AMERICAN AND PAKISTANI STUDENT PERCEPTIONS OF FEMALE POLITICAL LEADERS

By

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I dedicate this thesis to my wonderful parents. Thank you for your endless love, support and encouragement. Without you this milestone would not have been possible.
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The U.S. was on the verge of embracing either a female for president or vice president in 2008. But the campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were unsuccessful. Across the world, Pakistan has elected a female prime minister twice. This survey study explores young people’s perceptions of female politicians with regard to their success and failure in the U.S. and Pakistan. The purpose of the study is to understand possible stereotypes of female politicians in high office in both countries. Social role theory can be used to explain gender stereotypes of female candidates running for high office.

The results of a survey conducted by the author in March 2012 showed American students preferring a candidate with higher masculine and feminine traits, compared to Pakistani/Pakistani American students. The study also found that American participants rated both American female politicians Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin lower in masculine and feminine traits when compared to their ideal candidate for president.

In contrast, the study found that Pakistani/Pakistani American participants rated Pakistani female politicians Benazir Bhutto and Hina Rabbani Khar higher in masculine
and feminine traits when compared to their ideal candidate for prime minister. Exploring these differences in perceptions is essential to understanding the success or failures of females in American and Pakistani politics. This study extends research on the perceptions of gender roles, and the impact of such portrayals on the political success of females in the U.S. and Pakistan.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Interest in the presidential races in the U.S. and election for prime minister in Pakistan are anxiously anticipated events with heightened media coverage. Female leaders, such as Benazir Bhutto, who was elected as prime minister of Pakistan twice (1988 and 1993), Hina Rabbani Khar, who was sworn in as Pakistan’s youngest Minister of State for foreign affairs in 2011, and Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, who both campaigned in 2008, brought more public and media attention to female politicians. This study examines the views of female politicians in two countries — Pakistan and the U.S. — among college students from several universities. The study’s purpose is to explore the underlying reasons behind those viewpoints. Are female politicians running for high office thought of as more successful in Pakistan or the U.S., and why? Do the way young people perceive gender roles play a role in how they think about female political leaders? Social role theory provides the framework for this study. The existence of gender differences in occupational roles can influence gender stereotyping of traits for males and females, according to social role theory (Eagly & Stefen, 1984; Eagly & Wood, 1999).

An online survey was conducted to ask Pakistani/Pakistani American and American students at universities in the U.S. about their perspectives on female politicians and related issues. Today’s young people are the newest generation of voters, and they have the power to, arguably, alter possible societal biases against female politicians. Research also points toward the importance of understanding and appealing to young voters. Research conducted by the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (2009) showed an increase in youth voter
turnout (those under the age of 30) of more than 50% compared to the 2004 presidential elections. It was the third highest rate of increase for this age group in voting in the U.S. Recent data from the Current Population Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) also found that young female voters were voting at higher rates when compared to young male voters in the U.S.

In Pakistan the importance of the youth vote is also gaining considerable attention as the median age for the Pakistani population is 21 (Pakistan, CIA World Factbook, 2011). After witnessing the recent rise in supporters for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party, other political parties in Pakistan have started to research and reflect on ways to read into the youth vote (Manan, 2011). The deputy general secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) recently told a Pakistani newspaper that his party had neglected the youth as a target audience in recent years resulting in the loss of their support (Manan, 2011). However, he also emphasized in his statement that his party was beginning to direct its attention toward this group.

This study is unique in that it examines perceptions of American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students’ views of the position of women in high office, in their respective societies, and the success, failures and characteristics of popular female political figures. The study also explores the ideal vision of president/prime minister and how that ideal image compares to the perception of recent female political figures. The findings could provide a deeper understanding of the cultural differences in perception of the role of women in high offices that may often be assumed. Ultimately, the findings could shed light on attributes of female politicians that this sample of young
adults want and dislike in a candidate, which could provide research for political campaigns.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Attempting to understand the differences in perspectives of young people’s opinions about female political leaders in Pakistan and the U.S. is a challenging task that requires a thorough understanding of several issues: social role theory, gender roles, women in politics, and young voters in both countries. The following chapter details each of those issues.

Social Role Theory

In the 1980s, Eagly introduced social role theory by examining sex differences and gender stereotypes (1987). The theory suggests that the existence of gender differences in occupational roles influences gender stereotyping of traits in society. In other words, observable differences in social roles and behaviors attributed to gender are a reflection of the social structure of a society (Eagly, 1987). For example, men who are more likely to be employed and independent are often associated with a more assertive role – referred to in the literature as “agentic,” while women, who are largely responsible for rearing children, are viewed as nurturing caregivers and referred to as “communal” (Eagly & Steffen, 1986). Bakan (1966) explained the term “agency” is attributed to men, and the concept focuses on the self. “Communion” is attributed to women and the term focuses on others. Eagly and Stefen also found that when the occupations of men and women were not revealed, qualities were attributed to them. For example, men were considered highly agentic, while women were considered highly communal. However, the two researchers found that once people’s occupations were revealed, the perceptions of them were limited to people’s knowledge and experience of social roles where women who were part-time employees were considered to be
considerate and dedicated to their homemaker duties and men who were part-time employees were considered to be lazy and unwilling to shoulder their responsibilities.

Eagly and Wood (1999) observed that men and women in society tend to adapt qualities that are not innate to them, but that comply with roles which they are socially assigned. Therefore, men adapt more assertive characteristics to enter the competitive workforce, while women adapt nurturing qualities to become primary caregivers to their children. Eagly and Wood (1999) assert that social role theory is based on the premise that human behavior is strongly influenced by culture, the surrounding practices, and beliefs that surround them. Social roles can be exerted through societal expectations, but they can also be internalized by individuals (Wood & Eagly, 2009). Diekman and Eagly (2008) found that individuals were likely to feel the need to embrace gender role expectations and often avoid contradicting them.

In another study, Eagly and Steffen (1984) surveyed students and staff on a university campus and found that men and women were often perceived stereotypically when their employment status was not shared. Men were often assumed to be employed, and females were not. Women were perceived as being more agentic if they were employed as opposed to their male counterparts, even though their wages may differ. Eagly and Steffen attributed this to the learned social observation of most participants who perceive women as having a choice to enter the workforce. Therefore, participants perceived women who were employed to be more agentic. Eagly and Steffen concluded from their study that a difference in gender perceptions would likely not exist in society once society did not have a gender gap. Education alone, she posited, is not sufficient or powerful enough in itself to change perceptions.
Eagly and Diekman (2006) further suggested that differences in gender attitudes toward politics can also be linked to social roles of men and women in a society. Diekman and Schneider (2010) therefore suggest that both genders are more likely to share political attitudes if they also share a similar variety of specific roles in society.

In politics, a clear gender gap appeared in the 1980s in voting patterns when more women distanced themselves from supporting conservative candidates (Norris, 2003). After a significant difference in voting preferences between genders was observed during the 1996 and 2000 U.S. presidential elections, Eagly, Diekman, Schneider and Kulesa (2003) suggested that this difference existed because of the lower social position of women in society. However, today women have also been increasingly engaged in politics and activism for their own rights (Eagly & Diekman, 2002) and as a result pay more attention to candidates who address issues specifically relevant to them. Males may not choose a candidate based on gender because there is no social movement specifically targeting men’s interests. This imbalance between genders could have the potential to impact U.S. elections. In the U.S., women vote more than men (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) and, according to Schaffner (2005), political candidates interested in attracting votes from female voters are more likely to target issues that are specifically relevant or of interest to women.

Eagly, Diekman, Johannesen-Schmidt and Koenig (2004) explored the correlation between role occupancies of male and females and their views on socio-political issues. The researchers surveyed 137 men and 124 women in a large metropolitan airport (with a control group of 112 men and 119 women in a lab setting on a Midwest university campus). The results showed that women were more likely (along
with other racial minorities) than men to sympathize with issues regarding rights of women and homosexuals. For example, women are more likely to show an interest in supporting government actions, such as supporting the homeless and aiding medical care and education (Schlesigner & Heldman, 2001). On the other hand, men are more likely to support civil liberties and a strong military. They are also most likely to endorse aggression and as a result, support military interventions (Nincic & Nincic, 2002).

Eagly, Diekman, Schneider, & Kulesa (2004) concluded that a difference in perception of salient political issues was a result of a gap that existed in society’s allocation of gender roles, despite women in some places having important roles in the workforce, such as government. This difference on issue salience has been shown to impact performance of women in professional positions. Kahn & Goldenberg (1991b) found that women running for high office were at a disadvantage because of the manner in which they were stereotyped by the media (for their sexuality and their historical circumstances) and urged women to make adjustments to tackle and overcome these stereotypes. Eagly et al. (2004) maintained, however, that once the gender gap has closed, people’s perception of gender roles will also reflect in the attitudes of gender toward a broad spectrum of issues.

**Masculine and Feminine Traits**

The personal attributes questionnaire is an instrument created by Spence and Helmreich (1978) based on their own pilot work. The scale consists of a list of 24 words, which belong to one of three equal groups: the M-scale (for masculine traits), the F-scale (for feminine traits) and the M-F scale (for masculine and feminine traits). Spence and Helmreich found that items on the M-scale were most likely to be attributed to men, while still being considered socially desirable in both sexes. Similarly, items on the F-
scale were most likely to be attributed to women, while still being considered socially desirable in both sexes. The M-F scale however, was found to be imbalanced in terms of attributes socially desirable in both sexes. On the M-F scale, ideal masculine attributes and feminine attributes were found to be on opposite sides of the semantic differential scales.

Overall, the M-scale has masculine, agentic characteristics, which include aggression and dominance. The F-scale has feminine, expressive items, which describe emotional vulnerability and the need for emotional support. And the M-F scale consists of a combination of the two. Spence and Helmreich (1978) consistently found pronounced differences between genders on all three scales, with men scoring higher on the M and M-F scales, and women scoring higher on the F-scale. Further research has also strengthened the validity of the Personal Attributes Questionnaire in explaining differences in traits found between sexes (Helmreich & Spence, 1978; Helmreich, Spence, & Holahan, 1979; Helmreich, Spence & Wilhelm, 1981; Klein & Willerman, 1979; Spence et al., 1979; Yoder, Rice, Adams, Priest & Prince, 1982).

Spence and Helmreich (1978) said the gender trait differences are consistent, regardless of age, ethnicity and socio-economic background differences. However, research found some differences in consistency when the questionnaire was administered to diverse populations, including gays/lesbians, female varsity athletes and Ph.D. scientists. Those three groups were specifically chosen by the researchers because of the stereotypes concerning gender traits that are associated with them. Gays/lesbians are distinguishable for their sexual orientation, Ph.D. scientists are distinguishable for their high attainment of education and female varsity athletes are
distinguishable for their athletic success. In 1974, Ward found (as cited in Spence & Helmreich, 1978) that gays/lesbians’ scores on the personal attributes questionnaire differed significantly from the college samples of Spence, Helmreich & Stapp (1975). Ward (1974) found lesbians scored significantly higher than college females on the masculine and masculine-feminine scale, and significantly lower on the feminine scale compared to college females. Similarly, Ward (1974) found male homosexuals scored significantly lower on the masculine and masculine-feminine scale compared to college males, and also scored higher on the feminine scale compared to them.

Spence and Helmreich (1978) administered the personal attributes questionnaire to female varsity athletes and found their responses to also differ from the college sample. The majority of the athletes, compared to the college sample, were considered to be androgynous – as they scored high on both the feminine and masculine traits. Spence and Helmreich (1978) attributed those findings as a demonstration of females embracing masculine roles in their efforts to succeed at competitive sports.

