Effects of Gender and Destructive Leader Behaviors on Leader's Evaluation

by

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Abstract

Destructive leadership is beginning to be studied, but the current literature relies on examples of male leaders. While literature on positive leader behaviors shows a bias towards male leaders, little research looks at gender effects when leaders exhibit destructive behaviors. Using Hogan's model with three categories of destructive leader behaviors (DLBs), the current study investigated how participants would evaluate male and female leaders exhibiting the same DLBs. Male leaders were hypothesized to get more favorable evaluations in all three DLB categories. Results showed that gender stereotypes played a role in how individuals rated leaders unless the exhibited leader behaviors were avoidant. When DLBs reflected emotion-focused coping, a male leader was at a disadvantage. On the other hand, when DLBs resembled active coping, a female leader received lower ratings. The current study's findings, therefore, provided evidence for gender stereotypes being relevant even when leaders were destructive. Future research directions are discussed.

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Leadership is a heavily investigated concept in applied psychology. It is defined as "…a social process through which an individual intentionally exerts influence over others to structure their behaviors and relationships" (Levy, 2010, p. 353). Although the definition does not specify whether the exerted influence is constructive or destructive, researchers mostly focus on the constructive side of leadership thus leaving destructive or dark-side leadership under-researched (Lord et al., 2017; Schyns & Schilling, 2013). To contribute to the under-researched area, the current study focuses on destructive leadership (DL) and the impact of destructive leader behaviors (DLBs) along with leader gender on leader evaluations. This paper will first provide a brief overview of research on leadership and the new domain of DL. Second, a discussion on dark personality traits (as predictors of DL) will be presented. Third, gender differences in leadership will be discussed. Finally, the current study's hypotheses and findings will be presented.

Leadership

The social process of leadership first got a major research attention after the World War II and has advanced in three major waves since (Lord et al., 2017). The first wave was mostly focused on behavioral approach, which was concerned with leadership traits and measuring leader behaviors. This was followed by the second wave that focused on cognitive processes, perceptions, and various situational factors (i.e., contingency perspectives) affecting leadership outcomes. It was not until the third wave that the research emphasized factors such as leader charisma and gender or follower values and attitudes. Charismatic and transformational leadership, gender differences in leadership, leader-member exchange (LMX), and team leadership were the new constructs that emerged in the third wave of leadership research.

Third-wave research has also brought about a discussion on a potential link between charismatic leadership and DL. For instance, Padilla et al. (2007) state that "not all charismatic leaders are destructive, but most destructive leaders are charismatic" (p. 180). Pundt (2014) takes it a step further and proposes charismatic leadership as an antecedent of abusive supervision. He argues that leaders might exaggerate the presentation of leadership virtues (e.g., assertiveness, goal-orientation, etc.) to be perceived as charismatic, which could in turn be perceived as abusive by the followers (i.e., overdramatized charisma). Overly ambitious charismatic leaders, on the other hand, could set goals excessively high thus causing a depletion of the followers' resources, increasing stress in the organization and becoming more likely to engage in abusive supervisory behaviors (i.e., overambitious charisma). In another case scenario, followers may refuse the charismatic attempts (i.e., refused charisma) or fail to accomplish the charismatic leader's vision, both of which a leader may interpret as a personal offense (i.e., disappointed charisma) or as an initiative for change of leader behavior (i.e., abandoned charisma). All five scenarios represent Pundt's (2014) proposed pathways from charismatic leadership to abusive supervisory behaviors and thus DL.

Given that most forms of DL such as abusive supervisory behaviors are intuitively and evidently destructive, the literature does not offer many definitions of DL. Most thorough and encompassing definition comes from Krasikova et al. (2013) that define DL as "volitional behavior by a leader that can harm or intends to harm a leader's organization and/or followers by (a) encouraging followers to pursue goals that contravene the legitimate interests of the organization and/or (b) employing a leadership style that involves the use of harmful methods of influence with followers, regardless of justifications for such behavior" (p. 1310). Others add that this leader behavior involves control and coercion, selfish orientation, and results in negative

organizational outcomes (Padilla et al., 2007). Based on Schyns and Schilling's (2013) meta-analysis, DL negatively affects attitudes towards the leader (r=-.57), followers' job satisfaction (r=-.34), commitment (r=-.21), well-being (r=-.35), and individual performance (r=-.20) as well as increases turnover intention (r=.31). Interestingly, another meta-analysis examining only military contexts shows that the mean correlation between DL and followers' performance, attitude, health, and well-being is almost as strong as the mean correlation between constructive leadership and the same outcomes (r=-.29 vs r=.32; Fosse et al., 2019).

Therefore, the negative impact of DL can be as strong as the positive impact of constructive leadership and contrary to popular belief, DL is not an anomaly. A study on Norwegian working population showed that over one third (33.5%) of the respondents were exposed to frequent DL behaviors within six months prior to the beginning of the study. Only 40% of the respondents reported no exposure to any kind of DL (Aasland et al., 2010). Despite the potential impact and high prevalence of DL, predicting engagement in DL behaviors remains a challenge. Krasikova et al. (2013) argue that leader dark traits represent dispositions to preoccupation with self-interest and can thus predict engagement in DL. However, these traits are not shown at all times as DL is seldom entirely destructive (Padilla et al., 2007). Kaiser et al. (2015) expand on this matter and claim that stressful situations make individuals "let down their guard" as it becomes harder to focus on self-regulation under such circumstances (p. 58). Thus, destructive leaders show their dark-side personality traits under stress. The dark-side personality traits then negatively affect overall managerial performance, managerial trustworthiness, work attitudes, and interpersonal skills (Gaddis & Foster, 2015).

What are Dark-Side Personality Traits?

Wiens and Walker (2019) define dark-side personality traits as "maladaptive personality patterns that are considered to represent subclinical levels of clinical personality disorders that exist in the normal population" (p. 92). The dark triad model as one of the most famous models in the literature on dark personality emphasizes three main dark-side traits: subclinical psychopathy, narcissism, and Machiavellianism (Furnham et al., 2013; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Dark tetrad model builds on the triad and adds everyday sadism as the fourth dark trait (Buckels et al., 2013; Paulhus, 2014).

Nevertheless, the current study will be using the only model designed specifically for the organizational use, that is Hogan and Hogan's (2001) model. Aligned with the DSM-IV Axis 2 categories and predicted by California Psychological Inventory (CPI) scales, this model proposes 11 dark traits that show consistent patterns of correlations in three broad groups (Hogan & Hogan, 2001; Wiens & Walker, 2019). The three groups align with Horney's (1950) theory of flawed interpersonal relationships. The first group, described as "moving away from people" includes the following traits: excitable, cautious, reserved, skeptical, and leisurely. Individuals in this group manage their insecurities by avoiding others. The next group is "moving against people," which includes mischievous, bold, colorful, and imaginative traits. Individuals in this group deal with their insecurities by dominating and intimidating others. The last group, "moving toward people" corresponds to diligent and dutiful traits and includes individuals that manage their insecurities by siding with others to minimize the threat of criticism (Hogan & Hogan, 2009).

