

“Always present, never there...”

*The Impact of Spouses on
Evaluations of British Party Leaders*

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Introduction

When Margaret Thatcher celebrated the tenth anniversary of her becoming Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, she declared “I couldn’t have done it without Denis” – her husband (BBC, 2003). Denis Thatcher was often “seen but rarely heard” and took a “one step behind” approach to his role as spouse of the Prime Minister (BBC, 2003). One of the most famous quotes attributed to Sir Denis Thatcher stems from when he was asked about what he thought his role as spouse of the Prime Minister should be; “always present, never there” he replied (Rayner, 2013).

But during the 2010 election in the United Kingdom, the press became increasingly interested with the involvement of the spouses of party leaders during election campaigning (Hyde, 2010 & The Telegraph, 2010). Jackson (2010) states that “with the popularity of politicians at low ebb in Britain; the main party leaders have pushed their wives to the fore in the general election campaign”. However, many news articles have largely focused on the fashion of the spouses of British party leaders (The Guardian, 2010. Newman, 2012 & Briere-Edney, 2011) instead of looking at any political impact they may have had on the election campaign.

Unlike in the United States, it can be stated that “the involvement of political wives is a relatively new development in British politics and the extent of campaigning by Samantha Cameron and Sarah Brown is unprecedented, meaning their ability to sway voters is hard to gauge” (Jackson, 2010). Tony Travers, a political scientist from the London School of Economics was quoted as saying “it is new, but it probably won’t have a big effect” (Jackson, 2010).

The starting point for this research stems from evidence that in the United States political spouses act as political surrogates for their partners and impact upon

not only campaigns but also administrations. This research combines this notion with evidence that character evaluations of politicians can be made from photographs.

A central motivation behind this research is to address whether or not the spouses of British party leaders do have an impact on the evaluations of the party leaders through the use of an experimental survey study in which respondents were asked to evaluate British party leaders on set character traits from photographs of the party leaders – pictured alone or with their spouse - and report the likelihood of them voting for that party leader.

Importance

Little research has been undertaken as to what the real impact of spouses is, and whether they have an impact on the evaluation of their political partners. Much of the research which has been done has focused on campaigns in the United States in a Presidential context. Little research has been undertaken outside of the United States on the impact of spouses and very little, if any, research has taken place within a British context or within a Parliamentary context.

Presidential systems are by their very nature more personalised than a Parliamentary system. It could therefore be argued that campaign surrogates, such as spouses, and the private lives of politicians have often been more of a focus during campaigning in a Presidential system compared to within a Parliamentary system (Bryan, 2012) - which in comparison to Presidential systems are less personalised. Therefore in the British Parliamentary context, the focus remains on parties more than on individuals (McAllister, 2009 & Kriesi, 2011) and as a result there is less of attention paid to the personalities and private lives of the Prime Minister and party leaders and as a result their spouse too.

However, McAllister (2005) has stated that “the personalisation of politics has progressed significantly over the past half century, particularly in parliamentary democracies”. As Parliamentary democracies like Britain move towards becoming more ‘presidentialised’ (Norton, 2003 & Poguntke and Webb, 2005), attention shifts away from political parties and towards the private lives and personalities of particular politicians.

Therefore, it makes sense for spouses to have more of an impact in a Presidential context because they are more personalised. Consequently the fact that Parliamentary systems are moving towards becoming more personalised and more Presidential, this could suggest that spouses of politicians could also become more important within Parliamentary systems. For example, in Israel, another Parliamentary country also noted for moving towards becoming more personalised and Presidential in nature, scholars have also begun to pay more attention to the role of political spouses (Halevi, 2010).

This research will aim to introduce research in this area on spouses into a Parliamentary and less personalised electoral system. Not only this, but this research will also add to the work on the personalisation and presidentialisation of politics in Parliamentary democracies.

Furthermore, it has already been stated that during the last U.K election in 2010 there was seemingly an increased amount of media attention focused on the wives of the three main party leaders. The press in Britain seem divided about what the role of a spouse should be within an electoral campaign – and even if they should have a role at all. For example, Alexander Chancellor (2010) stated that using wives in political campaigns may come across as though Party leaders did not have enough self-confidence to campaign without their wives. Toby Young (2010) argues that

using wives in a political campaign may come across as inauthentic. Joan Burnie (2010) argues that until the wives of British Party leaders “want to stand for Parliament in their own right...they should get on with their own lives and leave their worse halves to slug it out without the little women in tow.”

This research will help to address whether or not the concerns the British press have over the involvement of ‘political wives’ is significant, and whether their involvement in election campaigning is relevant at all.

Literature Review

Most research on the impact of spouses in any capacity has often focused on their impact in political campaigns, and has often been carried out in the context of the Presidential system of the United States. This is largely unsurprising considering the role of First Ladies in the United States – they often play a larger role on the campaign trail, are included in popularity polling data and once in government also have their own office and chief of staff (Skiba, 2011). This is in stark contrast to Britain, where the spouse of the Prime Minister can choose whether to be a public figure or remain in the background. Many keep their own jobs – for example, Cherie Blair (former wife of Prime Minister Tony Blair) was a notable Barrister in her own right during the Blair government.

As a result, scholars have often focused attention on the study of spouses within a United States Presidential context. For example, when looking at studies on campaign surrogates during Presidential elections in the United States, a study by VanHorn (2012) found that spouses often act as political surrogates. Political surrogates can take many forms; celebrities, other elected officials, children and spouses. They are often used to help boost voter support, used to help target a

particular demographic group and used strategically in battleground States (Pace, 2012).

The use of spouses as campaign surrogates was clearly seen during the 2012 Presidential election. Ann Romney was used as a spousal campaign surrogate for her husband Mitt during the 2012 election, becoming “a regular on the talk show circuit” and appearing at events in Pennsylvania which were aimed at “giving the Republican ticket a foothold in the state without having to deploy the candidate himself” (Pace, 2012). Michelle Obama was also used during the 2012 election – her “travel schedule steeped in strategy” - motivating voters in Democratic States and “keeping up appearances” in Republican States (Pace, 2012).

This evidence relates closely to the research done by VanHorn (2012), which states that “candidate wives employ their surrogate role to create a better image of the candidate, to rally more support for their spouse and to get out the vote...by targeting certain audiences, candidate wives can attract votes that their husbands would be less likely to attract if he campaigned on his own”.

The importance as a spouse as a political surrogate in the United States can therefore clearly be observed, and this coincides with research done by Simonton (1996) which shows that spouses are important within their own right and that spouse of Presidential candidates had a reputation which was separate from that of their husbands. It is unsurprising therefore that First Ladies in the United States have also been subject to separate polling from that of their husbands. For example, studies have found that First Ladies can have an impact on the political campaign itself, which reinforces their use as surrogates during campaigning. A study by MacManus and Quecan (2008) which looked at opinion poll data during “campaign seasons”, focused on the actual impact they may have upon a political campaign, finding that

spouses are often used strategically within presidential campaigns, and therefore finding that spouses could make a difference in a campaign outcome.

A study by Burrell (2000) which also looked at polling data for First Ladies came to a similar conclusion to that of MacManus and Quecan (2008). But here, the polling data on First Ladies was from the period that their husbands were in office, rather than during “campaign season”. Burrell (2000) found that First Ladies often have a different approval rating to those of their husbands – ratings which are usually higher – coming to the conclusion that presidential spouses could therefore be a force not only during campaigns, but also during the period that their husbands were in office.

However, it should be noted that these studies have only focused on the influence of a female spouse. This is understandable, given that most studies have only focused on the influence of spouses at a Presidential level, and that in the United States there have so far only been female Presidential spouses. However, it would be difficult to say that these same results would be replicated in Britain. In Britain, there has been a different history of spouses of the Prime Minister, which has included a male spouse – Denis Thatcher, husband of Margaret Thatcher, widower Ramsay McDonald and bachelor Edward Heath.

Also, as well as a different history of political spouses, the role of the spouse of the President of the United States is very different from that of the role of the spouse of the Prime Minister in Britain. For example, Burns (2004) has noted that the role of the spouse of the President has gone through four different stages since 1900. Those stages are; public woman, political celebrity, political activist and political interloper. The First Lady of the United States currently appears to be on the level of political activist or political interloper, depending on their popularity and the issues

they take on as important – having evolved over time from the stage of public woman. Anthony (2008) reiterates this, stating that the “role of the First Lady, the U.S president’s spouse, has evolved from fashion trendsetter and hostess of White House dinners to a more substantive position”. However, the role of the spouse of the British Prime Minister arguably remains more on the level of public woman – although there have been some examples of spouses that have not even reached this level; for example Norma Major who preferred to stay in the background, and some spouses that have moved to the level of political activist; for example Cherie Blair.

VanHorn (2012) also found that their sphere of influence remains within a traditionally feminine set of issues. But it should also be noted that these studies have only focused on the influence of a female spouse. Burrell et al. (2011) also came to a similar conclusion, noting that the American public respond most warmly and positively towards presidential candidate spouses who embrace traditional roles.

The way that the media addresses the role of spouses in both the United States and Britain reflects the findings of Burns (2004). Articles on Michelle Obama – the current First Lady in the United States – range from her fashion choices (Tomer, 2013); to the charitable causes she’s taken on (Haupt, 2013) and the impact she had during the 2008 and 2012 elections and her husband’s administration (Blake, 2009 & Epstein, 2012 & Skillern, 2012). However, in Britain, the articles on Samantha Cameron remain focused on her fashion choices (Cartner-Morley, 2013), rather than on any political impact she may have had.

However, moving away from the way the media analyses the impact of spouses and returning to academic studies, it should also be noted that many of the studies which look into the impact of First Ladies on both campaigns and during administrations have been limited by a dependence on content analysis. However,

studies which don't rely on content analysis and look at the way a politician is portrayed have shown that the analysis of politicians by voters can be affected by a variety of factors. For example, research has shown that if images of politicians are manipulated, then this can affect the way in which they are evaluated (Keating et al. 1999, Rosenberg et al., 1991). Rosenberg et al. (1991) found that the manipulation of photographs altered the perception of a campaign candidate and could affect the campaign outcome – which mirrors the way in which a spouse can act as a campaign surrogate and change campaign outcomes.

Keating et al. (1999) also found that subtle changes in the image of a well-known politician would contribute to a change in the evaluation of that politician. Barrett and Barrington (2005, p.98) found that different images could affect the way in which a politician was evaluated, finding that an image can “shape how voters evaluate a candidate's personal traits, their general impression of that candidate, and their decision on whether to vote for that candidate”. Therefore, if changes in images can change the way in which a politician is portrayed and therefore evaluated, can the same be said if an image of a politician is manipulated to include their spouse? Spouses have already been shown to impact upon the campaigns and administrations of their political partners, but could they also impact upon character evaluations of their partners? So far, little – if any – research has concentrated on this aspect.

If research were to focus on the impact that spouses had on the evaluation of a politician from an image, how would they be evaluated? Miller et al. (1986) found that candidates in the U.S were judged on a ‘limited set of criteria’, or a ‘pre-existing schema’ which voters use to ‘measure up’ a candidate, which include competence, integrity, reliability, charisma, and personal traits.

However, in Britain, Party leaders were more likely to be judged on how responsive, trustworthy and knowledgeable they were (Stevens et al., 2011). Shepard and Johns (2008) also found that in Britain, judgements about politicians can be made from their appearance and evaluations based on appearance are ‘significant’ even when controlling for partisanship. This means that with research undertaken in a British context, then evaluations needed to be adjusted to account for the change in focus.

Hayes (2011, p.140) also shows that female and male candidates will have different trait ownership and personality attributes. For example, women are “more likely to be perceived as possessing traits associated with warmth – compassion and empathy, for example – whereas men are more likely to be seen as possessing traits associated with ‘competence’ – leadership ability or assertiveness.” Hayes (2011) also shows that traits are important because they are theorised to be the source of the difference in the perceptions of male and female politicians’ ideological positions and issue competences.

