



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Head Office: Università degli Studi di Padova

Department of Developmental Psychology and Socialization

Ph.D. COURSE IN: PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCES
SERIES 34°

Women, executive powers and stereotypes: female underrepresentation in politics

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English Summary

The overall aim of this PhD dissertation is to investigate the role of some stereotypes that make women feel less competent and suitable for political positions compared to men.

The work is divided into three sections; in the first chapter, I will define the Stereotype Threat (ST, Steele & Aronson, 1995) model and explore some of its empirical implementations. Afterwards, I will present two studies in which we test the effect of a stereotype threat manipulation on a test diagnostic of political *abilities*. Previous literature explored the effect of ST on political knowledge (e.g. Mcglone et al., 2006; Pereira et al., 2015) and political ambition (e.g. Pruyssers & Blais, 2017), but it has never focused its attention on the typical focus of ST research, i.e. the effect on competence and ability of low status group members, in this case women. Even though in both study 1 and study 2, we did not find any differences between female and male participants in the two conditions (stereotype threat vs. control) we investigated the role of individual differences in gender political stereotyping both at the implicit and at the explicit level. For this purpose, I developed a novel measure of implicit stereotyping, employing the single attribute implicit association test procedure (SA-IAT, Penke et al., 2006). Compared to the classic IAT (Penke et al., 2006), the SA-IAT procedure requires comparing a single attribute category (e.g., 'Politics') with two target categories (e.g., 'Women' and 'Men'). The single attribute IAT is particularly suitable for this study because there is no plausible countercategory for 'Politics' (see Bluemke & Friese, 2008). I also measured the endorsement of the politics gender stereotype using an explicit measure ad hoc questionnaire (e.g. indicating the gender that better endorse a political position, even in clearly hostile environments). Therefore, I was able to show that the implicit and explicit political gender stereotyping correlate, but I did not find that these variables moderate the effect of ST on political performance.

In the second chapter we took into account a more specific stereotype which could demotivate women from the intention to access the political world. Specifically, I analyzed the stereotype that sees women less charismatic compared to men. Firstly, we pretested the existence of the 'charisma = men stereotype'. We found that both men and women, when asked to report the name of a charismatic

individual, more easily think of a man. After having demonstrated the stereotype we took as a theoretical framework the Field specific Ability Belief model (FAB model, Cimpian & Leslie, 2015; 2017). This model posits that the narration about requirements to accede a high-level position together with stereotypes that more easily attribute such requirements to men than women can contribute to the explanation of female underrepresentation in certain areas. Given the requirement of charisma to be a good politician and the endorsement of the stereotype that men are more charismatic than women, the FAB model could contribute to the understanding of female underrepresentation in politics. This led us to empirically test whether being exposed to the necessity of being charismatic (vs. dedicated in Study 3 and honest in Study 4) in order to succeed in the political world would predict a preference for a male candidate (vs. female candidate). Our hypotheses were not supported by the data. In this second section, we also took into account individual variables which could further contribute to the cognitive processes implicated in the political gender stereotyping, i.e. the Social Dominance Orientation (Ho et al., 2015), the Male Dominance sub factor of the MNRI (Levant et al., 2007). Moreover, we constructed an ad hoc scale measuring the preference for men in political roles (Belief in the traditional male norms, BTMN). The three variables did not moderate the relationship between the condition (charisma vs. dedication/honesty) and the perception of a male/female candidate adequacy for a political role. Limits and strengths of these measures will be discussed.

Finally, in the last section, we moved our attention from possible antecedents to the female entrance to politics, to possible antecedents to the dropout of women from political roles. For this purpose, we collected data from a sample of politicians enrolled at different levels of executive power. Specifically, we took into account *state* variables (i.e. not related to personality traits of the participants but related to the political experience) about well-being and the perception of being competent or discriminated. Previous literature analyzing gender differences in politicians focused on communication styles, ideals, and their effects on voters. Our aim was to respond to this lack of literature exploring gender differences in the experience of political anxiety. Consistently with our hypotheses, we found that the political environment is more stressful for female politicians compared to male politicians. Women expressed higher levels of Anxiety, consciousness of female stigmatization

in politics, and Impostor phenomenon as well as lower levels of self-esteem compared to their male colleagues. No gender differences were found in self efficacy and work family (in)balance. Furthermore, self-esteem emerged to mediate the relation between gender and anxiety, i.e. being a woman (as opposed to a man) in politics is associated with lower self-esteem levels and, as a result, anxiety levels are boosted. Practical implications inherent the possibility to train self-esteem are argued.

Riassunto italiano

L'obiettivo generale di questa dissertazione di dottorato è indagare il ruolo di stereotipi di genere, che dipingono le donne, rispetto agli uomini, come meno competenti e adatte al mondo politico. Il lavoro è diviso in tre sezioni; nel primo capitolo descriverò il modello della minaccia dello stereotipo ('*stereotype threat*', ST, Steele & Aronson, 1995) ed esplorerò alcune delle sue implementazioni empiriche. Dopo di che, presenterò due studi in cui testiamo l'effetto di una condizione di ST su di un test definito come diagnostico di abilità politiche. Letteratura precedente ha esplorato l'effetto dello *stereotype threat* sulla conoscenza politica (e.g. Mcglone et al., 2006; Pereira et al., 2015) e sull'ambizione politica (e.g. Pruyers & Blais, 2017), ma non si è mai concentrata sul focus tipico del filone di ricerca sullo ST, ossia l'effetto su competenza e abilità di membri di un gruppo a basso status, in questo caso le donne. Nonostante non siano emerse differenze nella prestazione di uomini e donne nelle due condizioni (ST vs. controllo), sono state analizzate differenze individuali nell'attribuzione di stereotipi di genere in politica sia a livello implicito che esplicito. A questo scopo ho sviluppato una nuova misura implicita, implementando il '*single attribute implicit association test*' (SA-IAT, Penke et al., 2006). Rispetto al classico '*Implicit Association Test*' (IAT, Greenstein, 1965), la procedura del SA-IAT richiede il confronto di una singola categoria di attributi, per es. '*politica*' con due categorie target, per es. '*donne*' e '*uomini*'. Il SA-IAT è particolarmente adatto per questo studio, in quanto non esiste una contro-categoria plausibile da contrapporre a '*politica*' (vedi Bluemke & Friese, 2008). Abbiamo misurato la credenza nello stereotipo politico di genere anche ad un livello esplicito (costruendo un questionario ad hoc). Pertanto, è stato possibile indagare se tale stereotipo correla a livello implicito ed esplicito (chiedendo, per es. di riportare quale genere sia migliore nel sostenere una posizione politica, anche in ambienti chiaramente ostili). In questo modo, è stato possibile dimostrare che la misura implicita e quella esplicita sono correlate, ma non è emerso un effetto di moderazione per nessuna di queste variabili tra l'esposizione alla minaccia e la performance politica.

Nel secondo capitolo abbiamo preso in considerazione uno stereotipo più preciso che potrebbe demotivare le donne e la loro intenzione di accedere al mondo politico. Nello specifico, abbiamo

esposto i partecipanti allo stereotipo che associa più facilmente gli uomini all'essere carismatici, rispetto che le donne. Per prima cosa abbiamo pretestato l'esistenza dello stereotipo 'carisma = uomo'. È emerso che sia per gli uomini che per le donne è più semplice pensare ad un uomo alla richiesta di nominare delle persone carismatiche. Dopo aver dimostrato lo stereotipo, abbiamo preso come background teorico il Field specific Ability Belief model (FAB model, Cimpian & Leslie, 2015; 2017). Questo modello presuppone che la narrazione dei requisiti necessari per accedere ad una posizione di alto livello, insieme a stereotipi che attribuiscono più facilmente tali requisiti agli uomini rispetto che alle donne, potrebbe contribuire alla comprensione della sotto rappresentazione delle donne in tali aree. Considerato il requisito di essere carismatico/a per essere un/a buon/a politico/a e l'esistenza di uno stereotipo che considera gli uomini come più carismatici rispetto alle donne, il modello FAB potrebbe contribuire all'analisi della sotto rappresentazione delle donne in politica. Questo ci ha portato a testare empiricamente se l'essere esposto alla necessità di essere carismatico (vs. dedito nello studio 3 e onesto nello studio 4) per avere successo nel mondo politico possa predire la preferenza per un candidato uomo (vs. femmina). Le nostre ipotesi non sono state confermate dai dati. Anche in questa sezione ci siamo concentrate su variabili individuali che potrebbero definire in maniera più chiara l'attribuzione di stereotipi di genere in politica, ossia l'orientamento alla dominanza sociale (Ho et al., 2015), il fattore della dominanza maschile della MNRI (Levant et al., 2007). Inoltre, abbiamo costruito una scala ad hoc che misura la preferenza per gli uomini in ruoli politici (Belief in the traditional male norms, BTMN). Le tre variabili non sono emerse moderare la relazione tra condizione (carisma vs. dedizione/onestà) e la percezione di adeguatezza di un candidato uomo vs. donna per un ruolo politico. Verranno discussi i limiti e i punti di forza di queste misure.

Infine, nell'ultima sezione, abbiamo spostato la nostra attenzione da possibili antecedenti all'intenzione di accedere al mondo politico a possibili antecedenti all'abbandono di ruoli politici. A tal fine, abbiamo raccolto dati da una popolazione di politici, impegnati nei diversi livelli del potere esecutivo. Nello specifico, abbiamo analizzato variabili di *stato* riguardo al loro benessere e alla percezione di essere competenti e/o discriminati (quindi variabili non legate ai tratti dei partecipanti ma legate alla loro vita politica). Letteratura già esistente, che analizza differenze di genere nel mondo

politico, si è concentrata sullo stile comunicativo, sugli ideali e sull'effetto nelle opinioni degli elettori. Il nostro obiettivo è colmare la mancanza in letteratura di studi che analizzano differenze di genere nello sperimentare stati di ansia nella vita politica. A sostegno delle nostre ipotesi, è emerso un ambiente politico più stressante per le donne rispetto che per gli uomini. Le donne hanno riportato livelli maggiori di ansia, consapevolezza della stigmatizzazione femminile in politica, sentimenti di impostore e minore autostima rispetto ai loro colleghi di genere maschile. Non sono emerse differenze di genere nell'autoefficacia e nell'equilibrio tra lavoro e famiglia. Inoltre, i livelli di autostima sono emersi mediare la relazione tra genere e ansia, quindi, essere una donna (in opposizione all'essere un uomo) in politica è associato con livelli minori di autostima e, di conseguenza, i livelli di ansia tendono a incrementare. Saranno discusse implicazioni pratiche della possibilità di allenare i livelli di autostima.

General Introduction

Female underrepresentation in politics

In the Global Gender Gap (GGG) report published each year by the World Economic Forum, it clearly appears that important goals in gender equality have been reached. In its last version, published in a particular year, i.e. the 2021, influenced by the global pandemic situation, the gap has been slightly increasing and, if we observe more closely, it can be traced in the two already critical areas. In fact, of the four areas investigated by the GGG Report, Education attainment and Health have almost reached the perfect equality (respectively, .95 and .96 on a scale going from 0 = perfect inequality, to 1 = perfect equality), while Economic empowerment and political participation keep on maintaining women and men's opportunity well distanced (respectively, .58 and .22). Female active participation in politics is globally limiting the achievement of gender equality; only two countries (Rwanda and Bolivia) have an equal representation of women and men in the parliament (OECD; 2021) and, according to the GGG Report, there still does not exist a country that reached the political equality between men and women considering the multifaceted variables involved in politics, gender, and power.

Here are reported some interesting data which illustrate the proportion of women and men in political roles, reported by UN Women in the 2021. On 1 September 2021,

- 26 women are leading a state/government.
- Globally, 21% of ministries are covered by women.

- The most commonly held ministries by women are family (which includes children, youth, elderly and disabled) followed by social affairs, environment, employment, and gender equality.
- 25% of all national parliamentarians are women (data that were much more discouraging in 1995, i.e., the 11% of parliamentarians were women).
- Only four countries reached the 50% of female parliamentarians, while 19 further countries reached the 40%.
- More than two thirds of the 23 above-mentioned countries have implemented gender quotas, facilitating female access to the political world.
- In the local governments, taking into account 133 countries, women occupy the 46% of local deliberative assemblies.

Taken together, the complex political scenario and its developments suggest that the gender political gap could be closed in 145.5 years (World Economic Forum, 2021).

In figure 1 (next page) a global map is represented, in which is detectable the female distribution in ministerial positions and in parliament in 2020.

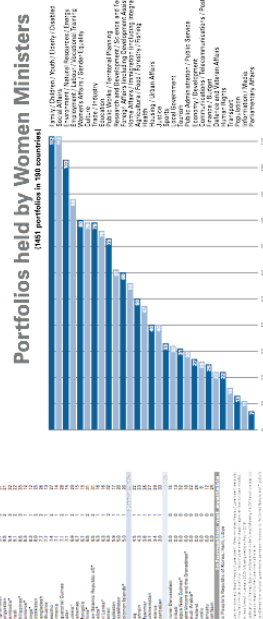
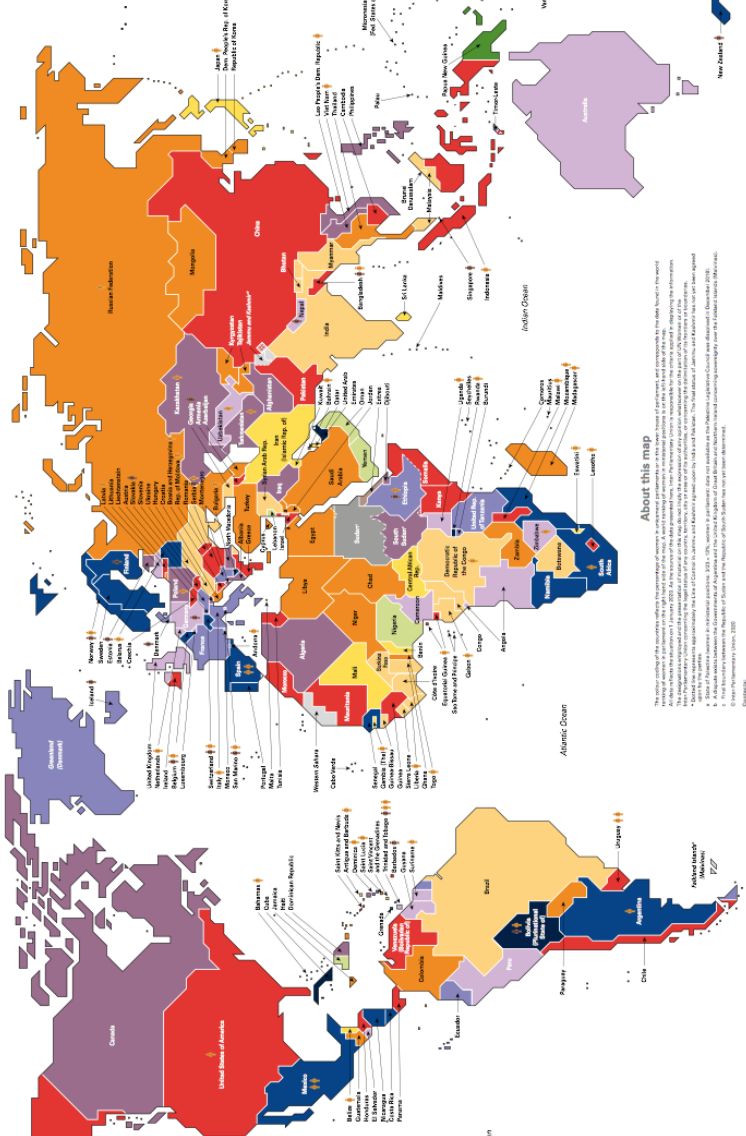
Women in ministerial positions

How many ministerial positions are held by women in each country (2018)

Country	Number of ministerial positions held by women (2018)
1. Afghanistan	1
2. Albania	1
3. Algeria	1
4. Argentina	1
5. Armenia	1
6. Austria	1
7. Azerbaijan	1
8. Bahrain	1
9. Bangladesh	1
10. Belgium	1
11. Belize	1
12. Benin	1
13. Bolivia	1
14. Bosnia and Herzegovina	1
15. Botswana	1
16. Brazil	1
17. Bulgaria	1
18. Burkina Faso	1
19. Burundi	1
20. Cambodia	1
21. Cameroon	1
22. Canada	1
23. Chad	1
24. Chile	1
25. China	1
26. Colombia	1
27. Costa Rica	1
28. Czechia	1
29. Denmark	1
30. Dominican Republic	1
31. Ecuador	1
32. Egypt	1
33. El Salvador	1
34. Estonia	1
35. Ethiopia	1
36. Finland	1
37. France	1
38. Gabon	1
39. Gambia	1
40. Georgia	1
41. Germany	1
42. Ghana	1
43. Greece	1
44. Guatemala	1
45. Guinea	1
46. Guinea-Bissau	1
47. Honduras	1
48. Hungary	1
49. Iceland	1
50. India	1
51. Indonesia	1
52. Iraq	1
53. Ireland	1
54. Israel	1
55. Italy	1
56. Jamaica	1
57. Jordan	1
58. Kazakhstan	1
59. Kenya	1
60. Korea, Republic of	1
61. Kuwait	1
62. Kyrgyzstan	1
63. Lao PDR	1
64. Latvia	1
65. Lebanon	1
66. Lesotho	1
67. Liberia	1
68. Lithuania	1
69. Luxembourg	1
70. Madagascar	1
71. Malawi	1
72. Malaysia	1
73. Maldives	1
74. Mali	1
75. Malta	1
76. Mauritania	1
77. Mauritius	1
78. Mexico	1
79. Moldova	1
80. Monaco	1
81. Mongolia	1
82. Montenegro	1
83. Mozambique	1
84. Myanmar	1
85. Namibia	1
86. Nepal	1
87. Netherlands	1
88. New Zealand	1
89. Nicaragua	1
90. Niger	1
91. Nigeria	1
92. North Macedonia	1
93. Norway	1
94. Oman	1
95. Pakistan	1
96. Palau	1
97. Panama	1
98. Paraguay	1
99. Peru	1
100. Philippines	1
101. Poland	1
102. Portugal	1
103. Romania	1
104. Rwanda	1
105. Saudi Arabia	1
106. Senegal	1
107. Serbia	1
108. Sierra Leone	1
109. Singapore	1
110. Slovakia	1
111. Slovenia	1
112. South Africa	1
113. South Korea	1
114. Spain	1
115. Sri Lanka	1
116. Sudan	1
117. Sweden	1
118. Switzerland	1
119. Taiwan	1
120. Tajikistan	1
121. Tanzania	1
122. Thailand	1
123. Timor-Leste	1
124. Trinidad and Tobago	1
125. Tunisia	1
126. Turkey	1
127. Uganda	1
128. Ukraine	1
129. United Arab Emirates	1
130. United Kingdom	1
131. United States of America	1
132. Uruguay	1
133. Uzbekistan	1
134. Venezuela	1
135. Viet Nam	1
136. Yemen	1
137. Zambia	1
138. Zimbabwe	1
139. World average	1
140. Region average	1

Women in Politics: 2020

Situation on 1 January 2020



Women in the highest positions of State

Women heads of state (10/182 = 5.5%) and women heads of government (12/168 = 7.1%)

Women speakers of parliament (15/128 = 11.7%)

Women deputy speakers of parliament (14/166 = 8.4%)

World and regional averages of women in parliament

Regions are listed in descending order of the percentage of women in ministerial positions.

