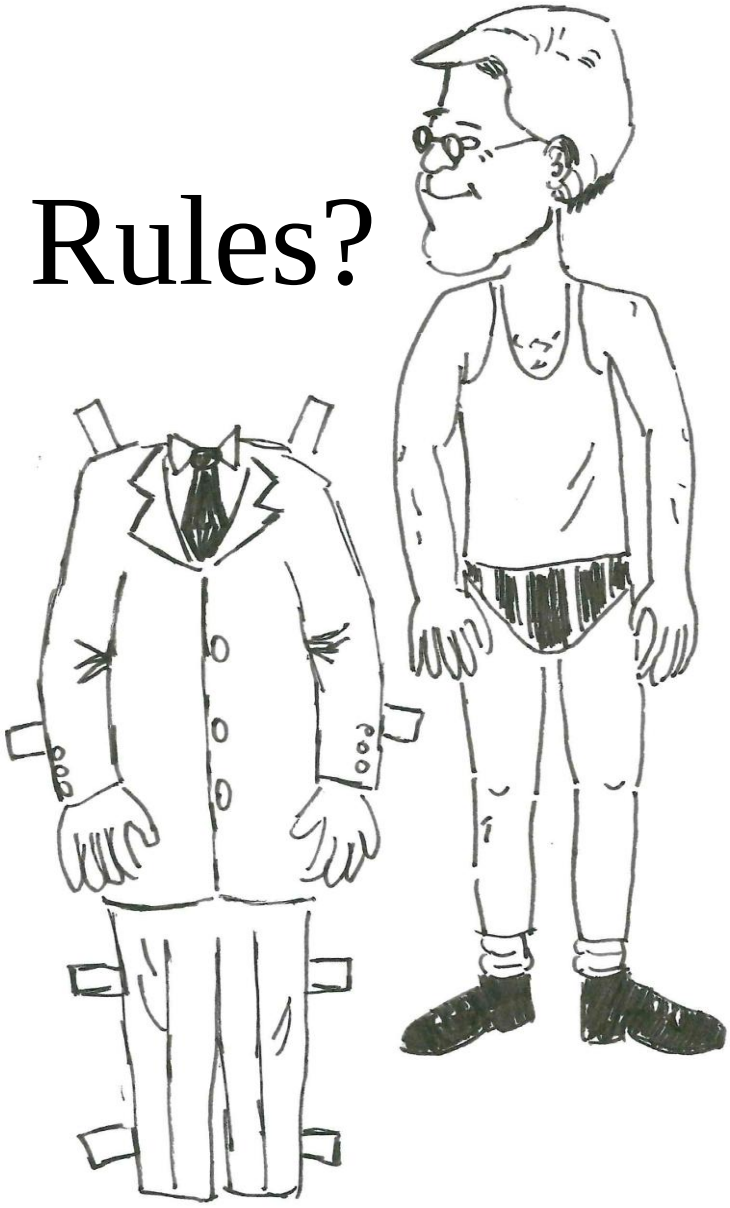
Fashion Rules?



Master Thesis
Political Science: Dutch Politics, Leiden University

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“Clothes make the man. Naked people have little or no influence on society.”

- *Mark Twain*

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Preface

The master thesis before you is written as a conclusion to the master programme Political Science at Leiden University.

After finishing the bachelor Political Science in Leiden, the question arose: 'now what?' A difficult decision: Dutch Politics or Political Behaviour and Communication as a track of the master Political Science. After careful consideration I chose the first option. In this master thesis, however, I have tried to incorporate both scientific fields in view of my next year's plan to continue studying by doing the master Political Communication in Antwerp, Belgium.

The writing of this thesis has gone through ups and downs. Finding a research topic was not that hard, immediately I had the feeling I was on the right track. However, with the approaching deadline for the first draft, I was slightly lost in the overview. But after some days off and with the comments of my thesis supervisor, the fresh perspective helped me to finish writing.

Not for a moment I have regretted my choice for the Dutch Politics track and the subject of my final thesis. The good guidance of my thesis supervisor Dr. Vollaard, statistical advice of Dr. Meijerink and the sharp questions of my fellow Dutch Politics students, supported me in doing the best I could and have helped me to write the thesis as it is today. Of course I also have to thank the men who wanted to pose for my photographs, without them there would be no master thesis. And also the photographer was of unprecedented importance. Lastly, I would like to thank all 129 respondents who took the time and effort to fill in one of the questionnaires.

It is with great pleasure that I have worked on this thesis, and I hope you will have the same experience whilst reading it.

Fleur Veringa

Leiden, 08-06-2013

Summary

The role of ideology and religion on voting behaviour has declined. But, what does then determine voting behaviour nowadays? New dimensions and (short-term) factors seem to play a role and there is more attention to the personalization thesis. Some politicians are treated as celebrities and image, appearance and also clothing are subjects considered to be important. The suits of Mark Rutte and Diederik Samsom have been widely discussed in the run-up to the 2012 Dutch parliamentary elections. Does fashion rule? The central question of this master thesis is: Does the clothing style of politicians influence trait perceptions and voting behaviour of Dutch voters?

A quantitative analysis of data obtained by an experimental study will be the basis for this research. Unknown men will be photographed in different clothing styles, which randomly assigned groups of respondents will evaluate on the basis of six leadership traits. What will be analysed is if indeed the men in suits with ties are statistically significant more positively evaluated on the six leadership traits compared to, for example, men in jeans and a casual sweater. By testing four hypotheses, an answer to the research question can be given and the implications of the results will be discussed. This analysis distinguishes between the assessment by men and by women, by different age groups and by clothing style of respondents themselves. In a first step to discover the influence of clothing on the evaluation of Dutch politicians and voting behaviour, this study focuses only on male politicians, mainly because men still dominate among party leaders in national parliamentary elections.

What seems to come out of the questionnaires overall, is the fact that it depends on the person what he has to wear. Faces are more important when evaluating unknown persons in pictures. Clothing style can in some way increase or decrease the evaluation scores of some traits, but no clear relationship is to be found between certain traits and a specific clothing style. Politicians' clothing can reinforce certain leadership traits in the eyes of voters, however, it differs between politicians which clothing style enhances which leadership traits. In general, an in-between clothing style yields the most positive responses and the most votes. But when looking independently at each trait, quite different evaluations appear between different persons. Some small changes in methodology and recruitment of respondents will make the findings of further research stronger. In further research, women definitely have to be included as stimuli persons and possibly political attitude also.

Introduction

Recently, Dutch Prime-Minister Mark Rutte was pronounced as the third best-dressed world leader by the American magazine *Vanity Fair*: "his classic, understated style suggests his tailor must be as good as his optometrist."[1] David Cameron (Prime Minister of the United Kingdom) and Laura Chinchilla (President of Costa Rica) were number one and two, but Barack Obama (President of the United States) is just one of the names of the world leaders Rutte leaves behind. Nowadays, politics is not only about the content and policy. The introduction of television and weakening ideological ties in the Netherlands have led to a greater focus on persons, image and appearance in Dutch politics (Van Praag and Brants 2008, 24). The audience is able to follow everything on television, internet and with smart phones. As for the increasing attention to appearance in politics, politicians' clothing is also getting more attention.

