Bozeman & Ellemers, 2014; Ellemers & van den Bos, 2012; Leach, Ellemers & Barreto, 2007). Truly, moral-norm violations are more threatening to the self than competency-based violations (e.g., Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi & Cherubini, 2011; Gino, Kouchaki & Galinsky, 2015; Schnall, Haidt, Clore & Jordan, 2008).

Given such empirical findings, we decided to include several measures of morality in our examinations. These included moral responsibility (MR), the morality of the transgressor's act (*morality of act)* and the morality of the transgressor (*morality of person*).

Moral responsibility has herein been used to mean that group members accept responsibility for the in-group's wrongdoings which motivates them to engage in behaviours

that favour the victim group (the out-group)- in the sense of moral duty (Radzik, 2001). In that way, MR encourages reparatory actions on the between-group level. Similarly, the experience of group-based guilt also derives from the understanding and acceptance of the in-group's wrongdoings and can also lead to reparatory actions: both at the group *and* at the individual level. Given that our comparisons mostly emphasised evaluations of the transgressor (and not between-group comparisons), we chose to merely focus on the morality of the transgressor and group-based guilt as a mediators.

The implications of these findings are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

4.4.Discussion

This study examined the effect of stigma and its perceived controllability on the evaluations of transgressive leaders and members. Overall, it appears that stigma controllability affected participants' judgments on a variety of dependent measures. Specifically, participants seemed to evaluate those with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma more positively (almost equally positively-no significant difference) than those with controllable stigma. This is in line with our initial predictions. This finding is important given that those with uncontrollable stigma received an advantage in evaluations (compared to those with controllable stigma). It is arguable that attributions of responsibility can veer participants' judgments away from the transgression itself and instead shift the focus on the stigma.

Take for example the case of Oscar Pistorius, which was discussed earlier in this thesis. One of the focal arguments in his trial was that due to his physical disability, Pistorius would be unable to serve prison time (Duggan, 2014). However, as Harvey (2015) mentions, Pistorius' disability had never previously been portrayed as an impediment to his ability: he was in fact called, the 'supercrip'. Yet, this depiction of him shifted during his trial- from the 'supercrip' to the 'vulnerable' (Harvey, 2015)- resulting in a reduced sentence. The same pattern of behaviour is evident with cases of mentally ill transgressors: the 'insanity defense'

(Aharoni, Sinott-Armstrong & Kiehl, 2012; Bonnie, 1983; Robinson, 1996) which describes that sentences for crime are often reduced due to mental illness. It is exactly this pattern we observed in our data: when the stigma and its controllability are in focus, the transgression is not. Accordingly, when the transgressor carried an uncontrollable stigma, they were evaluated significantly more positively than when they carried a controllable one, thus indicating that attributions of responsibility for a transgressive act may be affected by the presence of stigma.

However, contrary to our hypotheses, participants' evaluations were not generally affected by role (i.e. leader vs member) but only affected by type of stigma. There was no main effect of role on any of the dependent measures. This finding is surprising, given existing evidence on the double standard in the evaluation of leaders (Abrams, Randlsey de Moura & Travaglino, 2013). Arguably, the presence of stigma may act as a boundary condition for transgression credit *by virtue of role*. We extend our examinations on the role of stigma in our next study (Study 4).

In this study we also observed a main effect of type of stigma on prototypicality. Participants evaluated those with uncontrollable stigma more positively than those with controllable stigma and those with no stigma more positively than those with controllable stigma. There was no significant difference between the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions. This pattern of results replicated for most of our dependent measures, which is further testament to the fact that the inability to attribute controllability for the stigma to the person, almost negated the stigma itself. This could be explained using evidence from the *uncertainty-identity theory*[2] in the context of leadership. Rast, Hogg & Tomory (2015) found

[2] Uncertainty-identity theory: Uncertainty about the self, motivates us to identify with social groups and choose groups that can best protect us from feelings of uncertainty (Grant & Hogg, 2012).

that participants who felt more uncertain about themselves and the future and had high need for cognition, spent more time considering the characteristics of a prospective leader rather than relying on heuristics of prototypicality. At the same time, Niu, Wang & Cheng (2009) showed that typical leaders are generally perceived as: benevolent, authoritarian and moral. It is arguable that in our scenarios, the combination of a) an atypical leader (stigmatised) and b) a leader who could be causally involved in their stigma may have threatened the image of the group (cause for calculated reasoning) and challenged the leader's moral standing. We tested this prediction in a linear regression analysis, which did indeed show that perceived morality of the person predicted perceived prototypicality. In that way, when the leader was perceived to be less prototypical, he/she was also perceived to be less moral (and in turn, evaluated less positively). Still, our analysis is preliminary and future research should attempt to further explore the relationship between perceptions of morality and prototypicality.

Participants also evaluated those with uncontrollable stigma higher in measures of stereotypicality. Also, evaluations were predicted by judgments of stereotypicality which were predicted by guilt. Earlier in this paper, we hypothesised that the endorsement of a stigmatised member into an otherwise normative group may stimulate re-evaluations of the group across a number of variables. At the same time, we proposed that the relative responsibility the stigmatised member carries for their stigma (manipulation) may pose a threat to the values of the group and affect evaluations. It is therefore argued, that group members with controllable stigma threatened the values of the group and were considered the least stereotypical. At the same time, it is possible that when members were not seen as responsible for their own stigma, participants re-evaluated their stereotypical conceptions and/or felt guilty about their existing ones, thus evaluating those with uncontrollable stigma as the most stereotypical. These examinations were merely exploratory in this thesis and so, outside the scope of this line of research. It would be interesting for future research to further

elaborate the relationship between stigma attributions and guilt, especially in the context of leadership.

Also, evaluations of subjects with uncontrollable stigma differed significantly from those of subjects with controllable and uncontrollable stigma. Overall, participants found those with uncontrollable stigma to be more warm, competent, admirable, likeable, approachable, enviable, clever and less disgusting than those with controllable stigma. A similar pattern of evaluations was also evident between those with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma. This confirms our original hypothesis. Our mediation analysis also showed that stigmatization predicted evaluations, through guilt; stigmatization was a significant predictor of guilt and guilt, a significant predictor of evaluations (for more information, see: Results, section: Regressions & Mediations). This is an interesting finding and aligns with our aforementioned explanations of how feelings of guilt encourage re-evaluations.

Type of stigma affected a number of other variables including, Moral Responsibility, Morality of the Act and Morality of the Transgressor. The findings suggest that when an in-group member carries a stigma they are not responsible for (from birth-uncontrollable), other in-group members are less likely to report their actions and more likely to 'turn a blind eye'. On the contrary, when a member carries a stigma that they are seemingly responsible for (controllable stigma), other in-group members are more likely to report their actions and judge them as immoral. This is an interesting finding because of its potential applicability in a wide range of social contexts. For example, in the Oscar Pistorius trial of 2014, lawyers for the defense used Pistorius's disability to minimize responsibility for the murder and his jail sentence. This could have substantial implications when, for example, depending on a jury's decision as well as in any other context that involves assigning responsibility for a transgressive act when the perpetrator is stigmatised.

4.4.1. Limitations

Despite the interesting findings, this study has several limitations. To begin with, in the controllable condition, ascription of responsibility was linked to a negative event (drink-driving accident caused by the subject) rather than a positive or neutral one. However, Walster's (1966) *defensive-attribution hypothesis* shows that the extent to which we attribute responsibility for an accident varies depending on the severity of its effects. In this way, if the effects of an accident are only negative, then responsibility will be more readily be attributed the perpetrator. A meta-analysis of twenty-two relevant studies confirmed this tendency (Burger, 1981). Accordingly, it is argued that assigning responsibility for the stigma to a positive event may alter the outcome of results. We addressed this limitation in our next study (Chapter 4).

Further, in exploring the data, we observed that our second measure of Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and our measure of Prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) both contained items that put emphasis on how 'typical' the leader is. While our analysis did show that a single factor fitted the data for each, we wanted to further explore the relationship between these two measures- we addressed this limitation in Study 4.

5. STUDY 4: VALENCE AND ATTRIBUTIONS

5.1. Background to the Current Study

Our previous three studies explored the effect of controllability attributions on evaluations of transgressive members and leaders. Our first study showed that type of stigma (uncontrollable, semi-controllable, no stigma) significantly affected evaluations of transgressive leaders. Specifically, leaders with controllable stigma (drink-driving) were generally evaluated more negatively than those with uncontrollable stigma (from birth) and

no stigma. The same pattern seemed to apply across a range of variables including, the leader's perceived stereotypicality and prototypicality.

Our first study merely examined transgressive leaders: a limitation that was addressed in Study 2. Accordingly, our second study investigated the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of transgressive members. We found no significant difference in evaluations of members, based on stigma controllability. We proposed that this finding extended the notion of the 'double-standard' in evaluations of transgressive leaders (cf. Chapter 2: Results & Discussion; cf. Hogg, 2001). Specifically, participants did not significantly distinguish between evaluations of transgressive members, irrespective of their stigma (which they did for leaders- Study 1). In order to ensure our proposition was correct, Study 3 combined stigmatised transgressive leaders and members. While the transgressor's role did not significantly affect evaluations (no significant main effect of Role on most of our dependent measures) our findings showed that participants evaluations differed on the basis of controllability attributions.

Our first three studies did not test the effect of valence on evaluations. As mentioned in Chapter 3 controllable stigma was consistently associated with a negative cause and outcome. Given findings that evaluations of an action and responsibility attributions for that action may vary depending on its outcome (negative vs positive) and the perpetrator's intent (positive vs negative) (eg. Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer & Vohs, 2001; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Rozin & Royzman, 2001), we decided to examine the effect of valence in controllability attributions and evaluations of stigmatised leaders.

Interestingly, in Study 2 and Study 3, we observed that the perceived morality of person was highly correlated with all stereotypicality, prototypicality and general evaluations. In exploring the data further, we noticed that all prototypicality and the two stereotypicality

measures predicted evaluations through the morality of the transgressor. These relationships were explored more systematically in this chapter.

Dependent measures for this study were kept constant (same as Studies 1, 2 and 3) with the exception of one of the leader stereotypicality measures (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001), leader prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and one item in the Evaluations measure. Specifically, analyses of our previous data showed that items on the stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) measures were highly correlated and loaded on a single factor. For this reason, we incorporated the two measures into one (further details will be provided later on in this paper- section: Changes in Materials). Additionally, the item 'Honest' from the Evaluations measure was removed because it was thought to emphasise moral traits more than general evaluations. Indeed, our measure for the Morality of the transgressor (adapted from Leach, Ellemers & Baretto, 2007) already contained an item about honesty.

The following section will provide a brief outline of existing findings on the effect of valence on attributions of controllability, causality and intentionality.

5.2. Valence and Attributions.

Behavioural attributions are judged on the basis of controllability, intent and cause (singly or not singly caused acts) (Pizzaro, Ulhmann & Bloom, 2003; Weiner, 1995) so that when a deviant act is perceived as fully controllable, singly caused and intentional, full blame is awarded (Pizzaro, Ulhmann and Bloom, 2003). However, these seem to hold true for acts of negative deviance because research to date has, in its majority, examined attributions in the context of negative, rather than positive deviance (Pizzaro, Ulhmann & Salovey, 2003).

Mitchell and Kalb (1981) asked nurses to evaluate the responsibility a subordinate held for two incidents of poor performance that had either a benign or negative outcome. The

results showed that evaluations of the subordinate were higher in the benign condition, compared to the negative condition. More recently, in a series of studies, Pizzaro, Ulhmann and Salovey (2003) showed that valence (positive vs negative) affected participants' judgments of a perpetrator. Specifically, participants were presented with scenarios of either a positive or negative act (e.g. target gave jacket to homeless person vs smashed the window of a car) and subsequently asked to evaluate the protagonist. Results showed that harsher sanctions were assigned to negative acts, as compared to positive ones. In a similar way, Pillizzoni, Girotto and Surian (2010) presented participants with a vignette that described the chairman of a board informing subordinates of a new programme that would help increase profits. In the positive valence condition, the new programme also helped the environment (positive side-effect) whereas in the negative valence condition, it harmed it (negative side effects). Results showed that participants evaluated the chairman more favourably when the side-effects were positive, as compared to negative. This asymmetry in evaluations seems to apply in a variety of contexts, age groups and across populations (e.g. Alicke, 2008; Leslie, Knobe & Cohen, 2006; Young, Cushman, Adolphs, Tranel & Hauser, 2006).

Overall, it is clear that outcome valence can affect responsibility attributions and general evaluations of the perpetrator. However, the majority of studies in this field, look at valence in attributions in the context of moral blame and moral praise and so, do not focus on evaluations. In that way, while our hypotheses are formed based on existing findings, there is no direct empirical precedent for the effect of valence on evaluations.

The present study examined the effect of valence of the act (positive vs. negative) on evaluations of transgressive stigmatised leaders. It was hypothesised that when the valence of the act is positive, transgressive leaders will be evaluated more positively, perceived as more prototypical, more stereotypical and more moral than in the negative valence condition. It was also hypothesised that participants will award those in the positive valence condition less

causal responsibility for their stigma, find their act (morality of act) more moral and feel less morally responsible than in the negative valence condition.

5.3. Reconsideration of Measures

As mentioned earlier (cf. Background to the current study) this study employed a different measure of prototypicality. The reason underlining this choice was that studies 1,2 and 3 used two measures of leader stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and one measure of leader prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005). When analysing the data for our third study, we noticed that items on the one measure of leader stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and the measure of prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) both focused on how 'typical' or 'representative' the leader was. The stereotypicality measure included the following items: 1) "*the leader acts like a representative member of [in-group]",* 2) *"the leader is a very typical member of [in-group]",* 3) *"the leader shows a lot of loyalty to [in-group]",* 4) *"the leader should definitely continue working at [in-group]" and* 5) *"the leader does an excellent job".* For prototypicality, participants were asked to write down three or more characteristics that made their [in-group] as a whole most distinctive and different from the other groups. They were then asked the following items: 1) *"To what extent does the [leader] have these characteristics and qualities?",* 2) *"To what extent is the [leader] typical of the [ingroup]",* 3) *"How much do you think the [leader] is representative of [in-group]?",* 4) *"To what extent is the [leader] a model member of [in-group]?"*. It is clear, that several of these items overlap: for example, items 1 and 2 on the stereotypicality scale with items 2 and 3 of the prototypicality scale.

To ensure participants understood the difference between the two concepts, we ran correlations between all items (see Table 23) and their aggregate scores. We observed that both the items and their aggregate scores were highly correlated (aggregate scores: $r(270) =$

.769). We then proceeded with a Factor Analysis using Varimax rotation (orthogonal) on all items for both measures. We chose Varimax rotation because it assumes no inter-correlations between components and so, can provide more robust results. The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .93, above the commonly recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (36, 286)= 2731.99, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (27, 286)= 461.25, $p <. 001$.

Accordingly, we created a new measure for prototypicality (Prototypicality Updated) that included all items from the Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) scales. The new measure was used for the purposes of this and our subsequent studies (Appendix E)

Table 23

Correlations between items in the Prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) measures.

	Prototypicality				Stereotypicality			
	1	2	3	4	1B	2B	3B	4B
2. To what extent is [the leader] typical of [in-group]?	.84**							
3. How much do you think the [leader] is representative of [in-group]?	.85**	.93**						
4. To what extent is the [leader] a model member of [in-group]?	.85**	.88**	.89**					
1B. The [leader] acts like a representative member of the [in-group]	.64**	.68**	.69**	.68**				
2B. The [leader] is very typical [in-group] member	.69**	.75**	.75**	.73**	.81**			
3B. The [leader] shows a lot of loyalty to the [in-group]	.52**	.49**	.50**	.47**	.62**	.57**		
4B. The [leader] should definitely continue working at the [in-group]	.63**	.65**	.66**	.67**	.76**	.73**	.59**	
5B. The [leader] does an excellent job	.64**	.65**	.68**	.68**	.77**	.72**	.65**	.83**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

5.4.Method

Participants

307 participants were collected using the online crowdsourcing website Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Each participant was given 1USD for their participation. Amongst participants, 140 (45.6%) were male and 164 female (53.4%) while 3 participants did not wish to respond to the question. 239 participants (77.9%) were Caucasian/White, 13 were Hispanic (4.2%), 28 were Black (9.1%), 21 Asian (6.8%) and 3 mixed race (1%). 3 participants did not wish to respond to the question. Participants' age ranged from 18 to 73. One participant did not report their age correctly (i.e. made a typing error). From the remaining 306 participants, the mean age was Mage = 37.09, *SE* = 11. 57

Participants were also asked if they had any long-term illness or disability. 39 participants (12.7%) declared they had some kind of impairment, 244 (79.5%) did not and 24 (7.8%) did not wish to respond. Of those with a disability, 2 had a learning impairment (0.7%), 8, a mental impairment (2.6%), 22 a physical impairment (7.2%), 5 another type of impairment (1.6%) and 2 preferred not to say (0.7%). Amongst participants, 20 (6.5%) reported that they had no contact with disability in the last year, 105 (34.2%) that they had very little contact, 97 (31.6%) some contact, 44 (14.3%) a lot, 17 (5.5%) a great deal. 24 (7.8%) did not wish to respond to the question. Of those who declared contact with disability, the majority found that contact generally pleasant (*M* = 5.14 on a 1 (*unpleasant*)-7 (pleasant) Likert Scale).

Procedure and Materials

A survey was designed using the online software, Qualtrics. The survey was then linked to and made available on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk). Subscribers to Amazon's MTurk could then view a brief description of the study and take part. They were rewarded 1USD for completing the survey.

Participants were first asked to complete a consent form. The consent form included a brief introduction to the study and information about how their data would be used (eg. Anonymity). Only participants who fully consented (i.e. had read the information provided to them, understood their data would be anonymous and understood they could withdraw from the study at any point) could continue to the survey.

Participants that gave their consent were then asked their demographic information (age, ethnicity, gender), whether they had any form of disability and whether or not they had any contact with disability during the last year. This information was important because we wanted to examine whether direct or close experience with disability could affect the outcome of results.

Once these measures were completed, participants were presented with a brief introductory passage that asked them to imagine a soccer team that represented their college or university. They were then informed that their team had made it to the top four places of the national competitions and the next match was crucial for remaining in the top 4. The realm of soccer was chosen not only due to its cross-cultural relevance and global reach but also as it facilitated meeting the conditions necessary for examining transgression credit; namely, a) an unexpected and atypical behaviour, b) a clear breach of rules and c) the role of the transgressor relative to the group (leader). In order to enhance participants' identification with the team, they were also asked to write down their team's and their rival team's names and uniform colours, information which was then embedded into the scenario and subsequent dependent measures.

The scenario described an important soccer match where in the in-group team (embedded text from participants' responses) was striving to maintain the 4th position on the rank in a game against its main rival (outgroup team-embedded text). During the game, the stigmatised (type of stigma varied according to condition) leader asked a player of the team

to “take a dive and get a penalty” as well as “try to send one of the (outgroup) players off the field” –two clear breaches of rules (transgressions).

Participants were randomly assigned to conditions. Stigmatisation conditions included: Uncontrollable stigma, Semi-Controllable Stigma or Fully Controllable stigma. In this study, we replaced the No Stigma condition with ‘Fully Controllable’: in this condition, the leader was portrayed as using a wheelchair not because of necessity but because of preference (i.e. did not currently have a stigma but did have a stigmatising attribute-the wheelchair). We manipulated valence by describing either a positive or negative event that led to the stigma. In the semi-controllable stigma condition, the leader had acquired their stigma because they were *climbing a tree trying to put food out for birds and slipped* (positive valence). In the negative valence condition, the leader had acquired their stigma because they were involved in a drink-and-drive accident. In the uncontrollable stigma condition, stigma was attributed to a birth defect and therefore valence could not be manipulated in the same way. So, in the uncontrollable stigma condition, positive valence was manipulated as *‘The [leader] …has had to use a wheelchair from very early on because of a birth defect. [The leader] often spends quite a lot of spare time putting food out for birds, among other things”*. Negative valence in the uncontrollable stigma condition, was manipulated as: *“[The leader] … has had to use a wheelchair from very early on because of a birth defect. [The leader] likes driving but often times drives after drinking alcohol”.* The same manipulation was used in the fully controllable stigma condition (Appendix F)

Dependent Measures:

Evaluations: Using a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely), participants rated how warm, competent, admirable, likeable, approachable, pitiable, disgusting, enviable and clever the transgressive and normative members were (adapted from Fiske et al., 2002). The items formed a reliable scale at $\alpha = .89$.

Leader Prototypicality: Using a 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely) Likert-scale, participants responded to a measure of leader prototypicality. This measure combined items from our earlier leader stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and leader prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) measures. As explained earlier, both items seemed to tap on how 'typical' the leader was, with not much differentiation between items. Our earlier analyses (section: Reconsideration of Measures) confirmed that items in the two measures were highly correlated and showed that a number of items loaded on the same factor. Those items were combined and the resulting measure was used to assess leader prototypicality (for more details, see section: Changes in Materials). The updated scale included 8 items and was reliable at $\alpha = .95$

Leader Stereotypicality: Using a 1(Not at all) to 7 (completely) scale, participants responded to a measure of leader stereotypicality scale, adapted from Schyns & Schilling (2011). The measure consisted of 8 items and was reliable at $\alpha = .93$.

Conferral Items: The measure adapted from Abrams, de Moura and Travaglino (2013) was kept constant and was reliable at $\alpha = .86$ for the transgressive leader.

Moral Responsibility: The measure (adapted from: Zimmermann, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead, 2011) was kept constant and was reliable at $\alpha = .93$ for the transgressive leader.

Causal Responsibility (CR): Using a 1(Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree) Likert-scale, participants completed measures of Causal Responsibility that were adapted from Zimmermann, Abrams, Doosje & Manstead (2011) and contained 6 items. Items three (*It's the type of person Pat is*) and six (*He feels hatred for the team*) were reverse-coded. The resulting reliability analysis showed the scale reliable at $\alpha = .57$. The analysis also showed that excluding item six would increase the overall reliability. Given that item six may be triggering a focus on emotions (rather than assessing CR), it was deleted. The resulting reliability was $\alpha = .63$.

Morality of the Act: The measure, adapted from Killen, Rutland, Abrams, Mulvey & Hitti (2013) and contained four items. The third item on the scale (*The transgressive leader's behaviour does not bother me at all/bothers me a lot)* was reverse-coded. The scale was reliable at α= .67. The reliability analysis indicated that removing item four [*The (transgressive leader's) behaviour would be no surprise/surprising to the (normative member)]* would increase the overall reliability. Since item three taps into perspective-taking by asking the participant to evaluate someone else's reaction, it was removed. The resulting reliability was α = .84.

Morality of the Transgressor: The scale, adapted from Leach, Ellemers & Baretto (2007) was kept constant. The scale was reliable at α = .94 for the leader.

Causality of Stigma: Using a 1 to 7 bipolar scale, participants completed a measure of the perceived causality of stigma. The scale was adapted from Caprara, Pastorelli and Weiner (1997) and contained three items. The scale was realiable at α = .86.

Gender: Participants were also asked to state what they thought the gender of the leader and member were. They had three options for each: male, female and unsure.

Open-Ended Questions: Finally, participants were asked to note their feelings and views about Pat in an open-ended format. The responses were taken into consideration alongside the statistical analysis.

5.5.Results

5.5.1. Analytic Strategy

We first conducted factor analyses using SPSS to ensure that items on the prorotypicality (updated measure), stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) and conferral (Abrams, de Moura & Travaglino, 2013) measures loaded on a single factor. We then used SPSS GLM on all dependent measures and unless stated otherwise, these were 2-way ANOVAs involving 2

between participants variables in a 3 (Stigma: Uncontrollable, Semi-Controllable, Fully-Controllable) x 2(Valence: Positive vs Negative) design.

Based on the results of the GLM, we then conducted a set of mediations using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4). The results of our mediations then provided the theoretical basis for an SEM model. We tested our proposed SEM model using MPlus 2.0.

So, the results section of this chapter is separated as follows: 1. Factor analyses, 2. GLM, 3. Regressions and mediations and 4. SEM

5.5.2. Factor Analyses

All factor analyses used Maximum Likelihood and Promax Rotation. For the sake of parsimony, these will not be repeated below.

Prototypicality: The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .95, above the commonly recommended value of .6 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 286) = 2012.18, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (20, 286) = 44.53, $p < .001$

Stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011)**:** The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .92, and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 285) = 1785.58 $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (20, 285) = 137.14 $p < .001$

Conferral: The analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. The KMO measure of sampling adequeacy was .77 and Bartlett's test of sphrericity was significant at χ^2 (6, 284) = 566.50, $p < .001$. The factor was retained at χ^2 (2, 284) = 25.45, $p < .001$

5.5.3. GLM

In order to examine the effects of Valence and Type of stigma on the dependent variables, we created a factor with two levels for Valence (1: Positive, 2: Negative) and another factor with three levels for the Type of stigma (1: Uncontrollable Stigma, 2: Semi-controllable stigma, 3:

Fully Controllable). We conducted a GLM to test the effect of Valence and Type of Stigma on Prototypicality, Stereotypicality, Conferral, Evaluations, Morality of the act, Morality of the Transgressor, Moral Responsibility Causal Responsibility and Causality of Stigma.

Table 24. *Means and Standard Errors for all dependent variables by Valence and Type of Stigma*

		Uncontrollable		Semi-Controllable		Fully-controllable	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Prototypicality	Positive	2.80	0.15	3.11	0.15	2.99	0.16
	Negative	2.90	0.15	2.49	0.16	2.41	0.16
Stereotypicality	Positive	4.31	0.20	4.88	0.17	4.51	0.20
	Negative	4.36	0.19	3.79	0.20	3.71	0.20
Morality of Person	Positive	2.99	0.23	3.90	0.23	3.30	0.23
	Negative	3.14	0.22	2.90	0.23	2.75	0.24
Causal Responsibility	Positive	2.79	0.10	2.98	0.10	2.97	0.10
	Negative	2.96	0.10	2.76	0.10	2.60	0.11
Evaluations	Positive	3.67	0.18	3.94	0.18	3.94	0.18
	Negative	3.55	0.17	3.32	0.18	3.18	0.18
Moral Responsibility	Positive	3.47	0.17	3.32	0.17	3.34	0.17
	Negative	3.49	0.16	3.56	0.17	3.87	0.17
Morality of Act	Positive	3.02	0.19	3.50	0.19	3.09	0.19
	Negative	2.98	0.18	2.81	0.19	2.63	0.19
Conferral	Positive	4.47	0.22	5.04	0.22	4.65	0.22
	Negative	4.44	0.21	4.35	0.22	3.93	0.22

Prototypicality

The analysis revealed no main effect of Type of Stigma on Prototypicality ($F < 1$, $p > .1$). However, there was a main effect of Valence $F(2, 286)=8.64$, $p = .003$, $\eta p^2 = .029$. This was qualified by a significant interaction for Type of Stigma and Valence $F(2, 286) = 3.37$, $p = .044$, $\eta p^2 = .025$.

Pairwise comparisons revealed a significant difference in perceived prototypicality when the leader was associated with positive behaviours ($M = 2.96$, $SE = .09$) compared to negative behaviours ($M = 2.60$, $SE = .09$), (Mean Difference = .36, $p = .003$). Additionally, in the uncontrollable stigma condition the leader was perceived as less prototypical when the valence was positive ($M = 2.80$, $SE = .15$) as compared to negative ($M = 2.90$, $SE = .15$). However, this relationship was not significantly different. In the semi-controllable stigma condition, the leader was perceived more prototypical when the valence was positive ($M = 3.11$, $SE = .15$), compared to when the valence was negative ($M = 2.49$, $SE = .16$) (Mean Difference = 0.62, $p = .007$). In the fully-controllable condition, the leader was perceived as more prototypical in the positive valence condition ($M = 2.99$, $SE = .16$) compared to the negative valence condition ($M = 2.41$, $SE = .16$) (Mean Difference = -0.58, $p = .006$).

Overall, when leaders were represented in positive light (compared to a negative one), participants considered them to be more prototypical. This effect seemed to interact with type of stigma, so that overall, participants evaluated leaders with semi-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior (positive valence) as the most prototypical, followed by leaders with fully-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior. Surprisingly, leaders with uncontrollable stigma who performed a positive behavior were not evaluated more positively than those who had uncontrollable stigma and performed a negative behavior. On the contrary, for the negative valence condition, participants seemed to rate those with

uncontrollable stigma as the most prototypical, followed by those with semi-controllable stigma and fully-controllable stigma.

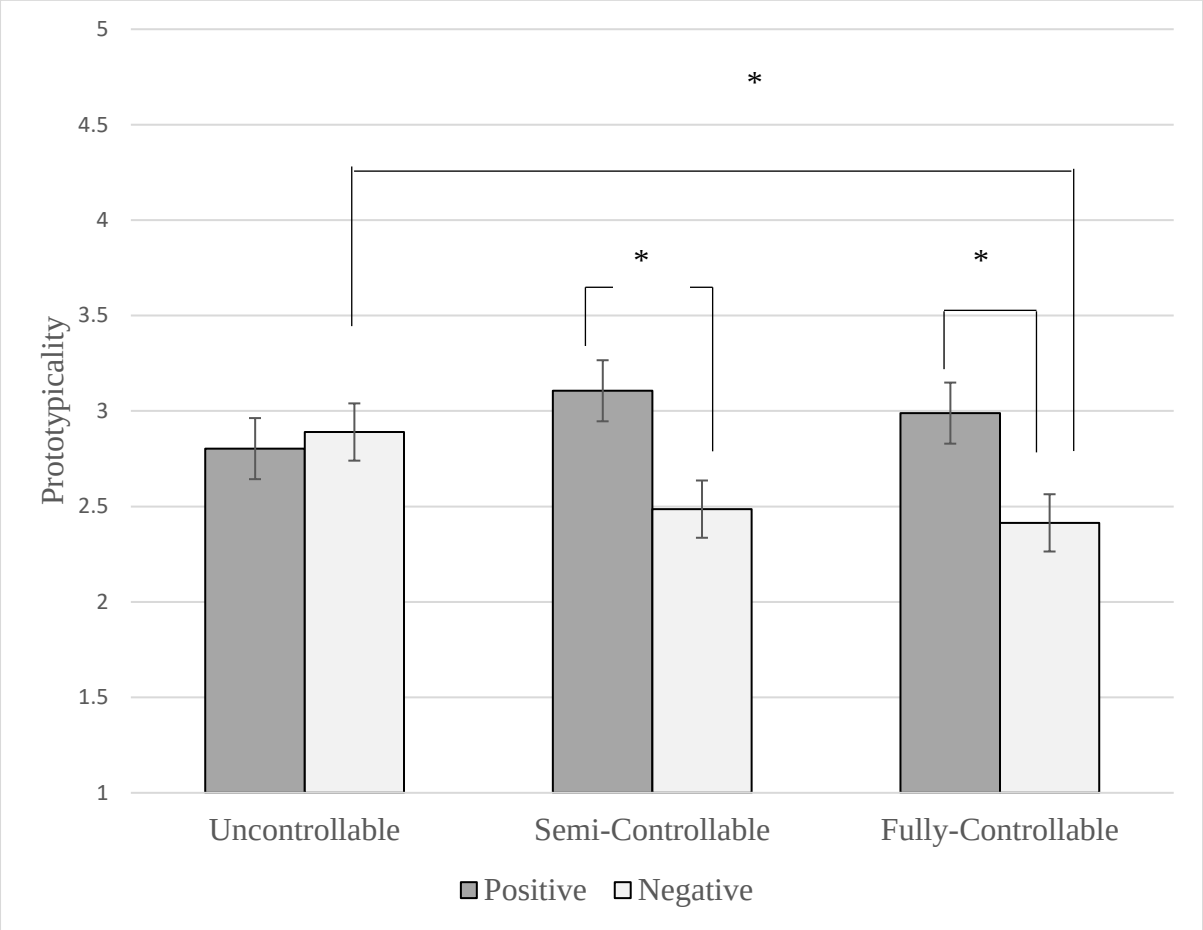

Figure 22. Interaction between Type of Stigma and Valence for Prototypicality. Error bars represent standard error.