Region	Single house of parliament	Both houses of parliament
World averages	24.9%	24.3%
Americas	43.8%	31.2%
Europe	32.1%	29.8%
Europe (mostly countries not included)	29.7%	28.8%
Sub-Saharan Africa	24.4%	24.4%
Asia	20.9%	20.0%
Middle East and North Africa	17.5%	16.6%
Pacific	16.6%	19.4%

Women in parliament

How many women are in each country's parliament (2018)

Country	Lower house	Upper house	Both houses
1. Afghanistan	0	0	0
2. Albania	2	0	2
3. Algeria	0	0	0
4. Argentina	18	10	28
5. Armenia	1	0	1
6. Austria	13	10	23
7. Azerbaijan	0	0	0
8. Bahrain	0	0	0
9. Bangladesh	0	0	0
10. Belgium	14	0	14
11. Belize	0	0	0
12. Benin	1	0	1
13. Bolivia	1	0	1
14. Bosnia and Herzegovina	0	0	0
15. Botswana	1	0	1
16. Brazil	10	10	20
17. Bulgaria	1	0	1
18. Burkina Faso	1	0	1
19. Burundi	1	0	1
20. Cambodia	0	0	0
21. Cameroon	1	0	1
22. Canada	13	10	23
23. Chad	1	0	1
24. Chile	1	0	1
25. China	1	0	1
26. Colombia	1	0	1
27. Costa Rica	1	0	1
28. Czechia	1	0	1
29. Denmark	1	0	1
30. Dominican Republic	1	0	1
31. Ecuador	1	0	1
32. Egypt	1	0	1
33. El Salvador	1	0	1
34. Estonia	1	0	1
35. Ethiopia	1	0	1
36. Finland	1	0	1
37. France	1	0	1
38. Gabon	1	0	1
39. Gambia	1	0	1
40. Georgia	1	0	1
41. Germany	1	0	1
42. Ghana	1	0	1
43. Greece	1	0	1
44. Guatemala	1	0	1
45. Guinea	1	0	1
46. Guinea-Bissau	1	0	1
47. Honduras	1	0	1
48. Hungary	1	0	1
49. Iceland	1	0	1
50. India	1	0	1
51. Indonesia	1	0	1
52. Iraq	1	0	1
53. Ireland	1	0	1
54. Israel	1	0	1
55. Italy	1	0	1
56. Jamaica	1	0	1
57. Jordan	1	0	1
58. Kazakhstan	1	0	1
59. Kenya	1	0	1
60. Korea, Republic of	1	0	1
61. Kuwait	1	0	1
62. Kyrgyzstan	1	0	1
63. Lao PDR	1	0	1
64. Latvia	1	0	1
65. Lebanon	1	0	1
66. Lesotho	1	0	1
67. Liberia	1	0	1
68. Lithuania	1	0	1
69. Luxembourg	1	0	1
70. Madagascar	1	0	1
71. Malawi	1	0	1
72. Malaysia	1	0	1
73. Maldives	1	0	1
74. Mali	1	0	1
75. Malta	1	0	1
76. Mauritania	1	0	1
77. Mauritius	1	0	1
78. Mexico	1	0	1
79. Moldova	1	0	1
80. Monaco	1	0	1
81. Mongolia	1	0	1
82. Montenegro	1	0	1
83. Mozambique	1	0	1
84. Myanmar	1	0	1
85. Namibia	1	0	1
86. Nepal	1	0	1
87. Netherlands	1	0	1
88. New Zealand	1	0	1
89. Nicaragua	1	0	1
90. Niger	1	0	1
91. Nigeria	1	0	1
92. North Macedonia	1	0	1
93. Norway	1	0	1
94. Oman	1	0	1
95. Pakistan	1	0	1
96. Palau	1	0	1
97. Panama	1	0	1
98. Paraguay	1	0	1
99. Peru	1	0	1
100. Philippines	1	0	1
101. Poland	1	0	1
102. Portugal	1	0	1
103. Romania	1	0	1
104. Rwanda	1	0	1
105. Saudi Arabia	1	0	1
106. Senegal	1	0	1
107. Serbia	1	0	1
108. Sierra Leone	1	0	1
109. Singapore	1	0	1
110. Slovakia	1	0	1
111. Slovenia	1	0	1
112. South Africa	1	0	1
113. South Korea	1	0	1
114. Spain	1	0	1
115. Sri Lanka	1	0	1
116. Sudan	1	0	1
117. Sweden	1	0	1
118. Switzerland	1	0	1
119. Taiwan	1	0	1
120. Tajikistan	1	0	1
121. Tanzania	1	0	1
122. Thailand	1	0	1
123. Timor-Leste	1	0	1
124. Trinidad and Tobago	1	0	1
125. Tunisia	1	0	1
126. Turkey	1	0	1
127. Uganda	1	0	1
128. Ukraine	1	0	1
129. United Arab Emirates	1	0	1
130. United Kingdom	1	0	1
131. United States of America	1	0	1
132. Uruguay	1	0	1
133. Uzbekistan	1	0	1
134. Venezuela	1	0	1
135. Viet Nam	1	0	1
136. Yemen	1	0	1
137. Zambia	1	0	1
138. Zimbabwe	1	0	1
139. World average	24.9%	24.3%	24.6%
140. Region average	43.8%	31.2%	37.5%

Figure 1. Global female distribution in ministries and parliaments

If it seems clear that women are disadvantaged in the political world, more complicated is what discourages women from getting involved in political careers. Some of the first factors responsible for this disparity are structural context features, such as the highly disproportionate female family obligations (e.g. Silbermann, 2015). Secondly is female under-representation in occupations typically preceding access to political offices (e.g. lawyers, managers), which results in a lower “eligibility pool” (Clark, 1994). To further explain such an inequality, some psychosocial factors have also been considered. For example, women tend to be socialized into a passive political role (e.g. Greenstein, 1965), growing up well distanced from the narrative ‘one day you could be the president’. It emerged that women show less interest in politics compared to men, a result that appeared both in the United States (e.g. Jennings & Niemi, 2015; Lehman et al., 2019), in Europe (e.g. Inglehart, 1981) and in other countries (Christy, 1987). Some studies argued that this lack of interest depends on the perception of politics as more complex by women compared to men (e.g. Gidengil et al.). This lower level of political self-efficacy holds women back from political career paths, and, as a consequence, the lack of female role models further increases the stereotyped perception that politics is not for women (Burns et al., 2001; Preece, 2016; Ladam et al., 2018). Specifically, the lack of prominent female politicians, functioning as role models, emerged to be discouraging female adolescents in their intention to involve actively in politics (e.g. Campbell, 2003). Another piece of the huge puzzle of variables involved in maintaining women away from political commitment, is that women tend to be less visible in politics. In fact, women are more involved in private activism (such as signing a petition) compared to men, who are more likely to engage in public political activities (such as being part of a political party) (e.g. Coffé & Bolzendahl, 2010), which, again, contributes to the absence of prominent female politicians. Thus, even if structural changes favoring female political participation would be implemented, this would

not necessarily lead women to easily access political roles because powerful socio-psychological factors are involved. Therefore, it is suggested to further analyze the role of psychosocial variables in the relationship between women and politics to understand some of the factors involved in this intricate social phenomenon.

Chapter 1 - Stereotype Threat and Politics

What is a stereotype?

In the present work we assume that, in our society, men are perceived as more suiting political roles compared to women. It is worth to briefly recall some fundamental theoretical definitions in order to better understand the assumptions regarding the theory underlying Study 1 and 2. The concept of stereotype was first proposed by Lippman almost 100 years ago. In his book, he argued that *'for the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture'* (Lippman, 1922). After this insight, stereotypes have been defined in several ways, focusing on two principal dimensions (see Arcuri & Cadinu, 1998), i.e., their level of inaccuracy and their categorization function.

Here I report some definitions pertaining to the class underlying the inaccuracy of the processes leading to the stereotypes.

- *A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category* (Allport, 1958)

- *A stereotype is a fixed impression, which conforms very little to the fact it pretends to represent, and results from our defining first and observing second* (Katz & Braly, 1935, p. 181).

Within the definitions focused on the categorization below the stereotype, we can name:

- *A stereotype is commonly thought of as involving a categorical response, i.e., membership is sufficient to evoke the judgment that the stimulus person possesses all the attributes belonging to that category* (Secord, 1959, p. 309).

- *A stereotype is a cognitive structure containing the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human social group* (Hamilton & Troler, 1986, p. 131)

The reasons involved in stereotyping can be mainly re-conducted to the necessity of simplifying the complexity of our environment, i.e. responding to a 'cognitive economy' principle. In this way, a potentially illimitable number of stimuli are '*categorized*' (Medin & Heit, 1999) in a reduced and organized number. More specifically, objects are assimilated in the same category for one or more similar features (i.e. similarity principle) and differentiated from another category for features that can be assimilated in another group of objects. In this way we do not first see objects or *data* interfering our conclusions about them, but we tend to have our conclusions expectations starting from the belonging of an object to a category. In the next paragraph I will define a model which helped in understanding the impact that stereotypes can have in our everyday life and that we will take as a theoretical assumption in Study 1 and Study 2.

Stereotype Threat

Stereotype threat theory was proposed to better understand the 'leak' of minority members from academic domains, shifting the focus from an individual to a situational explanation of such inequalities. In fact, before the proposal of stereotype threat, the focus in psychological research had been on the content of prejudice, stereotypes and their effects on the behavior of

the holder of these beliefs (e.g. Allport, 1954; Goffman, 1963). Stereotype threat moved the attention from the perceiver to the victims and the consequences of stereotypes in their life. Proposed by Steele and his collaborators in 1995, it posits that the salience of a negative stereotype about one's social group would interfere with the performance of minority members in domains relevant to the stereotype. For example, a female student exposed to the belief that usually men score higher compared to women in mathematics might be so preoccupied to confirm the stereotype that this anxiety would paradoxically decrease her performance and confirm the stereotype. Generally, research investigating stereotype threat effects triggered the threat by communicating to members of a social minority that their behavior is under observation and comparing their task performance with members of a social majority (Nadler & Clark, 2011). In fact, most of the research on stereotype threat evokes situations that include evaluation and prescription, i.e. participants need to perceive a great attention on their behavior together with a negative expectation of their result. Outcomes performance has been measured in several ways, such as through the classical GRE scores (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995), recall tests (e.g. Murphy, Steele & Gross; 2007), Mental Rotation Task (e.g. Wraga et al., 2007) and other tests constructed ad hoc to measure the performance in a specific area. For example, to measure the ST effect in women while driving a driving simulation task was used (Moè et al., 2015). Similarly, memory tests were presented to elderly people to test age-based stereotype threat (e.g. Hess et al., 2009). From the literature, it emerged that stereotype threat is not a stable phenomenon across life; in fact, it seems to increase its impact with age. With very young children the effect does not emerge (e.g. Muzzatti & Agnoli, 2007) and research has analyzed development requisites necessary to experience stereotype threat, such as the perception of social categories and the awareness of being part of a social category (Aronson and Good, 2003).

This model has been largely tested with female students and mathematic tests (e.g. Galdi et al. 2014; Ambady et al., 2001) and with African American students and verbal tests (e.g. Steele & Aronson, 1995). Besides the above-mentioned areas, stereotype threat effects have been shown in other domains in which social groups are underrepresented, such as the negotiation ability for women (e.g. Kray et al., 2002; Tellhed & Bjorklund, 2011), the ability to speak a second language for a bilingual community (Paladino et al., 2009), intellectual abilities in low SES students (e.g. Croizet & Claire, 1998), mathematic performance of white men compared to Asian men (e.g. Aronson et al., 1999). Interestingly, stereotype threat did not emerge only with members of a social group historically discriminated (e.g., African American), but also with members of groups that are usually majority when the focus is shifted on a larger majority. For example, Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough, Steele and Brown (1999) showed that a sample of Caucasian males underperformed in a mathematical test when they received the threat of the stereotype that Asians are really good at math. Similarly, when a golf task was framed as diagnostic of sport intelligence, African Americans participants underperformed in the task, whereas European-Americans underperformed in the task when the same golf task was framed as diagnostic of athletic abilities. This underlies the situational feature of the stereotype threat paradigm.

The cognitive reasons involved in this phenomenon seem to be different. The first psychological state hypothesized to harm performance of individuals under stereotype threat is anxiety (Steele & Aronson, 1995). More recently, through physiological measures, this hypothesis has been tested. Participants exposed to ST manipulation showed higher levels of arterial blood pressure (Blascovich et al., 2001), higher heart rate variability (Croizet et al., 2004) and increased activation of brain regions involved in emotional loading through neural imaging (Wraga et al., 2007). These findings seem to confirm that anxiety levels increase under threat, but in what way do they affect and decrease performance? The threat of the stereotype

seems to interfere with the ability to formulate problem solving strategies (Quinn, & Spencer; 2001), and more recent research argues that the threat weakens the skill of modeling novel and effective strategies in particular situations (Carr & Steele; 2009). One important component of this cognitive load are the intrusive thoughts (see Cadinu, Maass, Rosabiancs & Kiesner 2005), which do not allow to completely focus on a task. Other authors focused on memory skills. They observed that stereotype threat harms working memory capacity; indeed, stereotype threat effects seem to emerge heavily in tasks which highly involve working memory resources (e.g. Beilok et al, 2007, Schmader & Johns, 2003).

Emotions play a role in this phenomenon as well: it was observed that the threat influences negatively the emotional load of the minority member, which, in turn, decreases motivation to learn skills and metacognition about a task (Mangels et al., 2012). These physiological loads lead the individual to a first estrangement from the domain to avoid failure, which was explained in the literature as a self-handicapping coping process. For example, when the social group of a sample of athletes was threatened, they engaged less in training to prepare for the task, compared to the non-threatened group (Stone, 2002). Similarly, threatened female students externalized higher self-handicapping tendencies when exposed to a blatant negative stereotype, which in turn resulted in a lower score in a math test (Keller, 2002). Therefore, the immediate consequence of stereotype threat is the raise of anxiety levels. However, more critically, the constant presence of a stereotype in a context can make the stereotype threat chronic, thus leading to domain disidentification at a long-term level (e.g. Aronson, Fried, & Good, 2002; Woodcock et al., 2012). Fortunately, from a longitudinal analysis emerged that differences in the likelihood of graduating between white students and black or Hispanic students were fully explained by campus racial climate, social life satisfaction, and grades (Fisher, 2010). These results suggest that being part of a minority does not condemn to failure when the environment provides coping tools and welfare programs. A complementary

phenomenon to the stereotype threat effect is the stereotype lift (Walton & Cohen; 2003). Individuals belonging to dominant or majority groups perform better under conditions that are challenging for the outgroup because they would receive a performance “lift” from the awareness of the negative stereotypes regarding minority members. This theory changes, or at least makes more complex, the concept of stereotype threat, which mainly focuses on the negative stereotyped group. Taking together all this information it is clear the complexity and the depth of the stereotype threat phenomenon, which gives space to controversy as well. In fact, although initially the stereotype threat received a large amount of consent from the scientific population, more recently some weaknesses have been discussed. Morgan and Metha (2004) argued that the vast majority of ST studies are conducted in laboratories, which invalidates the external validity of the studies. Moreover, the common failures in replicating the stereotype threat effects led to questioning the theory as possibly influenced by the publication bias (e.g. Stoet & Geary, 2013; Flore & Wicherts, 2015). In this case, the publication bias consists in leaving null results in the so called “file drawer”, while publishing only significant results (e.g. Ioannidis, 2005). In fact, with the encouragement of null results’ publication, the stereotype threat effect emerged to be not as well established as previously thought (see Pennington et al., 2019; Agnoli et al., 2021). Several studies argue that the difficulty in replicating the effects of stereotype threat depends on the complexity that underlies it. Baron & Kenny (1986) suggested investigating and distinguish between mediators and moderators influencing phenomena in order to better understand its intricacy. Since possible mediators are already mentioned as cognitive reasons of stereotype threat (i.e. anxiety, and intrusive thoughts) here I mention some moderators that emerged from the literature.

Moderators

The most important moderator observed in the stereotype threat literature is the participant's identification with the target domain. Indeed, Stereotype Threat effect occurs most of all in individuals who strongly identify with the area of the performance tested (see Aronson et al., 1999; Smith & White, 2001). Another important moderator to keep in mind is the degree in which participants identified with the negative stereotyped group, that is, how much they perceive as important belonging to the social category of women, African Americans, ... In a study by Schmader (2001), women with strong gender identification worsened their performance when threatened, while women with low gender identification performance were not affected by the threatening manipulation. Finally, another relevant moderator that has been taken into account is the stereotype endorsement, that is, how much participants believe in the stereotype proposed in the manipulation. For example, it was observed that in a sample of women, those who endorsed the stereotype that sees women as less competent in mathematics than men had a stronger stereotype threat effect, compared to women who did not endorse the stereotype (Schmader et al., 2004).

Moving back to the aim of this thesis, stereotype threat has been tested on political knowledge as well, in order to explain the common pattern that sees men obtaining higher scores compared to women in political knowledge tests (see Burns, Scholzman, & Verba, 2001). It emerged that women exposed to the threat that men are better than women in political knowledge, who had to reply to a male interviewer decreased their performance in a political knowledge test compared to women in a stereotype nullifying condition, i.e. underlying the non-existence of gender differences, who had a female interviewer or a group of men participants (McGlone et al., 2006). However, in a study conducted by Lizotte & Sidman (2009), exposure to stereotype threat did not explain gender differences in a political knowledge test. In both conditions, men scored higher compared to women. Interestingly, the authors observed that men in the stereotype threat condition experimented a lift in their self-

efficacy regarding politics. Exposure to negative stereotypes about women in politics was also found to decrease political ambition among women (Pruysers & Blais, 2017). On the contrary, Pruyers and Blais (2014) did not find any effect of stereotype threat on either political efficacy or political knowledge. Interestingly, these authors found a stereotype lift in political efficacy in male participants under the ST condition (threatening to women), while levels of political efficacy in women did not differ between conditions. Overall, it is clear that the literature regarding stereotype threat in politics has focused on self-efficacy, ambition and knowledge, but has never investigated the role of ST on political *performance*, an issue that will be central to the present work.

Another area of research that shows some similarities with our focus on female presence in political roles is leadership. Leadership roles also show strong women's underrepresentation and they require charismatic personalities, self-consciousness and brilliance. For examples, previous research has shown that girls exposed to a threatening commercial (i.e. reporting gender stereotypes in leadership roles) preferred subordinate roles compared to leading roles (Davies et al., 2005), thus showing that exposure to the threat demotivates underrepresented minorities to reach top positions. It has also been shown that threatened women in leading positions, when unable to avoid the leading position itself, compensated by changing their natural way of acting (von Hippel et al., 2011). Specifically, after the threat, girls adopted a more masculine communication, and, as a consequence, they were rated as less likable and warm.

In the following paragraphs I propose two Studies, which aim at closing the gap in the literature regarding stereotype threat and political abilities, i.e. the impact of a gender ST manipulation on the performance in a test perceived as diagnostic of political abilities and predictive of political inclination.

STUDY 1

Study 1 focuses on the effect of a stereotype threat manipulation in a task presented as highly diagnostic of political skills. We aim at filling the absence in the literature of a study testing the effect of a stereotype threat manipulation on political performance. Specifically, participants in the ST condition were told that from previous research it emerged a clear difference in political performance between genders favoring men, while in the control condition gender was not mentioned. We expect female participants in the ST condition to score lower in the task compared to women in a control condition (H1). We do not expect any differences in task performance between men assigned to the ST condition or to the control condition (H2). Finally, we expect that the belief in the fact that politics suits better men compared to women would moderate the relation between manipulation and task results, i.e. the higher the belief in the stereotype, the higher the effect of stereotype threat (H3).

Method

Experimental manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: stereotype threat or control condition. The condition consisted of one brief text introducing participants to the task, that is the logical verbal skills test. In all conditions it was explained that they would complete a test measuring logical-dialectical skills, which research has shown to be predictive of success in political careers. This concept was repeated twice in order to be captured better. In the stereotype threat condition, we specified that from previous studies emerged a gender difference in the results. After that, we exposed participants to a fictitious graph of the results in which it was clear that usually men score higher compared to women. In the control condition, we did not mention gender and we specified that from

previous research it emerged a large ‘difference in performance across individuals’, followed by a fictitious graph showing a large variability across individuals (see appendix A, Figure A1 and A2).

Logic verbal skills test. After reading the instructions, participants had to complete a multiple-choice test. We collected the questions/items from the archive of access tests to the university of medicine published by the Italian Ministry of Instruction. The questions focused on communication and logical skills in order to convince participants that the test was predictive of political abilities, e.g. “If we define a person as querulous, we mean that...” he or she is “musically talented person”, “talkative”, “generous”, “**whiny**”, “very demanding”. In line with previous research showing that stereotype threat seems to be effective only when the task is extremely difficult (e.g. Blascovich et al., 2001) the test was pretested to make sure it was difficult; moreover, we gave a time limit of 8 minutes to complete the task, which presumably increased participants’ anxiety. We included 9 multiple-choice questions with the score of 1 for each correct question. As a result, the final score could range between 1 and 9. Thirty-six students completed the pilot test and they scored on average $M = 4.7$, $DS = 1.35$. In the experiment the test was confirmed to be quite difficult (on average participants responded correctly to $M = 4.59$ questions, $DS = 1.6$).