In the run-up to the 2012 Dutch Parliamentary Elections, the suits of Prime Minister Mark Rutte have been widely discussed.[2] Moreover, the fact that opposition leader Diederik Samson had his shirts made in the same shop in Amsterdam as Rutte became public knowledge.[3] Some party leaders even joined a photo shoot in the newest fashion for the Dutch *Financial Daily* (*Het Financieele Dagblad*), after which they discussed the clothes they wear when in parliament.[4] Why are politicians' clothes so intriguing? What can we learn about a person by only looking at his or her clothes? What do we think clothing tells us about the person wearing it?

Clothing can be seen as a form of nonverbal communication (Johnson et al. 2002, 25). By means of the first impression and clothing of others, people classify each other (Hamid 1969, 191). People draw conclusions on the basis of clothing on characteristics and motives of unknown persons. Those conclusions can be decisive and thus important in evaluations of and preferences for a certain politician (Enzlin 1998, 50).

Does fashion rule? The title of this thesis is chosen to summarize in two words what this thesis is about: the influence of clothing in politics. Therefore, the research question will

[1] Weiner, J. "The Top 10 Best-Dressed World Leaders." In: *Vanity Fair* (March 27, 2013).
[2] See for example: Kouwenhoven, A. and D. Pinedo. "Zo wordt het dus niks, Mark." In: *NRC.Next* (September 7, 2012); and Teeffelen, K. van. "Het pak, de kop en de inhoud." In: *Trouw* (August 18, 2012).
[3] See for example: Kouwenhoven, A. and D. Pinedo. "Kleren maken de lijsttrekker." In: *NRC Handelsblad* (September 7, 2012); and "Nieuw held van links; PvdA-leider Diederik Samson lijkt herboren na de zomer." In: *De Telegraaf* (September 1, 2012).
[4] "De mode regeert." In: *Het Financieele Dagblad* (September 8, 2012).

be formulated as follows: Does clothing style of politicians influence trait perceptions and voting behaviour of Dutch voters?

In this era, wherein we can speak of constant political campaigning, campaign consultants, rising costs and decreasing importance of content of politics, this study uncovers whether clothing has an influence on voters' minds or not and if so, which clothing style is most appealing to them or which clothing style accentuates which leadership traits. The societal relevance of this study is therefore a way to advise politicians. On the other hand, the scientific relevance of this study lies in the fact that our knowledge on this subject, especially in the Dutch case, is limited.

But why investigate the Dutch case? There is no certainty whatsoever if clothing has some kind of influence in politics. Compared to other countries, the Dutch Parliament is rich in various clothing styles (Hendriks and Meijerink 1998, 112). When clothing has an impact on trait evaluations and voting behaviour, this should be seen in the Netherlands: a most likely case. In addition, the numerous political parties of the Dutch political system and their party leaders have to distinguish themselves from others by small things (Andeweg and Irwin 2009, 124). In a political system as the Dutch one, small changes will have a greater effect than in states with a two-party system, because the switch between the two parties is much larger than a switch between parties in a multi-party system.

In this master thesis, first of all, the theoretical foundation for this study will be outlined. Changes in voting behaviour and campaign culture, in Western democracies in general and the Netherlands in particular, will be described. Besides, attention shall be paid to previous research on the influence of clothing in other sectors than politics.

A quantitative analysis of data obtained by an experimental study will be the basis for this research. Unknown men will be photographed in different clothing styles, which randomly assigned groups of respondents will evaluate on the basis of six leadership traits. What will be analysed is if indeed the men in suits with ties are statistically significant more positively evaluated on the six leadership traits compared to, for example, men in jeans and a casual sweater. By testing four hypotheses, an answer to the research question will be given and implications of the results will be discussed. This analysis will distinguish between the assessment by men and by women, by different age groups and by the clothing style of respondents themselves. In a first step to discover the influence of clothing on the evaluation of Dutch politicians and voting behaviour, this study will focus only on male politicians, mainly because men still dominate among party leaders in national parliamentary elections.

Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework forms the basis for this master thesis. Changes in voting behaviour, and thereby campaign cultures, in Western democracies in general, and the Netherlands in particular, will be described. A trend from content as the most important factor in convincing the voter towards communication and increased attention for the personalization thesis can be discovered in the last years. Also leadership traits shall be introduced in this section. With the gap of knowledge of the influence of clothing in politics, attention shall be paid to previous research on the influence of clothing in other sectors than politics. After the introduction of the research question, four hypotheses will be composed based on previous studies.

Changes in voting behaviour

The political marketplace, which includes every aspect a candidate, party or government has to consider, as well as the more obvious aspects such as how voters behave, has changed significantly since the 1960s (Lees-Marshment 2009, 5). Party membership has declined in numbers and activity levels and also party identification has declined. The number of voters participating in traditional politics is decreasing, in particular youth, with turnout falling. On the other hand, involvement in new movements or pressure groups has increased (ibid., 6). Voting behaviour had become less predictable, with the effect of an increase in electoral volatility. Traditional bases of segmentation or cleavages in the electorate, such as class, geography and family background, have been eroded, while complex new electoral segments, such as those based on ethnicity, race, lifestyle, stage in life cycle, and age factors have emerged (ibid.). Moreover, television and the Internet have now become the prime sources of political information and the number and nature of media outlets and competition have vastly expanded and have become more commercial, competitive and questioning of elites. Voters are more critical of political elites and institutions (ibid.).

In the Netherlands

The changes described by Lees-Marshment were also seen in the Netherlands. According to Andeweg and Irwin two societal developments were the driving force for these changes. On the one hand, the religious and class composition of the Dutch society started to change (Andeweg and Irwin 2009, 111). In the Netherlands the structure of voting always followed the lines of class and religion closely. Despite the long Dutch history of having numerous

political parties, Dutch voters voted according to their social groups and were not used to look around for the most important party (ibid., 109-111). By means of the weakening of these ties, the explanatory power of religious and class composition on voting behaviour dropped from approximately 72% in 1956 to 28% in 2006 (ibid., 113).

On the other hand, the number of secular middle-class liberal voters grew substantially, which made the Dutch structured model of voting behaviour no longer useful to understand Dutch voting behaviour (ibid., 113). As social cleavages were weakening, so were ties between parties and their voters. The competition for votes has become more open and electoral volatility increases more and more (ibid., 41). However, Andeweg and Irwin state, "the decline in the importance of group identification as the primary factor in explaining voting choice does not mean that voters have had nothing to guide them in determining their vote" (ibid., 114). A single or two-dimensional ideological structure is seen as a dominant and sufficient model for understanding voting behaviour in the Netherlands (ibid., 118). But also other factors, often short-term ones, are becoming more important in influencing voters' choices (ibid., 124). The economy is one of these factors and the personalisation thesis also gets more attention in this view.

