

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
The Graduate School

Certificate for Approving the Dissertation

We hereby approve the Dissertation
of

Elizabeth Renee Brown

Candidate for the Degree:

Doctor of Philosophy

Director

Amanda B. Diekman

Reader

Heather M. Claypool

Reader

Amy Summerville

Graduate School Representative

Monica C. Schneider

ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATE SEX ON SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION BELIEFS: EXPLORING POTENTIAL MODERATORS AND MEDIATORS

by Elizabeth Renee Brown

Experiments 1-3 revealed that exposure to a female versus a male candidate increased participants' beliefs about the legitimacy of the status quo. In order to investigate why exposure to a female candidate increased legitimacy beliefs, Experiments 4 and 5 examined whether exposure to a female versus a male candidate fulfilled goals related to equality for most individuals and activated goals related to convention for highly traditional individuals. However, Experiments 4 and 5 failed to replicate the legitimacy effects of Experiments 1-3. Furthermore, in Experiments 4 and 5, goal fulfillment did not systematically vary upon exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate, and traditionalism did not moderate the effect of candidate sex on goal fulfillment. Future work should examine under what sociopolitical conditions exposure to a female candidate increases legitimacy beliefs.

THE INFLUENCE OF CANDIDATE SEX ON SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION BELIEFS:
EXPLORING POTENTIAL MODERATORS AND MEDIATORS

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of
Miami University in partial
Fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Psychology

by

Elizabeth Renee Brown
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio
2011

Dissertation Director: Amanda B. Diekman

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
Goals and System Justification Theory	1
Goal Activation and Fulfillment	2
Consequences of System Justification Goals	2
Minority Candidates Increase Beliefs that the Status Quo is Fair.....	3
Equality-Related Goals.....	3
Convention-Related Goals	3
Alternative Explanations: Attitudes	4
Current Research	4
 EXPERIMENT 1 METHOD	5
Participants	5
Independent Variables.....	6
Dependent Variables	6
Demographic Questions	6
Manipulation and Suspicion Checks	6
 EXPERIMENT 1 RESULTS	6
System Justification Beliefs	6
 EXPERIMENT 1 DISCUSSION.....	7

EXPERIMENT 2 OVERVIEW	7
EXPERIMENT 2 METHOD	7
Participants	7
Procedure.....	8
EXPERIMENT 2 RESULTS	8
Legitimacy and Stability	8
EXPERIMENT 2 DISCUSSION.....	8
EXPERIMENT 3 METHOD	9
Participants	9
Procedure.....	9
EXPERIMENT 3 RESULTS	9
Implicit Associations.....	9
EXPERIMENT 3 CONCLUSIONS	9
EXPERIMENT 4 METHOD	10
Participants and Procedure.....	10
Independent Variables.....	10

Candidate Sex/Control.....	11
Political Ideology.....	11
Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.....	11
Dependent Variables.....	12
Attitudes Toward Candidates	12
Lexical Decision Task.....	12
Demographic Questions	13
Manipulation and Suspicion Checks	13
EXPERIMENT 4 RESULTS	13
System Justification.....	13
Lexical Decision Task	14
Attitudes Toward Candidates	14
Mediational Analyses	14
EXPERIMENT 4 DISCUSSION.....	14
EXPERIMENT 5 METHOD	15
Participants and Procedure.....	15
Automatic Evaluation of Goals.....	16
EXPERIMENT 5 RESULTS	17
System Justification.....	17

Lexical Decision Task	18
Automatic Evaluation of Goals.....	18
Attitudes Toward Candidates	19
Mediational Analyses	19
EXPERIMENT 5 DISCUSSION.....	19
GENERAL DISCUSSION	19
Limitations.....	20
Lack of Replication	20
Problems in Measuring Equality- and Convention-Related Goals	21
Future Experiments.....	21
Implications	22
REFERENCES	26

FIGURES

1. The effect of candidate sex on system justification, legitimacy of the gender hierarchy, and stability of the gender hierarchy (Experiments 1 and 2).....	23
2. The effect of candidate sex on implicit preferences for stability (Experiment 3).....	24
3. The effect of candidate sex, traditionalism, and participant sex on system justification beliefs (Experiment 5)	25

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Amanda Diekman, my advisor, for her support, advice, and assistance throughout this dissertation process. To my dissertation committee, Heather Claypool, Monica Schneider, and Amy Summerville, your valuable advice has helped to shape this dissertation and future research on this topic. To my undergraduate research assistants, thank you for all of your hard work collecting the data. To my family and friends, thank you for all of your love, encouragement, and support during my journey through graduate school. I have succeeded in attaining my Ph.D. because of your love and support throughout this process. I am very thankful to have you all in my life.

The influence of candidate sex on system justification beliefs:

Exploring potential moderators and mediators

In 2008, Hillary Clinton became the first serious female contender for the Democratic Party Presidential nomination. In her concession speech she spoke about cracking the glass ceiling and opening the doors for future gender equality (Clinton, 2008). Although women have increased their presence in U.S. elected offices, they remain a minority (e.g., 16.8% of U.S. Congress and 24.3% of state legislatures are female; CAWP, 2009). Even this minority presence of politicians from underrepresented groups might signal that social change has been achieved, which in turn might increase beliefs supporting the sociopolitical system. Beliefs legitimizing the sociopolitical system are theorized to be driven by goals which support the current status quo (Jost, Pietrzak, Liviatan, Mandisodza, & Napier, 2008). Goals related to system legitimacy, such as equality and convention, should be implicated when the presence of a politician from an underrepresented group increases support for the sociopolitical system. For most individuals, equality-related goals might be fulfilled in the event that a nontraditional candidate signals the achievement of social change. However, for very traditional individuals, convention-related goals might become activated in the event that a nontraditional candidate signals that traditions are in peril, especially as such traditions pertain to a return to traditional gender roles.

In these experiments, I examined whether exposure to a female versus a male candidate increased beliefs supporting the sociopolitical system. I also examined whether these increased beliefs supporting the sociopolitical system following exposure to a male or female candidate could be explained by either the fulfillment of equality-related goals or the activation of convention-related goals. I hypothesized that the goal implicated would be dependent on the level of traditionalism, with equality-related goals being fulfilled for most individuals and convention-related goals being activated for highly traditional individuals. Finally, I tested if equality- and convention-related goals explained the effect of candidate sex on support for the sociopolitical system.

Goals and System Justification Theory

A goal is a cognitively represented endpoint that is desired; goals impact behavior, evaluations, and emotions (Fishbach & Ferguson, 2007). According to system justification theory, individuals are motivated to believe that the current status quo is fair and just, and this goal leads to beliefs that legitimize the current system (Jost and Banaji, 1994; Jost, Pietrzak, Liviatan, Mandisodza, & Napier, 2008). Furthermore, this belief system is shared among individuals at different positions within the

status hierarchy of a sociopolitical system (e.g., Jost & Burgess, 2000). Thus, goals related to the legitimization of the current system underlie beliefs supporting the sociopolitical system.

Goal activation and fulfillment. Because the system justification motive is broad, it is important to examine how the system justification motive causes specific goals to be implicated. When an individual perceives a stimulus associated with a goal, the goal becomes activated and more accessible (e.g., Bargh, 1990). One way of examining how goals impact future behavior is by examining goal accessibility (Higgins & King, 1981). When a goal is both activated and accessible, individuals are more likely to pursue the goal (e.g., Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2000; Goschke & Kuhl, 1993; Shah, Friedman, & Kruglanski, 2002).

Another way of assessing goal pursuit is by examining automatic attitudes towards goals. Activated goal states facilitate goal-relevant information (Aarts, Dijksterhuis, & De Vries, 2001) and inhibit goal-irrelevant information (Shah, Friedman, & Kruglanski, 2002). In order to successfully pursue a goal, individuals must classify goal-relevant information as desirable and classify goal-irrelevant information as undesirable (Ferguson, 2008). Goal states filter the activation of goal relevant evaluative information, increasing the accessibility of positive goal information and decreasing the accessibility of negative goal information (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004; Seibt, Häfner, & Deutsch, 2007; Sherman, Presson, Chassin, Rose, & Koch, 2003). When a goal is activated, automatic attitudes towards goals become more positive (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004).

Automatic attitudes towards goals also predict behavior. In three different studies, Ferguson (2007) demonstrated that automatic positivity towards thinness goals resulted in more reported resistance towards eating tempting foods and less actual consumption of fattening food (cookies). Furthermore, participants' automatic positivity towards egalitarian goals resulted in less support for cutting Medicare funding (Ferguson, 2007).