Table 25
Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality by Type of Stigma and Valence

	Positive		Negative	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	2.80	0.15	2.90	0.15
Semi-controllable	3.11	0.15	2.49	0.16
Fully-controllable	2.99	0.16	2.41	0.16

The most notable difference in these findings is the evaluation of semi-controllable leaders associated with a positive behavior (M = 3.11, SE = .15), and those associated with a negative one (M = 2.49, SE = .16). In our previous studies, we showed that transgressive leaders with semi-controllable stigma were, overall, perceived as the least prototypical. In this study, transgressive leaders with semi-controllable that were associated with positive behaviours were perceived as the most prototypical. This finding is important because it highlights the significance of valence in attributional processes.

Stereotypicality

Our GLM also revealed no main effect of type of stigma on leader's stereotypicality ($F < 1$, $p > .1$). However, there was a main effect of Valence on leader's Stereotypicality $F(2 , 285) = 14.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .051$**.** This was qualified by an interaction between type of stigma and valence $F(2 , 285) = 4.60$, $p = .011$, $\eta p^2 = .032$.

Pairwise comparisons showed that participants evaluated leaders in the positive valence condition (M = 4.57, SE = .11) as more stereotypical than those in the negative valence (M = 3.95, SE = .11) condition (Mean Difference = .62, $p < .001$). Additionally, in the semi-controllable stigma condition, leaders in the positive valence condition were perceived as more stereotypical (M =4.88, SE = .17) than those in the negative valence condition (M = 3.79, SE = .20) (Mean Difference= 1.09, $p < .001$). The same pattern applied for the fully-controllable stigma condition, with participants evaluating those associated with positive behaviours as more stereotypical (M = 4.51, SE = .20) than those associated with negative behaviours (M = 3.71, SE = .20) (Mean Difference= 0.79, p =.005). This pattern of results is similar to those for prototypicality and further emphasizes the importance of valence in evaluations. Leaders who engaged in positive behaviours were also judged more favourably when they carried uncontrollable stigma (M = 4.31, SE = .20) as compared to semi-controllable stigma (M = 4.88, SE = .17) (Mean Difference= -0.57, p = .037). Finally,

leaders with uncontrollable stigma in the negative valence condition (*M* = 4.36, *SE* = .19) were evaluated more positively than their counterparts in the semi-controllable (*M* = 3.79, *SE* = .20) (Mean Difference = 0.57, *p* = .043) and fully-controllable stigma conditions (*M* = 3.71, *SE* = .20) (Mean Difference = 0.65, *p* = .018).

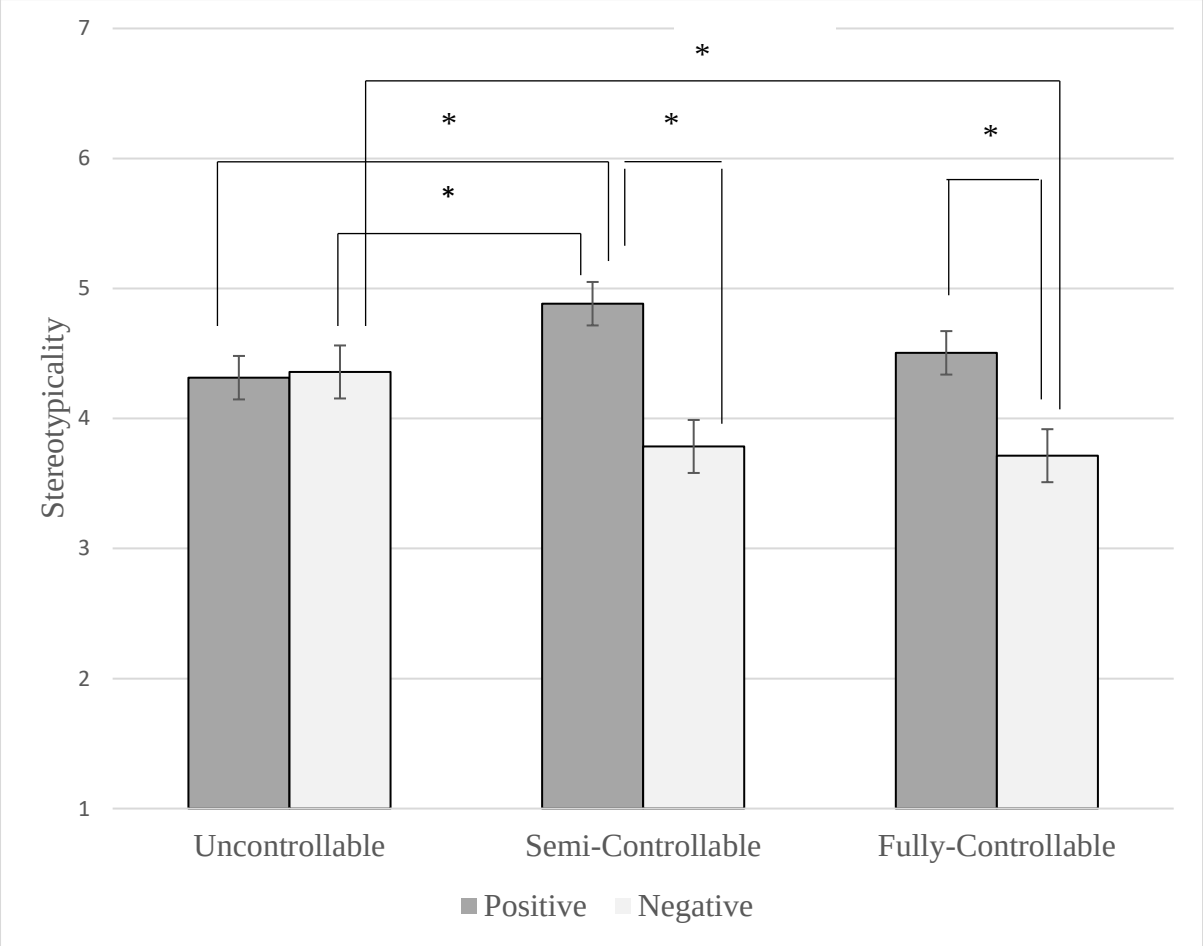

Figure 23. Interaction between Type of Stigma and Valence for Stereotypicality. Error bars represent standard error.

Table 26
Means and Standard Errors for Stereotypicality by Type of Stigma and Valence

	Positive		Negative	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	4.31	0.20	4.36	0.19
Semi-controllable	4.88	0.17	3.79	0.20
Fully-controllable	4.51	0.20	3.71	0.20

Conferral : A GLM revealed no significant main effect of type of stigma on conferral items (all *F*s < 2, all *p*s > .1). However, there was a significant main effect of valence on conferral evaluations $F(1, 284) = 7.57$, $p < .006$, $\eta^2 = .027$. There was no significant interaction between type of stigma and valence on Conferral.

Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants rated leaders in the positive valence condition ($M = 4.73$, $SE = .13$) higher than those in the negative valence condition ($M = 4.23$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .49, $p = .006$).

While stigma did not seem to affect evaluations of conferral, valence continued to affect evaluations in the same direction. Leaders who were associated with positive behaviours were evaluated more highly than those associated with negative ones.

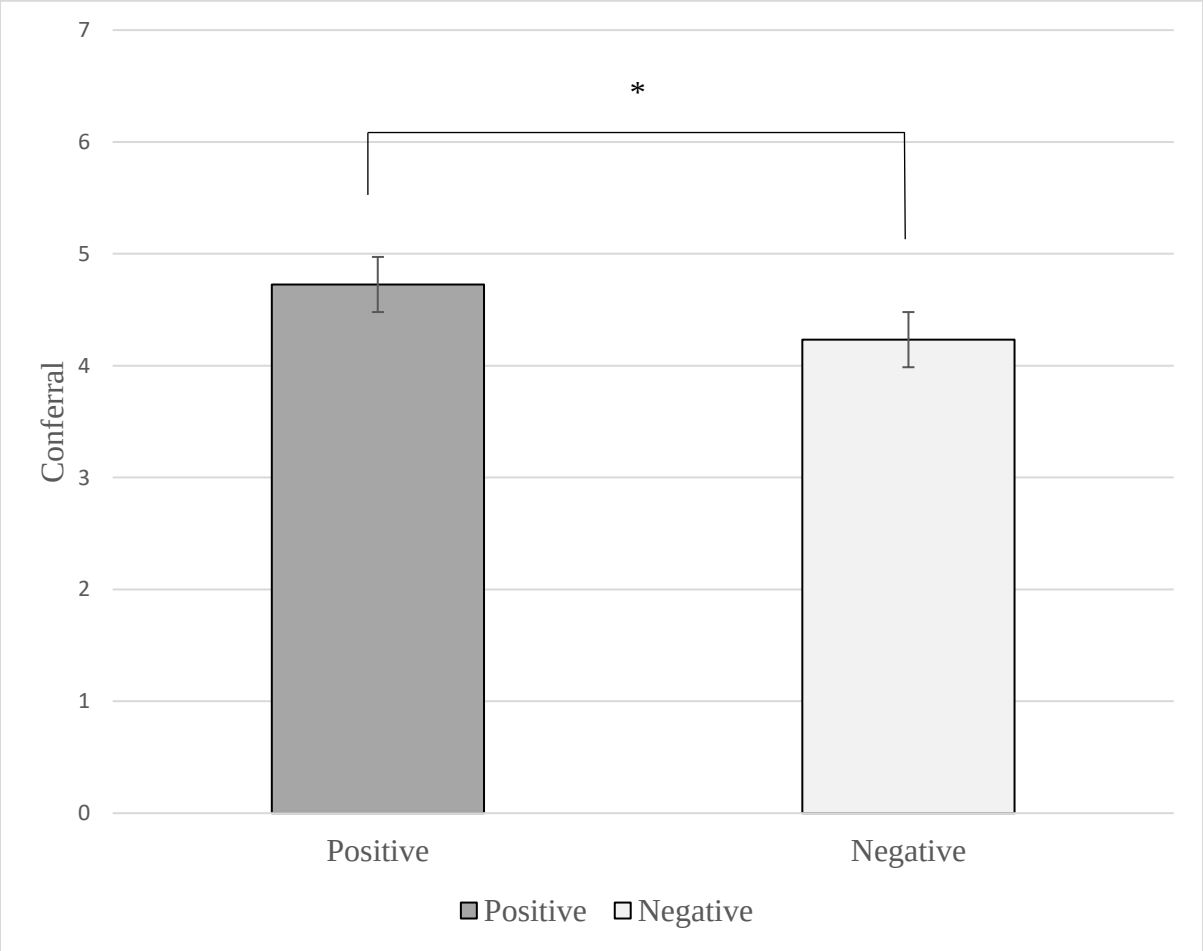

Figure 24. Main effect of Valence on Conferral items. Conferral scale: 1(not at all) – 7 (completely). Error bars represent standard error.

Evaluations: The GLM analysis revealed no significant main effect of Type of Stigma on Evaluations and no significant interaction (all *F*s < 2, all *p*s > .1).. However, there was a significant main effect of Valence on evaluations of the transgressor $F(1, 284) = 13.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .027$. . Overall, participants evaluated the leader higher in the positive valence condition ($M = 3.85$, $SE = .10$) compared to the negative valence condition ($M = 3.34$, $SE = .10$).

Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants evaluated leaders in the positive valence condition as less disgusting ($M = 4.54$, $SE = .15$) than those in the negative valence condition ($M = 4.57$, $SE = .14$) (Mean Difference=.60, $p = .006$). Participants also considered leaders who engaged in 'good' behaviours as more warm (M=3.47, SE=.14) than those who engaged in 'bad' behaviours ($M = 2.80$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .68, $p < .001$). Leaders were also seen as more competent in the positive valence condition ($M = 4.20$, $SE = .13$) compared to the negative valence one ($M = 3.45$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .68, $p < .001$). A marginally significant difference was observed in evaluations of how admirable the leader was: those in positive valence were thought as more admirable ($M = 3.44$, $SE = .15$) than those associated with negative ones ($M = 2.87$, $SE = .14$) (Mean Difference = .58**,** $p = .055$). In turn, participants thought of leaders in the positive valence condition as more likeable ($M = 3.61$, $SE = .14$) than those in the negative valence condition ($M = 2.97$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .64, $p = .001$). Leaders were also seen as more approachable in the positive valence condition ($M = 3.75$, $SE = .13$) compared to the negative valence one ($M = 3.23$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .52, $p = .01$). Finally, participants regarded leaders that were involved in positive behaviours as more clever ($M = 4.26$, $SE = .14$) than those who were not ($M = 3.56$, $SE = .14$) (Mean Difference = .70, $p < .001$).

Overall, participants evaluated leaders in the positive valence condition higher in all but two items (pitiable and enviable). Similar to our previous findings, this finding highlights the importance of valence in evaluations of leaders and is, in line, with existing findings in the literature.

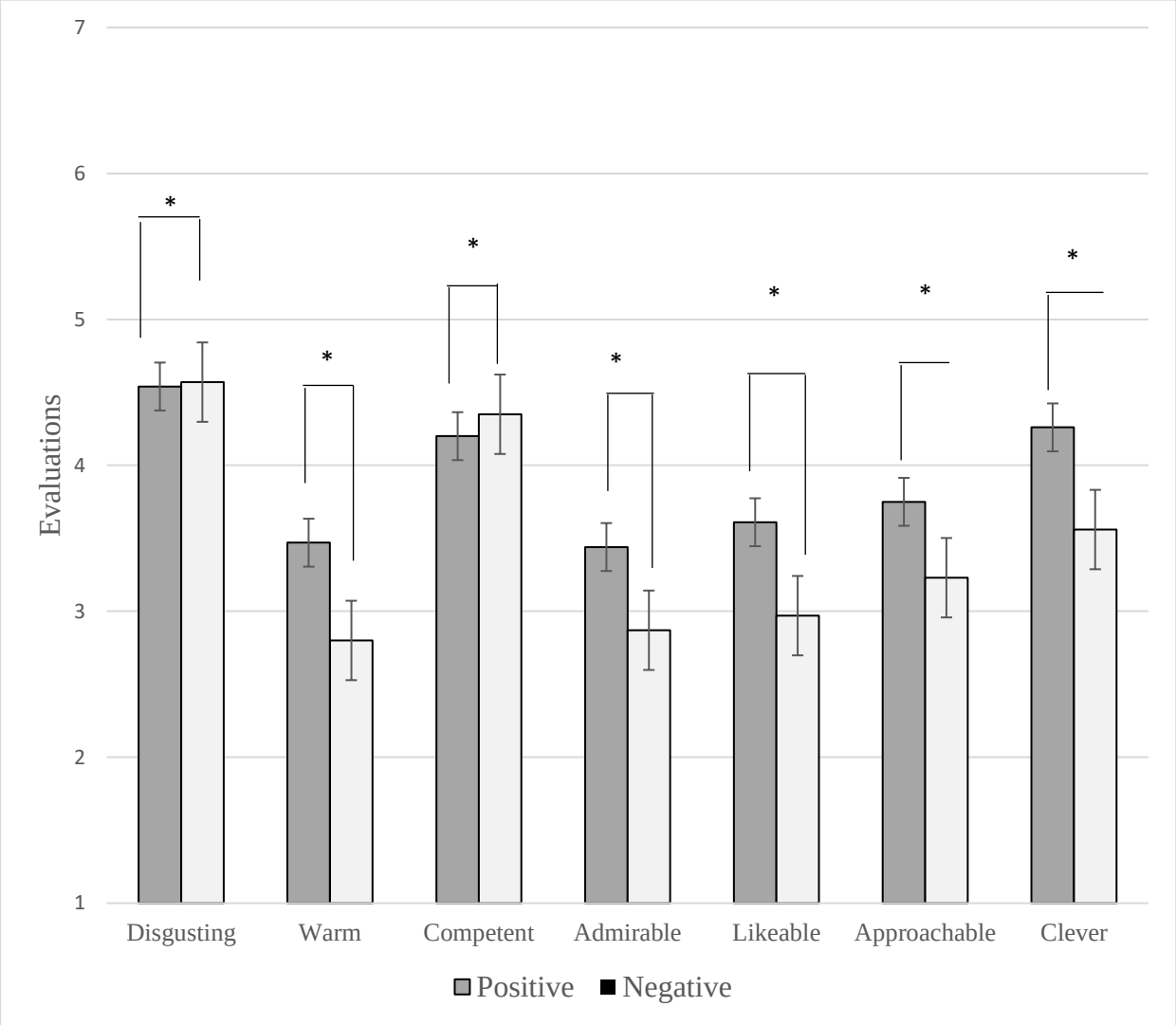

Figure 25. Effect of Valence on Evaluation items Disgusting, Warm, Competent, Admirable, Likeable, Approachable and Clever. Error bars represent standard error.

Table 27
Means and Standard Errors for individual evaluations items by Valence

	Warm		Competent		Admirable		Likeable		Approachable		Pitiable		Clever		Disgusting		Enviable	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Positive Valence	3.47	0.14	4.20	0.13	3.44	0.15	3.61	0.14	3.75	0.13	2.68	0.13	4.26	0.14	4.54	0.15	2.99	0.15
Negative Valence	2.8	0.13	3.45	0.13	2.87	0.14	2.97	0.13	3.23	0.13	2.11	0.14	3.56	0.14	4.57	0.14	2.81	0.15

Morality of Act: Our GLM revealed that there was no significant main effect of Type of Stigma and no interaction (all *F*s < 2, all *p*s > .1). However, there was a significant main effect of Valence on Morality of Act $F(1 , 283) = 7.14$, $p = .008$, $\eta p^2 = .025$.

Pairwise comparisons showed that for leaders who engaged in positive behaviours, the transgressive act was evaluated as more moral ($M = 3.21$, $SE = .11$) compared to those who engaged in negative behaviours ($M = 2.78$, $SE = .11$) (Mean Difference = .41, $p = .008$). This finding is particularly important, given that both leaders engaged in equally transgressive behavior. Accordingly, it indicates that judgments of morality regarding transgressive acts are likely to be influenced by positive (or negative) information about the perpetrator. The greater implication of this is discussed later on in this paper.

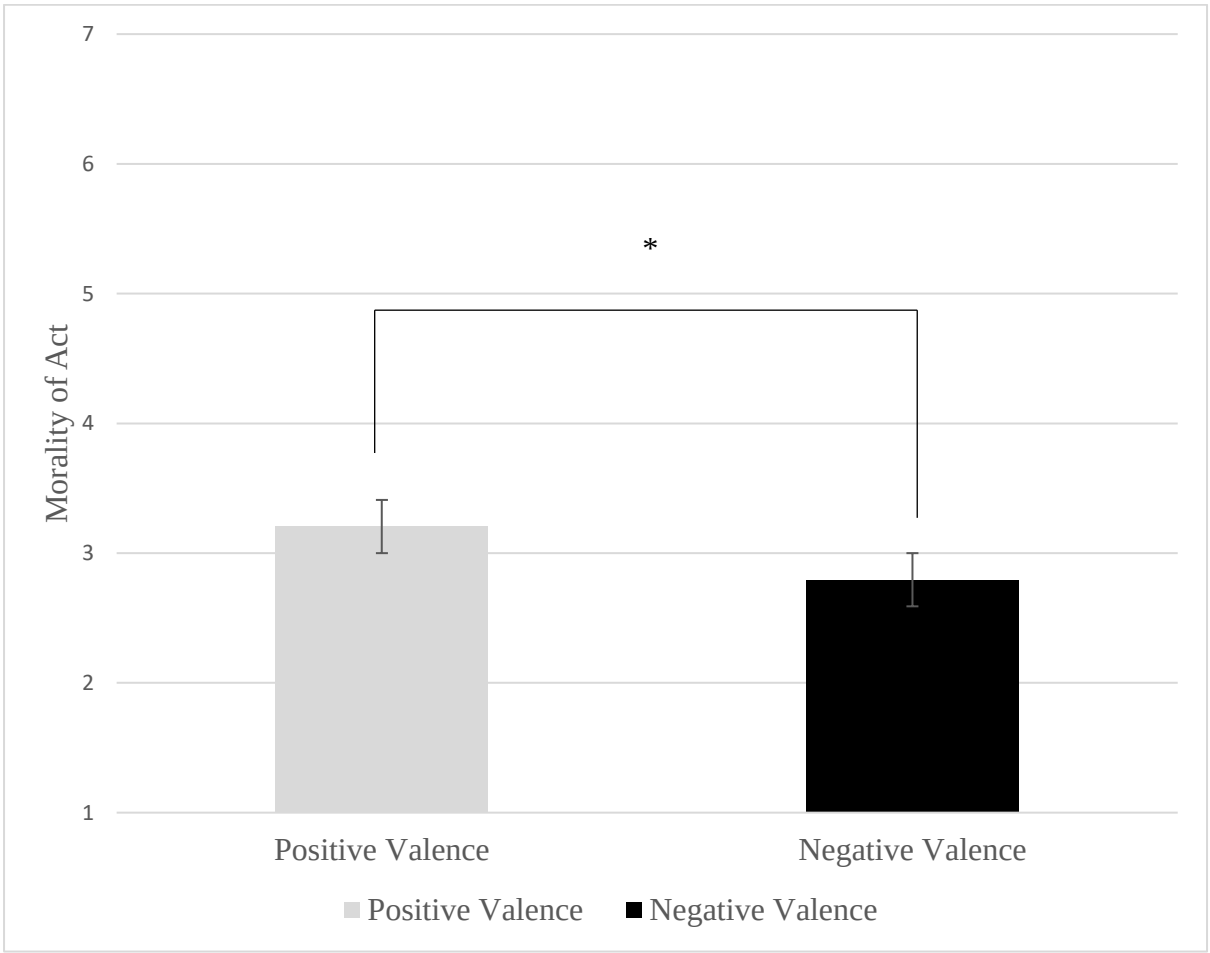

Figure 26. Main effect of Valence on perceived Morality of Act. Morality of Act scale: 1-7 (bipolar scale). Error bars represent standard error.

Morality of Person: We found that type of stigma had no significant main effect on evaluations of the morality of the perpetrator ($F < 2$, $p > .1$).. However, there was a main effect of Valence $F(1, 283) = 5.98$, $p = .013$, $\eta^2 = .021$ which was qualified by a significant interaction with Type of Stigma $F(2 , 283) = 3.33$, $p = .041$, $\eta^2 = .024$ (Figure 27)

Pairwise comparisons revealed that participants perceived the transgressor as more moral in the positive valence condition ($M = 3.39$, $SE = .13$) than in the negative valence condition ($M = 2.93$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference = .46, $p = .013$).

Pairwise comparisons showed that leaders who engaged in positive behaviours and carried uncontrollable stigma were rated as significantly less moral ($M = 2.99$, $SE = .23$) than those who carried semi-controllable stigma ($M = 3.90$, $SE = .23$) (Mean Difference= -0.91, $p = .005$). In the semi-controllable condition, leaders in the positive valence condition ($M = 3.90$, $SE = .23$) were rated more moral than those in the negative valence condition ($M = 2.90$, $SE = .23$) (Mean Difference= 1.00, $p = .002$). Finally, in the fully-controllable condition, leaders who engaged in positive behavior ($M = 3.30$, $SE = .23$) were considered more moral than those who engaged in negative behaviours ($M = 2.75$, $SE = .24$). This difference was not significant.

Overall, it appears that leaders with semi-controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours were considered the most moral, followed by those with fully controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours. Surprisingly, leaders with uncontrollable stigma who engaged in negative behaviours were seen as more moral than those who engaged in positive behaviours. Otherwise, those with semi-controllable stigma and fully-controllable stigma who engaged in positive behaviours were considered more moral than those who engaged in negative behaviours.

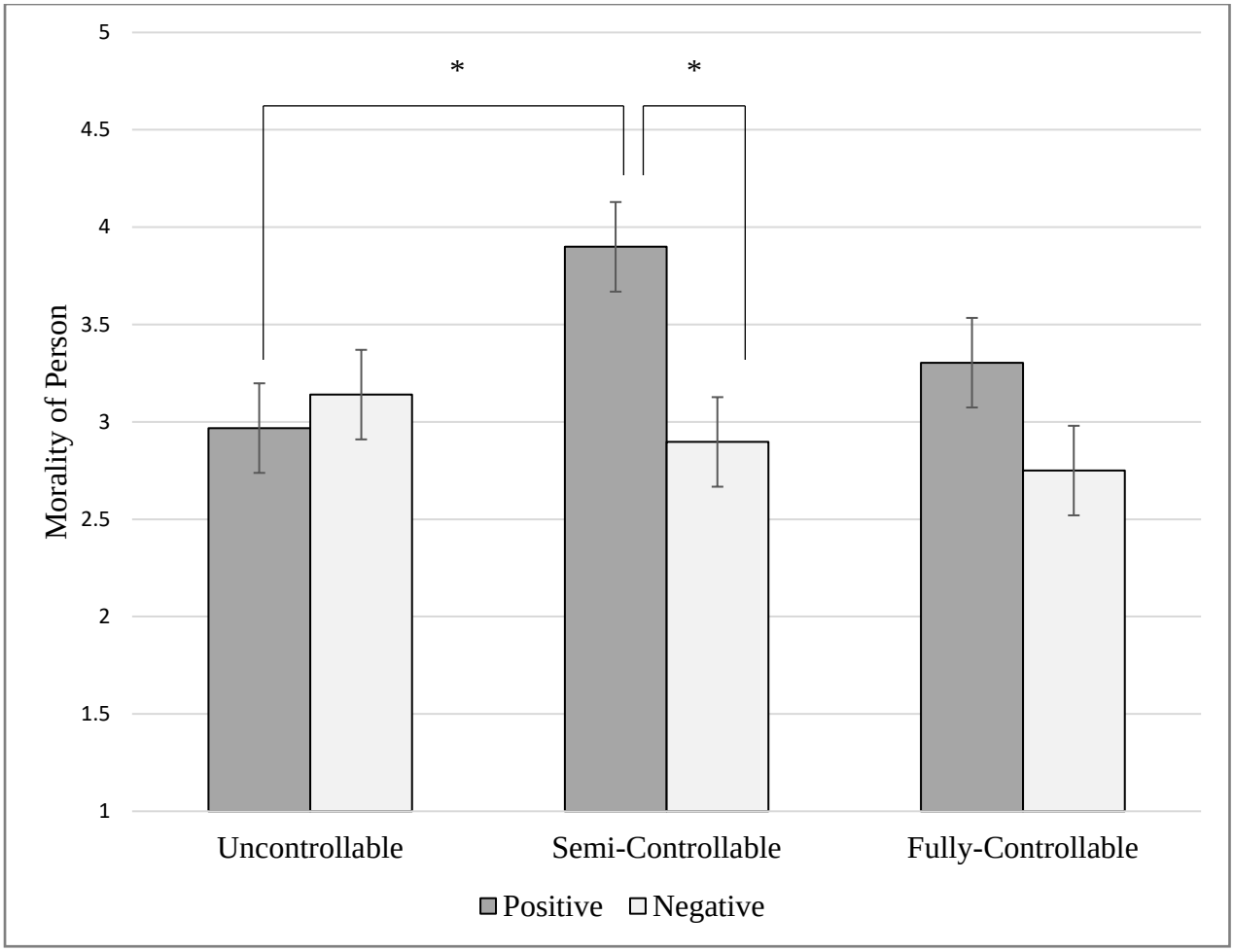

Figure 27. Interaction between Valence and Type of Stigma for Morality of Person. Error bars represent standard error.

Table 28
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person by Type of Stigma and Valence

	Positive		Negative	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Uncontrollable	2.99	0.23	3.14	0.22
Semi-controllable	3.90	0.23	2.90	0.23
Fully-controllable	3.30	0.23	2.75	0.24

Causal Responsibility: Our analysis showed that there was no significant main effect of Type of Stigma or Valence on Causal Responsibility (all Fs ≤ 2, all ps > .1). There was however a significant interaction between Type of Stigma and Valence for Causal Responsibility $F(2 , 274) = 3.75$, $p = .032$, $\eta p^2 = .027$.

Looking at the pairwise comparisons, we observed that participants rated leaders with uncontrollable stigma higher in CR when they had engaged in negative behaviours ($M = 2.96$, $SE = .10$) compared to positive ones ($M = 2.79$, $SE = .10$). However, this difference was not significant. For the semi-controllable and fully-controllable stigma conditions, this pattern was inverted. In the semi-controllable stigma condition, participants rated leaders who engaged in positive behaviours higher in CR ($M = 2.98$, $SE = .10$) compared to those who engaged in negative behaviours ($M = 2.76$, $SE = .10$). However, this difference was not significant. In the fully-controllable stigma condition, positive valence was associated with higher CR ($M = 2.97$, $SE = .10$) compared to negative valence ($M = 2.60$, $SE = .11$) (Mean Difference = 0.37, $p = .013$). Finally, participants rated leaders who engaged in negative behaviours higher in CR when they carried an uncontrollable stigma ($M = 2.96$, $SE = .10$) compared to a fully-controllable one ($M = 2.60$, $SE = .11$) (Mean Difference = 0.36, $p = .012$).

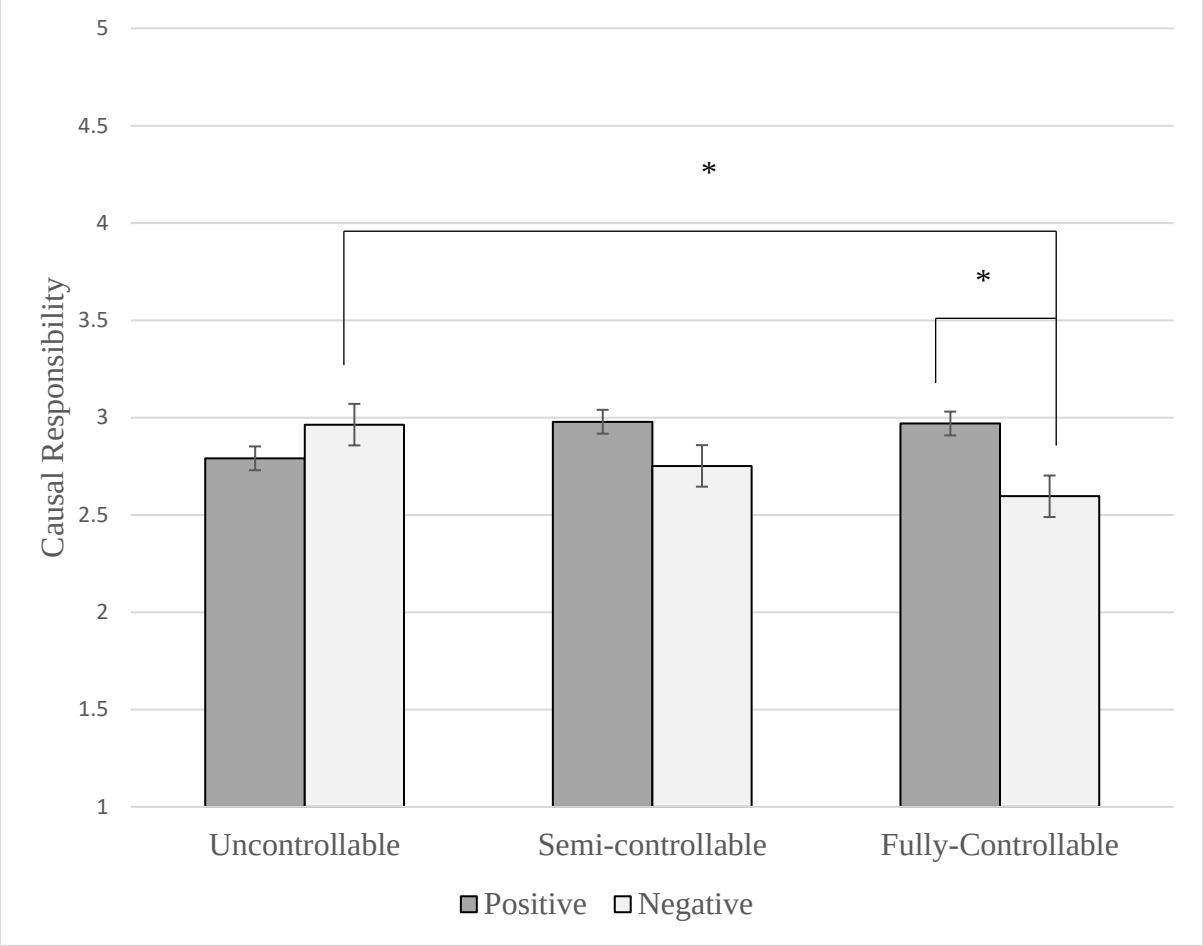

Figure 28. Interaction between Valence and Type of Stigma for Causal Responsibility (CR). Causal Responsibility scale: 1(Strongly Disagree) – 5 (Strongly Agree). Error bars represent standard error.