Gaddis and Foster's (2015) meta-analysis shows a significant negative relationship between each of the 11 dark traits and at least one leader performance scale. To begin with, traits

in "moving away" category negatively predict overall managerial performance and the ability to lead others. Most traits within this group also negatively predict work attitudes, decision making, and perception of leader as reliable. "Moving against" traits are a negative predictor of managerial trustworthiness but show mixed results for overall managerial performance. Finally, "moving toward" traits do not predict overall managerial performance; however, the dutiful scale shows mixed results for trustworthiness and the ability to lead others while diligent scale negatively predicts leader dependability and interpersonal skills. A study conducted on American and European managers shows that extreme (high and low) scores on Hogan's survey for dark personality traits (the Hogan Development Survey (HDS)) are associated with ineffective leader behaviors. This relationship is moderated by emotional stability such that low levels of emotional stability amplify the relationship between dark-side traits and ineffective leader behaviors (Kaiser et al., 2015).

Another notable remark about dark trait research and narratives to date is that all typical examples of destructive leaders are male, such as Hitler, Stalin, Joe Nacchio, John DeLorean, etc. (Conger, 1990; Padilla et al., 2007; Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Perhaps, this is so because male leaders are given more leeway in exhibition of dark traits. In other words, people might be more tolerant of dark personality traits in male than in female leaders. However, not much research has been done examining the effects of destructive leader's gender on how they are perceived and evaluated, which is the intended contribution of the current study.

Gender Differences

Gender differences are best captured as gender stereotypes. Research on gender stereotypes or gender typicality separates two categories of behavioral characteristics, agentic as typically male and communal as typically female attributes (Gartzia & Baniandres, 2019; Gergen

et al., 2014; Johnson et al., 2008; Saint-Michel, 2018; Zehnter et al., 2018). Agentic behaviors are seen as "striving for power and control over others, emphasizing assertiveness, efficacy, and mastery" (Johnson et al., 2008, p. 40). Other agentic attributes include competitiveness, decisiveness, and independence (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Bem, 1974). On the other hand, communal behaviors "relate to the motive to form social relationships and get along with others, emphasizing harmony and affiliation" (Johnson et al., 2008, p.40). In other words, communal characteristics consist of "people" skills such as kindness, care, and helpfulness (Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich, 1978).

These gender role stereotypes put women at a disadvantage in the world of work. For instance, Madera et al. (2009) demonstrate that the gender stereotypes persist in letters of recommendation for academia positions in that women tend to be described as more communal and less agentic than men. They also show that the communal characteristics are negatively related to hireability ratings meaning that women are less likely to be rated as hireable. In addition, Eagly and Karau (2002) demonstrate that even if women exhibit agentic traits, these traits are not endorsed but are thought of as a violation of the assigned gender role stereotypes.

Women's disadvantage is even more amplified in leadership or managerial positions. This rests on the principles of role congruity theory and a common belief that there is a role incongruence between the female gender role and the leader role since prototypical leaders should exhibit agentic traits (Rosette & Tost, 2010). Indeed, "Think Manager, Think Male" studies show that leadership has historically been more congruent with agentic characteristics (Schein, 1996). Additionally, more recent studies indicate stability of the gender role stereotypes in leadership research and discuss its repercussions. Looking at leaders' obituaries from 1974 to 2016, Zehnter et al. (2018) divide description components in four categories: agency,

communion, competency, and likeability. Findings show that descriptions of female leaders have increased in agentic attributes over time while competency has remained the same. On the other hand, male leaders have been described as more communal and less competent over time. Even though these results might imply changes in stereotypes, it should be noted that agentic female and communal male leaders have also been described as less likeable. In other words, leaders whose attributes are incongruent with their gender role stereotypes are less preferred thus indicating stability of gender stereotypes over time. Furthermore, Brescoll et al. (2018) claim that the stability of gender stereotypes has created the idea of gender hierarchy in which women in leading positions are seen as "gender norm deviants." Consequently, perceivers that are trying to preserve the gender hierarchy develop negative moral emotions toward female leaders, which results in negative evaluations of those leaders.

However, a recent wave in leadership research suggests that modern leadership approaches such as Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) rely on communal skills and perhaps may put female leaders at an advantage (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995). Gartzia and Baniandres (2019) show that agentic behaviors are not related to any leadership outcome more strongly than communal behaviors. They also show that communal behaviors more strongly predict positive attitudes of the followers. Another study demonstrates that unlike agentic characteristics, communal characteristics in leaders are positively related to transformational leadership (Saint-Michel, 2018). With communal traits being stereotypically female, these findings indicate that women as leaders may benefit more than men.

Despite the alleged advantage, data from 2020 shows that women run only 7.4% of the Fortune 500 businesses (Hinchliffe, 2020). Rosette and Tost (2010) expand on the matter by showing that unlike women leaders at middle organizational levels, women in top leadership

positions are not likely to be perceived as competing with others (agentic) and are even evaluated as more competent than men in the same positions. The advantage in evaluations rests on the perception that women in top positions must have been exceptional to have reached those positions. Nonetheless, a disadvantage at middle organizational levels that female leaders face might be the reason for a lack of women in top-level positions.

When it comes to dark-side leadership, effects of gender and gender stereotypes are under-researched. In general population, gender differences in dark traits tend to be small but consistently observable in larger samples (Furnham & Trickey, 2011). The biggest observed differences are on disorders corresponding to Dutiful and Mischievous dark traits with females being more likely to be highly dutiful and males more likely to be highly mischievous. Khoo and Burch (2008) show similar results with males scoring higher on the Reserved and Mischievous scales while females scored higher on Dutiful scale of HDS. When looking at the three separate trait categories, males scored significantly higher on the "moving against people" traits as well as "moving toward people" traits while females scored higher on the "moving away from people" traits (Furnham & Trickey, 2011). However, these studies were conducted on general population. Aside from the fact that all three categories of dark traits are indicators of ineffective leadership, not much else is known. Perhaps a certain category yields more negative leader evaluations than others, which will be explored in the present study.