More attention to personalisation

Karvonen argues that "one of the factors that has gained in importance is the role of individual politicians and of politicians as individuals in determining how people view politics and how they express their political preferences" (Karvonen 2010, 2). This is what is called the personalization thesis. Personalization can be defined as the notion that "individual political actors have become more prominent at the expense of parties and collective identities," a change over time (Karvonen 2010, 4). Some state Dutch party leaders, the party faces, are winning or losing elections for their political parties nowadays and factors such as charisma, appearance, presentation, and television-personality are deciding factors in elections, at least in the view of different political parties and the media (Jansen and Van Holsteyn 1998, 6). These thoughts have led to a large role for the Dutch party leaders and more person-focused election campaigns (Toonen 1994, 85).

"Critics can be heard charging that voters no longer vote for a party and its ideas, but for a leader and his or her attractiveness" (Andeweg and Irwin 2009, 119). It is though a major challenge to sort out to what extent voters have voted for a party or for a party leader or individual politician. When asked in surveys, as for example the national election studies,

voters indicate that they voted for a party (ibid., 121). Moreover, voters were asked in the 2006 national election studies if they would have voted for the person whose name they had selected on the ballot if this person had been on the list of another party, they overwhelmingly stated that they would not have done so (ibid., 121). These results suggest a minimal impact of party leaders on election results. But still, the impact of the party itself has to be distinguished from the impact of the person, which are both closely tied together (ibid., 122).

Andeweg and Irwin state "a party can be helped considerably by a leader who is able to sell the message well. A good product, well packaged, will sell" (Andeweg and Irwin 2009, 123). The party leader has to have greater popularity than the party to win votes for the party (ibid.). Voters are convinced that they vote for the party, but they are influenced by who is putting the message forward and in what way. With so many options available to the voters, often with minor differences in content, the packaging and the messenger can have an influence (ibid., 124). A shift from a focus on content to a focus on communication can be discovered.

Leadership traits

Ohr and Oscarsson argue politically relevant and performance-related leader traits, such as leadership capabilities, trustworthiness, reliability, and empathy, are important criteria for voters' political judgments and (voting) decisions, which they found this in their analysis of political leader traits in several U.S. presidential elections and in other countries (Ohr and Oscarsson 2011, 212). Also Keating, Randall and Kendrick used several traits, relevant for the evaluation of politicians, namely dominance, strong leadership, cunningness, attractiveness, compassion and honesty (Keating et al. 1999, 593). These two groups of traits can be seen as perceptions of power and perceptions of warmth, both relevant for voting behaviour (ibid.). Danny Hayes developed a theory of trait ownership, in which he expects and finds that "Republicans will be perceived as stronger leaders and more moral than Democrats. At the same time, Democrats are likely to be viewed as more compassionate and empathetic than Republicans" (Hayes 2005, 911). By living up to these expectations and even by having some leadership traits usually owned by candidates of the other party, advantage can be taken by the candidate (Hayes 2005, 912). Candidates have thus more to gain by traits candidates of his or her party do not normally own.

In the media is often stated that the image is what really matters in modern election campaigns and elections. It appears that issue positions of a candidate remain the most

important factor for voters to base their vote on (see, for example, Hayes 2005; Van Holsteyn and Andeweg 2012). But appearance of a politician indeed does matter to some extent (Pellikaan and van Holsteyn 2012, 1). Candidate image will be not decisive in voting decisions for those with strong partisan leanings or ideological positions (Barrett and Barrington 2005, 100). But for a large part of the voters ideological positions are less coherent and party affiliation is declining. Job-related character traits seem to play a role in candidate evaluation and voting decisions (Rosenberg et al. 1991, 346).

"People 'learn' about several personality traits and are positively influenced in terms of affect on the basis of a favourable photograph or negatively by an unfavourable one, perhaps without knowing and noting that they are influenced at all" (Pellikaan and Van Holsteyn 2012, 15). Undetected changes in photos of politicians' faces do influence perceivers' character judgments of familiar politicians (Keating et al. 1999, 607). Rosenberg et al. wanted to identify those elements of the visual presentation of a political candidate which contribute to a favourable political image and therefore presented women in two ways, - according to earlier steps in the research - a favourable and an unfavourable photograph (Rosenberg et al 1991, 349). They found in two out of three artificial elections a significant effect, even though voters had some information on issue positions of the candidates. Candidates with a favourable photograph were significantly more popular than candidates with an unfavourable photograph. In real elections voters are "presented with a variety of types and sources of information thereby reducing the impact of candidates' appearance or style" (Rosenberg et al. 1991, 360). Voters' trait evaluations of politicians are important for their voting decisions and it can be concluded that image has an influence on these trait evaluations.

Increasing use of political marketing

In election time, political parties try to show candidates in their best way. This is what we call political marketing (Kramer et al. 1996). Political marketing can be defined as: "political organisations (such as a political parties, parliaments and government departments) adapting techniques (such as market research and product design) and concepts (such as the desire to satisfy voter demands), originally used in business world, to help them achieve their goals (such as win elections or pass legislation)" (Lees-Marshment 2001, 22).

Political campaigns have become more professionalized and more expensive (Brants and Van Praag 2008, 25). Nowadays, especially with television as mostly viewed

communication channel, the image is also important. It is not only the content that counts (Karvonen 2010). Emerging new market segments such as young people, pensioners, women and ethnic groups present new challenges for candidates and parties. Such segments are distinctive in their lifestyles, attitudes, political participation and policies they desire. Parties therefore need to respond in different ways, with new understanding that traditional politics may not be able to help them with, but marketing may (Lees-Marshment 2009, 7). By means of the declining levels in turnout, politics itself needs marketing.

In the Netherlands

"Boring, cheap and amateurish" was the image Dutch election campaign had before the campaign of 2002 (Van Praag 2005, 21). The Dutch campaign culture has changed over the years and political marketing has come to play a role in this spectrum. As stated in the introduction of this thesis, the reasons for this shift are the weakening social cleavages, technological developments and the changing relationship between media and politics (Van Praag and Brants 2008, 23). Many state the 2002 parliamentary elections were the turning point from modern campaigning to postmodern campaigning (Van Praag 2005, 22). In a modern campaign the campaign is centralized, television is the central medium and the focus is on parties rather than voters. A postmodern campaign is characterized by the upcoming information and communication technology, a voter-orientation and a fragmentized media landscape (ibid.). Van Praag and Brants state, however, the 2002 elections were no turning point, but more of an acceleration (Van Praag and Brants 2008, 22 and 28).