Responses from Ph.D. scientists also showed similar results. Spence and Helmreich (1978) found male Ph.D. scientists scored higher on masculine traits, compared to males from the college sample. However, female Ph.D. scientists also scored higher on masculine traits, compared to females from the college sample. Overall, female Ph.D. scientists showed a similar trend to the varsity athletes in their tendency to be androgynous. Spence & Helmreich (1978) attribute this to those females being in an agentic field that is not common for women.
Based on research involving the personal attributes questionnaire being administered in foreign countries, Spence and Helmreich (1978) found more in common between the foreign participants and American participants, than what they found to be different. Spence and Helmreich (1978) describe one of their studies, which included 95 male and 89 female Lebanese students, who were all fluent in English and attending the American University in Beirut. Both researchers found the response patterns regarding gender traits for this sample to be similar to the responses of American students. While the survey was conducted in a Middle Eastern country, the sample was largely non-Muslim and likely to be different from the general population because they were afforded the opportunity to study at a co-educational institution.

But Spence and Helmreich (1978) caution researchers to be aware of broad generalizations. The researchers found that agentic and instrumental characteristics were usually regarded as masculine, while communal and expressive characteristics were usually regarded as feminine. However, this gender association is not always the case. In some societies, socialization and social expectations can define sex stereotypes differently. Spence and Hemreich (1978) were especially cautious about broad generalizations because they did not have an opportunity to administer their personal attributes questionnaire to diverse populations outside of the U.S.

**Gender Roles and the Place of Women in Politics in Pakistan**

According to social role theory, people’s perceptions of gender roles reflect the gender roles that exist in society. Therefore, it is essential to focus on gender roles in countries often stereotyped as having traditional gender roles, such as Pakistan.
The Islamic Republic of Pakistan was recently ranked in the bottom five countries by the World Economic Forum’s Gender Gap Report 2011. The report was based on several measures, which include: gender gaps in salaries; workforce participation and highly skilled employment; access to basic and higher level education; representation in decision-making opportunities; life expectancy; and sex ratios (Hausemann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2011). The plight of women in Pakistan has been a long winding journey. In 1981, the Women’s Action Forum (WAF) was created to challenge the legal and political measures against women taken by the government of General Zia-ul-Haq at the time (Jamal, 2005). Those measures included the Hudood Ordinance No.VII of 1979. According to that ordinance, if a woman was unable to have four male witnesses to show that she had been raped, she would be accused of the crime of adultery. Although the forum was not able to change this ordinance, which still exists today, the formation of this forum is often considered a historic milestone for women in Pakistan. The forum gave Pakistani women a voice and established a marked change in the perception of women and their relationship with the government (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Women in Pakistan have had the right to vote since Pakistan’s creation as an independent state in August 1947. Pakistan’s president is considered the chief of state and the prime minister is considered the head of the government. The bicameral Parliament (also known as the Majlis-e-Shoora) consists of the Senate. Four of those seats are reserved for women for each of the four provincial assemblies, and one seat is reserved for a woman to be appointed from the federal capital. In Pakistan’s most recent senatorial elections in 2009, 17% of the seats went to women, which fulfilled the delegated quota for women. The second half of Pakistan’s bicameral parliament
consists of the national assembly with 342 seats. Women are allocated seats to each of
the four provinces, the federally administered tribal areas and the federal capital
resulting in a total of 60 seats. In Pakistan’s most recent national assembly elections in
2008, women won 22% of the seats (76), more seats than were designated to them
(International Organization of Parliaments, 2011).

Female leadership in Pakistan has gained ground since Pakistan’s creation in
1947. After the creation of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s younger sister, Fatima
Jinnah, was often recognized by many affectionate titles including the “mother of the
nation” (Ziring, 1994). Jinnah’s support for her brother was well recognized and
although she did not seem to show a personal interest or ambition in politics, after her
brother’s death in 1948 she decided to contest the presidential elections in 1964 to
challenge the military leadership of Ayub Khan. Jinnah was not successful but her
campaign did not go by unnoticed by the public (Ziring, 1994).

**Benazir Bhutto**

Almost two decades after Fatima Jinnah’s unsuccessful campaign, Benazir
Bhutto entered Pakistan’s political scene. Benazir Bhutto belonged to one of the world’s
most famous political dynasties, the Bhuttos of Pakistan. She was the eldest daughter
of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, founder of Pakistan’s largest political party, the Pakistan People’s
Party (PPP). Z.A. Bhutto also served as the president of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973,
and later the prime minister of Pakistan from 1973 to 1977. In July 1977, Pakistan’s
military staged a successful coup under the leadership of General Zia ul Haq and later
arrested Z.A. Bhutto on charges of authorizing the murder of a political opponent. In
1979, Z.A. Bhutto was executed after what many considered to be a controversial trial.
Benazir Bhutto was educated at Harvard and Oxford before she joined politics. While her father was imprisoned, Benazir lived in exile in the United Kingdom and became the leader of her father’s political party in 1982. She was the first Pakistani woman to become the chairperson of a political party. After her father’s execution, Benazir returned to Pakistan in 1986 and after the death of General Zia ul Haq in an airplane crash, contested her first elections in 1988 at the age of 35 and became Pakistan’s first female prime minister. She was also the first female leader of a Muslim state. Bhutto held office for two terms, from 1988 to 1990 and 1993 to 1996, but did not complete an entire elected term both times due to charges of corruption (Ziring, 1994).

In 1999, Bhutto left Pakistan to live in a self-imposed exile overseas. In 2007, president Pervez Musharraf signed an ordinance into law that removed all previous charges of corruption against a number of politicians, including Bhutto. Many perceived Bhutto as a potentially strong ally to the Pakistani government in its fight on the “War against terror” as she was seen as an opponent of religious extremists in the region. Bhutto returned from exile to Pakistan in October 2007. On December 27, 2007, Bhutto’s rally was the target of an attack. Shots were fired, and a suicide bomb was detonated—Bhutto did not survive the attack. Bhutto’s assassination two weeks prior to the general election was a major blow to her political party (Pakistan’s People’s Party Parliamentarians), which has dominated Pakistani politics for decades (Houtman, 2008).

Bhutto’s unique upbringing put her in a challenging position. She was left to balance her feudal background, which included her arranged marriage to Asif Ali Zardari, who she was fiercely loyal to, despite criminal allegations against him over the
years. Bhutto also was well known for her fiercely rhetorical position against her
opponents (both foreign and domestic). She earned herself the nickname “Iron Lady.”
Ziring (1991) argued Bhutto’s western education and charisma did not seem to help her
solve the pressing issues that her country faced. Bhutto’s often public struggles with her
family led to questions arising regarding her ability to lead Pakistan (Ziring, 1994).
Bhutto was the last remaining political heir of her father’s legacy. Both her brothers were
killed under mysterious circumstances. Murtaza Bhutto became involved in politics at
the time of their father’s imprisonment, but unlike Benazir Bhutto, he formed a militant
group outside of Pakistan to launch a military campaign against the Pakistani military
government. Murtaza Bhutto later returned to Pakistan after winning a provincial
election as an independent candidate while in exile and was assassinated outside his
home in Karachi in 1996. Benazir’s brother Shahnawaz, who also took an interest in
politics, was found dead in his apartment while living in France in 1985. Benazir
Bhutto’s sister has not shown an interest in joining politics.

**Hina Rabbani Khar**

Similar to Bhutto, Hina Rabbani Khar also belongs to a feudal family of the village
“Khar Garbi.” Her family’s political power is linked to their large family estates in the
area. H.R. Khar’s father, Ghulam Noor Rabbani Khar, and her paternal uncle, Ghulam
Mustafa Khar, have been involved in Pakistani politics for decades. Her father has been
a member of the provincial and national assembly, and her uncle has had a long history
in politics. Ghulam Mustafa Khar was a close ally of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, and in later
years was a member of the PPP under Benazir Bhutto’s leadership. G.M. Khar had a
falling out with Bhutto upon her return to Pakistan in 2007 and was consequently
removed from her political party.
Hina Rabbani Khar attended graduate school at the University of Massachusetts. In 2002, H.R. Khar was encouraged by her father to contest the elections, as her father and uncle were both unable to contest due to a law introduced that disqualified politicians from contesting elections if they did not at least hold a bachelor's degree. H.R. Khar was first elected into the National Assembly in 2002 at the age of 24, as a member of the Pakistan Muslim League (Q), and then again in 2008 as a member of Bhutto’s PPP, when she was made Minister of State for Finance and Economic Affairs and became the first female to present the Pakistani budget before the National Assembly. In early 2011, she was sworn in as the Minister of State for foreign affairs and became the youngest person to hold this position.

The media’s fascination with Khar has had little to do with her professional experience and work. Khar was criticized for her young age and her appearance. For example, her initials and the name of her designer bag became a Twitter trend worldwide (Taseer, 2011). As she arrived in India for highly anticipated talks with the government in 2011, she was greeted with hysteria from the Indian media that took an instant fascination with Pakistan’s “model-like minister” who “scored full marks on the fashion front” (“Delhi gushes over new Pakistani minister,” 2011, para 1 and para 4). Fatima Bhutto, Benazir Bhutto’s niece, claimed Khar’s appointment sent the wrong message to the youth of Pakistan as it was not earned or deserved because she was young and inexperienced. Fatima Bhutto criticized the shallow environment of Pakistani politics and government affairs, where according to her “we don’t talk about ideas, we talk about people.” (“Fatima Bhutto slams Hina Rabbani Khar,” 2011, para 2).
H.R. Khar’s family members have been prominent figures in Pakistani politics. Her education and achievements are in stark contrast to many of the dark allegations that some of her family members are accused of, including abuse.

**Gender Roles and the Place of Women in Politics in the U.S.**

More research has been conducted on gender roles and the attitudes toward women in politics in the U.S. than in Pakistan. Women in the U.S. have had the right to vote since a constitutional amendment in 1920. In the 2010 congressional elections, women in the U.S. won a total of 92 seats (17%). The same year women won 17 seats (17%) in the Senate (Women in Congress, 2012). Reasons attributed to why there have been fewer female representatives in U.S. politics include: a low number of women who seek political office/positions (Deber 1982); fewer campaign funds for women to run for office (Epstem, 1981; Gertzog, 1979); they are often in races with well-known male candidates (Bernstem, 1986; Gertzog and Simard, 1982); and the stereotyping of female candidates (Boles & Durio, 1981; Boles & Durio, 1980; Bowman, 1984; Sapiro, 1982).

When examining perceptions of female candidates, it is important to consider the current issues at the time, such as healthcare reform, education, foreign policy and military stances. Kahn (1994b) found that in certain elections and current issue environments, the fact that female voters are stereotyped and viewed as honest and compassionate may be advantageous to them. For example, issues related to healthcare or the trustworthiness of candidates may help female candidates more as they can be perceived as more competent to deal with such issues. Nonetheless, this advantage is very calculated and strictly dependent on the current issues and political environment of the time of the election (Kahn, 1994b). Although male candidates
receive coverage on both masculine and feminine issues, such as budget and healthcare, female candidates only receive coverage on feminine issues, which lowers their credibility (Banwart, Bystrom & Robertson, 2003).

The U.S. has not had many female candidates enter the presidential race. In 1984, Geraldine A. Ferraro, a congresswoman from Queens accepted the Democratic nomination for vice president but was not successful. Her campaign alongside presidential hopeful Walter Mondale was plagued with criticism regarding her husband’s finances, her controversial views on abortion, her supposed lack of experience and a focus on her appearance. Elizabeth Dole also entered the bid for the presidential race in 2000 for the Republican Party’s nomination but was also met with negative media coverage that mostly focused on her appearance and not her stance on issues (Aday & Devitt, 2001). The coverage surrounding her also focused heavily on her family in contrast to other candidates (Heldman, Carrol & Olson, 2005).

Kahn (1992) content analyzed U.S. newspaper coverage of male and female senator candidates (between 1982 and 1986) to determine differences between the coverage. The leading newspaper in terms of circulation was used for each state. They found that the coverage given to women lacked an in-depth analysis of issues and was also much more negative than the coverage of their male counterparts. The news coverage of female candidates was also remarkably less when compared to coverage given to male candidates.