The Current Study

Previously conducted studies on dark-side leadership were based on leader self-evaluations (Furnham & Trickey, 2011; Khoo & Burch, 2008; Douglas et al., 2012) and little has been done to investigate how others (e.g., subordinates, observers) would evaluate destructive leaders. Therefore, the current study will have participants evaluate descriptions of leaders that

exhibit dark-side traits in stressful situations. Given that the typical examples of destructive leaders in the literature are male (Padilla et al., 2007) and that women's gender role is believed to be incongruent with leadership role (Rosette & Tost, 2010), the current study hypothesizes that male leaders exhibiting dark traits will be more favorably evaluated than female leaders exhibiting the same traits. The ultimate goal of this investigation is to determine whether participants are more tolerant of dark personality traits in male than female leaders. Therefore, the hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): In the final ranking based on leader's suitability for promotion, male leaders will be ranked higher than female leaders regardless of the destructive categories.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Male leader exhibiting "moving away from people" traits will be more favorably rated than female leader within the same category.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Male leader exhibiting "moving toward people" traits will be more favorably rated than female leader within the same category.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): Male leader exhibiting "moving against people" traits will be more favorably rated than female leader within the same category.

In addition, due to a gap in research literature, we will conduct an exploratory investigation of the least preferred dark trait category in leaders regardless of their gender:

Research Question 1 (RQ1): Which of the three dark trait categories (i.e., moving toward people, moving against people, and moving away from people) yields the worst leader evaluations?

Method

Participants and Procedure

One hundred eighty-nine undergraduate students enrolled in the University SONA Research Subject Pool System participated in a Qualtrics survey in exchange for extra credit. Nine participants with missing data in scenario evaluations were excluded along with three participants with indications of careless responding (e.g., selected all 1s) and eight participants extremely low timing estimates (i.e., spent less than a third of Qualtrics suggested time on the survey). This resulted in the final sample size of 169. The participant age range was between 18 and 34 years (M_{age}=19.74, SD=2.11) and 78.1% identified as female. Consistent with the university demographic makeup, the majority of the participants were white (86.4%). Most participants were freshmen (42%) followed by seniors (22.5%), juniors (18.3%), and sophomores (17.2%). Even though the SONA Research System is mostly utilized by the Department of Psychological Sciences, most participants were non-psychology majors (72.8%).

After accessing the Qualtrics survey link and confirming they were 18 years of age or older, participants were presented with the information letter describing the study. Upon consenting to participate, they were asked to complete a demographics questionnaire including questions about their age, classification, major, gender, and ethnicity (see Appendix A). This was followed by the instructions asking them to carefully read descriptions of six managers and to help with a promotion decision. Six leaders were described as ideal during normal times and potentially destructive during stressful times. Participants were then asked to evaluate each of the six leaders on the General Leadership Impression (GLI) scale (Cronshaw & Lord, 1987), provide a final ranking based on suitability for promotion, and to fill out Women as Managers Scale

(WAMS; Terborg et al., 1977). After completing the survey, they were debriefed and informed that the study was investigating the effects of leader gender on destructive manager evaluation.

Study Design

The current study had a 3x2 within-subjects design, Hogan's DLB/dark trait category (moving away from people, moving against people, or moving toward people) was crossed with leader gender (male or female) thus creating 6 scenarios or leader descriptions. The dependent variable was leader's GLI score, predictor variables were leader gender and DLB categories while WAMS score was added as a covariate to account for the potential effects of attitudes toward female managers on the GLI scores.

Leader Descriptions

Description of leaders during normal times described leaders as all exhibiting ideal positive behaviors. This description was kept constant for all six leaders, three males and three females. Taking into consideration previously discussed traditional leadership theories that emphasize agentic traits and more modern ones that value communal traits, we concluded that an ideal constructive leader in today's world would have both agentic and communal traits. We looked at the Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) and Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) and chose three most prevalent agentic (i.e., assertive, independent, and effective in decision-making) and three most prevalent communal traits (i.e., compassionate, kind, and understanding) for the description of our leaders during normal times (see Appendix B; Bem, 1974; Spence & Helmreich,1978).

Furthermore, participants were informed that the leaders exhibit destructive behaviors during stressful times. For these descriptions, we used two descriptive attributes from HDS manual for each dark trait exhibited (see Table 1; Hogan & Hogan, 2009). For instance, a male

leader "moving against people" was described as (1) demanding and (2) blaming others for all performance issues (bold), (1) dramatic and (2) attention-seeking (colorful), (1) taking ill-advised risks and (2) unwilling to learn from his mistakes (mischievous), and as (1) creative but (2) failing to see practical limitations of his suggestions (imaginative). On the other hand, a female leader within the same category was described as (1) arrogant and (2) making decisions without seeking input from others (bold), (1) distractible and (2) intuitive rather than strategic in decisions (colorful), (1) impulsive and (2) resisting in accepting responsibility for mistakes (mischievous), and (1) insightful but (2) easily bored (imaginative). The descriptions were not matching word for word across genders to make the gender biases more evident in leader evaluations. Each description contained two attributes from every trait subscale and the word count differed in no more than five words across genders within each dark trait category (see Appendix C: please note that the italicized text is the only changing part of descriptions). To account for potential order effects and the unequal weights of descriptions across the three categories (given that the DLB categories have a different number of trait subscales), the order in which descriptions were shown to participants was randomized between and within the three categories.

Measures

      General Leadership Impression Scale (GLI). This scale was developed by Cronshaw and Lord (1987), 9-item GLI scale is a classic measure for leadership perceptions. It consists of questions about typicality (e.g., "How typical of a leader is this person?"), interpersonal skills (e.g., "How much will this person considers other people's feelings?"), as well as exhibited leadership (e.g., "To what degree does this person fit your image of a leader?"). As the GLI scale does not provide a definition of leadership, the individuals base their ratings on their personal

prototype or image of a leader. All items are rated on a five-point Likert scale and the sum of item scores represents a total leadership impression score (with higher sums indicating a better alignment of the described leader's traits and behaviors with the rater's image of a leader). Consistent with the previous research, the calculated Cronbach's alpha in the current study ranges from .86 to .90 across six leader evaluations with the average of .89 (range from .88-.91 in other studies: Hall et al., 1998; Smith & Foti, 1998). See Appendix D for this scale.

Final Rankings. After evaluating all six leaders on the GLI scale, participants were asked to rank the candidates based on their suitability for promotion using the following rubric: 1 (the best candidate) to 6 (the worst candidate). They were also asked to make sure to rank all the candidates. See Appendix E for this measure.

Women as Managers Scale (WAMS). The newer version of WAMS developed by Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, and Smith (1977) is used to measure attitudes towards women in managerial positions. The scale consists of 21 items assessing the general accepting of women as managers (e.g., "Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills to be successful managers"), feminine barriers to full-time employment of females (e.g., "Problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as employees"), and personality traits attributed to managers (e.g., "Women cannot be assertive in business situations that demand it"). All items are rated on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The final attitudes score is the sum of all item scores (with some items scored reversely). Ranging from 21 to 147, higher scores indicate more positive attitudes and lower scores more negative attitudes towards female managers. This scale has acceptable levels of reliability with Cronbach's alpha coefficient of $\alpha = .93$ in the current study (consistent with $\alpha = .92$ by Simmons et al., 2019). This measure was at the end of the survey so that the face validity

of WAMS items would not impact their GLI evaluations of the described leaders. See Appendix F for this scale.