Implicit Gender Political stereotyping (IGPS). In order to collect the endorsement of the gender stereotype that sees women less good/suitable in politics compared to men at an implicit level we employed the Single Attribute Implicit Association test procedure (SA-IAT, Penke et al., 2006). Compared to the classic IAT, the SA-IAT procedure requires comparing a single attribute category (e.g., “Politics”) to two target categories (e.g., “Women” and “Men”). The Single Attribute IAT is particularly fitting for this study because there is no plausible counter-category for “Politics” (see Bluemke & Friese, for other implications of using a Single Target/Attribute Task). For the category “Politics” we implemented six words ‘*politics*’,

'assembly', *'senate'*, *'government'*, *'election'*, *'council'*. These items were chosen to be as gender-neutral as possible, in order to avoid political positions that tend to be gendered in the Italian language (e.g. council member, deputy...). The assignment was completed on participants' laptops using Inquisit 4 (Millisecond Ltd.). The first block consisted of a training, in which participants had to promptly categorize 20 randomized target words pressing the D key when the word referred to "Women", or K for "Men". Subsequently, they were exposed to the two critical combined blocks composed by 40 randomized trials. In the first one, participants had to categorize *'Men'* and *'Politics'* through a same response (i.e. pressing the K key), while *'Women'* had to be categorized through another response (i.e. pressing the D key). In the second one the combination was reversed, presenting the critical block in which participants had to categorize together counter stereotypical targets (i.e. *'Women'* and *'Politics'*). Stimuli were displayed in the center of the screen and, after an incorrect response, a red cross was appearing. To avoid response biases in the two combined blocks, the stimuli were presented respectively with a ratio of 20:10:10 and 10:10:20, so that in both combined blocks the number of required right-hand and left-hand responses was equal. The order of presentation of the two combined blocks was counterbalanced across participants.

Explicit gender politics stereotype (EGPS). We measured participants' perception that women or men suit better in political positions through an ad hoc scale including 7 items describing several activities linked with political work. They were asked how much they thought men vs women were better doing it (on a Likert scale ranging from -3 = 'very masculine' to +3 = 'very feminine'), e.g. take part to a political debate, ability to start and manage a political career, etc. The scale had an unacceptable internal validity ($\alpha = .36$), mainly because the data variability was very low as most participants responded that women and men are equally good at each activity.

Manipulation check. After the EGPS, participants were asked to recollect the information given in the beginning of the study, through a multiple-choice option between ‘*existence of important gender difference between men and women*’ or ‘*existence of important differences between the individuals*’.

Logic training. Finally, participants were asked how much they had trained in order to access the admission test to their university (from 1 = not at all to 5 = a lot)

Participants and Design. To determine the target sample size, we conducted a priori power analyses with G*Power software (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). More specifically, we conducted two power analyses, the first testing the omnibus effect of the two conditions on the dependent variable, and the second one using a regression model with three predictors to test the moderation model. For both analyses, we required a medium effect size ($f = .25$), a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$, and Power $(1 - \beta) = 0.80$. The largest target sample was $N = 195$, thus we recruited 200 Italian bachelor students in a controlled laboratory setting.

We excluded 36 participants who failed the manipulation check and three participants who were too slow responding to the SA-IAT. Thus, the final sample included 161 students (72 women, M age = 19.73, $SD = 2.09$) all belonging to a bachelor’s program. The sample was randomly distributed across the two conditions (stereotype threat = 86, control condition = 75).

Procedure. Students who gave their availability to take part to the study were conducted in a quiet room and, after signing the informed consent, they were exposed to the manipulation. After that, the experimenter started the chronometer in order to make sure that participants met the 8-minutes limits for the logical verbal skills test. Afterwards, participants performed the IGPS, the EGPS, the manipulation check and provided some biographical information. Data collection required the presence of the experimenter and a limited number of participants at a time.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

ANOVAs. We conducted a 2 (condition: stereotype threat vs. control condition) X 2 (gender: women vs. men) ANOVA on the logical verbal skills score. Neither a main effect of stereotype threat nor its interaction with gender were observed (both $F_s < 1$).

Table 1.1

Study 1 Descriptive Statistics for the Logic verbal skills test as a function of conditions (Standard Deviation are in the parenthesis)

	Female	Male
Stereotype Threat	4.83 (.27)	4.78 (.23)
Control Condition	4.97 (.27)	5.26 (.26)

Moderations. We could not test for moderation of the explicit gender politics stereotype because the internal validity of the scale was too low ($\alpha = .36$). A Multiple Regression Analysis was conducted to test the interactions between Condition (ST vs SN), Participants Gender and IGPS in predicting participants' Logic verbal skills test score using PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). The effect of the manipulation (stereotype threat condition vs. control condition) on the logical verbal skills test was assessed in the context of a moderated model using PROCESS (model n° 3, Hayes, 2013) with 5000 bootstrapping samples. Specifically, we tested the effect of our manipulation (Control Condition = 0, Stereotype Threat = 1) on participants' political test results to the Implicit Gender Political Stereotyping (continuous,

centered) and participants' Gender (female = 0, male = 1) as moderators. As shown in Table 1.2, the three-way interaction Manipulation X IGPS X Participants' Gender did not significantly increase the amount of the explained variance ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $R^2 = .02$, $p = .52$), and the overall model fell short of significance, $F(7,152) = .52$, $p = .82$.

Table 1.2

Study 1 Multiple Regression Analysis showing the interaction among Condition (ST vs control), Participants Gender and IGPS in predicting participants' Logic verbal skills test score.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> (<i>dfs</i>)
Model			.02		.52 (7, 152)*
Intercept	4.96	.13			
Condition	-.32	.26			
Gender	.08	.26			
IGPS	.11	.44			
Condition X Gender	-.34	.52			
Condition X IGPS	.63	.88			
Gender X IGPS	.16	.9			
Condition X Gender X IGPS	-1.74	1.79		.01	.95(1,152)**

* $p = .82$

** $p = .33$

Discussion

This first study did not confirm our hypothesis that female participants would obtain a lower result in a political test when threatened (H1 and H2). Participants in the two conditions scored similarly in the political test, regardless of their gender. This could depend, on one side, on the fact that the manipulation was not strong enough. One possibility is that the instruction text was too verbose and not catchy enough to involve our participants. In fact, we had to exclude 36 participants from the sample because they could not recognize the core information embedded in the manipulation. Although it seems that participants did not have in mind the core information of the study at the moment of the manipulation check, it is not clear whether they forgot it, or they never really read it. Long texts employed as manipulations may lead participants to lack of attention and interest, an issue that should be kept in mind for the following studies. A second possible explanation for the lack of the ST effect is the possibility that stereotype threat is not relevant for gender in the political domain or that the effect is modulated by other variables that we did not collect. For example, an important limitation was the absence of an item measuring the domain (politics) identification, which, from several studies emerged to explain a great amount of variance in stereotype threat effects (e.g. Aronson et al., 1999; Smith & White, 2001). Another issue to consider is that our sample was composed of young people (M age = 19.73, SD = 2.09). Overall, young adults are difficult to involve in ‘conventional’ politics (e.g. Melo & Stockemer; 2014) and, indeed, voters’ participation in politics increases monotonically with age (see OECD, 2006; p. 102).

In addition, to show the endorsement of the stereotype we reasoned that it would be important to show that participants explicitly endorse the stereotype that politics is more suitable for men than women. To measure such belief, we used an explicit measure of the gender stereotype about politics (EGPS). However, our sample expressed extremely neutral

responses and showed no preference for men or women in politics. Therefore, because of such a low variability in participants' responses, it was not possible to test the moderation effect of the EGPS (H3). On one side, this could depend from the fact that the sample was very young, and all participants were bachelor students, i.e. presumably not reflecting the point of view of their peers not engaging in bachelor studies. On the other side, this could depend from social desirability concerns to appear progressive and inclusive. This first study gave us insights about the need to find a measure able to collect the possible preference for men vs women in politics in an unbiased way, which led to the development of the Politics gender Stereotype Scale (PGSS) in Study 2. To overcome limitations of explicit measures we also developed an implicit measure, i.e. the Implicit Gender Political stereotyping (IGPS) to test the perception that politics is more suitable for men compared to women. This implicit measure showed a good internal reliability. However, the index results did not show an overall gender-politics bias and it was also perceived by participants as too long and boring. For this reason, we decided not to use the IGPS in the following study.

STUDY 2

In study 2 we aimed, as in Study 1, at replicating stereotype threat typical results on a task perceived as diagnostic of political skills. Differently from study 1, we included a stereotype nullifying condition, instead of the control condition, i.e. instead of simply omitting gender, we told participants that from previous research no difference between men and women emerged, in order to make manipulation stronger. Furthermore, we modified the text embedding the manipulation in order to give more space to the graph (showing results of a fictitious previous research, see appendix A, Figure A4 and A5) and made the manipulation less verbose. This was supposed to increase manipulation effectiveness, which, from Study 1, emerged to be difficult to capture. In addition, we removed the implicit measure of the belief in the stereotype that men are more competent in politics compared to women (IGPS) and we simplified the explicit one (PGSS), in order to make the task as user friendly as possible, easy and not boring. As in Study 1, we expect female participants in the ST condition to score lower in the task compared to women in the SN condition (H1). We do not expect any differences between men assigned to the ST condition or the SN condition in the task performance (H2). Finally, we expect that the belief in the fact that politics suits better men compared to women (PGSS) would moderate the relation between manipulation and task results, i.e. the higher the belief in the stereotype, the higher the effect of the stereotype threat (H3).

Method

Experimental manipulation. In order to increase the catchiness of the manipulation we shortened the text introducing the task. As in study 1, participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: stereotype threat or stereotype nullifying. In both

conditions it was said that participants would complete a test measuring logical-dialectical skills, which is predictive of careers in politics. In the ST condition participants were exposed to the same graph as in study 1, while participants in the SN condition were exposed to a graph different from Study 1's control condition stating that from previous research did not emerge any difference between men and women.

Logic verbal skills test. We decided to keep the same test used in study 1.

Politics gender Stereotype Scale (PGSS). We changed the measure collecting participants' explicit gender politics stereotype from Study 1 in order to be shorter and less inductive to social desirability. We asked participants to state both the current widespread opinion in the society (public) and their own opinion (private), regarding which gender suits better the political activity on a Likert scale from -3 (= men much more talented,) to +3 (= women much more talented).

Awareness of female underrepresentation in national politics. In order to check how much our sample was aware of the under-representation of women in politics we asked them how many of the 18 Italian ministries were occupied by women politicians (data have been collected during the 2018/19 'Conte first' Italian government, in which 8 women occupied a ministry). After that we asked how many women should be minister in their opinion (from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 18); this allowed us to have not only a measure of their awareness of the disparity, but also to measure how much they were interested in weakening such a disparity.

Manipulation check. As in study 1, participants were asked to recollect the information given at the beginning of the study, by choosing one of four multiple choice options: "presence of important gender differences between men and women, in favor of men", "presence of important differences between men and women, in favor of women" plus the following two filler items to decrease the possibility of fortuitously catching the right answer: "non presence

of important gender differences between men and women”, “I have not been informed about gender differences”.

Logical training. Finally, participants were asked how much they had trained for the admission test to their university (from 1 = not at all to 5 = a lot).

Sample. To determine the target sample size, we conducted a priori power analyses with G*Power software (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Similarly to study 1, we conducted two power analyses, the first testing the omnibus effect of the two conditions on the dependent variable, and the second one using a regression model with three predictors to test the moderation model. Again, for both analyses, we required a medium effect size ($f = .25$), a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$, and Power $(1 - \beta) = 0.80$. The largest target sample was $N = 195$, thus we recruited 283 Italian bachelor students, in order to overcome problems linked to participants' exclusion emerged in Study 1. Of the 283 university students who completed the questionnaire we had to exclude 39 participants who failed the manipulation check. Thus, the final sample was composed by 244 participants (110 women, M age = 21.97, $DS = 2.11$). We decided to include in our sample only non-psychology bachelor students. The sample was randomly distributed across the two conditions (stereotype threat = 124, stereotype nullifying = 120). The experiment was conducted in a lab or a quiet environment, such as libraries.

Procedure. Participants who gave their availability to take part in the study were conducted in a quiet room, asked to sign the informed consent and then exposed to the manipulation. Before to address participants to the manipulation, they were told to be particularly focused on the information they would have been reading, in order to be prepared for a memory test in the end of the survey. After that, the experimenter started the chronometer to make sure that participants met the 8 minutes limit in the logical verbal skills test. Differently from Study 1, participants did not perform the IGPS, but were directly redirected to the PGSS, the awareness

of female under representation in politics, the manipulation check and their biographical information. Data collection required the presence of an experimenter and a limited number of participants at a time.

Results

Descriptive Statistics. We conducted a 2 (condition: stereotype threat vs. stereotype nullifying) X 2 (gender) ANOVA on the logical verbal skills test score. Neither a main effect of stereotype threat nor its interaction with gender was observed (both $F_s < 1.69$).

Table 2.1

Study 2 Descriptive Statistics on the Logic verbal skills test as a function of conditions (Standard Deviation are in the parenthesis)

	Female	Male
Stereotype Threat	4.35 (1.78)	4.56 (1.74)
Stereotype Nullifying	4.44 (1.82)	4.83 (1.83)

Moderation analysis. The effect of the manipulation (stereotype threat condition vs. Stereotype Nullifying condition) on the logical verbal skills test was assessed in the context of a moderated model using PROCESS (model n° 3, Hayes, 2013) with 5000 bootstrapping samples. Specifically, we tested the effect of our manipulation (Stereotype nullifying = 0, Stereotype Threat = 1) on participants' political test results to the Politics gender stereotype

scale (continuous, centered) and participants' Gender (female = 0, male = 1) as moderators. We included the item measuring participants' private opinion. As shown in Table 2.2, the three-way interaction Manipulation x PGSS x Participants' Gender did not significantly increase the amount of the explained variance ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $R^2 = .01$, $p = .64$), and the overall model fell short of significance, $F(7,274) = .48$, $p = .85$.

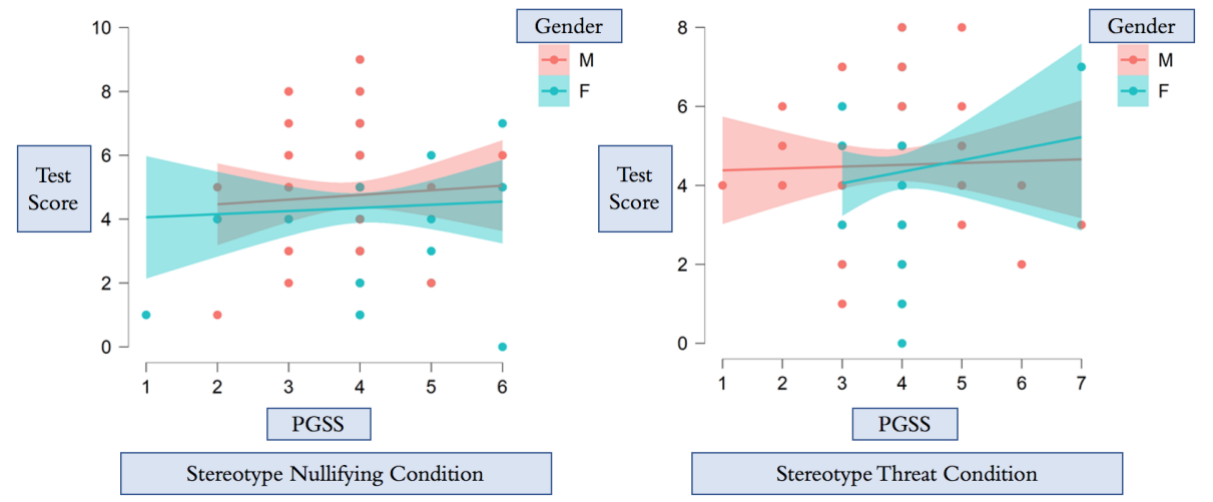
Table 2.2

Study 2 Multiple Regression Analysis showing the interaction of Condition (ST vs SN), Participants' Gender and PGSS predicting participants' Logic verbal skills test score.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F (dfs)</i>
Model			.01		.48 (7, 274)*
Intercept	3.96	1.22			
Condition	-.78	1.94			
Gender	.22	1.75			
PGSS	.1	.3			
Condition X Gender	.94	2.5			
Condition X PGSS	.19	.43			
Gender X PGSS	.05	.44			
Condition X Gender X PGSS	-.29	.63		.00	.22 (1,274)**

* $p = .85$
** $p = .64$

Figure 2. Study 2 Scatter Plot of the interaction of Condition (ST vs SN), Participants' Gender and PGSS predicting participants' Logic verbal skills test score.



Other Results

Awareness of real gender distribution in the government and ideal distribution. We conducted a one-way between subjects ANOVA to compare the effects of participants' gender on the ideal number of female ministers, which emerged to be significant ($F(1, 243) = 10.27, p = .002$). Female participants expressed a higher ideal number of women covering the ministries ($M = 9.16, SE = .14$) compared to male participants ($M = 8.58, SE = .12$). We also conducted a one-way between subjects ANOVA to compare the effects of participants' gender on the real distribution of ministers, which emerged to be not statistically differing ($F(1, 243) = .29, p = .59$).

Politics gender stereotypes. Finally, we conducted a one-way between subjects ANOVA to check whether our manipulation had an effect on the perception that women or men suit better political roles (both public and private opinion). It emerged that being exposed to the stereotype threat condition increased the perception that women are publicly seen as less suitable than

men ($F(1, 243) = 5.15, p = .024$), but it did not affect their private opinion ($F(1, 243) = 1.14, p = .29$). Surprisingly no correlation was found between private opinion and public opinion about women's suitability for political roles ($r(N = 244) = .08, p = .19$).

Discussion

Again, as in Study 1, data did not support our hypotheses. This could depend on several variables, such as the fact that our outcome variable measuring "probability to succeed in politics" (which was the same as in Study 1) may have been composed of a limited number of items. In fact, to measure stereotype threat effect, usually outcome tests including between 10 and 40 items are employed (see Flore & Wicherts, 2015). Moreover, employing only nine questions may not have been enough to arouse the anxiety levels needed to elicit the stereotype threat. Furthermore, we tried to construct a dependent variable as linked as possible to political abilities, which are not so easy to define. In fact, it could be that participants did not perceive the quiz as diagnostic of political abilities, this point should be kept in mind for future research in order to include a manipulation check. Interestingly, in both studies the experimental group scoring the highest result was men in the stereotype nullifying condition stating that men and women scored similarly in the task. This result, even if not statistically significant, clashes not only with the stereotype threat theory and our H1, but also with the stereotype lift effect. Indeed, the boost for men has come from a neutral condition (stating the existence of a great variability in the scores of the population in Study 1 and the non-existence of gender differences in Study 2).

Finally, in the interpretation of these results we should consider the possibility that stereotype threat has not an impact in this field especially considering that young students, as

argued in Study 1 discussion, tend to express very low interest in politics, i.e. low domain identification. This study, together with Study 1, supports the literature that doubts the robustness of the effects of stereotype threat.

An interesting point consists of the fact that the manipulation had an impact on the public PGSS (Politics gender Stereotype Scale) but not on the private PGSS (Politics gender Stereotype Scale). Indeed, participants reported that, according to our society, women are considered less fit for political roles, but they did not endorse this opinion. This could depend on the weakness of the stereotype threat in this domain, which may have not represented a threat for the individual by itself but might have made salient the opinion of the society, i.e., the fact that women are perceived as less suitable for political positions. Surprisingly, our sample emerged to be informed about the under-representation of women in our government, while, less surprisingly, women expressed a higher need for women in the government compared to men. This result underlies that gender inequality in politics is perceived as damaging mostly by women. Finally, H3 was not confirmed, i.e. the variable measuring individual belief in the stereotype that sees men more adequate for political roles compared to women did not modulate the relationship between manipulation (ST vs. SN) on the test score. Again, we have to recognize our difficulty in measuring participants' endorsement of the gender political stereotype. Firstly, this measure was composed by a single Item, which, even if lightening the task for participants, reduces the richness and validity of a measure. Second, as in Study 1, the distribution of the participants' opinions was extremely strong in the center, that is, almost all (211 of the 283) stated that there is no gender that better fits political roles. As in Study 1, it is difficult to find a clear reason involved, since, on one side, social desirability could play a role, but, on the other side, we have to keep in mind the young age of the sample. The need to find a valid measure as unbiased as possible to detect the possible preference for

men vs women in politics is clear, an issue that led us to the development of Belief in the traditional male norms (BTMN) in Study 4.

Chapter 2 – Charismatic (wo)men

The concept of Charisma.