In another related study, Kahn and Goldenberg (1991a) found that when female candidate names were replaced in articles about male candidates of the same level, voters tended to show more approval toward them. However, gender stereotypes
seemed to help female candidates the most as they were most often considered to be “honest,” “compassionate,” and better equipped to deal with issues such as healthcare and education (Kahn, 1994a). The authors observed that this advantage to females realistically had little scope because the media coverage examined showed a bias toward male-oriented issues, such as national security as opposed to healthcare. Therefore, unless female candidates could exert some control over the media coverage they receive, they would be unable to use this to their advantage (Kahn, 1994a).

Studies have found that female candidates continue to receive more coverage from the media as opposed to male candidates on their appearance, personality and family (Aday & Devitt, 2001; Bystrom, 2006; Devitt, 2002; Heldman, Carrol & Olson, 2005; Kahn, 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991b).

Sarah Palin

Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska was the next female candidate who accepted the nomination for vice president 24 years after Ferraro. At the age of 44, Palin was the first woman to secure a spot on the Republican presidential ticket. Palin graduated from the University of Idaho with a dual degree in journalism and political science. Prior to being chosen as a candidate to run for vice president in 2008, Palin had served as the mayor of a small town in Alaska from 1996 to 2002 and was the first woman and youngest person to be elected governor of Alaska in 2006. She was still governor at the time of her nomination for vice president. After returning from her vice presidential campaign, Palin stepped down as governor of Alaska, having only completed half of her four-year term.

Palin presented herself as a mother, was an opponent of abortion and as a life-time member of the National Rifle Association. Although Palin was successful in
drawing large crowds, she was criticized for her civics knowledge. As reported in an
interview with a U.S. journalist, Palin appeared unsure about the duties of a vice
president. Stating that the vice president of the U.S. was in charge of the U.S. Senate.
Her candidacy was also impacted by the news of her unwed, 17-year-old daughter’s
pregnancy. Palin received media attention that focused on her portrayal as a mother.
Many voters and media outlets expressed skepticism at Palin’s ability to balance her
duties as vice president while also being a mother of five children, including a pregnant
tenage daughter and a young son with special needs (Kantor & Swarns, 2008).

Palin’s vice presidential nomination acceptance speech was a historical moment
for female politicians in the United States, as she was the first female from the
Republican party to be on the presidential ticket. Gibson and Heyse (2010) analyzed
Palin’s nomination acceptance speech at the Republican Party convention to examine
the persona that Palin attempted to portray and how it actually undermined feminist
ambitions in the political arena. Although Palin vividly portrayed herself as a woman,
mother and wife, she also emphasized traditional gender roles, maintaining herself as a
follower of McCain who was the “militarized” masculine, experienced war veteran
(Gibson & Heyse, 2010). Palin made a striking comparison between Senator McCain’s
strong credentials, based on his military experience compared to Senator Joe Biden’s
public service experience, and then-Senator Obama’s work in Chicago and the Senate
(Gibson & Heyse, 2010).

Upon her return to Alaska after her unsuccessful campaign for vice president,
Palin faced several accusations of unethical behavior, which included back taxes that
she owed to the state. Reports also emerged that she had spent hundreds of thousands
of dollars on a stylist for her and her family. Palin was found to have violated ethics by using her political influence in an effort to have her former brother-in-law, a state trooper dismissed.

Palin has said she has no intentions to run for president in the future. In 2010, she became an official contributor to the Fox News Channel and later, Palin unofficially became a spokesperson for the Tea Party movement. She delivered the key note address at their first convention in February of that same year.

**Hillary Clinton**

During the same election season of 2008, Hillary Clinton was defeated by Barack Obama. Although the campaigns of Clinton and Palin were almost a quarter of a century after that of Ferraro’s, the media attention still focused on their families and image, as opposed to their political experience and stances (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2011; Uscinski & Gorren, 2011).

Hillary Clinton graduated from Wesley College and later attended the Yale Law School. She continued to practice children’s law and family policy after her husband Bill Clinton was elected Arkansas Attorney General. Clinton joined the Rose Law firm and in 1988 and 1991 was named one of the 100 most powerful lawyers in America. As first lady of Arkansas (1979 to 1981 and again from 1983 to 1992), Hillary participated in several boards and committees. Later during her husband’s run for president, Clinton served as one of his chief advisers. As first lady (1993 to 2001), Clinton also played a prominent role in her husband’s administration. He appointed her to head the Task Force on National Health Care.

The Clintons endured personal struggles during Clinton’s presidency when Hillary was forced to encounter the uncomfortable publicized infidelities of her husband,
once in 1992 and then again in 1998. In 2001, Clinton became the first female senator of New York and first wife of a president to seek and win national office. She was re-elected in 2006. Early in 2007, at the age of 60, Hillary announced her intentions to run for president of the U.S. She did not receive the Democratic nomination for president in November 2008, conceding defeat to Obama. She became the U.S. Secretary of State in 2009, and was the third women in U.S. history to hold this position.

Based on social role theory and studies related to female politicians, media coverage, and research conducted by Spence and Helmreich (1978), this study sets out to answer the following research questions:

**Research Questions**

**RQ1.** How do American and Pakistani students differ in their reasons for why the U.S. has not had a female president?

**RQ2.** What characteristics do American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants attribute to the success of certain political female figures in high office in their respective countries?

**RQ3.** How do American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants differ in their vision of an ideal candidate for president/prime minister in their respective country?

**RQ4.** How do American participants differ in their views of masculine and feminine traits that describe their ideal U.S. president and those traits that describe a female political leader in high office (Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin)?

**RQ5.** How do Pakistani/Pakistani American participants differ in their views of masculine and feminine traits that describe their ideal prime minister and those traits that describe a female political leader in high office in Pakistan (Benazir Bhutto and Hina Rabbani Khar)?
CHAPTER 3
METHOD

Researchers have increasingly embraced online survey research because of its convenience and because the internet has become more accessible to the general public (Wellman, 2004). Surveys allow researchers to collect data from a segment of the population about a specific topic, and then apply the results to a larger population (Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski & Singer, 2006). Online surveys in particular are helpful for researchers as they allow respondents to be directed towards specific questions, based on their responses (Atkeson, Adams, Bryant, Adams, Zilberman, & Saunders, 2011). This can be helpful as it can filter out respondents by not asking them questions that are not relevant to them.

An online survey was conducted to examine American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students’ opinions about female politicians and related political issues in their respective countries. The American survey consisted of 35 questions and the Pakistani/Pakistani American survey consisted of 32 questions. After answering questions about their nationalities and that of their parents’ nationalities, the respondents were directed to take either the Pakistani or American survey based on their response. The survey ended if they did not qualify to take either questionnaire: either if they were not 18 years or older, and/or if they were not citizens of either the U.S. or Pakistan.

Students who were dual citizens of both the U.S. and Pakistan were asked to rate what nationality/nationality heritage they identified with most. They then were directed to either survey – American or Pakistani/Pakistani American survey based on how they answered a 7-point Likert scale question. Participants who indicated that they
were dual citizens of Pakistan and the U.S. were asked on a scale of “1” to “7”, with “1” being “Pakistani” and “7” being “American,” what nationality/national heritage did they identify with most. Participants responding “5” and higher were directed to the American survey, while those responding between “1” and “4” were directed to the Pakistani survey. Both the American and Pakistani surveys were streamlined and designed to mirror one another. (Appendix A and B.)

The Pakistani/Pakistani American participants were all members of Pakistani student associations at 10 different universities across the U.S. The author contacted 25 universities’ Pakistani student associations, which had information available about their organization online. Of those organizations, 10 responded and agreed to participate. The author then contacted charitable/volunteer organizations at the same universities for a sample of American participants for the survey.

The volunteer organizations contacted for this study were offered an incentive. Each member of the organization who completed the survey would received $1 for their organization. Each organization could earn up to $80 maximum. The limit was placed so that all the organizations would be guaranteed an equal chance at participation, regardless of their size. At the end of two weeks, organizations were sent a check made out to their organization based on participation. The participating student organizations ranged from 50 to more than 100 active members. Incentives are an important aspect of survey research as they encourage participation and improve survey completion rates. They also acknowledge the significance of participants to the research process (Huby & Hughes, 2001).
A majority of the questions used a 7-point Likert scale to measure the opinions of students on their interest in politics, political engagement and their vision of an ideal president or prime minister, as well as their opinions on certain political female leaders in their respective home country. Participants were informed at the beginning of the survey that the survey explored college students’ perceptions of politicians and political issues in two countries: the U.S. and Pakistan. Participants were made aware of this information regarding the survey because they would be asked whether they and/or one of their parents/guardians was a citizen of either country so that they could be directed toward the appropriate survey.

**Dependent variables; Reasons attributed to the U.S. not having a female president.** This dependent variable was measured by asking participants five questions on a 7-point Likert scale, with “1” being “Strongly Disagree” and “7” being “Strongly Agree.”

Participants in both groups were asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- There has not been a female candidate superior enough.
- There have not been enough female politicians in the political arena.
- A woman may struggle to fulfill the image of the president of the United States of America.
- Many U.S. voters do not feel that a woman can fulfill the role of president.
- Many American voters fear that their vote for a female president will not count because it is highly unlikely that she will win.

A T-test with Bonferroni adjustment was used to compare any differences attributed to the U.S. not having a female president between American students and Pakistani students for each individual statement (RQ1).
Characteristics attributed to the success or failure of certain female candidates in the U.S./Pakistan. This dependent variable was measured by first asking U.S. participants if they were familiar with who Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were. Pakistani/Pakistani American students were asked if they were familiar with who Benazir Bhutto and Hina Rabbani Khar were. Participants who answered they were familiar with the candidates were then asked how much each of the following characteristics helped or hurt that female candidate’s political/presidential campaign: Gender, experience, age, image, and personality. The survey also asked about characteristics specific to each politician’s family life. Participants familiar with Clinton rated her family life (daughter, Chelsea Clinton) and husband (Bill Clinton). Participants familiar with Palin rated her family life (husband, Todd Palin) and daughter (Bristol Palin). Participants familiar with Bhutto rated her family life (husband, children) and her father (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto). And participants familiar with Khar rated her family life (husband, children) and her ancestral family (The Khars). The scale ranged from 1 to 7 with “1” being “Hurt her campaign a lot” and “7” being “Helped her campaign a lot.”

Means were compared to examine the more prominent and least prominent characteristics attributed the success or failure of the political campaigns of these female politicians (RQ2).

Characteristics of an ideal candidate for president/prime minister. This dependent variable was measured by asking American and Pakistani/Pakistani American to indicate the extent to which they considered a list of 24 characteristics to describe their vision of a president/prime minister. A semantic differential scale was used and participants were instructed to choose the point that came closest to the
adjective that described their ideal leader. The list of 24 words were taken from the
Personal Attributes Questionnaire created by Spence and Helmreich (1978), which
consisted of three groups of eight descriptions that could be used to rate male
characteristics, female characteristics, and male-female characteristics. For purpose of
this study, M-F scales were reversed so that masculine scores were on the higher end.
The question asked, “Please indicate the extent that each of the following
characteristics describes a president of the United States/prime minister of Pakistan.
Each pair of words describes contradictory characteristics – that is you cannot be both
at the same time. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that describes your
vision of a president/prime minister.” The response statements were as follows:

M-F 1. Not at all aggressive/Very aggressive*
M  2. Not at all independent/Very independent*
F  3. Not at all emotional/Very emotional*
M-F 4. Very submissive/Very dominant*
M-F 5. Not at all excitable in a major crisis*/Very excitable in a major crisis
M  6. Very passive/Very active*
F  7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others/ Able to devote self completely to others*
F   8. Very rough/Very gentle*
F  9. Not at all helpful to others/Very helpful to others*
M 10. Not at all competitive/Very competitive*
M-F 11. Very home oriented/Very worldly*
F  12. Not at all kind/Very kind*
M-F 13. Indifferent to others approval*/Highly needful of others’ approval
M-F 14. Feelings not easily hurt*/Feelings easily hurt
F  15. Not at all aware of feelings of others/Very aware of feelings of others*
M 16. Can make decisions easily*/Has difficulty making decisions
M 17. Gives up very easily/Never gives up easily*
M-F 18. Never cries*/Cries very easily
M 19. Not at all self-confident/Very self-confident*
M 20. Feels very inferior/Feels very superior*
F 21. Not at all understanding of others/Very understanding of others*
F 22. Very cold in relations with others/Very warm in relations with others*
M-F 23. Very little need for security*/ Very strong need for security
M 24. Goes to pieces under pressure/Stands up well under pressure*

The letters next to each statement indicate M for masculinity, F for femininity and M-F for masculine-feminine. The M-F scores were reversed so that the masculine traits were on the higher end, as shown by the asterisk.