Now, Dutch election campaigns are centrally organized and professionals around party leaders (in Dutch: *lijsttrekkers*), are becoming more important and indispensable (Andeweg and Irwin 2009; Van Praag and Brants 2008, 24). Electoral research takes a central position in election campaigns of Dutch political parties and the costs of these campaigns are increasing. According to Van Praag and Brants the voter is central in temporary election campaigns, more than issue positions of political parties (Praag and Brants 2008, 24).

Professionals are indispensable, short messages for target populations are becoming more important during the permanent campaigning. Political campaigns are professionalized, not only because of the 'media logic', but rather because of the loosening ties between politics and the voters (Van Praag 2005, 23). 'Media logic' implies that political parties are forced to adjust to production routines and selection criteria of the media (a 'public logic' on the other hand, dominates when the media defends the public good) (Brants en Van Praag 2006, 31). A

decreasing number of voters is sticking to the same political party, which makes electoral punishment a real treat (Van Praag 2005, 23).

Clothing as communication

With the shift from a focus on content to a focus on communication and the television as a central medium, politicians' looks and appearance is more visible for the voters and politicians should adjust to this. As earlier stated in the introduction, clothing is a nonverbal form of communication (Johnson et al. 2002, 125). By means of the first impression and clothing of others, people classify each other. "Judgments of others are so much a part of our social experience that we tend to overlook their significance in the analysis of social behaviour. […] Their value becomes marked in situations where information about the other person is minimal or ambiguous and where there is more room for perceiver bias to operate" (Hamid 1969, 191). Johnson, Schofield and Yurchishin (2002) discovered that respondents thought to know a lot about others when only focusing on appearance and clothing, the first impression. These respondents also assumed others could discover a lot about their personality by only looking at their own clothing style (Johnson et al. 2002, 135). It seems that someone's appearance influences the view of others. People conclude on the basis of clothing on characteristics and motives of unknown persons. "Dress […] provides an efficient cue for the classification of others" (Hamid 1969, 191). Those conclusions or classifications can be important in evaluations of and preferences for a certain politician (Enzlin 1998, 50).

The well-known experiments of Rosenberg and colleagues often held clothing constant: a jacket and a tie (Jansen and Van Holsteyn 1998). There is a gap in the knowledge of the influence of clothing in politics, especially in the Dutch case. In other fields of research, such as management and advertisement, more is known about clothing as a form of communication (see: O'Neal and Lapitsky 1991). Almost all research done on the subject clothing and dress are American studies. A Dutch study on clothing and politics by Hendriks and Meijerink focused on whether voters thought they could classify politicians by party on the basis of clothing (Hendriks and Meijerink 1998, 112). Competences and traits in the eyes of voters were not tested.

Earlier studies show that an appealing and attractive appearance of an unknown person is favourable for his or her 'sympathy score'. Jansen and Van Holsteyn (1998) state that when looks of politicians influence the first impression voters have, this effect will be very unlikely to disappear after voters peruse more information about the politicians (Jansen and Van

Holsteyn 1998, 107). Besides, Vielhaber and Gottheil (1965) found a relation between characteristic evaluations of unknown persons after a very short observation (25 to 30 seconds) and subsequent independent performance evaluations of the same persons (Vielhaber and Gottheil 1965, 916).

Research question

By means of bringing all this theory together, a research question for this master thesis is to be posited. The changing style of political communication and change in the Dutch campaign culture, by means of different trends, brings forth new factors to focus on in the behaviour of voters. By looking at clothes as a form of non-verbal communication, we have to discover the influence of clothing on voters' view on politicians. The research question will therefore be: Does the clothing style of politicians influence trait perceptions and voting behaviour of Dutch voters? For answering this question, four hypotheses have been formulated.

Hypotheses

The Dutch politician Diederik Samsom wears a tie more often now that is the leader of the Labour Party. He states that it looks better and it suits his current situation. [5] According to a stylist, wearing a tie is very important to Samsom, because of his rebellious image of the past, a tie makes him seem more respectable.[6] "Men who frequently wear a tie were relatively most often attributed the characteristics of ambition, politeness, and respectability" (Sakic et al. 2007, 419). Classic or conventional clothing includes a suit and a tie for men. It has been proven that this style of clothing is associated with competence and authority, not only in business situations (Sakic et al. 2007, 420). The study of Sakic et al. showed that more than 30% of participants found three traits to be more pronounced by men who frequently wear a tie: ambition, politeness, and respectability (Sakic et al. 2007, 427).

H1: *Wearing a tie as a politician has a larger positive effect on trait perceptions of voters than not wearing a tie.*

Reid, Lancumba and Morrow state that "style of dress had a greater effect on impressions formed by men" (Reid et al. 1997, 237). That is confirmed by Sakic et al. who state that sex of respondents creates significant differences in attributing characteristics to other persons

[5] "De mode regeert." In: *Het Financieele Dagblad* (September 8, 2012).
[6] Kouwenhoven, A. and D. Pinedo. "Kleren maken de lijsttrekker." In: *NRC Handelsblad* (September 7, 2012).

(Sakic et al. 2007, 419). And also Hamid found that "dress condition had a greater determining effect on the males' ratings of the concepts than the females" (Hamid 1969, 193). Besides that, Hamid also found more extreme ratings on traits for persons of the opposite sex, a "stereotyped response in that males evaluate females more often in extreme scale positions while females rate males more often in extreme scale positions" (ibid.).

Reid, Lancumba and Morrow examined rival findings of different studies. "The aim was to examine the influence of clothing styles on the formation of first impressions and more specifically to observe what effects the clothing style and sex of the perceiver has on the type of impressions formed as well as the effects of clothing style and sex of models on subjects' perceptions" (Reid et al. 1997, 237). From this study the next two hypotheses can be extracted. Different scholars found men to be less positive when rating other people (Reid et al. 1997, 238; Hamid 1969, 192). "Women significantly more frequently than men attributed successfulness, capability, physical attractiveness, and romantic characteristics to men who frequently wear a tie" (Sakic et al. 2007, 423).

The second hypothesis will include the differences between males and females. In the mentioned studies, it was a common finding that males and females did not attribute the same characteristics to people, but these findings were not cohesive in the way they found the attribution of characteristics differing. More important, it is expected that women do evaluate men who wear a tie more positive than men who do not wear a tie on some specific traits, according to Sakic et al. The traits successfulness, capability, physical attractiveness, and romantic characteristics will be in this study converted into the two traits used in this study: strong leadership and attractiveness. These two findings will be merged into one hypothesis, namely:

H2: *Women evaluate men who wear a tie more positive than men who do not wear a tie and than men who evaluate men who wear a tie, on the traits attractiveness and strong leadership.*

Another relation found in several psychological studies is the relation between clothing style of the respondent and the clothing style of the person being evaluated. Suedfeld, Bochner and Matas reported that "subjects gave more favourable ratings in the condition in which they were dressed similarly to the stimulus person" (Suedfeld et al. 1971, 280). However, others did not find this relationship when presenting female respondents with male stimulus photographs (Reid, Lancumba and Morrow 1997, 237). The overall finding of most studies is when clothing styles are comparable to one another, evaluations will be more positive (Reid,

Lancuba and Morrow 1997, 237; Johnson, Schofield and Yurchishin 2002). But what should be checked are the differences in evaluations of respondents' clothing styles with gender as a control variable.