5.5.4. Regressions & Mediations.

Before conducting any path analysis, we checked whether perceived prototypicality, stereotypicality, evaluations and morality of transgressor were correlated. We found that perceived leader prototypicality was highly correlated with perceived leader stereotypicality (r (281) = .62, p < .01). Perceived prototypicality of leader was also highly correlated with perceived morality of the transgressor (r (283) = .75, p < .01) and evaluations (r (286) = .76). Also, perceived morality of the transgressor was highly correlated with evaluations (r (283) = .75) and stereotypicality (r (283) = .57). Stereotypicality was highly correlated with evaluations (r (285) = .70) (see Table 29).

Table 29
Correlations between Stereotypicality, Prototypicality, Morality of Person and Evaluations.

	Prototypicality	Stereotypicality	MoPerson
Stereotypicality	.62**		
MoPerson	.75**	.57**	
Evaluations	.77**	.70**	.75**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 30
Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality, Stereotypicality, Morality of Person and Evaluations by Valence.

	Positive Valence		Negative Valence		
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*	*P*
Prototypicality	2.97	1.06	2.62	1.06	.050
Stereotypicality	4.56	1.31	3.97	1.40	.000
MoPerson	3.40	1.58	2.95	1.62	.020
Evaluations	3.85	1.18	3.35	1.23	.001

We conducted a mediation analysis using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10,000 bootstraps) with Valence as the predictor, Morality of Person as the mediator and Evaluations of Deviant Leader as the criterion (see Figure 29). This model significantly explained the Evaluations of the Deviant Leader $F(2, 283) = 190.17$, $p<.001$, $\eta p^2 = .58$. In line with our predictions, Morality of Person significantly mediated the association between Valence and Evaluations of Deviant Leader: mediator's indirect effect: $b = -0.25$, $SE = 0.11$, 95% CI= [0.46, 0.43]; total effect: $b = -0.50$, $SE = 0.14$, $t = -3.46$, $p < .01$; 95% CI [0.78, 0.21]; direct effect: $b = -0.24$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = -2.54$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [0.43, 0.06]. The model shows that as valence increased (Positive:1, Negative: 2), judgments of the transgressors' morality decreased (mediator) which also negatively affected their general evaluations.

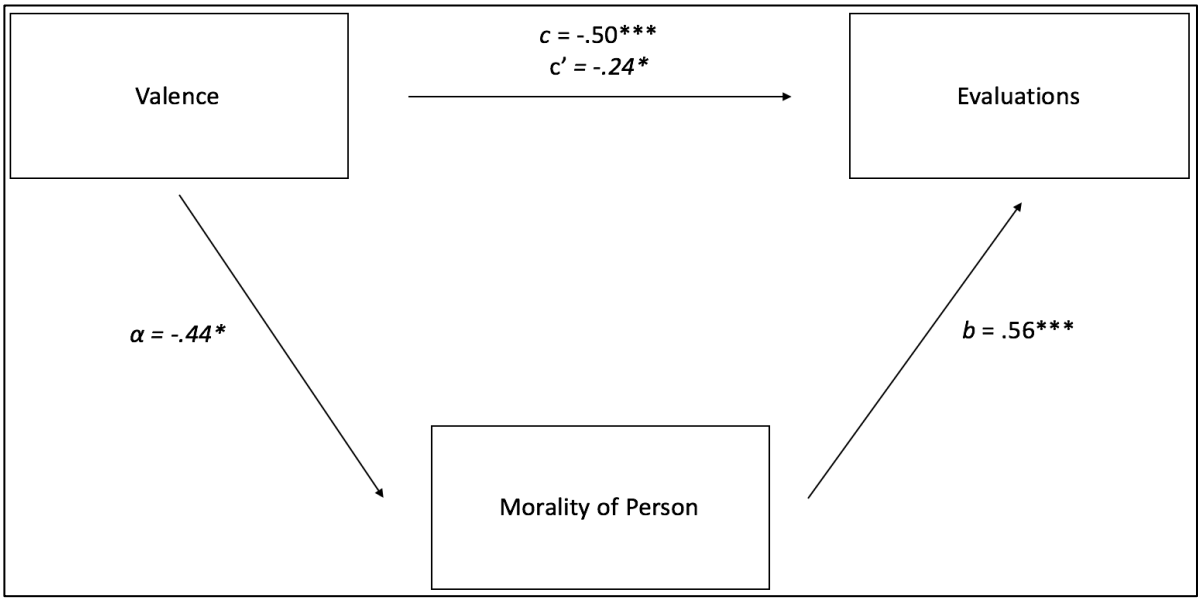

Figure 29. Mediation model of the relationship between Valence and Evaluations of Transgressive Leaders, mediated by Morality of Person (Transgressor). *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Our mediation analysis shows that valence predicted evaluations through judgments of the perpetrator's morality. It is important to note that Valence here was coded as 1: Positive, 2: Negative. This mean that, negative valence led to lower perceptions of the leader's moral character and lower evaluations. The higher the perceived moral character of the leader, the higher the evaluations.

Given these results, we were interested in exploring whether judgments of prototypicality and stereotypicality also mediated evaluations. For this reason, we first conducted a mediation analysis using Hayes' PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10.000 bootstraps) with Valence as the predictor, prototypicality as the mediator and evaluations as the outcome variable. The model significantly explained Evaluations $F(2, 283) = 206.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .59$. Prototypicality significantly mediated the association between Valence and Evaluations of the Transgressor: mediator's indirect effect: $b = -.32$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI=[0.53, 0.11]; total effect: $b = -.50$, $SE = .14$, $t = -3.55$, $p < .001$, 95%CI[0.78, 0.23]; direct effect: $b = -.19$, $SE = .09$, $t = -1.99$, $p < .05$, 95% CI[.37, .00]. The model shows that as Valence increase (Positive:1, Negative: 2), judgments of the transgressor's (leader) prototypicality decreased (mediator) as well as evaluations. Also, the higher the perceived prototypicality of the transgressor (leader), the higher the evaluations.

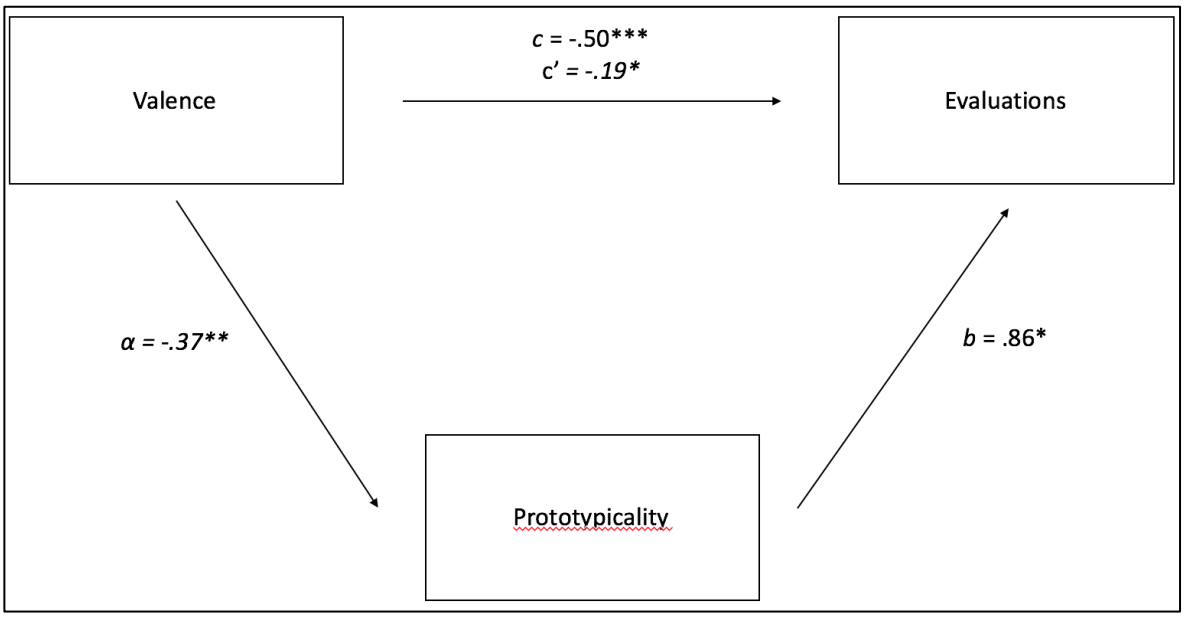

Figure 30. Mediation model of the relationship between Valence and Evaluations of Transgressive Leaders, mediated by Prototypicality. Standardized coefficients are given for all paths. *NB.* *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$.

Given that prototypicality was highly correlated with stereotypicality (r (281) = .62, $p < .001$) we wanted to also test also whether Stereotypicality also mediated the relationship between Valence and Evaluations. For this reason, we conducted another mediation using Hayes'

PROCESS macro (Model 4: 10.000 bootstraps) with Valence as the predictor, Stereotypicality as the mediator and Evaluations as the outcome. The model significantly predicted Evaluations $F(2, 282) = 135.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .49$. Stereotypicality significantly mediated the association between Valence and Evaluations: mediator's indirect effect $b = -.36$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI[56,17], total effect: $b = -.50$, $SE = .14$, $t = -3.49$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [78, 22]; direct effect: $b = -.14$, $SE = .11$, $t = -1.29$, non-significant, CI[35, 07]. Notice that the direct effect is not significant and so, Stereotypicality fully mediates the relationship between Valence and Evaluations

As all prototypicality, stereotypicality and morality of the transgressor mediated the relationship between Valence and Evaluations, we wanted to look at the relationship between prototypicality, stereotypicality and morality of the transgressor. We did that in two separate linear regressions. First, a simple linear regression was calculated to predict the morality of transgressor based on Prototypicality. We found a significant regression equation $F(1, 281) = 370.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .57$. So, the more prototypical the leader was thought to be, the higher their perceived moral character. Another simple liner regression was conducted to predict the Morality of the Transgressor based on the perceived Stereotypicality of the Leader (the transgressor). A significant regression equation was found $F(1, 281) = 137.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .33$ so that, the more stereotypical the leader was perceived to be, the higher their perceived moral character.

Accordingly, given that: a) Valence predicted both prototypicality and stereotypicality and that b) prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted the morality of the transgressor and that c) prototypicality, stereotypicality and the morality of the transgressor predicted evaluations, we tested a SEM model using MPlus 2.0 to test the relationship between the variables.

5.5.5. SEM

We conducted SEM analysis with MPlus 2.0 on all items measuring prototypicality, stereotypicality, morality of the transgressor and evaluations using data from 283 participants. The figure below (Figure 31) shows our proposed model: circles indicate latent variables and the rectangle indicates the measured variable. Due to missing data, we chose 'Fixed Format' analysis which allowed for missing data to be disregarded. We first ran a CFA with maximum likelihood parameter estimation (data was normally distributed) to check whether items from each scale loaded on the relevant factor. We observed that Item 3 on the Prototypicality scale did not load highly on the factor (.361) and so, it was removed. We also observed that for the Evaluations measure, items 6 (.437) and 7 (.313) also did not load highly on the factor and so, were removed. Item 7 on the stereotypicality measure also did not load highly (.400) and so, it was removed. The SEM model was then tested using the remaining items. The hypothesised model appears to be a good fit for the data. The CFI is .92; TLI is .91 and the RMSEA is .084. We did not conduct any post-hoc modifications because the model seemed to fit the data well.

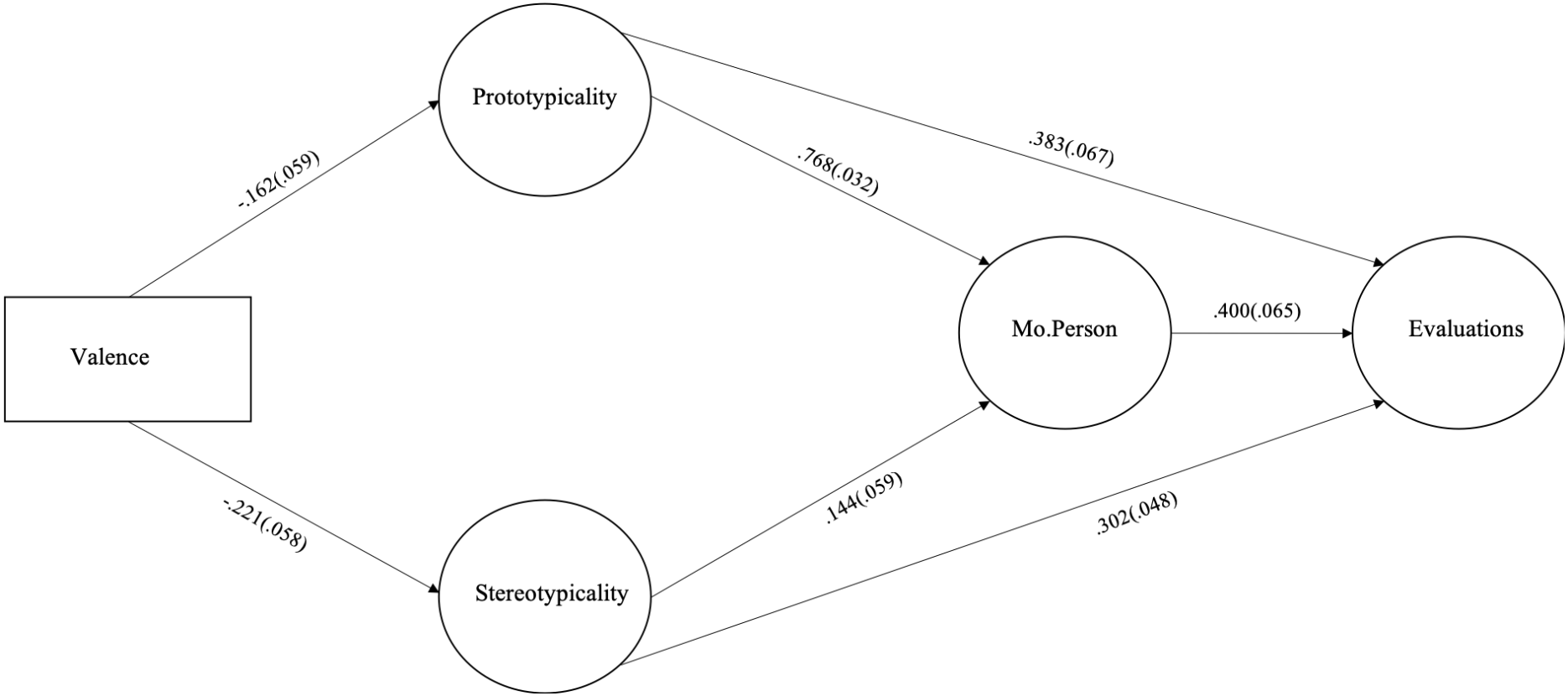

Figure 31. Structural Equation Model of the relationship between Valence (predictor), Prototypicality, Stereotypicality, Morality of Person (mediators) and Evaluations (outcome). Standardized coefficients are given for all paths.

Effects: Perceived leader prototypicality predicted evaluations: b = .383, SE = 0.07, p < .001. Perceived leader stereotypicality also predicted evaluations, b = .302, SE = 0.05, p < .001. Perceived morality of the transgressor also predicted evaluations b = .400, SE = 0.07, p < .001. Perceived leader prototypicality predicted perceived morality of the transgressor: b = .77, SE = 0.03, p < .001. Perceived leader stereotypicality predicted perceived morality of the transgressor: b = 0.14, SE = 0.05, p < .01. Valence did not directly predict evaluations: b = -0.03, SE = 0.04, p > .05. Valence did not directly predict perceived Morality of the Transgressor: b = .01, SE = 0.04, p > .05. Valence predicted perceived leader prototypicality: b= -.16, SE=0.06, p < .01. Valence predicted perceived leader stereotypicality: b = .22, SE = .06, p < .001**.** We hypothesized that evaluations will be predicted by Morality of the Transgressor (MPerson), which will be predicted by perceived leader prototypicality (Proto) which will be predicted by Valence. Our analysis showed this path was significant: b = -.13, SE = 0.06, p < .01. We also hypothesized that evaluations will be predicted by Morality of the Transgressor (MPerson) which will be predicted by perceived leader prototypicality (Proto) which will be predicted by Valence. Our analysis showed this path was significant: b = -.03, SE = 0.02, p < .05.

5.6.Discussion

This study investigated the effect of controllability attributions for stigma as well as valence on the evaluations of transgressive leaders. Controllability attributions were manipulated by presenting the transgressive leader as a wheelchair user either a) due to a birth defect or b) due to an accident or c) by choice. Valence was manipulated by presenting the leader as someone who engages in bad (drink-and-drive) or good (putting out food for birds) behaviours. Our results showed that, overall, the type of stigma (controllability attributions) did not affect evaluations while valence affected a range of measures (prototypicality, stereotypicality, evaluations, morality of act, morality of person and causal responsibility)..

Transgressive leaders who engaged in positive behaviours were perceived as more prototypical and more stereotypical. This effect interacted with type of stigma so that, overall, participants evaluated leaders with semi-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behaviour as the most prototypical and stereotypical, followed by those with fully-controllable stigma and uncontrollable stigma. Trevino, Hartman and Brown (2000), proposed that followers judge the morality of the leader on the basis of traits and behaviours. Traits include integrity, honesty and trustworthiness while behaviours include, among others, concern for other people and society and doing the right thing. In turn, leaders who are seen to hold these traits and behaviours, are seen as more effective and are evaluated more positively. At the same time, research on ethical leadership has shown that moral elevation is experienced when a leader engages in self-sacrifice and induces positive affect in followers (Vianello, Galliani & Haidt, 2010). Given that leaders are deemed more prototypical and stereotypical based on the extent to which they endorse the group's norms and moral values (e.g. Abrams, Marques, Bown & Henson, 2000; Abrams, Marques, Ransdley de Moura Hutchison & Bown, 2004; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; van Knippenberg & Hogg, 2003; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), it is arguable that participants perceived those with semi-controllable stigma who engaged in a positive behaviour to be the most moral, and in turn, the most prototypical and stereotypical.

In fact, our findings also showed that when asked to evaluate the morality of the leader, participants evaluated the leader with semi-controllable stigma who engaged in good behaviour as the most moral, followed by the leader with fully-controllable stigma and finally, uncontrollable stigma. Research shows that that moral judgments (eg. Moral blame, moral praise) can often result from intuitive processes rather than deliberate cognitive ones (e.g. Haidt, Björklund & Murply, 2000; Pizarro, Uhlmann & Salovey, 2003; Reeder & Spores, 1983). These intuitive responses may often be based on affective responses elicited

from an act or event (Bastick, 1982; Haidt, Björklund & Murply, 2000). As mentioned earlier, self-sacrifice and perceived moral integrity can elicit positive affect in naïve judges. Hofmann and Baumert (2010) showed that immediate moral affect (affective response to an event) can affect people's judgments and attributions, especially in the case of moral intuitions. In this view, intuitive feelings of –for example- sympathy may affect judgments of one's moral character. Given the asymmetry in judgments of positive and negative deviance (discussed earlier, section: Valence and Attributions) Pizzaro, Ulhmann and Bloom (2003) suggest that our attributions for positive events (positive deviance) may rely more on moral intuitions than calculated judgments. In this study, stigmatized transgressive leaders who engaged in positive behaviours were evaluated (amongst other dimensions) as more moral than those who engaged in negative behaviours. In turn, the transgressive act was evaluated as more moral when the perpetrators (leaders) were presented in a positive light, as compared to a negative one. We suggest that positive behaviours are likely to have been judged on the basis of moral intuitions rather than calculated reasoning and so, elicited more positive reactions.

Another important finding in this study was that perceived leader prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted evaluations through the perceived morality of the leader. Specifically, our SEM model showed that Valence predicted perceived prototypicality and stereotypicality, which in turn predicted evaluations. In turn, prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted evaluations through the perceived morality of the leader. This latter finding is crucial because it suggests that judgments of a leader's moral character may depend on how prototypical and/or how stereotypical that leader is thought to be. In an experimental study Helzer & Critcher (2018) asked participants to evaluate a commander who either ordered an airstrike against al-Qaeda which would kill many of its leaders but also an innocent person or did not order the air-strike. Additionally, the military commander can

either see the terrorist leader or the innocent person (depending on condition). Theoretically, on a moral basis, whether the commander can see the leader or the innocent person should not matter. However, the researchers showed that participants evaluated the military commander as less moral when the innocent person was in perspective. The authors proposed that this finding highlights the importance of context input in judgments of one's moral character. Accordingly, the context in which the leader was portrayed (in-group leader) affected participants' evaluations of prototypicality and in turn, moral judgments.

5.6.1. Contributions

Our findings offer several theoretical contributions. First, we showed that items on the measure of prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) loaded on the same factor. This finding suggests that participants may not adequately distinguish between the two concepts. This distinction is important, especially so, considering the recent 'replication crisis' in psychological science (e.g. Earp & Trafimow, 2015; Maxwell, Lau & Howard, 2015). Future research should further explore the relationship between measures of prototypicality and stereotypicality.

Further, our SEM contributed to our understanding on how information about leaders' moral character guide our responses to their transgressions. Specifically, our model showed that prototypicality and stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011) predicted evaluations through the perceived morality of the transgressor. Specifically, we observed that leaders who had engaged in negative behaviours[3], were considered less prototypical and stereotypical and in turn less moral. Judgments of their morality predicted overall evaluations. This has significant real-life implications.

[3] In the SEM positive valence was coded as 1 and negative valence was coded as 2

For example, it is common for politicians and organizational leaders to get involved in ‘acts of altruism’ that are often reported (coincidentally) in several news outlets (e.g. BBC, 2016; Behrman, 2012). These acts, most commonly also have some ulterior motive (e.g., attempts to increase followers, gather votes, more sales etc.) However, in associating themselves with positive behaviours, leaders may still influence followers’ perceptions of them, especially if their evaluations are mostly based on moral intuitions (discussed earlier). This is especially important for stigmatized leaders, given their relative underrepresentation.

6. STUDY 5: GENDER, LEADERSHIP & DISABLISM

6.1. Background to the current study

Our studies so far, have examined the role of stigma, stigma controllability and valence on the evaluation of transgressive leaders and members. Studies 1-3 looked at the role of stigma controllability on the evaluations of leaders and members. Overall, findings showed that participants rated those with uncontrollable stigma more favourably than those with controllable stigma and that there were no significant differences in judgment between uncontrollable and no-stigma leaders. This effect seemed to replicate in a number of dependent measures.

Despite such findings, our studies offered inconclusive findings with regards to the effect of role (leader vs member) in such evaluations. That is, Studies 1 and 2 showed that only leaders (and not members) received a 'double-standard' in evaluations on the basis of stigma controllability. However, Study 3 did not replicate this effect of role and instead, only showed a main effect of stigma. Given that the main focus of this thesis lays on transgressive leaders (and not members), Study 4 extended these findings by investigating the role of valence in judgments of stigmatised leaders.

Study 4 showed that, the interaction of stigma and valence significantly affected judgments on a variety of dependent measures. Importantly, valence predicted evaluations through judgments of the leader's moral character and their prototypicality and stereotypicality. This latter finding has important implications-both theoretical and practical. These have been discussed in detail earlier in this thesis. Yet, Study 4 showed no main effect of Stigma, which was contrary to our predictions and our previous findings.

Given the lack of empirical research on the role of stigma in evaluations of leaders and the inconsistency of our findings, we decided to shift our investigations to real-life examples of stigmatised people in senior positions and their evaluations. Indeed, while

imagining contact has been proven an effective tool for examining intergroup/ingroup dynamics, it may be useful to assess the role of stigma in a wide range of real-life contexts, such as politics.

Accordingly, Study 5 (described below) aimed at extracting archival data in order to assess first, the representation of stigmatised persons in positions of power (in this case, in the context of politics) and second, the evaluations of such persons. Study 5 also accounted for the gender of each politician in our sample, given existing findings that show that women in leadership are likely to be evaluated more negatively than their male counterparts.

A detailed discussion of the theoretical foundations of this archival investigation is presented below.

6.2.Disability and Leadership

Following the Second World War, the number of disabled people in the workforce increased dramatically (the government urged employers to hire those injured at war) (Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Thornton & Lunt, 1995). However, despite a variety of governmental and organisational initiatives since, the exclusion of disabled individuals from the labour market is becoming evident again. According to a report by Buchardt (2000) approximately 60% of the working-age disabled population were unemployed in the early 20th century. This pattern does not seem to change much in the following years with only 45% of those disabled in paid employment in 2013 and 46% in 2014 (Labour Force Survey, 2015). According to the latest report from the Labour Force Survey (2018), 49% of disabled people are currently in employment, in comparison to a striking 81% of the non-disabled population. Disabled people face almost three times higher unemployment rates than their non-disabled counterparts and are also more likely to be out of employment for longer periods of time. Most notably, however, even those who manage to find paid employment face segregation. National survey data shows that disabled people tend to be over-represented in lower-paid

jobs and significantly under-represented in senior positions (Goldstone & Meanger, 2002; Wilson-Kovacs, Ryan, Haslam & Rabinovich, 2007). Sayce (2009) reports that non-disabled leaders are three times more likely (as compared to their disabled counterparts) to earn above 80.000GBP per annum, a figure generally used to denote superiority in organisations.

Academic research has only recently begun to examine reasons that can help explain the lack of disabled professionals in management. Braddock and Bachelder (1994) apply the notion of the 'glass ceiling'[4] to argue that discrimination and stereotypical expectations of performance and competence prevent disabled employees from advancing within the organisation. It is argued that longer-run attitudes often associate persons with disabilities with inner deficit ('impaired personhood') and social hazard (Hughes, 2007; Oliver, 1990; Roulstone & Willians, 2014), both of which can impede career advancement.

Findings across a variety of studies show that, while ratings of organisational performance for disabled employees are average or above average, their mobility within the organisation remains limited. Braddock and Bachelder (1994) attribute such trends to supervisors'/managers' stereotypical misconceptions of disability as a causal factor for reduced competence and productivity. On the other hand, Colella, Lund and DeNisi (1998) find that supervisors' performance ratings tend to be inflated due to the "norm to be kind" (Braddock & Bachelder, 1994, p. 17). In that way, disabled employees do not receive the appropriate feedback to maximise their performance, which can impede their career advancement.

Research also shows (Roulstone & Williams, 2014) that managers are often concerned that the cross-departmental movement of disabled employees may cause existential anxieties and discomfort, to their non-disabled colleagues. Roulstone and

[4] The *glass ceiling* describes the underrepresentation of some groups (including women) in positions of leadership (e.g., Baretto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009).

Williams (2014) coin the term ‘glass partitions’ to refer to such workplace disablism. They suggest that fears of negative reactions from other colleagues can prevent disabled employees’ learning and so, can obstruct their ascension to leadership.

Still, despite the behavioural, attitudinal and structural barriers, there seem to exist a small number of the disabled workforce that manage to make it to the top. Wilson-Kovacs and colleagues (2007) explore the difficulties disabled employees encounter once leadership positions have been attained. They move beyond the ‘glass ceiling’ and onto the ‘glass cliff’: a term generally used to identify leadership positions of members of marginalised groups (e.g., women) as being highly precarious (Ryan & Haslam, 2005, 2007). The researchers propose that leadership experiences for disabled employees are much less optimal than for those of the majority. Findings from 58 one-to-one interviews and focus groups suggest that, in contrast to traditional notions, disabled employees most commonly associated precariousness with a lack of opportunity for career advancement. For instance, in an interview, one of the participants mentions that decision-making panels often disregarded his opinion and that his ‘token status’ often outweighed his professional capacity. Another one quotes: “You are not necessarily given the cutting edge stuff, you’re often given the safer pieces of work rather than cutting edge so you’re not stretching and therefore because you’re not stretching, you are not necessarily learning” (Wilson-Kovacs et al., 2007, p.709). These testimonies make it clear that even those in leadership positions can be denied the opportunities, resources and mentoring necessary to further their development.

Overall, it is evident that despite governmental efforts to reduce disablism in the workplace, bias continues to hamper the vertical and horizontal organisational mobility of disabled persons. Research to date has invoked the concepts of ‘glass ceiling’, ‘glass partitions’ and ‘glass cliff’ to explain both the difficulties of attaining senior positions as well as the challenges post-attainment. Notable in the literature is the lack of quantitative

investigations. As academic research in the field is still at an early stage, the majority of existing studies use interviews and/or focus group to draw conclusions. This is addressed in our last study (Study 6).

The current study attempts to understand the effect of gender on barriers towards organisational seniority for disabled employees. The following section will outline findings on the intersection of gender and leadership. Particular focus will be placed on research examining the notions of the 'glass ceiling' and 'glass cliff'.

6.3.Gender & Leadership.

The annual report for University admissions (in the UK) provided by UCAS, has shown that in 2017 alone, 37.1% of young women were admitted into a bachelor's degree, in comparison to a mere 27.3% of young men. A similar gender advantage is evident in the US, where female University graduates are estimated at 34.6% of the population while male University graduates at a lower, 33.7%. Despite such numerical imbalances between men and women in education, discrepancies in higher-level positions shift in the opposite direction. For example, in the US, women constitute only 4% of the five highest earning officers in Fortune 500 companies and 0.4% of the CEOs; 13% of senators, 14% of congressional representatives and 10% of state governors (Eagly & Karau, 2002). A similar trend is evident in the UK, Spain, France and other countries and across professions (Basow, 2016; Eagly, 2007). Leadership research has provided a range of theories that can explain this pattern.

Most commonly, explanations for the scarcity of women at senior positions focus on the *glass ceiling.* This concept encompasses a range of factors that can help explain the barriers that preclude women's upward mobility such as: gender stereotypes, reduced opportunity to learn new skills (diminished inter-departmental mobility) and inequality in employment initiatives (Bell, McLaughlin & Sequeira, 2002). The specific function of gender

stereotyping and its effects are best illustrated in *role incongruity theory* (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Role incongruity is largely based on the fact that our evaluation of others is often based on expectations that are often stereotypically founded (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Specifically, stereotypically, women are expected to hold communal attributes (eg. caring, sensitive) while men are expected to show agentic ones (eg. assertiveness, authority). Also, stereotypically, leadership requires authority and affirmation; both of which fall into the agentic category. Role incongruity theory (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Koenig, 2008) proposes that situations in which, one's *expected* behavior (cultural stereotypes and norms) contradicts their *actual behaviour*, results in negative evaluations. For instance, Phelan, Moss-Racusin and Rudman (2008) find that women who displayed agentic qualities were more likely to be perceived as socially deficient than an identically described man and that subsequent hiring decisions centered around such evaluations, only for female candidates.