An activated goal both inhibits other goal-related constructs (Carver & Scheier, 1999; Vallacher & Wegner, 1987) and remains active until the goal is fulfilled (e.g., Förster, Liberman, & Friedman, 2007; Förster, Liberman, & Higgins, 2005; Liberman & Förster, 2000). Thus, when an activated goal is fulfilled, the accessibility of goal-related information decreases (Förster, Liberman, & Higgins, 2005), and automatic attitudes become less positive (Ferguson & Bargh, 2004). Thus, one's automatic attitudes towards a goal should predict goal-related behavior when the goal is activated.

Consequences of system justification goals. Fulfilling system justification goals might increase beliefs that the status quo is fair, thus undermining social change. Even the election of nontraditional

leaders can be used to legitimize the current sociopolitical system. For instance, Kaiser, Drury, Spalding, Cheryan, and O'Brien (2009) found that the election of Barack Obama decreased beliefs that racial inequalities still existed, decreased support for policies that promote racial equality, increased beliefs that racial equality was being attained, and increased support of the protestant work ethic.

Furthermore, this pattern of data emerged for both Barack Obama and John McCain supporters for the racial equality and the policy variables. For the measure of protestant work ethic, Obama supporters were more likely than McCain supporters to have increased endorsement of the protestant work ethic following the election. Based on this work, I predicted that the presence of a female candidate, relative to a male candidate, would increase support for the current sociopolitical system regardless of political party affiliation or political orientation.

Minority Candidates Increase Beliefs that the Status Quo is Fair

In Experiments 1-3, I examined if exposure to a female candidate, relative to a male candidate, increased beliefs that the current sociopolitical system is legitimate. Expanding upon the work of Kaiser et al. (2009), I predicted that exposure to a female versus a male candidate would increase beliefs that the sociopolitical system is legitimate and that this increase in perceived legitimacy would be observed across participants from different political parties. After establishing the link between exposure to a female versus a male candidate, it is important to establish the specific goal that might be activated or fulfilled by a female candidate. It is possible that the same response (i.e., greater perceived legitimacy of the system) stems from either (a) the fulfillment of *equality-related goals*, leading people to think the system is fair, or (b) the activation of *convention-related goals*, leading people to defensively respond that the system is fair.

Equality-related goals. Equality is a construct highly endorsed by most individuals (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). For instance, equality-related values are important to individuals cross-culturally (e.g., Schwarz, 1992; 1996). Furthermore, legitimization beliefs are directly linked to equality: For instance, opposition to equality positively predicted beliefs supporting the legitimacy of the current economic system (Jost & Thompson, 2000). If a female candidate is perceived as evidence of gender equality occurring within the social system, her mere presence might satisfy equality-related goals. If this is the case, then exposure to a female candidate, as opposed to a male candidate, should decrease the activation of and automatic positivity towards equality-related goals.

Convention-related goals. For a subset of participants, a female candidate might serve as a threat that the current system is changing. Threats to the system can lead to increased legitimization of

the sociopolitical system. For instance, Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, and Hunyady (2003) found that threats to the legitimacy of the current sociopolitical system increased participants' tendencies to support the capitalist system within the United States. I predicted that individuals who are most likely to feel threatened by changes in the traditional system should be highly conservative or highly sexist. Supporting the relationship between conservatism and legitimization of the status quo, a meta-analysis by Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, and Sulloway (2003) found that political conservatism was positively linked with system instability and fear of threat and loss, which all serve system legitimizing functions. Furthermore, hostile and benevolent sexists are concerned with maintaining the traditional gender system (Glick & Fisk, 2001). For highly traditional individuals (i.e., those who are high on conservatism), exposure to a female candidate might threaten their ideas about the status of the traditional gender system, causing the activation of goals related to reestablishing the traditional system. I predicted that for highly traditional individuals, exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate would increase the activation of and automatic positivity towards convention-related goals.

Alternative Explanations: Attitudes

Alternatively, attitudes towards the political candidate might explain the increased system justification beliefs following exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate. According to the "women are wonderful effect," communal attributes are typically associated with women (i.e., kind, caring), and thus women tend to be more favorably evaluated than men (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). Perhaps exposure to a female candidate, as opposed to a male candidate, elicits more positive attitudes. Positive attitudes towards a female candidate may lead to diffuse positivity, increasing support for the sociopolitical system (Zajonc, 1980). Thus positive attitudes, in response to exposure to a female as opposed to a male leader, might be responsible for the increased beliefs supporting the current sociopolitical system.

I predicted that exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate should elicit more positive attitudes towards leadership candidates. If this is the case then positive attitudes towards leadership candidates should mediate the relationship between candidate sex and system justification beliefs. To test this alternative hypothesis, Experiments 4 and 5 included a measure of attitudes towards the leadership candidate and towards leadership candidates in general.

Current Research

This research used two different implicit measures to assess both the activation of and automatic attitudes towards equality- and convention-related goals. Because the goal of equality is

associated with presentational norms (everyone should be egalitarian), an explicit goal measure might be less predictive of goal pursuit because individuals might indicate positivity towards egalitarian goals. When individuals perceive pressure to conform to norms, they may edit their explicit responses to be more in line with valued norms (e.g., Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980; Crowne & Marlow, 1960). In these instances, measuring both the accessibility and automatic attitudes towards a goal might be more predictive of goal pursuit (Ferguson, 2007). Thus, I used implicit measures to assess the accessibility of and the automatic attitudes towards equality- and convention-related goals.

Experiments 1, 2, and 3 examined the influence of exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate on beliefs justifying the system, regardless of political party identification or political orientation. Experiments 4 and 5 attempted to replicate Experiments 1-3 by examining how exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate influenced beliefs justifying the sociopolitical system. Experiments 4 and 5 also examined how exposure to a female, as opposed to male candidate, influenced the fulfillment of equality-related goals and the activation of convention-related goals. Additionally, Experiments 4 and 5 examined if equality- and convention-related goals explained the increased legitimization beliefs following exposure to a female leadership candidate. In Experiment 4, I predicted that reading about a female, relative to a male candidate and the control condition, would decrease the activation of equality-related goals. Goal activation should be moderated by traditionalism, with highly traditional individuals showing greater activation of convention-related goals when exposed to a female as opposed to a male candidate and the control condition.

Experiment 5 examined how reading about a female, relative to a male candidate, influenced the automatic positivity towards equality- and convention-related goals. I predicted that reading about a female, relative to a male candidate, would decrease the automatic positivity towards equality-related goals. I predicted that this effect would be moderated by traditionalism, with highly traditional individuals showing greater activation and positivity towards of convention-related goals when exposed to a female as opposed to a male candidate.

Experiment 1

Method

Participants

Forty psychology students (17 female) from a Midwestern university participated for partial course credit. The majority of participants (71.79%) were European American, and they ranged in age

from 18 to 22, with a median of 19 years. An additional 3 participants were eliminated for failing to correctly identify the candidate's sex.

Independent Variables

Variables were manipulated in a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects design.¹ Participants were randomly assigned to read about either a male or female candidate (Brian or Karen Johnson). The target was a candidate for the state House of Representatives and espoused three neutral stances that were held constant across conditions. To reinforce the manipulation of candidate sex, gendered pronouns were repeated seven times during the task (for a similar manipulation of candidate sex, see Eagly, Diekmann, Schneider, & Kulesa, 2003).

Dependent Measures

Participants rated their agreement (1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*) with 8 statements about the justness of the current system (i.e., "In general, the American political system operates as it should"; Kay & Jost, 2003). Responses were averaged to create a *system justification* index ($\alpha = .71$).

Participants indicated their political ideology on a continuous scale ranging from 1 (*extremely liberal*) to 3 (*moderate: middle of the road*) to 5 (*extremely conservative*). Participants also indicated if they were a Democrat, Republican, or Independent.

Demographic questions. Participants indicated their age, sex, and ethnicity.

Manipulation and suspicion checks. Participants identified the sex of the candidate and reported their beliefs about the experiment's purpose.

Results and Discussion

The dependent measure was submitted to a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA).

System justification beliefs. As predicted and as shown in Figure 1, the perceived legitimacy of the system increased in the presence of a female candidate ($M = 5.87$, $SD = 0.86$) compared to a male candidate ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.13$), $F(1, 36) = 5.47$, $p = .03$. No other effects or interactions emerged, $ps \geq .57$.