In this second section, instead of focusing on the general stereotype that sees women less fitting than men in political roles, I investigate the role of a specific stereotype that could hamper female access to the political arena, i.e. the perception that men are more charismatic compared to women. Although the interest for charismatic personalities in society is very high (ranging from the proposal of programs to increase one's charisma to the possibility of measuring such a characteristic in individuals), its definitions are few and very ambiguous. The origin of the term is highly religious; we can first find it in two letters of St. Paul-Romans, Chapter 12 and 1 Corinthians and Chapter 12 in the Christian Bible: it is described as '*a free and unconditioned gift of god*' alluding to the Holy Spirit. Subsequently, the word evolved as indicating a basic concept of the Catholic church, i.e., that the roles and powers are assigned by a 'gift of God' rather than by regulations or elections.

The first theorist who isolated the concept of 'charisma' from theology was Max Weber, who defined charisma as '*a certain quality of an individual personality, by virtue of which it is distinguished from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities not accessible to the ordinary person*' (Weber, 2009). In Weber's theories it is argued that charisma is an important feature for leadership; indeed, he proposed a model of leadership in which it is discriminated between charismatic, traditional and legal-rational authority (see Breuilly; 2011). In Weber's model, charismatic leaders are those who '*... reveal a transcendent mission or course of action which may be in itself appealing to the potential followers, but which is acted on because the followers*

believe their leader is extraordinarily gifted' (Dow, 1969, p. 307). From its first theorization, charisma was denoted by great ambiguity and a lack of a precise set of features denoting a charismatic leader or person. It is argued that the focus of Weber's analysis of charisma is limited to how it affects the audience and not how it is displayed in people (e.g. Sy, 2018). Moreover, such an ambiguity is argued to be useless in comprehending leadership and its influence in organizations (e.g. Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). In any case, this first analysis of charisma isolated from religious features allowed the development of a great amount of theories regarding a transformational and charismatic leadership (e.g. Bass, 1985; House, 1977), even though the core ambiguity of charisma and its effect-centric approach seems to be maintained in the time. As an example, a famous definition of charisma describes it as an *'influence exerted on followers' normative orientations, emotional involvement with the leader, and follower performance'* (House et al., 1990). Getting more into detail, Konstantin (2016) found six main dimensions of the definitions of general everyday charisma, that is, 'influence', which are the ability to direct people (e.g. Antonakis, 2011; Tskhay et al., 2014; Weber, 1922/1978), to attract the attention (Whitney et al., 1994), to motivate others (e.g. House & Howell, 1992; House et al., 1991), to give stability in a constantly changing environment (e.g. Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Weber, 1922/1978), to help others achieve their goals (Antonakis, 2011) and to intimidate people (Keating, 2011). All features focus on the effects on the environment (mostly people, but also "things" (i.e. the stability)). Again, if we look for a lay definition of Charisma, the Encyclopedia Britannica defines it as an *"attribute of awesome and almost magical power and capacity ascribed by followers to the person and personality of extraordinarily magnetic leaders"*. The focus is always on what is around a charismatic person, letting the charismatic personality him/herself possibly differ across people. It has been discussed that a good method to measure charisma is to evaluate the reactions of specific followers (House et al., 1990). Again, the same reaction could be elicited

by different behaviors leading to much variability in framing what charisma is. The ambiguity surrounding the concept of charisma could be what makes it such an intriguing construct. In this work, the fact that the image of charisma is not homogeneous in the minds of people is not considered a limit, but, on the contrary, it gives the chance to connect it with a specific male over-populated area, i.e. politics.

Theorization of charisma is concentrated in sociological and business areas, while little or no attention has been paid to charisma by psychologists. I see some similarity between the concept to charisma in relation with gender stereotypes and the construct of brilliance. Brilliance, i.e. the top-level cognitive skill, has been argued to be stereotypically perceived as belonging more to men than to women (e.g. Bian et al., 2017). In the following paragraph I will briefly analyze a model proposed by Cimpian and Leslie, which aims at explaining the female under representation in certain areas taking into account the belief in the “brilliance = men” stereotype. After that, I will propose the extension of this model to the political environment and consider the “charisma = men” stereotype.

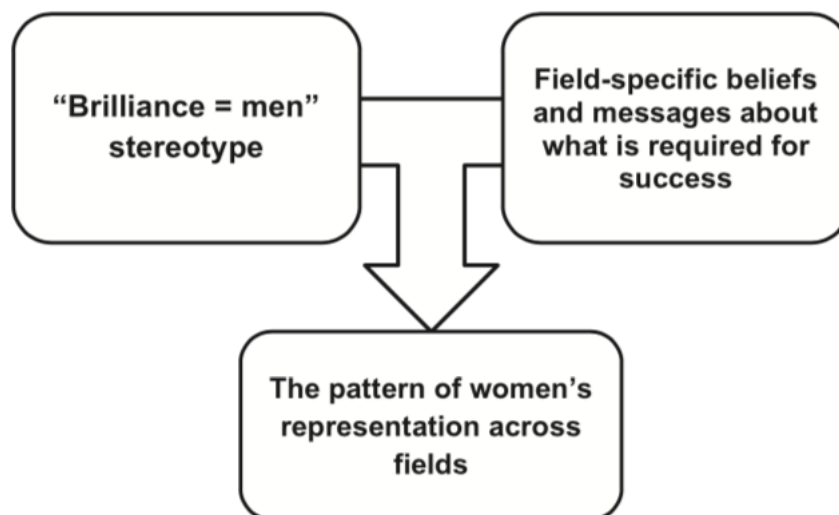
The Field-Specific Ability Belief.

As a starting point, we took into account the “Field-specific ability belief” (FAB) model proposed by Cimpian and Leslie (2015, 2017) in order to better understand the lack of women in a wide range of fields, such as STEM and leadership roles. The authors argue that, although the broad research for female underrepresentation focused on STEM fields (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics), female distribution across STEM’s disciplines in academy is not homogenous. In fact, women occupy almost half of all Ph.D.’s in molecular biology and neuroscience in the U.S., but less than 20% of all Ph.D.s in physics and computer

science (National Science Foundation, 2011). This lets us foresee the complexity of the gender distribution, which does not only generally concern the exclusion of women from the STEM macro area, but it is also perpetuated across its different disciplines or areas. Considering this distribution, the authors hypothesized that the interest versus a certain area by members of a social category, i.e. men or women, depends not only on its content, but also on the way it is socially framed and proposed to people.

Figure 3.

Diagram of the Field-Specific Ability Belief (FAB) Model



Specifically, according to the FAB model, female interest in participating in an activity depends on the interaction between the degree of the belief of (and the exposure to) messages linking a particular ability/feature to the possibility of having success in one area (see Figure 3, on the right) and the belief that such an ability is not for women (but for men) (see Figure 3, on the left). In other words, messages underlying the importance of being brilliant in leadership

roles may undermine female interest to accede a certain area, since brilliance is a feature stereotypically considered to be masculine (e.g. Bennet, 1996; Upson & Friedman, 2012...). Cimpian and Leslie (2017) tested the model proposing participants the possibility to take part in an internship (study 1), to choose a new major in students' university career (study 2), to choose a new major specifying that it needs to be in STEM (study 3), to choose a new major in social sciences (study 4) or the possibility of applying for a job (study 5). In all studies, female participants expressed lower levels of interest for the proposal when the instructions expressed the importance of being brilliant, while men had a boost in their interest. Interestingly, the authors also measured participants' levels of anxiety, and demonstrated that it increased in female participants when they had to deal with the need to be brilliant to get into an internship, new major, or job.

According to our reasoning, if being brilliant or genius is defined as a kind of innate gift perceived as necessary to stand out in certain leading fields, we thought that charisma might play a similar role. Indeed, it is common to hear 'charisma' associated with success in politics. Like brilliance, being charismatic is considered as a gift, something innate that makes individuals particularly keen to be followed. Therefore, the concept of charisma seems particularly matching with our purposes, since, as above mentioned, it is ambiguous and leaves room for interpretation to be filled by individuals' pre-existing schemas and stereotypes. Furthermore, we hypothesize that charisma is more easily associated with men compared to women. A possible complexity to keep under control is that previous literature not only relates charisma with the characteristics of a leader (see e.g. Bass, 1985; House, 1977) but also with the characteristics based on relational processes (e.g. Conger et al., 2000; Howell & Shamir, 2005). Behaviors and occupations connected to relations have been argued to be stereotypically feminine, since they suggest characteristics such as warmth and communion, which are classical female stereotypes (respectively, Eckes, 2002; Fiske et al., 2002 and Abele &

Wojciszke, 2007). However, we have to keep in mind the country of our sample. In all studies, participants were Italian. In Italy the charisma component focusing on relationships play a smaller role compared to the one focusing on power and hierarchical roles. Indeed, the Italian literature on charismatic personality analyzes it in powerful and political roles (e.g. Pappas, 2012; Gelli & Mannarini, 2014) or in religious and mystical roles (e.g. Buccellato, 2004; Toti, 2011). This concept of charisma makes it more similar to the brilliance one, and makes it particularly suiting the political area and our purposes.

STUDY 3

In Study 3 we aim at investigating whether the interaction between the belief in the “charisma = men” stereotype and the belief that charisma is strongly important to accede in political environments influences the perception of suitability of a female (vs male) young candidate for an internship in a political area. Specifically, participants read the announcement of an internship aiming at introducing a young intern to a training in political consciousness and engagement. Participants were instructed to read the announcement very carefully in order to be prepared to the next task, i.e. evaluate a student who applied for the internship. After that, participants were casually divided in two conditions. In one condition, it was stressed twice the importance of being charismatic in order to access the position, while in the other condition it was underlined the importance of being dedicated. Participants’ assignment was to read a CV and judge the suitability for the position of a young student, who was a woman in one condition and a man in the other, and to rate some features of the candidate. We expected participants to rate the male candidate more adequate to access the internship compared to the female candidate, especially when exposed to the charisma (vs. dedication) condition (H1). We also expect the female candidate to be rated as warmer and more moral compared to the male candidate, regardless the charisma vs. dedication condition (H2). Finally, we expect that the belief in the traditional gender roles would modulate the relation between condition and the perception of competence of the candidate. In other words, participants in the charisma condition should perceive the male candidate as more adequate for the internship, especially when scoring high levels of social dominance orientation and the belief of male social dominance (H3).

Pretest. In order to investigate the existence of a stronger link between the concept of charisma and men compared to the link between charisma and women, we constructed a pretest. The participants first read the definition of charisma, which was intentionally completely genderless; second, they were asked to name three people who, in their opinion, are highly charismatic. After that, they had to rate some features about the three people they named, including their gender. We conducted two pre-tests, which differed only for the “type” of people that participants were asked to name. In one case, we asked participants to name famous or relevant people, while in the other case they had to name three people they personally knew. This was decided to test potential differences between a personal and a more public area and to check for 'presence bias', i.e. the possibility that television and social networks are overrepresented by men, most of all when taking into account charismatic individuals.

Pre-test results

Both in the pretest requesting famous and personally known people, the number of male individuals reported was higher compared to the number of female individuals. When asked to report famous individuals, participants ($N = 57$, 39 women) reported 113 charismatic men and 53 charismatic women (4 non-binary). When asked for people they personally knew, participants ($N = 93$, 39 women) reported 179 charismatic men and 94 charismatic women (6 non-binary). After excluding the non-binary individuals, Chi square goodness of fit tests were performed on the gender of the charismatic individuals reported. Results confirmed our hypothesis that named charismatic people are more often men as opposed to having a 50% probability of being named; $\chi^2(1) = 21.69, p < .001$ naming famous individuals and $\chi^2(1) = 26.47, p < .001$ naming individuals they personally knew. This tendency was similarly actuated both by female and male participants. The pre-test confirmed that charisma is more strongly

associated with men than women and therefore this result was used as a basis for Experiment 3's hypothesis.

Measures

Experimental manipulations. As a cover story, the participants were informed that the experiment was intended to understand the decision-making processes involved in the recruitment of employees. Their task was to read a job announcement and then evaluate the CV of a candidate for that job. Most specifically, the announcement consisted of an internship for young adults introducing them to politics. In the Charisma condition, the announcement stressed that a good intern should be charismatic, and after that it was defined what is a charismatic person (i.e. *'a person who can attract magnetically other people and possesses excellent persuasive skills'*). In the Dedication condition, it was stressed that a good intern should be dedicated, and after that it was briefly defined what it means to be dedicated (i.e. *'a person able to systematically commit to an activity, showing high levels of perseverance'*). Finally, all participants read some activities proposed to the intern (i.e. organizing an election campaign, promoting projects, organizing social events and supporting the electoral program's writing), which were the same across conditions. Subsequently, participants were exposed to the second manipulation, that is, the curriculum vitae of a young bachelor student. In the male condition, participants read Francesco Bianchi's CV, while in the female condition, participants read Francesca Bianchi's CV. The two curricula were absolutely identical, presenting a young adult studying political sciences (See appendix B3 and B4).

Ratings of candidate's competence, warmth and morality. After the manipulation, participants had to judge the candidate on competence, warmth and morality using a Likert scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely) adapted from Heflick et al. (2011). The three sub-

scales showed good internal validity, i.e., competence (competent, capable and intelligent; $\alpha = .78$), warmth (friendly, kind, warm, enjoyable; $\alpha = .86$) and morality (sincere, reliable, moral; $\alpha = .74$).

Candidate's suitability. To measure the perception of the suitability of the candidate, participants were asked to think about the information in the CV and to rate how suitable the CV was for the internship, how much they would encourage the foundation promoting the internship to hire the candidate and how likely would it be for the candidate to have success in politics in his/her future. The three items were constructed ad hoc, were rated on a Likert scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely) and showed very good internal validity ($\alpha = .84$).

Salary proposal. Participants were asked to propose an appropriate salary for the intern, considering that usually that kind of internships would be paid between 300 and 800 euros. We used a single item on a Likert Scale ranging from 300 to 800 ($M = 581.91$, $DS = 6.05$).

Social dominance orientation. To check for participants' social dominance orientation, we employed the short SDO scale (Ho et al, 2015), which is composed of 8 items (e.g., '*it is unjust to try to make groups equal*'). The scale showed an acceptable internal validity ($\alpha = .68$).

Male dominance. In order to collect participants' belief in the traditional male role norms we used the 'dominance' sub scale of the Male Role Norms Inventory (MNRI, Levant et al. 2007). The sub-scale, composed of 6 items, showed a very good internal validity ($\alpha = .90$), even though the variability was very low as responses were given mainly around the first points of the Likert scale ($M = 1.53$, $DS = .31$).

Manipulation check. To check for the awareness of the condition to which participants were assigned, we asked them to report the fundamental requirement to access the internship by choosing one of four multiple choice options, 'being charismatic', 'being dedicated', 'being

bilingual', and 'being motivated' (the last two options served as fillers to reduce the possibility of fortuitously reporting the correct answer).

Biographical information. Finally, participants were asked to report some personal information, including gender, age, education level, political orientation (on a Likert scale from 0 = leftist to 100 = rightist) and interest in politics (on a Likert scale from 0 = not interested at all to 100 = very interested).

Results

Sample. To determine the target sample size, we conducted a priori power analyses with G*Power software (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Specifically, we conducted two power analyses, the first testing the omnibus effect of the two conditions (charisma vs. dedication) on the dependent variables, and the second one using a regression model with three predictors to test the moderation model. For both analyses, we required a medium effect size ($f = .25$), a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$, and Power $(1 - \beta) = 0.80$. The largest target sample was $N = 205$. We originally recruited 308 participants. One hundred and ten of them had to be excluded because they failed the manipulation check. The final sample consisted of 198 participants (59 men, $M_{age} = 28.65$, $SD = 11.78$). The vast majority of them were bachelor students ($N = 98$), somewhat interested in politics ($M = 51.61$, $SD = 27.74$) and slightly leftist ($M = 40.01$, $SD = 22.66$). The sample was evenly distributed between conditions (Female CV = 95; male CV = 103; Charisma = 108; Dedication = 90). The experiment was entirely conducted online through the software Qualtrics.

ANOVAs. A two-way ANOVA was conducted that examined the effect of requisite (charisma vs. dedication) and CV's gender (male vs. female) on the candidate's suitability. There was

neither a statistically significant interaction between requisite and CV's gender ($F(1, 197) = .67, p = .57$), nor a main effect of type of requisite, CV (both $F_s < .71$ and both $p_s > .4$).

Table 2.1

Study 3. Descriptive Statistics for candidate's suitability as a function of conditions (Standard Deviation are in the parenthesis)

	Female CV	Male CV
Charisma	4.81 (.15)	4.57 (.15)
Dedication	4.56 (.17)	4.56 (.16)

Subsequently, we conducted a two-way MANOVA to test the effect of requirement (charisma versus dedication) and CV gender (male vs. female) on the candidate's competence, morality, and warmth. Again, there was no significant interaction between the requirement and CV's gender on the candidate's competence, warmth, or morality (all $F_s(1,197) < 1.4$ and all $p_s > .24$), but only main effects of gender on the perception of the candidate's morality and warmth. In fact, univariate effects showed that participants perceived the female candidate as warmer ($M = 5.06, SE = .1$) and more moral ($M = 5.22, SE = .09$) compared to the male candidate (respectively $M = 4.64, SE = .1; F(1, 197) = 9.03, p = .003$ and $M = 4.94, SE = .09; F(1, 197) = 4.6, p = .033$) regardless of the type of requirement.

A two-way ANOVA was conducted to analyze the effect of requisite (charisma vs. dedication) and CV's gender (male vs. female) on the salary proposal. There was no statistically significant interaction between the effect of requirement and CV gender ($F(1, 197) = 2.14, p = .16$), and no main effects of requirement and gender (both $F_s < 2$ and both $p_s > .16$).

Moderation. The effect of the manipulation (charisma vs. dedication condition) on the candidate's suitability was assessed in the context of two moderated models using PROCESS (model n° 3, Hayes, 2013) with 5000 bootstrapping samples. Specifically, we first tested whether the effect of the internship requirement (Dedication = 0, Charisma = 1) on the perception of the candidate's suitability was moderated by the candidate's gender (female = 0, male = 1) and the SDO (continuous, centered). The three-way interaction Requisite X Candidate's Gender X Male Dominance did not significantly increase the amount of the explained variance (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2

Study 3. Multiple Regression Analysis showing the interaction of Condition (charisma Vs dedication), CV's Gender (female Vs male) and SDO in predicting participants' perception of the candidate's suitability.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> (<i>dfs</i>)
Model			.03		.91 (7, 190)*
Intercept	4.6	.17			
Requisite	.24	.23			
Cv's Gender	-.00	.23			
SDO	-.16	.27			
Requisite X Cv's Gender	-.03	.36			
Requisite X SDO	-.23	.31			
Cv's Gender X SDO	-.4	.3			
Requisite X Cv's Gender X SDO	-.22	.38		.001	.34 (1, 190)**

* $p = .50$

** $p = .56$

Subsequently, we tested the effect of our manipulation (Dedication = 0, Charisma = 1) on the perception of the suitability of the candidate for the internship taking into account Male dominance (continuous, centered) and the candidate's gender (female = 0, male = 1) as moderators. As shown in Table 2.3, the three-way interaction Requisite x Male Dominance x Candidate's Gender did not significantly increase the amount of explained variance.

Table 2.3

Study 3. Multiple Regression Analysis showing the interaction of Condition (charisma Vs dedication), CV's Gender (female Vs male) and Male Dominance in predicting participants' perception of the candidate's suitability.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> (<i>dfs</i>)
Model			.03		1.08 (7, 190)*
Intercept	4.52	.17			
Requisite	.29	.23			
Cv's Gender	.05	.23			
Male Dominance	.25	.18			
Requisite X Cv's Gender	-.27	.31			
Requisite X Male Dominance	-.21	.23			
Cv's Gender X Male Dominance	.12	.27			
Requisite X Cv's Gender X Male Dominance	-.08	.39		.0002	.04 (1, 190)**

* $p = .38$

** $p = .84$

Discussions

None of our hypotheses were supported by the data. The first limit that one should take into account is the type of cover story that we implemented. We asked our participants to assess the competence of a student for an internship to approach the political world. As argued in the introductory paragraph about the construct of charisma, an important feature embedded into the charisma concept is power, which is not really present in the world of internships that university students face in their everyday life, considering that these internships are usually unpaid and, as a consequence, they are characterized by exploitation conditions. As a result, we might have been unable to elicit participants' possible preference for a male in an area requiring charisma, because we did not recreate a "realistic" area the access to which credibly requires to be highly charismatic. Therefore, an interesting future direction to take forward could be the improvement of the cover story and the manipulation of the independent variable, introducing elements that are more in line with the characteristics of charisma, such as the evaluation of suitability of real politicians or political candidates for top positions.