Role incongruity can also affect evaluations of likeability and competence and status. Cikara and Fiske (2009) find that women are largely viewed as warm and likeable whereas men are primarily viewed as competent. This is especially important in the context of leadership as it can further undermine women's ascension to the top. Joy and colleagues (2007) find that women executives are associated with higher competency expectations in comparison to men and are rarely perceived as both likeable and competent. Truly, a range of findings confirm that women who show agentic attributes are likely to be marginalized unless they also show communal ones. Therefore, women in leadership start from a position of role incongruence and are thus having to continuously prove themselves.

Furthermore, as gender is also confounded by status differences, with men generally perceived as of higher status, women are obliged to confront both gender and status role

incongruities. Foschi (2000) observes that individuals of high status are perceived to be more competent and therefore, men in leadership, are more likely to be perceived as competent. Relative to that, Basow (2016) proposes that men's errors in judgment are likely to be given the 'benefit of the doubt' while such errors are likely to serve as confirmation of incompetence in the case of female leaders. Indeed, Brescoll and Uhlmann (2008) find that participants evaluations managers who expressed anger in the workplace, differed greatly depending on gender. Raters tender to evaluate the male manager as high in status and competence while their anger was attributed to the context. In contrast, the female manager was perceived as less competent and of higher status while their anger was attributed to internal attributes (eg. "She is an angry person").

However, despite such challenges, there is some evidence of women making it to the top. Ryan and Haslam (2005) coin the term "the glass cliff" to propose that women at the top continue to face segregation in a number of ways. Specifically, the authors suggest that female leaders are appointed to precarious positions that inadvertently carry increased risk of failure. Archival research of 100 major corporations in the UK shows that women tend to be promoted to leadership when organizations are experiencing issues with performance and profits for at least five months (Basow, 2016).

Similar patterns have been also shown to apply in politics which can lead to significant decisions being 'blamed' on the female candidate. In the UK, Members of Parliament make up only 19% (UK Parliament, 2009), 17% in the U.S. Congress (Center for the American Women in Politics), 21% of the European Parliament, 18% of politicians in Asia and only 10% in the Arab States (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2009). A recent example of this, could arguably be, the appointment of Theresa May as the latest woman Prime Minister in the UK. May entered senior leadership during socio-political turmoil in the UK, following the BREXIT vote. In that way, the UK's newest PM is faced with an

unprecedented political event that carries great uncertainty about the future and that could **'stain'** her future career. Indeed, Ryan, Haslam & Kulich (2010) asked participants to evaluate the most appropriate political candidate for either a 'safe' or 'risky' position. The findings showed that male candidates tended to be selected for the 'safe' position while female candidates were likely to be appointed the 'risky' one, even when controlling for ability. This line of research provides evidence that women are having to face the 'glass cliff' not only in organizational settings but also the political realm.

6.4.Gender, Disablism & Leadership

According to the U.S. Census (McNeil, 2001) approximately 20% of the American population is disabled; making it the largest minority group in the U.S. (Noonan et al, 2004). Of these, 29 million are women and 24 million are men (Noonan et al, 2004). Similarly, approximately one in five people in the UK are disabled (13.3 million- about 20% of the population); making it, yet again, the largest minority group (Disabled Living Foundation, 2019).

Despite women making up the majority of persons with disabilities, research shows that the percentage of women achieving competitive employment is lower than the percentage of men (Jans & Stoddard, 1999). Those disabled women who manage to get into competitive employment, seem to face further discrimination with earnings lower than their non-disabled female colleagues and disabled and non-disabled male colleagues (Hale, Haughe & McNeil, 1998; Noonan et al, 2004). Findings from gender research has shown that women in employment face a number of challenges in the workplace, including gender stereotyping, underestimation of skills and competence and constrictive gender role socialisation (Fassinger, 2002; Lent, Brown & Hackett, 2000; McLennan & Arthur, 1999; Noonan et al, 2004). In addition to such challenges, women who attempt to ascend to leadership, are faced with even further discrimination including the 'glass cliff' and 'glass

partitions' (Roulstone & Williams, 2014). Presumably then, women with disabilities are faced with a 'triple bind' [5] in seeking leadership positions. That is, perceived role incongruity stemming from both gender and disability may interact to disallow ascension to leadership. This study will examine the interaction between gender and disability in relation to leadership. The following section will outline existing findings and current hypotheses.

6.5.Research to-date.

Research in this domain is scarce and so far as we are aware, only includes a small number of qualitative studies (e.g. Majiet & Africa, 2015; Romano, 1996; Roulstone & Williams, 2014). Noonan and colleagues (2004) interviewed 17 disabled women in senior positions and in a range of professions including education, business and politics. Using grounded theory analysis, the researchers propose a dynamic model with women's disability and gender identities at the core. Specifically, interviewees identified adjusting to their disabilities and the social context as the most challenging in their careers. Participants also highlighted the importance of the interaction between their gender and disability identities. Some of them mentioned that being female and dealing with disablism, allowed them to further connect with their gender identity and seek other women in similar positions. In that way, participants could depend on a network of support which helped them enhance their sense of self-worth and better perform in the workplace. Indeed, Majiet and Africa (2015) mention that the absence of mentors in the workplace, can inhibit disabled women from attempting to enter management.

In their examination, Majiet and Africa (2015) documented disabled women's leadership experiences in Zimbabwe. Through a number of interviews, the authors concluded

[5] The 'double bind' was proposed by Catalyst (2007) to identify how presumed differences between male and female characteristics can foster stereotypical evaluations that limit effective behaviours at work.

that participants generally struggled with social exclusion, architectural impediments (travel to and back from work), gender discrimination and lack of mentoring and support in the workplace. Strikingly, these can be summarised in this participant's account: "I feel that men are a little better accepted, better considered as important compared to women due to the patriarchal system, strengthened by stubborn cultural, traditional and superstitious beliefs and practices. The issues of unemployment, family planning, and access to health care are the problems women with disabilities face" (Majiet & Africa, 2015, p. 106).

However, although such findings are important in understanding the interaction between gender and disability in leadership, methodological limitations render generalisations difficult. For example, in the case of Noonan and colleagues (2004), the use of grounded theory analysis is problematic due to its high potential for researcher bias (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007). For example, in grounded theory analysis, the identification of categories is highly dependent on researchers' subjective interpretations which reduces both the validity and reliability of findings. Also, the small number of participants and the diverse ethnic and cultural background in both the aforementioned studies, reduce the capacity for generalisations.

Such limitations as well as the scarcity of research on women with disabilities in leadership highlight the need for further investigations. This study examined differences in the representation of male and female politicians who were stigmatised. The realm of politics was chosen for several reasons: a) because it clearly denotes seniority, b) because data on elected candidates is more readily available and reliable (e.g. governmental reports) and c) because elected politicians reflect differences in preference for the general population. Accordingly, in this study, we created an archive of parliamentary representatives for several election years (2000 onwards) and countries (see below) and examined the proportionate representation of males and females with physical and/or mental health issues.

The following section will outline the aims of the study and present our research strategy. t

6.6.Aims

Our aim was to examine whether stigmatised members of parliament (or the electorate) were underrepresented compared to their non-stigmatised colleagues. In turn, an additional aim was to also investigate whether female members of parliament (or the electorate) who had some stigmatising attribute (e.g. physical disability, mental health issue) were underrepresented compared to their male counterparts. For that reason, we wanted to compile a list of parliamentary representatives and/or members of the electorate and distinguish between those that were male and female and those that carried or did not carry a stigmatising attribute. We then compared the ratio of males and females and those with stigma and no stigma.

6.7.Method

6.7.1. Research Strategy

In order to identify the relevant evidence, we conducted online searches for a) academic literature, b) non-academic literature (e.g. reports by national governments) and c) a search for data archives. For the academic literature we used Google Scholar, EBSCOhost and the International Bibliography of the Social Sciences (IBSS).

Based on the information we found online about disabled or stigmatized politicians, we looked in several countries' statistical databases. These included the following (alphabetically): Argentina (e.g. The National Institute of Statistics and Censuses), Armenia (e.g. National Statistic Service of the Republic of Armenia), Australia (e.g. Office for National Statistics Australia), Canada (e.g. Statistics Canada), Czech Republic (e.g. Czech Statistical Office), Dominican Republic (e.g. National Statistics Office, Dominical Republic), Estonia (e.g. Statistics Estonia), Ecuador (e.g. National Institute of Statistics and Censuses),

France (e.g. Gouvernement.fr), Germany (e.g. Federal Statistics Office), Hungary (e.g. Hungarian Central Statistics Office), Israel (e.g. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics), Italy (e.g. Istat.it), Jamaica (e.g. Statistical Institute of Jamaica), Malaysia (e.g. Department of Statistics Malaysia Office Portal), Mexico (e.g. Office for National Statistics), New Zealand (e.g. Stats NZ), Norway (e.g. Statistics Norway), Poland (e.g. Statistics Poland), Thailand (e.g. National Statistics Office Thailand), UK (e.g. Office for National Statistics), Ukraine (e.g. Ukraine: nsa- Office for National Statistics) and the USA (e.g. US Data and Statistics) (See Appendix G for example weblinks).

For several countries, it was difficult to obtain information about MPs stigmatizing attributes (if any)-demographic information was mostly limited to age, gender and ethnic background (at times). For this reason, we used information we had already found online regarding which politicians carried a disability (physical or mental) and focused on cross-checking the year they were elected and the distribution of males and females during that election year/period.

For example, an article in the Guardian (Booth, 2017) highlighted the importance of the integration of new disabled MPs Jared O'Mara and Marsha Cordova in the 2017 election. Given this information, we looked online to confirm that the two MPs were indeed disabled. After confirming that, we looked at governmental reports (e.g. Parliament.uk) for all MPs elected in the 2017 election. We then copied this list of names into SPSS and coded each MP for Gender (Male or Female), Stigma (Stigma, No Stigma), Election Year (2000 onwards) and Country (which country the MP was elected in). We did this for every MP that was depicted to have a mental or physical disability online.

For mental health issues, we focused on MPs who had openly admitted dealing with a mental issues. For example, Davidson, Connor and Swartz (2006) reviewed biographical sources for US Presidents ranging from 1776 to 1974 and used criteria from the DSM to

conclude that 18 US Presidents had suffered from mental health issues. However, given a) that this review did not focus on Presidents after the year 2000 and b) that this was a post-hoc interpretation merely based on biographical information and c) the limitations of using the DSM we chose to disregard such information and any such information. Instead we only focused on MPs that had publicly admitted mental health issues. In recent years there has been an upsurge of politicians publicly admitting having sought help for mental health (e.g. depression). (e.g. BBC, 2012; Pidd, 2013; Senior, 2013)

We followed the same procedure for all the aforementioned countries. Overall, we found evidence for thirty-three (N = 33) stigmatised MPs in the UK, from which twenty-nine were male and four were female. We separated the US into Northern and Southern. We then included in the calculation of male and female politicians for northern US, the data for Canada. Out of a total of twenty candidates (N= 20), 16 were male and 4, female. We found very little evidence for both male and female stigmatised politicians for South America (seven in total, N =7; five males and two females). For Australia and New Zealand, we gathered a total of sixty stigmatised candidates (N = 60), among whom 56 were male and 4 female.

Findings from European countries were small (per country) so we combined them to create a total score. We found evidence for two stigmatised politicians in France (N = 2), five in Poland (N =5), two in Norway (N = 2), one in Armenia (N = 1), four in Ukraine (N = 4) and one in Germany (N = 1). In total, there were twelve males (80%) and three females (20%) out of a total of fifteen candidates (N = 15).

In the Middle East we found evidence for eight stigmatised politicians (N = 8). Countries in the Middle East included, Israel (six), Afghanistan (one) and Iran (one). Middle Eastern countries had a total of seven males and one female. As the samples for Europe and

the Middle East were too small, we chose to disregard it from analysis. For that reason, we kept data for the USA and Canada, the UK and Australia and New Zealand.

Our final sample included all MPs and members of the electorate for any election periods that included a stigmatised politician. The data was coded (as mentioned before) by Gender, Stigma, Country and Election Year/Period. The final sample included 3677 cases.

Inclusion Criteria:

- **Must be currently serving or have served between 2000-current**
- **Must have physical issue or health issue**
  - **For health issue there must be clear evidence of admittance (information should not be based on post-hoc reviews or any such accounts)**
- **For each disabled politician, a list of all MPs during the same period must be present**
  - **Information about each MP's gender must also be available**

Figure 32. Representation of inclusion criteria for the final sample.

6.8.Results

We were interested in investigating the proportion of male and female politicians in government from 2000 onwards. We were also interested in investigating how many of these politicians were stigmatised and whether there were proportionately more stigmatised males than females. For that reason, we conducted a Chi-square test using cross-tabulation with Gender and Stigma. The results of the Chi-square showed that there are, proportionately, significantly more male stigmatised politicians than female ones: χ^2 (1, 3677) = 5.27, p =.020.

Table 31
Chi-square difference tests for Gender and Stigma

	Male	*Female*	*Pearson Chi-Square*	*Sig.*
Stigma	101	12	5.27	0.02
No Stigma	2876	688		

Specifically, our findings show that stigmatised persons in positions of leadership are highly underrepresented as they only occupy 3.17% of the entire sample. In turn, our findings show that males with stigma occupy 89.38% of our sample while females with stigma occupy a mere 10.62%. These results are striking given that they represent real-life distributions of stigmatised males and females in politics and have important implications with regards to gender equality and the de-stigmatisation of physical and mental health issues.

6.9. Conclusions

This study examined the ratio of male and female stigmatised politicians, across countries (including the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). In doing so, we gathered online data for evidence of physically and/or mentally ill politicians (these varied in rank but were all elected). For every politician that we found to hold some stigma (physical or mental health issue), we looked at the year they were elected and then compiled a list of all politicians serving during the same period. We did that across countries. Our findings showed that, proportionately, there were significantly more male stigmatized politicians than female ones. This finding is important for several reasons: a) because it clearly reflects persistent biases in the selection of political representatives and b) because it is, to our knowledge, the first systematic investigation of archival data on gender and disablism in politics.

Earlier in this chapter we discussed that, stereotypically, disabled persons are perceived to be less competent and more of a social hazard which prevents them from advancing in their career. Additionally, qualitative examinations of disabled persons' experiences in the workplace made it clear that disabled women face a double-barrier in employment: gender bias and disablism. Several theorists (discussed earlier: eg. Braddock & Bachelder, 1994) have formed a link between the 'glass cliff' and the 'glass ceiling' to describe obstacles in hiring decisions for disabled females. This study found real evidence of

such discrimination by showing a significant difference in the choice of male and female stigmatized politicians.

Our next study attempted to replicate such findings empirically- further details are discussed in the following chapter.

6.9.1. Limitations

Despite the interesting findings, this study had several methodological limitations. To begin with, while data was collected across a variety of countries, data for Europe, the Middle East and South America were few and so, were disregarded from analysis. Accordingly, our analysis only included data for the UK, Australia and New Zealand and the USA and Canada. The inclusion of data from other countries could have furthered our understanding of the representation of stigmatised men and women in politics. In turn, the addition of data from countries in Europe and the rest of the world, would have facilitated the examination of cross-cultural differences in political representation. For instance, Kenworthy & Malami (1999) suggested that cultural factors including attitudes towards egalitarian politics and religion (Catholicism) can impact women's representation in politics. Accordingly, countries that more highly espouse religious doctrines are likely to associate women with more traditional roles (e.g. domestic work) and so, become opposed to their ascension to politics. Equally, cultures where disability and mental health issues are perceived to be a social hazard and pitiful (e.g. Miles, 1995) may prevent those stigmatised from developing their career (especially so, women- double bind). Therefore, we suggest that future examines the representation of stigmatised men and women in politics across cultures.

It is, however, important to note that statistical data or governmental reports are often not available for certain countries, especially so for periods prior to the year 2000. This can inhibit progress in research and has important implications for policy makers and administrations (discussed in further detail late in this chapter).

Furthermore, this study only looked at the representation of stigmatised male and females in politics. However, as mentioned previously, gender bias and disablism are evident in a variety of organisational contexts. Accordingly, we propose that future research examine negative attitudes toward stigmatised females across a variety of contexts.

Another methodological limitation in this study was that physical and mental stigma were grouped, rather than coded separately. The reason for this was that given the small number of politicians with a disability or mental health issue, coding the two separately would have undermined the importance of findings. It is important to, once again, note that national and regional reports on parliamentary representation do not include information about physical or mental health issues. This not only impedes data collection but also prohibits the de-stigmatisation of such issues; issues of transparency in government-issued reports are discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

Finally, this study did not consider the role of political orientation in the election of male and female candidates as well as stigmatised and non-stigmatised candidates. That is, while information about the party each member of parliament belonged to was coded, this was not taken into consideration in the analysis of data as it was outside the scope of this research.

7. STUDY 6: COMBINATION & REPLICATION OF FINDINGS

7.1. Background to the current study

Study 6 looked at the representation of stigmatised men and women in politics (post the year 2000). In doing so, we examined archival data for any election period where there was evidence of a stigmatised MP. Our final sample included data from the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Findings showed that stigmatised female politicians were proportionately lower in number, compared to their male counterparts. This novel finding is particularly important because it provides insight into real-life distributions of stigmatised males and females in leadership (in this case, in politics).

Given the importance of such findings and the lack of quantitative investigations in this domain, this study attempted to replicate the results of the archival study, experimentally. Additionally, this study attempted to replicate findings from all previous studies to ensure that any conclusions drawn are reliable. The following section will briefly describe findings from this thesis and explain how these are incorporated in the design of the current study.

7.2. Design: Incorporating Findings from all Studies

Existing findings on reactions towards transgressive group members have consistently shown that leaders receive more positive evaluations, compared to members (e.g., Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013). Study 1 extended this line of research by demonstrating that the transgression credit extends to stigmatized leaders but only when they have no control over their stigma. Specifically, transgressive stigmatised leaders who had no control over their stigma were evaluated almost equally to transgressive leaders who did not carry a stigma. On the other hand, transgressive leaders with controllable stigma (i.e. stigma they had some control over) were evaluated more negatively than uncontrollable and no-stigma leaders who transgressed.

However, Study 1 did not examine differences in evaluations between transgressive stigmatised members and leaders- a limitation which was accounted for in Study 2. Accordingly, it was hypothesised that members with uncontrollable stigma would be evaluated more positively than those with controllable stigma. Our findings showed no significant differences in the evaluation of stigmatised members. We contended that this pattern of findings further attests to a double standard in evaluations of transgressive leaders (Abrams, Randsley de Moura & Travaglino, 2013) an assumption that we tested in Study 3.

Study 3 combined both a stigmatised transgressive member and a leader (stigma conditions: uncontrollable, semi-controllable, no stigma/control). Our findings showed that stigma controllability affected evaluations in a similar way to Study 1 (transgressors with uncontrollable and no stigma were evaluated more positively than those with semi-controllable stigma) while role (leader vs member) did not significantly affect evaluations.

Given these mixed findings regarding the effect of role, this study examined both leaders and members that were either normative or transgressive. It was hypothesised that participants would evaluate transgressive leaders more positively than transgressive members.

In turn, studies 1-3 controllable stigma was presented as the result of a drink-and-drive accident. However, drink-driving bares negative connotations as it denotes an illegal (and immoral) act. Therefore, Study 4 examined whether it is the existence of stigma itself that guides evaluations or the valence (positive/negative) of the event it is associated with. In Study 4 leaders' controllable stigma was attributed to either a positive event that was controllable (e.g. accident after feeding birds) or a negative event that was controllable (e.g. drink-driving). Uncontrollable stigma leaders were presented as *generally* engaging in positive (e.g. putting food out for birds) or negative behaviours (e.g. drink driving) while leaders with fully-controllable stigma (by choice) were also shown to engage in either

positive or negative behaviours. The findings showed that there was no significant main effect of stigma on evaluations but a significant main effect of valence. Overall, transgressive leaders who engaged in positive behaviours were evaluated more favourably than those who engaged in negative behaviours. These findings were an indication that it is not the stigma itself that guides participants' evaluations but the perceived moral valence of its cause (i.e. the good or bad event that led to it). So, in order to ensure that stigma itself has an effect in evaluations, the currently study manipulated stigma (or no stigma), rather than stigma controllability.

Importantly, as mentioned earlier, the current study also attempted to replicate findings from our archival investigation (which showed that women with stigma are underrepresented in positions of leadership). Therefore, in the current study we employed a 4-factor between-participants design using Role (Leader, Member), Transgression (Transgression, Normative), Gender (Male, Female) and Stigma (Stigma, No Stigma) and an additional repeated-measures factor on the target judged (leader vs member). So, participants always evaluated the target judged (leader, member) irrespective of condition- see Figure 33 for further elaboration.

7.3.Aims & Hypotheses

Due to the complexity of this study's design, hypotheses will be outlined in the below table.

Table 32
Hypotheses for Study 6

Hypotheses
H1: Female targets will be evaluated more negatively than male targets across measures[6]
H2: Female targets with stigma will be evaluated less positively than males with stigma across measures and irrespective of role.
H3: Transgressive female targets will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive and normative male targets.
H4: Transgressive female leaders with stigma will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive male leaders with stigma.
H5: Transgressive members will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive leaders, irrespective of gender.
H6: Transgressive leaders with stigma will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive leaders with no stigma.
H7: Transgressive female leaders with stigma will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive or normative male leaders with stigma.
H8: There will be no difference between evaluations of transgressive members with stigma and transgressive members with no stigma.
H9: Leaders will be evaluated more positively than members, irrespective of transgression, gender and stigma across measures.
H10: Transgressive female members will be evaluated more negatively than transgressive male members across measures.
H11: Targets with stigma will be evaluated less positively than targets with no stigma, irrespective of role, gender and transgression and across measures.

[6] Measures include: evaluations, prototypicality, stereotypicality, morality of person, morality of act, causal responsibility, moral responsibility. So, it is expected that female targets will be considered less prototypical, stereotypical and moral and score lower in general evaluations. Also, it is expected that females will be perceived more morally and causally responsible and their act will be thought of as less moral.

7.4.Method

Participants

Participants were recruited online using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in return for 1USD. A total of 357 participants were recruited. Participants ranged in age from 20 to 74: Mage = 36.92. Amongst participants, 195 (54.6%) were male and 161 (45.1%) were female. One participant (.3%) did not wish to identify their gender. 233 (65.3%) participants were Caucasian, 15 (4.2%) were Hispanic, 29 (8.1%) were Black, 65 (18.2%) were Asian, 10 (2.8%) were mixed race and 5 (1.4%) preferred not to say. Participants were asked whether they had any long-term illness or disability: among participants, 55(15.4%) did and 302 (84.6%) did not. Among those, 6 (1.7%) reported a learning impairment, 16 (4.5%) a mental impairment, 26 (7.3%) a physical impairment, 2 (.6%) a sensory impairment, 7 (2%) chose 'other type of impairment' and 3 (.8%) preferred not to say.

Procedure and Materials

A survey was created using Qualtrics and made available on MTurk. MTurk users were then able to see a short description of the study and take part. Participants were first asked to complete a consent form. The consent form included a brief introduction to the study and information about how their data would be used (e.g. anonymity). Only participants who fully consented (i.e. had read the information provided to them, understood their data would be anonymous and understood they could withdraw from the study at any point) could continue to the survey.

Participants that gave their consent were then asked some demographic information (age, ethnicity, gender), whether they had any form of disability and whether or not they had any contact with disability during the last year. Once these measures were completed, participants were presented with a scenario. The scenario was adapted from an online

newspaper expert which described an incident of political corruption. Names were replaced to reflect the person's role (leader vs member). Reference to the person was either made as a he or a she in order to manipulate gender. The leader/member was either transgressive or normative and either carried or did not carry a stigma (Appendix H).

The passage described either a leader (party's leader) or a member (party's chairperson) as either transgressive or normative (depending on condition). At the end of the passage, participants were provided with information about whether the leader or member was a wheelchair user or not (stigma manipulation). Depending on condition, the leader/member was either a woman or a man (gender manipulation) (Appendix H). While our archival study looked at both mental and physical stigma, in order to keep the scenario more consistent with studies 1-4, we manipulated stigma only as a physical disability. Participants were randomly assigned to condition.

Dependent Measures

Similar to Study 4 dependent measures were kept constant: *Evaluations* (α = .78 for both the leader and member), *Prototypicality* (α = .91 for the leader and α = .93 for the member), *Stereotypicality* (α = .91 for the leader and α = .92 for the member), *Moral Responsibility* (α = .89 for the leader and α = .87 for the member) and *Morality of Person* (α = .97 for the leader and the member). For *Causal Responsibility*, item 3 (*"It is the type of person the [leader/member] is"*) was removed because it is a dispositional attribution while all other items emphasised situational factors (e.g. 1.*"The [leader/member] felt there was no other option",* 2. *"It was a passing emotion").* The resulting reliability was α = .82 for the leader and α = .82 for the member. Reliability analysis for the *Morality of Act* showed that the scale was not reliable (α = .38). Removing item 3 (*what the [leader/member] does, does not bother me at all… bothers me a lot)* would increase the scale's reliability. Item 3 focuses on

individual affective responses rather than how moral or immoral the act is so, it was removed. The reliability then increased to α = .95 for the leader and α = .93 for the member.

7.5.Results

7.5.1. Analytic Strategy

First, factor analyses were conducted only on measures of Prototypicality and Stereotypicality to further ensure that the updated measure of prototypicality and the measure of stereotypicality were conceptually different and loaded on single factors.

A GLM was then conducted using a 2 (Role) x 2 (Transgression) x 2(Gender) x 2(Stigma) between-subjects design with an additional repeated measures factor on the target judged (target of DV: leader, member)

Example Condition	Manipulation-extract	Repeated Measures Factor Example Items
Male leader-transgressive and stigmatised	Corruption scandals tarnished the reputation of party's leader and chairperson. The party's **leader** has caught up in another two corruption scandals. The **party's leader** has been confined to a wheelchair throughout his career. The party's chairperson resigned shortly after scandals	**Evaluations:** Participants asked to evaluate the leader and the member (e.g. *warm, likeable*) **Prototypicality:** Participants asked to judge prototypicality of member and leader (e.g. *the leader/member is typical of the party)*
Male leader-normative and not stigmatised	Corruption scandals tarnished the reputation of the party. The party's **chairperson** resigned shortly after the scandal broke out. The party's leader continued his career in politics, although at a different political party	**Evaluations:** Participants asked to evaluate the leader and the member (e.g. *warm, likeable*) **Prototypicality:** Participants asked to judge prototypicality of member and leader (e.g. *the leader/member is typical of the party)*

Figure 33. Examples of vignettes employed in Study 6

7.5.2. Factor Analyses

We conducted a Factor Analysis using Maximum Likelihood estimation and Promax Rotation in order to ensure all items for leader prototypicality loaded on the same factor. The analysis showed a single factor fitting the data: the KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .90 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 349) = 1874.75., $p < .001$. A single factor with 6 items was retained at χ^2 (13, 349) =30.49, $p = .004$.

We followed the same procedure for the measure of member prototypicality. Item 4 (*The member should definitely continue working at the party)* cross-loaded above the value of .5 and so, was removed. The remaining 7 items formed a single factor: The KMO measure of sampling adequacy for the new factor was .91 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 349) = 1701.31, $p < .001$. The single factor was retained at χ^2 (14, 349) = 128.25, $p < .001$. Item 4 was removed from both the leader and member prototypicality to ensure a consistent analytical approach throughout.

The same procedure was applied for leader and member stereotypicality. For leader stereotypicality, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .89 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 349) = 1935.41, $p < .001$ A single factor was retained at χ^2 (13, 349) = 82.40, $p < 001$. For member stereotypicality, the KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .90 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant at χ^2 (28, 349) = 1895.72, $p < .001$. A single factor was retained at χ^2 (20, 349) = 265. 43, $p < .001$.

7.5.3. GLM

We conducted a GLM in a 2 (Stigma) x 2 (Gender) x 2 (Transgression) x 2 (Role) x 2 (Target judged for each DV) with within-subjects factor on the target judged for each DV. The following section will present a table of overall effects and proceed with findings for each DV. Due to the complexity of this design, descriptive statistics for all DVs by conditions can be found in Appendix I.

Table 33a.
Within-subjects multivariate effects

	F (7, 313)	*Sig.*	ηp^2
WithinFactor * Stigma	2.64	0.012	.06
WithinFactor * LeadMemb	12.12	<.001	.21
WithinFactor * Gend	1.92	0.065	.04
WithinFactor * Transgressive	0.66	0.705	.02
WithinFactor * Stigma * LeadMemb	2.24	0.031	.05
WithinFactor * Stigma * Gend	0.24	0.974	.01
WithinFactor * Stigma * Transgressive	1.08	0.379	.02
WithinFactor * LeadMemb * Gend	0.94	0.475	.02
WithinFactor * LeadMemb * Transgressive	0.69	0.685	.02
WithinFactor * Gend * Transgressive	0.77	0.616	.02
WithinFactor * Stigma * LeadMemb * Gend	1.24	0.279	.03
WithinFactor * Stigma * LeadMemb * Transgressive	1.42	0.196	.03
WithinFactor * Stigma * Gend * Transgressive	1.51	0.164	.03
WithinFactor * LeadMemb * Gend * Transgressive	1.15	0.333	.03
WithinFactor * Stigma * LeadMemb * Gend * Transgressive	1.28	0.258	.03

Table 33b.
Within-Subjects effects for significant univariate interactions

	SS	*df*	*F*	*Sig.*	ηp^2
Evaluations * Stigma * Gender * Transgression	0.95	1	3.70	0.055	.01
Prototypicality * Role	3.66	1	12.75	<.001	.04
Prototypicality * Stigma * Role	2.07	1	7.21	0.008	.02
Stereotypicality * Role	9.22	1	20.68	<.001	.06
Stereotypicality * Stigma * Role * Transgression	2.50	1	5.61	0.018	.02
MoPerson * Stigma	6.42	1	7.07	0.008	.02
MoPerson * Role	13.27	1	14.61	<.001	.04
MoPerson * Stigma * Role	5.14	1	5.66	0.018	.02
MoAct * Stigma	5.00	1	5.27	0.022	.02
MoAct * Gender	4.94	1	5.21	0.023	.02
CR * Stigma	2.28	1	12.76	<.001	.40
CR * Role	7.57	1	44.01	<.001	.12

Evaluations

This analysis showed a significant main effect of Gender $F(1, 341) = 4.55$, $p = .023$, $\eta p^2 = .01$. Pairwise comparisons showed that, overall, participants evaluated female members ($M = 3.32$, $SE = .08$) more positively than male members ($M = 3.10$, $SE = .07$) (Mean Difference= -.22, $p = .023$). This is contrary to our original predictions **(H1):** this result is discussed in detail in the discussion section of this chapter. Within-subjects' contrasts showed a marginally significant four-way interaction between target of evaluations, stigma, gender and transgression $F(1, 341) = 3.70$, p = .055, $\eta p^2 = .01$ **(H2).** Pairwise comparisons showed that female normative members with stigma were evaluated more positively ($M = 3.41$, $SE = .13$) than their male counterparts ($M = 3.00$, $SE = .13$) (Mean Difference= .41, $p = .032$). All other comparisons were non-significant (all Fs <2.32 all $p > 80$).