¹ Experiments 1 and 3 included an additional between-subjects manipulation of threat (participants wrote about university problems or watching television). The task did not significantly influence dependent measures in either experiment and thus was omitted from further analyses.

To examine if political party had a moderating influence, a 2 (candidate sex) × 2 (participant sex) × 3 (political party: Republican, Independent, Democrat) ANOVA revealed no significant effects or interactions of political party, $ps > .24$. The main effect of candidate sex on legitimacy perceptions emerged as marginal, $p = .07$.²

Discussion. Participants more strongly perceived the status quo as legitimate after considering a female candidate versus a male candidate. Expanding upon Kaiser et al.'s (2009) findings, this experiment demonstrated that the mere candidacy of a member of a nontraditional group, relative to the candidacy of a member of a traditional group, can lead to increased beliefs that the system is fair and just. These effects were not moderated by political party identification.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 sought to replicate the differential consequences of exposure to male versus female candidates with another measure of system justification. Generally, the status quo is maintained through beliefs that the system is legitimate and stable (e.g., Tajfel, 1981). However, given widespread endorsement of gender egalitarianism, beliefs that a system is fair to men and women (i.e., more legitimate) might be associated with beliefs that women are gaining power within the system (i.e., less stable). I hypothesized that, relative to a male candidate, the presence of a female candidate may *increase* perceptions of system legitimacy even as her presence *decreases* perceptions of the stability of the system. To test this idea, I adopted a measure that differentiates beliefs about the legitimacy and stability of the gender hierarchy (Glick & Whitehead, 2010).

Method

Participants

Sixty-nine introductory psychology students (34 female, 72.73% European American, ages 18-22, median age = 19) from a Midwestern university participated for partial course credit. An additional 4 participants were eliminated for failing to correctly identify the candidate's sex, and 17 were eliminated because of suspicion (i.e., mention of how candidate sex influences ratings, gender bias).³

² In Experiments 2 and 3, I also examined if political party moderated the effect of candidate sex on beliefs supporting the legitimacy of the status quo. No significant interaction emerged. Therefore, I do not present these data in Experiments 2 and 3.

³ The suspicion rates increased noticeably from Experiment 1 to Experiments 2 and 3, most likely because the latter experiments were conducted at the end of the semester.

Procedure

As in Experiment 1, participants were randomly assigned to read about a male or female candidate, and then they completed the dependent measures. The party identification, political ideology, demographics, and manipulation and suspicion checks were identical to Experiment 1.

The critical dependent measures assessed beliefs about *legitimacy* and *stability* (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). On scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*), participants rated six items about legitimacy (e.g., “Overall, our society currently treats women less fairly than it treats men”; reverse-scored) and six items about stability (e.g., “A few decades from now, there is likely to have been at least one female President of the United States”; reverse-scored). One item from each scale was excluded due to low item correlations. The remaining items were averaged within each scale ($\alpha = .67$ for legitimacy; $\alpha = .72$ for stability).

Results and Discussion

Dependent measures were submitted to 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) ANOVAs.

Legitimacy and stability. As shown in Figure 1, the presence of a female candidate ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.54$), as opposed to a male candidate ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.13$), increased beliefs that the gender hierarchy was legitimate, $F(1, 65) = 4.07$, $p = .05$. In addition, legitimacy beliefs were higher among men ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.48$) than women ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.01$), $F(1, 65) = 14.03$, $p < .001$. Contrary to our predictions, candidate sex did not influence beliefs that the gender hierarchy was stable, $p = .49$.

Discussion. Participants who viewed a female candidate were more likely than those who had viewed a male candidate to endorse beliefs that the current gender hierarchy is legitimate, but they were not more likely to perceive the gender hierarchy as stable. This failure to find an effect on perceived stability might be because the presence of a single female candidate is not sufficient to change beliefs about future gender role change. Indeed, beliefs that women are gaining political power over time are strong and consensual (Diekman, Goodfriend, & Goodwin, 2004), and thus multiple, repeated exemplars may be required to change beliefs about the future stability of the gender hierarchy.

In Experiments 1 and 2, the presence of a female versus a male candidate increased beliefs that the current system is fair and legitimate. These beliefs were not moderated by political party. Experiment 3 extends this effect by examining implicit preferences for stability and change.

Experiment 3

Method

Participants

Eighty-four psychology students (38 female, 85.71% European American, ages 18-27, median age = 19) from a Midwestern university participated for partial course credit. An additional 11 participants were eliminated for incorrectly identifying the candidate's sex.

Procedure

The candidate presentation was identical to previous experiments except that the candidate was described as running for the House of Representatives. Participants completed the voting items ($\alpha=.91$), followed by an Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) measuring preferences for change and stability.

The IAT asked participants to classify words in terms of the categories change/stability and good/bad (modified from the stability/flexibility IAT by Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Participants completed the IAT in five blocks. The critical blocks were Block 3 (classifying as stability/bad or change/good) and Block 5 (stability/good or change/bad). Participants classified words by pressing E (word corresponded with the left category heading) or I (word corresponded with the right category heading).

The IAT scores were computed following the recommendations of Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji (2003). Trials with latencies larger than 10,000 ms and subjects who completed more than 10% trial with latencies below 300 ms were omitted from the analysis. Additionally, each error was replaced with its block mean + 600 ms. I subtracted the reaction times from Block 5 from reaction times from Block 3 and divided by its associated pooled-trial SD. Positive scores indicate a stronger stability/good association whereas negative scores indicate a stronger change/good association.

Results

All data were submitted to a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) ANOVA.

Implicit associations. The marginal effect of candidate sex, $F(1, 79) = 3.74$, $p = .06$, reflected stronger implicit preferences for stability after evaluating the female candidate ($M = .13$, $SD = .44$) than the male candidate ($M = -.05$, $SD = .43$; see Figure 2).

Conclusions. These experiments clearly demonstrate an ironic consequence of women's increased prominence as contenders for leadership positions. The presence of a female candidate, relative to a male candidate, led to increased perceptions of status quo legitimacy (Experiment 1),

increased beliefs that the current gender hierarchy is legitimate (Experiment 2), and marginally increased implicit preferences for stability (Experiment 3). Moreover, the differential effects of a male versus a female candidate on status quo support systematically emerged across important participant demographics, such as sex and political party.

However, what remains unclear from these data are what goals might be underlying these increased perceptions of status quo legitimacy. For most individuals in college samples, the presence of a female versus male candidate might fulfill equality goals, because a female leader is a symbol of the attainment of gender equality. However, for highly traditional individuals, the presence of a female versus male candidate might activate convention goals, because a female candidate threatens the traditional gender hierarchy. Experiment 4 examined how exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate influenced the fulfillment of equality-related goals. Experiment 4 also examined the alternative meditational hypothesis that greater positivity towards female candidates would explain the relationship between candidate sex and increased system justification beliefs.

Experiment 4

Method

Participants and Procedure

Two hundred eighty-nine introductory psychology students (187 female; 86.51% European American) participated in exchange for partial course credit. The experiment was presented on a computer using MediaLab software.

Participants first completed the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996). In an ostensibly different experiment, participants read about either a male or female political candidate (same as Experiments 1 and 2) or (in a control condition) only completed the dependent variables. Next, participants completed the following measures: a lexical decision task examining the accessibility of equality and convention goals; an attitudinal measure focusing on the political candidate; an attitudinal measure about attitudes towards political candidates in general; and a system justification measure ($\alpha=.76$; same as Experiment 1; Kay & Jost, 2003). These dependent variables were counterbalanced. Finally, participants indicated their political ideology, political party identification, and provided some demographic information.

Independent Variables

Variables were manipulated in a 3 (candidate sex: male, female, control) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism: high, moderate, low) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects design.

Candidate sex/control. Participants were randomly assigned to a control condition or one of the two candidate sex conditions (same as Experiments 1 and 2). In the control condition participants completed the dependent variables only.

Political ideology. Similar to Experiments 1-3, participants indicated their political ideology. However, instead of the scale ranging from 1 (*extremely liberal*) to 3 (*moderate: middle of the road*) to 5 (*extremely conservative*), the scale ranged from 1 (*extremely liberal*) to 4 (*moderate: middle of the road*) to 7 (*extremely conservative*). Each point on this scale was defined. Participants also indicated their political party identification on a scale ranging from 1 (*extremely Democrat*) to 4 (*moderate: middle of the road*) to 7 (*extremely Republican*). Each point on this scale was also defined.