Results

Means and standard deviations of all measured variables are presented in Table 2. The table also includes variable intercorrelations with p-values. Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficients are presented in parentheses for each scale.

Hypothesis 1 stated that male leaders would be ranked higher than female leaders in the promotability ranking regardless of the destructive categories. A paired-samples t-test comparing a sum of male promotability rankings and a sum of female promotability rankings showed no significant difference between overall male and female promotability ranking, $t(156) = .019$, $p=.985$. Thus, hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Prior to running the two-way within-subjects ANCOVA, we tested for outliers and found three outliers with studentized residual values of 4.17, 3.43, and 3.09. However, the results of the ANCOVA model with and without the outliers both resulted in statistically significant results and without appreciably different confidence intervals. Therefore, the outliers were kept. Based on Shapiro-Wilk's test of normality on the studentized residuals, none of the six scenarios had normally distributed GLI scores ($p<.05$). Nonetheless, given the large sample size and analyses of variance being fairly "robust" to deviations from normality, a two-way within-subjects ANCOVA was still conducted. WAMS scores were mean centered before adding them to the ANCOVA model to avoid issues of multicollinearity.

There was no change in the GLI score means when adjusted for the covariate (i.e., WAMS score) in any of the six scenarios (see Table 3). When run without the covariate, the model yielded the same results. Thus, the covariate was excluded from the model for ease of

interpretation. Further investigation showed that participants' WAMS scores were strongly negatively skewed. In addition, a point-biserial correlation between WAMS and participant's gender was small but significant, r_{pb} (167) = .263, p=.001 with females scoring higher (132.02 ± 14.8) than males (121.68 ± 18.9), which is supported by the previous research showing that male participants tend to have more negative attitudes toward women managers and thus score lower on the WAMS scale (Adeyemi-Bello & Tomkiewicz, 2013; Owen et al., 2003; Sincoff et al., 2009). Given that 78.1% of our participants were females, it is not surprising that the overall scores were negatively skewed and that WAMS score did not affect the model as a covariate.

Figure 1 shows that the interaction between leader gender and destructive leader behavior was statistically significant, F(1.833, 308.009) = 62.157, p<.001, $partial\ \eta^2$ = .270. Degrees of freedom were corrected using the Greenhouse-Geisser estimate (ε=.917) since Mauchly's test of sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated for the two-way interaction, χ^2(2) = 15.942, p <.001. Due to a significant two-way interaction, simple main effects were examined for further hypotheses and the research question.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that a male leader exhibiting "moving away from people" traits would be more favorably rated than a female leader within the same category. GLI scores were not statistically significantly different for the female (M=15.33, SD=5.83) and male leader (M=16.08, SD=6.53) in the moving away DLB category, F(1,168) = 3.187, p=.076, $partial\ \eta^2$ = .019. Thus, hypothesis 2 was not supported.

Hypothesis 3 stated that a male leader exhibiting "moving toward people" traits would be more favorably rated than a female leader within the same category. GLI scores were statistically significantly different for the female (M=21.24, SD=7.73) and male leader (M=27.41, SD=7.16)

in the moving toward DLB category, $F(1,168) = 83.277$, $p<.001$, *partial η^2* = .331. Thus, hypothesis 3 was supported.

      Hypothesis 4 proposed that a male leader exhibiting "moving against people" traits would be more favorably rated than a female leader within the same category. GLI scores were statistically significantly different for the female (*M*=20.78, *SD*=7.49) and male leader (*M*=18.26, *SD*=6.99) in the moving against DLB category, $F(1,168) = 21.617$, $p<.001$, *partial η^2* = .114. However, the significance was in the opposite direction than hypothesized. Therefore, hypothesis 4 was not supported.

      We further examined simple main effects to answer the research question on which of the three dark trait categories yielded the worst leader evaluations. For male leaders, leader exhibiting "moving away from people" traits was rated least favorably (*M*=16.08, *SD*=6.53), followed by leader "moving against people" (*M*=18.26, *SD*=6.99), and leader "moving toward people" being rated most favorably (*M*=27.41, *SD*=7.16). Bonferroni post hoc analysis showed that all pairwise comparisons of the GLI scores were statistically significant (ΔM_{AW-AG} = - 2.183, 95% CI [-3.601, -.765], $p=.001$; ΔM_{AW-T} = - 11.337, 95% CI [-12.950, -9.724], $p<.001$; ΔM_{AG-T} = - 9.154, 95% CI [-10.859, -7.448], $p<.001$; see Figure 2). For female leaders, the order of preference was the same with leader exhibiting "moving away from people" traits being least endorsed (*M*=15.33, *SD*=5.83), followed by leader "moving against people" (*M*=20.78, *SD*=7.49), and leader "moving toward people" being rated most favorably (*M*=21.24, *SD*=7.73). Post hoc analysis with a Bonferroni adjustment revealed that while the GLI scores for female leader "moving away from people" were significantly different from those of female leaders "moving against" (ΔM_{AW-AG} = - 5.444, 95% CI [-6.835, -4.052], $p<.001$) and "moving toward people" (ΔM_{AW-T} = - 5.905, 95% CI [-7.357, -4.454], $p<.001$), the GLI scores were not

significantly different between female leaders "moving against" and "moving toward people" (ΔM_{AG-T} = -.462, 95% CI [-2.129, 1.206], p=1.00). See Figure 2.

Finally, to reconcile seemingly different findings from hypothesis 1 and the following three hypotheses, additional three paired-samples t-tests were conducted on promotability rankings within three separate DLB categories. Results showed that the mean difference in promotability ranking between a male (M_M=2.72) and female leader (M_F=2.57) in "moving away from people" category was .153 and non-significant, t(156)=.915, p=.362. The mean difference in "moving toward people" pair was .936 (M_M=4.90, M_F=3.96), and significant, t(156)=5.034, p<.001. Finally, the mean difference in "moving against people" pair was -1.083 (M_M=2.89, M_F=3.97) and again significant in the opposite direction than expected, t(156)=-6.947, p<.001 (see Table 4). Thus, the promotability rankings followed the exact same within-category patterns as the findings on the GLI evaluations: there were no gender differences in evaluations of "moving away" leaders, "moving against" leader was evaluated more favorably in the case of a female leader, and "moving toward" leaders were the most endorsed with the male "moving toward" leader being the most favorably evaluated leader out of the six leaders.