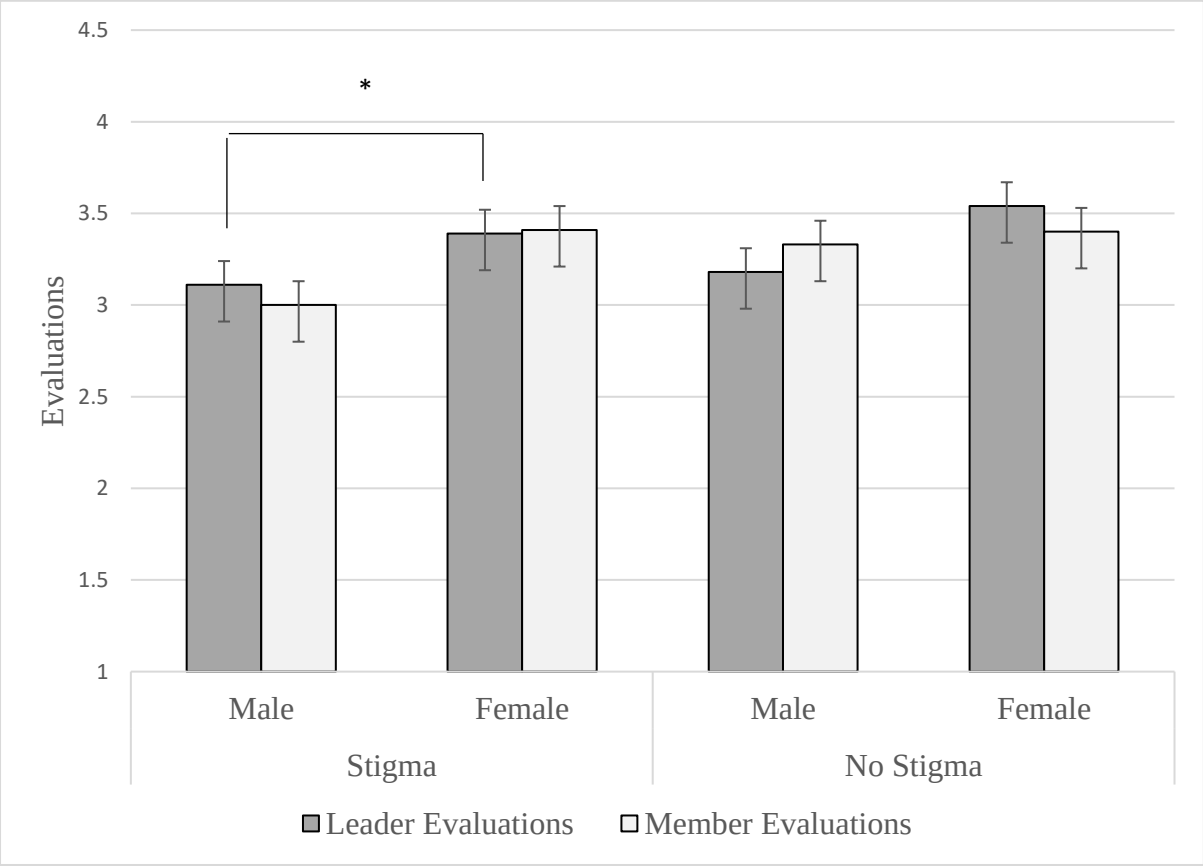

Figure 34. Interaction between Stigma, Gender and Evaluations for Normative target. Evaluations: 1 (not at all)-7(completely) scale. Error bars represent standard error.

Table 34.
Means and Standard Errors for Stigma, Evaluations and Gender when Target is Normative

		Leader Evaluations		Member Evaluations	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	Male	3.11	0.13	3.00	0.13
	Female	3.39	0.13	3.41	0.13
No Stigma	Male	3.18	0.17	3.33	0.17
	Female	3.54	0.20	3.40	0.20

Prototypicality

Our GLM analysis showed a significant interaction between target of prototypicality judged and role (Leader vs Member) $F(1, 331) = 12.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Participants in the leader condition, found the member to be more prototypical ($M = 2.50$, $SE = .09$) than the leader ($M = 2.40$, $SE = .08$) (Mean Difference = 0.10, $p = .010$). Participants in the member condition, found the leader to be more prototypical ($M = 2.68$, $SE = .07$) than the member ($M = 2.47$, $SE = .07$) (Mean Difference= .21, $p < .001$).

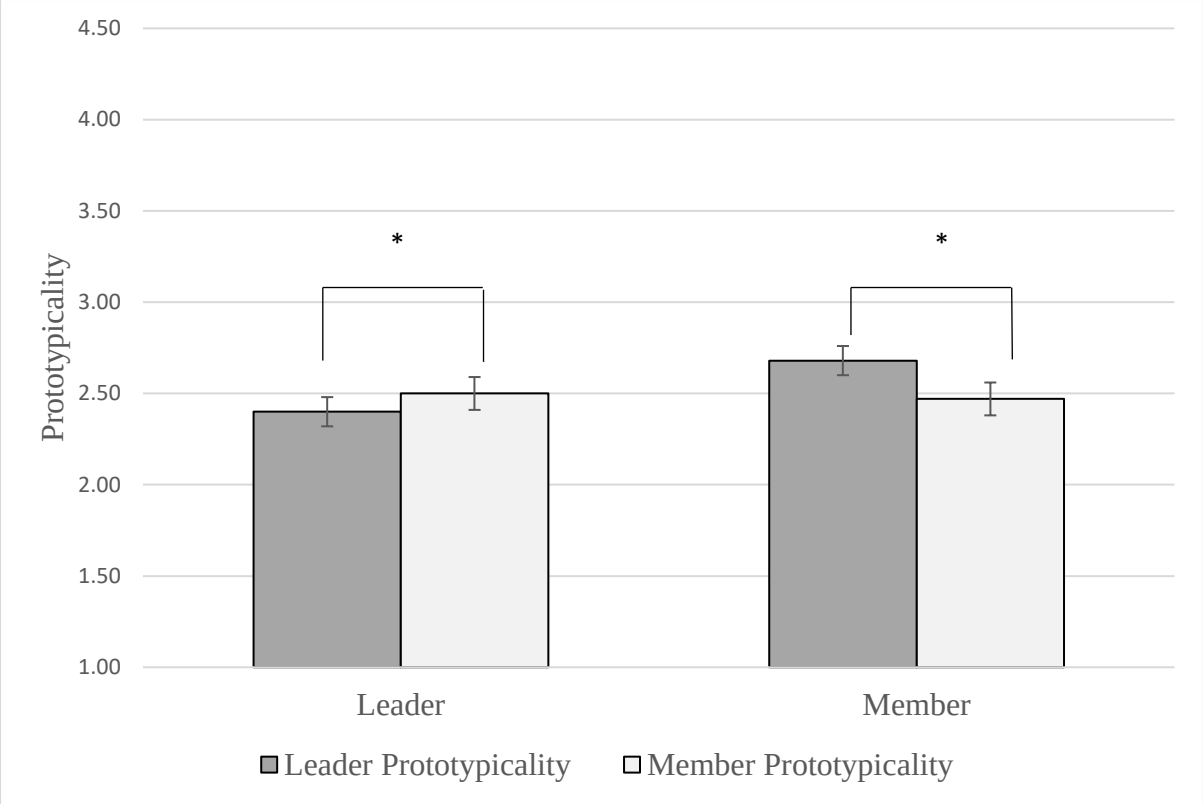

Figure 35. Interaction between prototypicality (target judged) and role (leader vs member). Error bars represent standard error. Prototypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale.

Table 35.
Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality (target judged) by Role.

	Leader Prototypicality		Member Prototypicality	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Leader	2.40	0.08	2.50	0.09
Member	2.68	0.07	2.47	0.07

There was also a significant interaction between the target judged for prototypicality (within-subjects), stigma and role $F(1, 331) = 7.21$, $p = .019$, $\eta p^2 = .02$. Examination of pairwise comparisons showed that in the no stigma condition, participants thought of the leader as less prototypical ($M = 2.29$, $SE = .14$) than the member ($M = 2.58$, $SE = .14$) (Mean Difference= -.29, $p = .001$) **(H11)**. Importantly, participants found the transgressive members to be more prototypical in the no stigma condition ($M = 2.60$, $SE = .10$) compared to the

stigma condition (*M* = 2.33, *SE* = .10) (Mean Difference= .26, *p* =.013) **(H8)**. Finally, participants in the stigma condition thought of the leader as more prototypical (*M* = 2.51, *SE* = .09) than the member (*M* = 2.33, *SE* = .10) (Mean Difference= .18, *p* = .001). All other comparisons were non-significant (all *F*s ≤ 3.11, all *p*s < .1)

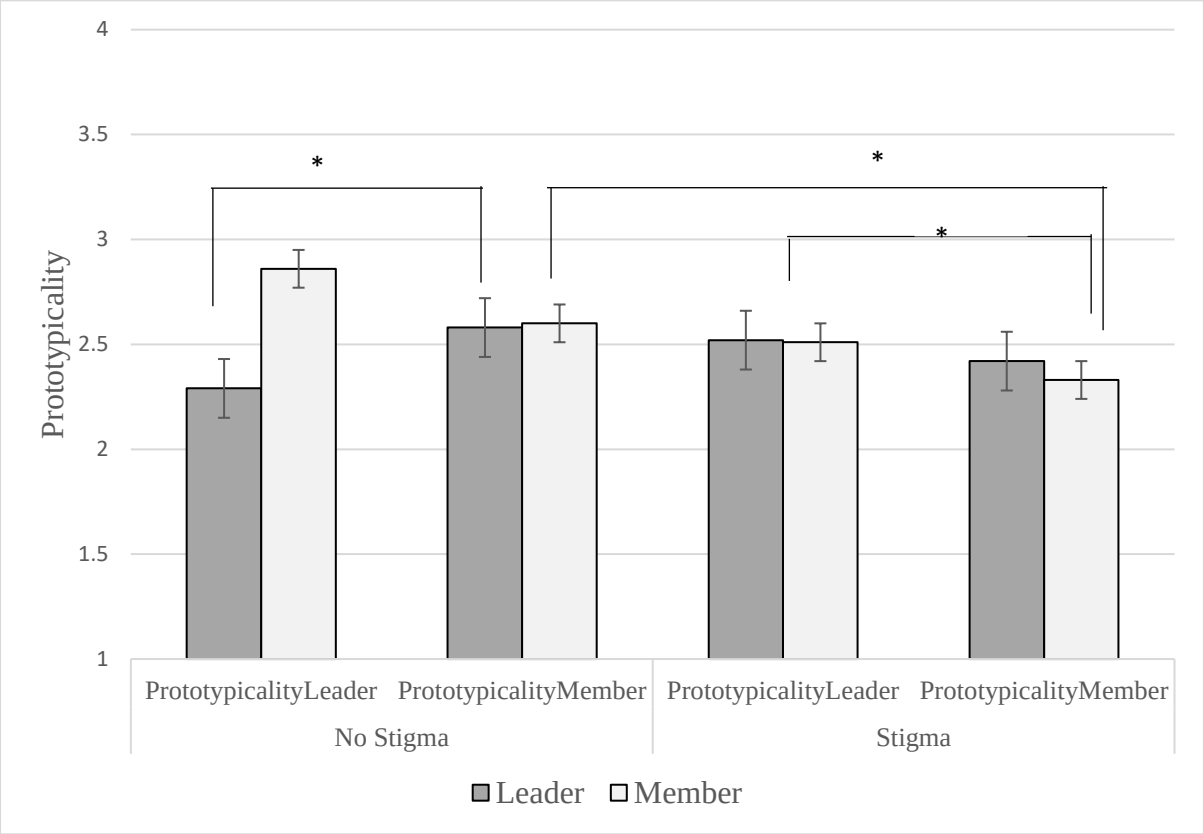

Figure 36. Interaction between Prototypicality (target judged), Stigma and Role. Error bars represent standard error. Prototypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale

Table 36.
Means and Standard Errors for Stigma, Prototypicality (target judged) and Role.

		Leader		Member	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
No Stigma	PrototypicalityLeader	2.29	0.14	2.86	0.1
	PrototypicalityMember	2.58	0.14	2.60	0.1
Stigma	PrototypicalityLeader	2.52	0.09	2.51	0.09
	PrototypicalityMember	2.42	0.10	2.33	0.1

Stereotypicality

There was also a significant interaction between target of stereotypicality judged and Role (Leader vs Member) $F(1, 341) = 20.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .06$. Pairwise comparisons showed that irrespective of stigma, gender and status participants found members to be more stereotypical when the focus of the scenario was on the member ($M = 3.43$, $SE = .10$) compared to the leader ($M = 3.09$, $SE = .12$). Also, participants evaluated leaders as more stereotypical than members in the leader condition ($M = 3.52$, $SE = .12$), compared to the member condition ($M = 3.36$, $SE = .10$) (Mean Difference= .43, $p < .001$) **(H9).**

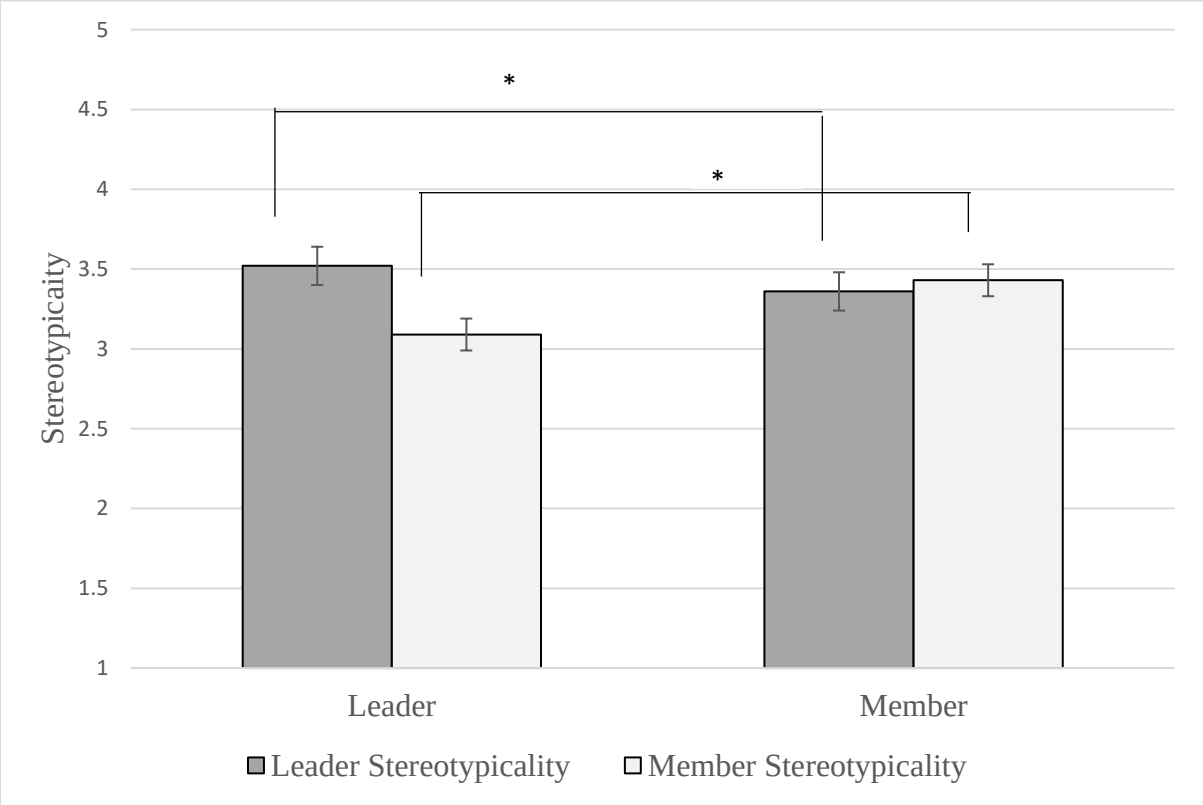

Figure 37. Interaction between Stereotypicality (target judged) and Role. Error bars represent standard error. Stereotypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale

Table 37.
Means and Standard Errors for perceived Leader and Member Stereotypicality by Role

	Leader		Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Leader Stereotypicality	3.52	0.12	3.36	0.10
Member Stereotypicality	3.09	0.12	3.43	0.10

Our findings also showed a significant four-way interaction between stigma, role, transgression and target of stereotypicality judged F (1, 332) = 5.61, p = .018, ηp^2 = .02. Pairwise comparisons showed that participants perceived the leader to be more stereotypical (M = 3.82, SE = .19) when he/she was stigmatised and normative compared to when the member was stigmatised and normative (M = 3.30, SE = .17) (Mean Difference= .52, p = .018) **(H9)**. Pairwise comparisons also showed that participants found stigmatised leaders who transgressed (M = 3.22, SE = .20) less stereotypical than those who did not transgress (M = 3.82, SE .19) (Mean Difference= -.60, p = .027). Finally, pairwise comparisons showed that transgressive leaders (M = 3.61, SE = .24) that were not stigmatised were thought of as more stereotypical than members who were stigmatised (M = 3.14, SE = .25) (Mean Difference = .46, p < .001). All other comparisons were non-significant (all Fs < 2, all ps > .1).

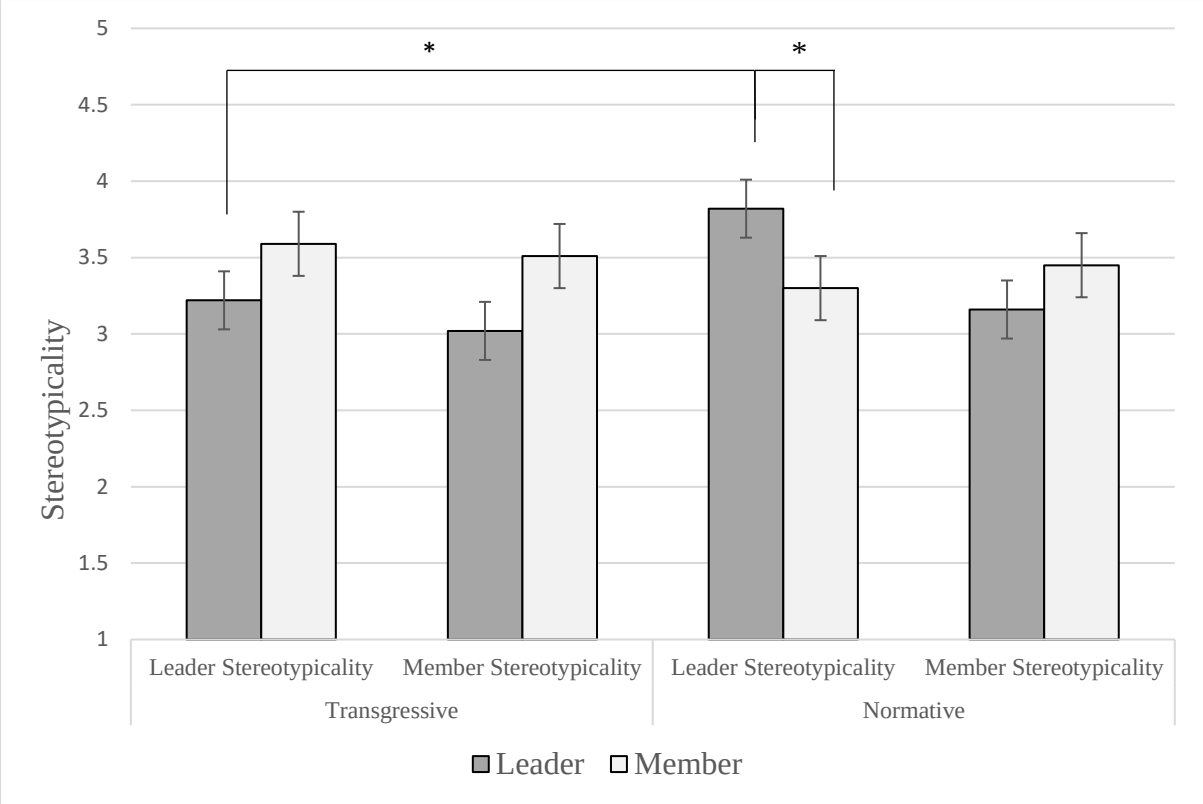

Figure 38a Interaction between Stereotypicality (target judged), Role and Transgression for Stigma condition. Error bars represent standard error.

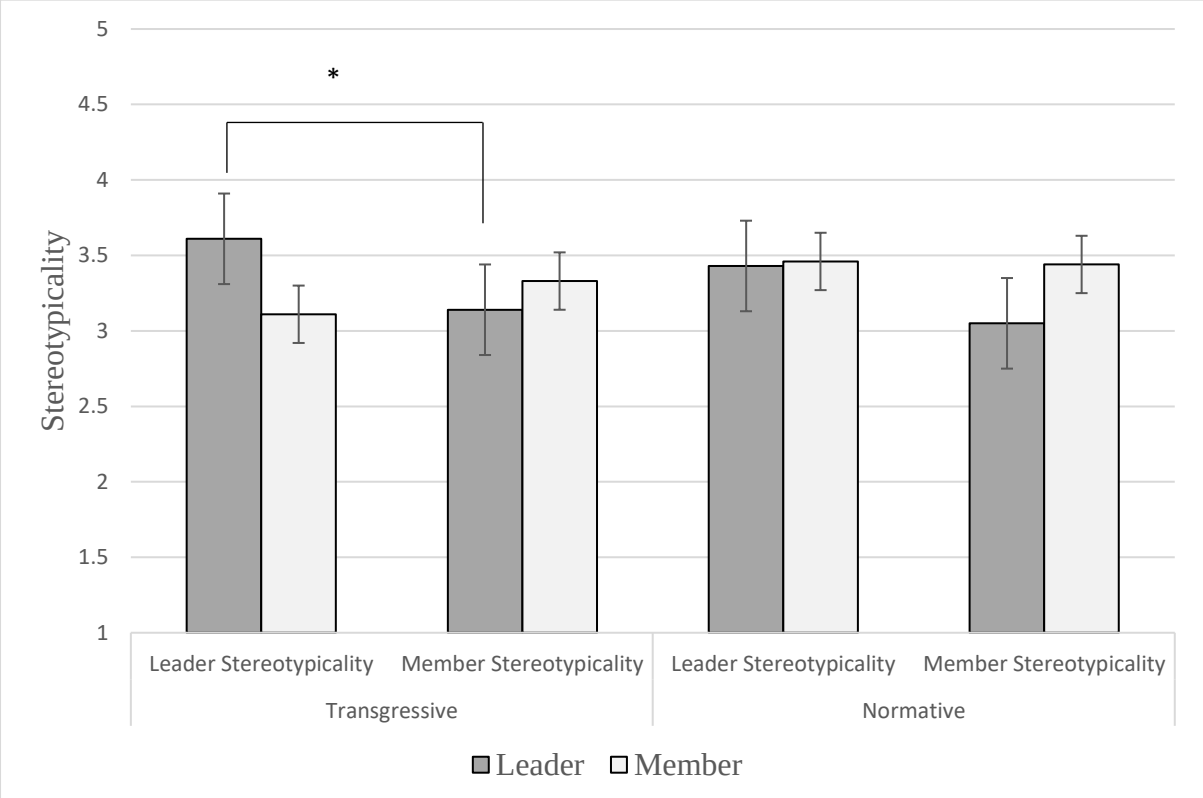

Figure 38b. Interaction between Stereotypicality (target judged), Role and Transgr. for No Stigma. Error bars represent standard error. Stereotypicality: 1(strongly disagree)-5(strongly agree) scale

Table 38.
Means and Standard Errors for Stigma, Status, Role and Stereotypicality

			Leader		Member	
			M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	Transgressive	Leader Stereotypicality	3.22	0.20	3.59	0.20
		Member Stereotypicality	3.02	0.20	3.51	0.21
	Normative	Leader Stereotypicality	3.82	0.19	3.30	0.17
		Member Stereotypicality	3.16	0.19	3.45	0.18
NoStigma	Transgressive	Leader Stereotypicality	3.61	0.24	3.11	0.22
		Member Stereotypicality	3.14	0.25	3.33	0.22
	Normative	Leader Stereotypicality	3.43	0.30	3.46	0.19
		Member Stereotypicality	3.05	0.30	3.44	0.19

Morality of Person

There was a significant interaction between the target for morality of person judged and Stigma $F(1, 324) = 7.07$, $p = .008$, $\eta p^2 = .02$. Pairwise comparisons showed that participants evaluated the member as more moral in the no-stigma condition ($M = 2.78$, $SE = .15$) compared to the stigma condition ($M = 2.41$, $SE = .11$) (Mean difference = .37, $p = .010$) **(H8)**. Additionally, participants found the member (target judged) ($M = 2.78$, $SE = .15$) to be more moral than the leader ($M = 2.46$, $SE = .14$) (Mean Difference= .32, $p = .046$) in the no stigma condition **(H9)**. There were no other significant differences.

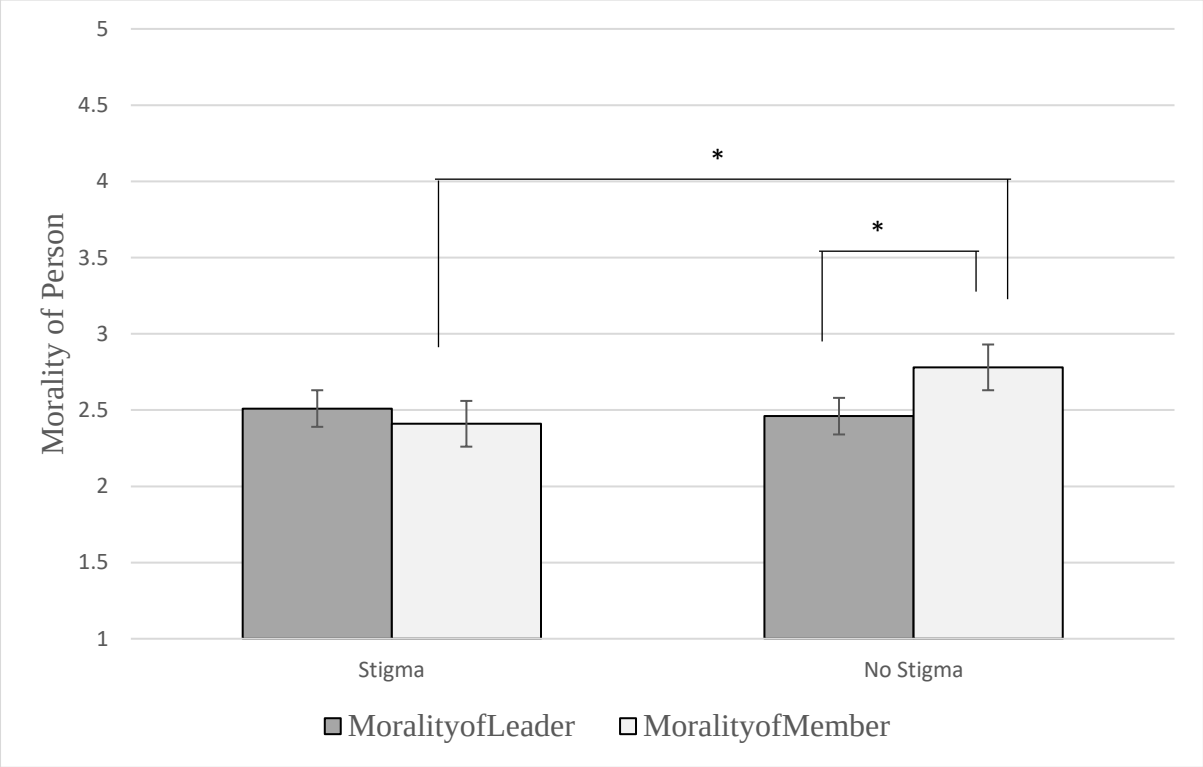

Figure 39. Interaction between Morality of Person (of target judged) and Stigma. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Person: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 39.
Means and Standard Errors for Stigma and Morality of Person.

	Morality of Leader		Morality of Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	2.51	0.12	2.41	0.11
No Stigma	2.46	0.15	2.78	0.15

There was also a significant interaction between the target judged for morality of person and Role $F(1, 324) = 14.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Participants in the leader condition, evaluated the member ($M = 2.76$, $SE = .14$) as more moral than the leader ($M = 2.35$, $SE = .15$) (Mean Difference= .42, $p = .001$).

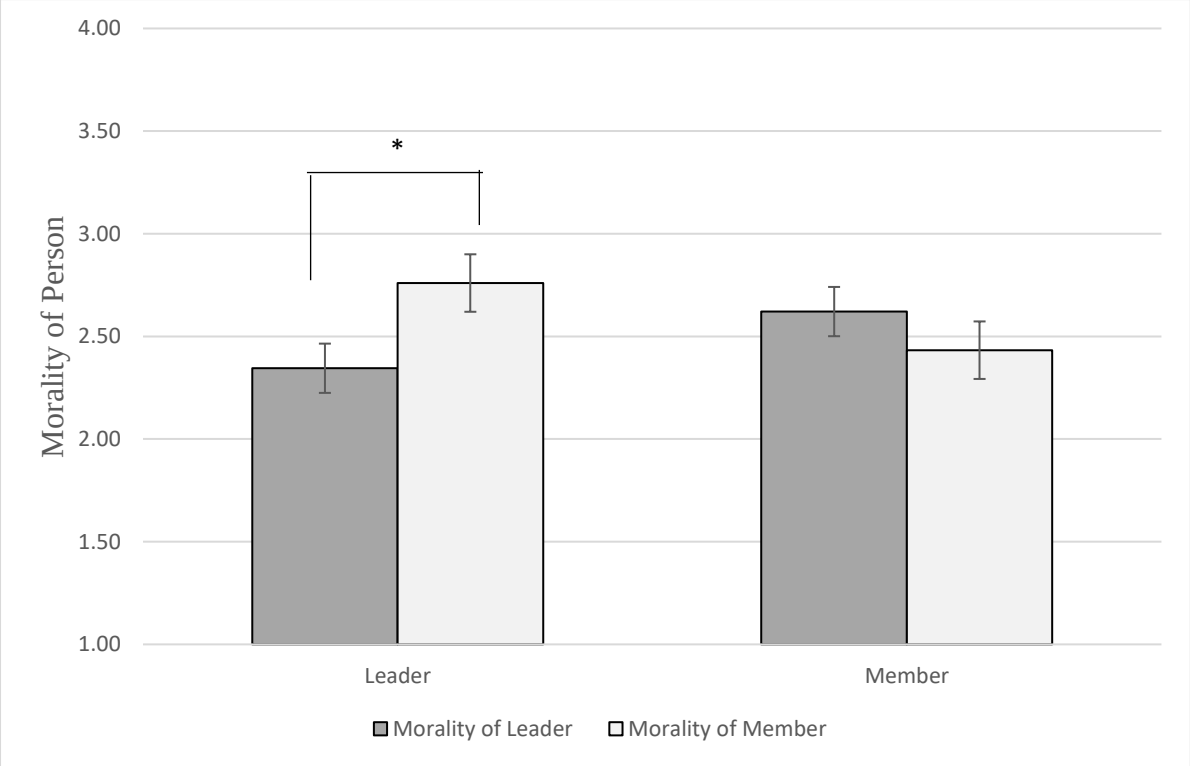

Figure 40. Interaction between Role and Morality of Person (of target judged). Error bars represent standard errors. Morality of Person: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 40.
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person by Role.