H3: *When the clothing style of the respondent and the politician to be evaluated are similar, trait perceptions will be more positive.*

Sakic et al. state that age of respondents creates significant differences in attributing characteristics to other persons (Sakic et al. 2007, 419). "Out of 14 characteristics, significant differences in age were determined for 8 characteristics in the sample of men and 9 characteristics in the sample of women. In general, with increasing age, there was an increase in the proportion of men and women who on the basis of frequent wearing of a tie attributed greater politeness, education, successfulness, physical attractiveness, romantic characteristics and fashion consciousness" (Sakic et al. 2007, 427). The conclusion of this study was that older people more often than younger people, regardless of sex, were more positive about wearing a tie. Therefore, the fourth hypothesis will be formulated as follows:

H4: *The older the respondent, the more positive about a formal clothing style.*

Conclusion

The uncovered trend from content towards communication, has led us to study the influence of politicians' clothing on the voting behaviour and trait perceptions of voters. In this chapter an overview of existing literature resulted in the formulation of a research question and the development of four hypotheses. The following chapter will elaborate on the methodology of this study.

Methodology

Now having the framework for this study, the way in which the study is going to be carried out will be described. Starting off with the case selection and research design, the two-round survey in an experimental setting will be explained. Afterwards, the questionnaires and the logic of sampling will be introduced. As last, the way in which each hypothesis is tested will be clarified.

Case selection

The focus of this study is on the Dutch case. This is a most likely case to investigate to get a first impression on whether clothing has influence on the perceptions of voters or not. This is because in the Netherlands large differences in clothing styles can be seen between members of the Dutch Parliament, the Second Chamber. More different clothing styles are distinguishable than for example in the American House of Representatives, where a more formal clothing style is appropriate (Hendriks and Meijerink 1998, 112). For Dutch respondents it is normal to see politicians in casual clothing, for respondents from some other countries this will be may well be hard to imagine. By means of the different clothing styles of Dutch politicians, it is especially relevant in this case to investigate the influence of clothing styles on voters' perceptions of leadership traits of politicians.

Besides the fact that clothing differs more in Dutch Parliament than in some other countries, we can think of another reason to investigate the Dutch case. The Dutch multi-party system includes a lot of different parties. Nowadays eleven political parties fill seats in the Second Chamber.[7] A Dutch voter will not likely turn from a vote for a party at one side of the political spectrum, to a vote for a party at the other side of the political spectrum. However, some political parties are so close to each other that sometimes a small change in for example the party manifesto or a small misstep could lead to a vote for another party. Such a move is not that radical for Dutch voters, compared to voters in countries with a two-party system (Andeweg and Irwin 2009, 124). The step to switch from one party to another is much larger for voters and therefore small changes will have less effect. The influence of clothing styles can be seen as such a small change, which will likely have more effect on voters in a political system common to the Netherlands, than as for example common to Britain.

[7] www.parlement.com - http://www.parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrpfxut/partijen_in_tweede_en_eerste_kamer (May 22, 2013)

The Netherlands are thus the perfect case to investigate the influence of clothing in politics. If there is no influence of clothing on voting behaviour or trait evaluations of politicians by voters to be found, this will probably also be the case in other Western democracies. We can speak of a most likely case.

Design

The central question of this study, 'does the clothing style of politicians influence trait perceptions and voting behaviour of Dutch voters?' will be answered by analysing a self-developed dataset. It is therefore important to obtain the data in the best possible way, which will be accomplished by different groups of respondents completing different questionnaires which will focus on different clothing styles and leadership traits.

Studies on the electoral effects of appearance are difficult ones. The appearance of well-known politicians is tough to separate from their overall performance, history and political affiliation (Jansen and Van Holsteyn 1998, 87). For that reason, we will use respondents' trait perceptions of unknown men to measure the influence of their clothing styles on first impressions. Mathes and Kempher state that personality traits in general exist in the mind of the perceiver and have less to do with the person being perceived. "It appears that people readily accept beliefs (sometimes invalid beliefs) concerning the relationship between appearance and personality traits" (Mathes and Kempher 1976, 4). It is therefore not necessary to ask the 'unknown' men about their perceptions of their own leadership traits as a starting value, for this a control group is used.

Control group

Starting off, six men will be photographed, only their faces and necklines (the visible clothes on the picture have to be about the same for all men). The men will be selected from the researchers' acquaintances by means of one criterion: between 45 and 60 years old. Stolte found significant differences in the evaluation of the same person in pictures of different ages, it is therefore that a somewhat specific age group is selected (Stolte 1996, 308). These men will be photographed by criteria from Rosenberg, Tran and Kahn (1991) found to be the most positive for trait perceptions of voters of politicians (smile, pose, background, et cetera).

The reason why only men are incorporated in this study is rather simple. The question is whether clothes make a difference in politics. When one takes a look at the Dutch parliament, we see except for two female party leaders of smaller parties, only men at the

head of political parties in the 2012 parliamentary elections. The aim of this research is to advise politicians, so the most advantageous method is by only using men. Because of insufficient knowledge in the field of clothing styles and politics in the Dutch case, this study can be seen as an exploratory study. The most important question is whether there is some kind of influence on how voters seem to evaluate their leaders and therefore it is the easiest way to explore a possible relationship. On the other hand, clothing styles of women are a lot more diverse and, more than with men, clothes in the same sort of style can be rather different.

A first group of approximately fifty respondents, which will rate the six pictures, is the so-called control group. The control group evaluates the pictures on six politically relevant leadership traits using a zero to seven, 8-point bipolar scale:

- Submissive / Dominant (will be referred to as 'dominance')
- Weak / Strong (will be referred to as 'strong leadership')
- Naive / Cunning (will be referred to as 'cunningness')
- Unattractive / Attractive (will be referred to as 'attractiveness')
- Heartless / Compassionate (will be referred to as 'compassion')
- Dishonest / Honest (will be referred to as 'honesty') (Keating, Randall and Kendrick 1999, 599).

These evaluations will be used in two ways. In the following steps of the study the mean trait evaluations will be used as a 'standard' score for each of the men. And besides, the trait evaluations of the control group will be used to select three out of six men to continue with in the next steps of this study. The selection procedure to bring the number of men back from six to three is based on the standard deviations of the trait evaluations of the respondents in the control group. For each of the evaluated traits the standard deviations per stimulus person will be calculated. The ones with the lowest standard deviation on most traits will be selected. The reason for this selection procedure is the relatively unambiguous evaluation of the stimuli persons with the lowest standard deviations. Respondents do evaluate these men in a similar way. In the further course of the study this makes some analysis easier to execute. The mean score of each of the trait evaluations of the control group will be used as a standard or basic score for one person. Changes in this score (the mean scores for this person on each trait in different clothing styles) will be considered as the influence of the clothing style in the picture.