Discussion

Destructive leadership is more widespread and has a stronger negative impact on managerial effectiveness and followers' performance, attitudes, health, and well-being than one might think (Aasland et al., 2010; Fosse et al., 2019; Gaddis & Foster, 2015). As researchers mostly focus on constructive side of leadership, the DL stays under-researched and hard to predict. Dark-side personality traits remain the best-known predictor of engagement in DLBs, but the literature points out that these traits are only exhibited under stress (Kaiser et al., 2015; Krasikova et al., 2013). Using leader descriptions based on HDS and its three major profiles

(Hogan & Hogan, 2009), the current study examined how participants would evaluate leaders exhibiting dark traits under stress and whether leader gender would affect their evaluations. The evaluations included the GLI scale and promotability ranking. Given that examples of infamous destructive leaders in literature have been predominantly male, it was expected that participants would be more tolerant of DLBs in male than in female leaders. The results differed across the three destructive HDS categories and showed the same pattern in the GLI scores and promotability ratings.

According to HDS, individuals with tendencies to "move away from people" manage their insecurities by avoiding others. They become emotionally unstable and withdrawn (Hogan & Hogan, 2009; see Appendix C). Gender did not affect evaluations of leaders in this category. Neither GLI scores nor promotability rankings were statistically significantly different for male and female leader "moving away." However, "moving away" DLB category was rated significantly lower than the other two DLB categories on the GLI scale. Thus, "moving away from people" group yields the worst leader evaluations (see Figure 2).

People with "moving against" profile, on the other hand, deal with their insecurities by dominating and intimidating others. Gender in this category had a significant effect in the opposite direction than proposed. The female leader was rated significantly higher than the male leader on both GLI scale and promotability rankings. As a category, "moving against" profile was significantly more preferred than "moving away" regardless of leader gender (see Figure 2).

The DLB "moving toward" profile consists of individuals who build "alliances to minimize the threat of criticism" (Hogan & Hogan, 2009, p.14). They strictly follow the rules and do everything to please others thus appearing to be pleasant and cooperative. Gender in this category had a significant effect in the proposed direction. The male leader was rated

significantly higher than the female leader and was the most favorably rated leader of all six. Compared to the other two categories, "moving toward" profile was significantly more preferred than "moving away" regardless of leader gender. It was also significantly more preferred than "moving against" profile but only for male leaders (see Figure 2).

Leaders in the current study were described as ideal during normal times and destructive under stress. Therefore, exhibition of destructive behaviors could be interpreted as ineffective coping with stress. One plausible explanation for "moving away" leaders being least endorsed could be that their withdrawn behavior reflects avoidant coping, which has been associated with least effective leadership (Pratch & Jacobowitz, 1996).

Although the core description of "moving against" category (i.e., dealing with insecurities by dominating and intimidating others) seems agentic and masculine, Colorful and Imaginative subscales add a rather non-agentic emotion-focused tone to it. These individuals rely on intuition and are self-dramatizing, impulsive, and easily bored (Hogan & Hogan, 2009; see Appendix C). Intuition is a communal trait and self-dramatizing can be seen as emotional venting or emotion-focused coping, both of which are stereotypically female behaviors (Brougham et al., 2009; Howerton & Van Gundy, 2009; Lipinska-Grobelny, 2011; Ptacek et al., 1992). Findings from Zehnter et al. (2018) showed that leaders whose behaviors are incongruent with their gender role stereotypes tend to be less preferred. This could explain why the male leader exhibiting "moving against" behaviors was rated less favorably than the female leader exhibiting the same behaviors.

Leaders exhibiting "moving toward" behaviors are strictly rule-abiding and critical. They try hard to please others and struggle with setting priorities and taking action independently under stress. "Moving toward" behaviors most resemble active coping out of the three DBL

categories. Being critical and rule-abiding can easily be interpreted as not "breaking under pressure" but rather following the best practices. Heavily relying on others instead of taking action independently can be seen as teamwork. Both of these instances are indications of leaders maintaining the ability to transcend the challenges, which demonstrates active coping that is a necessary determinant of effective leadership (Pratch & Jacobowitz, 1996). It is, therefore, not surprising that the most highly evaluated leader was in this category. Active coping is also predicted by masculinity and is more typical for men than women (Brougham et al., 2009; Howerton & Van Gundy, 2009; Lipinska-Grobelny, 2011; Ptacek et al., 1992). This might be why the male leader "moving toward" was rated more favorably than the female leader who was acting incongruently with her gender role (Zehnter et al., 2018).

The current study findings once again demonstrate stability of stereotypes in leadership but in this case the destructive side of it. It is only when the leaders engage in despised behavior of withdrawing from others that leader gender loses its effect. This results in equally low leader evaluations across genders. When it comes to other forms of destructive behaviors in stressful situations, these are weighed based on gender role congruency. Self-dramatizing and emotion-focused behaviors are more acceptable for female leaders while rule-abiding and more collected behaviors are more acceptable for male leaders. Although active coping is necessary for effective leadership, a female leader exhibiting behaviors that resemble active coping (i.e., "moving toward" behaviors) is rated less favorably than the male leader behaving the same way. Thus, the incongruence between female gender role and leader role is present even in destructive forms of leadership.

Study Limitations and Future Research

Manipulations used in the current study were based on Hogan's HDS manual that divides destructive leader behavior into three broad categories and 11 subcategories or subscales (Hogan & Hogan, 2009). Even though the manual provides very detailed descriptions of scales and subscales, our manipulations were limited to two attributes per subscale to minimize the risk of participant fatigue. Given the limited length of descriptions, it is not certain whether the study fully captured the three DLB categories. In addition, the unique effects of 11 subscales could not be isolated to determine their individual role in evaluations of destructive leaders.

Sample demographics might be another potential limitation of the current study. College students might have different standards for evaluating manager behaviors than individuals with years of work experience. Besides work experience, evaluation differences might also be affected by age. Additionally, almost 80% of participants in the current study were female. Perhaps the observed differences in evaluations would be different for a predominantly male sample.

A follow-up study will be conducted where a male leader description will be replaced with a female leader description within the same DLB category and vice versa. This will allow us to determine whether the manipulations were truly consistent across genders within the same DLB category. It will also show whether the observed evaluation differences were truly due to gender effects.

Future research should further investigate how destructive leader behaviors affect observers and followers' attitudes and perspectives. The effect of observers and followers' personality traits in such evaluations should also be examined. Understanding how individuals react to DLBs for male and female leaders can help organizations more easily detect such

leaders. When utilizing the HDS scale, organizations and researchers should account for leader's gender. Studies should also seek to isolate and examine the effects of 11 subscales through a lens of gender role congruity theory. Future samples should ideally be more diverse in terms of work experience and gender.