	Morality of Leader		Morality of Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Leader	2.35	0.15	2.76	0.14
Member	2.62	0.12	2.43	0.12

There was a significant three-way interaction between target judged for morality of person, stigma and role $F(1, 324) = 5.66$, $p = .018$, $\eta p^2 = .02$. Participants who were

presented with a transgressive non-stigmatised leader, judged the morality of the normative member higher (M = 3.08, SE = .24) compared to when the non-stigmatised member transgressed condition (M = 2.49, SE = .17) (Mean Difference= .59, p = .027). Participants also found the perceived morality of the member lower when the leader was stigmatised (M = 2.44, SE = .16) compared to when the leader was not stigmatised (M = 3.08, SE = .24) (Mean Difference = -.63, p < .001). Finally, pairwise comparisons also showed that in cases where the leader carries no stigma, participants thought of the member (M = 3.08, SE = .24) as more moral than the leader (M = 2.26, SE = .24) (Mean Difference = .81, p = .045). All other comparisons were non-significant (all Fs < 1.83, all ps > .1).

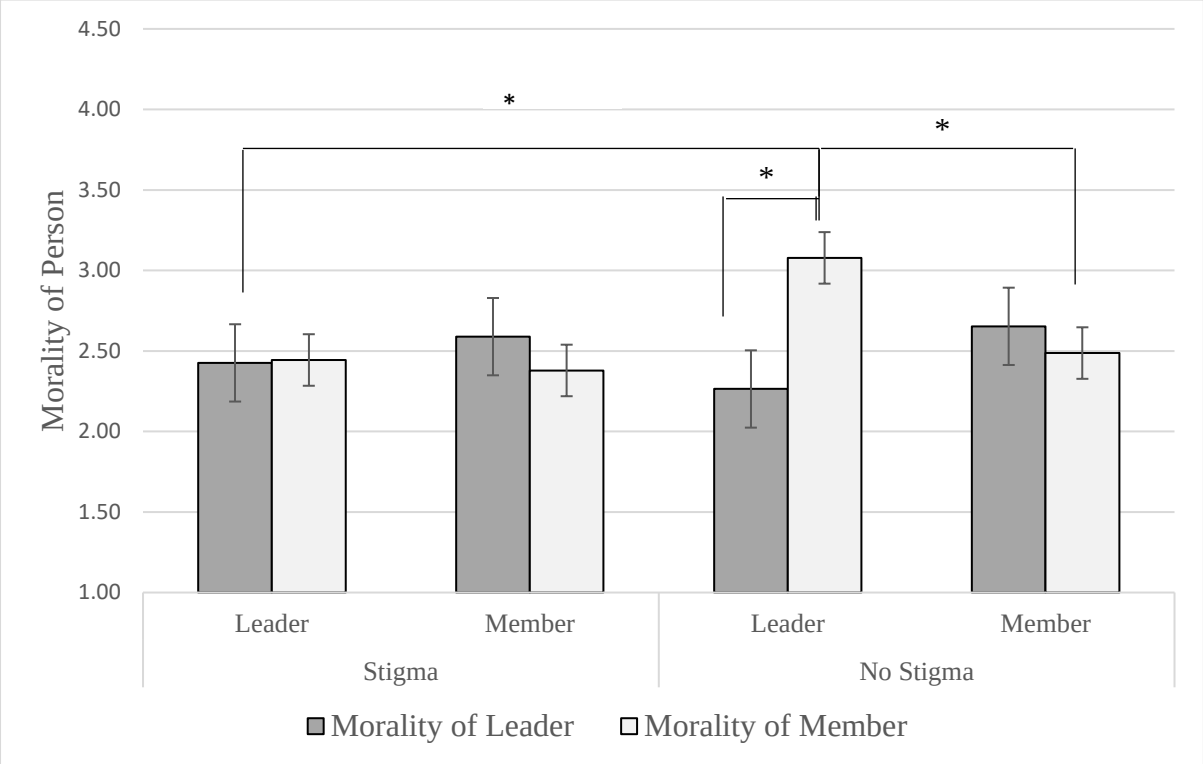

Figure 41. Interaction between Morality of Person (of target judged), Stigma and Role. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Person: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 41.
Means and Standard Errors for Stigma, Role and Morality of Person.

		Morality of Leader		Morality of Member	
		M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	Leader	2.43	0.17	2.44	0.16
	Member	2.59	0.17	2.38	0.16
No Stigma	Leader	2.26	0.24	3.08	0.24
	Member	2.65	0.18	2.49	0.17

Causal Responsibility

There was a significant interaction between target judged for causal responsibility and stigma $F(1, 329) = 12.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .04$. Pairwise comparisons showed that participants in the no stigma condition, thought the member ($M = 2.54$, $SE = .07$) was more causally responsible than the leader ($M = 2.35$, $SE = .06$) (Mean Difference = .19, $p < .001$).

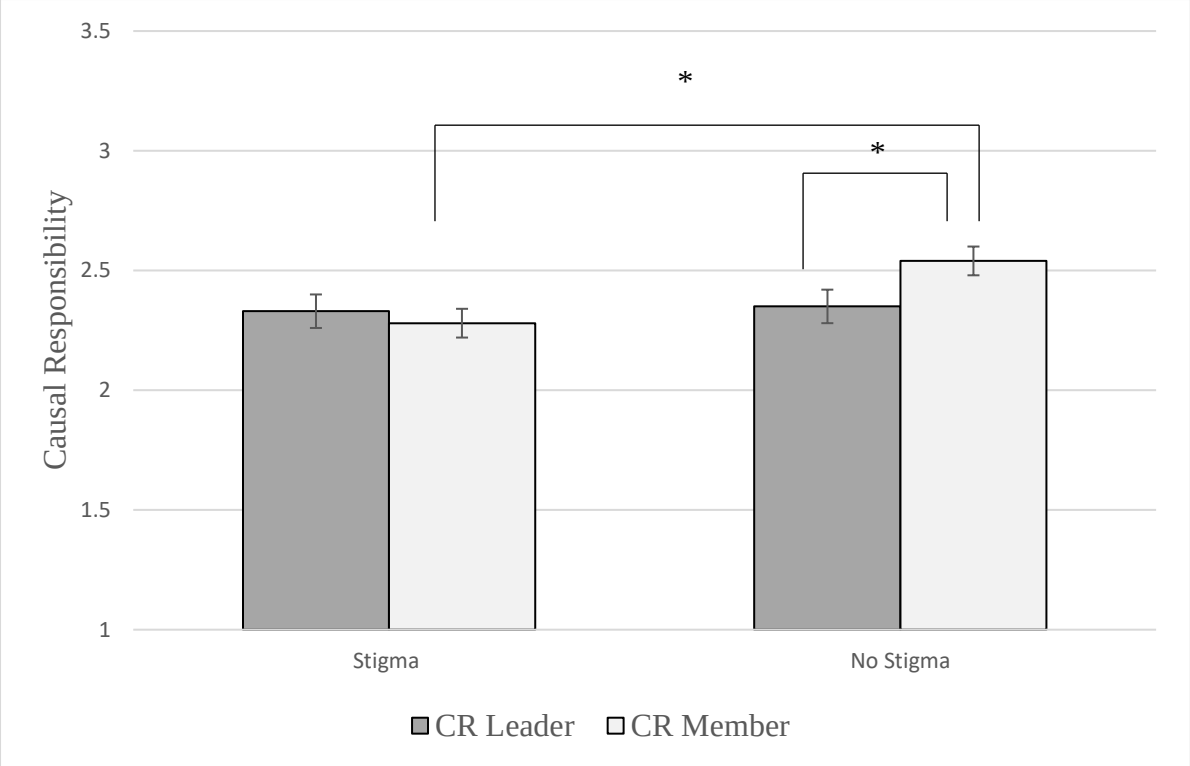

Figure 42. Interaction between Causal Responsibility (of target judged) and Stigma. Error bars represent standard error. Causal Responsibility: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 42.
Means and Standard Errors Causal Responsibility by Stigma.

	CR Leader		CR Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Stigma	2.33	0.06	2.28	0.06
No Stigma	2.35	0.07	2.54	0.07

There was also a significant interaction between the target judged for causal responsibility and role (Leader vs Member) F (1, 329) = 44.01, $p < .001$, $\eta p^2 = .12$. Pairwise comparisons showed that in the leader condition, participants awarded higher causal responsibility to the member (M = 2.53, SE = .07) compared to the leader (M = 2.24, SE = 07) (Mean Difference = .29, $p < .001$) **(H9)**. Additionally, in the member condition, participants awarded higher CR to the leader (M = 2.45, SE = .06) compared to the member (M = 2.29, SE = .06) (Mean Difference = .16, p = .034). Findings also showed that participants

perceived the leader to be less causally responsible in the leader condition (*M* = 2.24, *SE* = .07) compared to the member condition (*M* = 2.45, *SE* = .06) (Mean Difference = .-.21, *p* = .019) and the member to be more causally responsible in the leader condition (*M* = 2.53, *SE* = .06) compared to the member condition (*M* = 2.29, *SE* = .06) (Mean Difference = .23, *p* < .001). All other comparisons were non-significant (all *F*s <1, all *p*s > .1)

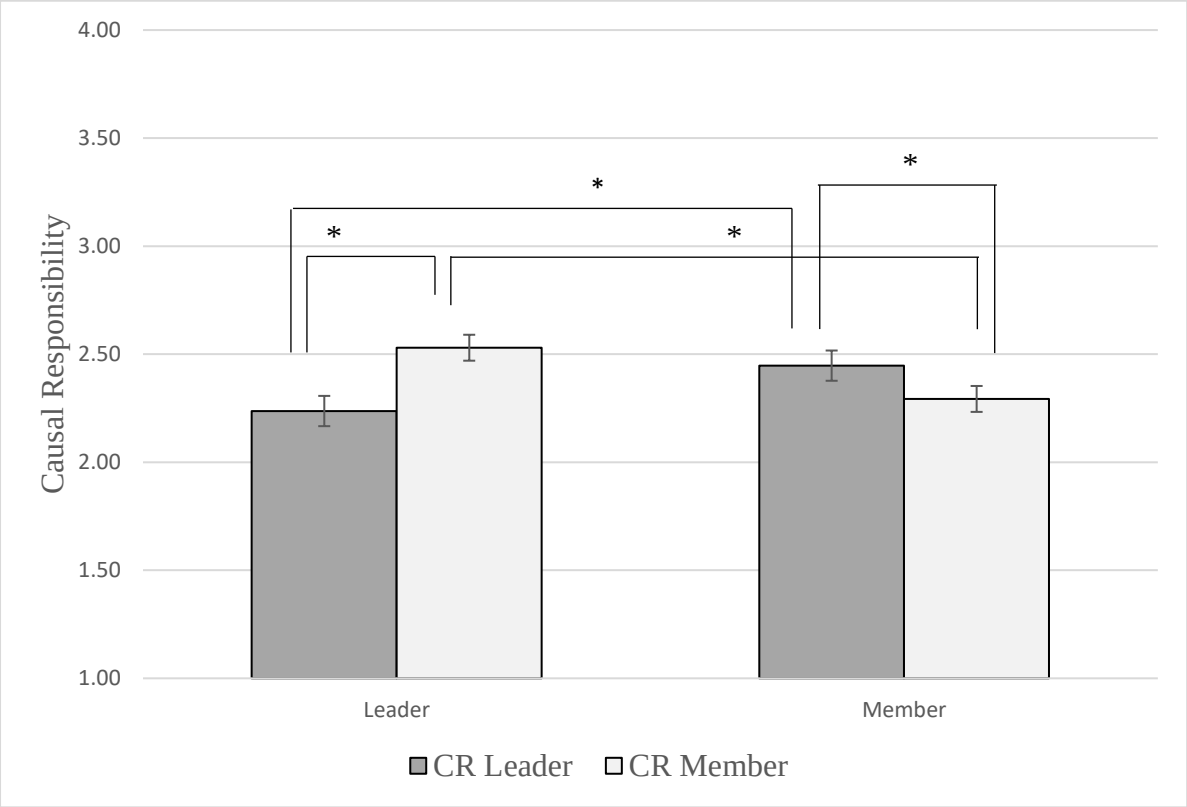

Figure 43. Interaction between Causal Responsibility (of target judged) and Role. Error bars represent standard error. Causal Responsibility: 1(strongly disagree)- 5(strongly agree).

Table 43.
Means and Standard Errors for Causal Responsibility by Role.

	CR Leader		CR Member	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
Leader	2.24	0.07	2.53	0.07
Member	2.45	0.06	2.29	0.06

Morality of Act

There was a significant interaction between morality of act and stigma $F(1, 322) = 5.27$, $p = .022$, $\eta p^2 = .02$. Pairwise comparisons showed that in the stigma condition, participants evaluated the morality of the member's act lower ($M = 1.99$, $SE = .12$) than in the no-stigma condition ($M = 2.46$, $SE = .16$) **(H11)**.

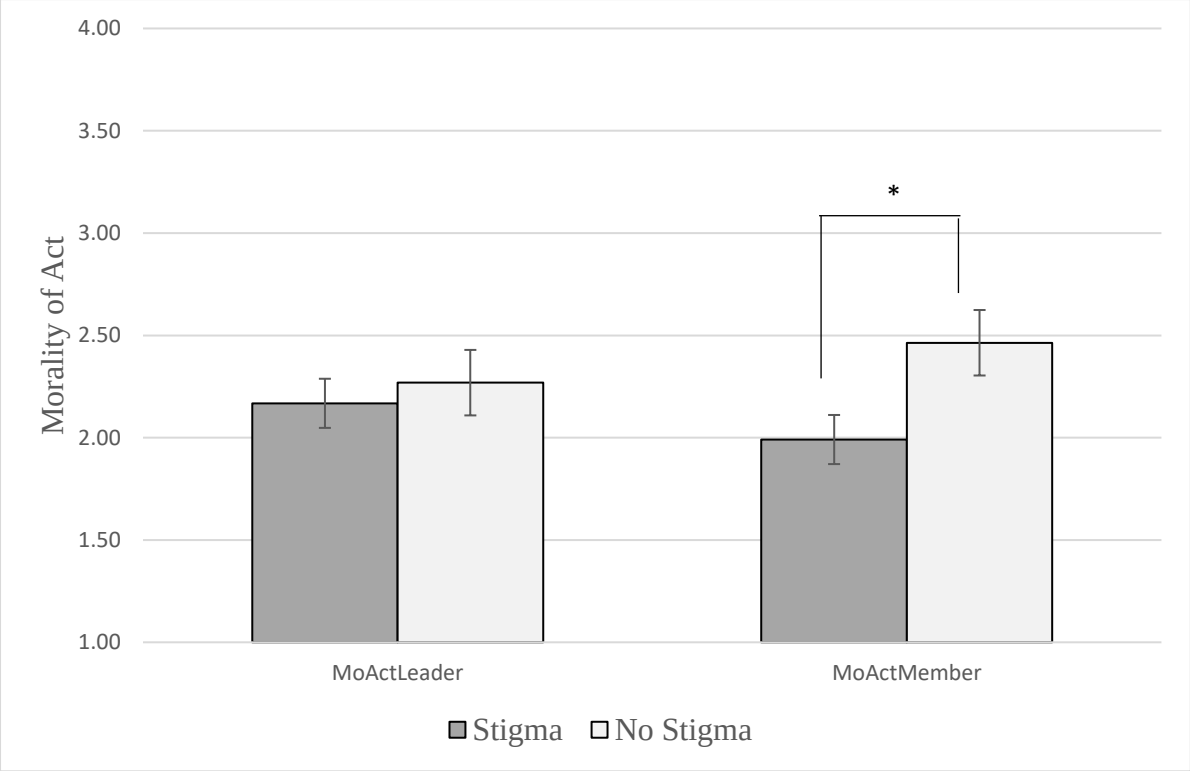

Figure 44. Interaction between Morality of Act and Stigma. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Act: 1-7 (bipolar items).

Table 44.
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Act by Stigma.

	Stigma		No Stigma	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
MoActLeader	2.17	0.12	2.27	0.16
MoActMember	1.99	0.12	2.46	0.16

There was also a significant interaction between the perceived morality of the act and gender $F(1, 322) = 5.21$, $p = .016$, $\eta p^2 = .02$. Pairwise comparisons showed that the perceived morality of the leader varied significantly between males and females; that is, participants found the leader's act more moral for females ($M = 2.45$, $SE = .15$) compared to males ($M = 1.98$, $SE = .13$) **(H1)**. All other comparisons were non-significant (all Fs <2, all ps > .05)

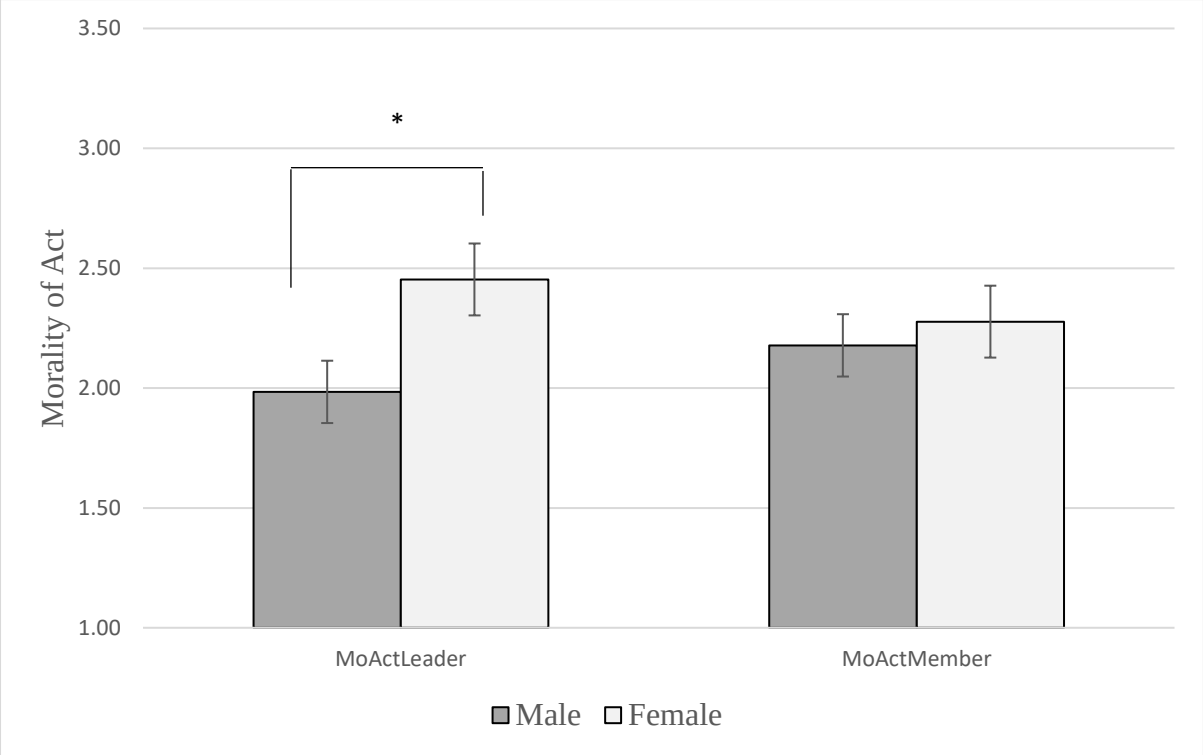

Figure 45. Interaction between Morality of Act and Gender. Error bars represent standard error. Morality of Act: 1-7 (bipolar items).

Table 45.
Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Act by Gender

	Male		Female	
	M	*SE*	*M*	*SE*
MoActLeader	1.98	0.13	2.45	0.15
MoActMember	2.18	0.13	2.28	0.15

7.6.Discussion

This study aimed at a) systematically investigating the role of gender and stigma in evaluations of leaders and b) validating previous findings in this thesis. Given the complex experimental design this required [2(Gender: Male vs Female) x2(Stigma: Stigma vs No Stigma) x2 (Role: Leader vs Member) x2 (Status: Transgressive vs Normative)], findings will be discussed against each of dependent measures. Limitations and Implications will also be discussed at the end of this section.

7.6.1. Evaluations on the basis of gender, role, stigma and deviance (transgression).

We predicted that a) female leaders would be evaluated more negatively than male leaders and that b) this result would be exacerbated when leaders were stigmatised. Contrary to our original predictions, no significant differences in the evaluation of male and female leaders were observed. Our findings showed that female members (not leaders) were evaluated more positively than their male counterparts. In turn, a significant four-way interaction between stigma, gender, status and evaluations showed that participants evaluated female stigmatised members that did not transgress, more positively than their male equivalents.

These findings are important, especially in the current socio-political climate. Specifically, our findings showed that leadership did not affect participants' evaluations. Given that people's trust in Government and their elected officials has greatly diminished in the last decade (Sparks, 2019; Taylor-Gooby & Leruth, 2018), it is argued leadership roles may engender feelings of discontent, rather than trust and in turn, more negative evaluations. Diminished trust in leadership (i.e. government and officials), in combination with the recent upsurge in feminist movements (e.g. MeToo, Women's March) could also help explain the more favourable evaluation of females. For example, the recent trial of Brett Kavanaugh, the Associate Justice for the Supreme Court in the USA, who was accused of sexual assault, saw

thousands protesting for women's rights. In turn, contemporary feminist movements such as the 'me too' movement (BBC, 2018), the 'women's march' (Women's March, 2018), Semillas (Semillas, 2018) and the repeal of Lebanon's article 522 (Guardian, 2017) all suggest that there is increased awareness regarding the obstacles women face in the organisational setting, in general, and leadership. Such heightened awareness may underline a shift in gender stereotyping. In fact, Lopez-Zafra & Garcia-Retamero (2009) found that stereotypes about women changed faster than those for men and that women were more quickly seen to endorse both agentic and communal roles, compared to men. Similarly, Duehr and Bono (2006) compared male managers' contemporary views of women with those of 30 years ago. The researchers showed that male managers are more likely to make reference to leadership characteristics when describing women today, compared to 30 years ago. Gary, Butterfiled & Powel (2002) also showed that, despite general conceptions of managers as male, managerial stereotypes have begun to endorse more communal attributes.

7.6.2. Prototypicality Judgments

Our findings also showed that stigmatised members were seen as less prototypical than non-stigmatised members. While this was not true for leaders, the effect of stigma on evaluations is in line with our original predictions and serves as preliminary evidence for disablism. As mentioned in the previous chapter (Chapter 6) approximately 60% of the working-age disabled population was unemployed in the early 20th century while 45% of those disabled were employed in 2013 and 46% in 2014. It is argued that, the seeming addition of a stigmatised member into a (generally) normative group (political group) may have resulted in lower perceptions of prototypicality.

Surprisingly, this effect did not seem to replicate for leaders. Instead, our findings showed that the perceived prototypicality of the member was higher in the leader condition, irrespective of status, gender and stigma. Given that this pattern of evaluations (between

member and leader) also replicated in our examinations of gender (see above), it is proposed that a) either indeed people's discontentment with elected officials outweighs the importance of their status or b) there are potential limitations in the study's design-these are discussed later in this section.

7.6.3. Stereotypicality Judgments.

Contrary to prototypicality, judgments of stereotypicality point towards a different pattern of evaluations: that is, leaders were found to be more stereotypical than members both when they were carrying a stigma and when they were not. This finding is in line with our original predictions and enhances previous findings on the double-standard in evaluations of leaders (cf. Abrams, de Moura & Travaglino, 2011,2013; Abrams, Travaglino, de Moura & May, 2014; Abrams, Travaglino, Marques, Pinto & Levine, 2018; Palmer, 2014).

7.6.4. Stereotypicality, Prototypicality, Morality of Person & Evaluations (Replicating Study 4).

Study 4 showed that perceived stereotypicality and prototypicality predicted evaluations through the perceived morality of person (leader). This Study attempted to replicate this finding. Our findings confirmed this relationship-implications are discussed later in this chapter.

7.6.5. Judgments of the person's morality

Our findings showed that, overall, participants judged the member as more moral than the leader, both in the stigma and the no stigma conditions. More importantly, participants also judged members in the stigma condition to be less moral than in the no-stigma condition, which serves as preliminary evidence of disablism.

7.6.6. Limitations

This study looked at the effect of gender, stigma, role and status (transgressive vs normative) on evaluations of politicians. Our study showed that, contrary to our original predictions,

women were evaluated more positively than men while female members that were normative were evaluated more positively than their male counterparts. These findings contradict existing literature and so could point toward potential limitations in the experimental design.

However, this study did not account for the recent upsurge in feminist movements which may have impacted the content of gender stereotypes. In turn the sample for this study was mostly racially homogenous: that is, the majority of participants were Caucasian (65.3%). A variety of studies have consistently shown cross-cultural differences in gender stereotypes and attitudes to leadership (discussed earlier in this thesis). Therefore, it could be argued that bias against female leaders may more likely manifest itself in samples from collectivist rather than individualistic cultures.

Further, while the sample was relatively equally distributed, 54.6% of participants were male while females were a lesser 45.1%. Accordingly, given the upsurge in feminist movements and growing emphasis on issues of sexism, it could be argued that the majority-male sample responded in socially-desirable ways to avoid such characterisations. Research on gender and sexism, differentiates between two types of sexist attitudes: *benevolent* and *hostile sexism* (Glick & Fiske, 1996; 1997). *Benevolent sexism* describes negative attitudes towards women that are subjectively perceived as helping and prosocial (Glick & Fiske, 1996) while *hostile sexism* describes hostility and derogatory attitudes towards women that are used to justify men's power (Glick & Fiske, 1997). Given that the underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership continues to exist (outlined earlier in this chapter), it could be argued that the reason responses generally favoured female candidates (compared to male candidates), is due to benevolently sexist responses (i.e. responses that are only seemingly positive).

Due to the complexity of the study's design, participant gender was not accounted for as a potential confounding variable. Future research should aim at examining the role of participant gender in evaluations of male and female group members and leaders.

Finally, this study did not manipulate valence and stigma controllability. While the reasons for this were explained earlier, it is argued that the elimination of these two factors (and especially valence) diminished our efforts to replicate previous findings systematically.

8. GENERAL DISCUSSION

This thesis investigated the role of stigma and stigma controllability in reactions to transgressive leaders. Studies 1-3 looked at the role of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of transgressive leaders and members. Study 4 explored the role of valence in attributions for stigma and their effect on the evaluation of transgressive leaders. In Study 5 we collected archival data to examine the real-life distribution of stigmatised persons in positions of power (in this case, politics). We also examined the role of gender in these distributions. Study 6 examined the effect of all role (leader vs member), transgression (transgressive vs normative), stigma (stigma vs no stigma) and gender (male, female) on judgments of leaders and members.

The following section will discuss key findings from this thesis and their practical and theoretical implications.

8.1. Summary of aims and findings

8.1.1. Study 1: Aims & Key findings

Study 1 investigated the effect of controllability attributions on reactions to transgressive stigmatised leaders. Our findings showed that controllability significantly affected evaluations. Specifically, transgressive leaders that were not seemingly responsible for their stigmatising attribute (uncontrollable stigma-birth defect), were evaluated more positively

than stigmatised leaders who were perceived as responsible (controllable stigma). The same pattern of findings was observed in judgments of prototypicality and stereotypicality.

Importantly, contrary to our initial predictions, leaders with no stigma and leaders with uncontrollable stigma were evaluated almost equally. Arguably then, when stigmatised leaders are seen to have no control over their stigma, they are evaluated just as leniently as leaders with no stigma. This highlights the importance of controllability attributions because it indicates that having no control over the cause of stigma, in a way, negates its otherwise negative impact. This finding may explain why transgressions committed by some individuals in positions of high status may, at times, be excused and/or discounted.

8.1.2. Study 2: Aims & Key findings

Study 2 extended previous findings by examining the role of controllability attributions for stigma on the evaluation of transgressive *members*. Our findings showed that stigma controllability did not affect the evaluations of transgressive members. While contrary to our initial predictions, this finding is particularly important as it further highlights the double-standard in evaluations of leaders (this was further explored in Study 3).

Study 2 incorporated a variety of additional dependent measures, including Group-Based Guilt and perceived Morality of the Transgressor. After establishing factor coherence and reliability for all dependent measures, we showed that guilt significantly mediated the relationship between evaluations and the perceived morality of the transgressor. Looking at the means across conditions, it became clear that transgressive members with uncontrollable stigma and no stigma were evaluated almost equally both in terms of general evaluations and in terms of their morality. This finding is key as it further emphasizes a trend in judgments of stigmatized persons seen as having no control over their stigma are evaluated just as leniently as those not stigmatized. This was also further explored in Study 3, which looked at the evaluations of both leaders and members.

8.1.3. Study 3: Aims & Key findings

Study 3 examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on the evaluation of both transgressive leaders and members. Dependent measures included prototypicality, stereotypicality, conferral, morality of act, morality of person, causal responsibility, moral responsibility and Guilt. Our findings showed that only type of stigma (and not role: leader vs member) affected general evaluations. Specifically, as observed in studies 1 and 2, participants evaluated those with uncontrollable stigma more positively than those with controllable stigma and those with controllable stigma more negatively than those with no stigma. There was no significant difference in evaluations between the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions.

This finding, in combination with findings from Study 1 and Study 2, makes it clear that the inability to attribute responsibility for stigma to the person, negates the impact of the stigma itself. On the other hand, being able to attribute responsibility for the stigma to a person, leads to more negative evaluations of that person. Goodwin, Piazza and Robin (2009) showed that perceptions of moral character were a stronger predictor of evaluations, compared to personality traits. Accordingly, given the non-significant differences between uncontrollable and no stigma, we hypothesised that the difference in evaluations of controllable and uncontrollable stigma, and controllable and no stigma may be due to moral perceptions of the transgressor, rather than the stigma itself. In order to examine this assumption further, our fourth study (Study 4, Chapter 4) manipulated valence (positive vs negative) associated with the stigma and examined its effect on the evaluations of transgressive leaders. Study 4 is discussed later in this chapter.

Study 3 findings also showed that there was a significant interaction between role and type of stigma for the evaluations of the normative member. That is, when the leader was transgressive, the normative member was evaluated more positively in the no stigma

condition than in the uncontrollable and controllable stigma conditions. When the member was transgressive, the normative member was evaluated more positively in the controllable stigma condition compared to the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions. Intragroup dynamics research proposes that deviant in-group members are ostracised more than deviant leaders and out-group members (Marques, Yzerbyt & Leyens, 1988). Using this as a framework and keeping in mind our earlier findings on stigma controllability (i.e. controllable stigma evaluated more negatively than uncontrollable), it was expected that the in-group transgressive member with controllable stigma would be evaluated most negatively. In our scenario, the transgressive member asked the normative member to take a dive and get a penalty for the team. While we did not provide any information about whether or not the normative member complied with this request, it is plausible that participants understood it that way. In that way, the normative member could have been perceived as deviant (although to a lesser extent) and evaluated more negatively. This, alongside our previous findings regarding reactions to controllable and uncontrollable stigma, may explain the outcome of findings.

Further, our findings also showed that participants evaluated those with uncontrollable stigma as more prototypical and stereotypical than those with controllable stigma. Those with no stigma were also considered more prototypical and stereotypical than those with controllable stigma. Again, this pattern of behaviour was evident in studies 1 and 2. It was expected that leaders and members with uncontrollable and controllable stigma would be perceived as less stereotypical and less prototypical than those with no stigma. While this was true for those with controllable stigma, uncontrollable and no stigma leaders and members were not evaluated significantly differently. These findings are important because a) they further confirm that attributions of responsibility for stigma played a role in evaluations, b) they suggest that controllability attributions for stigma may speak to the moral

character of the person in question (this was tested further in Study 4) and c) because they shift attention away from the transgressive act itself.

Indeed, when judging the morality of the transgressive act, participants in the uncontrollable and no stigma conditions judged the transgression as equally moral while those in the controllable condition as less moral. This finding is key because it implies that when the transgressive act is coupled with a stigmatising attribute the person is not seemingly responsible for (uncontrollable-from birth) then the stigma is discounted for.