A second limit of Study 3 is embedded in the low efficacy of the manipulation. As in Study 1 and Study 2, we had to exclude a large number of participants who were unable to correctly report the content of the manipulation they had read ten minutes earlier. One possibility is that probably our manipulation was uninteresting and too long. One issue to consider is that in our society communication has been changing in the last years toward a more visual and captivating direction. This should be kept in mind and in the future include images, such as passport photos in the CV when manipulating the gender of the candidate. Moreover,

given a possible scarce attention and inadequate memory span one might include some active forms of memory (such as writing, rehearsal) in order not to lose so many participants from the sample.

An interesting effect was detected in the pretest. When participants were asked to name three charismatic people, the association between charisma and men seemed automatic, both when talking about famous people and when talking about familiar ones. This not only gives new information on the content of gender stereotypes, but also entails methodological insights in investigating gender stereotypes. In fact, this seemed a reliable method to detect the existence of stereotypes without arising social desirability, which probably happened in Studies 1 and 2 (by using a Likert scale). As a future direction, it would be interesting to create an individual measure of the belief in the stereotype, which not only gives information about the overall phenomenon but also about the individual degree of belief in the stereotype. In fact, in the two scales used in this study, measuring the 'orientation to social dominance' and the MNRI sub-scale of dominance, a skewed distribution was observed toward the first values of the Likert scale (respectively, $M = 3.26$, $DS = .92$; $M = 1.53$, $DS = .31$). From what emerged in Study 1, Study 2 and Study 3 we can argue that even though these scales have been validated, in this context they seemed somehow old-fashioned and not very sensitive. For example, the item '*a man should teach discipline to his family*' is way too sexist and unable to catch present stereotypical perceptions of traditional male norms. This underlines the need to find a more reliable variable that measures the belief in the stereotype that sees men as more adequate than women in political and leading roles. Therefore, we propose the BTMN (i.e. Belief in the traditional male norms) measure in study 4. Interestingly, thanks to this pretest we know a little more about the ambiguous concept of charisma: charisma is a male feature. What does this effect depend on? This question, together with the need to make our manipulation more effective and catchier, led us to the development of a measure embedded in the manipulation

of Study 4, that is, the request to participants of their lay theory about charisma (vs control) in the form of an open question.

STUDY 4

In Study 4, similarly to Study 3, we aim at verifying whether the interaction between the belief in the “charisma = men” stereotype and the belief that charisma is strongly important to accede in political environments influences the perception of suitability of a female (vs male) candidate for a political position. Differently from Study 3, we decided to propose the CV of a person willing to candidate as a mayor, in order to arouse the power sphere critical in the concept of charisma, which we could not arouse in Study 3. Furthermore, we made our manipulation shorter and more visual to overcome loss of attention of our participants. As in Study 3, we expected participants to rate the male candidate more adequate to access the political position compared to the female candidate, especially when exposed to the charisma (vs. honesty) condition (H1). We also expect the female candidate to be rated as warmer and more moral compared to the male candidate, regardless the charisma vs. honesty condition (H2). Finally, we expect that the belief in the traditional gender roles would modulate the relation between condition and the perception of competence of the candidate. In other words, participants in the charisma condition should perceive the male candidate as more adequate for the political position, especially when scoring high levels of belief in the traditional male norms (H3).

Measures

Experimental manipulation. Unlike Study 3, in Study 4, participants were told that the study aimed to better understand the decision-making processes involved in political choices. They had to read a typical political situation in which a group of activists had to choose their leader, who would run as mayor candidate in the next municipal election. In the charisma condition,

activists stressed how important it would be to find a charismatic leader, defining how a charismatic person behaves (that is, ‘*a person who can influence citizens <...>, is able to lead masses thanks to his personal charm and his persuasiveness...*’) . After that, in order to re-prime the concept of charisma, participants were asked to define what charisma means in their opinion. In the honesty condition, participants were introduced to the experiment in the same way as in the charisma condition, but the same group of activists stressed how important it would be to have an honest leader, defining how an honest leader behaves (that is, ‘*an honest person with strong morals <...>, who can communicate with loyalty, that people can trust <...>*’). As in the charisma condition, participants were asked to briefly define what, in their opinion, an honest person is.

After that, participants were exposed to the second manipulation, that is, a CV of a person who would be available to run as a major candidate. As in study 3, the two conditions were absolutely identical, the only different feature being the gender of the candidate. Differently from Study 3, we included a passport picture of the candidate, which was pre-tested to be similarly attractive and competent in the male and female condition (Lundqvist, Flykt, & Öhman; 1998).

Candidate’s suitability. First, the participants had to rate how adequate the candidate was for the role discussed by the activists. The scale was composed of three items asking for the suitability of Francesco/a to the role of major, the inclination to vote for Francesco/a and the probability of success in politics in the candidate’s future. The scale showed very good internal validity (alfa = .82).

Candidate’s competence, warmth and morality. After the manipulation, participants were asked to judge the candidate through a Likert scale from 1 (not at all) to 7 (completely) inspired and adapted from Heflick et al. (2011). All three subscales showed very good internal validity,

for *competence* (competent, capable and intelligent; alfa = .81), *warmth* (friendly, kind, warm, enjoyable; alfa = .92) and *morality* (sincere, reliable, moral; alfa = .89).

Belief in the traditional male norms (BTMN). In order to collect participants perception that men suit better political roles compared to women, we developed a scale composed of 15 items. The items were exploring different political features which are stereotypically seen as masculine, even if not in a sexist blatant way. The scale showed a good internal validity (alfa = .87). Here are reported some items: ‘*a political career is more appropriate for men than for women*’; ‘*men in politics are more prepared compared to women*’; ‘*women tend to be emotionally unstable in politics*’.

Results

Sample. To determine the target sample size, we conducted a priori power analyses with G*Power software (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Specifically, we conducted two power analyses, the first testing the omnibus effect of the two conditions (charisma vs. honesty) on the dependent variables, and the second one using a regression model with three predictors to test the moderation model. For both analyses, we required a medium effect size ($f = .25$), a significance level $\alpha = 0.05$, and Power $(1 - \beta) = 0.80$. As in Study 3, the largest target sample was $N = 205$. The original sample was composed of 234 participants, but 55 of them had to be excluded because they failed the manipulation check. The final sample consisted of 179 participants (69 men, $M_{age} = 35.60$, $SD = 13.34$). The majority of them held a master’s degree (79), were somewhat interested in politics ($M = 62.50$, $SD = 25.97$) and politically leftist ($M = 31.73$, $SD = 24.43$). The sample was evenly distributed among the conditions (Female CV = 95; Male CV = 84; Charisma = 76; Honesty = 103). All participants were recruited online through the software ‘Qualtrics’.

ANOVAs. A two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine the effect of requisite (charisma vs. dedication) and CV's gender (male vs. female) on the candidate's suitability. There was not a statistically significant interaction between the effect of requisite and CV's gender ($F(3, 178) = .27, p = .85$), and neither a main effect of requisite or CV's (both $F_s < .47$ and both $p_s > .49$).

Table 2.4

Study 4. Descriptive Statistics for candidate's suitability as a function of conditions (Standard Deviation are in the parenthesis)

	Female CV	Male CV
Charisma	4.74 (.18)	4.63 (.21)
Honesty	4.67 (.17)	4.54 (.16)

Then a two-way MANOVA was conducted to check the effect of requisite (charisma vs. honesty) and the gender of the CV (male vs. female) on the candidate's competence, morality, and warmth. No interaction effect of the two conditions was observed on any of the three dependent variables (all $F_s < .32$ and all $p_s > .57$). We observed only a main effect (similarly to study 3) of the CV's Gender on the perception of the candidate as sociable. Participants perceived Francesca as more sociable ($M = 4.34, SD = .1$) compared to Francesco ($M = 4.01, SD = .12$) ($F(1,175) = 4.52, p = 0.35$).

Moderation. The effect of the manipulation (charisma versus honesty condition) on the candidate's suitability was evaluated in the context of a moderated model using PROCESS (model n° 3, Hayes, 2013) with 5000 bootstrapping samples. Specifically, we tested whether the effect of the requirement to be a mayor (Honesty = 0, Charisma = 1) on participants

perception of suitability of the candidate was moderated by the candidate's gender (Female = 0, Male = 1) and the BTMN (continuous, centered). The three-way interaction Requisite X Candidate's Gender X BTMN did not significantly increase the amount of explained variance (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5

Study 4. Multiple Regression Analysis showing the interaction of Condition (charisma Vs dedication), CV's Gender (female Vs male) and BTMN in predicting participants' perception of the candidate's suitability.

	<i>b</i>	<i>SE b</i>	<i>R</i> ²	ΔR^2	<i>F</i> (<i>dfs</i>)
Model			.06		1.54 (7, 171)*
Intercept	4.67	.09			
Requisite	.09	.18			
Cv's Gender	-.11	.18			
BTMN	-.15	.1			
Requisite X Cv's Gender	-.03	.36			
Requisite X BTMN	-.23	.19			
Cv's Gender X BTMN	.4	.19			
Requisite X Cv's Gender X BTMN	-.46	.38		.001	1.46 (1, 171)**

**p* = .16
***p* = .28

Discussion

Even if slightly, we detected an improvement in the efficacy of our manipulation from study 3. Specifically, the presence of the passport photo on the CV possibly underlined the gender of the candidate and the request to briefly define what charisma (vs. honesty) means, after the exposure to the manipulation, might have increased in the eyes of participants the salience of the requirement to access the political position. In fact, whereas in Study 3 we had to exclude 35.71% of the participants from the analyses, in Study 4 we had to exclude 23.6% of the sample. This suggests that changing manipulation from a more classical and verbal form to the direction of a visual and participative one, in which participants not only read information, but also elaborated on it, is a good strategy to increase its effectiveness.

Even with the implementation of methodological improvements, our main hypotheses have not been confirmed. We changed the dependent variable from study 3, so that the scenario would be more in line with the characteristic of charisma. Specifically, we included the characteristics of power and leadership changing the setting from an internship (Study 3) to a high responsible political role (i.e. mayor, Study 4). In the pretest described in Study 3, we found a connection between charisma and male personalities, but, as stated by the FAB model, it is still needed its interaction with the lay belief that charisma is required in order to access, in this case, the political area. We thought that our manipulation in which a group of activists was talking about the importance of being charismatic in order to be elected as a mayor, was not only credible, but we also considered it as a lay belief, which only needed to be re primed in the minds of the participants. We took for granted that believing ‘charisma’ as an important need in order to be a successful politician is a common lay belief, without testing this assumption. Discourse analysis research offers a great number of tools able to detect associations between concepts, in this case between political success and charismatic

personalities. Considering the great amount of communication through social media and the development of data mining software, this should be further explored. Getting to know the (non)existence of a strong association between politics and charisma would be needed to better apply our hypotheses within the FAB model.

Finally, the BTMN scale we constructed ad hoc to measure favoritism for men in politics showed very good internal validity and could be further validated in order to overcome the lack of modern measures of sexism in leadership and political roles.

Chapter 3 – The female experience of being a politician

In this last chapter, we shifted our attention from the antecedents that demotivate women from entering the political world to the way in which political engagement is differently experienced by women and men. This could further contribute to the interpretation of the female underrepresentation in politics and the premature female dropout from political roles because we expect the political environment to be more stressful for women.

The literature analyzing gender differences in politicians has focused on behavioral features, such as differences in communication and topics of interest. For example, a higher concern for the environment (e.g. Sundström & McCright, 2014; McCright, 20120) and a higher interest in meeting the interests of others (Francescato & Vecchione; 2017) have been detected in female politicians. Much research has analyzed differences in election campaigns (e.g. Sapiro, 1981; Lee, 2007, Yum & Kendall, 1995) in order to check the presence of gender stereotypes in political communication, and more recently on communication strategies. For example, analyzing social media through text analysis, it was found a higher focus on topics regarding family and social cohesion by female politicians (Hu, & Kearney; 2021) and a stronger resonance of male politicians in terms of retweets (Guerrero-Solè & Perales Garcia, 2021). To our knowledge, no literature has focused on gender differences in experiencing political work and engagement, analyzing psychological health variables. Some literature focused on samples of leaders and managers, which can somehow be informative for our purposes, since, as in the political sphere, women are underrepresented as leaders and managers and power plays a key role in all these environments. For example, it emerged that female

managers experience higher levels of pressure compared to men, most of all when leading male dominated industries (Gardiner & Tiggemann, 1999) and that female managers were more inclined to attribute their success to external rather than internal variables (Rosenthal et al., 1996). Therefore, in this last chapter it is worth to briefly go through the variables that we aim to investigate and, if possible, with a deeper attention on managers and leaders, in order to better plan the method and results of Study 5. As a key but difficult variable, we decided to include in Study 5 a state measure of anxiety, since it is considered a highly common disorder (e.g. Kessler, Ruscio, Shear & Wittchen; 2009) and it is also a widespread component of nonclinical populations' life, most of all in relation with particular situations (e.g. Majstorovic, & Veerkamp, 2005; Hinz, & Brähler, 2011; Ilardi, Gamboz, Iavarone, Chieffi, & Brandimonte; 2021).

Anxiety. Previous literature shows that anxiety and depression are more prevalent in women compared to men (e.g. Lewinsohn, Gotlib, Lewinsohn, Seeley & Allen; 1998). For example, taking into account clinical groups, women are almost twice at risk than men of developing an anxiety disorder, such as Panic disorder and social anxiety disorder (e.g. Pigott, 1999; Leach et al. 2008...). However, moving to a nonclinical population, these data are not fully supported. On the one hand it seems that such a gender difference disappears, as shown by Lewinsohn et al. (1998) who found higher rates of anxiety in women in a sample of clinical and hospitalized adolescents but did not find any difference implementing the same measures in a sample of nonclinical same-age adolescents. On the other hand, it seems that, even if smaller, there exists a gender difference in the nonclinical population, again at the disadvantage of women (e.g. Armstrong & Khawaja, 2002; Zuckerman & Hall, 2016). Bourdon et al. (1988) argues that women are more willing to seek for help and for this reason they result as the

majority in the clinical environment, but, when taking into account normative population, the incidence of anxiety should be similar in men and women. Analyzing anxiety in leadership roles, it emerged the importance of the kind of environment. For example, it emerged that in male-dominated industries women reported a generally higher levels of pressure and, interestingly, worse mental health when exerting an interpersonal leadership style (Gardiner & Tiggemann; 1999). This suggests the importance of being able to adapt to the environment in which you operate in order to maintain low anxiety levels. But what if this environment is unjust and perpetuates gender disparity?

Self-Esteem. Self-esteem refers to a multidimensional phenomenon describing the perception of individuals' evaluation of self-worth. Historically it emerged a gender difference favoring men (e.g. Kling et al., 1999; Bolognini, Plancherel, Bettschart, & Halfon, 1996). More recently, the difference emerged to be smaller or nonexistent, and mostly concentrated in a particular lifespan, that is, adolescence (e.g. Grum, 2004, Quatman & Watson, 2001). In the present work we have taken into account self-esteem as a complex construct. In fact, it seems that asking participants of their general self-esteem does not capture any difference between genders, but differently, when addressing self-esteem in specific areas, some gender differences do emerge (e.g. Zeigler-Hill & Myers; 2012). For example, in a sample of adolescents, male participants reported higher levels in certain domains, e.g. physical appearance, self-satisfaction, but lower levels in other domains, e.g. moral ethical self-esteem. This underscores the complexity of this construct and the importance of taking into account different types of self-esteem to capture its variability across men and women. It has been found that these gender differences, even when taking into account several specific domains, seem to reduce with age (e.g. von Soest, Wichstrøm, & Kvalem, 2016).

Impostor Phenomenon. The concept of the Impostor Phenomenon (IP) was introduced by Clance and Imes (1978) as a psychological phenomenon that contributes to the understanding of the so called '*leaky pipeline*' for women in leadership roles. It consists of the perception of not being good enough for one high level activity (such as being a manager). Women with high levels of IP tend to think that someone will discover their inadequacy, the unworthiness of their success, and their ignorance (e.g. Clance and Imes, 1978; Clance 1985). Moreover, they experience the pressure of demonstrating good performance in order not to be discovered for what they really are, that is, incompetent (e.g. Clance & Imes, 1978). Even though the concept of Impostor Phenomenon was proposed as related with the experience of being a woman in leading roles, a difference between genders was not always found, leading to contradictory results. For example, a higher level of impostor phenomenon in women compared to men was found in a sample of art students (Mcgregor et al. (2008) and more generally in college students (e.g. King & Cooley, 1995). Other studies failed to replicate gender differences in IP levels in a sample of college students (Ferrari & Thomson, 2006), in a sample of marketing managers (Fried-Buchalter; 1997), and in a sample of leaders in different areas (Rorhman et al., 2016). In two of the abovementioned studies, other variables related to IP emerged, accounting for more variance than gender, such as a dysfunctional personality style (Rohrman et al., 2016) and the exposure to threats to one's self-worth (Ferrari & Thomson, 2006).

Self-Efficacy. Self-efficacy was defined as the '*beliefs in one's capabilities to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to meet given situational*

demands' (Wood & Bandura, 1989, p. 408). In applied psychology, the interest generally focuses on the assessment of the general self-efficacy (GS-E) of an individual, i.e. one's perception of being able to overcome a specific obstacle. According to Bandura (1997), gender is a variable that strongly influences self-efficacy due to social expectations. Literature analyzing gender differences in GS-E generally found small effects in favor of men. For example, a meta-analysis of 247 studies analyzing GS-E in a sample of college students found that boys scored slightly higher compared to girls (Huang, 2012). Anyway, results are not always congruent; in fact, in several studies no differences between genders emerge (e.g. Endler et al. 2001). The great majority of literature analyzing gender differences in self-efficacy takes into account samples of college students; interestingly, studies addressing also graduated students in management did not find any difference between genders in leadership self-efficacy (Huszczko & Endres; 2017). Finally, a study investigating a sample of managers found a small gender difference in leadership self-efficacy favoring men (Javidan, Bullough, & Dibble, 2016). Although the results are not always congruent, it seems that when investigating people in higher positions, which are typically men, women express lower levels of self-efficacy. Interestingly, this variable was already investigated in the context of politics. In a sample of politicians, men scored higher levels of politics-linked self-efficacy compared to women (Caprara et al., 2009). This reinforces our hypothesis that the political environment is particularly threatening for women.

Work-Family Balance. When speaking about work family balance (WFB), two embedded main constructs are usually identified, i.e. the harmony and the conflict between the two spheres. The positive influence between the two areas is defined as an '*accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his or her*

role-related partners in the work and family domains' (Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007). Harmony between family and work seems to be connected with career advancement (e.g. Wilson, Vilardo, Fellingner & Dillenbeck, 2014), better health conditions (Grzywacz, Butler & Almeida, 2008) and, unsurprisingly, it has been argued to be one of the greatest challenges of our age (Halpern, 2005). Its opposite and intertwined factor, i.e. the work family conflict, is defined as *'a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role'* (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). Interestingly, from this definition we can identify the bidirectional influence of the two components (e.g. Frone et al., 1997), that is, negative elements of the work area that interfere with the personal family life and negative elements of the personal family life that interfere with the working area, thus underlining the complexity of the phenomenon. High levels of this imbalance are related with health problems and lower work performance (e.g. Adams & Jex, 1999; Portner, 1983; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985...). Analyzing this construct in relation to this Ph.D. thesis' aim, the classical literature argued for gender differences disadvantaging women (e.g. Hundley, 2001; Eddleston, & Powell, 2012; Morrison, Rudd, & Nerad; 2011). However, more recent research did not find these results. In fact, no work-family difference was found between men and women by Lunau, Bambra, Eikemo, van Der Wel, & Dragano, 2014; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). This could depend on a societal change, which sees the estrangement from the male breadwinner traditional family in the direction of a dual earner family model (e.g. Ochsner & Szalma, 2017), even though such a change seems far from leading to gender equality. In fact, analyzing gender differences in WFB in a sample of surgeons, Baptiste MD et al. (2017) found that women were the primary responsible for childcare and household management. Furthermore, the complexity of the construct of work family balance suggests taking into account moderator variables. For example, women reported higher levels of WFB

when they gave priority to their family sphere while men reported higher levels of WFB when they had more free time for themselves (Keene & Quadagno; 2004). In other words, the balance between family and work is the result of the combination of individual and gendered elements, making this variable particularly rich and complex.