Spence and Helmreich (1978) reported their Cronbach alpha values for the M, F and M-F scales respectively in a college group sample, where the size was unspecified as .85, .82 and .78 (pp. 35). Yoder, Rice, Adams, Priest and Prince II (1982) combined their M and M-F scores after administering the personal attributes questionnaire to a group of 1,007 male and 78 female freshman cadets. They reported their Cronbach alpha values for the combined M and M-F scales, and the F-scale respectively as .76 and .72 (pp. 654). For purposes of this study, the male characteristics and the male-female characteristics were added together for a composite masculine score; and the female characteristics were summed for a composite feminine score. An independent samples t-test was run to see whether there was any significant difference between American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants vision of an ideal president/prime minister based on RQ3.

**Characteristics of a female candidate for president/prime minister.** This variable was measured by asking American and Pakistani/Pakistani American to indicate the extent to which they considered the same list of 24 characteristics to describe a female politician who they were familiar with. American students rated Clinton and Palin (RQ4) and Pakistani/Pakistani American students rated Bhutto and Khar (RQ5). Participants rated the women by choosing a point on a semantic differential scale that came closest to the words they would agree with that described each women.
The male characteristics and the male-female characteristics (once reversed to match) were added together to form a composite masculine score, and the female characteristics were summed to form a composite feminine score. A paired samples t-test was conducted to explore whether there was any significant difference between American participants’ vision of an ideal president and their perception of Clinton and/or Palin (RQ4). A paired samples t-test also was conducted to examine Pakistani/Pakistani American students’ vision of an ideal prime minister and their perceptions of Bhutto and/or Khar (RQ5).

Civic Learning and Engagement (2009) showed an increase in youth voter turnout (those under the age of 30) of more than 50% compared to the 2004 presidential elections. It was the third highest rate of increase for this age group in voting in the U.S. Recent data from the Current Population Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) also found that young female voters were voting at higher rates when compared to young male voters in the U.S.

In Pakistan the importance of the youth vote is also gaining considerable attention as the median age for the Pakistani population is 21 (Pakistan, CIA World Factbook, 2011). After witnessing the recent rise in supporters for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf party, other political parties in Pakistan have started to research and reflect on ways to read into the youth vote (Manan, 2011). The deputy general secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) recently told a Pakistani newspaper that his party had neglected the youth as a target audience in recent years resulting in the loss of their support (Manan, 2011). However, he also emphasized in his statement that his party was beginning to direct its attention toward this group.
This study is unique in that it examines perceptions of American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students’ views of the position of women in high office, in their respective societies, and the success, failures and characteristics of popular female political figures. The study also explores the ideal vision of president/prime minister and how that ideal image compares to the perception of recent female political figures. The findings could provide a deeper understanding of the cultural differences in perception of the role of women in high offices that may often be assumed. Ultimately, the findings could shed light on attributes of female politicians that this sample of young adults want and dislike in a candidate, which could provide research for political campaigns.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

The survey was sent to 1,165 participants belonging to one of 24 student organizations from 10 universities from across the United States. Out of the 24 organizations that participated in the survey, 10 of them were Pakistani student associations. A total of 170 participants completed the survey, for a response rate of 14%. Of those, 129 were completed by American students, and 41 were completed by Pakistani/Pakistani American students. The survey was active for two weeks in March 2012.

All of the American participants indicated that at least one of their parents/guardians was an American citizen. Participants who indicated that they were dual citizens of Pakistan and the U.S. were asked on a scale of “1” to “7”, with “1” being “Pakistani” and “7” being “American,” what nationality/national heritage did they identify with most. Participants responding “5” and higher were directed to the American survey, while those responding between “1” and “4” were directed to the Pakistani survey. There were four Pakistani Americans (with dual citizenship of both Pakistan and the U.S.) who completed the American survey. For those dual citizens who took the American survey, the average number of years for them having lived in Pakistan was six years and the average number of years for them living in the U.S. was 15 years.

Sixty-six percent of the 129 American participants were female, while the average age for these participants was 21. About a quarter of the American participants classified themselves as juniors in college (26%), 19% classified themselves as seniors, 19% were sophomores, 18% were graduate students, 16% were freshman, and only 1 student was classified as “other.” Of the 129 American participants, more than half of
the participants were white (56%), 37% reported were Asian; and 7% chose “Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.”

In terms of religion, more than half of the 129 American participants classified themselves as Christians (51%), with 61% of those Christians classifying themselves as Catholics, 23% Protestants and 17% another denomination of Christianity. Nineteen percent of the American participants were Muslims, 12% were Atheists, and 10% classified themselves as “other.” Five percent were Buddhists and 2% were Hindus.

The sample for this survey was more diverse in relation to religion compared with the national population. According to the latest American religious identification survey (American Religious Identity Survey, 2008), 76% of the total U.S. population consider themselves to be Christians, 1% are Jewish, 0.5 % are Muslims, another 0.5% are Buddhists, 0.7% consider themselves to be Atheists.

Seventy-eight percent of the American participants indicated on the survey that they were registered to vote, with a majority of the American participants registered as Democrats (47%). A quarter of the participants were registered to vote as Republican (26%), 22% as independent, and 5% said “other.” Four out of five American participants also indicated that they were planning to vote in the 2012 U.S. presidential elections in November, which was eight months away at the time of the survey.

According to the current population survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) conducted in November 2010, 65% of Americans reported that they were registered to vote. Out of all the age groups, 18-24 years old reported the lowest numbers of registered voters — with only 45% from this age group reporting that they were registered to vote. More young adults in the present sample reported being registered
to vote compared to those in the national average. According to research conducted by Gallup (2009), residents in most states identified themselves as Democrat, or favored them as opposed to being Republican in 2008. Similarly, almost half the sample in this study (47%) reported being Democrat.

Out of all of the American participants, three shared that they had voted for Hillary Clinton during the 2008 Democratic presidential primaries. Of those registered to vote in the 2008 presidential elections, 22% of the American participants reported that they had voted for then Senator Barack Obama, while 10% of the participants voted for Senator John McCain. Other participants indicated that they had not voted or were not registered to vote at the time of those elections.

A majority of American participants also shared that they were interested in following U.S. national politics. Sixty-six percent of the participants rated themselves between “4” and “7” in following national politics on a 7-point Likert scale in which “1” indicated “not at all interested” and “7” indicated “very much interested.” Almost three-quarters of the American participants shared that they spent anywhere from 0 to 2 days listening and reading about the U.S. presidential race of 2012 every week of the survey in March 2012.

A majority of the 41 Pakistani participants were male (63%) with the average age being 23. All of the Pakistani/Pakistani American participants indicated that at least one of their parents/guardians was a Pakistani citizen. There were, however, 10 dual-citizens of both Pakistan and the U.S. who completed the Pakistani survey. Those participants reported between “1” to “4” on who they identified most with, with “1” being Pakistani and “7” being American. For those those dual citizen participants who took the
Pakistani survey, the average number of years living in Pakistan was 13 and the average number of years living in the U.S. was 10.

Twenty-nine percent of the Pakistani participants classified themselves as graduate students, 22% were juniors, 17% chose “other,” 15% were seniors, 10% were sophomores and only 7% were freshmen. Of the 41 Pakistani/Pakistani American participants, 78% of participants indicated that their mother tongue was Urdu, while 12% were Punjabi, three were “other” and one was Sindhi. This is in contrast to figures from the CIA Factbook on Pakistan (2012), which reported that a majority of Pakistanis indicate their mother tongue is Punjabi (48%), while 12% reported Sindhi, 10% Saraiki, 8% Pashtu, 8% indicated Urdu, 3% Balochi, Hindko 2%, Brahui 1% and English, Burashaski and other 8%.

In terms of religion, 37 out of 41 (90%) of the Pakistani/Pakistani American participants classified themselves as Muslims, with 86% of those Muslims indicating that they were Sunnis and 14% indicating that they were Shiites. One participant was Hindu, another was Ahmedi and one chose “other.” Data from the CIA Factbook (2012) reflected a similar breakdown of the Pakistani population by religion. Muslims make up 95% of Pakistan’s population (Sunnis 75% and Shiites 20%), followed by 5% including Christians and Hindus.

In terms of political affiliations, 49% of Pakistani/Pakistani American participants said they were supporters of the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf (PTI) party, 32% reported no political affiliation, 7% supported the Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) party, 5% supported the political party currently in majority control of the government, the Pakistan’s Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP), 2% supported Pakistan Muslim
League (Nawaz), 2% supported All Pakistan Muslim League (APML) and 2% were “other.” Pakistani/Pakistani American participants appeared divided on their intention to vote in the upcoming 2013 general elections in Pakistan with 49% of the Pakistani/Pakistani American participants reporting that they planned to vote, 27% who said they would not vote, and 24% said that they had not decided yet.

A survey conducted in 2012 by the International Republican Institute (IRI) in Pakistan (as cited in Abbassi, 2012) showed strong support for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) party, similar to the sample of this study. The IRI survey found support for the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) was the strongest with 33% of those surveyed, followed by PML (Nawaz) with 27% support and PPPP’s support at 16%.

A majority of Pakistani/Pakistani American participants (83%) shared that they were interested in following Pakistan’s national politics by rating themselves a number between “4” and “7” in following national politics on a 7-point scale in which “1” indicated “not at all interested” and “7” indicated “very much” interested in following Pakistani national politics. More than half (54%) of the Pakistani/Pakistani American participants reported spending anywhere from 0 to 2 days listening and reading about the Pakistani general elections to be held in 2013.

RQ1 asked, how do American and Pakistani students differ on their reasons for why the U.S. has not had a female president? A t-test was conducted to compare mean scores for each group of students on five individual statements on reasons attributed to the U.S. for not having a female president. A Bonferroni adjustment was applied to reduce the chances of a Type 1 error. The p value for five statement t-test that must be met was a .01. No significant group differences were found. However, because this is
an exploratory study, the statements that were significant below .05 are reported. To check if there was a significant difference between reasons attributed to the U.S. not having a female president between male and female participants, t-tests were conducted. There was no significance found for either American or Pakistani/Pakistani American male and female participants for why U.S. has not had a female president. American participants rated the statement, “There have not been enough female politicians in the political arena” \( (M=5.15, sd=1.40) \) higher than Pakistani students \( (M=4.54, sd=1.36) \), \( t (168) = 2.45, p=.015 \). Pakistani/Pakistani American participants rated the statement, “Many Americans fear that their vote for a female president will not count because it is highly unlikely that she will win” \( (M=4.83, sd=1.67) \) higher than American students \( (M=4.15, sd=1.76) \), \( t (168) = -2.19, p= .03 \).