In fact, as mentioned previously, Study 2 showed that guilt mediated the relationship between evaluations and the perceived morality of person. Study 3 replicated this effect. More importantly, we observed that guilt and the morality of transgressor were highly correlated and so, tested the assumption that perceptions of morality mediated the relationship between prototypicality, stereotypicality and evaluations. Indeed, perceived morality of the transgressor significantly mediated the association between prototypicality and stereotypicality.

Therefore our findings pointed towards two important patterns in judgments of stigmatised persons: a) stigmatised persons who cannot be held accountable for their stigma seem to be judged outside of that stigma and b) those who cannot be held accountable for their stigma are perceived as more moral than those who can, *despite* their engagement in identical transgressive acts. These findings have important real-life implications both with regards to our reactions towards stigmatised persons in general and with regards to the process of fairness and accountability for transgressions. These are discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

8.1.4. Study 4: Aims & Key findings

Before running our fourth study, we used data from Study 3 to re-examine the validity of measures of prototypicality and stereotypicality. Specifically, for studies 1-3 we used one

measure for prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and two measures of stereotypicality (Schyns & Schilling, 2011; Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001). However, we noticed, that the stereotypicality measure from Platow & van Knippenberg (2001) and the prototypicality measure (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) had several similar items while both measures generally focused on how 'typical' the leader was.

To ensure participants understood the difference between the two concepts, we ran correlations between all items and their aggregate scores and observed that both the items and their aggregate scores were highly correlated. For this reason, we ran a Factor Analysis to ensure items did not load on the same factor. Our analysis revealed a single factor fitting the data. For this reason, we created and used a new measure for prototypicality in our fourth study. This included all items from the Platow & van Knippenberg (2001) stereotypicality measure and all items from the van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg (2005) prototypicality measure. This finding is particularly important in the context of the recent replicability crisis in psychology. Theoretical implications of this finding are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Our fourth study had two main aims: a) to test the effect of outcome valence on evaluations of stigmatised leaders and b) to examine the relationship between the perceived morality of the transgressor, prototypicality, stereotypicality and evaluations. Based on findings from Studies 1-3, Study 4 examined the effect of valence of the act (positive vs. negative) on evaluations of transgressive stigmatised leaders. It was hypothesised that when the valence of the act was positive, transgressive leaders would be evaluated more positively, perceived as more prototypical, more stereotypical and more moral than in the negative valence condition. It was also hypothesised that participants will award those in the positive valence condition less causal responsibility for their stigma, find their act more moral (morality of act) and feel less morally responsible compared to the negative valence

condition. Finally it was hypothesised that participants would award those in the positive valence condition less causal responsibility for their stigma, find their act (morality of act) more moral and feel less morally responsible than in the negative valence condition.

Overall, our findings showed that valence (but not type of stigma) affected participants' judgments on a number of dependent measures. Specifically, when leaders were presented in a positive light (compared to a negative one), participants considered them to be more prototypical. This effect seemed to interact with type of stigma, so that overall, participants evaluated leaders with semi-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior (positive valence) as the most prototypical, followed by leaders with fully-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior. Surprisingly, leaders with uncontrollable stigma who performed a 'good' behavior were not evaluated more positively than those who had uncontrollable stigma and performed a negative behavior. On the contrary, for the negative valence condition, participants seemed to rate those with uncontrollable stigma as the most prototypical, followed by those with semi-controllable stigma and fully-controllable stigma.

The same pattern of results was true for stereotypicality. That is, participants evaluated leaders who engaged in a positive act as more stereotypical than those who engaged in a negative one. Leaders with semi-controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours were thought to be more stereotypical than those that engaged in negative ones. The same pattern applied for the fully-controllable stigma condition. This pattern of results further emphasized the importance of valence in participants' judgments.

However, type of stigma did not affect evaluations. There was a main effect of valence on evaluations so that when leaders engaged in 'good' (positive valence) behaviours (compared to negative valence), participants evaluations increased. The same was true for the perceived morality of the act.

As mentioned previously, in Study 4 we were also interested in examining the effect of valence and stigma on the perceived morality of the transgressor and the relationship of the latter with prototypicality, stereotypicality and evaluations. Contrary to our predictions, leaders with uncontrollable stigma who engaged in positive behaviours were perceived as less moral than those with semi-controllable stigma who engaged in positive behaviours. Overall, leaders with semi-controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours were considered the most moral, followed by those with fully controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours.

Arguably, this pattern of findings can be attributed to intuitive affective responses elicited from the leader's act. Specifically, the semi-controllable leader who put out food for birds (positive valence) and accidentally caused themselves harm (resulting in wheelchair use) may have stimulated feelings of sympathy and self-sacrifice. Given that acts of self-sacrifice are intuitively judged as high in moral integrity (Hofman & Baumert, 2007), the more positive evaluation of the semi-controllable stigma leader (compared to the uncontrollable and fully-controllable stigma leaders) may be justified. The same level of sympathy may not be elicited for the leader with uncontrollable stigma as perceived self-sacrifice may be reduced.

More importantly, we observed that, the perceived morality of the transgressor, perceived prototypicality (separate mediations) and perceived stereotypicality mediated the relationship between valence and evaluations. Given previous findings (Studies 1-3) and the high correlation between stereotypicality and prototypicality, we ran a series of linear regressions that established that a) valence predicted both prototypicality and stereotypicality, b) prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted the morality of the transgressor and c) prototypicality, stereotypicality and the morality of the transgressor predicted evaluations. Given these were true, we tested a Structural Equation Model with valence as the predictor,

prototypicality and stereotypicality as the first two mediators, morality of person as the second mediator and evaluations as the outcome. The model significantly explained the data.

These findings are important in real-life settings and especially so in the context of leadership. Specifically, followers who view their leaders as engaging in positive behaviours (e.g. Theresa May visiting schools in low income communities) may intuitively perceive them as higher in moral integrity. Based on our findings, this will also be coupled with increased perceived prototypicality and stereotypicality. Accordingly, this inflated view of the leader's attributes may further enhance the awarding of transgression credit. Such and other implications are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

8.1.5. Study 5: Aims & Key Findings

Study 4 showed that, the interaction of stigma and valence significantly affected judgments on a variety of dependent measures. However, Study 4 showed no main effect of Stigma, which was contrary to our predictions and our previous findings. Given the lack of empirical research on the role of stigma in evaluations of leaders and this inconsistency in our findings, we decided to shift our investigations to real-life examples of stigmatised people in senior positions and their evaluations.

Study 5 extracted archival data in order to assess first, the representation of stigmatised persons in positions of power (in this case, in the context of politics) and second, the evaluations of such persons. Study 5 also accounted for the gender of each politician in our sample, given existing findings that show that women in leadership are likely to be evaluated more negatively than their male counterparts (e.g. Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Our main aims were to examine whether stigmatised members of parliament (or the electorate) are underrepresented compared to their non-stigmatised colleagues and whether gender (male vs female) affected these distributions. For that reason, we compiled a list of

parliamentary representatives and/or members of the electorate and distinguished between those that were male and female and those that carried or did not carry a stigmatising attribute. We did this by looking at a range of articles and archival data and for a range of countries. In our final analysis we included data for the UK, the USA, Australia and New Zealand only as we were able to extract the majority of our data from these countries. We then compared the ratio of males and females and those with stigma and no stigma.

Our findings showed that, proportionately, there were significantly more non-stigmatised members than stigmatised ones (3.17%). Male stigmatised politicians were proportionately much higher (89.3%) than their female counterparts (10.62%). These findings are particularly important as they reflect a real-life underrepresentation of stigmatised persons in positions of leadership in general and especially so, women.

A variety of psychological research has shown that increased exposure to stereotypes (relative to group) leads to memory representations of behaviours associated with these (e.g. Gupta, Turban & Bhawe, 2008; Sherman, 1996). Such representations can affect behavior and lead to individuals' thinking and acting in stereotype-consistent ways (e.g. Cejka & Eagly, 1999). Accordingly, the lack of representation of stigmatised persons and women in particular may affect cognitive representations of leadership and further enhance issues of the glass ceiling and glass cliff (Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Such and other implications are discussed in detail later in this section.

8.1.6. Study 6: Aims & Key Findings

Given the importance of findings from Study 5 and the lack of quantitative investigations of the representation of stigmatised males and females in positions of leadership, Study 6 attempted to experimentally examine reactions to stigmatised female leaders. Additionally, given some inconsistencies in findings from studies 1-4, Study 6 also attempted to replicate all previous findings to ensure that any conclusions drawn are reliable.

Specifically, Studies 1-3 pointed towards two important patterns in judgments of stigmatised persons: a) stigmatised persons who cannot be held accountable for their stigma seem to be judged outside of that stigma and b) those who cannot be held accountable for their stigma are perceived as more moral than those who can, *despite* their engagement in identical transgressive acts**.** However, contrary to our initial predictions, Studies 1-3 did not consistently show that role (leader vs member) affected participants' judgments. As such and given that this thesis mainly emphasises reactions to stigmatised leaders (and not members) Studies 4 and 5 shifted their focus to the latter.

Accordingly, Study 4 examined the role of valence in evaluations of transgressive stigmatised leaders. Our findings showed that when leaders were presented in a positive light (compared to a negative one), participants considered them to be more prototypical. This effect seemed to interact with type of stigma, so that overall, participants evaluated leaders with semi-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior (positive valence) as the most prototypical, followed by leaders with fully-controllable stigma that performed a 'good' behavior. The same pattern of results was true for stereotypicality and prototypicality.

In Study 4 we were also interested in examining the effect of valence and stigma on the perceived morality of the transgressor and the relationship of the latter with prototypicality, stereotypicality and evaluations. Contrary to our predictions, leaders with uncontrollable stigma who engaged in positive behaviours were perceived as less moral than those with semi-controllable stigma who engaged in positive behaviours. Overall, leaders with semi-controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours were considered the most moral, followed by those with fully controllable stigma that engaged in positive behaviours. More importantly, we observed that, the perceived morality of the transgressor, perceived prototypicality (separate mediations) and perceived stereotypicality mediated the relationship between valence and evaluations.

However, despite the interesting findings on the effect of valence in judgments of transgressive leaders, Study 6 did not manipulate valence. Instead, Study 6 attempted to replicate findings that were of main emphasis in this thesis. In that way, we manipulated Stigma (stigma vs no stigma), Transgression (Transgressive vs Normative), Role (Leader vs Member) and Gender (Male vs Female).

Our findings showed that, contrary to our initial predictions, participants generally evaluated females more positively than males irrespective of their role. We also found that normative leaders that were stigmatised were evaluated more positively when they were females compared to males.

In terms of prototypicality, participants found the stigmatised member to be less prototypical than the non-stigmatised one while leaders with stigma were also considered more prototypical than members with stigma. Overall, it appeared that group members who did not carry a stigma were considered more prototypical than group members who did. This is in line with our hypotheses and highlights the difficulties in endorsing stigmatised members in otherwise normative groups. Judgments of stereotypicality varied based on stigma, role and status (transgressive vs normative). That is, participants found normative leaders that carried a stigma more stereotypical, compared to stigmatised normative members. Participants also found leaders who did not carry a stigma more stereotypical than members.

Importantly, members who did not carry a stigma were thought to be more moral than those who did while a three-way interaction between morality of person, stigma and role showed that the perceived morality of the member was higher in the no-stigma condition compared to the stigma condition. These two findings are important because they serve as further evidence of the importance of stigma in evaluations of members and leaders.

Surprisingly, members were evaluated more positively when stigmatised leaders transgressed compared to non-stigmatised leaders. The implications of this findings are discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

This effect seemed to also replicate in the perceived morality of the act; that is, members in the no stigma condition were perceived to act more morally than those in the stigma condition, despite the fact that their transgressions were identical. The perceived morality of the leader's act also varied according to gender: female leaders were thought to act more morally than male leaders (contrary to our predictions). Implications of these findings are discussed later in this chapter.

8.2.Limitations

8.2.1. General Limitations-All Studies

All experimental studies presented in this thesis used data collected online. However, as several researchers have put forth (Evans & Mathur, 2005; Fricker and Schonlau, 2002; Miller, 2001; Wilson and Laskey, 2003) online surveys may at times, not be representative of the general population. Indeed, the majority of our participant pool for studies 1,2,3 and 4 were male and Caucasian. A variety of studies have shown differences in reactions to (amongst other concepts) leadership across cultures. For example, Walumbwa, Lawler & Avolio (2007) showed that collectivist cultures (India and Kenya) preferred a transformational leadership style while individualistic cultures (China, US) showed preference for transactional leadership. Erdogan, Liden and Kraimer (2006) also observed that collectivists (and not individualists) were less likely to respond negatively to perceptions of leader injustice as a way of maintaining harmonious relationships.

Equally, Cortina and Wasti (2005) studied responses to workplace sexual harassment between Turkish, Hispanic-Americans and Anglo-Americans. The researchers showed that

Turkish participants (collectivist) tended to use avoidance and social coping while Anglo-Americans used more assertive tactics. Van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Blaauw and Vermunt (1999) showed that detainees in the Netherlands (individualistic culture), were more likely to respond aggressively (rather than use soft tactics) when they felt they were being treated unfairly. Therefore, a more diverse sample may have allowed for the observation of cross-cultural comparisons in leadership preferences and reactions to stigma and facilitated the geralisation of findings.

For instance, as mentioned previously, collectivist cultures show a preference for transactional leadership (in comparison to transformational leadership) (Walumbwa, Lawler & Avolio, 2007). Maher (1997) mentions that participants tend to associate female managers with transformational leadership, more so than their male counterparts. Druskat (1994) also put forth that participants' gender-stereotypical conceptions of female leaders (communal traits associated with women) underlined such findings. Our findings (Study 6) showed that participants evaluated female leaders more positively than male ones. Given our majority-Caucasian sample it could be argued that such preference for female leaders may be founded on the relevant cultural disparities.

Finally, our experimental investigations mainly looked at stigma under the framework of physical disability. However, there is ample evidence for prejudice against a variety of different types of stigma (e.g., Galli, Lenggenhager, Scivoletto, Molinari & Pazzaglia, 2015; Horn & Romeo, 2010; Parker, 2011; Philan, Link & Dovidio, 2008;). Accordingly, the examination of a variety of different types of stigma (e.g., mental health stigma) would enable us to better understand reactions towards stigmatised groups and its potential effect on social distance (Lauber, Nordt, Falcato & Rossier, 2004) and other forms of prejudice.

8.2.2. Studies 1-3, Limitations

Study 1 examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of leaders while Study 2 merely examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of transgressive members. However, group processes research has consistently shown that leaders receive a double standard in evaluations. For example, Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura and Hutchison (2008) proposed that leaders' deviance is likely to be justified on the basis of accumulated trust from their followers. In that way, leaders who deviate, receive *Innovation Credit* and are justified for their non-conformity.

On the other hand, members who deviate are likely to be ostracized and evaluated more negatively than out-group normative members (Black Sheep Effect). Equally, Moreland and Levine (2002) have shown that members are evaluated differently, depending on their status within the group. For example, full members are exemplified for endorsing the group's norms and are likely to receive lower sanctions, compared to normative members (Pinto, Marques, Levine & Abrams, 2010). Therefore, examining both leaders and members would have also allowed for comparisons on the basis of role. This limitation was addressed in Study 3.

Studies 1-3 manipulated leadership using a sports context (soccer). While a sports context ensures cross-cultural relevance and reliability (Day, Gordon & Fink, 2012), it is possible that presenting a disabled leader as part of a soccer game may have been limiting. For example, participants' evaluations in Study 1, showed that despite significant differences between conditions, the highest evaluation of leaders was only little above the midpoint (3.74/7): a different context may have elicited more robust effects.

For example, Abrams, Marques, Randsley de Moura and Hutchison (2008) investigated reactions to leadership deviance in the context of Asylum seeking for refugees in Britain. The authors reported results that were consistently above the scale midpoint. Similarly, Travaglino, Abrams, Randsley de Moura and Yetkili (2016) used a university

setting (in-group university vs out-group university) to investigate reactions towards transgressive leaders. The researchers also presented findings that were consistently above the scale midpoint.

Accordingly, it is argued that despite the general effectiveness of sports context manipulations (Day, Gordon & Fink, 2012), the examination of transgressive leadership across a variety of settings could have provided us with a more reliable set of findings. We attempted to address this limitation in our archival study, which looked at the real-life distributions of stigmatized persons in politics.

As mentioned previously, Study 2 examined the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on evaluations of transgressive members. Study 2 included measures of moral and causal responsibility, mainly for exploratory purposes. However, issues of moral and causal responsibility may be more relevant to the leader, rather than the member. More specifically, CR emphasizes who caused the wrongdoing whilst MR focuses on the current consequences of the wrongdoing and the needs of the victim group (given a defined relationship between the two groups). Thus, CR may be rejected, should the perpetrator be a member (as compared to a leader). Arguably, accepting CR could challenge the positive distinctiveness of the group whilst rejecting CR would entail less damaging psychological processes. Similarly, given leaders are perceived to be more prototypical, yet receive a double standard both with regards to rewards and punishment, levels of causal and moral responsibility may differ when leaders are the perpetrators. Our subsequent study addressed these limitations by comparing reactions to both leaders and members.

In Study 3, we incorporated both a transgressive leader and a transgressive member in our experimental design. However, as with Study 1 and Study 2, in the controllable condition, ascription of responsibility was linked to a negative event (drink-driving accident caused by the subject) rather than a positive or neutral one. Walster's (1966) *defensive-*

attribution hypothesis shows that the extent to which we attribute responsibility for an accident varies depending on the severity of its effects. In this way, if the effects of an accident are only negative, then responsibility will more readily be attributed to the perpetrator. A meta-analysis of twenty-two relevant studies confirmed this tendency (Burger, 1981). We addressed this limitation in Study 4.

Finally, in exploring the data, we noticed that our second measure of Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) and our measure for Prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) both contained items that put emphasis on how 'typical' the leader was perceived to be. This limitation was also addressed in Study 4.

8.2.3. Study 4, Limitations

Study 4 examined the role of valence and stigma on evaluations of stigmatised transgressive leaders. Overall, our findings showed that valence (but not type of stigma) affected participants' judgments on a number of dependent measures. Specifically, when leaders were presented in a positive light (compared to a negative one), participants considered them to be more prototypical, stereotypical and moral. Our Structural Equation Model also showed that perceived prototypicality, stereotypicality and morality of the transgressor mediated the relationship between valence and evaluations.

Despite the interesting findings, Study 4 did not examine the role of guilt in evaluations (initially a measure added purely for exploratory purposes). Study 3 showed that guilt mediated the relationship between evaluations and the perceived morality of the transgressor. Iyer, Leach, Pedersen (2004) proposed that experiencing group-based guilt stimulates a re-evaluation of the self (as an individual or group member) and is likely to result in efforts for retributions. For example, Cehajic-Clancy, Effron, Haleprin, Liberman and Ross (2011) showed that, group-based guilt from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, resulted in higher willingness to engage in reparatory actions. Equally, Iyer, Leach and Crosby (2003)

showed that guilt predicted white Americans' support for compensation towards African Americans who had faced discrimination in hiring.

Accordingly, it could be argued that incorporating measures of Group-Based Guilt in Study 4 may have allowed us to a) replicate findings regarding the relationship between GBG, perceived morality of the transgressor and evaluations (Study 3) and b) to better understand how valence can impact such affective responses. This latter aspect could have enhanced our SEM and offered stronger theoretical implications for the literature.

8.2.4. Study 5 (Archival): Limitations

Study 5 attempted to examine real-life distributions of stigmatised males and females in positions of leadership (politics). For that reason, we collected archival data on members of parliament and the electorate for a variety of countries post the year 2000. We coded these on the basis of stigma and gender. We then created comparisons between on the basis of these two factors. Our findings showed that stigmatised persons are underrepresented in high status positions in the realm of politics and especially so, should they be women.

However, given the limitations in acquiring archival data for several countries, our final analysis only comprised of data from the UK, USA, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The inclusion of data from other countries could have furthered our understanding of the representation of stigmatised men and women in politics. In turn, the addition of data from countries in Europe and the rest of the world, would have facilitated the examination of cross-cultural differences in political representation. For instance, Kenworthy & Malami (1999) suggested that cultural factors including attitudes towards egalitarian politics and religion (Catholicism) can impact women's representation in politics. Accordingly, countries that more highly espouse religious doctrines are likely to associate women with more traditional roles (e.g. domestic work) and so, become opposed to their ascension to politics. Equally, cultures where disability and mental health issues are perceived to be a social hazard

and pitiful (e.g. Miles, 1995) may prevent those stigmatised from developing their career (especially so, women- double bind). We propose that it is imperative for future research to a) extend examinations of the unequal distribution of stigmatised persons in positions of leadership and b) attempt to further understand the reasons why this is particularly true for women.

Finally, our archival study did not examine political group membership in these examinations. Research has shown that conservatives (compared to liberals) are more likely to exhibit prejudice against stigmatised and/or minority groups (Ranck, 1961). For instance, Corrigan and Watson (2003) showed that political ideology can affect the allocation of resources to groups-in-need (including stigmatised groups such as mental health and disability). Specifically, the researchers found that conservatives (compared to liberals) attribute greater responsibility for mental health to the individual and so, are more likely to withdraw resources. This has important implications for our research as it suggests that stigmatised persons in positions of leadership may be further underrepresented in conservative (rather than liberal) parties. We propose that future research looks at the moderating role of political ideology on reactions to stigmatised persons and their path towards leadership.

8.2.5. Study 6: Limitations

Other than the general limitations discussed earlier, Study 6 was the first not to use a sports context. Instead, we used a segment from real newspaper article and adapted it to reflect a) the gender of the politician, b) his/her role, c) his/her status and d) whether he was or was not stigmatised. Although the context of politics was used on the basis of our archival study, it is arguable that the lack of identification with the political group that was described in the scenario, may have affected the outcome of findings. For example, Verkuyten (2005) showed that stronger identification with the in-group (ethnic identification) led to more positive

evaluations of the in-group. Similarly, Marques, Yzerbyt and Leyens (1988) showed that the higher the in-group identification the more extreme members' reactions towards other likeable and unlikeable in-group members. Group identification as a predictor of stronger responses has, in fact, been validated in a number of studies (e.g. Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2011; Killen & Rutland, 2011; Operario & Fiske, 2001). Given our findings contradicted our original predictions as well as the fact that most of the evaluations were only little above the midpoint, we contend that the lack of strong group identification could have impacted our findings.

8.3.Implications

8.3.1. Theoretical Implications & Future Research

We believe that the studies conducted in this thesis are the first systematic examination of the effect of controllability attributions for stigma on reactions to transgressive leaders. We also believe that it is the first experimental examination of the role of gender in responses to stigmatised leaders.

Overall, our findings showed that controllability attributions for stigma did have a significant effect on evaluations of transgressive leaders. We therefore propose that future research should extend such examinations as well as look at reactions to different types of stigma.

Moreover, we believe that our findings contribute to the understanding of the relationship between prototypicality and stereotypicality and the perceived morality of transgressors. Specifically, Study 3 and Study 4 showed that prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted evaluations of transgressors through their perceived morality. This finding is particularly important because it implies that judgments of prototypicality and stereotypicality guide perceptions of morality. To our knowledge, no empirical research to date has examined the relationship between prototypicality, stereotypicality and morality.

Some studies have looked at components of morality in group contexts but none of these have included prototypicality and stereotypicality in their examinations. For example, Pagliaro, Ellemers and Baretto (2011) showed that in-group members endorse moral group norms as a means of gaining respect from other in-group members. We showed that prototypicality and stereotypicality predicted the perceived morality of the transgressor. Accordingly, prototypical members are such members that most highly endorse the group's norms-such as, for example, moral group norms. Therefore, it is possible that the endorsement of moral group norms is a similar notion to prototypicality. It is important that future research investigates the effect of prototypicality and stereotypicality in judgments of morality and evaluations, especially in the context of transgressions.

Additionally, we observed that the measure of prototypicality adapted from van Knippenberg and van Knippenberg (2005) and the measure for stereotypicality adapted from Platow and van Knippenberg (2001), both focused on how 'typical' the leader was. An examination of the data from Study 3 showed that items from the two measures loaded on the same factor. Importantly, in our factor analysis we used Varimax rotation which assumes no inter-correlations and so, we propose that the single factor that was retained was indeed reliable. However, this is only preliminary evidence and was done on a relatively small sample. Therefore, we suggest that future research emphasises the examination of factor coherence and reliability on these two scales.

Furthermore, Study 5 showed that female leaders were evaluated more positively than male leaders on a variety of dependent measures (morality of person, morality of act and general evaluations). This finding is contrary to existing research on gender bias in leadership. However, as proposed earlier, this outcome of findings may be due to a changes in gender stereotyping for women. For example, Lopez-Zafra & Garcia-Retamero (2012) found that stereotypes about women changed faster than those for men and that women were

more likely seen to endorse both agentic and communal roles, compared to men. Duehr and Bono (2006) compared male managers' contemporary views of women with those of 30 years ago. The researchers showed that male managers today are more likely to make reference to leadership characteristics when describing women, compared to 30 years ago. Powel, Butterfield and Parent (2002) also showed that, despite general conceptions of managers as male, managerial stereotypes have begun to endorse more communal attributes.

These findings, in combination with the recent upsurge in feminist movements – such as the 'me too' movement (BBC, 2018), the 'women's march' (Women's March, 2018), Semillas (Semillas, 2018) and the repeal of Lebanon's article 522 (Guardian, 2017) – can serve as preliminary indications of a shift in gender stereotypes. Such changes in gender stereotypes can also account for the outcome of our findings. Future research should examine whether the recent upsurge in feminist movements has played a role in a shift in gender stereotypes.

8.3.2. Practical Implications:

Our findings have shown that stigma and attributions for stigma and/or for the valence of it, can affect evaluations of leaders. Studies 1-3 showed that uncontrollable stigma was evaluated almost equally to no stigma and that controllable stigma led to more negative evaluations of targets. Such attributions may greatly affect the ascension of stigmatised persons to leadership in a variety of contexts-business/organisational, politics, sports and other.

Contact theorists (e.g. Couture & Penn, 2003) have shown that physical proximity as well as exposure to stigmatised targets can effectively reduce prejudice. This creates an oxymoron: prejudice towards stigmatised leaders can be reduced through people's exposure to them, yet such exposure is inhibited by people's prejudice towards them. It is therefore vital that governmental agencies and organisations ensure the implementation of systems that

allow stigmatised persons equal opportunity for leadership. For example, in an interview, MP Anne Begg (wheelchair user) mentions that changes in the public's perceptions of the disabled population requires support from both employers and the government (Blunkett, 2015). Measures of support include the separation of the Disability Rights Commission from the Equality and Human Rights Commission, which would allow further emphasis on disability issues, changes in the "fitness to work" assessments which, according to the MP, are not *fit for purpose* as well as campaigns to reduce the stereotyping of disabled people as "scrounges". In turn, the MP proposed that media coverage and media services should better cater to the disabled (e.g. subtitling and audio description) and that architectural and technological planning should assist persons with disabilities. Such changes can diminish stereotyping for disabled populations and pave the way towards their ascension to leadership.

In turn, the representation of disabled people in leadership can shift stereotypical notions of disability as well as leadership. For example, the recent upsurge of UK politicians publicly declaring suffering from mental health issues (stigmatising attribute), has resulted in several changes in existing mental health support systems as well as reduced stereotypical conceptions of mental health as incapacitating. For instance, Westminster has now established a counselling service available to all MPs and created a booklet in association with the Royal College of Psychiatrists aiming to assist MPs and staff who experience mental health issues (James, 2017). These are stark examples of how practical implementations can contribute in the representation of stigmatised populations in positions of leadership.

Moving on, there is clear evidence that suffering from mental health issues as well as being in leadership can cause high levels of stress (Campbell, Baltes, Martin, Meddings, 2007; Harms, Crede′, Tynan, Leon, Jeung, 2017; Meyer, 2003). In that way, those with mental health issues that find themselves in positions of leadership (e.g. Wolfgang Schauble, Anne Begg and others) may experience anxiety levels that are detrimental to their

performance. This is important across contexts and especially for politicians. Tickle (2012) argues that the public declaration of politicians' mental health issues allows governments to monitor their health and well-being which can lead to better decision-making processes. So, the implementation of measures that were discussed earlier in this chapter (e.g. architectural planning and media coverage) may help reduce both negative psychosocial outcomes (e.g. prejudice & negative stereotyping) as well as practical concerns over productivity.

Findings from our archival study showed that female politicians were underrepresented compared to men, and especially so if they were disabled (compared to male disabled politicians). This is an important finding because it showcases contemporary workings of disablism and gender bias. Despite the recent upsurge in feminist movements (discussed earlier, Chapters 6 and 7), and a variety of governmental efforts to reduce both gender and disability biases in the workplace and across society, it appears that discrepancies in the proportional representation of males and females and disabled and non-disabled populations remain. A 2016 report from the All-party Parliamentary Group on Disability (APPGD) mentions that currently, employers are not required to measure and employ disabled persons. They can, instead, hire at their own discretion (Hoque, Bacon & Parr, 2014). However, integrating equality policies in private and public corporations may substantially decrease the disability employment gap. Similarly, while a recent report from the Institute of Fiscal Statistics (2018), showed that the number of women in employment has been continually increasing in the UK, women continue to be underrepresented in positions of leadership, in the UK and across the world. Equally then, the implementation of affirmative action in organisations (Barreto, Ryan & Schmitt, 2009) may help reduce gender bias by requiring employers to hire a proportionate number of females at the top of the organisational ladder.

Finally, our findings have contributed to the understanding of how, information about leaders' moral character guide judgments of their transgressions. This has significant real-life implications. For example, it is common for politicians and organizational leaders to get involved in 'acts of altruism' that are often reported (coincidentally) in several news outlets (e.g. BBCThree, 2016; Behrman, 2012). These acts most commonly also have some ulterior motive (eg. Attempts to increase followers, gather votes, more sales etc.) However, in associating themselves with positive behaviours, leaders may still influence followers' perceptions of them, especially if their evaluations are mostly based on moral intuitions (discussed earlier). This is especially important for stigmatized leaders, given their relative underrepresentation.

9. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate reactions to stigmatised transgressive leaders. Using six studies, this thesis examined a) the effect of controllability attributions on evaluations of transgressive leaders and members, b) the role of valence in evaluations of stigmatised leaders, c) the impact of both gender and stigma on evaluations of leaders.

Overall, it appeared that controllability attributions for stigma affected participants judgments. Specifically, our findings showed that those who could not be held accountable for their stigma were judged outside of that stigma. On the contrary, when participants could attribute responsibility for one's stigma to the individual, this individual was judged more negatively across a number of measures.

These findings were extended by looking at the role of valence (positive or negative) associated with the cause of the stigma in evaluations. Our findings showed that when responsibility for the stigma could be attributed to a positive event (compared to a negative), judgments of the individual increased on a number of variables. Importantly, participants perceived stigmatised persons who engaged in positive behaviours as more moral; this guided

their overall overvaluations. This finding has important real-life implications as it can help elucidate how intuitive moral judgments may affect our selection of leaders (this has been discussed in greater detail earlier in this thesis).

Finally, our thesis used archival data to assess the actual distribution of stigmatised males and females in politics. To our knowledge, this is the first systematic investigation of the representation of stigmatised males and females that uses a real-life context. Our findings showed that stigmatised persons are highly underrepresented in politics and especially so, if they are women. This finding has significant implications for government agencies and organisations that should ensure the implementation of systems that allow all stigmatised persons equal opportunity for leadership.