In these studies, high traditionalism was determined by ratings on the political ideology scale and political party identification scale. Individuals who classified themselves as extremely conservative or conservative on the political ideology scale and extremely Republican or Republican on the political party identification scale were classified as high on traditionalism, participants who classified themselves as moderate on the political ideology scale (rating themselves as 3, 4, or 5) and Moderate on the political party identification scale (rating themselves as 3, 4, or 5) were classified as moderate on traditionalism, and participants who classified themselves as extremely liberal or liberal on the political ideology scale and extremely Democrat or Democrat on the political party identification scale were classified as low on traditionalism. I predicted that participants classified as moderate or low on traditionalism would behave similarly to each other with equality-related goals explaining the effect of candidate sex on the legitimization of the social system. Only for those participants classified as high on traditionalism would the effect of candidate sex on the legitimization of the social system be explained by convention-related goals.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory. Participants completed Glick and Fiske's (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI). On scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*agree strongly*), participants rated their agreement with eleven items related to hostile sexism ($\alpha=.85$; e.g., "Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for 'equality'"), and participants rated their agreement with eleven items related to benevolent sexism ($\alpha=.73$; e.g., "No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman").⁴

⁴ In another set of analyses, I used an alternative operationalization of traditionalism (high, moderate, or low on the ASI) for both Experiments 4 and 5. However, the results did not differ from the

Dependent Variables

Attitudes toward candidates. Participants completed two different candidate attitudinal measures adapted from Eagly, Mladinic, and Otto (1991) and Eagly and Mladinic (1989). For the *semantic differential scale* participants rated the candidate (or the typical political candidate in the control condition) on scales ranging from 1 to 7 on the following attitudinal variables: *bad-good*, *negative-positive*, *useless-valuable*, *unpleasant-pleasant*, and *awful-nice*. All items were averaged to create a measure assessing candidate attitudes ($\alpha=.91$).

For the *attribute positivity scale* participants wrote five characteristics that represented typical political candidates. Participants rated each characteristic listed on scales ranging from 1 (*bad*) to 7 (*good*). To create the attribute positivity scale, all characteristic ratings were averaged together ($\alpha=.73$).⁵

Lexical decision task: Accessibility of goals. Participants completed a lexical decision task (LDT) that measured the accessibility of equality- and convention-related goals. In the lexical decision task, participants were instructed to classify words as being words or nonwords by pressing the J or the F key. Real words were related to *equality* (Moskowitz, Salomon, & Taylor, 2000) or *convention* (modified from Schwarz, 1992). All real words were pretested to ensure that they were either related to equality or convention.

In the pretest, a separate sample of 23 participants were presented with equality-related or convention-related words. Participants were asked to rate each word on 2 scales, a convention-related scale and an equality-related scale. The convention-related scale ranged from 1 (*not related to convention*) to 7 (*very much related to convention*), whereas the equality-related scale ranged from 1 (*not related to equality*) to 7 (*very much related to equality*). Seven words that were significantly different on the equality- and convention-related scales, significantly above the midpoint on the scale for equality, and at or below the midpoint on the scale for convention were classified as equality-related primes (i.e., *equality*, *fairness*, *tolerance*, *justice*, *fair*, *equal*, and *just*). Five words that were significantly different on the equality- and convention-related scales, significantly above the midpoint on the scale for convention, and at or below the midpoint on the scale for equality were classified as convention-

analyses presented for the original operationalization of traditionalism. Thus for brevity, I only present the data with the operationalization of traditionalism based on political ideology and political party identification.

⁵ In both Experiments 4 and 5, participants, as a whole, listed characteristics that were affectively polarized. Many participants indicated that politicians were either not trustworthy or were honest. Generally, participants believed that politicians were smart, friendly, and outgoing.

related primes (i.e., *tradition, obedient, order, conformity, discipline*). The convention-related word *conform* was also included because it met the midpoint requirements and was marginally different on the convention- and equality-related scales, $p = .10$.⁶ Thus, I used 7 equality-related words, 6 convention-related words, and 13 nonwords in the lexical decision task. Each word was presented twice.

Reaction times were logarithmically transformed. Reaction times faster than 3 standard deviations above the trial mean (1.79%) and slower than 3 standard deviations below the trial mean (0.03%) were deleted from the analyses. Incorrect classifications of target words were omitted from the analysis. Reaction times for convention and equality words were each subtracted from the reaction times for nonwords. Given that reaction times for nonwords are slower than for words, higher numbers thus indicate greater activation of the goal construct.

Demographic questions. Participants indicated their age, sex, and ethnicity.

Manipulation and suspicion checks. Participants identified the sex of the candidate. Participants also reported their beliefs about the experiment's purpose in an open-ended item.

Results and Discussion

First, I examined the predicted relationship between candidate sex and the following dependent measures: perceived legitimacy of the system and accessibility of equality-related and convention-related goals. I also tested whether traditionalism moderated the effect of candidate sex on the accessibility of equality- and convention-related goals. To test my alternative hypothesis, I examined the effect of candidate sex on attitudes towards the leadership candidate and leadership candidates in general. Next, I examined if the fulfillment of equality-related goals, the activation of convention-related goals, and attitudes towards leaders mediated the relationship between candidate sex and perceptions of status quo legitimacy. For the sake of brevity and clarity, all effects involving candidate sex and traditionalism are reported. All other significant and marginal effects are footnoted.

System justification. A 3 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects ANOVA revealed no significant main effect of candidate sex, contrary to Experiments 1-3 and the predictions. A significant main effect of traditionalism emerged, $F(2, 211) = 7.92, p < .001$. Conservatives ($M = 5.12, SD = 1.18$) were more likely to support the system than Moderates ($M = 5.18,$

⁶ Neutral words were also identified in this pretest. These words were used to assess the automatic positivity towards goals in Experiment 5. Eight words that were at or below the midpoint on both equality- and convention-related scales and not significantly different from each other were classified as neutral words (i.e., *table, chair, sight, scissors, window, weather, inside, sideways*).

$SD = 1.15$) and Liberals ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.23$), $ps < .01$, and Moderates were more likely to support the system than Liberals, $p = .02$.

Lexical decision task: Accessibility of goals. A 3 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) $\times$ 2 (goal type: equality/convention) mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) with goal type as a within-subjects variable revealed no significant main effects or interactions involving candidate sex, contrary to predictions.^{7,8}

Attitudes toward candidates. For the semantic differential scale, a 3 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed only a marginal main effect of candidate sex, $F(2, 211) = 2.41$, $p = .09$. Participants had a marginally more positive attitude towards the female candidate ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.00$) and the male candidate ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 0.92$) as opposed to the control condition ($M = 4.76$, $SD = 1.25$), $ps < .10$. Attitudes towards the male and female candidate did not differ statistically, $p = .98$.

For the attribute positivity measure, a 3 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed no significant main effects or interactions with candidate sex. A main effect of traditionalism emerged, $F(2, 211) = 3.99$, $p = .02$. Moderates ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.24$) marginally had more positive attitudes towards candidates than Conservatives ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.38$), $p = .10$. Liberals ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 0.87$) had more positive attitudes towards candidates than Conservatives, $p = .007$, and Moderates, $p = .04$.

Mediational analyses. Because the predicted effect of candidate sex on system justification did not occur, mediation could not be tested for any of the predicted mediators.

Discussion. Experiment 4 examined if the increased legitimacy beliefs following exposure to a female versus a male candidate would be explained by the fulfillment of equality-related goals. Unfortunately, the results on the system justification measure did not replicate the findings of Experiments 1-3 and did not support the hypotheses. Exposure to a female candidate, compared to the male candidate and control conditions, did not result in increased system justification beliefs. Furthermore, exposure to a female relative to a male candidate did not fulfill equality-related goals, and

⁷ A main effect of goal type, $F(1, 200) = 56.19$, $p < .001$, appeared, such that equality goals ($M = 0.09$, $SD = 0.07$) were more activated than convention goals ($M = 0.06$, $SD = 0.08$).

⁸ Because I expected that Conservatives would have more convention-related goals activated than Moderates and Liberals and Liberals would have more equality-related goals activated than Moderates and Conservatives, I conducted a series of correlations examining whether political orientation and/or political party identification was related to the activation or fulfillment of equality- or convention-related goals. No significant or marginal relationships emerged.

there was no interaction between candidate sex and traditionalism on equality- or convention-related goals. Exposure to a female and male candidate relative to the control condition did marginally increase positive attitudes. Mediation could not be tested because the effect of candidate sex on system justification beliefs was not significant.