Research in Britain has also come to the same conclusion - Shepard and Johns (2008) found that traits which apply to British research on evaluations are “competence, intelligence, leadership ability, charisma, likeability, attractiveness, honesty and caring.” They also note that the first four can be considered as strength traits, and the latter four denote warmth traits. This distinction is important, as Shepard and Johns (2007) show that voters consign warmth traits to female candidates and strength traits to male candidates. This shows that consistent with the literature on political wives, women are ultimately evaluated differently to men. Therefore, this difference could also result in female spouses being evaluated differently to their male

husbands, but could image evaluation lead to differing results when men and women are pictured together and then evaluated?

Hypotheses

Many studies have suggested that an image can change the way in which a politician is evaluated by a voter. Studies have also shown that spouses (or campaign surrogates) also play their own role in both campaigns and administrations, and are evaluated from their partners. Therefore, this research combines the findings of these separate areas of research to evaluate the impact that spouses have on the evaluations of British Party leaders.

Also, it has Shepard and Johns (2008) also note eight different criteria on which politicians in Britain are evaluated against, and the way in which these criteria can be split into two groups; warmth traits and strength traits. Voters consider both female and male politicians differently according to strength and warmth traits, and as it has been shown that male and female politicians are evaluated differently (Shepard and Johns, 2007), and the hypotheses used to test any impact that spouses have on British party leaders will need to take this into account.

Therefore, the hypotheses are:

H1a: Without their spouse, male party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations.

H1b: With their spouse, female party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations.

H2a: With their spouse, male party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations.

H2b: Without their spouse, female party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations.

It is hoped that by spitting the hypotheses in this manner will result in different conclusions being able to be made about whether or not spouses have an impact on evaluations of British party leaders, and that these hypotheses also take into account the different ways in which female and male party leaders are evaluated by voters.

Methodology

An experiment will be used to test the differences in evaluations of party leaders and their spouses in order to answer the research question and test the hypotheses. As Field (2009, p.785) states experimental research is a “form of research in which one or more variable is systematically manipulated to see their effect”. Experimental research allows examination of the effect that the independent variable has on the dependent variable (Babbie, 2013, p.230).

In this case, it will allow for the examination of the effect that spouses (the independent variable) have on the evaluations of British party leaders (the dependent variable/experimental manipulation). As the survey will take the form of a split-experimental design, with one group evaluating party leaders with their spouse and the other group evaluating party leaders without the presence of their spouse, this allows for the impact of spouses to take a central place within the study. Experimental (surveys) are also valuable when studying public opinion, as long as the researcher

keeps in mind that the sample within an experiment is not necessarily representative of an entire population (Barabas and Jerit, 2010).

Case Selection

Most research on the impact that spouses have on candidate evaluations has taken place in the United States, where First Ladies traditionally have a bigger role than the spouse of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Therefore, in order to expand this research, this study will focus on British Party leaders.

Party leaders in Britain have been chosen, rather than just MPs. This is because media attention on the role of spouses in Britain has largely focused on the spouses of Party leaders, rather than the spouses of MPs. Also, it was noted that one of the reasons that this research was carried out was to add to research which has already been undertaken on the personalisation and Americanisation of British politics – a large proportion of this work has focused on political leaders rather than just politicians.

Studies have also found that the traits that politicians are evaluated on in Britain differ from those in the United States (Miller et al., 1986. Stevens et al. 2011). Traits used therefore will be based on the British evaluation traits to accommodate for differences in criteria, so that they apply to British voters and British politicians. Using trait evaluation within an experimental design also helps to move away from existing research on spouses which has often been limited by the use of content analysis.

Independent Variable/Experimental Manipulation

The independent variable is the absence or the presence of spouses of British party leaders. The party leaders and their spouses that will be evaluated will be David Cameron and his wife Samantha Cameron for the Conservative Party, Ed Miliband and his wife Justine Thornton for the Labour Party and Nick Clegg and his wife Miriam Clegg for the Liberal Democrat Party. These three parties are the main parties in Britain¹ and the vast majority of MPs in the British Parliament belong to one of these three parties.

For control purposes, Caroline Lucas from the Green Party will also be evaluated with her husband Richard Savage. Caroline Lucas is no longer the leader of the Green Party, but she was leader at the time of the last U.K election which was in 2010. This is also when the Party won its first and only seat in Government – Brighton Pavilion, which also is also Caroline Lucas' Parliamentary seat².

However, although Caroline Lucas was Party Leader for the Green Party during the 2010 election, Ed Miliband was not Party Leader of the Labour Party during the 2010 election. This does mean that the Party Leaders included in this study were not all Party Leaders at the same time. This could be considered as a limitation of this research. However, the current Party leader of the Green Party, Natalie Bennett, does not hold a seat in Parliament. As they only have one MP in Parliament, knowledge of the Green Party in the Britain is likely to be less than that of the main parties. In order to try and counteract this, it makes more sense to use Caroline Lucas rather than Natalie Bennett, even though she is no longer leader of the Green Party.

Using Caroline Lucas and the Green Party in this research also has one added benefit - that is the inclusion of a male spouse and a female politician into the study. Currently there is only one other MP in Britain that does not belong to one of the

¹ As shown by the website of Parliament in the United Kingdom: <http://www.parliament.uk/about/mps-and-lords/members/parties/>

² <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8666445.stm>

three main parties or the Green Party, and this is George Galloway from the Respect Party. However, using George Galloway as part of this study would not have the added benefit of a male spouse and female politician included in the study and also, George Galloway is considered to be a controversial figure in British politics, and this may distort results on evaluations.

In order to operationalise this variable, photographs were used to test the effects of wives on evaluations of British party leaders. Four photographs were chosen, one of each party leader with their spouse (*see appendices*). Photographs were chosen to be as similar as possible – this was difficult when choosing a photograph of Caroline Lucas – due to her limited familiarity with the British electorate which resulted in a lack of photographs to choose from and therefore the photograph of Caroline Lucas involves her being slightly more tactile with her spouse than in comparison with the other three party leaders. This may have been a limitation of the study, but was difficult to avoid.

All four photographs were cropped to make sure that the party leaders and their spouses were the main focus of the photograph, and to try and eliminate people in the background. Photographs were made black and white in order to negate any effects that the colour of photographs may have had on the research – in many of the photographs the politicians were wearing ties which denoted the colour of their parties, and the study aimed to avoid any bias that colour may have had on the research. Also, the photographs were unlabelled so that participants could also be asked about their knowledge of that candidate – if colour had been used then participants may have been able to deduce which party each leader was from despite limited familiarity with that politician. Other studies looking at voting behaviour from photographs have also used a similar approach (Lawson, Lenz, Baker and Myers, 2010).

As the manipulation of this experiment involved the presence or absence of spouses, photographs also had to be chosen for the group which would receive photographs without a spouse. In order to make the experiment as balanced as possible, the original photographs of the party leaders with their spouse were used for the group without a spouse, but the spouse was cropped out of the photograph. That way both groups saw the same photograph of the party leader, but one group had photographs which included the spouse, and the other group the same photograph but without the spouse.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable was evaluations of British party leaders. This was operationalised by asking participants in the experiment to evaluate candidates according to set criteria. The criteria used will be based on the criteria set out by Shepard and Johns (2008). Shepard and Johns (2008) used a similar study to this research, by asking respondents to rate MPs on various character traits from a photograph and to report their probability of voting for them – they noted that there was “weighty evidence from social psychology that (political relevant) character evaluations are inferred from and shaped by immediate visual impressions” (p.325). They also found that there was “strong evidence of links between physical appearance and impression formation. Research has shown that we are willing to make judgements about a person’s character based on non-verbal and often very brief assessments of appearance, notably facial appearance....Moreover, the impressions formed in this way then shape – and, crucially, obviate the need for extensive – subsequent thinking about that person. Therein lies the possibility for such instant judgements to influence evaluations of politicians” (p.325). Also, research like this

undertaken in the U.S showed that if a politician was rated more positively on physical appearance, then this led to a voting advantage for politicians.

As it has been shown that there is evidence to suggest that voters make evaluations from the appearance of a politician according to set criteria (Lau and Redlawsk, 2006), this study extends that research to include photographs which have either the absence or presence of a spouse when making evaluations of party leaders based on certain criteria.

The traits that were used in this study were also used by Shepard and Johns (2008) because they were found to reoccur in the literature most often and have also been shown to “correlate with electoral preference” (Shepard and Johns, 2008, p. 329). These traits were also chosen because Shepard and Johns (2008) found that “each of [the] traits has the potential to contribute positively to a candidate’s electoral performance” (p.330). This is also considered to be an important consideration in this research of this type. Also, as most trait evaluation research has often been undertaken in the United States, Shepard and Johns (2008) adapted traits to make sure that they applied to the British electorate and British research – again this is important for this study as it applies to British Party leaders. This is therefore fundamental to the research that traits that apply to a British electorate and British politicians are used.

The traits that were used are competence, intelligence, leadership ability, charisma, likeability, attractiveness, honesty, and caring (Shepard and Johns, 2008). Although research here is on candidates, there is no reason why it cannot also apply to surrogates such as spouses.

Participants in the experiment rated each of the four Party leaders according to the eight traits on a scale from 1 – Strongly Disagree to 7 – Strongly Agree in order to measure each of the party leaders on a Likert scale.

Shepard and Johns (2008) also make the distinction between strength and warmth traits. Out of the eight traits; competence, intelligence, leadership and charisma are considered strength traits and likeability, attractiveness, honesty and caring are considered warmth traits. The distinction between the eight traits is a useful distinction for this research as Shepard and Johns (2008) show that the evaluations of females are often more focused on warmth traits and evaluations of males are often more focused on strength traits – this becomes useful because of the way that female politicians may be evaluated differently with the inclusion of a male spouse, just as male politicians may be evaluated differently with the inclusion of a female spouse. Therefore, the four different strength traits and the four different warmth traits will be combined during data analysis.

Procedure

Participants were students from Britain, between the ages of 18-25. This is to make sure that they are of legal voting age in the United Kingdom. It is also important that the participants were British as then they would have at least some knowledge of the party leaders. It is also important that participants are British, as the traits have been chosen because they apply to British voters.

The experiment took the form of an online survey (*see appendices*). There were two surveys – one with photographs of only the party leader without their spouse, and the second with photographs of the party leader with their spouse. Participants were presented with two Internet links and were asked to choose one survey to fill in. They were also given instructions not to look at the survey that they chose not to fill in. Participants were also asked to share the links to the survey. Therefore, the experiment used semi-random assignment. When each survey had received forty-five

respondents, the surveys were closed. Therefore, there were ninety respondents in total.

In the first group – the control group – each participant received one photograph of each party leader. In the second group - the experimental group – each participant received one photograph of each party leader with their spouse.

Firstly, participants were asked for their gender. This was so that analysis could determine whether there was a difference in the way in which participants in each group evaluated the party leaders. Participants were also asked which party they usually identify with, in order to take into account partisanship within results.

Participants in the control group were then asked to evaluate each party leader from their photograph which did not include their spouse according to the eight traits as established by Shepard and Johns (2008); competence, intelligence, leadership ability, charisma, likeability, attractiveness, honesty, and caring on a scale from 1 – Strongly Disagree to 7 – Strongly Agree. Participants in the experimental group were asked to evaluate each party leader according to the same criteria as those participants in the control group, but the photographs of the party leaders that they were provided with also included the party leader's spouse.

Participants were also asked to report the likelihood of voting for each party leader on a scale of 1 – Very Unlikely to 5 – Very Likely.

Differences in the results between both the control group and the experimental group can then be compared to see if spouses do have any effect on the evaluations of British party leaders.

Limitations

There have been a number of limitations with this research. For example, there are limitations when using an experimental survey design. The survey took place in an artificial environment, and participants may have previous knowledge which could impact upon the results.

Another limitation comes from the design of the survey in the context of British politics. For example, Shepard and Johns (2008) state that Party leaders are often evaluated by voters against their opponent when making the decision about who to vote for. This survey was unable to account for that when asking participants to report the likelihood of voting for each Party leader. However, often initial impressions will take place based on appearance before comparison takes place (Sullivan et al. 1990) and so whilst this experiment will not fully show all aspects of voter choice, it will help to show the impact of spouses on Party leaders.