Alongside the trait evaluations, control group respondents also have to fill in some general questions, such as gender, age and highest level of education completed. It would be

best to have an equal proportion of males and females and respondents from a large range of ages, so that there will be (if at all) the smallest bias possible.

Experimental groups

The three then selected men, the stimuli persons, will be photographed in three different clothing styles (numbered as clothing style 1, 2 and 3):

1. A picture with a suit and tie – the formal clothing style;
2. A picture with jeans and a sweater – the informal clothing style;
3. A picture with a jacket, trousers and no tie – the in-between clothing style.

In this second round pictures will be evaluated by randomly selected experimental groups. Three groups of approximately twenty-five respondents will get different sets of photos (see also appendix 3):

- Group I
    - Person A: Clothing style 1
    - Person B: Clothing style 2
    - Person C: Clothing style 3
- Group II
    - Person A: Clothing style 2
    - Person B: Clothing style 3
    - Person C: Clothing style 1
- Group III
    - Person A: Clothing style 3
    - Person B: Clothing style 1
    - Person C: Clothing style 2

Respondents have to rate the pictures on a scale from zero to seven according to different traits they appoint to the politicians in the pictures. The traits, on which respondents in these three groups have to rate the pictures, are the same traits as listed above for the control group.

As for the control group, the respondents of the experimental groups also have to complete the same general questions (gender, age and highest level of education completed). Besides that, after the evaluation of the three 'party leaders' they will be asked to vote for one of the three men in the pictures. In this case there is also a possibility to vote for none of the 'party leaders', because the possibility exists that respondents think none of the men in the pictures are competent or trustworthy. Thereafter, respondents have to name their own

clothing style as ‘formal’, ‘informal’ or ‘between formal and informal’. In this way, later on, we can compare clothing styles of respondents to the clothing style of the ‘politician’ they would vote for. Subsequently follows an open-ended question. The question is: “How do you think a party leader should be dressed?” With this extra information, some underlying factors can be discovered. An example of the questionnaires can be found in Appendix 1.

Questionnaires

All surveys will be carried out online, via the website of thesistools.com. Results are, when enough respondents completed the questionnaire, converted into an Excel-file. This file can be imported into SPSS. In SPSS the data analysis will be carried out. The second round of the research consists of three quite similar questionnaires. By distributing one link, the three surveys will be randomly assigned to the respondents. The three Excel-files will be merged into one SPSS data file. When importing the complete Excel file into SPSS, the open-ended question will be excluded.

Respondents

The aim of this study is to find out whether there is a relationship between clothing style and trait evaluations of politicians by voters. In this matter, the kind and distribution of respondents is not that important, because if the group of respondents is big enough, existing relationships will be uncovered. On the other hand, if there happens to be a relationship, it would be also good to say something about the kind of relationship and whether it depends on which group of respondents is asked, or not. To test some of the hypotheses, it is important to have a diverse group of respondents, based on gender and age. Respondents are selected by a snowball sample. A snowball sample is a non-probability sampling method, a form of accidental sampling, whereby each respondent is asked to suggest other respondents (Babbie 2010, 193). Friends, family and fellow students were asked to spread the link of the online survey to others, preferably of a different gender and age. In this way a diverse group of respondents is achieved. Because this procedure results in samples with questionable representativeness, it’s most often used for exploratory purposes like this study (Babbie 2010, 194).

Testing hypotheses

In this section the analysis which will be used to test each of the hypotheses will be discussed. Before testing the hypotheses scores which are believed to be more positive than others must be defined. In most cases, the higher the rating, the more positive a respondent is about a leadership trait for a stimulus person. The focus here will be on: honesty, strong leadership, attractiveness and compassion. So more positive is a higher score on these four scales. It is more complicated to define this for dominance and cunningness. Nevertheless, it was decided to treat dominance and cunningness the in the same way as the other four traits. A higher score will mean a more positive evaluation, also on these two scales.

H1: *Wearing a tie as a politician has a larger positive effect on trait perceptions of voters than not wearing a tie.*

In this study, wearing a tie will be equated to a formal clothing style, which is the only clothing style with a tie. First of all, respondents' answers to the question which 'party leader' they would vote for (V4) will be checked to see whether it is for instance mostly picture 1, the formally dressed man in every questionnaire. The next check will be the comparison between the trait evaluations of the pictures in the second round of the survey with the pictures in the first round of the survey (the control group). Is there a difference in trait evaluations of respondents of both groups? Does wearing a tie increase the evaluation scores? The mean scores of each trait of the men in formal clothing will also be compared with the mean trait scores of the men in other clothing styles.

After this, paired tests will be carried out in SPSS for each trait and between all three clothing styles. Statistically significant differences in trait evaluations between the three different clothing styles together with the calculation of the effect size will enable us to see which influence different clothing styles have on evaluation of the six leadership traits. Hypothesis 1 will be confirmed when a formal clothing style is significantly more positive evaluated than an informal and a between formal and informal clothing style on at least four leadership traits.

Especially for this hypothesis, but also for others, we have to be aware of interaction effects: "an interaction effect occurs when the effect of one independent variable on the dependent variable depends on the level of a second independent variable" (Pallant 2007,

257). In this study it will imply that not the clothing style and not the head of the men in the pictures, but the combination of the two may explain the trait evaluations.

H2: *Women evaluate men who wear a tie more positive than men who do not wear a tie and than men who evaluate men who wear a tie, on the traits attractiveness and strong leadership.*

Primarily there will be checked whether there is a difference in voting behaviour (V4) between men and women, afterwards Independent Samples T-tests will be used to discover differences between males and females in their evaluation of clothing styles on each of the traits. Statistically significant differences will reveal differences in evaluations of males and females. When this is however not the case, we will also look at patterns of evaluations between men and women: are there specific traits on which evaluations of men or women are always higher than evaluations of respondents of the other sex? For this analysis the complete dataset will be split according to the variable 'gender'. For all three clothing styles women are expected to evaluate the 'party leaders' on the pictures more positive than men will do.

After that will be analyzed whether there is a difference in trait evaluations of women on the different clothing styles worn by the stimuli persons, specifically on the traits 'attractiveness' and 'strong leadership'. Using a one-way repeated measures ANOVA clothing style evaluations will be compared. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA is an analysis of variance in which the same sample of participants is measured under three different conditions (in this case clothing styles) on the same continuous scale (Pallant 2007, 258). The non-parametric alternative for the one-way repeated measures ANOVA is the Friedman test (Pallant 2007, 235).

H3: *When the clothing style of the respondent and the politician to be evaluated are similar, trait perceptions will be more positive.*

The answers of the respondents on the question which clothing style the respondent him- or herself is mostly wearing will be compared to the evaluations of the clothing styles on the pictures in the questionnaire. Ratios of answers on these two questions will be compared, after which by means of cross tabulation and the Chi-square statistic significant relations will be sorted out. Expected is thus a comparable clothing style to be more positively evaluated than differing clothing styles.