The remaining three statements from RQ1 did not show significant group differences. American participants \( (M=3.93, sd=1.88) \) and Pakistani participants \( (M=3.51, sd=1.63) \) both showed no significant difference on the statement, “There has not been a female candidate superior enough” \( t (168) = 1.28, p= .203 \). The study found no significant group difference between American participants \( (M=3.36, sd=1.92) \) and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants \( (M=3.66, sd=2.03) \) on the statement, “A woman may struggle to fulfill the image of the president of the United States of America” \( t (168)=-.84, p=.401 \). No significant difference was found between American participants \( (M=4.56, sd=1.55) \) and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants \( (M=4.88, sd=1.54) \) in their response to the statement, “Many U.S. voters do not feel that a woman can fulfill the role of president,” \( t (168) = -1.16, p= .249 \).
RQ2 asked, what characteristics do American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants attribute to the success of certain political female figures in high office in their respective countries? Participants who indicated (“yes”) they were familiar with who each person was, were asked to rate attributes on a 7-point Likert scale. Participants were asked whether gender, experience, age, image and personality of these female political figures helped or hurt their campaigns, with “1” being “hurt a lot” and “7” being “helped a lot.” Two additional scale statements asked about their family lives. Because the female politicians -- Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Benazir Bhutto, and Hina Rabbani Khar -- cannot be compared, only descriptive statistics are reported.

Nearly all of the American participants (122 of 129) indicated that they were familiar with who Hillary Clinton was, while 112 indicated that they were familiar with Palin. Characteristics most likely attributed to Clinton’s presidential campaign’s success included her experience ($M=5.23$, $sd=1.35$), her age ($M=4.77$, $sd=1.07$), which was 60 at the time of the Democratic presidential primaries in 2008 and her image ($M=4.29$, $sd=1.63$). Also, Clinton’s family life (her daughter Chelsea Clinton) was rated high ($M=4.28$, $sd=1.14$) as a characteristic that attributed to the success of her campaign. No significant differences were found between males and females regarding attributes that helped or hurt Clinton’s campaign among American voters. (Table 4-1)

Sarah Palin’s vice presidential campaign’s success was most likely attributed to her age ($M=3.94$, $sd=1.17$), which was 44 at the time of her run for vice presidency in 2008 among American participants, her experience was said to have hurt her campaign a lot ($M=2.33$, $sd=1.50$). (Table 4-1) To check if there was a significant difference between characteristics attributed to P
alin’s presidential campaign’s success or failure among male and female participants, t-tests were conducted. No significant differences were found.

Almost all Pakistani/Pakistani American participants (40 out of 41) indicated that they were familiar with who Bhutto was, while 31 participants indicated that they were familiar with Khar. Bhutto was 35 years old at the time she first became prime minister of Pakistan in 1988.

Characteristics most likely attributed to Bhutto’s political career success included her personality ($M=6.03$, $sd=1.07$) and her image ($M=5.90$, $sd=0.93$). An additional question was asked regarding Bhutto’s father, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Participants strongly rated Bhutto’s father as a characteristic that attributed to her success ($M=6.45$, $sd=0.93$). (Table 4-1)

To determine if there were significant differences between male and female participants on their opinions of Bhutto, a t-test was conducted. Only one significant difference was found. Compared to male participants, female participants rated Bhutto’s father more favorably as a characteristic that aided her political career ($M=6.93$, $sd=0.27$) compared to males ($M=6.19$, $sd=1.06$); $t (38)= -3.35$, $p=.002$.

Khar’s successful campaign for a seat in the Pakistani national assembly’s was most likely attributed to her personality ($M=5.32$, $sd=1.40$), her image ($M=5.19$, $sd=1.25$) and her gender ($M=4.58$, $sd=1.09$), according to Pakistani/Pakistani American participants. Khar was 24 years old at the time she first won a seat in the Pakistani National Assembly in 2002. (Table 4-1) Also, Khar’s ancestral family, the Khars, was attributed as a strong reason for her success ($M= 5.97$, $sd= 1.17$) by Pakistani/Pakistani American participants. A t-test showed no significant difference between characteristics
Table 4-1. Mean scores of characteristics attributed to the campaign success of female politicians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Palin</th>
<th>Bhutto</th>
<th>Khar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>4.58</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1.34)</td>
<td>(1.42)</td>
<td>(1.31)</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
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<td>Experience</td>
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<td>2.33</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>4.32</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.35)</td>
<td>(1.50)</td>
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<td>(1.14)</td>
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<td>(1.17)</td>
<td>(0.93)</td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
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<td>2.70</td>
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<td>(1.25)</td>
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<td>3.09</td>
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<td>(1.70)</td>
<td>(1.82)</td>
<td>(1.07)</td>
<td>(1.03)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>112</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: Standard deviations reported in parenthesis.

attributed to Khar's political career's success or failure between male and female participants, among Pakistani/Pakistani American participants.

RQ3 asked, how do American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants differ in their vision of an ideal candidate for president/prime minister in their respective country? American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants indicated the extent to which they considered a list of 24 characteristics to describe their vision of a president/prime minister. The list of words was divided into 16 words that indicated masculine characteristics, and eight words that indicated feminine characteristics. The 16 masculine traits and masculine-feminine traits (6 statements were reversed to be considered masculine) were added together for both American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants for a composite masculine score (Cronbach alpha=.82) and the
eight feminine traits were summed and averaged for a composite feminine score (Cronbach alpha=.87).

An independent samples t-test found a significant difference between American participants ($M=4.92$, $sd=0.92$) and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants ($M=3.85$, $sd=1.35$) on their rating of feminine traits for their vision of a president/prime minister. American participants favored a candidate with stronger feminine traits, compared to Pakistani/Pakistani American participants (equal variances not assumed); $t(50.58) = 4.66$, $p< .001$

An independent samples t-test also showed a significant difference between American participants ($M=4.98$, $sd=0.59$) and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants ($M= 4.10$, $sd= 0.97$) on their preference for masculine traits for their vision of a president/prime minister, $t(44)= 5.24$, $p< .001$ (equal variances not assumed). In other words, American participants expressed a stronger preference for a candidate with masculine characteristics compared to Pakistani/Pakistani American students.

To check if there was a significant difference between American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants’ vision of an ideal candidate for president/prime minister in their respective country between male and female participants, t-tests were conducted. There was a significant difference found between both males and females.

RQ4 asked, how do American participants differ in their views of masculine and feminine traits that describe their ideal U.S. president and those traits that describe a female political leader in high office (Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin)? Again, the 16 masculine traits were added together for a composite masculine score, and the eight
feminine traits were summed and averaged for a composite feminine score. There was no significant difference found between American male and female participants for a comparison between Hillary Clinton and their ideal vision of a president for the U.S. on both masculine, $t(120) = -1.96$, $p = .053$ and feminine traits, $t(120) = 0.63$, $p = .95$.

A paired samples t-test was conducted separately for each female politician to determine if there was a significant difference between participants’ perceptions of an ideal president, and the characteristics attributed to Clinton and Palin. American participants’ ratings of feminine traits of an ideal U.S. president ($M=4.94$, $sd=0.92$) was significantly higher than feminine traits of Clinton ($M=4.60$, $sd=0.84$), $t(121) = 3.40$, $p = .013$. American participants ($M=4.99$, $sd=0.92$) who reported knowing who Palin was also rated feminine traits for an ideal U.S. president significantly higher than feminine traits for Palin ($M=4.12$, $sd=0.94$), $t(111) = 7.07$, $p < .001$. It is important to note that a significant difference was found between males and females on their rating of feminine traits of Palin versus feminine traits of an ideal candidate for U.S. president. Females rated Palin higher ($M=4.33$, $sd=1.01$) compared to males ($M=3.93$, $sd=0.75$); $t(110) = -2.12$, $p = .036$.

In terms of masculine traits, American participants showed a significant difference in their preference for masculine traits for an ideal candidate for U.S. president compared to the masculine traits of both Clinton and Palin. A paired samples t-test showed American participants preference for masculine traits in an ideal presidential candidate ($M=4.98$, $sd=0.58$) to be significantly higher than for Clinton ($M=4.81$, $sd=0.84$); $t(121) = 2.52$, $p = .013$. A paired samples t-test also showed American participants’ preference for masculine traits for an ideal U.S. president ($M=$}
4.96, sd= 0.58) to be significantly higher than their rating of masculine traits for Palin
\((M=3.99, sd=0.79), t (111) = 11.56, p<.001.

RQ5 asked, how do Pakistani/Pakistani American participants differ in their views of masculine and feminine traits that describe their ideal prime minister and those traits that describe a female political leader in high office in Pakistan (Benazir Bhutto and Hina Rabbani Khar)? Composite masculine scores and composite feminine scores were used in the analysis.

A paired samples t-test was conducted for each female politician to determine if there was a significant difference between the participants’ perceptions of an ideal president and the characteristics attributed to Bhutto and Khar. Pakistani/Pakistani American participants (n=39) showed a significant difference in their preference for feminine traits in their perception of an ideal candidate for prime minister of Pakistan and those feminine traits that best describe Bhutto and Khar. Bhutto’s feminine traits \((M=4.69, sd=0.86)\) were rated significantly higher than that of an ideal candidate for prime minister \((M=3.84, sd=1.37)\); \(t (38) = -3.17, p= .003.\) Similarly, Khar’s feminine traits \((M=4.26, sd=0.68)\) were rated significantly higher than the feminine traits of an ideal candidate for prime minister \((M=3.69, sd=1.31)\); \(t (29) = -2.2, p=.036.\)

In terms of masculine traits, Pakistani/Pakistani American students showed a significant difference in their preference for masculine traits in an ideal candidate for prime minister and those of Bhutto and Khar. However, unlike the American participants, Bhutto’s masculine traits \((M=4.67, sd=0.49)\) were rated higher than the masculine traits of an ideal candidate for prime minister of Pakistan \((M= 4.06, sd=0.98)\) \(t (38) = -3.98, p< .001.\) Khar’s masculine traits \((M=4.30, sd=0.41)\) were also rated
significantly higher than those of an ideal candidate for prime minister ($M=3.84$, $sd=0.91$); $t(29) = -2.64$, $p=.013$.

To check if there was a significant difference between Pakistani/Pakistani American male and female participants’ vision of an ideal candidate for prime minister versus their vision of Bhutto and Khar (masculine and feminine traits), t-tests were conducted. There was no significant difference found between Pakistani/Pakistani American male and female participants for a comparison between Khar and their ideal vision of a Pakistani prime minister on both masculine and feminine traits. However, t-tests findings showed a significant difference between males ($M=4.52$, $sd=0.52$) and females ($M=4.88$, $sd=0.44$) on their ratings of masculine traits of Bhutto compared to those of an ideal candidate for prime minister, for females rated Bhutto higher compared to males, $t(38)= -2.18$, $p=.036$. 
CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

This study set out to understand the differences in views between American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students in terms of their opinions about female politicians and related political issues. Social role theory provided the framework for this study. The theory states that differences in gender occupations within a society perpetuate gender stereotypes. The study found that American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants hold very different preferences in terms of what kind of characteristics they want in an ideal candidate for president/prime minister. Both groups rated female politicians from their countries very differently compared to their ideal leader, with American participants rating masculine and feminine traits for their ideal candidate significantly higher. American participants found female politicians did not meet their ideal candidate for president, while Pakistani/Pakistani students found their female politicians exceeded their ideal traits for prime minister.

Major Findings

The first major finding showed that both American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students showed a preference for an ideal candidate for president/prime minister with higher masculine traits compared to feminine traits. However, in comparison, American students showed an overall preference for a candidate with both higher masculine and feminine traits compared to Pakistani/Pakistani American students. Social role theory explains that human behavior is strongly influenced by people’s cultural environment, beliefs and expectations (Eagly & Wood, 1999). The theory helps partially explain why American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants rated feminine traits lower than masculine traits for their visions of an ideal
president/prime minister. The U.S. has never had a female president. Women in the U.S. Congress hold 17% of the total seats and 17% of the total seats in the U.S. senate after the most recent elections in 2010 (Women in Congress, 2012). Because females are not strongly represented in the U.S. government, American participants may not associate women and their traits with an ideal leader, when applying social role theory. Pakistan has had a female prime minister twice. However, Pakistani/Pakistani American participants also rated feminine traits for their ideal prime minister lower than masculine traits. Pakistani/Pakistani American participants are aware of the plight of women in their country. Although Pakistani women are represented in government similar to U.S. women, there are quotas in place to guarantee their place there. These observations about the subordinate position of women in Pakistani society may have influenced the participants to rank feminine traits lower for an ideal candidate.