STUDY 5

In study 5 we collected data from a sample of politicians occupying different political roles, such as district aldermen and presidents of the provincial council. Our goal is to fill the gap in the literature analyzing gender differences in health variables in leading roles, in this case in a sample of politicians. We decided to include all political figures, firstly for a convenience principle, considering how difficult is to get in touch with high level leading politicians, secondly because we hypothesize that the difficulties encountered by women in the political environment are spread across all steps of the vertical rise to the political power, i.e. from more local position, such as aldermen, to a more responsible and visible position, such as regional president. In fact, even at the basis of political engagement we can see a numerical disparity favoring men. From the Italian Intern ministry Database, it emerged that in the 2019 30% of aldermen and 14% of mayors were women. Specifically, our interest is to investigate differences in the experience of one's political life and, for this reason, all the variables have been collected in relation with their political commitment, i.e. as state variables during the political work. We expect women to obtain higher levels of anxiety compared to men (H1), to be more conscious of the stigmatization of women in politics (H2), to score higher levels of the impostor phenomenon (H3), lower level of self-esteem (H4) and self-efficacy (H5) and to encounter greater difficulties in balancing the family and political spheres (H6). Furthermore, we aim at exploring whether some of those variables might mediate the relation between gender and anxiety, in order to better understand the cognitive processes underlying what appears to be a disadvantage of women in leading roles.

Method

Measures

Female stigmatization in Politics. To assess the perception of gender discrimination in their political arena, we proposed 6 items adapted from Molero et al (2013), e.g. *‘In the political arena there is no trust for women’*; *‘Even without an explicit/express refusal, people treat women differently compared to men in politics’*. All items were rated on a 7-point scale from “do not agree at all” to “completely agree”; $\alpha = .92$.

Impostor Phenomenon. Levels of impostor feelings during their political lives were assessed through a short 4-item version of the Clance Impostor Phenomenon Scale (Clance, 1985).

“Sometimes I am afraid others will discover how much knowledge or ability I really lack”

“I’m afraid other people important to me may find out I am not as capable as they think I am”

“I feel bad or discouraged if I am not “the best” or at least “very special” in situations that involve achievement”

“If I am going to receive a promotion or gain of some kind, I hesitate to tell others until it is an accomplished fact”

Even in this shorter version, the scale showed a satisfactory degree of internal consistency ($\alpha = .79$).

Self Esteem. Participants completed the State Self Esteem Scale (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991) reduced to 14 items, translated in Italian and validated by Bobbio (2009). This scale allows to discriminate between performance (6 items, $\alpha = .76$, e.g. *‘I feel confident about my abilities’*), social (4 items, $\alpha = .81$, e.g. *‘I am worried about looking foolish’*) and appearance (4 items, $\alpha = .84$, e.g. *‘I feel satisfied with the way my body looks’*) linked self-esteem. All items were rated

on a 7-point scale from 1 = *do not agree at all* to 7 = *completely agree* and all together showed a very good internal validity for general self-esteem, $\alpha = .84$.

Self-Efficacy. Self- Efficacy was assessed through the Italian adaptation of the general self-efficacy scale (Sibilia et al., 1995). This included 10 items, which revealed a good internal validity ($\alpha = .92$); e.g. “*Thanks to my resources, I can manage unforeseeable contingencies*” “*I always can solve difficult problems, If I only try out seriously*”

Work-Family balance. To assess our participant’s balance between their personal and political live we implemented three different scales. First, we used 10 items from the Work-Life Conflict by Netemeyer et al. (1996) in the Italian version validated by Colombo and Ghislieri (2008). We slightly modified the items in order to measure the Politic-Life Conflict (e.g. “*My family life interfere with my political responsibility*”; “*The great time requested from my political commitment makes it difficult to comply my family obligations*”). Internal consistency emerged to be very good, $\alpha = .88$). Second, to detect participants’ enrichment deriving from the interaction between their personal and political sphere we adapted 6 items from the Work-Family Enrichment Scale by Carlson et al. (2006), in the Italian validation of Ghislieri et al. (2001) (e.g. ‘*In my political work, I develop positive emotions and this helps my family life*’) and 2 items from the Work-Life Balance Scale by Carlson et al. (2009) (e.g. ‘*I am able to do what important people expect me to do in politics and with my family*’), in order to reach as much as possible the complexity of the investigated phenomenon. These 8 items showed a very good internal validity, $\alpha = .85$.

Anxiety. We adopted the six-item short-form of the Spielberger State—Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI, Marteau, T. M., & Bekker, H. 1992). Participants had to rate how calm, tense, upset, relaxed, content, worried they felt during their ordinary political duties on a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = never to 7 = always).

Sample. Three hundred and fifty-eight (169 women and 189 men, $M_{age} = 44.85$, $SD_{age} = 12.35$) people involved in a political role participated in the study. The most common role covered by our sample was aldermen (170), followed by 98 councilors, 47 mayors, 20 regional councilors, 11 provincial councilors, 4 region presidents, 2 regional councilors, 2 provincial presidents and 1 President of the regional council. The majority of them belonged to a civic party (114, i.e. 31.84%) and to a left-wing party (112, i.e. 31.28%). The resto of them represented right-wing parties (49, i.e. 13.69%), the five-star movement (43, i.e. 12.01%) and the center parties (2, i.e. 0.56%).

Procedure. We directly contacted politicians through their public e-mail, trying to be as balanced as possible across type of positions and geographical areas in order to have a somehow representative sample of the Italian politicians. We briefly informed them of our aims and the participation timeline, without mentioning gender, in order not to influence participants' responses. Only if they were interested, they received a Link to be routed to our survey in Qualtrics. Before proceeding participants had to accept the informed consent. The entire questionnaire required between 10 and 15 minutes to complete.

Findings

Descriptive Statistics. Since only 2 participants (0.56%) reported “other” as gender, analyses were conducted only on participants identifying either as male or as female.

All scales showed good internal validity, with all Cronbach's α 's higher than .70 (See table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Study 5. Descriptive statistics

	Variable	Total Items	M	SD	α
	Work family balance	10	4.35	1.13	.88
	Work family imbalance	8	3.63	.8	.85
	Anxiety	6	3.61	1.01	.72
	Self Efficacy	10	5.1	.96	.92
	Performance	6	5.57	.97	.76
Self Esteem	Social	4	4.74	1.44	.81
	Appearance	4	4.38	1.33	.84
	Impostor Phenomenon	4	2.9	1.4	.79
	Female Stigmatization in Politics	6	3.01	1.46	.91

Note. M = mean, SD = standard deviation, α = Cronbach's alpha reliability

Inferential Statistics

Correlations. We ran Pearson's correlations between all our variables. Correlations are reported in table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Study 5. Correlations between variables

Variable	n	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Work Family Balance	358	4.35	1.13	-								
2 Work Family Imbalance	358	3.63	.80	.59**	-							
3 Anxiety	358	3.61	1.05	-.23**	.09	-						
4 Self Efficacy	358	5.1	.96	.40**	.16**	-.32**	-					
5 Performance SE	358	5.57	.97	.25**	-.01	-.38**	.56**	-				
6 Social SE	358	4.74	1.44	.03	-.19**	-.36**	.24**	.49**	-			
7 Appearance SE	358	4.38	1.33	.26**	.07	-.22**	.36**	.41**	.01	-		
8 Impostor Phenomenon	358	2.89	1.40	-.09	.14**	.35**	-.32**	-.53**	-.63**	-.14*	-	
9 Female Stigmatization in Politics	358	3.11	1.46	.12*	.27**	.16**	.06	-.13*	-.24**	.02	.22**	-

T tests. As displayed in Table 3.3, female politicians reported lower levels of self-esteem regarding their performance and their social relations. Female politicians also reported higher levels of Female stigmatization in politics and higher impostor feelings compared to male colleagues. No significant gender differences were found on Self Efficacy, Anxiety, and both work family balance and work family imbalance.

Table 3.3

Study 5. t-tests

Variable		Gender		<i>t</i> (df = 356)	<i>p</i>
		Male	Female		
		M(DS)	M(DS)		
	Work family balance	4.25 (1.12)	4.46 (1.13)	-1.76	0.79
	Work family imbalance	3.58 (.78)	3.7 (.82)	-1.39	0.16
	Anxiety	3.48 (1.05)	3.75 (1.03)	-2.47	0.01
	Self Efficacy	5.07 (.93)	5.14 (1)	-0.69	0.49
	Performance	5.68 (.89)	5.44 (1.05)	2.38	0.02
Self Esteem	Social	4.99 (1.32)	4.46 (1.51)	3.49	<.01
	Appearance	4.41 (1.22)	4.35 (1.46)	0.44	0.66
	Impostor Phenomenon	2.65 (1.18)	3.16 (1.58)	-3.49	<.01
	Political Female				
	Stigmatization	2.57 (1.22)	3.72 (1.47)	-8.05	<.01

Predictors of anxiety levels. A step-wise multiple analysis regression was conducted on participants anxiety levels. In the first step we included gender, age and their interactions. The results indicated that the predictors explained 5.7% of the variance ($R^2 = .06$, $F(1, 354) = 7.11$, $p < .01$). It was found that gender significantly predicted anxiety levels ($\beta = .11$, $p < .03$) as did age ($\beta = -.18$, $p < .01$). No interaction was found between age and gender ($\beta = .11$, $p = .11$). This means that gender differences in anxiety are consistent across age levels.

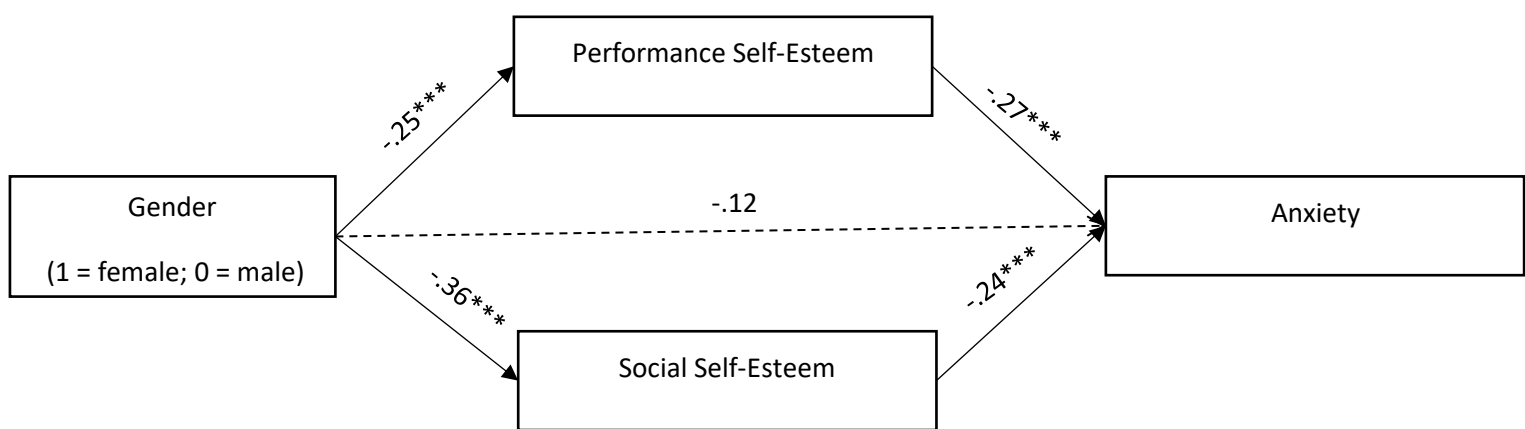
In the second step, we also included performance and social self-esteem. The model indicated a significant increase in explained variance ($R^2 = .20$, $F(2, 352) = 17.65$, $p < .001$). Performance Self Esteem emerged to be the largest predictor of anxiety ($\beta = -.28$, $p < .001$). Social self-esteem significantly predicted anxiety levels as well ($\beta = -.20$, $p = .001$), indicating that higher levels of self-esteem were associated with lower anxiety. In this model age remained a significant predictor of anxiety levels ($\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$) but gender was not ($\beta = .11$, $p = .28$).

Mediation analysis. We conducted a mediation analysis in order to check whether the self-esteem levels could explain the higher anxiety in the female component of our sample. To do that, we included gender as the predictor variable, anxiety as the dependent variable and two components of the self-esteem (performance and social) as mediators. Gender predicted both performance ($b = -.25$, $t = -2.38$, $p = .02$) and social self-esteem ($b = -.36$, $t = -3.49$, $p < .01$). Moreover, performance self-esteem ($b = -.27$, $t = -4.7$, $p > .01$) and social self-esteem ($b = -.24$, $t = -4.11$, $p > .01$) negatively influenced anxiety. The overall model was significant $F(3, 354) = 27.12$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .19$.

Most important, bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effect of gender did not include the zero $[-.06, -.25]$, thus supporting the mediation hypothesis that being a woman leads to lower levels of self-esteem, which in turn predicts higher levels of anxiety.

Figure 4

Study 5. Mediation effect of the self-esteem variables



Discussions

As hypothesized female politicians showed higher levels of anxiety compared to male politicians (H1). This confirms that activity in the political environment is more stressful for women rather than men. Our second hypothesis was confirmed as well, i.e. women expressed higher consciousness about female stigmatization in politics compared to their male colleagues. Anyway, it has to be noted that the average value, both for women ($M = 3.72, DS = 1.47$) and for men ($M = 2.57, DS = 1.22$) is very low, not even reaching the central point of the Likert scale. In other words, our sample of politicians did not notice such stigmatization in politics, especially the male part of them. Forcing optimism, we could argue that once you reach the

political engagement, the gender disparities argued in the introduction of this thesis diminish. Another factor that should be kept into account is the difficulty to recognize disparities directly regarding one's environment, since all items of survey focused on participants' political work. Hypothesis 3 was confirmed as well, women expressed higher levels of impostor phenomenon, that is, female politicians feel less entitled to be occupying their position. Similarly to the variable measuring consciousness of female stigmatization in politics, levels of impostor phenomenon were quite low, both for women ($M = 3.16$, $DS = 1.58$) and men ($M = 2.65$, $DS = 1.18$). Participants did not seem to be very affected by the distress of not feeling good enough for the position reached. It would be interesting to replicate this analysis on another sample of politicians, occupying different positions in order to better understand whether these low values depend on the kind of sample we reached (in this case, mainly operating in town councils), the scales we used (which was originally used for measuring stigmatization against HIV infected people) or on the fact that this psychological phenomenon tends to be very low. The fact that the majority of the sample occupied a local political position, did, possibly, not arouse impostor feelings. Moreover, women obtained a generally lower level of self-esteem than men, confirming our hypothesis 4, most of all on performance and social self-esteem. Observing appearance linked self-esteem, it emerges only a tendency in favor of men, but the average value is generally lower compared to the other components of self-esteem measured (average appearance self-esteem $M = 4.38$, $DS = 1.33$, social linked self-esteem $M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.44$, performance linked self-esteem $M = 5.56$, $SD = .97$). Probably, the appearance and body sphere was perceived as not pertaining to the political engagement and for this reason participants did not show a positive or negative reaction, and, consequently female and male responses did not differ. Against our hypothesis, we did not find any difference in self efficacy between men and women (H5). Even though women expressed a lower level of performance linked self-esteem compared to men, self-efficacy levels did not differ. A possible interpretation of this result, is

that self-efficacy is the immediate positive feeling related to the perception of one's behavior, that is the perception of competence while you are operating (examples of items: '*It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals*'; '*thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations*'). Meanwhile, performance linked self-esteem does not measure one's ability to cope with unpredicted situations or the perception of being competent; it measures self-esteem based on one's general performance. For example, '*I feel as smart as others*' or '*I feel confident about my abilities*' are items that give much more space to personal insecurities since they are not so clear and do not focus on a precise behavior. It is possible that on one side people have the ability to cope with uncertainty, while on the other side they have the worth that they infer from that ability. Finally, our hypothesis that women would have obtained both higher levels of work family balance and imbalance was not confirmed (H6). A great limit of this measurement was that we omitted the familiar status of the participants, and as a consequence we cannot discriminate between politicians who have no family (such as very young aldermen, at the beginning of their political experience) and politicians with different kind of familiar responsibilities.

Importantly, we also aimed to test whether some variables would mediate the relationship between gender and anxiety. We decided to include in the mediation model the self-esteem variables, excluding appearance linked self-esteem, because, as argued above, it does not particularly pertain to political environments. Self-esteem was included because, first it had emerged to be a good variable, not showing any skewed distribution, and with high reliability. Secondly, we included self-esteem because the literature already explored the influence of self-esteem on anxiety (see Bajaj, Robins & Pande, 2016) finding that lower self-esteem levels are associated with increased anxiety. As expected, we found that being a woman (as opposed to a man) in politics is associated with lower self-esteem levels (both appearance and social linked SE) and, as a result, anxiety levels are boosted. In conclusion, this result

underlines the importance of developing good levels of self-esteem in order to be able to face high level positions, most of all by members of minorities excluded by the '*glass ceiling*'.

Chapter 4 – General Discussion

Findings review and limits

The overall aim of this PhD dissertation was to analyze the effect of gender stereotypes in maintaining women still excluded from the political world. What emerged can be a good basis for a new project since we did not find consolidated results indicating the role of a precise stereotype in perpetuating such an injustice.

In fact, a stereotype threat manipulation we implemented in Study 1 and Study 2 did not have any effect on a test described as measuring political competence: participants' results did not differ between a condition stressing the unsuitableness of women in political task and a condition aiming at nullifying this difference.

Similarly, our manipulations in chapter 2 aiming at testing whether the salience of the importance of being charismatic in the political environment would arise preference for men compared to women did not lead to any difference between the requirement conditions (i.e. charisma vs. dedication in Study 3 and charisma vs. honesty in Study 4).

It should be noticed that Study 1 and Study 2 included samples of undergraduate students, which is a great limit concerning external validity. In fact, bachelor students are a particular part of the category of young adults, which actually do not represent their peers, both in terms of political interest and in terms of endorsement of stereotypes. University students tend to be more leftist and progressive, i.e. aware of the existence of stereotypes and, at least trying, to avoid them in their ideals' cornerstones.

Secondly, considering the particular years (i.e. 2020/21), characterized by the Covid 19 pandemic, in which data of Study 3 and 4 have been collected, we had to completely avoid face to face encounters with participants, trusting them in filling out the survey independently. This led to an improvement of sample size adequacy because we could reach people who were more representative of the population in which we were interested. However, the absence of an experimenter during the participation may have led to negligence or filling out the questionnaire in different moments with several breaks (leading to the loss of efficacy of the manipulation and a decrease in general attention).

Another limit characterizing the studies reported in the first two chapters (i.e. Study 1, 2, 3 and 4) are the scales we implemented in order to check for individual difference variables and their potential moderation effect on the relation between the manipulation and the dependent variables. We usually developed ad hoc scales, which may be good temporary tools to get closer to a psychological phenomenon, but a validation process it is needed to obtain reliable measures.

Overall, even if we have to recognize strong limits of the Studies analyzing ST and the Charisma stereotype, some silver linings emerged. In fact, in Study 1 we constructed an interesting implicit measure, the Implicit Gender Political stereotyping (IGPS), to analyze the stereotype that men suit political roles better compared to women. This tool showed a good internal validity, but it did not show an implicit association between political and male related words. In any case, we had technical difficulties, like the excessive duration of the task, the necessity of downloading one software to the participants' laptop and the complication of shifting from a software (SurveyMonkey or Qualtrics) to another (Millisecond) and finally to go back to the first software to conclude the task. These difficulties led us to exclude this measure from the following Studies.

Another novel tool which turned out to be quite useful was implemented in the pretests for testing the existence of the stereotype that leads to easily associate men with charisma, rather than women and charisma (see Chapter 2). This indirect measure, which asked to name three charismatic people and some features about them was particularly good in detecting the ‘men = charisma’ stereotype. In fact, it did not present the abovementioned criticalities (length, difficulty with the software...) but, at the same time, it was not a direct measure, such as a Likert scale, which may arise socially desirable responses.

In addition, moving the attention to the last study, i.e. Study 5, very interesting insights about how women experience the political responsibility emerged. From the literature analyzed in chapter 3 it seems that women and men from a normative population do not particularly differ in stress variables whereas it is mostly in older literature that it is shown that women present higher levels of anxiety and lower levels of self-esteem compared to men. However, data from study 5 were collected recently, in 2018, and they clearly show that the political environment is more stressful for women, departing from existing recent literature. Firstly, we found a statistically significant difference in anxiety levels between men and women in our sample of politicians. Women live the political engagement with more distress, i.e., they feel tenser, more upset and worried, and feel less calm, relaxed and content compared to men. This is a very interesting result within research analyzing gender differences in anxiety. This, in contrast with the assumption that in a normative population anxiety levels between men and women do not differ (e.g. Bourdon et al.; 1988), gives a tangible image that politics can be an environment more stressful for women compared to men.