H4: *The older the respondent, the more positive about a formal clothing style.*

Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficient and Spearman's Rank Order Correlation (the non-parametric alternative for the Pearson correlation coefficient) statistic will be used to discover a possible relationship between age and trait evaluations for each trait and for each clothing style. These two statistics are used not only to calculate the strength of the relationship between two continuous variables (age and evaluations), but also to indicate the direction (positive or negative) of the relationship. A positive correlation indicates that as one variable increases, so does the other. A negative correlation indicates that as one variable increases, the other decreases (Pallant 2007, 95).

Conclusion

In this chapter there is elaborated on the methodology of this study. A control group will evaluate six pictures of stimuli persons, men who are said to be party leaders. When three men are selected, these men (in different clothing styles) will be evaluated on six different leadership traits by three different randomly assigned groups of approximately 25 respondents. Afterwards, the hypotheses will be tested with statistical analyses by using SPSS. In the next chapter, the results of these analyses are presented.

Results

The previous chapters hinged on the preparation for the analysis of the collected data. In this chapter the results of the statistical analyses will be presented. First of all, the results of the control group are presented. After which the preparation of the dataset will be clarified. Then, each of the hypotheses will be tested and results will be presented. Besides that, a summary of the answers of the respondents to the open-ended question will be given and thereafter a conclusion of the results.

Control group

The control questionnaire, which showed the respondents pictures of six men (only their faces and neck), was filled in by 57 respondents. However, only 53 respondents completed the questionnaire completely. The four respondents who did not fill in the whole survey were excluded from the results. The analysis of the control group is therefore based on evaluations of 53 respondents, who completed the first questionnaire in which six men were evaluated.

With the 53 respondents, the range of ages is from 18 to 62 years, with a mean of 35.25 and standard deviation of 14.80. More females (36 females, 67.9%) than males (17 males, 32.1%) completed the control questionnaire. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test shows significance ($p = .000$), so this dataset violates the assumption of normality (Pallant 2007, 57). This means that the majority of the scores do not lie around the centre of the distribution, implying that more scores are subject to coincidence (Field 2009, 134). It is important to keep this in mind, because the results of this group of respondents will be used in the next steps of this study. A dataset that violates the assumption of normality provides weaker conclusions than a dataset that with a non-significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, which indicates normality (Pallant 2007, 63).

Table 1 shows the standard deviation of the mean trait evaluations of the six traits for the six men. For each trait (columns) the three lowest standard deviations are bold. In this way is shown that three out of six men are evaluated by respondents with the smallest standard deviations on at least five out of six traits. Small standard deviations signify in this case homogenous evaluations of traits.

Picture	Standard Deviations					
	Submissive (0) **Dominant** (7)	Weak (0) **Strong** (7)	Naïve (0) **Cunning** (7)	Unattractive (0) **Attractive** (7)	Heartless (0) **Compassionate**(7)	Dishonest(0) **Honest** (7)
1	**1.329**	**1.275**	**1.311**	1.329	**1.097**	**1.081**
2	1.439	1.413	1.555	**1.208**	1.409	1.471
3	**1.047**	**1.003**	**1.088**	**1.272**	**1.207**	**1.298**
4	1.467	**1.231**	1.557	1.341	1.404	1.446
5	1.489	1.508	1.411	1.368	1.260	1.420
6	**1.427**	1.335	**1.312**	**1.201**	**1.081**	**1.335**

Table 1. Standard deviations of trait evaluations
Values are standard deviations of the mean trait evaluations on a zero to seven, 8-point bipolar scale (N = 53). Bold values indicate the three lowest standard deviations for each trait.

For the next round of the survey the men in pictures 1, 3 and 6 are chosen to be used for further research. For these men, at least for five out of six traits they had the lowest standard deviation of the mean trait evaluation. With a clear image respondents seem to have of these men, it is easier to continue the research because the mean trait evaluations will be used in the next steps.

Testing hypotheses

The three follow-up questionnaires were filled in by 88 respondents (in total). However, 12 of them did not complete the last questions (about gender, age and own clothing style). These questions are important for the forthcoming analysis and therefore these scores have been deleted. The dataset now consists of 76 respondents in total. Not every questionnaire is completed by the same amount of respondents, because of the random selection of which respondent has to fill in which questionnaire (questionnaire 1 – 21 respondents; questionnaire 2 – 25 respondents; questionnaire 3 – 30 respondents). However, this is not considered to be a problem for following analyses, because the differences are not that big and results will be weighted by the number of respondents per questionnaire. In the current dataset, no outliers were found.

Of the respondents, 44% was male (33 respondents) and 56% female (42 respondents). The age of the respondents is between 18 and 84, with a mean of 34.73 and a standard deviation of 15.48.

Assessing normality

Many statistical analyses assume dependent variables to be normal distributed. This means that the majority of the scores lie around the centre of the distribution and as scores start to deviate from the centre, their frequency is decreasing (Field 2009, 134). If a dataset violates the assumption of normality, more respondents are in the ends of the bell-shaped curve, which means there is a greater chance of coincidence and a less strong conclusion can be drawn from the analyses (Field 2009, 134). The assumption of normality is violated within this dataset. The results of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic, which assesses the normality of the distribution of scores, are significant ($p = .000$ or $p = .001$ for each of the variables), which suggests a violation of the assumption of normality (Pallant 2007, 62). Therefore, non-parametric tests will form the basis for the data analysis. Non-parametric test statistics will be compared to statistics of their parametric alternatives and whenever these indicate the same differences or relationships, the parametric statistic will be used and presented.

Hypotheses

H1: *Wearing a tie as a politician has a larger positive effect on trait perceptions of voters than not wearing a tie.*

Out of the three clothing styles used in this research, the formal clothing style (always worn on picture one in each of the three questionnaires) is the only clothing style which includes a tie. This clothing style will thus be used to test hypothesis 1. First of all, when looking at the 'voting behaviour' of the respondents, a small indication for the non-confirmation of this hypothesis is directly uncovered. Respondents were asked which candidate they would vote for in elections based on the shown pictures. The 'politicians' with a formal clothing style were not the winning edge. One quarter of the respondents said they would vote for the candidate in formal clothing, compared to 35.5% who would vote for the candidate with the in-between clothing style.

In table 2 the differences in mean trait evaluations of the pictures of the three chosen men of the first round of the survey and the mean trait evaluations of these men wearing a suit and a tie, the formal clothing style, are shown. Both trait evaluations are based on a zero to seven-scale. The evaluations will be compared for each person and for each of the individual leadership traits separately, because each of these leadership traits are covering different

dimensions of leadership and some leaders would want to strengthen one or more specific leadership traits covered in this study.