It is important to keep in mind that the personal attributes questionnaire is based on responses from American participants, which may not translate identically for participants from other cultures/countries, such as Pakistan. Studies have shown that the questionnaire is reliable in other cultures, but the studies carried out are few. Even so, this study was administered to a sample that was receiving a westernized education. Future researchers may want to administer the personal attribute questionnaire in more countries to continue to test the reliability of its masculine and feminine scales.

The second major finding of this study showed that American participants’ ratings of masculine and feminine traits of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were not as high as those same traits for their ideal candidate for president. Could an inability of Clinton and Palin to match either ideal masculine or feminine traits partially explain why both
candidates were unsuccessful in their respective campaigns? Unfortunately, the findings presented here can only be attributed to the 129 participants of this study. Could the American participants’ vision of an ideal candidate for president be unrealistic? It would have been helpful to know how American participants ranked successful candidates for president (such as Barack Obama and George Bush) against their ideal vision of a president. Perhaps those successful male candidates also do not meet the participants’ ideal vision for president based on masculine and feminine traits. A comparison like this would be necessary to further explain and understand what traits would be helpful for a female candidate to be successful in a U.S. presidential race. In other words, if male candidates were rated poorly on masculine/feminine traits compared to participants’ ideal leader than the gender of a candidate may be less of an issue in the success or failure of a campaign.

In contrast, Pakistani/Pakistani American participants rated Bhutto and Khar higher in feminine traits when compared to feminine traits for their vision of an ideal candidate for prime minister. Similarly, Pakistani/Pakistani American participants also rated Bhutto and Khar higher in masculine traits when compared to masculine traits for their vision of an ideal candidate for prime minister. Could it be that participants rated both those candidates more favorably because, in retrospect, they were successful in their campaigns? It is hard to say for certain what aspects of a candidate may influence participants’ ratings of them. If Khar were to run for prime minister in the future, would participants view her differently – not knowing the outcome of her efforts? It would have been interesting to ask Pakistani/Pakistani American participants about other Pakistani
female politicians who may not have been as successful as Bhutto and Khar in their political careers.

In the case of Bhutto and Khar, it seems that having exceeded expectations did not hurt their campaigns. While masculine traits are often perceived as necessary to a successful high office career, future studies could examine how feminine traits add to that success or hurt it. It is not known if Bhutto and Khar’s campaigns would have been affected negatively if they had been rated lower in feminine traits than the ideal vision of a prime minister. Similar to examining the traits of Obama or Bush, a comparison of Pakistani/Pakistani American participants’ ratings of successful male prime ministers’ masculine and feminine traits would be helpful in guiding how to interpret the findings of this study.

According to Eagly and Steffen (1984), women and men can be perceived to have traits that are not stereotypically associated with them. Women can be perceived as “agentic” (having more masculine traits) while men can be perceived as “communal” (having more feminine traits), even if social norms dictate otherwise. Both researchers explain that this can happen, for instance, with working women who were more likely to be perceived as agentic because those women are often perceived as having the choice of entering the workforce, and success in the workforce is often associated with masculine characteristics. This association, that females who are successful or have a career must have masculine traits, reinforces the findings of this study where American and Pakistani/Pakistani American students’ rate masculine traits high in their ideal candidate for president/prime minister.
A third major finding showed varying responses in terms of characteristics that were perceived to help or hurt the campaigns of female political candidates in the U.S. and Pakistan. Participants’ ratings of the female candidates’ based on a list of characteristics cannot be compared because the women, as individuals, are quite different from each other. Their campaigns and offices were also different. For example, Clinton’s campaign was to become the Democratic Party’s nominee for president, while Palin was on the presidential ticket with Republican Senator John McCain as his running mate. Both candidates also entered their campaigns with different professional experiences.

An interesting observation from these responses was that “age” as a characteristic was rated favorable for all four female candidates – Clinton, Palin, Bhutto and Khar. All of the female candidates’ ages ranged within 11 to 36 years apart from one another. Clinton was 60 at the time of her campaign, Palin was 44, Bhutto was 35 at the time she became prime minister and Khar was 24 when she was first elected into the National Assembly. Why would participants find age to be a helpful characteristic for all four candidates? Perhaps participants were not aware of the age gap between the candidates, or maybe female candidates are perceived as younger because they appear different from a male-dominated field. Unfortunately, participants’ perception of the candidates’ ages was not measured and the survey did not ask participants why they believed certain characteristic hurt or helped a candidate.

Overall, participants rated most of Clinton’s characteristics as being more helpful than hurtful to her campaign. For Palin, her image and experience were rated low by participants. This may be a result of some of the media coverage she received during
her campaign. Participants rated gender as neither helpful nor hurtful to the candidates. This finding suggests that American participants did not find gender as a characteristic that weighs in on the success of a political campaign. According to social role theory, this result would suggest that American participants may not have noticed any gender imbalance in the position and power in politics. A focus group could help provide deeper understanding of how participants define many of the characteristics measured (i.e. image, experience, gender, age) and how they feel these characteristics can help or hurt a political candidate’s campaign.

Pakistani/Pakistani American participants rated all of Bhutto’s characteristics to be more helpful than hurtful to her campaign. They rated her particularly high for her personality and image. Her image as the “Iron Lady” may have helped forge her position as a formidable female politician. Bhutto’s long history of personal and political struggle may have contributed to participants’ high ratings of her image and personality. Also, if Pakistani participants, according to the social role theory, are aware of the hardships of Pakistani women, they may have thought that a woman as successful as Bhutto must have excelled in many ways to achieve such success. A follow up question could have asked participants to describe their image of Bhutto. Khar’s characteristics were also rated to be more helpful than hurtful to her campaign. Her personality and image were also rated high. Bhutto and Khar are two very different candidates, who entered politics at different times and in under different circumstances. A content analysis of the media coverage that Bhutto and Khar received would be helpful in further understanding the kind of image and personalities of these women are portrayed to have. A future attribute
agenda study could examine whether media portrayals reflect the public's image of a candidate.

Both Bhutto and Khar's family ties were also rated significantly high in contributing toward the success of their campaigns. Clinton's family life also was rated high. This finding is especially useful for future studies in examining how political family ties play a role in the success or failure of female political leaders in comparison with personal traits. It could be possible that Bhutto and Khar's high ratings on certain traits (image and personality) is associated with their families. The Bhuttos and Khars are both strong political dynasties in Pakistan and their elite reputations may have further strengthened participants' perceptions of these candidates. In general, it seems important to consider that all the female political figures in this study may have benefited from their family ties. Bhutto, Khar and Clinton were all associated with prominent and successful male political figures, while Palin also received prominence for her role as a mother and a wife. Those associations may have impacted the manner in which the successes of these female political figures are perceived and also their actual experiences during their careers. Perhaps the success stories of Bhutto and Khar would be very different if they had not been a part of the Bhutto and Khar dynasties. Similarly, Clinton may have struggled for recognition had she not been the former first lady of the United States. And Palin may have lacked media attention that focused on her being a mother of five children. Future studies closely examine family ties to understand how much name associations impact a candidate's success or failure. It is possible, some would argue, that some of these female candidates rise to the top because of male family members in politics, which only hurts women's plight to serve in high
office. Overall, the findings suggest that American female politicians who do not completely embrace both ideal masculine and feminine traits could be less successful at winning high office positions. More research is needed that explores both male and female characteristics of political leaders to determine what is at the root of the differences in perception. Lastly, female politicians could benefit greatly by trying to understand those traits that are most important to voters and work on strengthening those attributes.

**Limitations**

This survey used a convenience sample of college students, therefore the findings cannot be generalized to the general population in both countries. Fowler (2009) contends that surveys (especially surveys conducted online) cannot reach every person. Instead, this study lays the groundwork for future research that explores the masculine and feminine traits of political leaders. This survey specifically targeted young adults, the next generation of voters. Research has shown that the youth vote increased significantly during the 2008 U.S. presidential elections. This section of the population is an important age group to study because they will shape the direction of future elections over the next few decades. The 2008 U.S. presidential race also was different because it was the first time that female politicians played such prominent role in the presidential election. Young voters and their interest in politics is an area that is ripe for study.

Future research may want to reach out to a larger sample that is more representative of the general population in both countries using a combination of online, telephone and on-site polling. A weakness of this study in particular was that it surveyed Pakistani/Pakistani Americans currently residing in the U.S. It is likely that those Pakistanis/Pakistani Americans have been influenced by both Pakistan and U.S.
cultures and their views shared may be quite different from Pakistanis who have lived their entire lives in Pakistan. In the future, a researcher may want to administer the survey in Pakistan to lower the chances of any cultural bias or influence. In addition to any cultural bias, although survey research is a popular method used by researchers, it does have its share of problems. Survey response bias also may play a role resulting in participants giving socially desirable answers, such as overstating their voting behavior (Fowler, 2009).

Furthermore, it would also be insightful for a future study to ask participants more questions about their general political knowledge. Those questions could ask about participants’ knowledge of the structure of government, the constitution and prominent key political figures of that time. Understanding participants’ background knowledge of politics could help explain what participants’ knew about these women leaders prior to rating them as well their political roles or the role for which they were campaigning. Perhaps those most knowledgeable had more favorable or less favorable opinions Clinton, Palin, Bhutto or Khar than those who knew less about politics.

The sample study also had unequal sample sizes. The American sample (n= 129) was much larger than the Pakistani/Pakistani American sample (n= 41). According to Zimmerman (1987), if sample sizes are unequal the inequality of variances can have an effect on significance levels and inverse the probability of Type 1 errors. When applicable a Bonferroni adjustment was used to reduce those chances. Also, the survey had a response rate of 14%. There are many reasons for a low survey response rate Steeh (1981) suggested that participants have often been overexposed to surveys and therefore lack interest in completing them. Porter, Whitcomb and Weitzer (2004) also
suggest that survey researchers specifically targeting students must consider that
students may often be contacted to complete multiple surveys during an academic year,
which may result in survey fatigue. The survey was sent out in March, which can be a
busier time of the year for many students as they are reaching the end of an academic
semester/year. The survey also was sent to the presidents of student organizations at
different universities who sent the survey out at different times. Furthermore, although
the survey did provide an incentive to the participating organizations, not individual
members, an individual monetary incentive may have been more effective. Research
has shown that incentives are an important aspect of survey research (Huby & Hughes,
2001).

The author surveyed students from several universities in the U.S. to reach
Pakistani students. Future researchers may want to consider working with larger
national organizations to reach groups from various countries. Finally, the bulk of
research on the social role theory that conducted by Eagly mostly took place in the early
1980s. Because of this, a large body of the research referred to in this study is less
recent. This study attempts to extend social role theory research into the political realm
of the 21st century and compares masculine/feminine traits across two cultures.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

The findings lay the foundation for future research regarding the success of female politicians running for high office. Young American and Pakistani/Pakistani American participants in this study were found to be different in their perceptions of masculine and feminine traits of political leaders. But a deeper analysis is needed to truly understand why those differences exist. Social role theory explains how differences in gender perceptions are a reflection of the imbalance present between genders within a culture. Further research is needed to understand how important it is for candidates to match expectations. Findings from this study do not clearly suggest whether candidates must avoid falling below the expectations, or whether they should always excel high above them to achieve success.