Partisanship may also be considered a limitation when participants were evaluating each Party leader. Britain is well known for voter's partisan alignment with political parties (Butler and Stokes, 1971), and this could impact upon evaluations of British Party leaders. However, Dunleavy (2005) also notes that Britain is currently in a period of partisan dealignment, and this research uses participants from the age of 18-25, who are more likely to be less aligned to a particular political Party. It should also be noted that Barabas and Jerit (2010) found that people taking part in an experimental survey such as this are more likely to adjust their political beliefs. Therefore, partisanship is not much of a concern.

Arguably, another limitation of this research is the time in which it was conducted – for example, when the research was conducted in 2013, it was the mid-term of the Government of Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition in Britain.

Mid-term points between elections are notorious for the Government being unpopular, and this may have impacted upon evaluations for the Conservative and Liberal Democrat Party Leaders.

It could also be argued that another limitation of the survey design of this experiment is the fact that it involves a small sample size and is not fully representative in terms of age of participants. However, this research aims to open the research up into a British context and should be considered as a starting point for future research in this area in Britain.

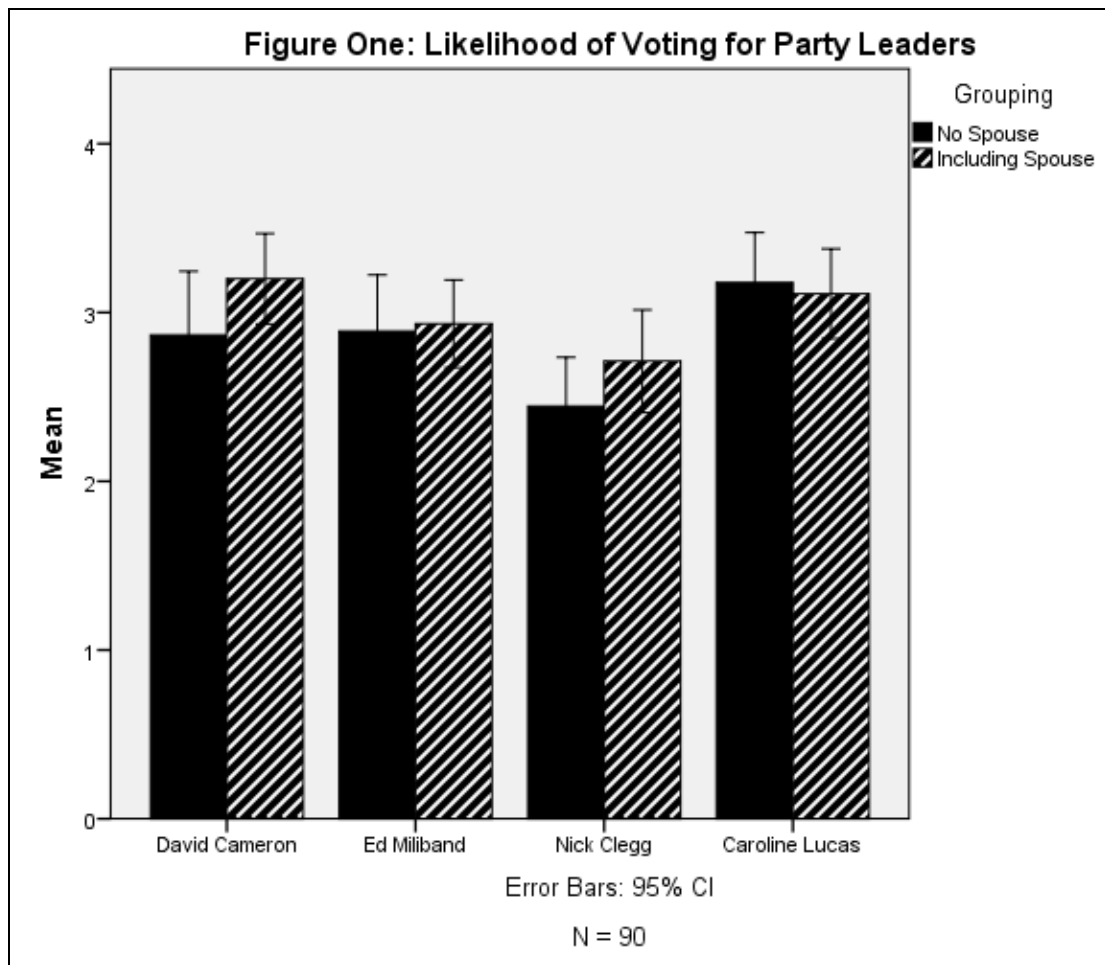
Results

One of the questions that respondents of the survey were asked was: “*Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you had only this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician?*” (see *appendices*). Respondents were asked to base their responses on a five point scale, ranging from (1) Very Unlikely to (5) to Very Likely.

Responses from this question have been evaluated to see if any basic conclusions can be made about the impact of spouses on British party leaders. It is difficult to make any detailed conclusions from this question, as the question does not account for other considerations regarding voter choice.

As it can be seen from *figure one*, respondents were more likely to vote for David Cameron when evaluations were carried out from a photograph with his spouse ($M = 3.20$, $SE = 0.13$) compared to when evaluations were carried out from a photograph without his spouse included in the photograph ($M = 2.87$, $SE = 0.19$). However, although a difference can be seen between the control group and the

experimental group, this difference is not significant ($t(88) = -1.45, p > .05$) $r = 0.15$ – which represented a small effect size.



Similar results were found for Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg. Respondents were again more likely to vote for Ed Miliband when evaluations were carried out from a photograph with his spouse ($M = 2.93, SE = 0.13$) compared to when evaluations were carried out from a photograph without his spouse ($M = 2.89, SE = 0.17$). Just like with evaluations of David Cameron however, a difference can be seen between the two groups, but this difference is extremely small with a small effect size and is not significant ($t(88) = 0.21, p > 0.5$) $r = 0.02$.

Concerning evaluations of Nick Clegg, results again went in the same direction as the other male party leaders included in the survey. Respondents reported being more likely to vote for Nick Clegg when he was pictured with his spouse ($M =$

2.71, $SE = 0.15$), compared to evaluations from when he was pictured alone ($M = 2.44$, $SE = 0.14$) – and just like with the results from the other male party leaders, the difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.28$, $p > 0.5$) $r = 0.14$, which again represented a small effect size.

However, the opposite was found for evaluations of Caroline Lucas, the only female party leader who was included in the study. Respondents reported being more likely to vote for Caroline Lucas when she was pictured without her spouse ($M = 3.18$, $SE = 0.15$), compared to when she was evaluated from a photograph with her spouse ($M = 3.11$, $SE = 0.13$). Although *figure one* shows there was a difference between the control group and the experimental group, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.34$, $p > 0.5$) $r = 0.03$ – a small effect size.

Looking at these results helps to draw basic conclusions about whether spouses have an impact on the evaluations of British party leaders. It can be seen that there are differences between the two different groups of participants and that the presence of a spouse *may* have an impact on the way that British party leaders are evaluated – but that further analysis is needed.

However, when controlling for partisanship on whether a spouse has an impact on the likelihood of voting for a party leader (*see table one*), the results are more erratic – no significant results were found and there is no discernable trend from the results either to suggest that spouses had any impact on the likelihood of a respondent voting for a particular party leader. This is unsurprising however given the design of the study – where the method does not replicate a real general election where voters would make a choice between candidates, voters would have information regarding the politicians and voters would be primed before the election.

Nonetheless, although this study found no results regarding the likelihood of voting for a party leader, this does not automatically mean that spouses have no impact at all – spouses may still have an impact upon the evaluations of character traits so analysis of trait evaluations are also needed.

Table One: Likelihood of voting for each party leader when controlling for partisanship: mean differences and significance tests.

	Experimental Condition		<i>diff.</i>	<i>sig.</i>
	No Spouse	Inc. Spouse		
Conservative Voters	<i>N</i> = 8	<i>N</i> = 7		
David Cameron	3.89	3.86	0.03	0.93
Ed Miliband	2.00	2.29	0.29	0.48
Nick Clegg	2.03	1.86	0.17	0.24
Caroline Lucas	3.00	2.43	0.57	0.33
Labour Voters	<i>N</i> = 16	<i>N</i> = 16		
David Cameron	2.25	2.94	0.69	0.08
Ed Miliband	3.31	3.44	0.13	0.73
Nick Clegg	2.31	2.69	0.38	0.27
Caroline Lucas	3.25	3.06	0.19	0.61
Liberal Democrat Voters	<i>N</i> = 4	<i>N</i> = 3		
David Cameron	3.25	3.33	0.08	0.94
Ed Miliband	2.75	3.33	0.58	0.40
Nick Clegg	3.00	3.67	0.67	0.29
Caroline Lucas	3.25	3.33	0.08	0.90
Non-Partisan Voters	<i>N</i> = 11	<i>N</i> = 15		
David Cameron	3.00	3.27	0.27	0.55
Ed Miliband	3.00	2.53	0.47	0.23
Nick Clegg	2.36	2.87	0.51	0.22
Caroline Lucas	3.45	3.27	0.18	0.56

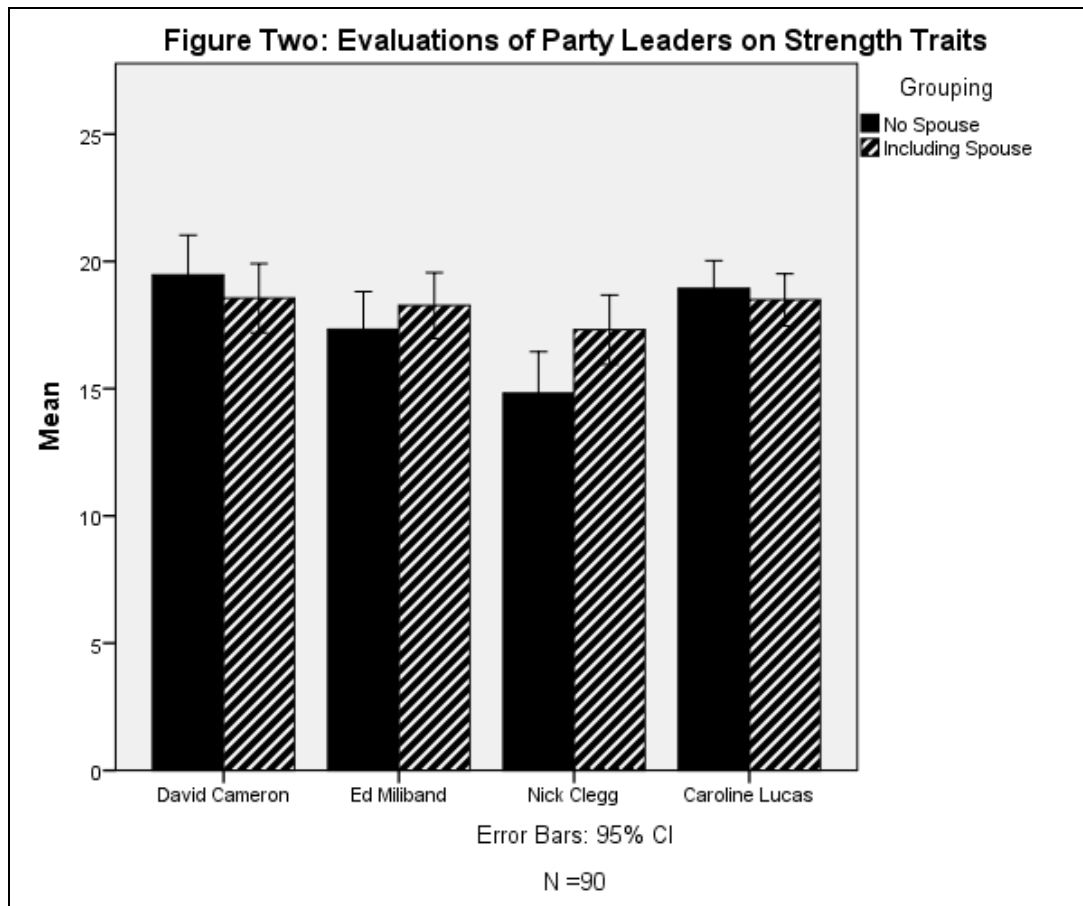
Strength Traits

Participants of the survey were asked to rate each party leader on eight different traits, on a scale from 1: Strongly Disagree to 7: Strongly Agree. Four of these traits were considered to be strength traits (Shepard and Johns, 2008). These traits were; competence, intelligence, whether the party leader was a strong leader and how charismatic the leader was. These four strength traits were combined to compare the strength trait evaluations together.