However, goal accessibility measures might not be as predictive of goal pursuit as measures of automatic positivity towards goals. Thus, Experiment 5 includes a measure of automatic attitudes towards equality- and convention-related goals. According to Ferguson (2007), automatic attitudes towards a goal might be more predictive of goal pursuit, because automatic attitudes assess the accessibility of positive goal-related evaluative information. Thus, in order to clarify the null results on the goal accessibility task, Experiment 5 included an implicit measure of automatic attitudes towards the goals of equality and convention.

Experiment 5

Method

Participants and Procedure

Two hundred twenty-seven introductory psychology students (145 female; 90.31% European American) participated in this experiment in exchange for partial course credit. The experiment was presented on a computer using MediaLab software.

Participants completed the ASI (benevolent sexism: $\alpha = .80$; hostile sexism: $\alpha = .85$; Glick & Fiske, 1996). In an ostensibly separate experiment, participants read about a male or female candidate. Next, participants completed the following tasks: a lexical decision task examining the accessibility of equality- and convention-related goals; a sequential priming task examining automatic positivity towards equality- and convention-related goals; an attitudinal measure focusing on the political candidate ($\alpha = .91$); an attitudinal measure about political candidates in general ($\alpha = .73$); and a system justification beliefs measure ($\alpha = .81$; Kay & Jost, 2003).⁹ All dependent measures were counterbalanced. Next, participants indicated their political ideology, indicated their political party identification, provided some

⁹ For the lexical decision task, reaction times faster than 3 standard deviations above the trial mean (1.67%) and slower than 3 standard deviations below the trial mean (0.03%) were deleted from the analyses. Incorrect classifications of target words were omitted from the analysis (3.56%). Reaction times for convention and equality words were each subtracted from the reaction times for nonwords. Given that reaction times for nonwords are slower than for words, higher numbers thus indicate greater activation of the goal construct

demographic information, and completed manipulation and suspicion checks. With the exception of the sequential priming task, all other variables were measured and manipulated in the same way as Experiment 4 (with the exclusion of the control condition). Variables were manipulated in a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects design.

Automatic evaluation of goals. Participants completed a sequential priming task (Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Ferguson, 2007) to assess their automatic attitudes towards equality- and convention-related goals. First, participants were presented with an orientation symbol (+) for 500 ms. After this, participants were exposed to a prime word for 100 ms and a blank screen for 100 ms. Next, participants classified a positively or negatively valenced target word as either good or bad by pressing either “e” to indicate the target word belonged under the category heading on the left or “i” to indicate the target word belonged under the category heading on the right. Positively valenced (happy, joy, laughter, love, peace, pleasure, wonderful) and negatively valenced target words (agony, awful, evil, failure, horrible, nasty, terrible) were taken from Jost, Nosek, and Gosling (2008).

Prime words were related to either *equality* (Moskowitz, Salomon, & Taylor, 2000), *convention* (modified from Schwarz, 1992), or were *control words* (Ferguson, 2007). All prime words related to equality and convention were pretested and used in Experiment 4. Words related to neither equality nor convention were pretested at the same time as the equality and convention words but were not used in Experiment 4. These words were *table, chair, sight, scissors, window, weather, inside, and sideways*.

In accordance with the protocol set forth by Ferguson (2007), reaction times faster than 300 ms and slower than 3000 ms were reclassified as 300 ms and 3000 ms respectively. Incorrect classifications of target words were omitted from the analysis. In order to calculate participants’ automatic positivity towards the goal primes, reaction times for the negative target word pairings were subtracted from reaction times for the positive target word pairings. These positivity scores were calculated separately for equality-related, convention-related, and control primes. Then positivity scores for the control primes were subtracted from positivity scores for both the equality- and convention-related primes. Higher numbers for the equality- and convention-related primes indicate greater automatic positivity towards the goal prime above baseline. Greater automatic positivity indicates that positive evaluative information associated with a goal is activated and negative evaluative information associated with the goal is inhibited (Ferguson, 2007).

Results and Discussion

Replicating the structure of Experiment 4, I examined the predicted relationship between candidate sex and the following dependent measures: perceived legitimacy of the system, accessibility of equality-related and convention-related goals, and automatic positivity towards equality-related and convention-related goals. I also tested whether traditionalism moderated the effect of candidate sex on (a) accessibility of equality- and convention-related goals and (b) automatic positivity towards equality-related and convention-related goals. To test my alternative hypothesis, I examined the effect of candidate sex on attitudes towards leadership candidates. Next, I examined if the fulfillment of equality-related goals, the activation of convention-related goals, decreased automatic positivity towards equality-related goals (indicating fulfillment of equality-related goals), increased automatic positivity towards convention-related goals (indicating activation of convention-related goals), and attitudes towards leaders mediated the relationship between candidate sex and perceptions of status quo legitimacy. For the sake of brevity and clarity, all effects involving candidate sex and traditionalism are reported. All other significant and marginal effects are footnoted.

System justification. A 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed no main effect of candidate sex, contrary to Experiments 1-3 and the predictions. A significant main effect of traditionalism emerged, $F(2, 181) = 16.22, p < .001$. Conservatives ($M = 5.76, SD = 1.06$) were more likely to justify the system than Moderates ($M = 5.15, SD = 1.08$), $p = .0005$, and Liberals ($M = 4.24, SD = 1.62$), $p < .001$. Moderates were also more likely to justify the system than Liberals, $p = .0001$.

Unexpectedly, a marginal Candidate Sex $\times$ Participant Sex interaction emerged, $F(1, 181) = 3.57, p = .06$. However, no significant effect of candidate sex emerged for male and female participants. For male participants, there was a nonsignificant trend that exposure to a female candidate ($M = 5.28, SD = 1.09$) as opposed to a male candidate ($M = 5.27, SD = 1.46$) increased system justification beliefs, $p = .16$. However, for female participants there was a nonsignificant trend that exposure to a female candidate ($M = 4.92, SD = 1.17$) as opposed to a male candidate ($M = 5.17, SD = 1.20$) decreased system justification beliefs, $p = .22$.

A significant Candidate Sex $\times$ Participant Sex $\times$ Traditionalism interaction also emerged, $F(2, 181) = 3.92, p = .02$ (see Figure 3). For men, no Candidate Sex $\times$ Traditionalism interaction emerged, $p = .52$. However, for women, a significant Candidate Sex $\times$ Traditionalism interaction emerged, $p = .005$. For female Conservatives, no significant effect of candidate sex emerged, $p = .33$. For female Liberals, there

was a nonsignificant trend that exposure to a female candidate as opposed to a male candidate increased system justification beliefs, $p = .17$. Unexpectedly, female Moderates were more likely to justify the system following exposure to a male as opposed to female candidate, $p = .005$ (see Figure 3).

A significant Traditionalism $\times$ Participant Sex interaction emerged, $F(2, 181) = 3.57$, $p = .03$. For male participants, a significant effect of traditionalism emerged, $p < .001$, with Conservatives ($M = 6.45$, $SD = 0.87$) being more likely to justify the system than Moderates ($M = 5.21$, $SD = 1.09$), $p = .0005$, and Liberals ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.59$), $p = .0003$, and Moderates being more likely to justify the system than Liberals, $p = .006$. For female participants, a significant effect of traditionalism emerged, $p = .008$, with Conservatives ($M = 5.35$, $SD = 0.96$) being more likely to justify the system than Liberals ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.68$), $p = .02$, Moderates ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.08$) being more likely to justify the system than Liberals, $p = .006$, and Conservatives and Moderates not differing on their system justification, $p = .37$.

Lexical decision task: Accessibility of goals. A 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) $\times$ 2 (goal type: equality/convention) mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) with goal type as a within-subjects variable revealed no significant main effects or interactions involving candidate sex, contrary to predictions.¹⁰

Automatic evaluation of goals. A 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) $\times$ 2 (goal type: equality/convention) mixed analysis of variance (ANOVA) with goal type as a within-subjects variable revealed no significant main effect of candidate sex. A marginal Candidate Sex $\times$ Traditionalism interaction emerged, $F(2, 180) = 2.53$, $p = .08$. Liberal participants had more goal positivity when exposed to a female ($M = 39.07$, $SD = 116.64$) versus a male ($M = -34.01$, $SD = 88.50$) candidate, $p = .05$. Moderate participants had more goal positivity when exposed to a male ($M = 3.99$, $SD = 140.61$) versus a female ($M = -28.53$, $SD = 125.22$) candidate, $p = .08$. No effect of candidate sex emerged for Conservative participants, $p = .83$.