It was also found that women are more conscious of the stigmatization of their social group in politics, even if the level, as argued in the conclusion of Study 5, is generally very low. That low value could implicate, in principle, that we had a sample working in political areas particularly careful and inclusive of women, which is hard to believe. Moving to a more

credible explanation, our participants may have implemented a coping process leading to cognitive adjustments or distortions to evaluate their environment, and as a consequence, themselves. Problems implicated in this possible coping process is that consciousness about a social issue is a necessary predictor for behavioral responses that aim at fighting an injustice.

Third, even though value were very low, women showed higher levels of impostor feelings than men. This result adds information to the line of research analyzing the impostor phenomenon. In fact, literature analyzing gender differences in IP levels shows contradictory results. As a limit, it has to be taken into account the skewed distribution of the impostor feelings. In fact, responses show an almost absent feeling of impostor, a finding which needs to be further analyzed in order to comprehend whether this depends on the implementation of a shorter version of the IP scale (Clance, 1985) or on the need of developing more recent scales to measure the phenomenon.

Self-efficacy levels did not differ between gender. This result surprised us and made us think deeply about the difference between two variables that are highly correlated, i.e. self-efficacy and self-esteem (see correlations in Table 3.2). Self-efficacy does not give much space to ambiguity, reports very precise behaviors, such as *'thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations'*. On the other hand, self-esteem is more general and thus gives more space to the insecurities that also characterize people who know that they are very prepared in their job. In fact, in Study 5, the measurement of self-esteem showed very interesting results. Women expressed lower self-esteem levels in all sub factors, i.e. social self-esteem, performance self-esteem and appearance self-esteem. Even though having low SE levels is not considered as a mental disorder, it can lead *'to live a life of misery'* (Rosenberg & Owens; 2001). In fact, it can lead to cognitive dispositions such as pessimism, cynicism and negative attitudes towards others, which, in the long run, may be nerve-wracking and debilitating (Rosenberg & Owens; 2001).

Importantly, self-esteem emerged to mediate the relation between gender and anxiety levels, i.e. having higher levels of self-esteem helps coping with an environment which is stressful and threatening. This is a somehow intuitive but a really interesting result. In fact, it seems that people with high self-esteem levels feel more genuine with others (Rosenberg & Owens; 2001), are associated with higher levels of mindfulness (Bajaj et al., 2016) and for these reasons have lower levels of anxiety. Self-esteem is an individual component that can be influenced by the environment and, most of all, can be trained (Smoll et al., 1993; Lincoln et al., 2013). Teaching self-worth to young women, most of all related with leading and political roles, could at least partially contribute to the decrease of the Global Gender Gap, as argued in the introductory paragraph of this thesis, which is particularly critical in the two areas of political participation and economic empowerment.

Future Research.

This work produced a very interesting starting point to further analyze the role of stereotypes in excluding women from political roles. In particular:

- Once the pandemic situation will allow it, the stereotype threat paradigm should be further tested in face to face experimental settings, implementing a more adequate ‘political quiz’ (i.e. longer and more difficult) on a sample of non-undergraduate students only, i.e. including young adults not enrolled in a Bachelor program.
- As emerged from Study 1, Study 2, Study 3 and Study 4, it is very important to use a manipulation strongly visual accompanied by short texts. Therefore, in further research it would be important to move to even more impacting forms of communication, such as videos.

- The concept of Charisma should be further analyzed. Our pretests of Study 3 and 4 are a good starting point to further explore what people think of charisma and how this metacognition influences their lives. Analysis of the discourse can be a very informative tool to better understand this ambiguous psychological phenomenon.
- A strong basis for a good explicit measure analyzing the endorsement of the stereotype that sees women less competent in politics compared to men have been created in Study 4 (Belief in the traditional Male norms, BTMN in Study 4). As a future direction this scale should be validated in the Italian population.
- It would be necessary to replicate Study 5 with other politicians, in order to corroborate the present gender differences in well-being variables. Politicians of different geographical areas should be included and trait variables (and not only state variables) should be measured to further understand how much the phenomenon depends on the political environment or the individual. Furthermore, since Study 5 mostly showed gender differences, which may be hard to entirely attribute to the political engagement, it would be helpful to replicate the study with a sample of participants involved in female-dominated jobs.

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Appendix A - Chapter 1

Study 1. Manipulation (Stereotype Threat condition)

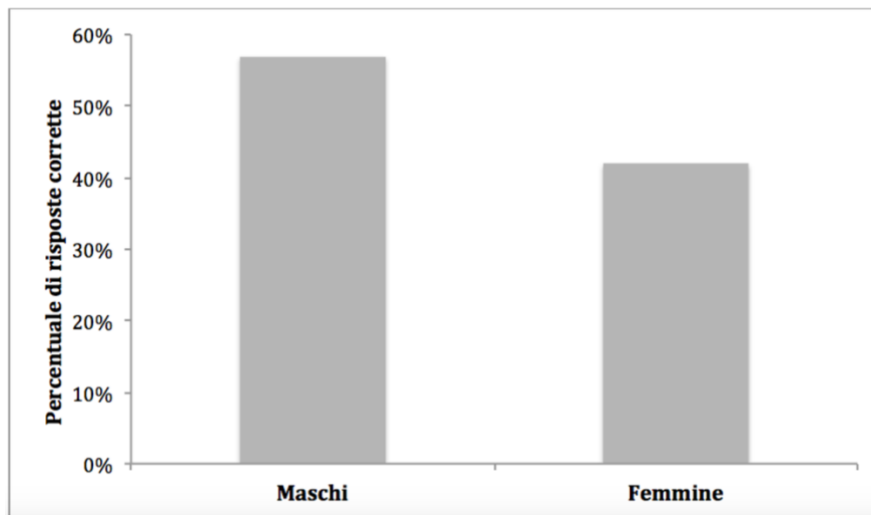
Figure A1

Gentile partecipante,

il test che stai per svolgere misura le tue abilità **logico-dialettiche**. Studi precedenti hanno dimostrato che queste abilità sono in grado di predire il successo in **carriere di tipo politico**.

Si tratta, quindi, di un test altamente predittivo di alcune abilità appartenenti alla macro sfera di quelle che si possono definire **abilità politiche**.

Ricerche precedenti hanno inoltre dimostrato che le **persone di sesso maschile ottengono prestazioni superiori a quelle di sesso femminile in questo tipo di compiti** (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016).



‘Dear participant,

the test you are taking part in measures your **logical-dialectical** skills. Previous studies showed that such abilities can predict success in **political careers**.

Thus, this test is highly predictive of some skills belonging to the **political skills** macro area.

Moreover, previous research shows that **male participants get higher scoring compared to female participants** in this task (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016)’

Study 1. Manipulation (Control condition)

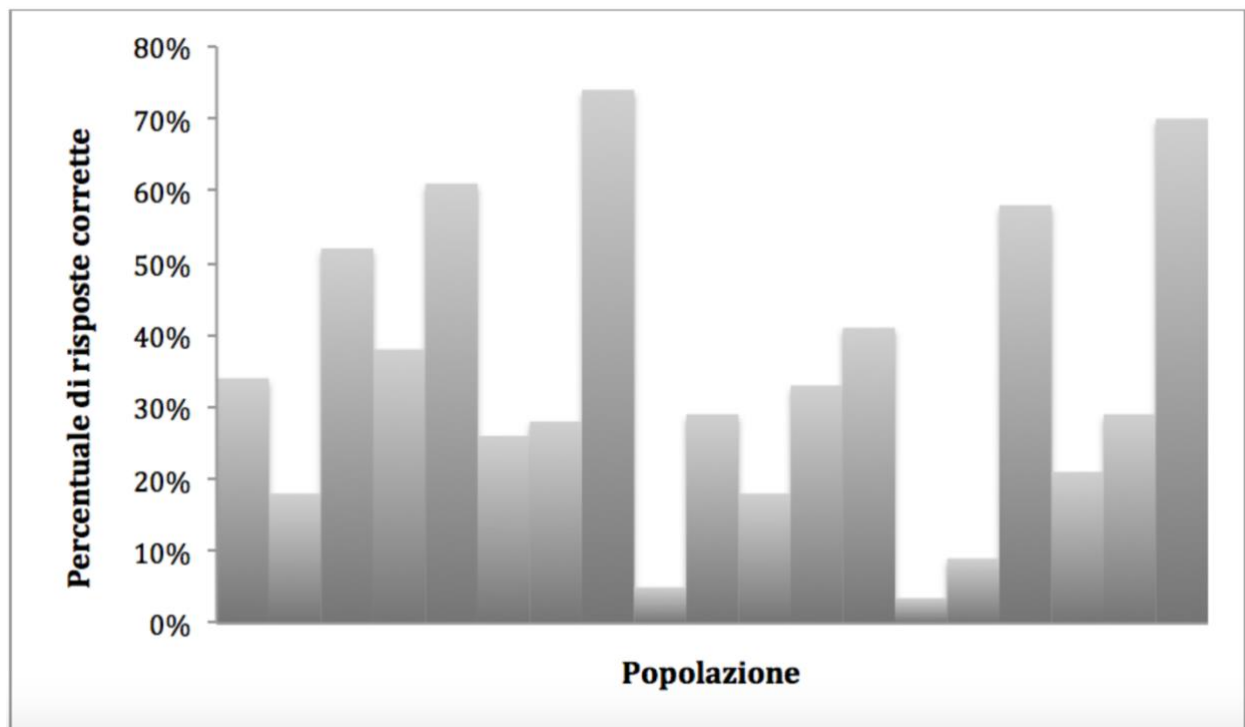
Figure A2

Gentile partecipante,

il test che stai per svolgere misura le tue abilità **logico-dialettiche**. Studi precedenti hanno dimostrato che queste abilità sono in grado di predire il successo in **carriere di tipo politico**.

Si tratta, quindi, di un test altamente predittivo di alcune abilità appartenenti alla macro sfera di quelle che si possono definire **abilità politiche**.

Ricerche precedenti hanno inoltre dimostrato che esistono notevoli **differenze di prestazione fra gli individui** (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016).



‘Dear participant,

the test you are taking part in measures your **logical-dialectical** skills. Previous studies showed that such abilities can predict success in **political careers**.

Thus, this test is highly predictive of some skills belonging to the **political skills** macro area.

Moreover, previous research shows high differences in scoring between the population (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016)’

Study 1 and Study 2. Dependent Variable

Logic Verbal Skills test (**correct answer**)

1) Quale tra le coppie di termini proposte completa logicamente la seguente proporzione verbale: x : serenità = conciliazione : y

x = boria y = cruccio

x = avvenenza y = rammarico

x = inquietudine y = diverbio

x = tolleranza y = intolleranza

x = oblio y = intesa

2) Giorgia, Caterina, Maria e Antonio siedono attorno ad un tavolo rotondo. Qual è la probabilità che Caterina e Antonio siedano affiancati?

2/3

1/6

1/2

4/5

1/3

3) Individuare il contrario di solerte tra

Meticoloso

Superficiale

Coscientioso

Pignolo

Pigro

4) Quale tra le coppie di termini proposti completa logicamente la seguente proporzione verbale: X : Onorevole = Conclave : Y

x = Italia y = Vaticano

x = Senato y = San Pietro

x = Primo ministro y = Papa

x = Stato y = Chiesa

x = Parlamento y = Eminenza

5) “Non si può non dimostrare la non estraneità dell'imputato al delitto”. La precedente affermazione è equivalente a:

l'imputato è estraneo al delitto

il delitto è stato compiuto con l'ausilio determinante dell'imputato

l'imputato non è estraneo al delitto

l'imputato potrebbe non avere a che fare alcunché con il delitto

l'imputato è certamente da assolvere

6) È importante specificare il concetto di rischio limitato di cancerogenicità [...] declinato come l'osservazione di una associazione positiva tra esposizione all'agente sotto esame e cancro, per la quale un'interpretazione di causa/effetto è considerata credibile ma anche che la possibilità che quest'ultima sia dovuta al caso o a effetti confondenti non può essere scartata"

Quale delle seguenti affermazioni è deducibile dal brano apparso su un quotidiano nazionale?

La ricerca di un'associazione tra esposizione all'agente e cancro è un falso problema

Non è dimostrato un nesso causale tra esposizione all'agente e cancro

Va escluso il rapporto di causa/effetto tra esposizione all' agente e patologia

L' esposizione all'agente causa sempre il cancro

L'associazione agente-cancro non può essere casuale

7) Se di una persona diciamo che è querula vogliamo dire che è:

Molto dotata per la musica

Loquace

Generosa

Lamentosa

Molto esigente

8) La maggioranza dell'opinione pubblica ritiene che l'energia eolica sia una parte integrante delle nuove fonti energetiche per il futuro. Spesso, tuttavia, gruppi di attivisti si oppongono alla realizzazione di impianti eolici. Le regioni fornite sono le più disparate e vanno dall'inefficienza di tali impianti al disturbo apportato agli uccelli migratori. In realtà le vere ragioni sono più legate ad interessi personali. Raramente i cittadini si oppongono alla realizzazione di impianti eolici distanti dalla loro zona di residenza; piuttosto ciò che interessa loro è che tali impianti non rovinino esteticamente il panorama adiacente alla loro abitazione.

Quale delle seguenti affermazioni, se considerata vera, rafforza quanto sostenuto dal brano?

Gran parte dell'opinione pubblica considera gli impianti eolici come una piacevole peculiarità del paesaggio

Nonostante il supporto dei residenti, il progetto per un impianto eolico in un'isola sperduta è stato bocciato in seguito alle proteste degli attivisti

Costruire impianti eolici lontano dai centri abitati è la soluzione più economica

I cittadini si oppongono maggiormente alla costruzione di centrali nucleari nei pressi delle proprie abitazioni rispetto alla costruzione di impianti eolici

Molto spesso è più semplice costruire impianti eolici in mare aperto perché si incontra minore opposizione

9) In base alle informazioni in suo possesso, il professore ordinario non può non negare che è falso quanto affermato dal suo ricercatore, il quale dichiarò di non conoscere l'autore della scoperta del secolo.

Basandoti sulla precedente affermazione, individuare quale delle seguenti alternative è esatta.

Il ricercatore non conosce l'autore della scoperta del secolo

Non è possibile sapere se il ricercatore conosce l'autore della scoperta del secolo

Il ricercatore conosce l'autore della scoperta del secolo

Il ricercatore è l'autore della scoperta del secolo

Nessuna delle altre alternative è corretta

Study 1. Explicit gender politics stereotype (EGPS)

Figure A3

* Siamo infine interessati alla tua opinione riguardo le **differenze di genere nell'ambito della sfera politica**. Ti chiediamo di indicare se credi che maschi o femmine siano più portati per ciascuna di queste attività.  

	Molto maschile	Abbastanza maschile	Ugualmente maschile e femminile	Abbastanza femminile	Molto femminile
Partecipare ad un dibattito politico.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sostenere una posizione politica anche in ambienti chiaramente ostili.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Costituire una lista civica nella propria città.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Costruire contatti con rappresentanti politici del governo.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Capacità di prendere decisioni come personaggio politico in situazioni delicate.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Capacità di comprendere le opportune strategie di relazione con istituzioni importanti nella società (per es. sindacati, rappresentanti di categoria, associazioni, ecc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Capacità di intraprendere e gestire una carriera politica.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

We are finally interested in your personal opinion about **gender differences in politics**. Please, indicate if women or men are better in each of these activities (very masculine, somehow masculine, equally masculine and feminine, somehow feminine, very feminine)

-Take part to a political debate

-Endorse a political position, even in clearly hostile environments

- Create a civic list in one's own city
- To have contacts with other political representatives
- Taking decisions in difficult situations
- Implementing adequate strategies for relating with important institutions (e.g. labor unions, representatives, associations, etc...)
- Being able to undertake and maintain a political career

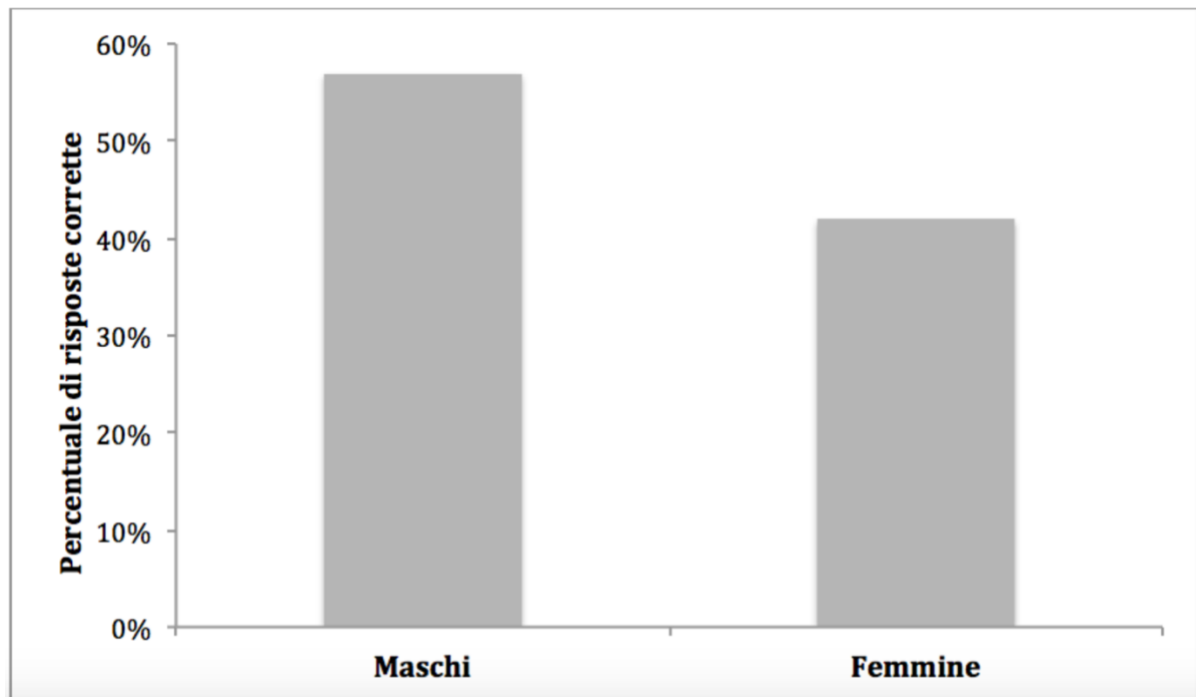
Study 2. Manipulation (Stereotype Threat condition)

Figure A4

Gentile partecipante,

Stai per svolgere un test di abilità **logico-dialettiche** in grado di predire il successo in **carriere di tipo politico**.

Ricerche precedenti hanno inoltre dimostrato che le **persone di sesso maschile ottengono punteggi superiori a quelle di sesso femminile in questo tipo di compiti** (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016).



‘Dear participant,

the test you are taking part in measures your **logical-dialectical** skills, which can predict success in **political careers**.