The first hypothesis (*H1a*) was: without their spouse, male party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations. The expectation was that participants of the survey would rate male party leaders higher on strength traits when they were evaluated without their spouse. The second hypothesis (*H2a*) was: with their spouse, female party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations. The expectation was that participants of the survey would rate female party leaders higher on strength traits when they were evaluated with their spouse.

When looking at the results regarding the four strength traits with regard to male Party leaders, generally no significant results were found. Cronbach's Alpha was 0.625.

With regards to the evaluation of David Cameron, participants evaluated him higher on strength traits without his spouse ($M = 19.47$, $SE = 0.78$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 18.56$, $SE = 0.67$), which meant that participants of the experiment rated David Cameron on strength trait evaluations in the direction which was expected. However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.89$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.09$, which meant there was a small effect size.



Out of the all of the evaluations of male Party leaders on strength traits, David Cameron was the only Party leader where evaluations went in the direction which was expected. Evaluations of Ed Miliband on strength traits were lower when he was pictured without his spouse ($M = 17.33, SE = 0.73$), compared to evaluations when he was pictured with his spouse ($M = 18.27, SE = 0.64$). However, the difference here was also not significant ($t(88) = -0.96, p.>0.05$) $r = 0.10$, with a small effect size.

The evaluation of Nick Clegg on strength traits presented the only significant result out of evaluations of strength traits, however, again this was in the opposite direction to the one which was expected; Nick Clegg was evaluated higher by participants on strength traits when he was pictured with his spouse ($M = 17.31, SE = 0.68$) than when he was pictured without his spouse ($M = 14.82, SE = 0.81$). The

difference was significant ($t(88) = -2.36, p < 0.05$) $r = 0.24$ and again represented a small effect size.

When looking at the results from the evaluations of strength traits of female Party leaders, it was expected that Caroline Lucas would be evaluated higher on strength traits when she was evaluated from the photograph which included her spouse. However, participants evaluated her higher on these traits without her spouse ($M = 18.93, SE = 0.54$) than participants who evaluated her lower on these traits when pictured with her spouse ($M = 18.49, SE = 0.51$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.60, p. > 0.05$) $r = 0.06$ which represented a small effect size.

Individual Strength Traits:

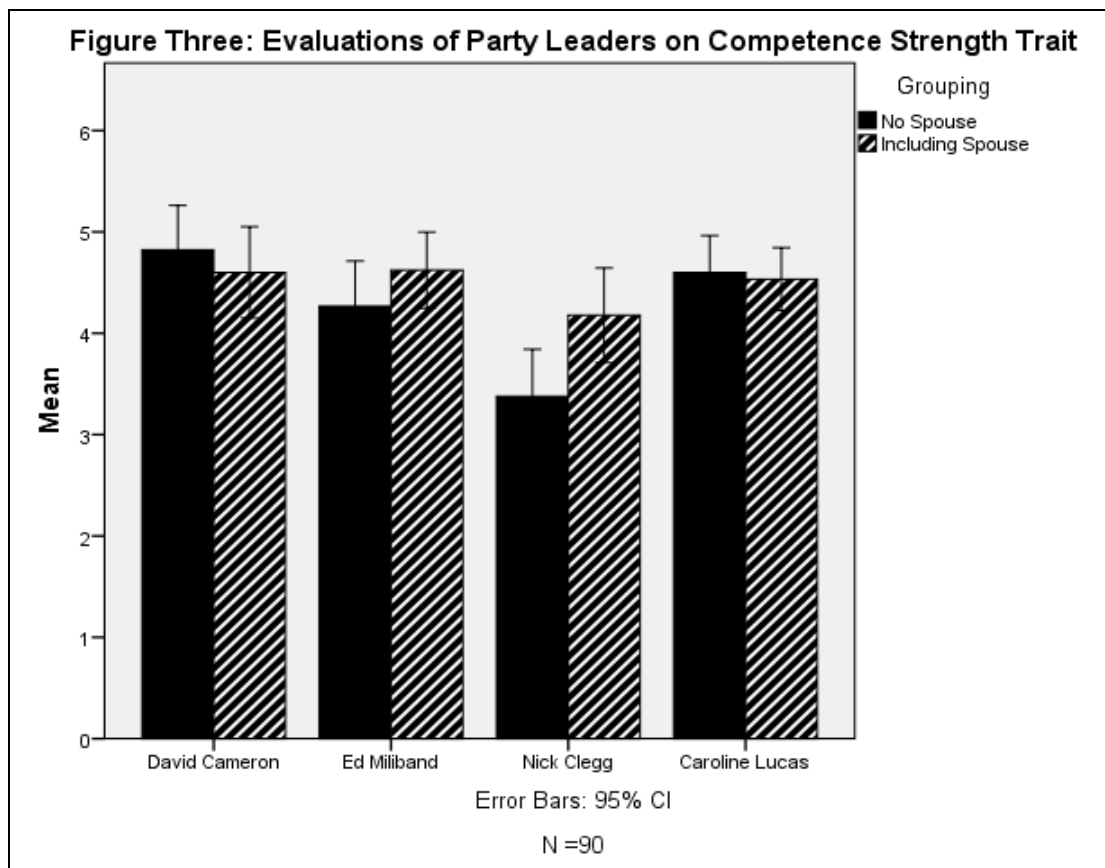
Competence

Evaluations on strength traits were also analysed individually. The first individual strength trait was competence (*figure three*). Again, generally no significant results were found. Cronbach's Alpha was 0.569.

Participants who evaluated David Cameron evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 4.82, SE = 0.22$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.60, SE = 0.22$). Just like with the evaluations of David Cameron on strength traits, this was the direction in which results were expected. However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.48, p. > 0.05$) $r = 0.07$, which represented a small effect size.

Again, just like with the combined strength traits, results from participants on the strength trait of competence regarding Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg were in the opposite direction from the direction which was expected. Participants evaluated Ed Miliband lower on this trait without his spouse ($M = 4.27, SE = 0.22$), than

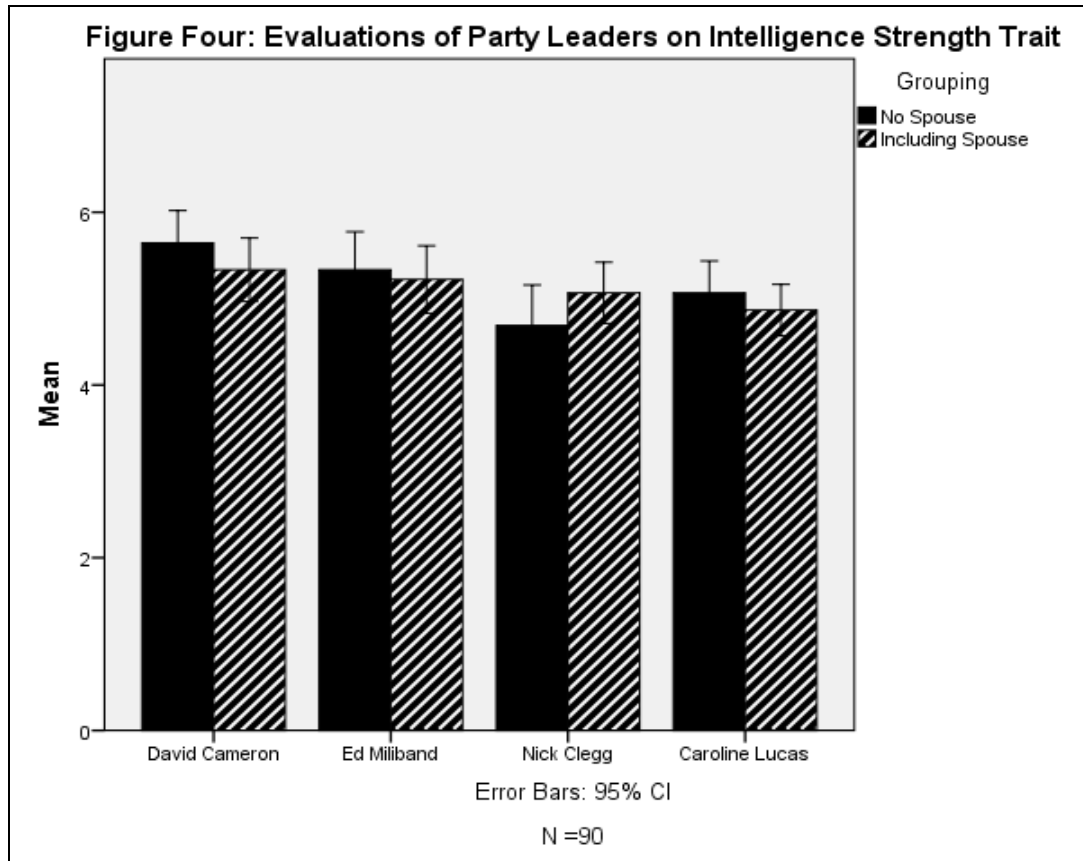
participants who evaluated him higher on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.62, SE = 0.19$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.22, p > 0.05$) $r = 0.13$, which represented a small effect size. Again, the evaluations of Nick Clegg on competence went in the opposite direction to that which was expected; he was evaluated higher on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.18, SE = 0.23$). This difference was significant ($t(88) = 0.07, p < 0.05$) $r = 0.25$, which represented a small effect size. This was the only significant result with regard to the competence strength trait with regards to male Party leaders.



When looking at the evaluations of the competence strength trait for Caroline Lucas, no significant result was found - participants evaluated her higher on this trait without her spouse ($M = 4.60, SE = 0.18$) than participants who evaluated her lower on this trait when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.53, SE = 0.15$). This was the

opposite of what was expected. This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.28$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.03$, which represented a small effect size.

Intelligence



The second strength trait to be analysed individually was intelligence (*figure four*). Cronbach's Alpha was 0.664. Again, here male Party leaders were expected to be evaluated higher on this trait when they were pictured without their spouse, and female Party leaders were expected to be evaluated higher on this trait when they were pictured with their spouse. Again, evaluations of David Cameron went in the direction which was expected; participants evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 5.64$, $SE = 0.19$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 5.33$, $SE = 0.18$). Although this was in the

direction which was expected, this result was not significant ($t(88) = 1.20, p. >0.05$) $r = 0.13$ and represented a small effect size.

The strength trait of intelligence was also the only individual strength trait where participants evaluated Ed Miliband in the direction which was expected - participants evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 5.33, SE = 0.22$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 5.22, SE = 0.19$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.38, p. >0.05$), $r = 0.04$, which represented a small effect size.