A significant Traditionalism $\times$ Participant Sex interaction emerged, $F(2, 180) = 3.27$, $p = .04$. For Conservatives, women ($M = 33.50$, $SD = 147.14$) were more positive towards goals than men ($M = -64.37$, $SD = 77.32$), $p = .04$. For Liberals, men ($M = 31.15$, $SD = 96.55$) were more positive towards goals

¹⁰ A main effect of goal type emerged with equality goals ($M = 0.07$, $SD = 0.06$) showing more activation than convention goals ($M = 0.04$, $SD = 0.06$), $F(1, 179) = 43.98$, $p < .001$.

than women ($M = -16.92$, $SD = 111.19$), $p = .09$. No sex differences in goal positivity emerged for Moderates, $p = .77$.^{11,12}

Attitudes toward candidates. For the semantic differential scale, a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed no significant or marginal main effects.

For the attribute positivity measure, a 2 (candidate sex) $\times$ 3 (traditionalism) $\times$ 2 (participant sex) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed no significant or marginal main effects.

Mediational analyses. Because the predicted effect of candidate sex on system justification did not occur, mediation could not be tested for any of the predicted mediators.

Discussion. Experiment 5 replicated the null results of Experiment 4. Exposure to a female candidate relative to a male candidate did not fulfill equality-related goals and did not decrease positive automatic attitudes towards equality-related goals. Additionally, for participants high on traditionalism, exposure to a female relative to a male candidate did not activate convention-related goals and did not increase positive automatic attitudes towards convention-related goals.

General Discussion

Experiments 1-3 demonstrated that exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate increased legitimacy beliefs about the status quo. The goal of Experiments 4 and 5 was to examine why individuals perceive the system as more legitimate when exposed to a female versus a male candidate. Unfortunately, Experiments 4 and 5 failed to replicate the results of Experiments 1-3 that showed increased perceptions of status quo legitimacy upon exposure to a female versus a male candidate. Additionally, Experiments 4 and 5 failed to show 1) how equality and convention goals can be activated or fulfilled by exposure to a male or female candidate, and 2) how traditionalism moderated the effect of candidate sex on equality and convention goals.

¹¹ A main effect of goal type emerged with greater positivity towards convention goals ($M = 8.67$, $SD = 156.56$) than equality goals ($M = -25.48$, $SD = 152.81$), $F(1, 180) = 4.44$, $p = .04$.

¹² Because I expected that Conservatives would have more convention-related goals activated than Moderates and Liberals and Liberals would have more equality-related goals activated than Moderates and Conservatives, I conducted a series of correlations examining whether political orientation or political party identification was related to the activation or fulfillment of equality- or convention-related goals and the automatic positivity towards equality- or convention-related goals. No significant or marginal relationships emerged. Because these goal measures were not related to political orientation or political party identification, it is unclear whether either measure of goal accessibility or automatic positivity were reliable.

Limitations

Lack of replication. Although Experiments 1-3 detected an effect of candidate sex on legitimacy beliefs, the effects were null in Experiments 4 and 5. In Experiments 4 and 5, I included the ASI scale before participants read about a male or female leadership candidate and completed the other dependent measures. Although I told participants that the ASI scale was part of a number of experiments being conducted in the experimental session, perhaps participants implicitly connected the ASI to the subsequent tasks, causing participants to monitor their responses on the system justification scale.

Another reason why the candidate sex effect might have emerged in Experiments 1-3 but not in Experiments 4 and 5 could be due to differing sociopolitical contexts across experiments. Experiments 1-3 were collected in the spring and fall of 2009 following the election of President Barack Obama. After President Obama's election, individuals were less likely to believe that racial inequalities existed and were less likely to support policies that promoted racial equality (Kaiser et al., 2009). However, Experiments 4 and 5 were conducted in the fall of 2010 during the midterm elections. During the fall of 2010, it appeared that many citizens in the United States (particularly politically conservative citizens) believed that the political system was not working. The 2009 political climate could have activated beliefs that members from an underrepresented group would bring hope in a harsh economic time, causing the data collected in Experiments 1-3 to show an increased preferences for the status quo, when a member of an underrepresented group was running for office. However, the 2010 political climate could have activated beliefs that members from an underrepresented group were unable to provide adequate leadership during a harsh economic time leading to decreased preferences for the status quo, when a member of an underrepresented group was running for office.

In order to test these predictions, future work should examine whether information that a female leader failed or succeeded followed by exposure to a male or female candidate changes beliefs about the sociopolitical system. Information that a nontraditional leader succeeded should increase beliefs supporting the sociopolitical system following exposure to a female as opposed to a male candidate. This prediction should replicate the sociopolitical climate following President Obama's election where the citizens of the United States, for a time, believed that our country was going in a better direction. However, information that a nontraditional leader failed should not be influenced by exposure to a male or female leadership candidate; instead, legitimizing beliefs should be higher in the system failing condition as opposed to the system succeeding condition. The failure manipulation should

replicate the sociopolitical climate during the 2010 midterm elections in which the citizens of the United States believed that our country was going in the wrong direction.

Problems in measuring equality- and convention-related goals. Across Experiments 4 and 5, differences in the baseline accessibility of equality- and convention-related goals emerged. In Experiments 4 and 5, equality-related goals were more accessible than convention-related goals. However, in Experiment 5 participants were more positive towards convention-related goals than equality-related goals, indicating increased accessibility of convention-related goals. According to Ferguson (2007), automatic positivity towards goals should stem from more positive information about the goal being activated; therefore, the results from the goal accessibility task and the automatic positivity measure should not conflict. In order to examine these inconsistencies across the goal measures, the relationship between the goal measures and the other dependent measures were examined. No consistent correlations emerged across Experiments 4 and 5 linking the accessibility of and automatic positivity towards equality and convention goals with tradition-related variables (i.e., political ideology, political party affiliation). Based on the inconsistent findings, it is unclear whether the lexical decision task or the automatic positivity measure is a better measure of the activation of equality- or convention-related goals. Future research should examine other ways to measure equality- and convention-related goals.

Future Experiments

Although Experiments 4 and 5 failed to replicate the findings of Experiments 1-3, one consistent pattern emerged in both Experiments 4 and 5. When controlling for other legitimizing ideologies (specifically benevolent sexism and political conservatism) and their interactions, general attitudes towards political candidates positively predicted system justification beliefs (significantly in Experiment 4 and marginally in Experiment 5), in addition to political conservatism and benevolent sexism. No significant interactions emerged. This finding suggests that, even when controlling for benevolent sexism and political conservatism, positive attitudes towards leaders also serve as legitimizing ideologies.