Conclusion

This study contributes to the under-researched area of destructive leadership through examination of effects of DLBs and leader gender on leader evaluations (Lord et al., 2017; Schyns & Schilling, 2013). Findings show that gender stereotypes remain relevant under the umbrella of destructive leadership. Gender typicality of exhibited destructive behaviors significantly affects how individuals rate leaders unless the exhibited behaviors are avoidant, which are the least preferred behaviors regardless of leader gender. When DLBs reflect emotion-focused coping, male leaders are at a disadvantage. On the other hand, when DLBs resemble active coping as a determinant of effective leadership, incongruence between female gender role and leader role emerges (Rosette & Tost, 2010). Thus, even when leaders become destructive and gender stereotypes should not matter, they still do. Leaders conforming to gender role stereotypes in their destructiveness are given more leeway than "gender norm deviants." These findings should raise awareness of how deeply rooted gender role stereotypes are and put an emphasis on leader gender in future research on destructive leadership.

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Table 1. *HDS Scales: Themes and Implications* (Hogan & Hogan, 2009, p. 7).

HDS Scale	Corresponding DSM-IV-TR Personality Disorder	Themes and Implications
Excitable	(Borderline)	Moody and hard to please, with intense but short-lived enthusiasms for people and projects. High scorers are sensitive to criticism, volatile, and unable to generate respect from subordinates due to frequent emotional displays.
Skeptical	(Paranoid)	Cynical, distrustful, and quick to doubt others' true intentions. While acutely sensitive to organizational politics, high scorers are easily of-fended, argumentative, and ready to retaliate for perceived mistreatment.
Cautious	(Avoidant)	Reluctant to take risks or initiative due to fear of failure or criticism. High scorers are good "corporate citizens" but avoid innovation, offering opinions, taking controversial positions, or making decisions.
Reserved	(Schizoid)	Aloof, detached, uncommunicative, and disinterested in the feelings of others. High scorers work poorly in groups, are reluctant to give feedback, are insensitive to social cues, and often appear intimidating.
Leisurely	(Passive-aggressive)	Independent, resistant to feedback, and quietly resentful of interruption or others' requests. High scorers can be pleasant but difficult to work with due to procrastination, stubbornness, and unwillingness to be part of a team.
Bold	(Narcissistic)	Unusually self-confident, reluctant to admit shortcomings, and grandi-ose in expectations. High scorers feel entitled to special treatment, are reluctant to share credit, and can be demanding, opinionated, and self-absorbed.
Mischievous	(Antisocial)	Charming and friendly, but impulsive, non-conforming, manipulative, and exploitive. High scorers test limits, ignore commitments, take ill-advised risks, and resist accepting responsibility for mistakes.
Colorful	(Histrionic)	Expressive, dramatic, distractible, attention seeking, and disorganized. High scorers confuse activity with productivity, are unable to allow others to offer suggestions, and are intuitive rather than strategic in decision making.
Imaginative	(Schizotypal)	Creative, eccentric, impractical, and idiosyncratic in thoughts and ideas. High scorers avoid details, are easily bored, lack awareness of their impact on others, and often fail to see the practical limitations of their suggestions.
Diligent	(Obsessive-compulsive)	Meticulous, perfectionistic, critical, and inflexible about rules and pro-cedures. High scorers micromanage their staff, find it hard to delegate, and have difficulty setting meaningful priorities for themselves and their subordinates.
Dutiful	(Dependent)	Eager to please, reliant on others for guidance, and reluctant to take ac-tion independently. High scorers have difficulty making decisions on their own, may not stick up for subordinates, and promise more than they can deliver.

Table 2. *Descriptive Statistics, Variable Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities.*

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Gender	1.78	0.42	-																
Age	19.74	2.11	-.14	-															
M-AW-GLI	16.08	6.53	.02	.00	(.90)														
F-AW-GLI	15.33	5.83	.02	-.05	.62**	(.88)													
M-T-GLI	27.41	7.16	.07	-.13	.20**	.19*	(.86)												
F-T-GLI	21.24	7.73	.07	-.06	.22**	.36**	.30**	(.89)											
M-AG-GLI	18.26	6.99	-.06	-.04	.37**	.40**	.16*	.22**	(.89)										
F-AG-GLI	20.78	7.49	-.07	.02	.41**	.39**	.34**	.31**	.53**	(.90)									
M-AW-rank	2.72	1.40	-.11	-.10	.22*	.16*	-.05	-.04	.02	.05	-								
F-AW-rank	2.57	1.37	-.04	-.02	-.07	.18*	-.12	.00	-.06	-.00	-.14	-							
M-T-rank	4.90	1.40	-.02	-.08	.08	.00	.44**	-.01	-.05	-.06	-.08	-.14	-						
F-T-rank	3.96	1.71	.13	.03	-.14	-.04	.06	.26**	-.18*	-.05	-.19*	-.28**	-.12	-					
M-AG-rank	2.89	1.49	-.01	.01	.04	-.10	-.19*	-.07	.21**	-.06	-.12	-.16*	-.23**	-.44**	-				
F-AG-rank	3.97	1.55	.02	.13	-.10	-.17*	-.13	-.18*	.07	.13	-.38**	-.16*	-.36**	-.15	-.02	-			
All-M-rank	10.50	2.09	-.09	-.11	.23**	.04	.12	-.08	.13	-.05	.53**	-.30**	.45**	-.52**	.48**	-.51**	-		
All-F-rank	10.50	2.09	.09	.11	-.23**	-.04	-.12	.08	-.13	.05	-.53**	.30**	-.45**	.52**	-.48**	.51**	-1.0**	-	
WAMS	129.76	16.30	.26**	-.05	-.27**	-.16*	.07	-.03	-.19*	-.11	-.12	-.06	.07	.13	-.13	.08	-.12	.12	(.93)

Note. N ranges from 157 to 169. Gender (1 = Male, 2 = Female), AW = Moving Away from People Category, T = Moving Toward People Category, AG = Moving Against People Category, M = Male Leader, F = Female Leader. All ranks reverse scored and summed. Cronbach's alpha coefficient in parentheses. $*p<.05$, $**p<.01$

Table 3. *GLI Means and Standard Deviations, Adjusted GLI Means and Standard Errors for mean centered WAMS score as a covariate.*

GLI	Male				Female		
	Away	**Toward**	**Against**		**Away**	**Toward**	**Against**
M	16.077	27.414	18.260		15.331	21.237	20.775
(SD)	(6.528)	(7.158)	(6.989)		(5.833)	(7.729)	(7.489)
M_{adj}	16.077	27.414	18.260		15.331	21.237	20.775
(SE)	(.484)	(.551)	(.530)		(.444)	(.596)	(.574)