Previous research shows that **male participants get higher scoring compared to female participants** in this task (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016)’

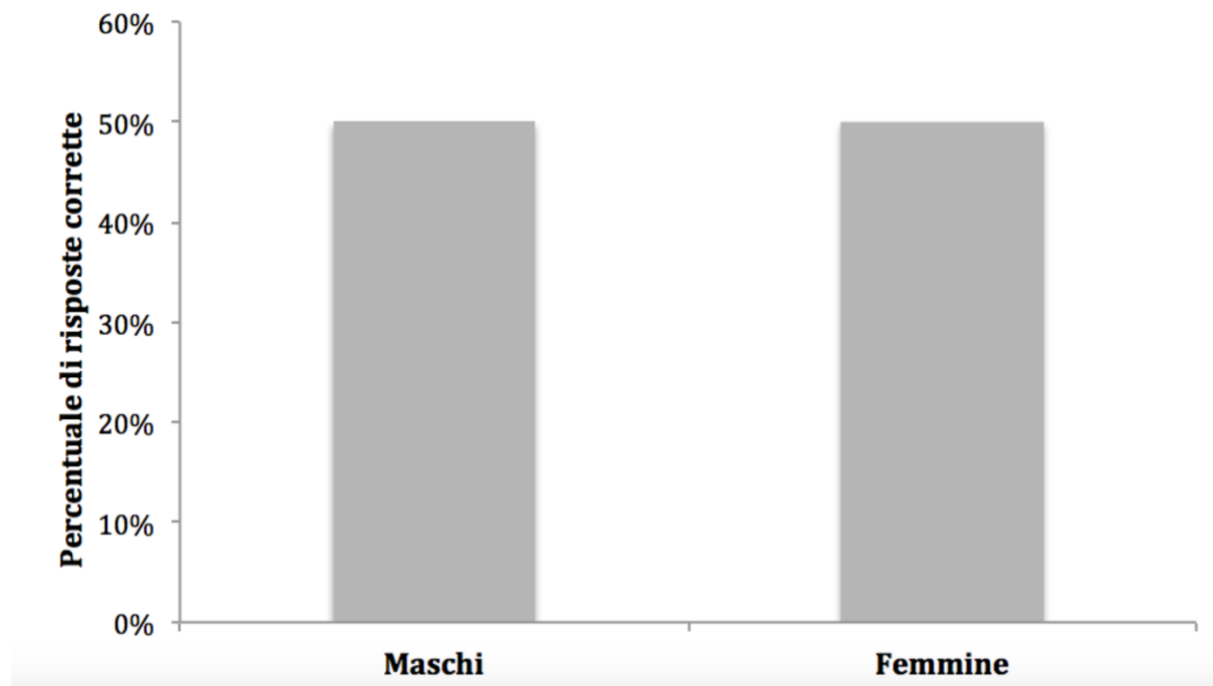
Study 2. Manipulation (Stereotype Nullifying condition)

Figure A5

Gentile partecipante,

Stai per svolgere un test di abilità **logico-dialettiche** in grado di predire il successo in **carriere di tipo politico**.

Ricerche precedenti hanno inoltre dimostrato che **persone di sesso maschile e persone di sesso femminile ottengono punteggi simili in questo tipo di compiti** (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016).




‘Dear participant,

the test you are taking part in measures your **logical-dialectical** skills, which can predict success in **political careers**.

Previous research shows that **male and female participants get similar scorings** in this task (Spencer, Steele & Thomson, 2016)’

Study 2. Politics gender Stereotype Scale (PGSS)

Figure A6

Siamo infine interessati alla tua opinione riguardo le **differenze di genere** nell'ambito della sfera politica.  0

	Molto più portati gli uomini	Più portati gli uomini	Un po' più portati gli uomini	Non c'è alcuna differenza tra donne e uomini	Un po' più portate le donne	Più portate le donne	Molto più portate le donne
Secondo l' opinione più diffusa nella nostra società, quale genere è più portato per l'attività politica?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Secondo te , quale genere è più portato per l'attività politica?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

We are finally interested in your personal opinion about **gender differences** in politics (Men are much more talented, men are more talented, men are a little more talented, there is no differences between men and women, women are a little more talented, women are more talented, women are much more talented)

-In the **more common opinion** of our society, which gender is more talented in political activities?

-In **your opinion**, which gender is more talented in political activities?

Study 2. Awareness of female underrepresentation in national politics

Figure A7

Considerando che i ministri dell'attuale governo sono 18, quanti di questi, secondo te, sono donne? (Scorri la barra da 0 a 18) ↻ 0



Data la propensione alla politica di donne e uomini, quante dovrebbero essere secondo te le donne ministre al governo? (Scorri la barra da 0 a 18) ↻ 0



-Considering that there are 18 ministries in the current government, how many, in your opinion, are women? (move the bar between 0 and 18)

-Considering the political inclination of women and men, how many women should be in the government? (move the bar between 0 and 18)

Appendix B - Chapter 2

Study 3. Manipulation (Charisma condition)

Figure B1

A.A.A. cercasi tirocinante carismatico/a!

Una nota fondazione culturale della Regione Veneto sta sostenendo un'esperienza di tirocinio di formazione nell'ambito politico. L'esperienza permetterà al/la tirocinante di affiancare un/una consigliere/a regionale di una lista civica che si candiderà alle prossime elezioni.

Il/la tirocinante che verrà selezionato/a dovrebbe possedere **spiccato carisma**. Per *carismatica* intendiamo una persona che riesce ad attrarre in modo magnetico gli altri e manifesta ottime capacità persuasive. La persona scelta potrà cimentarsi nelle seguenti attività:

- Organizzazione della campagna elettorale
- Promozione di progetti sul territorio
- Organizzazione di eventi sociali
- Affiancamento alla stesura del programma elettorale

Study 3. Manipulation 1 (Dedication condition)

Figure B2

A.A.A. cercasi tirocinante dedito/a!

Una nota fondazione culturale della Regione Veneto sta sostenendo un'esperienza di tirocinio di formazione nell'ambito politico. L'esperienza permetterà al/la tirocinante di affiancare un/una consigliere/a regionale di una lista civica che si candiderà alle prossime elezioni.

Il/la tirocinante che verrà selezionato/a dovrebbe possedere **profonda dedizione**. Per *dedita* intendiamo una persona che sa dedicarsi in modo sistematico ad un'attività manifestando un'elevata costanza. La persona scelta potrà cimentarsi nelle seguenti attività:

- Organizzazione della campagna elettorale
- Promozione di progetti sul territorio
- Organizzazione di eventi sociali
- Affiancamento alla stesura del programma elettorale

BIANCHI FRANCESCO

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Luogo di nascita: Roma (Roma, Italia)

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COMPETENZE

Pacchetto Office	
Social Media	
Automunito con patente di tipo B	

FORMAZIONE

2014 – 2019
Roma (Roma)
MATURITÀ SCIENTIFICA (ESITO FINALE 83/100)
Liceo Antonio Rosmini

Da 2019 – occupazione attuale
Padova (Pd)
**LAUREA TRIENNALE IN SCIENZE POLITICHE,
RELAZIONI INTERNAZIONALI E DIRITTI UMANI**
Università degli Studi di Padova

ESPERIENZA

Aprile 2018 – Giugno 2018
Roma (Roma)
STUDIO NOTARILE «CALICCHIA E ASSOCIATI»

Tirocinio formativo

- Entrata nel mondo del lavoro
- Comprensione dell'organizzazione dell'azienda

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PROGETTO «GIOVANI SOLIDALI»

Tirocinio formativo

- Miglioramento competenze burocratiche in ambito sociale
- Miglioramento competenze organizzative in ambito sociale
- Aiuto fasce più povere dei quartieri romani

Estate 2016
Lido di Ostia (Roma)
CENTRO ESTIVO «MARINA BLU»

Aiuto compiti

- Avvicinamento al mondo dell'infanzia
- Apprendimento lingue straniere

Autorizzo il trattamento dei miei dati personali presenti nel curriculum vitae ai sensi del Decreto Legislativo 30 giugno 2003, n. 196 e del GDPR (Regolamento UE 2016/679)


Study 3. Manipulation 2 (Woman condition)

Figure B4




**BIANCHI
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Pacchetto Office	
Social Media	
Automunita con patente di tipo B	

FORMAZIONE

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Liceo Antonio Rosmini

Da 2019 – occupazione attuale

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Giugno 2018

Roma (Roma)

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Tirocinio formativo

- Miglioramento competenze burocratiche in ambito sociale
- Miglioramento competenze organizzative in ambito sociale
- Aiuto fasce più povere dei quartieri romani

Estate 2016

Lido di Ostia (Roma)

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Aiuto compiti

- Avvicinamento al mondo dell'infanzia
- Apprendimento lingue straniere

AutORIZZO il trattamento dei miei dati personali presenti nel curriculum vitae ai sensi del Decreto Legislativo 30 giugno 2003, n. 196 e del GDPR (Regolamento UE 2016/679)

Study 3. Social Dominance Orientation, Ho e al.

Figure B5

SDO_{7(s)} Scale

Instructions: Show how much you favor or oppose each idea below by selecting a number from 1 to 7 on the scale below. You can work quickly; your first feeling is generally best.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Oppose	Somewhat Oppose	Slightly Oppose	Neutral	Slightly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Strongly Favor

Protrait dominance:

1. An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.
2. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Contrait dominance:

3. No one group should dominate in society.
4. Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.

Protrait anti-egalitarianism:

5. Group equality should not be our primary goal.
6. It is unjust to try to make groups equal.

Contrait anti-egalitarianism:

7. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
8. We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.

Study 3. Male Dominance (MNRI Scale, Levant et al.)

1. Gli uomini dovrebbero essere sempre i leader in ogni gruppo
2. Il capo dovrebbe essere sempre un uomo.
3. Un uomo dovrebbe insegnare la disciplina nella famiglia.
4. Un uomo dovrebbe essere il maggior sostenitore economico della famiglia.
5. In un gruppo, sono gli uomini che organizzano il lavoro e fanno andare avanti le cose.
6. L'ultima parola spetta agli uomini quando si parla di soldi.

1. Men should be the leader in any group.
2. A man should always be the boss
3. A man should provide discipline in the family
4. A man should always be the major provider in his family
5. In a group, it is up to the men to get things organized and moving ahead.
6. Men should make the final decision involving money.

Study 4. Manipulation (Charisma condition)

Figure B6



Un gruppo di persone si incontra per impegnarsi in una lista politica indipendente dai partiti presenti sul territorio che candiderà alle prossime elezioni comunali. Il loro obiettivo attuale è trovare una persona che, in caso di sufficienti voti, ricoprirà il ruolo di sindaco.

Ti riportiamo di seguito una brevissima parte della loro conversazione.

"Se vogliamo essere rappresentati nel consiglio comunale abbiamo bisogno di una **persona carismatica**"

"Cosa intendi?"

"Una persona che sappia influenzare i cittadini, che trascini la folla grazie al fascino personale e che con un forte ascendente sugli altri riesca ad assumere la funzione di guida"

"Ho capito... una persona affascinante e influente che riesca a farsi valere!"

I personaggi della situazione che hai appena letto credono sia importante essere carismatici per rappresentare al meglio un partito politico.

Cosa significa essere una persona carismatica, secondo te? Inserisci almento qualche parole/frase.

Study 4. Manipulation (Honesty condition)

Figure B7



Un gruppo di persone si incontra per impegnarsi in una lista politica indipendente dai partiti presenti sul territorio che candiderà alle prossime elezioni comunali. Il loro obiettivo attuale è trovare una persona che, in caso di sufficienti voti, ricoprerà il ruolo di sindaco.

Ti riportiamo di seguito una brevissima parte della loro conversazione.

"Se vogliamo essere rappresentati nel consiglio comunale abbiamo bisogno di una **persona onesta**"

"Cosa intendi?"

"Una persona integra dal punto di vista dei principi morali che sappia agire e comunicare in maniera sincera, **leale** e in base ai valori etici che condividiamo"

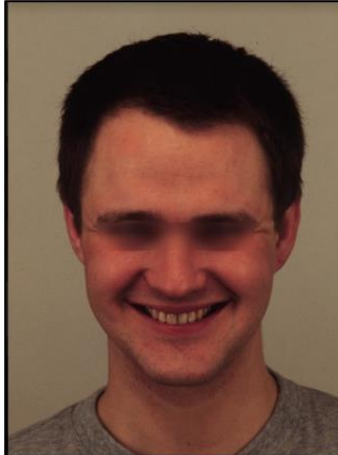
"Ho capito... una persona sincera e leale di cui ci si può fidare !"

I personaggi della situazione che hai appena letto credono sia importante essere onesti per rappresentare al meglio un partito politico.

Cosa significa essere una persona onesta, secondo te? Inserisci almento qualche parole/frase.

Study 4. Manipulation 2 (Francesco condition)

Figure B8



Cognome e nome	FRANCESCO [REDACTED]
Data di nascita	12/06/1984
Numero telefonico	[REDACTED]
E-mail	[REDACTED]

**ISTRUZIONE E PROFILO
PERSONALE**

Titolo di studio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Laurea specialistica amministrazione, finanza, controllo aziendale conseguita nel 2008 con votazione 110/110 - Laurea triennale in economia internazionale e management conseguita nel 2006 con votazione 110/110 con lode
Professione	Responsabile amministrazione e finanza
Esperienze professionali	Responsabile amministrazione, finanza e controllo presso PMI di Padova
Lingue conosciute	Inglese, tedesco, francese, spagnolo

Study 4. Manipulation 2 (Francesca condition)

Figure B9



Cognome e nome	FRANCESCA [REDACTED]
Data di nascita	12/06/1984
Numero telefonico	[REDACTED]
E-mail	[REDACTED]

**ISTRUZIONE E PROFILO
PERSONALE**

Titolo di studio	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Laurea specialistica amministrazione, finanza, controllo aziendale conseguita nel 2008 con votazione 110/110- Laurea triennale in economia internazionale e management conseguita nel 2006 con votazione 110/110 con lode
Professione	Responsabile amministrazione e finanza
Esperienze professionali	Responsabile amministrazione, finanza e controllo presso PMI di Padova
Lingue conosciute	Inglese, tedesco, francese, spagnolo

Study 4. Belief in the traditional male norms (BTMN)

1. Per qualche ragione i politici uomini sono più carismatici delle politiche donne
2. Se devo scegliere, a pari merito di competenze, tra un uomo e una donna voto una donna (R)
3. Gli uomini in politica sono più seguiti delle donne
4. La carriera politica comporta scelte di vita che sono più facili da intraprendere per un uomo che per una donna
5. Le donne in politica tendono a essere meno persuasive degli uomini
6. Gli uomini in politica sono più preparati delle donne
7. Gli uomini sono più audaci nella sfera politica rispetto alle donne
8. Le donne in politica riescono a farsi valere meno degli uomini (R)
9. Essendo gli uomini normalmente più sicuri di sé delle donne, nella sfera politica emerge il loro carisma con più chiarezza
10. La carriera politica è più adatta ad un uomo che ad una donna
11. La carriera politica è più adatta ad un uomo rispetto che ad una donna in quanto coinvolge integralmente la vita di una persona
12. In politica gli uomini riescono ad esercitare, grazie a doti intellettuali o fascino personale, un maggiore ascendente sulle altre persone rispetto alle donne
13. Gli uomini in politica sono più concreti delle donne
14. Le donne in politica tendono ad essere meno orientate all'obiettivo degli uomini (R)
15. Le donne in politica sono più instabili emotivamente degli uomini (R)

Appendix C - Chapter 3

Study 5. Female stigmatization in Politics (from Molero et al; 2013)

1. Il mio essere maschio/femmina influenza il modo in cui le persone mi trattano nell'ambiente politico
2. Anche se non c'è un rifiuto esplicito, le persone trattano le donne diversamente dagli uomini in politica
3. Nell'ambiente politico in cui sono inserito, le donne sono visibilmente discriminate
4. Anche quando le persone sembrano accettare le donne in politica, credo che in fondo siano diffidenti
5. Nell'ambiente politico le donne sono trattate ingiustamente
6. Le relazioni quotidiane in politica presentano discriminazione di genere
7. Nell'ambiente politico non si ha fiducia nelle donne

Study 5. State Self-Esteem Scale(Heatherton & Polivy, 1991).

(Italian version. Bobbio; 2009)

Figure C1

1.	Ho fiducia nelle mie capacità.
2.	Mi preoccupa che gli altri mi considerino una persona di successo o un fallimento.
3.	Sono soddisfatto/a del mio aspetto fisico.
4.	Provo frustrazione e fastidio per i risultati che raggiungo (ad esempio, nello studio o sul lavoro).
5.	Ho problemi a capire quello che devo fare (ad esempio, nello studio o sul lavoro).
6.	Sono soddisfatto/a del mio peso corporeo.
7.	Penso di essere sveglio/a ed intelligente come gli altri.
8.	Sono contento/a di come appaio fisicamente.
9.	Mi preoccupa molto ciò che gli altri pensano di me.
10.	Penso di essere attraente.
11.	Sono preoccupato/a dell'impressione che do di me stesso/a.
12.	Ho l'impressione di avere meno capacità degli altri (ad esempio, colleghi di studio o di lavoro).
13.	Sento che non sto facendo bene (es. nello studio o sul lavoro).
14.	Mi preoccupa il fatto di sembrare sciocco/a o ridicolo/a di fronte agli altri.

- **Performance** = item 1, 4(R), 5(R), 7, 12(R), 13(R).
- **Social** = item 2(R), 9(R), 11(R), 14(R).
- **Appearance** = item 3, 6, 8, 10.

1. I feel confident about my abilities.
2. I am worried about whether I am regarded as a success or failure.
3. I feel satisfied with the way my body looks right now.
4. I feel frustrated or rattled about my performance
5. I feel that I am having trouble understanding things that I have to do.
6. I am dissatisfied with my weight.
7. I feel as smart as others.
8. I am pleased with my appearance right now.
9. I am worried about what other people think of me.
10. I feel attractive.
11. I feel concerned about the impression I am making
12. I feel that I have less ability right now than others
13. I feel like I'm not doing well.
14. I am worried about looking foolish.

Figure C2

1. Riesco sempre a risolvere problemi difficili se ci provo abbastanza seriamente.
2. Se qualcuno mi contrasta, posso trovare il modo o il sistema di ottenere ciò che voglio.
3. Per me è facile attenermi alle mie intenzioni e raggiungere i miei obiettivi.
4. Ho fiducia di poter affrontare efficacemente eventi inattesi.
5. Grazie alle mie risorse, so come gestire situazioni impreviste.
6. Posso risolvere la maggior parte dei problemi se ci metto il necessario impegno.
7. Rimango calmo/a nell'affrontare le difficoltà perché posso confidare nelle mie capacità di fronteggiarle.
8. Quando mi trovo di fronte ad un problema, di solito trovo parecchie soluzioni.
9. Se sono in "panne", riesco sempre a pensare qualcosa da mettere in atto.
10. Non importa quello che mi può capitare, di solito sono in grado di gestirlo.

English version by Ralf Schwarzer & Matthias Jerusalem, 1995

1	I can always manage to solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.
2	If someone opposes me, I can find the means and ways to get what I want.
3	It is easy for me to stick to my aims and accomplish my goals.
4	I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected events.
5	Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen situations.
6	I can solve most problems if I invest the necessary effort.
7	I can remain calm when facing difficulties because I can rely on my coping abilities.
8	When I am confronted with a problem, I can usually find several solutions.
9	If I am in trouble, I can usually think of a solution.
10	I can usually handle whatever comes my way.

Study 5. Work-Family balance (Items are adapted in order to be in line with the political commitment.

Work-Life Conflict by Netemeyer et al. (1996) in the Italian version validated by Colombo and Ghislieri (2008)

1. La mia vita familiare interferisce con le mie responsabilità politiche
2. Le richieste del mio lavoro politico interferiscono con la mia vita familiare
3. Sono così stanco/a e stressato/a quando concludo una mansione politica che mi è difficile adempiere ai miei compiti familiari
4. Mi capita di sacrificare il lavoro politico perché devo passare più tempo a casa
5. Le richieste della mia famiglia (o del/la mio/a compagno/a) interferiscono con i miei impegni/attività di lavoro politico
6. Le ansie e le preoccupazioni familiari interferiscono con la mia possibilità di soddisfare le richieste di lavoro politico
7. La quantità di tempo che la politica mi richiede rende difficile adempiere alle mie responsabilità familiari
8. Le ansie e le preoccupazioni familiari interferiscono con la mia possibilità di soddisfare le richieste politiche
9. Le cose che vorrei fare in comune/provincia/regione non sono portate a termine a causa delle richieste della mia famiglia
10. Non riesco a portare a termine le cose che vorrei fare a casa perché ho troppi impegni di lavoro politico

Work-Family Enrichment Scale by Carlson et al. (2006),

11. Grazie alla politica sviluppo nuove competenze e questo mi aiuta a vivere meglio in famiglia
12. Nella vita familiare sviluppo nuove competenze e questo mi aiuta a lavorare meglio nel consiglio
13. Nel mio lavoro politico vivo emozioni positive e questo mi aiuta a vivere meglio in famiglia
14. Gli impegni familiari mi spronano a essere più concentrato/a nelle mie mansioni politiche e questo mi aiuta a lavorare meglio
15. Nella vita familiare vivo emozioni positive e questo mi aiuta a lavorare meglio
16. Svolgere una mansione politica mi fa sentire realizzato/a e questo mi aiuta a vivere meglio in famiglia

Work-Life Balance Scale by Carlson et al. (2009)

17. Sono capace di negoziare e realizzare quello che ci si aspetta da me nel consiglio e in famiglia
18. Sono bravo/a a fare ciò che le persone importanti si aspettano da me al lavoro e in famiglia