More importantly, this study showed a preference for a candidate who can show both male and female traits. A person who can be emotional, gentle, very kind and very aware of the feelings of others while also being very competitive, superior, aggressive and dominant. The findings showed that gender played little to no role in the success or failure of the political candidates running for high office examined in this study.

This study is particularly fruitful because of its academic and practical applications. It extends the use of the personal attributes questionnaire to a non-American group. The findings are also applicable to female politicians, their campaigns, and political analysts, who are attempting to understand the difficulties associated with women entering races for high office.
Table 4-1. Mean scores of characteristics attributed to the campaign success of female politicians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Clinton</th>
<th>Palin</th>
<th>Bhutto</th>
<th>Khar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(1.42)</td>
<td>(1.31)</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
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<td>5.00</td>
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<td>(1.50)</td>
<td>(1.47)</td>
<td>(1.14)</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>3.94</td>
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<td>Image</td>
<td>4.29</td>
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<tr>
<td>N=</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>112</td>
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<td>31</td>
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</tbody>
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Note: Standard deviations reported in parenthesis.
APPENDIX A
U.S. STUDENT SURVEY

The first part of the survey will be used to filter participants. Participants who are citizens of Pakistan and/or recognize themselves as Pakistani (due to their ancestry/parents’ citizenship status) will take the Pakistani Student survey; while all American citizens (including children of Pakistani nationals who no longer consider themselves to be Pakistani) will take the survey for American students. Anyone who does not qualify for either category will not be asked any further questions after this section.

Filter Questions

I. This survey explores college students’ perceptions of politicians and political issues in two countries - Pakistan and the U.S. You will be asked a few qualifying questions to direct you to the appropriate survey.

1) Are you 18 years of age or older? (yes/no)
2) Are you a citizen of the U.S.? Yes/no
3) Do you have a parent(s) or guardian who is a citizen of the United States? Yes/no
4) Are you a citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Yes/no
5) Do you have a parent(s) or guardian who is a citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Yes/no

Q6, Q7 and Q8 will only be asked of students who indicate they are dual citizens of the U.S. and Pakistan.

6) How many years have you lived in the U.S.? _________
7) How many years have you lived in Pakistan? _________
8) With which nationality/national heritage do you identify yourself most? (Pick one)

American
Pakistani
Both, Pakistani and American
**American Student Survey**

II. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about voting and your interest and opinions regarding U.S. politics.

1) On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all interested” and “7” being “Very much interested,” how interested are you in following national politics in the U.S.?

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes a president of the United States. Each pair of words describes contradictory characteristics – that is you cannot be both at the same time. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that describes your vision of a president. (This does not have to be president Obama; previous presidents or candidates; or future candidates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very submissive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all excitable in a major crisis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very excitable in a major crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very active</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all able to devote self completely to others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Able to devote self completely to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very rough</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very gentle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all helpful to others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very helpful to others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very home oriented</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all kind</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly needful of other's approval</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indifferent to others approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Feelings easily hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aware of feelings of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very aware of feelings of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can make decisions easily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Has difficulty making decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives up very easily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Never gives up easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never cries</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cries very easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Not at all self-confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feels very inferior</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Feels very superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all understanding of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very understanding of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very cold in relations with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very warm in relations with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very strong need for Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very little need for security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goes to pieces under pressure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Stands up well under pressure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) Are you a registered to vote in 2012? Yes/no

4) Did you vote in the Republican or Democratic Party presidential Primary in 2008? (This is not the same as the U.S. presidential election on Nov. 4, 2008)?

Yes, Republican Primary
Yes, Democrat Primary
Did not vote in party primary
I was 18 but not registered to vote
Did not vote and was not registered
Not sure

5) If yes to Republican in Q4, did you vote for Sen. John McCain in the 2008 Republican Party presidential primary? (Yes/no/rather not say)?

6) If yes to Democrat in Q4, did you vote for then Sen. Hillary Clinton in the 2008 Democratic Party presidential primary? (yes/no/rather not say)?


8) If yes in Q7, whom did you vote for in the 2008 presidential elections?

Obama
McCain
Do not want to say
Other ____________________

9) Are you planning to vote in the 2012 presidential elections? Yes/no/Undecided

10) With which U.S. political party do you mostly identify with?

Republican
Democrat
Independent
Libertarian Party
Other ______________________________

11) If answer Republican Party on Q4; 10: Have you voted in a 2012 Republican Party Primary (regardless of state)? Yes/Plan to vote/Do not plan to vote/Undecided/Other __________________

12) For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1: On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all” and “7” being “Very much,” how actively involved are you presently in campaigning for or supporting a presidential candidate? Political involvement can include volunteering for campaigns; helping register voters; participating in community meetings; attending a rally or speech; donating money; etc.

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much
13) **For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1:** In a typical week, about how many days do you spend listening to or reading about the 2012 U.S. presidential elections and campaigns.
0 days/ 1 day/ 2 days/ 3 days/ 4 days/ 5 days/ 6 days/ Everyday

14) **For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1,** On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all” and “7” being “A lot,” how much do you turn to the following media to receive news about politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>A lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV News</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily print newspaper, not campus paper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major news websites</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print news magazines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and/or family members</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other _____________</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about previous presidents and gender.

1) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements that some have suggested are reasons why the U.S. has not had a female president:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There has not been a female candidate superior enough.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There have not been enough female politicians in the political arena.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman may struggle to fulfill the image of the president of the United States of America.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many U.S. voters do not feel that a woman can fulfill the role of president.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many American voters fear that their vote for a female president will not count because it is highly unlikely that she will win.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about Hillary Rodham Clinton.

1) Are you familiar with who Hillary Rodham Clinton is? (yes/no/not sure)
   Proceed further only if yes answered for Q1.

2) In 2007 and 2008, Hillary Clinton ran for president of the United States. Her campaign for president ended when she did not win the Democratic Party’s nomination in June 2008.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please rate your response on a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Hurt her campaign a lot” and “7” being “Helped her campaign a lot”. Please evaluate how much you believe the following characteristics about Hillary Clinton impacted her campaign for presidency.

7= Helped her campaign a lot
6= Helped her campaign
5= Helped her campaign some
4= Neither helped nor hurt her campaign
3= Hurt her campaign some
2= Hurt her campaign
1= Hurt her campaign a lot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hurt her campaign a lot</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Experience</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Age</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Image</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Personality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Family life (Daughter Chelsea Clinton)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Husband (Bill Clinton)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes Hillary Clinton during her run for president of the United States in 2008. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that best describes her during her campaign for president.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all kind</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly needful of other’s approval</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Indifferent to others approval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Feelings easily hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aware of feelings of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Very aware of feelings of others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Very submissive
Not at all excitable in
a major crisis
Very active
Not at all able to devote
self completely to others
Not at all helpful to others
Very rough
Not at all competitive
Very home oriented
Can make decisions easily
Not at all understanding
of others
Very cold in relations
with others
Very strong need for
Security
Gives up very easily
Goes to pieces
under pressure
Never cries
Very self-confident
Feels very inferior
Not at all aggressive
Not at all independent

1 2 3 4 5

Very dominant
Very excitable in
a major crisis
Very passive
Able to devote self
completely to others
Very helpful to others
Very gentle
Very competitive
Very worldly
Has difficulty making
decisions
Very understanding of
others
Very warm in relations
with others
Very little need for
security
Never gives up easily
Stands up well
under pressure
Cries very easily
Not at all self-confident
Feels very superior
Very aggressive
Very independent

4) On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Strongly Disagree” and “7” being “Strongly
Agree,” how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements that describe
Hillary Clinton’s run for presidency?

7= Strongly Agree
6= Agree
5= Somewhat Agree
4= Neither Agree or Disagree
3= Somewhat Disagree
2= Disagree
1= Strongly Disagree

Hillary Clinton: Strongly Disagree

Represented a face for female empowerment when she ran for president.
Was able to enter the race for the Democratic Party’s
nomination for president because she was a woman. Largely received support from women.
V. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about Sarah Palin.

1) Are you familiar with Sarah Palin? Yes/no/not sure
Proceed further only if yes answered for Q1.

2) In August 2008, Republican presidential candidate John McCain announced that he had chosen Sarah Palin as his running mate. McCain did not win the presidential race in 2008.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please rate your response on a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Hurt her campaign a lot” and “7” being “Helped her campaign a lot”. Please evaluate how much you believe the following characteristics about Sarah Palin impacted her campaign for vice presidency.
7 = Helped her campaign a lot
6 = Helped her campaign
5 = Helped her campaign some
4 = Neither helped nor hurt her campaign
3 = Hurt her campaign some
2 = Hurt her campaign
1 = Hurt her campaign a lot

Hurt her campaign a lot  1  2  3  4  5  6  7 Helped her campaign a lot

a. Gender  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
b. Experience  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
c. Age  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
d. Image  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
e. Personality  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
f. Family life (husband
   Todd Palin)  1  2  3  4  5  6  7
g. Daughter
   Bristol Palin  1  2  3  4  5  6  7

3) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes Sarah Palin during her run for vice president of the United States in 2008. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that best describes her during her campaign for vice president.

Not at all independent  1  2  3  4  5  Very independent
Very strong need for
   security  1  2  3  4  5  Very little need for
Goes to pieces
   under pressure  1  2  3  4  5  Stands up well
   under pressure
Very submissive  1  2  3  4  5  Very dominant
Not at all excitable in
   a major crisis  1  2  3  4  5  Very excitable in
   a major crisis
On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Strongly Disagree” and “7” being “Strongly Agree,” how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements that describe Hillary Clinton’s run for presidency?

7= Strongly Agree
6= Agree
5= Somewhat Agree
4= Neither Agree or Disagree
3= Somewhat Disagree
2= Disagree
1= Strongly Disagree

Sarah Palin: Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Highly needful of other’s approval
Very rough
Not at all able to devote self completely to others
Not at all competitive
Very active
Very home oriented
Not at all kind
Not at all helpful to others
Very self-confident
Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all aware of feelings of others
Never cries
Can make decisions easily making decisions
Feels very inferior
Not at all understanding of others
Gives up very easily
Very cold in relations with others
Not at all emotional
Not at all aggressive
Indifferent to others approval
Very gentle
Able to devote self completely to others
Very competitive
Very passive
Very worldly
Very kind
Very helpful to
Not at all self-confident
Feelings easily hurt
Very aware of feelings of others
Cries very easily
Has difficulty
Feels very superior
Very understanding of others
Never gives up easily
Very warm in relations with others
Very emotional
Very aggressive
She represented a face for female empowerment when she was nominated as Sen. John McCain's running mate.

She was picked as McCain's vice president because she was a woman.

She largely received support from women.
VI. You made it. This is the last set of question. In this section, we want to learn more about you.

1) What is your gender? Male/Female
2) What is your age? _______
3) What is your classification in college?  
   Freshman/First year  
   Sophomore  
   Junior  
   Senior  
   Graduate student  
   Unclassified

4) Are you a person of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?  
   No, not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin  
   Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano  
   Yes, Puerto Rican  
   Yes, Cuban  
   Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin. Please enter origin, for example, Argentinian,  
   Columbian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.  
   __________

5) What is your race?  
   White  
   Black, African Am. or Negro  
   American Indian or Alaskan Native. Please enter name of enrolled or principal tribe.  
   __________  
   Asian Indian  
   Chinese  
   Filipino  
   Japanese  
   Korean  
   Vietnamese  
   Other Asian. Please enter, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.  
   Native Hawaiian  
   Guamanion or Chamorro  
   Samoan  
   Other Pacific Islander. Please enter, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.  
   __________

6) How would you describe your religious affiliation?
Christian (Protestant)
Christian (Catholic)
Christian (Other) ______
Jewish
Muslim
Hindu
Buddhist
Atheist
Other ______

7) Of what student organization are you a member of? (Drop down list)
APPENDIX B
PAKISTANI/PAKISTANI AMERICAN STUDENT SURVEY

The first part of the survey will be used to filter participants. Participants who are citizens of Pakistan and/or recognize themselves as Pakistani (due to their ancestry/parents’ citizenship status) will take the Pakistani Student survey; while all American citizens (including children of Pakistani nationals who no longer consider themselves to be Pakistani) will take the survey for American students. Anyone who does not qualify for either category will not be asked any further questions after this section.