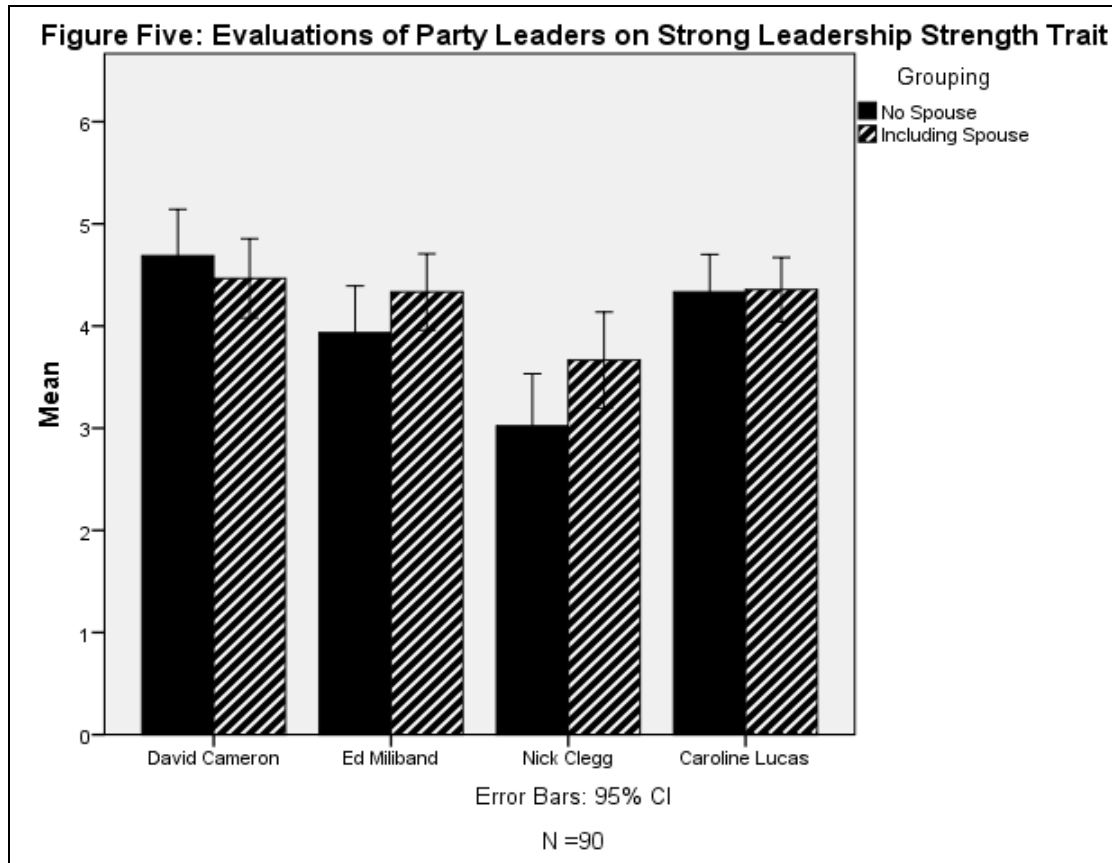
Again, Nick Clegg did not conform to what was expected with regards to the strength trait of intelligence. Participants evaluated him lower on this trait without his spouse ($M = 4.69, SE = 0.23$), than participants who evaluated him higher on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 5.07, SE = 0.18$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.30, p > 0.05$) $r = 0.14$, which represented a small effect size.

Evaluations of Caroline Lucas also did not conform to what was expected; participants evaluated her lower on this trait without her spouse ($M = 5.07, SE = 0.18$) than participants who evaluated her higher on this trait when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.87, SE = 0.15$). The opposite was expected. This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.85, p. >0.05$) $r = 0.09$ which represented a small effect size.

Strong Leadership

The third individual strength trait to be analysed was strong leadership (*figure five*). Cronbach's Alpha was 0.597. Once again, evaluations of David Cameron went in the direction which was expected - participants evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 4.69, SE = 0.22$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.47, SE = 0.19$). Although evaluations went

in the direction which was expected, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.75$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.08$ which represented a small effect size.



Again, both the evaluations of Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg went in the opposite direction to what was expected. Participants evaluated Ed Miliband higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 3.93$, $SE = 0.23$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.33$, $SE = 0.19$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = - 1.36$, $p.>0.05$) $r = 0.14$ which represented a small effect size. Participants also evaluated Nick Clegg lower on his trait without his spouse ($M = 3.02$, $SE = 0.25$), than participants who evaluated him higher on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 3.67$, $SE = 0.23$). Again, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = - 1.87$, $p>0.05$) $r = 0.20$ which represented a small effect size.

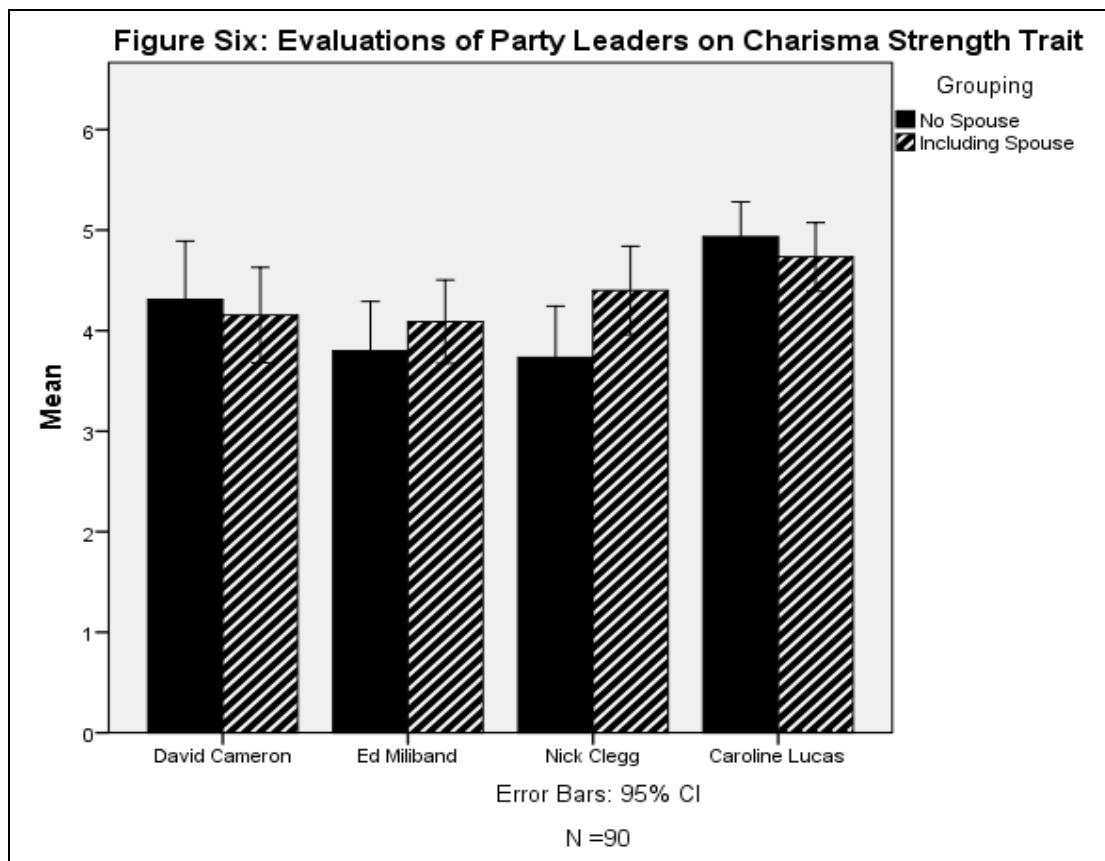
The opposite result from what was expected was also found in the evaluations of Caroline Lucas. Participants evaluated her higher on this trait without her spouse ($M = 4.33$, $SE = 0.18$) than participants who evaluated her lower on this trait when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.36$, $SE = 0.17$). The difference was very small here and was not significant ($t(88) = -0.92$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.10$ - a small effect size.

Charisma

The last individual strength trait that Party leaders were evaluated on was charisma (*figure six*). Cronbach's Alpha here was 0.572. Again, David Cameron was the only Party leader whose evaluations went in the expected direction; participants evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 4.31$, $SE = 0.29$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.16$, $SE = 0.24$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.49$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.04$ - a small effect size.

Participants evaluated Ed Miliband on this strength trait in the opposite direction to what was expected - participants evaluated him higher on this trait without his spouse ($M = 3.80$, $SE = 0.24$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.09$, $SE = 0.21$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.91$, $p.>0.05$) $r = 0.10$ - a small effect size. The same direction was found for evaluations of Nick Clegg on the charisma trait, participants also evaluated him lower on his trait without his spouse ($M = 3.73$, $SE = 0.25$), than participants who evaluated him higher on this trait when pictured with his spouse ($M = 4.40$, $SE = 0.22$). However, the difference here was significant ($t(88) = -1.99$, $p<0.05$) and represented a small effect size of $r = 0.21$. This was the only significant result found from the evaluations of the charisma strength trait.

Again, the result on the charisma strength trait for Caroline Lucas was also in the opposite direction to what was expected - participants evaluated her higher on this trait without her spouse ($M = 4.93$, $SE = 0.17$) than participants who evaluated her lower on this trait when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.73$, $SE = 0.17$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.83$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.09$ which represented a small effect size.



The only Party leader that conformed to what was expected in all of the individual strength traits and when the strength traits were combined together was David Cameron. This may be because out of all the Party leaders in the experiment, David Cameron was the most well known (*table two*) – which could have resulted in participants in the experiment feeling like they were able to evaluate David Cameron more appropriately.

Table Two: Responses to survey question: “*Are you aware of who this politician is*”?
- from photographs: Respondents Familiarity with Party Leaders.

	David Cameron	Ed Miliband	Nick Clegg	Caroline Lucas
<i>Yes</i>	100.0	96.7	88.9	33.3
<i>No</i>	0.0	2.2	10.0	50.0
<i>Not Sure</i>	0.0	1.1	1.1	16.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

N=90

Another reason why David Cameron may have conformed to the expectations on strength traits may be because of the party in which he is from. As Clark (2012, p.47) states; “Party leaders are significant political figures. To the electorate they are often the only recognisable face of the party. Their political statements are closely examined by analysts for a sign of the direction the party is taking. Offering strong and decisive leadership is commonly perceived to be a key factor in ensuring leaders become an electoral asset to their parties. Leadership is therefore important, not least to a party like the Conservatives which professes to privilege hierarchy and authority”. Therefore it could be argued that the Conservative Party have a natural affinity with the strength trait of strong leadership.

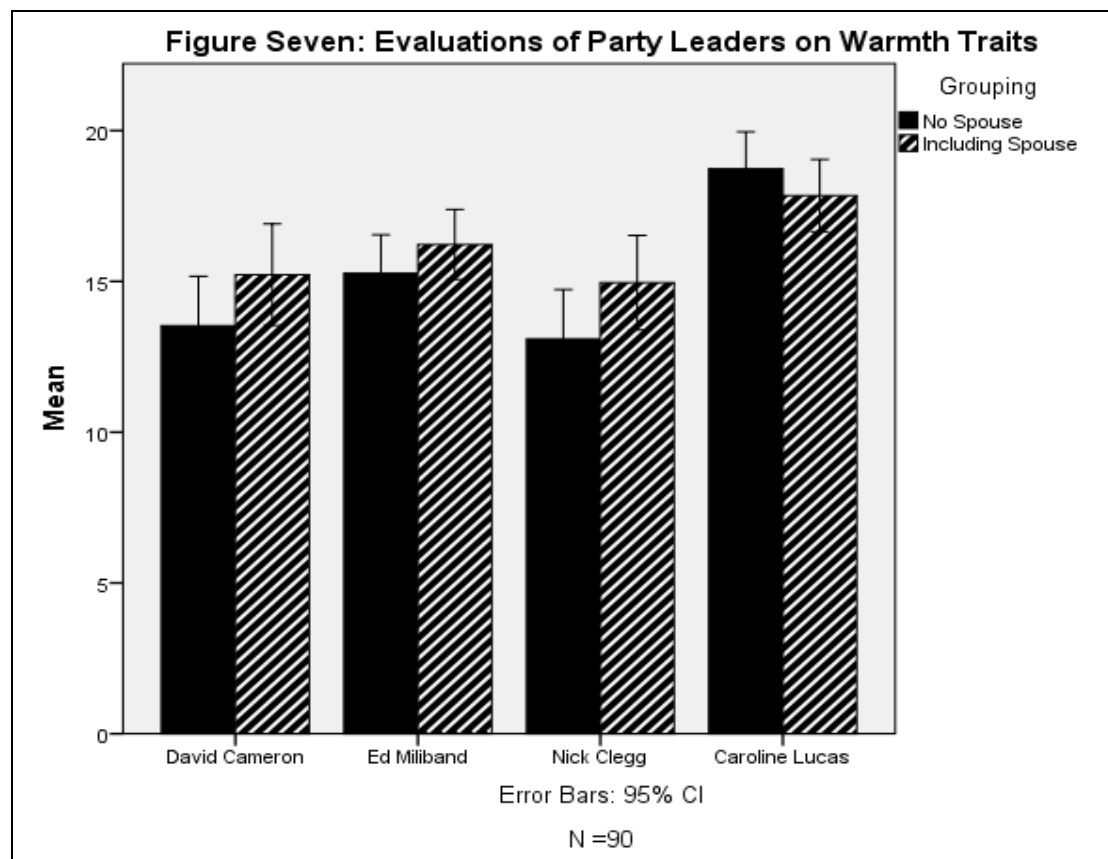
Not only this, but the Conservative Party also have a tradition of charismatic leaders, including Churchill and Thatcher (Clark, 2012). Therefore it could be argued that one of the reasons that the Conservative Party leader David Cameron has conformed to what was expected with regards to strength trait evaluations is because his party has traditionally typified the expectations which come from these specific trait evaluations.