Our final study examined the role of gender, role, stigma and transgression on evaluations. Contrary to our original predictions, no significant difference in the evaluation of male and female leaders was observed. In fact, our findings showed that outside of role, females were generally evaluated more positively than their male counterparts. This finding is important, given the recent upsurge in feminist movements and may attest to changes in the content of stereotypes regarding women and leadership. Our findings are also particularly important in the current socio-political climate. Given that people's trust in Government and their elected officials has greatly diminished in the last decade, we argue that leadership roles may engender feelings of discontent (rather than trust) and in turn, more negative evaluations.

Overall, our findings offer new and important theoretical and practical contributions and highlight the need for research on the role of stigma and gender on evaluations of leaders and members.

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11. Appendices

11.1. Appendix A: Manipulation for Study 1

Uncontrollable Stigma, Leader Deviance

In the spirit of diversity and equal opportunities, the Dean's committee has decided to appoint **Pat** as your team manager even though Pat has been confined to a wheelchair from birth, due to a physical disability.

During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, **Sam**. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to

the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team} falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of (outgroup)} .

Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field".

Controllable Stigma, Leader Deviance

In the spirit of diversity and equal opportunities, the Dean's committee has decided to appoint **Pat** as your team manager even though Pat is temporarily confined to a wheelchair because he was recently involved in an accident, where he was driving drunk despite being advised not to several times.

During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, **Sam**. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that (outgroup team)'s

player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of (outgroup team).

Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box,take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field".

No Stigma (Control), Leader Deviance

The Dean's committee has decided to appoint **Pat** as the team manager.

During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, **Sam**. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that (outgroup team) 's player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of (outgroup team) . Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players of the field

11.2. Appendix B: Measures, Study 1

Evaluations

How much do you think each of the following words describes *Pat, the manager/Sam, the central midfielder:*

	So at all	Very Little	Not Much	Somewhat	A lot	Very Much	Completely
Warm	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Competent	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Admirable	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Likeable	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Approachable	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pitiable	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Disgusting	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Dishonest	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Enviable	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Clever	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Guilt

Reflecting on what happened, please indicate how much you agree which each of the following statements:

	Not at all	Very Little	Not Much	Somew hat	A lot	Very Much	Completely
Pat is in a difficult situation, so I feel sorry for Pat.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Sam shouldn't feel guilty about taking a dive for the team	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
If our team won the game, I'd feel guilty	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat shouldn't be blamed for trying to help the team	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
All things considered, I can understand how Pat's condition might make him want to win so much	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Shame

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree which each of the following statements:

	Not at all	Very Little	Not Much	Some what	A lot	Very Much	Completely
Pat's reaction to the penalty makes me feel somewhat ashamed to be a supporter of {ingroup team}	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
There is nothing to apologize for about what Pat advised Sam to do	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel proud that Pat has such a competitive motivation for our team	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel disgraced because Pat's behavior creates a bad image for {ingroup team}	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat's actions make me embarrassed to be a supporter of (ingroup team)	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Prototypicality

Think about the characteristics and qualities that are most highly shared by all members of (ingroup team) and that also make the team as a whole most distinctive and different from the other teams. Please write down a few of these characteristics in the box below.

Think again about these characteristics and qualities that are most highly shared by all members of (ingroup team) and that also make the team as a whole most distinctive and different from the other teams.

	Not at all	Very Little	Not Much	Some what	A lot	Very Much	Completely
To what extent does Pat have these characteristics and qualities?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent is Pat typical of (ingroup team} ?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
How much do you think Pat is representative of (ingroup team)?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent is Pat a model member of (ingroup team)?	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Stereotypicality 1

How much do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements about Pat:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Pat acts completely like a leader.	○	○	○	○	○
Pat is very typical of a leader	○	○	○	○	○
Pat shows a lot of leadership	○	○	○	○	○
Pat should definitely be a leader again.	○	○	○	○	○
Pat does an excellent job as leader	○	○	○	○	○

Stereotypicality 2

Listed below are some characteristics that can be typical of leaders. To what extent do you think Pat has each characteristic?

	Not at all	Very Little	Not Much	Somewhat	A lot	Very Much	Completely
Dedicated	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Charismatic	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Motivated	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Committed	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Powerful	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Loyal	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Honest	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Strong	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Conferral

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

	Not at All	Very Little	Not Much	Somewhat	A lot	Very Much	Completely
Pat should be supported by the rest of the team	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat has a role that allows him to behave as he wants	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat is entitled, for whatever reason, to behave the way he wants	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Pat's views should be given priority by other members of the team	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Open-Ended Questions

In a few words, please explain your feelings and views about Pat

_____

_____

_____

11.3. Appendix C: Manipulation, Study 2

The manipulation was kept constant with the exception of the role of the transgressor. The transgressor was referred to as a ‘member of the coahing staff’ instead and as before, referred

to as Pat. The measures were mostly kept constant from Study 1 and in all measures the name on the items and descriptions was adapted to ‘Pat’. Only new measures will be presented herein.

Morality of the Transgressive Act

Pat's behaviour...

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Was not okay	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Was okay
Could never be justified	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Would always be justified
Does not bother me at all	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Bothers me a lot
Would be no surprise to **Sam**	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Would be surprising to **Sam**

Morality of Transgressor

Pat is…

	1	2	3	
A bad person	○	○	○	A good person
Dishonest	○	○	○	Honest
Untrustworthy	○	○	○	Trustworthy
Insencere	○	○	○	Sincere

Moral Responsibility

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
If I was aware of what **Pat** did at the time, I would report it to someone	○	○	○	○	○
As a supporter of the team it would be my duty to report **Pat** to the Manager	○	○	○	○	○

Causal Responsibility

Please indicate the extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Pat acted the way he did because:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
He felt he had no option	○	○	○	○	○
It was a passing emotion	○	○	○	○	○
It's the type of person **Pat** is	○	○	○	○	○
The situation called for drastic action	○	○	○	○	○
He was expressing loyalty to the team	○	○	○	○	○
He feels hatred of the other team	○	○	○	○	○

Other Questions

Click one option below to show how you imagined the characters in this situation

- ○ Pat and Sam both male
- ○ Pat and Sam both female
- ○ Pat female, Sam male
- ○ Pat male, Sam female
- ○ I didn't think about the gender of the characters

11.4. Appendix D: Manipulation for Study 3

Leader Transgression, No Stigma

The Manager of the team has decided to appoint Pat as a member of the coaching staff. During the game, most of the team plays well, including Sam, the central midfielder. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup team]. Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". The next questions ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the coaching staff member, and Sam the central midfielder.

Member Transgression, Uncontrollable Stigma

The manager is in the dugout working on the team strategy along with the senior coaches. Groundstaff are around the sidelines of the pitch watching the game. They are the people who look after the stadium and the pitch, check the balls and equipment, and ensure that the team's supporters know where to go and receive their program. One of the groundstaff, who has been working for the club for 6 years and knows all the players well, is called Pat. Pat has been confined to a wheelchair from birth, due to a physical disability.During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, Sam. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup team] . Furious about the penalty decision, Pat, who is watching from the sideline, calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". Sam acknowledges Pat and rejoins the game. The next questions ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the ground staff member, and Sam, the central midfielder.

Leader, Uncontrollable Stigma

In the spirit of diversity and equal opportunities, the Manager of the team has decided to appoint Pat as a member of the coaching staff even though Pat has been confined to a wheelchair from birth, due to a physical disability. During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, Sam. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near

the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup team]. Furious about the penalty decision, Pat, calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". Sam acknowledges Pat and rejoins the game. The next questions ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the coaching staff member, and Sam the central midfielder.

Leader, Controllable Stigma

In the spirit of diversity and equal opportunities, the Manager of the team has decided to appoint Pat as a member of the coaching staff even though Pat has been confined to a wheelchair because Pat was recently involved in an accident where Pat was driving drunk despite being advised not to several times.

During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, Sam. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup team]. Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". Sam acknowledges Pat and rejoins the game. The next questions

ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the coaching staff member, and Sam, the central midfielder.

Member, Controllable Stigma

The manager is in the dugout working on the team strategy along with the senior coaches. Groundstaff are around the sidelines of the pitch watching the game. They are the people who look after the stadium and the pitch, check the balls and equipment, and ensure that the team's supporters know where to go and receive their program. One of the groundstaff, who has been working for the club for 6 years and knows all the players well, is called Pat. Pat has been confined to a wheelchair because Pat was recently involved in an accident where Pat was driving drunk despite being advised not to several times. During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, Sam. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup team]. Furious about the penalty decision, Pat, who is watching from the sideline, calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". Sam acknowledges Pat and rejoins the game. The next questions ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the ground staff member, and Sam, the central midfielder.

Member, No Stigma

The manager is in the dugout working on the team strategy along with the senior coaches. Groundstaff are around the sidelines of the pitch watching the game. They are the people who

look after the stadium and the pitch, check the balls and equipment, and ensure that the team's supporters know where to go and receive their program. One of the groundstaff, who has been working for the club for 6 years and knows all the players well, is called Pat. During the game, most of the team plays well, including the central midfielder, Sam. Sam has made a number of good passes and tackles and been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, near the end of the match there is a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of [outgroup team] falls to the ground, apparently in agony. Although it is unclear exactly what has happened the referee confidently assumes that [outgroup team]'s player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee then awards a penalty in favor of [outgroup]. Furious about the penalty decision, Pat, who is watching from the sideline, calls Sam over and says "listen, they didn't deserve that penalty. Next time you are in their penalty box, take a dive and see if you can get a penalty back for us. Even better if you can get the referee to send one of their best players off the field". Sam acknowledges Pat and rejoins the game. The next questions ask you to provide your impressions of Pat, the ground staff member, and Sam, the central midfielder.

Measures for Study 3

All measures were kept constant from Study 2. Names on all measures were adapted to the ground staff member and the manager, according to condition.

11.5. Appendix E: Reconsideration of measures for Study 4

Correlations between items in the Prototypicality (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and Stereotypicality (Platow & van Knippenberg, 2001) measures.

	Prototypicality				Stereotypicality			
	1	2	3	4	1B	2B	3B	4B
2. To what extent is [the leader] typical of [in-group]?	.84**							
3. How much do you think the [leader] is representative of [in-group]?	.85**	.93**						
4. To what extent is the [leader] a model member of [in-group]?	.85**	.88**	.89**					
1B. The [leader] acts like a representative member of the [in-group]	.64**	.68**	.69**	.68**				
2B. The [leader] is very typical [in-group] member	.69**	.75**	.75**	.73**	.81**			
3B. The [leader] shows a lot of loyalty to the [in-group]	.52**	.49**	.50**	.47**	.62**	.57**		
4B. The [leader] should definitely continue working at the [in-group]	.63**	.65**	.66**	.67**	.76**	.73**	.59**	
5B. The [leader] does an excellent job	.64**	.65**	.68**	.68**	.77**	.72**	.65**	.83**

Updated Prototypicality Measure

How much do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements about Pat

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Pat acts like a representative member of the club	○	○	○	○	○
Pat is very typical club member	○	○	○	○	○
Pat shows a lot of loyalty to the club	○	○	○	○	○
Pat should definitely continue working at the club	○	○	○	○	○
Pat does an excellent job	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent is Pat typical of (ingroup team)?	○	○	○	○	○
How much do you think Pat is a representative of (ingroup team)?	○	○	○	○	○
To what extent is Pat a model member of (ingroup team)?	○	○	○	○	○

11.6. Appendix F: Manipulation for Study 4

Uncontrollable Stigma, Positive Valence

The leader of the coaching staff is Pat, who has had to use a wheelchair from very early on because of a birth defect. Pat often spends quite a lot of spare time putting food out for birds, among other things.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, there has just

been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team). Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to ‘take a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team). "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

Uncontrollable Stigma, Negative Valence

The leader of the coaching staff is Pat, who has had to use a wheelchair from very early on because of a birth defect. Pat likes driving but often times drives after drinking alcohol.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team’s performance. However, there has just been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team) Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to ‘take

a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team). "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

Semi-Controllable Stigma, Positive Valence

The leader of the coaching staff is Pat who is on a wheelchair because of a recent accident where Pat was climbing on a tree, trying to put food out for birds and slipped! This accident resulted in a serious injury which has caused Pat to require a wheelchair.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, there has just been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team) Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to 'take a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team) "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

Semi-Controllable Stigma, Negative Valence

The leader of the coaching staff Pat, who is in a wheelchair because of a recent drink-and-drive accident, where Pat was driving drunk after a party, despite being advised not to several times. This accident resulted in a serious injury which has caused Pat to require a

wheelchair.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, there has just been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team) Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to 'take a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team) "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

Fully-Controllable Stigma, Positive Valence

The leader of the coaching staff is Pat. A few years ago Pat had an accident and had to use a wheelchair for a while. Pat still uses the wheelchair while attending games, even though it is no longer required because Pat finds it more comfortable. Pat spends a lot of spare time putting food out for birds, among other things.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team's performance. However, there has just been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team) Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to ‘take a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team) "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

Fully-Controllable Stigma, Negative Valence

The leader of the coaching staff is Pat, who prefers to use a wheelchair but is not suffering from a health issue. Pat likes driving but often times drives after drinking alcohol.

The game has now 10 mins left and the score is tied. During the game, most of the team has played well. Sam, the central midfielder has made a number of good passes and tackles and has been making a consistent contribution to the team’s performance. However, there has just been a scuffle in the penalty area and a member of (outgroup team) has fallen to the ground, apparently in agony.

It is unclear what exactly has happened but the referee confidently assumes that the (outgroup team) player has been pushed and injured by Sam. The referee awards a penalty in favour of (outgroup team) Furious about the penalty decision, Pat calls Sam over and tells him to ‘take a dive and get a penalty back for (ingroup team). "Even better if you can get the ref to send one of their best players off the field". Sam then returns to the game.

11.7. Appendix G: Example Links for Archival Data (Study 5)

Table

Example Links for extraction of Archival data for the USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand & Canada

https://bit.ly/2ffgMuv	https://bit.ly/2WFOlcl	https://atxne.ws/2GcANzQ
https://bit.ly/2Sv6gTK	https://bit.ly/2HWQAER	https://bit.ly/2hzIWzg
https://bit.ly/2ki8vbD	https://bit.ly/2pfrlQV	https://bit.ly/2HWH4Sd
https://nyti.ms/2UIbKI8	https://nyti.ms/2UIbKI8	https://bit.ly/2Bp2DoD
https://bit.ly/2HUj025	https://bit.ly/2GsqGpT	https://bit.ly/2t9EI8g
https://bit.ly/2SuuXji	https://bit.ly/2SdhZHo	https://bit.ly/2SA9EN2
https://bit.ly/2Ty6bfd	https://cnn.it/2M4PTLl	https://bit.ly/2ScWFla
https://bit.ly/2DcWYlz	https://bit.ly/2qgFUYe	https://bit.ly/2DUO25P
https://bit.ly/2HUz6st	https://bit.ly/2SwUdoV	https://bit.ly/2DYv9PB
https://bit.ly/2RIAj5X	https://bit.ly/2GnSmfP	bit.ly/2GbVHiI
http://bit.ly/2WLFUMv	http://bit.ly/2tccQjz	http://bit.ly/2UKqh62
http://bit.ly/2MT50Vd	http://bit.ly/2SypBDx	http://bit.ly/2BoNKCH
http://bit.ly/2DfH7D3	http://bit.ly/2MTizEi	http://bit.ly/2WLyXLm
http://bit.ly/2SxIGFQ	https://nyti.ms/2MSHvLV	http://bit.ly/2Bm3qH4
http://bit.ly/2MTvtBU	https://ind.pn/2BmAwq1	https://nyti.ms/2Sv5t57
http://bit.ly/2MTwU3g	http://bit.ly/2HUNQrt	http://bit.ly/2ShEFGf
http://bit.ly/2SyqhJ5	https://nyti.ms/2MWai2o	http://bit.ly/2Bojqbh
http://bit.ly/2WFUTYt	http://bit.ly/2Sd0SoY	http://bit.ly/2DUTKEN
http://bit.ly/2UID0GD	https://bit.ly/2BlSBV8	https://bit.ly/2t6Fenu
https://bit.ly/2TusoLi	https://bit.ly/2GcfoGY	https://bit.ly/2HPTnzm
https://bit.ly/2WDcvEe	https://bit.ly/2Sbcysq	https://bit.ly/2Gamqw0

https://bit.ly/2MN1DiJ	https://bit.ly/2RGdRKA	https://bit.ly/2t6hqzV
https://bit.ly/2Gl1yBu	https://bit.ly/2SajlCD	https://bit.ly/2GlRJn0
https://bit.ly/2I1jGme	https://bit.ly/2MN2yzv	https://bit.ly/2DSuL5h
https://tgam.ca/2GaufBQ	https://bit.ly/2HPZOCL	https://lt.gov.ns.ca/history
www.lgontario.ca/en/history/	https://bit.ly/2GlGQl8	https://bit.ly/2Twni18
www.assembly.ab.ca/lao/library/lt-gov/index.htm	https://bit.ly/27THfBg	https://bit.ly/2D4gsss
https://bit.ly/2GlGQl8	https://dailym.ai/2HZJAqS	https://bit.ly/2Gl49LK
https://bit.ly/2t3Ps7Q	https://bit.ly/2SqtI4r	https://bit.ly/2DSPeGQ
https://bit.ly/2HZJ0JI	https://bit.ly/2t54QAY	https://bit.ly/2MT94oA
https://bbc.in/2Sn5iJh	https://bit.ly/2WE63wF	https://bit.ly/21XeBMH
https://bit.ly/2RGgRHb	https://bit.ly/2GaZMDS	https://bit.ly/2Sqj4ut
https://bit.ly/2TxrKfU	https://bit.ly/2HQuVOl	https://bbc.in/2GpH0Yz
https://bit.ly/2HT3nrE	https://bit.ly/2UHn1s7	https://bit.ly/1Kp5TKR
https://bit.ly/2GnSw6F	https://bit.ly/2UJjXfp	https://bit.ly/2Db6hCz
https://bit.ly/2D8Zaum	https://bit.ly/2DRuejN	https://bit.ly/2UHmDd9
https://bbc.in/2Uzyk5I	https://bit.ly/2RGnadE	https://bit.ly/2Gas69l
https://bit.ly/2Stum1g	https://bit.ly/2TuBrM7	https://bit.ly/2t2LigF
https://bit.ly/1rqz4vs	https://bit.ly/2WJnITA	https://bit.ly/2TweuZ8
https://bit.ly/2SoZChY	https://bit.ly/18YsJ0U	https://bit.ly/2BlQMrp
https://bit.ly/2RDfBob		

11.8. Appendix H: Manipulation for Study 6

1 Male, Leader, Stigmatised, Transgressive

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a man who is a senior politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's leader** and the **chairperson**. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's leader** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some further information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Party's leader: The party's leader continued his career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout his career, he has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

2 Male, Stigmatised, Transgressive, Member

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a man who is a politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and

tarnished the reputation of the **party's Chairperson** and **party's Leader.** Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's Chairperson** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some further information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued his career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout his career, he has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down. **Leader: The party's Leader** resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

3 Female, Stigmatised, Transgressive, Member

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a woman who is a politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's Chairperson** and **party's Leader.** Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance

arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's chairperson** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades! FMembST

Here is some further information about the party's Leader and party's Chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's chairperson continued her career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout her career, she has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down. **Leader: The party's leader** resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

4 **Female, Stigmatised, Transgressive, Leader**

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a woman who is a senior politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's Leader** and the **party's Chairperson.** Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's Leader** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some further information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Leader: The Party's leader continued her career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout her career, she has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed

from the waist down.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

5 Male, No Stigma, Leader, Transgressive

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a man who is a senior politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. MLeadNST

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's Leader** and the **party's Chairperson**. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's leader** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some more information about the party's Leader and party's Chairperson.

Leader: The party's Leader continued his career in politics, although at a different political party.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

6 Male, No Stigma, Member, Transgressive

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a man who is a politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. MMembNST This funding scandal

erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party's **Chairperson** and **party's Leader**. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's Chairperson** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued his career in politics, although at a different political party.

Leader: The party's Leader resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

7 Female, Leader, No Stigma, Transgressive

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a woman who is a senior politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's leader** and **the chairperson**. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's leader** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Leader: The party's Leader continued her career in politics, although at a different political

party.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

8 Female, Member, No Stigma, Transgressive

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a woman who is a senior politician. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the **party's leader** and the **chairperson.** Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years. The **party's chairperson** had been caught up in another two corruption scandals in the two previous decades!

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's chairperson continued her career in politics, although at a different political party.

Leader: The party's leader resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

9 Male, Leader, Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party and its male leader and the chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party

officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's Leader and party's Chairperson.

Leader: The party's Leader continued his career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout his career, he has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

10 Female, Leader, Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party and its female leader and the chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity. This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's Leader and party's Chairperson.

Leader: The party's leader continued her career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout her career, she has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed

from the waist down.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

11 Female, Member, Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, the leader of the party and its female chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage caref

ully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's Leader and Chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued her career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout her career, she has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down.

Leader: The party's Leader resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

12 **Female, Member, No Stigma, No Transgression**

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, the leader of the party and its female chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage

carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's Leader and Chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued her career in politics, although at a different political party.

Leader: The party's Leader resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

13 Female, Leader, No Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, its female leader and the chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Leader: The party's Leader continued her career in politics, although at a different political party.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

14 Male, Member, No Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, its leader and its male chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued his career in politics, although at a different political party. **Leader: The party's Leader** resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

15 Male, Member, Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, its leader and its male chairperson. You will then be asked to

respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Chairperson: The party's Chairperson continued his career in politics, although at a different political party. Throughout his career, he has been confined to a wheelchair having been paralysed from the waist down.

Leader: The party's Leader resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

16 Male, Leader, No Stigma, No Transgression

You will now read a passage from a real newspaper article about a financial scandal involving a political party, its male leader and the chairperson. You will then be asked to respond to some questions regarding the passage. Please read the passage carefully! Please bear in mind that the names have been changed for the purposes of anonymity.

This funding scandal erupted in 1999 and tarnished the reputation of the party. Investigators caught party officials taking payments from an agent acting to promote sales to Saudi Arabia

and Canada. These practices were part of a broader pattern of secret political finance arrangements that had supported the party for years.

Here is some more information about the party's leader and chairperson.

Leader: **The party's Leader** continued his career in politics, although at a different political party.

Chairperson: **The party's Chairperson** resigned shortly after the scandal broke out.

11.9. Appendix I: Descriptive Statistics for Study 6 (Last Experimental Study)

Table 46a: *Means and Standard Errors for Evaluations by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*.

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.95	0.64
				Normative	3.22	0.92
			Female	Transgressive	3.20	1.09
				Normative	3.54	1.20
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.21	0.79
				Normative	3.00	0.98
			Female	Transgressive	3.26	0.77
				Normative	3.23	0.69
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.16	1.02
				Normative	3.08	0.89
			Female	Transgressive	3.48	0.98
				Normative	3.44	1.03
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.84	1.01
				Normative	3.34	1.05
			Female	Transgressive	3.21	1.04
				Normative	3.62	1.17

Table 46b: *Means and Standard Errors for Evaluations by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression* (continued)

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.00	0.76
				Normative	3.04	1.00
			Female	Transgressive	3.09	0.84
				Normative	3.42	1.15
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.31	0.90
				Normative	2.95	0.95
			Female	Transgressive	3.08	0.73
				Normative	3.42	0.69
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.25	1.03
				Normative	3.19	0.94
			Female	Transgressive	3.33	1.08
				Normative	3.47	1.32
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.75	1.02
				Normative	3.43	0.98
			Female	Transgressive	3.50	1.05
				Normative	3.29	1.25

Table 47a: *Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	1.88	0.69
				Normative	2.63	0.83
			Female	Transgressive	2.48	0.87
				Normative	3.02	1.15
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.38	0.87
				Normative	2.47	0.85
			Female	Transgressive	2.55	0.93
				Normative	2.67	0.68
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.54	0.99
				Normative	2.00	0.71
			Female	Transgressive	2.63	0.79
				Normative	2.14	1.52
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.75	0.71
				Normative	2.92	0.93
			Female	Transgressive	2.73	1.12
				Normative	3.04	1.09

Table 47b: *Means and Standard Errors for Prototypicality by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression* (continued)

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.11	0.75
				Normative	2.58	0.90
			Female	Transgressive	2.50	0.90
				Normative	2.55	1.00
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.16	0.98
				Normative	2.34	0.92
			Female	Transgressive	2.32	0.97
				Normative	2.54	0.72
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.69	1.14
				Normative	2.55	0.84
			Female	Transgressive	2.90	0.84
				Normative	2.29	1.41
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.35	0.90
				Normative	2.60	0.93
			Female	Transgressive	2.54	1.07
				Normative	2.85	1.20

Table 48a: *Means and Standard Errors for Stereotypicality by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.95	0.73
				Normative	3.75	1.33
			Female	Transgressive	3.48	1.48
				Normative	3.89	1.46
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.49	0.91
				Normative	3.26	1.16
			Female	Transgressive	3.61	1.19
				Normative	3.30	1.10
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.89	1.34
				Normative	3.53	1.06
			Female	Transgressive	3.57	1.61
				Normative	3.39	2.03
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.90	1.10
				Normative	3.18	1.37
			Female	Transgressive	3.33	1.58
				Normative	3.78	1.70

Table 48b: *Means and Standard Errors for Stereotypicality by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.03	1.14
				Normative	3.17	1.56
			Female	Transgressive	3.01	1.40
				Normative	3.14	1.38
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.49	1.27
				Normative	3.41	1.20
			Female	Transgressive	3.46	1.18
				Normative	3.48	1.01
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.52	1.53
				Normative	3.19	1.12
			Female	Transgressive	3.03	1.15
				Normative	2.93	2.16
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.98	1.18
				Normative	3.33	1.19
			Female	Transgressive	3.69	1.61
				Normative	3.55	1.72

Table 49a: *Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	1.82	1.06
				Normative	2.14	1.55
			Female	Transgressive	2.30	1.89
				Normative	3.24	2.03
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.04	1.25
				Normative	2.38	1.40
			Female	Transgressive	2.38	1.51
				Normative	2.56	1.34
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.13	1.59
				Normative	1.81	1.20
			Female	Transgressive	2.27	1.38
				Normative	2.89	2.45
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.45	1.56
				Normative	2.50	1.71
			Female	Transgressive	2.20	1.17
				Normative	3.53	2.07

Table 49b: *Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Person by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.15	1.22
				Normative	2.45	1.74
			Female	Transgressive	2.42	1.51
				Normative	2.77	1.65
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.76	1.43
				Normative	2.14	1.21
			Female	Transgressive	2.06	1.10
				Normative	2.56	1.20
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.97	1.80
				Normative	2.62	1.51
			Female	Transgressive	3.13	1.71
				Normative	3.57	2.20
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.23	1.59
				Normative	2.53	1.75
			Female	Transgressive	1.92	1.26
				Normative	3.26	2.26

Table 50a: *Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Act by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.88	0.66
				Normative	3.23	0.96
			Female	Transgressive	3.20	1.34
				Normative	3.75	1.19
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.02	1.05
				Normative	3.11	1.21
			Female	Transgressive	3.09	1.02
				Normative	3.40	1.06
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.24	0.98
				Normative	2.92	0.70
			Female	Transgressive	3.47	1.00
				Normative	3.38	2.48
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.17	1.22
				Normative	3.12	1.35
			Female	Transgressive	2.78	0.64
				Normative	3.96	1.70

Table 50b: *Means and Standard Errors for Morality of Act by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.17	0.94
				Normative	3.40	0.98
			Female	Transgressive	3.12	1.31
				Normative	3.38	1.15
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.10	1.02
				Normative	2.93	0.96
			Female	Transgressive	2.83	0.90
				Normative	3.18	0.82
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.29	1.20
				Normative	3.44	1.11
			Female	Transgressive	3.44	0.92
				Normative	3.14	2.48
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.03	1.30
				Normative	3.35	1.31
			Female	Transgressive	2.93	0.90
				Normative	3.80	1.75

Table 51a: *Means and Standard Errors for Moral Responsibility by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	4.59	0.53
				Normative	4.26	0.99
			Female	Transgressive	4.37	0.99
				Normative	4.30	0.65
		Member	Male	Transgressive	4.03	0.79
				Normative	4.41	0.97
			Female	Transgressive	4.45	0.74
				Normative	4.19	0.76
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	4.23	0.86
				Normative	4.08	0.89
			Female	Transgressive	4.17	0.86
				Normative	4.71	0.39
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.91	1.13
				Normative	4.26	0.77
			Female	Transgressive	4.43	0.62
				Normative	4.11	0.82

Table 51b: *Means and Standard Errors for Moral Responsibility by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	4.45	0.58
				Normative	4.28	0.96
			Female	Transgressive	4.35	0.76
				Normative	4.33	0.49
		Member	Male	Transgressive	3.93	0.82
				Normative	4.35	0.98
			Female	Transgressive	4.59	0.59
				Normative	4.10	0.90
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	4.10	0.87
				Normative	4.00	0.79
			Female	Transgressive	4.38	0.43
				Normative	4.57	0.45
		Member	Male	Transgressive	4.02	1.02
				Normative	4.24	0.71
			Female	Transgressive	4.33	0.59
				Normative	4.20	0.76

Table 52a: *Means and Standard Errors for Conferral by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.25	1.33
				Normative	2.59	1.46
			Female	Transgressive	2.91	1.76
				Normative	3.25	1.94
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.51	1.45
				Normative	3.07	1.44
			Female	Transgressive	2.60	1.13
				Normative	2.68	1.29
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.32	1.51
				Normative	1.92	0.89
			Female	Transgressive	3.10	1.76
				Normative	3.39	2.72
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.55	1.58
				Normative	2.83	1.57
			Female	Transgressive	2.88	1.85
				Normative	3.65	1.74

Table 52b: *Means and Standard Errors for Conferral by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.25	1.33
				Normative	2.59	1.46
			Female	Transgressive	2.91	1.76
				Normative	3.25	1.94
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.51	1.45
				Normative	3.07	1.44
			Female	Transgressive	2.60	1.13
				Normative	2.68	1.29
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	3.32	1.51
				Normative	1.92	0.89
			Female	Transgressive	3.10	1.76
				Normative	3.39	2.72
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.55	1.58
				Normative	2.83	1.57
			Female	Transgressive	2.88	1.85
				Normative	3.65	1.74

Table 53a: *Means and Standard Errors for Causal Responsibility by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Leader	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.4783	0.74037
				Normative	2.8069	0.76622
			Female	Transgressive	2.4522	0.8273
				Normative	2.7043	0.74314
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.8	0.81564
				Normative	2.6222	0.7345
			Female	Transgressive	2.6182	0.82557
				Normative	2.5062	0.73789
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.7684	0.74316
				Normative	2.3	0.73902
			Female	Transgressive	2.4923	0.78152
				Normative	2.7714	1.28804
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.5364	0.6856
				Normative	2.7263	0.72789
			Female	Transgressive	2.5125	0.68105
				Normative	3.1222	0.99286

Table 53b: *Means and Standard Errors for Causal Responsibility by Target Judged, Stigma, Role, Gender and Transgression (continued)*

Target Judged (within-subjects)	Stigma	Role	Gender	Transgression	*M*	*SE*
Member	Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.6609	0.73221
				Normative	2.7517	0.83607
			Female	Transgressive	2.6696	0.74981
				Normative	2.8261	0.7393
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.56	0.70068
				Normative	2.437	0.50547
			Female	Transgressive	2.4818	0.61616
				Normative	2.5188	0.72175
	No Stigma	Leader	Male	Transgressive	2.8737	0.79501
				Normative	2.6143	0.71237
			Female	Transgressive	3.1846	0.85425
				Normative	3.2286	0.80356
		Member	Male	Transgressive	2.6727	0.68326
				Normative	2.7895	0.79295
			Female	Transgressive	2.725	0.80623
				Normative	3.0667	0.89315