Filter Questions

I. This survey explores college students' perceptions of politicians and political issues in two countries - Pakistan and the U.S. You will be asked a few qualifying questions to direct you to the appropriate survey.

1) Are you 18 years of age or older? (yes/no)
2) Are you a citizen of the U.S.? Yes/no
3) Do you have a parent(s) or guardian who is a citizen of the United States? Yes/no
4) Are you a citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Yes/no
5) Do you have a parent(s) or guardian who is a citizen of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan? Yes/no

Q6, Q7 and Q8 will only be asked of students who indicate they are dual citizens of the U.S. and Pakistan.

6) How many years have you lived in the U.S.? _________
7) How many years have you lived in Pakistan? _________
8) With which nationality/national heritage do you identify yourself most? (Pick one)

American
Pakistani
Both, Pakistani and American
II. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about voting and your interest and opinions regarding Pakistani politics.

1) On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all interested” and “7” being “Very much interested,” how interested are you in following national politics in Pakistan?

2) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes a prime minister of Pakistan. Each pair of words describes contradictory characteristics – that is you cannot be both at the same time. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that describes your vision of a prime minister. (This does not have to be prime minister Yousaf Gillani; previous prime ministers or candidates; or future candidates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very submissive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all excitable in a major crisis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very active</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all able to devote self completely to others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very rough</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all helpful to others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very home oriented</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all kind</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Highly needful of other’s approval</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all aware of feelings of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Can make decisions easily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gives up very easily</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Never cries</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feels very inferior</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all understanding of others</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Very cold in relations with others</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very strong need for Security</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goes to pieces under pressure</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3) Are you registered to vote in Pakistan? Yes/no

4) Did you vote in the Pakistani general elections in 2008? (yes/no)

5) Are you planning to vote in the next general elections in Pakistan? Yes/No/Undecided

6) For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1: On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all” and “7” being “Very much,” how actively involved are you presently in campaigning for or supporting a Pakistani political party? Political involvement can include volunteering for campaigns; helping register voters; participating in community meetings; attending a rally or speech; donating money; etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Very much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7) For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1: In a typical week, about how many days do you spend listening to or reading about the 2013 Pakistani national elections/campaigns.
0 days/1 day/ 2 days/ 3 days/ 4 days/ 5 days/ 6 days/ Everyday

8) For those who answered 2 or higher on Q1, On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Not at all” and “7” being “A lot,” how much do you turn to the following media to receive news about Pakistani politics?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>A lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV News</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Daily print newspaper, not campus paper</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Major news websites</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Print news magazines</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and/or family members</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other ____________</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about previous U.S. presidents and gender.

1) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements that some have suggested are reasons why the U.S. has not had a female president:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There has not been a female candidate superior enough.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There have not been enough female politicians in the political arena.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A woman may struggle to fulfill the image of the president of the United States of America.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many U.S. voters do not feel that a woman can fulfill the role of president.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Many American voters fear that their vote for a female president will not count because it is highly unlikely that she will win.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
IV. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about Benazir Bhutto.

1) Are you familiar with who Benazir Bhutto is? (yes/no/not sure)
   Proceed further only if yes answered for Q1.

2) In 1988 Benazir Bhutto was sworn in as the prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Bhutto was the first (and only) female prime minister of Pakistan.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please rate your response on a scale of 1 to 7, with "1" being "Hurt her campaign a lot" and "7" being "Helped her campaign a lot". Please evaluate how much you believe the following characteristics about Benazir Bhutto impacted her campaign for prime minister/Chair of Pakistan's People's Party.

7= Helped her campaign a lot
6= Helped her campaign
5= Helped her campaign some
4= Neither helped nor hurt her campaign
3= Hurt her campaign some
2= Hurt her campaign
1= Hurt her campaign a lot

Hurt her campaign a lot 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Helped her campaign a lot

a. Gender 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
b. Experience 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
c. Age 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
d. Image 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
e. Personality 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
f. Family life
( Husband, children) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
g. Father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes Benazir Bhutto during her political career. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that best describes her during her campaign for prime minister.

Not at all emotional 1 2 3 4 5 Very emotional
Not at all kind 1 2 3 4 5 Very kind
Highly needful of other's approval 1 2 3 4 5 Indifferent to others approval
Feelings not easily hurt 1 2 3 4 5 Feelings easily hurt
Not at all aware of feelings of others 1 2 3 4 5 Very aware of feelings of others
Very submissive 1 2 3 4 5 Very dominant
Not at all excitable in
a major crisis 1 2 3 4 5 a major crisis
Very active 1 2 4 4 5 Very passive
Not at all able to devote
self completely to others 1 2 3 4 5 Able to devote self
completely to others
Not at all helpful to others 1 2 3 4 5 Very helpful to others
Very rough 1 2 3 4 5 Very gentle
Not at all competitive 1 2 3 4 5 Very competitive
Very home oriented 1 2 3 4 5 Very worldly
Can make decisions easily 1 2 3 4 5 Has difficulty making
decisions
Not at all understanding
of others 1 2 3 4 5 Very understanding of
others
Very cold in relations
with others 1 2 3 4 5 Very warm in relations
with others
Very strong need for
Security 1 2 3 4 5 Very little need for
security
Gives up very easily 1 2 3 4 5 Never gives up easily
Goes to pieces
under pressure 1 2 3 4 5 Stands up well
Never cries 1 2 3 4 5 Never gives up easily
Very self-confident 1 2 3 4 5 Not at all self-confident
Feels very inferior 1 2 3 4 5 Feels very superior
Not at all aggressive 1 2 3 4 5 Very aggressive
Not at all independent 1 2 3 4 5 Very independent

4) On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Strongly Disagree” and “7” being “Strongly
Agree,” how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements that describe
Benazir Bhutto’s run for prime minister of Pakistan?

7= Strongly Agree
6= Agree
5= Somewhat Agree
4= Neither Agree or Disagree
3= Somewhat Disagree
2= Disagree
1= Strongly Disagree

Benazir Bhutto: Strongly Disagree

She represented a face for
gender empowerment in
Pakistan as the Chair of
Pakistan People’s Party and
Prime Minister of Pakistan.
She was successful in her
political career because she

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

82
was a woman.
She largely received support
from women.
V. Now we are going to ask you a few questions about Hina Rabbani Khar.

1) Are you familiar with Hina Rabbani Khar? Yes/no/not sure
Proceed further only if yes answered for Q1.

2) In 2002, Hina Rabbani Khar first won a seat in the Pakistan National Assembly. In 2009, she presented the Pakistani budget before the National Assembly. In February 2011, she was appointed as the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

INSTRUCTIONS: Please rate your response on a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Hurt her campaign a lot” and “7” being “Helped her campaign a lot”. Please evaluate how much you believe the following characteristics about Hina Rabbani Khar impacted her campaign for a seat in the national assembly.
7= Helped her campaign a lot
6= Helped her campaign
5= Helped her campaign some
4= Neither helped nor hurt her campaign
3= Hurt her campaign some
2= Hurt her campaign
1= Hurt her campaign a lot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hurt her campaign a lot</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>b. Experience</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. Age</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. Image</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>e. Personality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Family life (Husband, children)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>g. Family, Khar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3) Please indicate the extent that each of the following characteristics describes Hina Rabbani Khar during her run for a seat in the Pakistani national assembly. Please mark the circle that is closest to the word that best describes her during her campaign for a seat in the national assembly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very strong need for</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feels very inferior</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all understanding of others</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gives up very easily</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goes to pieces</td>
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<table>
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<th>Very little need for</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Feels very superior</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very understanding of others</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Never gives up easily</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>Stands up well</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very submissive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all excitable in a major crisis</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Very rough</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all helpful to others</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings not easily hurt</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all aware of feelings of others</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Very home oriented</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all able to devote self completely to others</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Very active</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not at all kind</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can make decisions easily</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never cries</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very cold in relations with others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) On a scale of 1 to 7, with “1” being “Strongly Disagree” and “7” being “Strongly Agree,” how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements that describe Hina Rabbani Khar’s campaign for a seat in the national assembly?

7= Strongly Agree
6= Agree
5= Somewhat Agree
4= Neither Agree or Disagree
3= Somewhat Disagree
2= Disagree
1=Strongly Disagree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hina Rabanni</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

She represents female empowerment in Pakistan.
She has been successful in her political career because she is a woman.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree
She largely receives support from women.
VI. You made it. This is the last set of question. In this section, we want to learn more about you.

1) What is your gender? Male/Female
2) What is your age? _______
3) What is your classification in college?
   Freshman/First year
   Sophomore
   Junior
   Senior
   Graduate student
   Unclassified
4) What is your religious affiliation?
   Muslim (Sunni)
   Muslim (Shiite)
   Christian
   Hindu
   Quadiani/Ahmedi
   Scheduled caste
   Other ______
5) What is your mother tongue?
   Urdu
   Punjabi
   Sindhi
   Pushto
   Balochi
   Kashmiri
   Saraiki
   Hindko
   Brahvi
   Other ______
6) What political party do you support?
   Pakistan People’s Party Parliamentarians (PPPP)
   Pakistan Muslim League (N)
   Pakistan Muslim League (Q)
   Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM)
   Mutahida Mujlis-a-Amal (MMA)
   Awami National Party (ANP)
   Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)
   All Pakistan Muslim League (APML)
   Other (Please enter)
   None

7) Of what student organization are you a member of? (Drop down list)
APPENDIX C
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES QUESTIONNAIRE

(Spence and Helmreich, 1978)

M-F 1. Not at all aggressive/Very aggressive*
M 2. Not at all independent/Very independent*
F 3. Not at all emotional/Very emotional*
M-F 4. Very submissive/Very dominant*
M-F 5. Not at all excitable in a major crisis*/Very excitable in a major crisis
M 6. Very passive/Very active*
F 7. Not at all able to devote self completely to others/ Able to devote self completely to others*
F 8. Very rough/Very gentle*
F 9. Not at all helpful to others/Very helpful to others*
M 10. Not at all competitive/Very competitive*
M-F 11. Very home oriented/Very worldly*
F 12. Not at all kind/Very kind*
M-F 13. Indifferent to others approval*/Highly needful of others’ approval
M-F 14. Feelings not easily hurt*/Feelings easily hurt
F 15. Not at all aware of feelings of others/Very aware of feelings of others*
M 16. Can make decisions easily*/Has difficulty making decisions
M 17. Gives up very easily/Never gives up easily*
M-F 18. Never cries*/Cries very easily
M 19. Not at all self-confident/Very self-confident*
M 20. Feels very inferior/Feels very superior*
F 21. Not at all understanding of others/Very understanding of others*
F 22. Very cold in relations with others/Very warm in relations with others*
M-F 23. Very little need for security*/ Very strong need for security
M 24. Goes to pieces under pressure/Stands up well under pressure*

The scale to which each item is assigned is indicated by M (Masculinity), F (Femininity) and MF (Masculinity-Femininity)

Items with an asterisk indicate the extreme masculine response for the M and M-F scales and the extreme feminine response for the F scale.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Anam Wahidi was born in 1988 in State College, Pennsylvania. She spent her early years living in Gainesville, Florida with her parents and brother while her father completed his Ph.D. at the University of Florida. She returned with her family to Islamabad, Pakistan in 1994. After completing her A-Levels from Lahore Grammar School, she returned to the U.S. in August 2006. In 2010, she received her Bachelor of Arts in Mass Communication from Edinboro University of Pennsylvania.