Table 4. *Results of paired-samples t-tests on promotability rankings within three separate DLB categories.*

| | Paired Differences | | | | | | | |
	Mean Difference	*SD*	*SE*	95% CI of the Difference		*t*	*df*	*p-value*
				Lower	Upper			
Male Away Rank – Female Away Rank	.153	2.094	.167	-.177	.483	.915	156	.362
Male Toward Rank – Female Toward Rank	.936	2.331	.186	.569	1.304	5.034	156	.000
Male Against Rank – Female Against Rank	-1.083	2.172	.173	-1.425	-.740	-6.247	156	.000
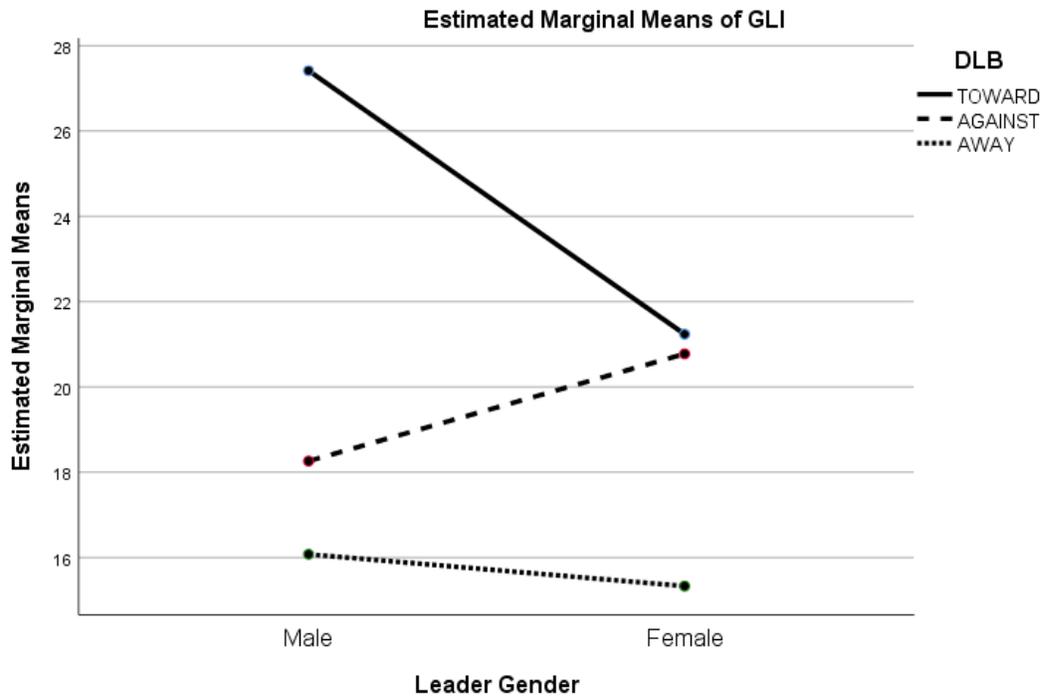
Figure 1. Estimated Marginal Means of GLI for interaction between Leader Gender and DLB.
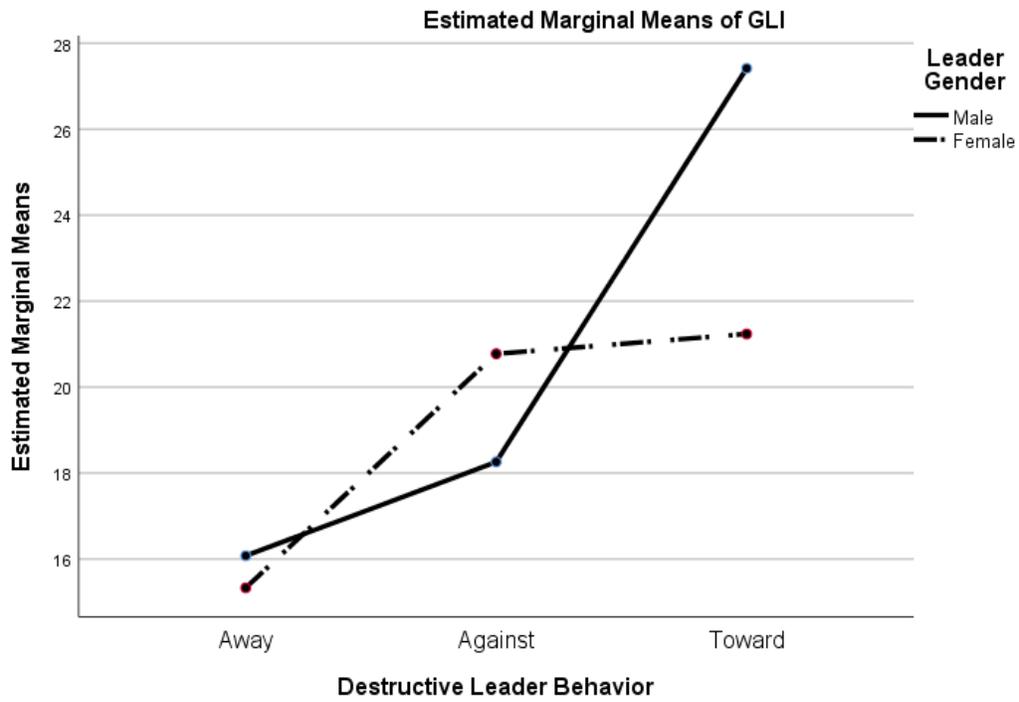
Figure 2. Estimated Marginal Means of GLI for Simple Main Effect of DLB for Male and
Female Leaders.

Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions on this page.

1) **What is your age in years?** _____

2) **What is your classification?**
    □ Freshman   □ Sophomore   □ Junior   □ Senior

3) **What is your major?** _____

    If undecided, what do you plan to major in? _____

4) **What is your gender identification?** *(select one)*

    □ Male
    □ Female

5) **What is your ethnicity?** *(select one)*

    □ Native American

    □ Asian or Asian-American/Pacific Islander

    □ Black/African-American

    □ Middle Eastern

    □ White

    □ Other (please specify): _____

Normal Times Description

Instructions:

David, **Susan**, **Mark**, **Jane**, **John**, and **Elizabeth** are candidates for promotion to a higher management position. Today you have been asked to provide help with a promotion decision for this company. The company exists in a fairly stable market environment. About 80% of the time, the company performs using standard, normal procedures and managers have time to think about their decisions. However, about 20% of the time, the company faces stressful situations in which decisions must be made quickly.

Each of these candidates have gone through an initial leadership potential evaluation program conducted by an outside consulting firm. This evaluation had two phases.

Phase 1: Performance in Normal Situations Faced by Managers in this Company
This program evaluated 30 potential candidates for the higher management position by an outside consulting firm. **Susan, David, Jane, Mark, Elizabeth** and **John's** names were provided to your company as the candidates for the position with the highest potential.
As leaders, they all have characteristics in common during exercises in which candidate had time to formulate their strategies and describe their decisions to the consulting firm.