This means that Conservative voters were more likely to be influenced by strength traits than other voters, which is reinforced by a finding made by Shepard

and Johns (2008) who found that even when controlling for partisanship, perceptions of party image can still impact upon the evaluations of a politician.

Another reason this result may have been found is due to the way that Conservative voters are considered to be more traditional which have influenced their evaluations. Samantha Cameron, spouse of David Cameron, also fulfils a more traditional spouse role compared to the other spouses which were used in evaluations, which may have also influenced the results. Just like in America, where voters respond positively to a more traditional image of a spouse, this may have also been the case amongst Conservative voters who perceive that the Conservative should hold a more traditional image, including that of the spouse of the Party leader.

Warmth Traits



Participants of the survey were asked to rate each Party leader on eight different traits, on a scale from 1: *Strongly Disagree* to 7: *Strongly Agree*. Four of these traits were considered to be warmth traits (Shepard and Johns, 2008). These traits were; likeability, attractiveness, honesty, and how caring they perceived the Party leader to be. These four warmth traits were combined to compare the warmth trait evaluations together.

The third hypothesis (*H2a*) was: with their spouse, male Party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations. The expectation was that participants of the survey would rate male Party leaders lower on warmth traits when they were evaluated without their spouse and higher on warmth traits when they were evaluated with their spouse. The fourth hypothesis (*H2b*) was: without their spouse, female Party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations. The expectation was that participants would rate a female Party lower on warmth traits when they were evaluated with their male spouse and higher on warmth traits when they were evaluated without their male spouse.

Unlike the results from the strength traits, the results with regards to the combined warmth traits all conformed to what was expected. Cronbach's Alpha here was 0.628. For example, participants rated David Cameron higher on warmth traits when he was photographed with his spouse ($M = 15.22$, $SE = 0.84$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 13.53$, $SE = 0.81$). However, although the results conformed to what was expected, the difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.45$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.12$ - a small effect size.

Results for Ed Miliband on combined warmth traits also conformed to what was expected - participants evaluated him higher on these trait with his spouse ($M = 16.22$, $SE = 0.58$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when

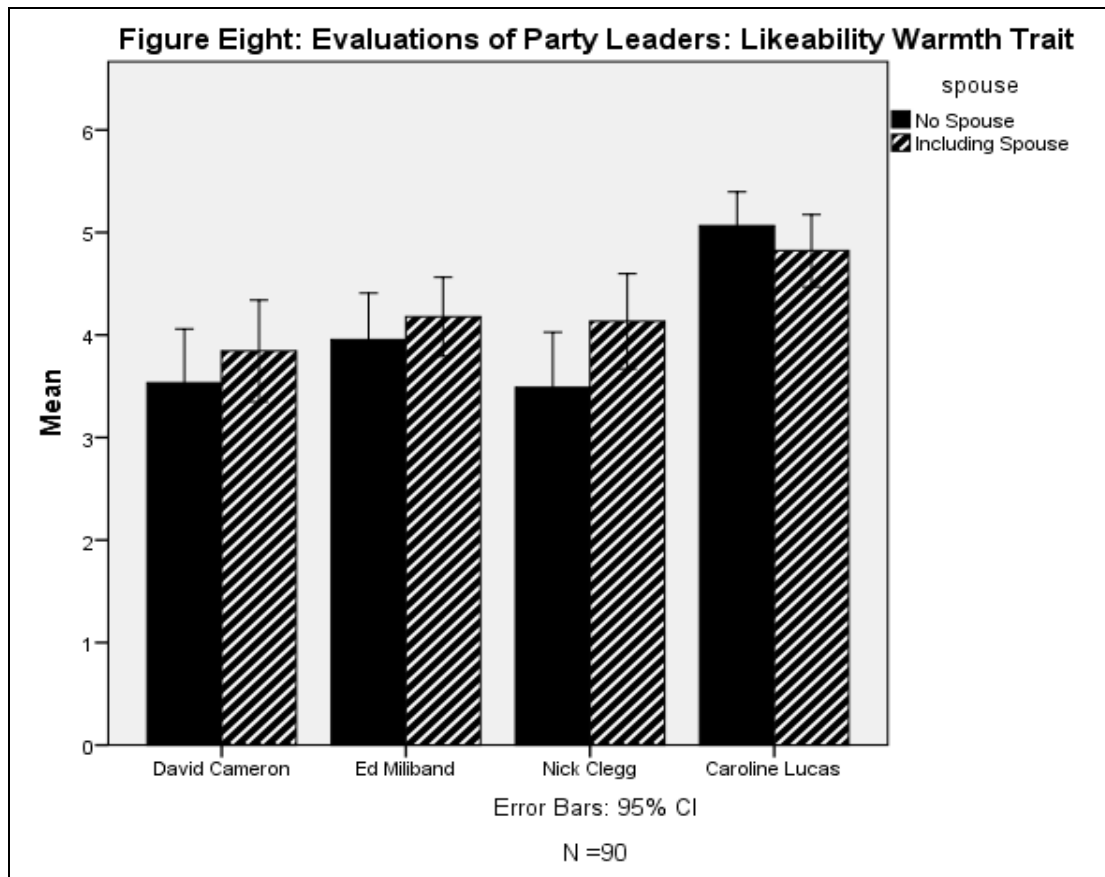
pictured without his spouse ($M = 15.27$, $SE = 0.63$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.12$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.12$ which represented a small effect size.

Again the results went in the expected direction for the evaluation of Nick Clegg on warmth traits. Participants evaluated him higher on these traits with his spouse ($M = 14.96$, $SE = 0.82$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 13.09$, $SE = 0.78$). This difference was again not significant ($t(88) = -1.67$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.17$ representing a small effect size.

The expectation for female Party leaders on warmth traits is that Caroline Lucas would have evaluations which were stronger on warmth traits when she was evaluated from a photograph without her spouse. This was what was found - participants evaluated her higher on these traits without her spouse ($M = 18.73$, $SE = 0.60$) than participants who evaluated her lower on these traits when pictured with her spouse ($M = 17.84$, $SE = 0.60$) – but the difference was not significant ($t(88) = 1.05$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.11$ - small effect size.

Likeability

Then each warmth trait was analysed individually – the first warmth trait was likeability. Cronbach's Alpha here was 0.513. Each result here went in the direction which was expected. For example, with David Cameron participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.84$, $SE = 0.25$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.53$, $SE = 0.26$). Although this was the direction which was expected, the result was not significant ($t(88) = -0.87$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.09$ and there was a small effect size.

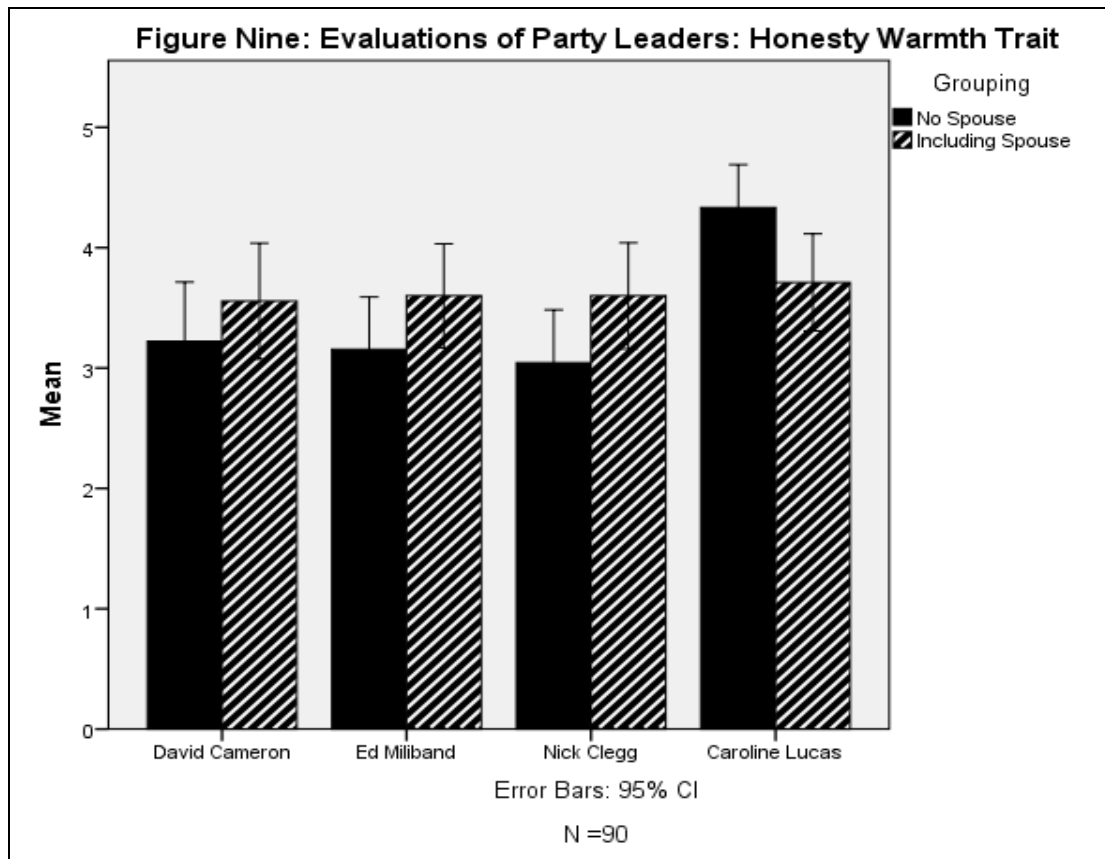


The same was found for the evaluations of Ed Miliband, Nick Clegg and Caroline Lucas where evaluations also went in the direction which was expected. This was in contrast to individual results found in strength traits – where these three Party leaders often went in the opposite direction to what was expected. For example, with Ed Miliband participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 4.18$, $SE = 0.19$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.96$, $SE = 0.26$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.75$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.08$ - a small effect size.

With Nick Clegg, participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.49$, $SE = 0.27$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 4.13$, $SE = 0.23$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.83$, $p > 0.05$) $r = 0.19$ - a small effect size.

When it came to the evaluations of Caroline Lucas on the likeability individual warmth trait, it was expected that she would be evaluated higher on this trait when she was pictured without her spouse – this is what occurred; participants evaluated her higher on these traits without her spouse ($M = 5.07, SE = 0.16$) than participants who evaluated her lower on these traits when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.82, SE = 0.18$), however this was not significant ($t(88) = 1.02, p. >0.05$) $r = 0.11$ which represented a small effect size.

Honesty



The second warmth trait to be looked at individually was honesty. Cronbach’s Alpha here was 0.544. Again, the results here went in the direction that was expected – participants rated male Party leaders higher on the warmth trait of honesty when they

were pictured with their spouse, and the female Party leader was evaluated higher on the warmth trait of honesty when pictured without her spouse.

For example, participants rated David Cameron higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.76$, $SE = 0.28$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this warmth when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.22$, $SE = 0.26$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.55$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.16$ - a small effect size.