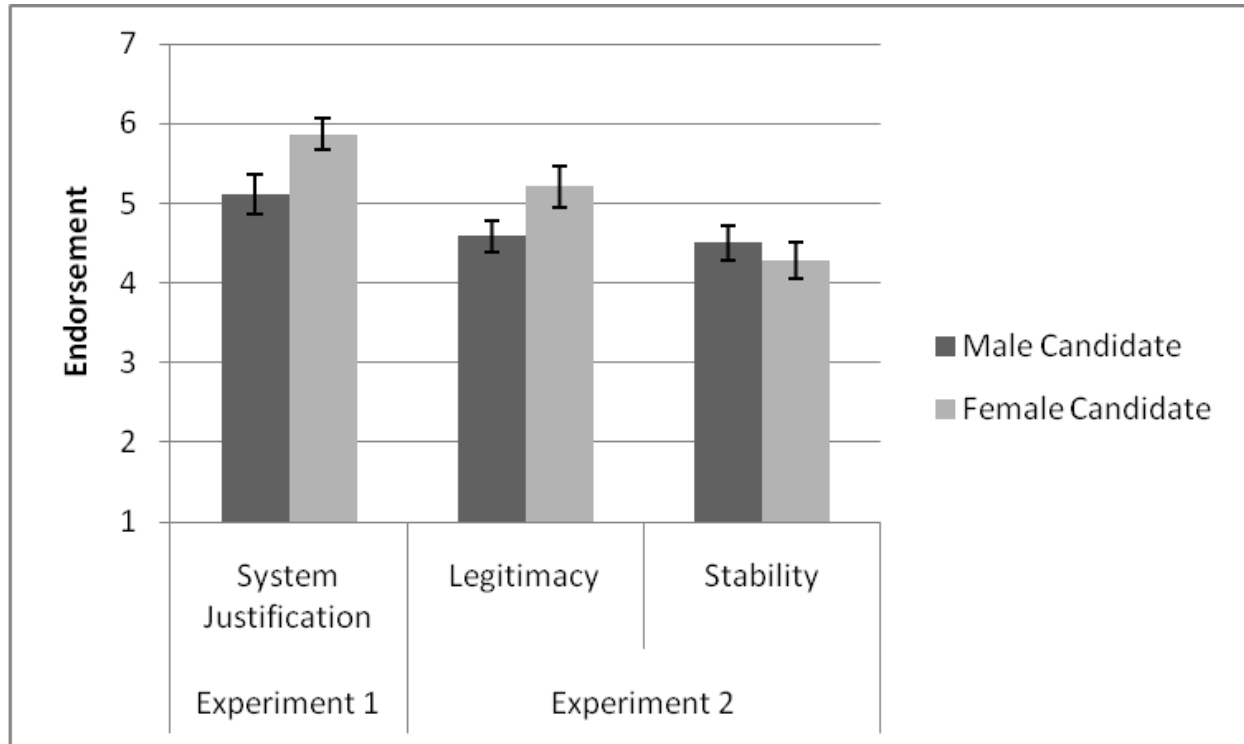
In order to test the idea that attitudes can serve a legitimizing function, in a follow up study, I examined whether exposure to a system threat versus a control condition increased participants' positive attitudes towards leadership candidates in general. Following the threat or control condition, participants wrote 5 characteristics about leadership candidates in general and rated the positivity of those characteristics. Although participants' positive attitudes appeared to increase in the threat

relative to the control condition, this difference was not statistically significant. Further data are needed to examine this effect. Future experiments should examine whether attitudes towards a specific leadership target change upon exposure to a system threat, as compared to a control condition. If attitudes towards political candidates serve a legitimizing function, then liking a political leader might increase an individual's loyalty towards a particular political candidate and decrease the likelihood that an individual will seek changes to the current sociopolitical system.

Implications

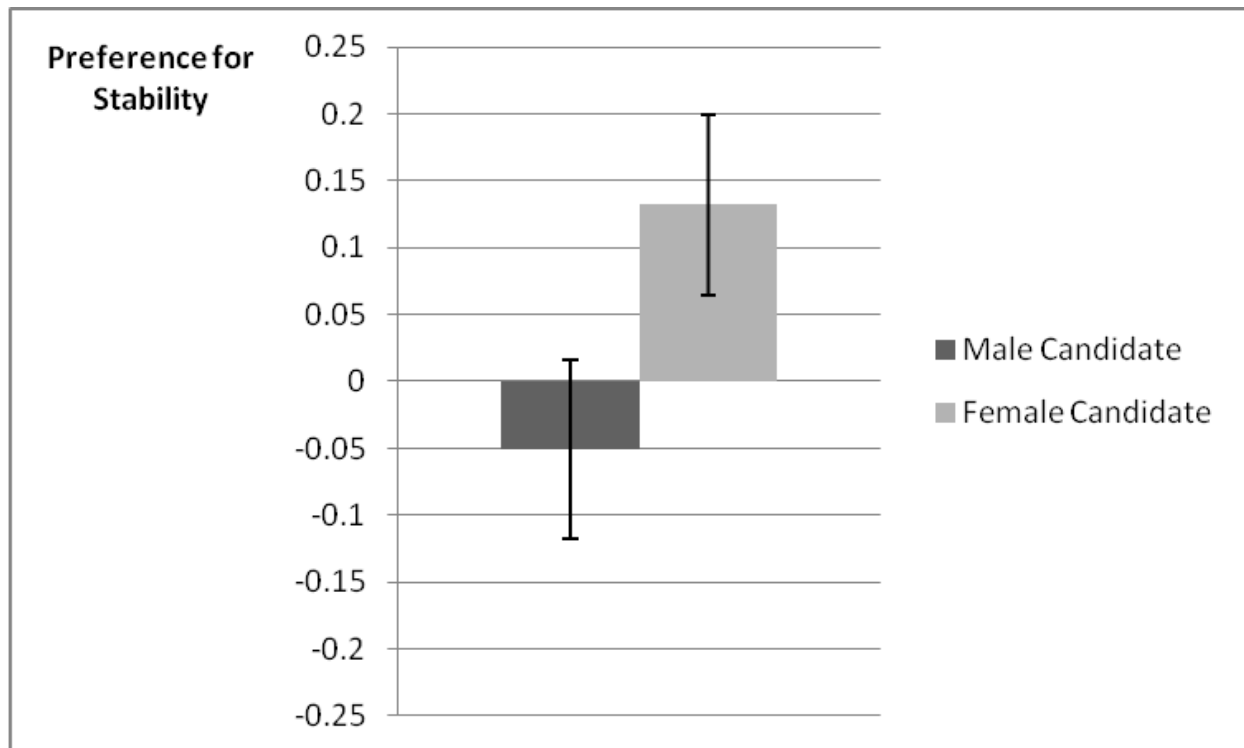
Experiments 1-3 demonstrated that exposure to candidates from underrepresented groups increases beliefs concerning the legitimacy of the sociopolitical system. Ironically, when individuals from underrepresented groups assume these positions, their presence might cause society to believe that no further social change is necessary. Although the mechanism behind the effect of underrepresented candidates on beliefs about the legitimacy of the sociopolitical system remains unclear, it is important to acknowledge that increased legitimacy beliefs might impact political policy by increasing opposition to change current political policies and hindering social change movements. Although candidates from underrepresented groups might appear to be cracking the glass ceiling based on their mere candidacy for a leadership position, we need to guard ourselves from the potential contentment that arises from individuals from underrepresented groups becoming leadership candidates.

Figure 1. The effect of candidate sex on system justification, legitimacy of the gender hierarchy, and stability of the gender hierarchy (Experiments 1 and 2).



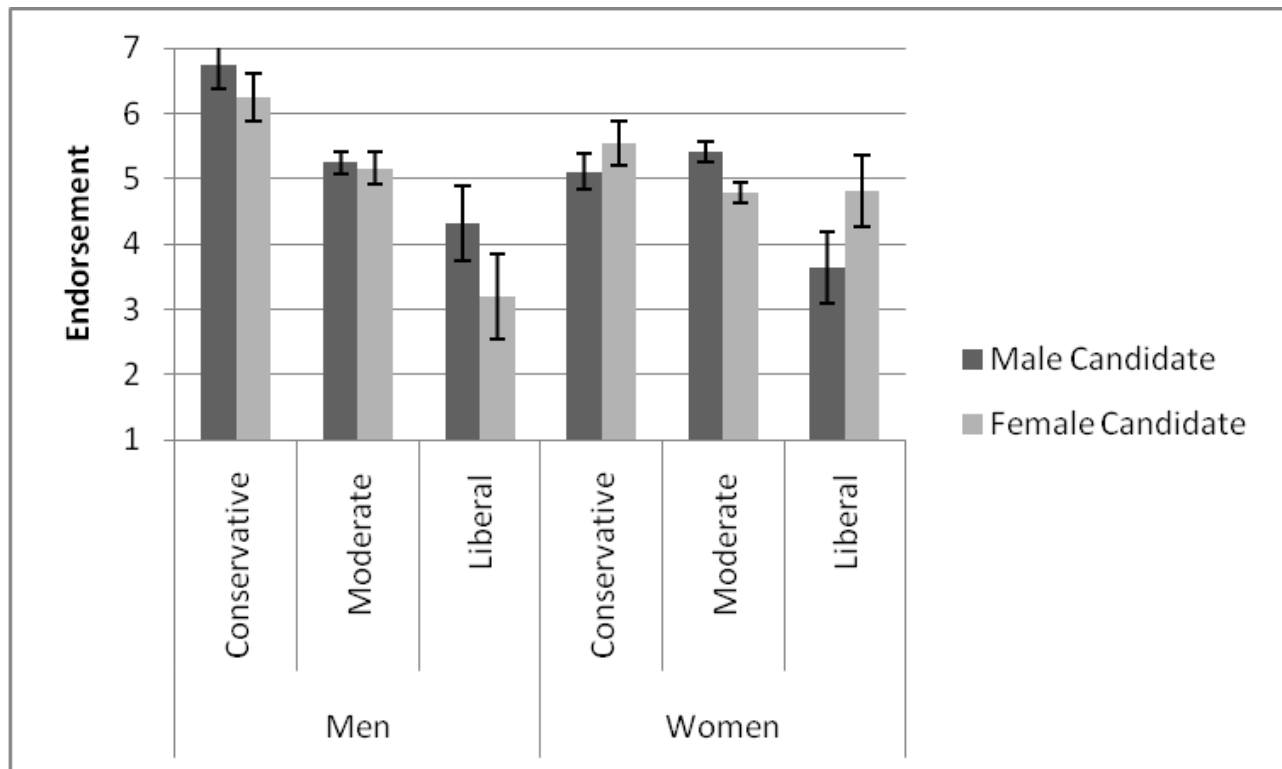
Note. Endorsements of system justification beliefs, gender hierarchy legitimacy, and gender hierarchy stability were made on 9-point scales.