Jane, John, Elizabeth, Mark, Susan, and **David** were rated by the outside consulting firm for these exercises as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) made effective decisions in these situations. In addition, for these exercises, all were seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in their relations with the employees who they supervised.

Mark, Jane, John, Elizabeth, David, and **Susan** all were rated much more highly on these exercises than the other 24 candidates assessed by the consulting firm. Each of these six candidates, however, were rated at essentially the same level on their leadership in these exercises conducted during normal situations.

Phase 2: Performance in Stressful Situations Faced by Managers in this Company
The outside consulting firm also conducted a second set of exercises for all individuals. This set of exercises assessed the way in which the candidates for promotion acted in more stressful situations where decisions must be made quickly. The six candidates each had different weaknesses that were seen during the stressful situations. The description of these weaknesses are provided on the following rating forms for the six candidates.
Your task is to read the descriptions of these six candidates and provide your ratings of each of them individually. Be sure to read each description carefully before rating the candidate. At the end of this task, you will be asked to make your final rankings for promotion of the six candidates.

Appendix C

Stressful Times Descriptions

Leaders "Moving Away from People:"

David was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, he was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in his relations with the employees who he supervised.

During stressful conditions, David lets his emotions get the best of him. He becomes cynical and indecisive. He is sensitive to criticism and reluctant to take controversial positions. He also becomes uncommunicative and mistrustful of his subordinates' intentions. He resists requests from his subordinates and is insensitive to their feelings. He is also unwilling to state clear expectations for subordinates' performance.

Please provide your evaluation of David as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of David.

Note: Each leader description will be followed by the GLI scale (see Appendix D)

Susan was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, she was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in her relations with the employees who she supervised.

During stressful situations, Susan gets easily annoyed and offended. She is detached and reluctant to undertake challenging tasks. She fears failure and is quick to abandon projects that do not proceed as expected. She is resistant to feedback and often dramatic and argumentative. She covertly criticizes those in authority positions and is unable to motivate others successfully.

Please provide your evaluation of Susan as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of Susan.

Leaders "Moving Against People:"

Mark was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, he was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in his relations with the employees who he supervised.

During stressful conditions, Mark becomes demanding and dramatic. He takes ill-advised risks and blames others for all performance issues. He is creative but fails to see practical limitations of his suggestions. He is also attention-seeking and unwilling to learn from his mistakes.

Please provide your evaluation of Mark as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of Mark.

Jane was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, she was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in her relations with the employees who she supervised.

During stressful situations, Jane becomes arrogant and makes intuitive rather than strategic decisions. She is impulsive and makes decisions without seeking input from others but resists accepting responsibility for mistakes. She is insightful yet distractible and easily bored.

Please provide your evaluation of Jane as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of Jane.

Leaders "Moving Toward People:"

John was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, he was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in his relations with the employees who he supervised.

During stressful conditions, John becomes conforming and has difficulty setting meaningful priorities for himself and his subordinates. He is rule-abiding and believes that following rules and procedures is more important that finishing the project. He also promises more than he can deliver in an effort to please others.

Please provide your evaluation of John as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of John.

Elizabeth was rated by the outside consulting firm as 1) highly assertive; 2) very independent; and 3) making effective decisions during normal working conditions. In addition, during normal working conditions, she was seen as compassionate, kind and understanding in her relations with the employees who she supervised.

During stressful situations, Elizabeth becomes too reliant on others for guidance and reluctant to take action independently. When it comes to teamwork, she is uptight and unable to relax with colleagues and staff. She is perfectionistic and very critical yet unwilling to support subordinates on what is expected to displease superiors.

Please provide your evaluation of Elizabeth as a leader. Please circle the number that you feel best indicates your evaluation of Elizabeth.

Appendix D

General Leadership Impression (GLI) Scale

1.   How much leadership do you think will be exhibited by this individual?

       1   2   3   4   5
      No   Very Much
   Leadership at   Leadership
      all

2.   How willing would you be to choose this person as your formal leader?

       1   2   3   4   5
    Not at all   Very Willing
    Willing

3.   How typical of a leader is this person?

       1   2   3   4   5
   Not Typical at   Very Typical
      all

4.   To what extent will this person engage in leader behavior?

       1   2   3   4   5
    Not at all   Very Much

5.   To what degree does this person fit your image of a leader?

       1   2   3   4   5
    Not at all   Very Much

6.   To what extent does this person show effective social/interpersonal skills?

       1   2   3   4   5
    Not at all   Very Much

7.   How friendly will this person be overall?

       1   2   3   4   5
    Not at all   Very Friendly

8.   How much will this person considers other people's feelings?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Very Much

9.   How much will this person encourage cooperation?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all				Very Much

Appendix E

Leader Final Rankings

We appreciate your ratings of the six candidates for promotion. We would like on more bit of information from you. After reading about all six candidates for promotion, we would like you to rank their suitability for promotion using the following rubric: **1 (*the best candidate*) to 6 (*the worst candidate*).** Please make sure that you rank **ALL** the candidates.

_____ David

_____ Susan

_____ Mark

_____ Jane

_____ John

_____ Elizabeth

At the end of this ranking, please fill out the following survey of perceptions of business leadership.

Women as Managers Scale (WAMS)

Instructions:
Please give your personal opinion concerning attitudes toward women in management. The statements below cover many different and opposing points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Please use the following rating scale when giving your opinion about each statement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

1. It is less desirable for women than men to have a job that requires responsibility.
2. Women have the objectivity required to evaluate business situations properly.
3. Challenging work is more important to men than it is to women.
4. Men and women should be given equal opportunity for participation in management training programs.
5. Women have the capability to acquire the necessary skills to be successful managers.
6. On the average, women managers are less capable of contributing to an organization's overall goals than are men.
7. It is not acceptable for women to assume leadership roles as often as men.
8. The business community should someday accept women in key managerial positions.
9. Society should regard work by female managers as valuable as work by male managers.
10. It is acceptable for women to compete with men for top executive positions.
11. The possibility of pregnancy does NOT make women less desirable employees than men.
12. Women would no more allow their emotions to influence their managerial behavior than would men.
13. Problems associated with menstruation should not make women less desirable than men as employees.
14. To be a successful executive, a woman does not have to sacrifice some of her femininity.
15. On the average, a woman who stays home all the time with her children is a better mother than a woman who works outside of the home at least half-time.
16. Women are less capable of learning mathematical and mechanical skills than men.

17.　　Women are NOT ambitious enough to be successful in the business world.

18.　　Women cannot be assertive in business situations that demand it.

19.　　Women possess the self-confidence required of a good leader.

20.　　Women are NOT competitive enough to be successful in the business world.

21.　　Women cannot be aggressive in business situations that demand it.

Note: Items 1, 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 21 should be reverse scored.