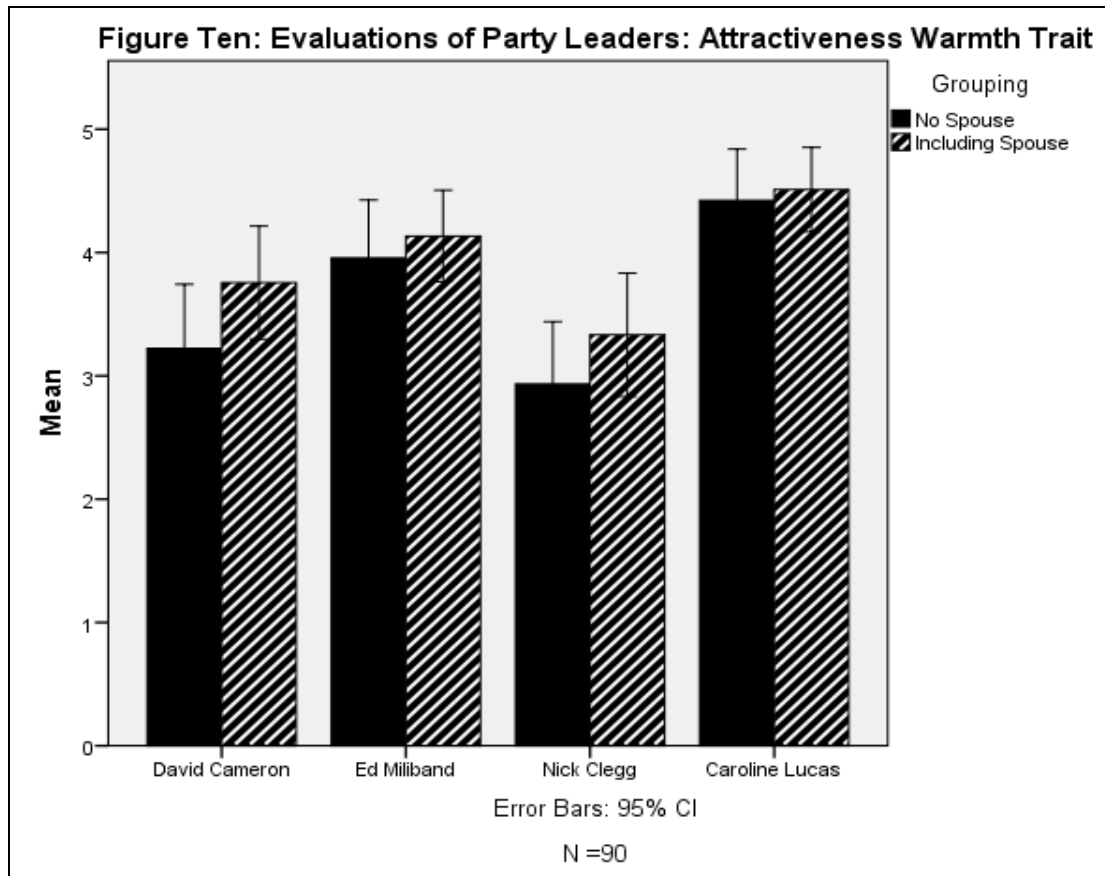
Again, unlike the individual trait results from the strength traits, participants evaluated both Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg in the direction which was expected. Participants rated Ed Miliband higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 4.13$, $SE = 0.18$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.96$, $SE = 0.23$). But this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.60$, $p.>0.05$) $r = 0.06$ which represented a small effect size. For Nick Clegg, participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.33$, $SE = 0.25$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 2.93$, $SE = 0.25$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.13$, $p>0.05$) $r = 0.12$ which also represented a small effect size.

Participants evaluated Caroline Lucas higher on the honesty trait without her spouse ($M = 4.33$, $SE = 0.18$) than participants who evaluated her lower on this when pictured with her spouse ($M = 3.71$, $SE = 0.20$), which was as expected, and this difference was significant ($t(88) = 1.05$, $p. <0.05$) $r = 0.24$ which represented a small effect size.

Attractiveness

The third warmth trait to be looked at individually was the warmth trait of attractiveness. Cronbach's Alpha was 0.663. With regards to the evaluation of David

Cameron, participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.56$, $SE = 0.24$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.22$, $SE = 0.24$). This was in the direction which was expected, but this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.98$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.10$, which represented a small effect size.



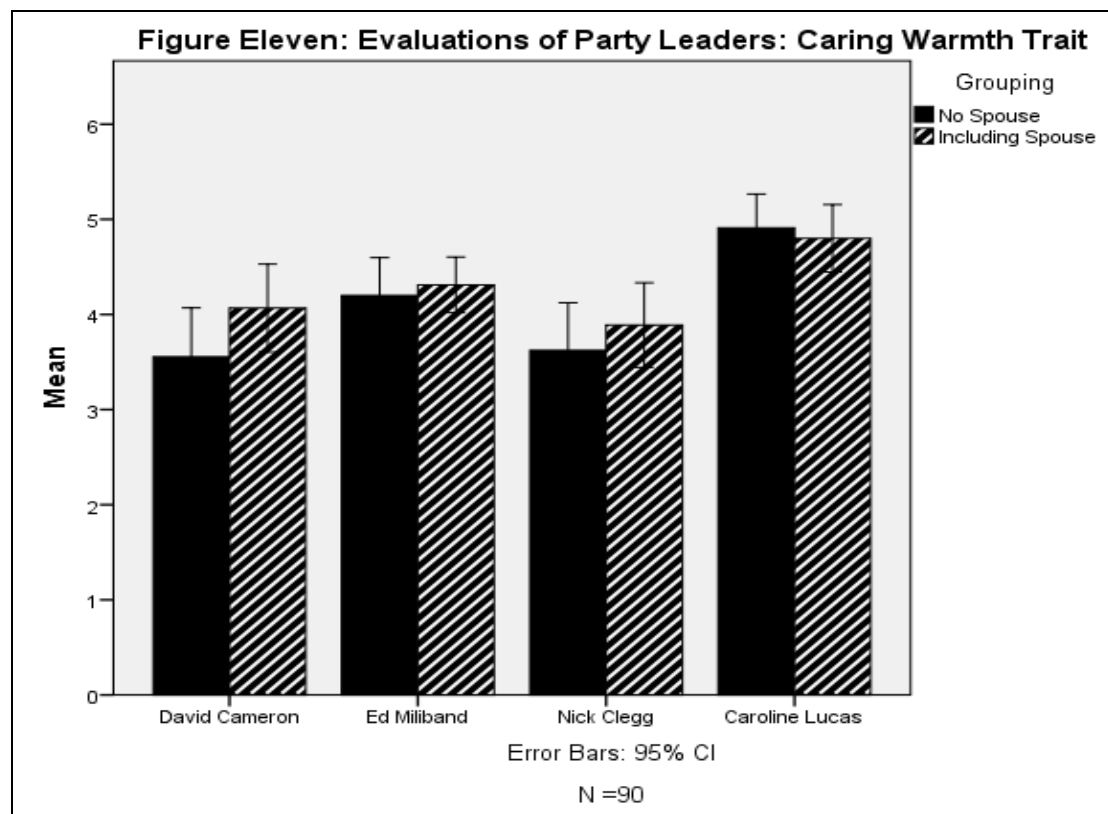
The results from this trait from evaluations of Ed Miliband also went in the direction which was expected - participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.60$, $SE = 0.21$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.16$, $SE = 0.22$). However, this difference was not significant $t(88) = -1.46$, $p.>0.05$ and represented a small effect size $r = 0.15$.

Again, results went in the direction which was expected for evaluations of Nick Clegg on the warmth trait of attractiveness - participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.04$, $SE = 0.22$). This

difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.80, p > 0.05$) $r = 0.19$ which represented a small effect size.

However, results from the evaluations of Caroline Lucas on the warmth trait did not go in the direction which was expected and instead went in the opposite direction – participants evaluated her higher on this trait when she pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.51, SE = 0.17$) compared to when she was pictured without her spouse ($M = 4.42, SE = 0.21$). However this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.33, p. > 0.05$) $r = 0.04$. This was the only result out of the warmth traits – both combined and individually – that did not go in the direction which was expected. But, the effect size here was extremely small and the difference between the groups was only 0.09.

Caring



The fourth individual warmth trait was caring. Cronbach's Alpha here was 0.578. Again, results went in the direction which was expected here. Participants rated David Cameron higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 4.07$, $SE = 0.23$) than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.56$, $SE = 0.25$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -1.49$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.16$ which represented a small effect size.

Evaluations of Ed Miliband also went in the direction which was expected - participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 4.31$, $SE = 0.15$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 4.20$, $SE = 0.18$). However, this difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.45$, $p.>0.05$) $r = 0.05$ - represented a small effect size.

Evaluations of Nick Clegg also conformed to the direction that was expected. Participants evaluated him higher on this trait with his spouse ($M = 3.89$, $SE = 0.22$), than participants who evaluated him lower on this trait when pictured without his spouse ($M = 3.62$, $SE = 0.25$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = -0.80$, $p>0.05$) $r = 0.08$ which represented a small effect size.

With regards to the evaluation of Caroline Lucas, participants evaluated her higher on these traits without her spouse ($M = 4.91$, $SE = 0.18$) than participants who evaluated her lower on these traits when pictured with her spouse ($M = 4.80$, $SE = 0.18$). This difference was not significant ($t(88) = 0.45$, $p. >0.05$) $r = 0.05$ - a small effect size.

Participants were also asked for their gender so that analysis could take place regarding if there was any difference between the way in which male and female respondents evaluated party leaders on warmth and strength traits.

Table Three: Warmth and Strength Trait Evaluations by Party Leader when controlling for gender.

	Experimental Condition						F	sig.
	No Spouse			Inc. Spouse				
	Male	Female	diff.	Male	Female	diff.		
Strength Traits								
David Cameron	18.25	20.14	1.89	20.00	17.97	2.03	F = 3.201	0.077
Ed Miliband	16.94	17.55	0.61	17.92	18.41	0.49	F = 0.004	0.951
Nick Clegg	13.44	15.59	2.15	17.15	17.58	0.43	F = 0.722	0.398
Caroline Lucas	18.75	19.03	0.31	18.62	18.44	0.18	F = 0.820	0.775
Warmth Traits								
David Cameron	13.00	13.83	0.83	16.69	14.63	2.06	F = 1.325	0.253
Ed Miliband	15.88	14.93	0.95	17.54	15.69	1.85	F = 0.244	0.623
Nick Clegg	12.13	13.62	1.49	15.15	14.88	0.27	F = 0.530	0.489
Caroline Lucas	19.63	18.24	1.39	18.54	17.56	0.98	F = 0.050	0.824
	N = 16	N = 29		N = 13	N = 32			

F ratio for interaction in ANCOVA.

However, no significant difference was found between the way in which male and female respondents evaluated party leaders on either warmth or strength traits, which suggests that although male and female politicians are evaluated differently, no difference could be shown to suggest that the presence or absence of a spouse when making an evaluation of a party leader affected male or female respondents differently.

As it has been shown, most results on strength and warmth traits produced small effect sizes, or there was little difference between the two groups. There are a number of reasons for this. The first reason may be due to the small sample size which was used for the experiment. It can be argued that if there was a larger sample size then the differences may have been more pronounced and produced more significant results.

Other explanations can be put forward as to why only a trend of spouses having an impact on British party leaders was found. For example, one of the reasons for doing this research on the impact of spouses within a British context was because most of the existing research on spouses had taken place within a Presidential system. Doing this research within a British context allowed research to move into a

Parliamentary system. The change in electoral systems may also help to explain why a strong effect was not found within a British context.

Bartle and Crewe (2002, p.70) state that “it is easy to understand the widespread assumption that leaders’ personalities must influence election results in presidential systems such as those of the United States...In those countries, voters select individuals to exercise wide-ranging executive powers...[involving decisions which] are likely to be heavily influenced by the personal qualities and quirks of the decision maker. It might therefore be supposed that it is only natural for voters to take into account the personal traits of presidential candidates.” As it has been noted, spouses often act as campaign surrogates during campaigns and administrations (Simonton, 1996). With the personalities and private lives of Presidents and Presidential candidates being more important within a Presidential electoral system, this results in their surrogates [spouses] also becoming more important and having more of an impact in conjunction with their political partners.