Figure 2. The effect of candidate sex on implicit preferences for stability: Experiment 3.



Note. Positive scores indicate stronger stability/good and change/bad associations and negative scores indicate stronger change/good and stability/bad associations.

Figure 2. The effect of candidate sex, traditionalism, and participant sex on system justification beliefs (Experiment 5).



Note. Endorsements of system justification beliefs were made on 9-point scales.

References

- Aarts, H., & Dijksterhuis, A. (2000). Habits as knowledge structures: Automaticity in goal-directed behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 53-63.
- Aarts, H., Dijksterhuis, A., & De Vries, P. (2001). On the psychology of drinking: Being thirsty and perceptually ready. *British Journal of Psychology*, 92, 631-642.
- Banaji, M.R., & Hardin, C.D. (1996). Automatic stereotyping. *Psychological Science*, 7, 136-141.
- Bargh, J.A. (1990). Auto-motives: Preconscious determinants of thought and behavior. In E.T. Higgins & R.M. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition* (Vol. 2). New York: Guilford.
- Carver, C. S., & Scheier, M. F. (1999). Themes and issues in the self-regulation of behavior. In R. S. Wyer, Jr. (Ed.), *Advances in social cognition* (Vol. 12). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Center for American Women and Politics. (CAWP; 2009). *Women in elective office 2009*. New Brunswick, NJ: Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.
- Clinton, H.R. (2008, June 7). Hillary Clinton endorses Barack Obama. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/07/us/politics/07text-clinton.html>.
- Crosby, F., Bromley, S., & Saxe, L. (1980). Recent unobtrusive studies of Black and White discrimination and prejudice: A literature review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 87, 546-563.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1960). A new scale of social desirability independent of psychopathology. *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 24, 349-354.
- Diekmann, A. B., Goodfriend, W., & Goodwin, S. (2004). Dynamic stereotypes of power: Perceived change and stability in gender hierarchies. *Sex Roles*, 50, 201-215.
- Eagly, A.H., Diekmann, A.B., Schneider, M.C., & Kulesa, P. (2003). Experimental tests of an attitudinal theory of the gender gap in voting. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29, 1245-1258.
- Eagly, A.H., Mladinic, A., & Otto, S. (1991). Are women evaluated more favorably than men?: An analysis of attitudes, beliefs, and emotions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 15, 203-216.
- Eagly, A.H., & Mladinic, A. (1989). Gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15, 543-558.
- Ferguson, M.J. (2007). On the automatic evaluation of end-states. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 596-611.
- Ferguson, M.J. (2008). On becoming ready to pursue a goal you don't know you have: Effects of nonconscious goals on evaluative readiness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95, 1238-1294.

- Ferguson, M.J., & Bargh, J.A. (2004). Liking is for doing: The effects of goal pursuit on automatic evaluation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 87, 557-572.
- Fishbach, A., & Ferguson, M.J. (2007). The goal construct in social psychology. In A.W. Kruglanski & E.T. Higgins (Eds.) *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford.
- Förster, J., Liberman, N., & Friedman, R.S., (2007). Seven principles of goal activation: A systematic approach to distinguishing goal priming from priming of non-goal constructs. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 11, 211-233.
- Förster, J., Liberman, N., & Higgins, E.T. (2005). Accessibility from active and fulfilled goals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41, 220-239.
- Goschke, T., & Kuhl, J. (1993). Representation intentions: Persisting activation in memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 19, 1211-1226.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American Psychologist*, 56, 109-118.
- Glick, P., & Fiske, S.T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512.
- Glick, P., & Whitehead, J. (2010). Hostility toward men and the perceived stability of male dominance. *Social Psychology*.
- Graham, J., Haidt, J., & Nosek, B.A. (2009). Liberals and conservatives rely on different sets of moral foundations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96, 1029-1046.
- Greenwald, A.G., McGhee, D.E., & Schwartz, J.L.K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1464-1480.
- Greenwald, A.C., Nosek, B.A., & Banaji, (2003). Understanding and using the implicit association test: An improved scoring algorithm. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 197-216.
- Higgins, E. T., & King, G. (1981). Accessibility of social constructs: Information processing consequences of individual and contextual variability. In N. Cantor & J. F. Kihlstrom (Eds.), *Personality, cognition and social interaction*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1981.
- Jost, J.T., & Banaji, M.R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1-27.
- Jost, J.T., Blount, S., Pfeffer, J., & Hunyady, G. (2003). Fair market ideology: Its cognitive-motivational underpinnings. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 25, 53-91.

- Jost, J.T., & Burgess, D. (2000). Attitudinal ambivalence and the conflict between group and system justification motives in low status groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 293-305.
- Jost, J.T., Glaser, J., Kruglanski, A.W., & Sulloway, F.J. (2003). Political conservatism as motivated social cognition. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129, 339-375.
- Jost, J.T., Nosek, B.A., & Gosling, S.D. (2008). Ideology: Its resurgence in social, personality, and political psychology. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3, 126-136.
- Jost, J.T., Pietrzak, J., Liviatan, I., Mandisodza, A.N., & Napier, J.L. (2008). System justification as conscious and nonconscious goal pursuit. In J.Y. Shah & W.L. Gardner (Eds.) *Handbook of Motivation Science*. New York: Guilford Press (pp. 591-605).
- Jost, J.T., & Thompson, E.P. (2000). Group-based dominance and opposition to equality as independent predictors of self-esteem, ethnocentrism, and social policy attitudes among African Americans and European Americans. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 36, 209-232.
- Kaiser, C.R., Drury, B.J., Spalding, K.E., Cheryan, S., & O'Brien, L.T. (2009). The ironic consequences of Obama's election: Decreased support for social justice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*.
- Kay, A.C., & Jost, J.T. (2003). Complementary justice: Effects of "poor but happy" and "poor but honest" stereotype exemplars on system justification and implicit activation of the justice motive. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 823-837.
- Liberman, N., & Förster, J. (2000). Expression after suppression: A motivational explanation of post-suppressional rebound. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 79, 190-203.
- Mannheim, K. (1936). *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc.
- Moskowitz, G.B., Salomon, A.R., & Taylor, C.M. (2000). Preconsciously controlling stereotyping: Implicitly activated egalitarian goal prevent the activation of stereotypes. *Social Cognition*, 18, 151-177.
- Schwarz, S.H. (1996). Value priorities and behavior: Applying a theory of integrated value systems. In Seligman, C., Olson, J.M., & Zanna, M.P. (Eds). *The Psychology of Values*. Lawrence Earlbaum Associates: Mahwah, NJ.
- Schwarz, S.H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M.P. Zanna (Ed). *Advances in experimental social psychology*, vol. 25 (pp. 2-65). Academic Press: New York.

- Seibt, B., Häfner, M., & Deutsch, R. (2007). Prepared to eat: How immediate affective and motivational responses to food cues are influenced by food deprivation. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37, 359-379.
- Shah, J.Y., Friedman, R., & Kruglanski, A.W. (2002). Forgetting all else: On the antecedents and consequences of goal shielding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83, 1261-1280.
- Sherman, S.J., Presson, C.C., Chassin, L., Rose, J.S., & Koch, K. (2003). Implicit and explicit attitudes towards cigarette smoking: The effects of context and motivation. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 22, 13-39.
- Tajfel, H. (1981). *Social identity and intergroup relations*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Vallacher, R.R., & Wegner, D.M. (1987). What do people think they're doing? Action identification and human behavior. *Psychological Review*, 94, 3-15.
- Zajonc, R.B. (1980). Feeling and thinking: Preferences need no inferences. *American Psychologist*, 35, 151-175.