However, in the United States where the President is elected by the whole electorate, in Britain this is not the case. Prime Ministers are elected to the House of Commons to serve their constituency on behalf of their Party. The leader of the Party in power becomes Prime Minister. Formally, “the British government is a Party government” (Bartle and Crewe, 2002, p.70). Essentially this should mean that the personalities and private lives of Party leaders are not as important as they are considered to be in a Presidential context – and as a result, their surrogates (in this case their spouse) are also not as important within a Parliamentary Party system.

Therefore, although the personalities and private lives of British Party leaders should not be a consideration within the British system, there are indicators that this may no longer be the case. There is a trend towards the personalities and private lives

of politicians becoming more important within the British system - a recent IPSOS-MORI poll also found that there are clear signs that “the Presidentialisation of British politics, much talked about in the past but rarely admitted by the voting public, may now be taking hold” (IPSOS MORI, 2010) – and there is the notion that the British system is moving towards what is more commonly seen in the United States.

The debate over the ‘personalisation’ or ‘presidentialised’ of British politics has also amplified recently. Bartle and Crewe (2002, p.70) note that “in recent years...most informed observers of British politics...have taken it as axiomatic that the personalities of party leaders strongly influence the way people vote and therefore the result of elections” and Young (2000) states that “in modern politics, nothing matters more than the leader. We have a parliamentary system but a presidential impulse”.

As in the United States the personalities and the private lives of politicians has arguably led to their spouses becoming surrogates during both campaigns and administrations – almost as an ‘extension’ of the politicians themselves, which has led to them having an impact upon the evaluations of politicians in the U.S – it could be argued that as the British Parliamentary system becomes more ‘personalised’ and more ‘presidentialised’, then this will also result in British political spouses having more of an impact. This may go some of the way towards explaining why this research did not find many significant results, but did find a trend towards spouses having an impact on the evaluations of British party leaders. Perhaps as the British system changes and evolves towards the Presidential system, spouses of British party leaders may find themselves taking on more of a surrogate role in both campaigns and governments.

This notion of an evolution of a parliamentary system towards the presidential system can also be seen through the role that political spouses play in both Britain and the United States, and this also helps to explain why only a trend towards spouses having an impact on evaluations of British party leaders, instead of a large significant effect. For example, Burns (2008) has noted that the role of the spouse of the President has evolved from that of a ‘public woman’ to a ‘political interloper’. Anthony (2008) reiterates this, stating that the “role of the First Lady, the U.S president’s spouse, has evolved from fashion trendsetter and hostess of White House dinners to a more substantive position”. But within the British context, the spouse of the Prime Minister remains at the position of ‘public woman’ and that of a fashion trendsetter (The Guardian, 2010. Newman, 2012 & Briere-Edney, 2011).

There are also other differences between the roles that First Ladies (as they have always been thus far) in the United States have compared to the role that spouses of the British Prime Minister play. For example, in the United States, First Ladies have been used more frequently in election campaigning. Michelle Obama, the current U.S First Lady gave a keynote speech during the Democratic Election Campaign in 2012 and both Michelle Obama and Ann Romney gave interviews and made television appearances without their husbands during the election campaign. This level of campaigning by spouses during election campaigns has not been seen in Britain where their involvement in election campaigning in Britain is a relatively new phenomenon (Jackson, 2010).

Also, the spouse of the Prime Minister in Britain has official role, and can chose whether to remain in the background or play an active role supporting the Prime Minister. Barton (2011) states that the role of the spouse of the Prime Minister in Britain is a “role that remains curiously amorphous” and goes on to quote Sarah

Brown, the spouse of former Prime Minister Gordon Brown; “there is no formal spouse job to step into...no permanent office, no salary, no allowance, no pre-set duties or official role, not even an official title”. However, in the United States, the spouse of the President does have semi-official title of ‘First Lady’ and they also have the style of “The Honourable”. They have an office in the White House from which to conduct their affairs and their own staff. This is not seen in the British context. Although the role of a First Lady is similar to that of the British spouse of the Prime Minister in that they hold no official pre-set duties or official role, the role of the spouse of the President is more prominent in the American context (Anthony, 2008) compared to the spouse in a British context.

First Ladies in the United States have also often delivered speeches. For example, Michelle Obama – current First Lady of the United States - delivered keynote speeches at the Democratic National Conventions in 2008 and in 2012. However in contrast Samantha Cameron – current spouse of the British Prime Minister has never delivered a speech at the Conservative Party Conference (Conservative Party Conference, 2013).

The United States has also often placed more importance on there being a First Lady, whether or not there is a spouse of a President. In the absence of a spouse of a President, other female relatives of the President have been known to fulfil this role. In contrast however, in Britain, if there is no spouse of the Prime Minister, then this role has remained empty and there are examples of widower and bachelor Prime Ministers.

Perhaps as the prominence of the spouse of the Prime Minister is a relatively ‘new phenomenon’, the role could evolve and take on more importance to look more like that of the spouse of the President.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the aim of this research was to help to fill the gap regarding the impact of spouses within a British context, by looking at the impact of spouses on evaluations of British party leaders. Little research had been done within a British context – the vast majority of research had been carried out in the United States and within Presidential contexts. Differences between a Parliamentary system like that in Britain and the Presidential system in the United States result in the personalities and private lives of politicians in a Presidential system becoming more important in comparison to the private lives and personalities of a politician within a Parliamentary system. This gives more opportunities for a spouse to become a political surrogate and have more of an impact within a Presidential context – but whether there was any real political impact within a British context was unknown.

This was especially important due to the notion of the personalisation of politics, which suggests that Parliamentary democracies such as Britain are slowly becoming more Americanised and taking on the qualities seen in a Presidential system with the personalities and private life of the Prime Minister and other party leaders becoming more important.

Therefore, the findings were as follows. Spouses having an impact on the likelihood of voting for a party leader was not found in this research – even when controlling for partisanship - although as stated, this is unsurprising given the research design. However, although spouses had no impact on the likelihood of voting for a particular party leader, this does not mean that they had no impact on evaluations of a party leader.

Hypothesis H1a was *without their spouse, male party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations* and H1b was *with their spouse, female party leaders will have stronger strength trait evaluations*. When it came to the analysis of strength traits, no significant results were found and it was difficult to discern a trend to suggest that there would have been given a larger sample size, for either of the hypotheses.

However, what was found was that evaluations of David Cameron all went in the right direction in conjunction with the hypotheses – evaluations of David Cameron were stronger when he was evaluated without his spouse, and a number of reasons were put forward for this, including the fact that David Cameron was the most well known of the four party leaders which may have meant that respondents felt able to evaluate him more appropriately and because of the traditional image of the Conservative party, which was the party which coincided the best with the notion of the strength traits – for example, the Conservative Party have been expected to have strong, charismatic leaders.

Therefore, it could be considered that spouses do have an impact when it comes to strength trait evaluations; but this impact is limited in its scope and concentrated on familiarity and traditional political party images that voters may have.

Hypotheses H2a was *with their spouse, male party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations* and H2b was *without their spouse, female party leaders will have stronger warmth trait evaluations*. Although no significant results were found to explicitly confirm these hypotheses, evaluations of party leaders on warmth traits did suggest that there was a trend towards confirming these hypotheses. In the vast majority of cases, in both combined and individual analysis of traits, when male party leaders were evaluated with their spouse, they had stronger warmth trait evaluations

and when the female party leader was evaluated without her spouse, she had stronger warmth trait evaluations.

Not only does this study help to move research into a Parliamentary context, it also adds to the personalisation notion of Parliamentary democracies moving towards a Presidential context – and as a result spouses eventually playing a more important role within a Parliamentary system. Spouses playing a part in the political lives of their partners is a new phenomenon in the British context, and spouses within a British context remain at the public level – only noted for their fashion choices. This level was one of the first stages noted by spouses of the President of the United States, where First Ladies have now taken on the role of ‘political interloper’. As the impact of spouses in the United States is not as new of a phenomenon in the U.S as it is in Britain, it could be argued that with time, British spouses will evolve to take on the same level of significance as their counterparts in the U.S.

Therefore, it would be beneficial to return to this research to see if the role of British spouses, and therefore their importance, evolves in much the same way as the United States counterparts.

For the time being however, as summarised by Denis Thatcher the spouses of British Prime Minister remain “always present, never there”, not quite being a political surrogate worthy of being utilised within election campaigning, but still having an impact on the way in which their political partners are perceived.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Survey Distribute to Group One

1) What is your gender? *

2) How old are you? *

3) Which political Party is your preference? Only enter one response. If you don't have a political preference, then please choose "none". *

- Conservative Party.
- Labour Party.
- Liberal Democrat Party.
- Green Party.
- United Kingdom Independence Party.
- Plaid Cymru.
- Scottish National Party.
- British National Party.
- None
- Other (please specify):

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



4) Are you aware of who this politician is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

5) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely.
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely.

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



7) Are you aware of who this politician is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

8) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely or Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



10) Are you aware of who this politician is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

11) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

Strongly Agree. Agree. Slightly Agree. Neither Agree nor Disagree. Slightly Disagree. Disagree. Strongly Disagree.

This politician is competent.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



13) Are you aware of who this politician is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

14) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This politician is attractive.

This politician is honest.

This politician is caring.

15) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

Appendix Two: Survey Distribute to Group One

1) What is your gender? *

2) How old are you? *

3) Which political Party is your preference? Only enter one response. If you don't have a political preference, then please choose "none". *

- Conservative Party.
- Labour Party.
- Liberal Democrat Party.
- Green Party.
- United Kingdom Independence Party.
- Plaid Cymru.
- Scottish National Party.
- British National Party.
- None
- Other (please specify):

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



4) Are you aware of who this politician (on the right) is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

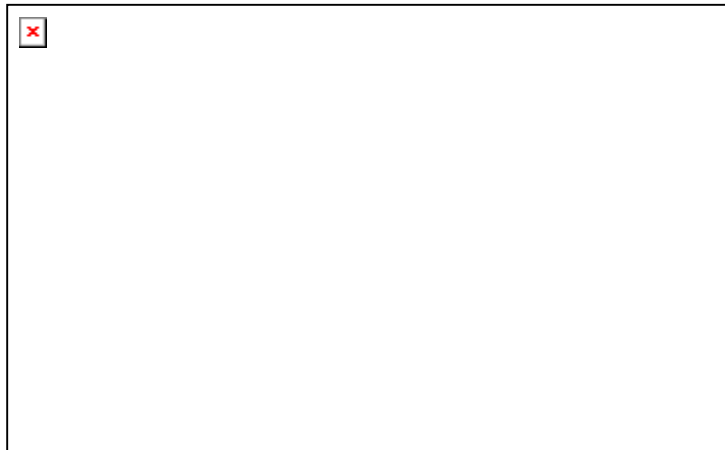
5) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely.
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely.

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



7) Are you aware of who this politician (on the left) is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

8) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely or Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



10) Are you aware of who this politician (on the right) is? *

- Yes
- No
- Not Sure

11) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

This politician is charismatic.

This politician is likable.

This politician is attractive.

This politician is honest.

This politician is caring.

12) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

Please take a look at this photograph and answer the questions below.



13) Are you aware of who this politician (on the right) is? *

- Yes

- No
- Not Sure

14) The above photograph is of a politician from the United Kingdom. Using this photograph as reference, please rate how much you agree with each statement. Tick only one response for each statement *

	Strongly Agree.	Agree.	Slightly Agree.	Neither Agree nor Disagree.	Slightly Disagree.	Disagree.	Strongly Disagree.
This politician is competent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is intelligent.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is a strong leader.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is charismatic.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is likable.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is attractive.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is honest.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
This politician is caring.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

15) Assuming there was a general election being held tomorrow in the United Kingdom, and you only had this photograph to base your decision on, how likely would you be to vote for this politician? Please tick only one response. *

- Very Likely
- Likely
- Neither Likely nor Unlikely
- Unlikely
- Very Unlikely