		Means of trait evaluations	
		Only face	Formal
Person 1	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	3.75	**3.81**
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	**3.91**	3.33
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	3.11	**3.71**
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	**3.25**	2.76
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	4.91	**5.14**
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	4.79	**5.14**
Person 2	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	**4.57**	4.52
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	**4.74**	4.52
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	4.32	**4.60**
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	**4.13**	4.04
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	4.25	**5.80**
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	4.32	**5.76**
Person 3	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	2.96	**4.47**
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	3.21	**4.33**
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	3.32	**4.63**
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	3.02	**3.86**
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	4.85	**4.97**
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	4.79	**4.83**

Table 2. Means of trait evaluations on wearing a tie
Values are mean trait evaluations for three men in two different pictures on a zero to seven, 8-point bipolar scale (only face: N = 53, formal clothing style: N = 76). Bold values indicate the highest evaluation for each person, for each trait.

For the traits ‘cunningness’, ‘compassion’ and ‘honesty’ the evaluation scores increase in all cases by showing the men in a formal clothing style and for person 1 and 3 also in the case of ‘dominance’. Person 3 is in all cases higher evaluated when wearing a suit and a tie, than when only a picture of his face is shown.

Looking at table 2, wearing a tie has indeed a positive effect on trait evaluations. Evaluations of clothing style one will now be compared to evaluations of clothing styles two (informal clothing style) and three (in-between clothing style). Will the positive effect still hold?

Mean trait evaluations are shown in table 3. What can be seen from a first glance at table 3 is the fact that in just a very few cases the formal clothing style is highest evaluated. The highest scores seem to fall in the category of the in-between clothing style. When looking closer, the thing standing out is that only the leadership trait 'strong leadership' is in all three cases highest evaluated with one clothing style, namely the in-between clothing style. So, when one wants to be viewed as a strong leader, a clothing style which is between a formal and informal clothing style seems to be the most appropriate. Person 1 and 3 seem to be most compassionate and honest (traits 5 and 6) in the informal clothing style. However, person 2 seems most compassionate and honest in a formal clothing style, which is strange. These two clothing styles are most different from each other. This may indicate that faces are more important for voters in their evaluations of these traits.

As shown before, the data does not live up to the assumption of normality, thus non-parametric tests have to be used. However, the results of paired samples t-tests are comparable to results of the Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test (the non-parametric alternative for a paired samples t-test). Therefore t-test results will be shown, because parametric tests are (in this case) more useful.

For each independent trait three pairs will be tested. Pair one is formal clothing style (1) and informal clothing style (2), pair two is formal clothing style and in-between clothing style (3) and pair three is informal clothing style and in-between clothing style. What is expected is a significant difference for every trait in pair one, the formal and informal clothing styles compared, because these two are most different. Also expected are rising scores from clothing style 2, to clothing style 3, to clothing style 1, especially for strong leadership, compassion, attractiveness and honesty.

What we see is a significant difference between person 1 and 3 and between person 2 and 3, in which person 3 (the man with an in-between clothing style) gets a significantly higher evaluation on dominance. A paired-samples t-test was conducted to evaluate the impact of wearing a tie on voters' evaluations of leadership traits, in this case dominance. There was a statistically significant increase in dominance-scores for the clothing style 'between formal and informal' ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.413$) to wearing a formal clothing style ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.497$), $t(75) = -3.271$, $p = .002$ (two-tailed). The mean increase in dominance-

scores was .645 with a 95% confidence interval ranging from .252 to 1.037. The eta squared statistic (.125) indicated a moderate effect size (Cohen 1988, 284).

		Means of trait evaluation on different pictures		
		Formal	Informal	In-between
Person 1	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	3.81	4.10	**4.40**
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	3.33	4.20	**4.52**
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	3.71	3.77	**4.36**
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	2.76	3.76	**3.80**
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	5.14	**6.07**	5.72
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	5.14	**5.77**	5.44
Person 2	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	4.52	4.90	**5.77**
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	4.52	4.86	**5.63**
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	4.60	4.71	**5.40**
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	4.04	4.62	**5.23**
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	**5.80**	5.05	5.10
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	**5.76**	5.05	5.13
Person 3	Submissive (0) - **Dominant** (7)	**4.47**	3.68	4.43
	Weak (0) - **Strong** (7)	4.33	3.24	**4.43**
	Naïve (0) - **Cunning** (7)	**4.63**	3.80	3.90
	Unattractive (0) - **Attractive** (7)	**3.86**	2.92	3.33
	Heartless (0) - **Compassionate** (7)	4.97	**5.80**	5.10
	Dishonest (0) - **Honest** (7)	4.83	**5.88**	5.33

Table 3. Means of trait evaluations on different persons
Values are mean trait evaluations for three men in three different pictures on a zero to seven, 8-point bipolar scale (N = 76). Bold values indicate the highest evaluation for each person, for each trait.

There is also a significant difference between the dominance scores for a casual clothing style and the between formal and informal clothing style, $t(75) = -3.869$, $p < .0005$. No significant difference can be found between the two clothing styles most far from each other, the informal and the formal clothing style.

Same pairs are formed for a paired samples t-test for strong leadership scores. And likewise, the same patterns are to be found as for the dominance evaluations. A significant increase for clothing style 3 (M = 3.93, SD = 1.445), the in-between clothing style, compared to both clothing style 1 (formal) (M = 3.12, SD = 1.523, t(75) = -3.809, p < .0005) and clothing style 2 (casual) (p < .0005). And no significant difference was found between clothing style 1 and clothing style 2 (p = .812), opposite to what was expected.

What we do see is that with five out of the six leadership traits a statistically significant difference can be demonstrated between clothing style 2 (informal clothing style) and clothing style 3 (in-between clothing style). Only for the trait 'honesty' this does not count. For the traits 'dominance' (t (75) = -3.869, p < .0005), 'strong leadership' (t (75) = -4.394, p < .0005), 'cunningness' (t (75) = -2.701, p = .009), and 'attractiveness' (t (75) = -2.112, p = .038) the person in the in-between clothing style is being evaluated significantly higher than the person in an informal clothing style. For the trait 'compassion', the person in informal clothing is evaluated significantly higher (t (75) = 2.076, p = .041).

Also some significant differences can be discovered between the formal clothing style and the in-between clothing style, namely for the traits 'dominance' (t (75) = -3.271, p = .002), 'strong leadership' (t (75) = -3.809, p <.0005) and 'attractiveness' (t (75) = -2.939, p = .004). Strictly speaking, we cannot find statistically significant differences for the trait 'honesty'. This means that for this trait the faces or facial expressions of the stimuli persons are more important than clothing style in the evaluation of this trait.

Wearing a formal clothing style, or wearing a tie, does definitely not have more positive trait evaluations as a result. In most cases, an in-between clothing style has the largest positive effect and this clothing style differs significantly from the other two clothing styles. The formal and informal clothing styles do not differ significantly, as was expected. Therefore, the first hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

H2: *Women evaluate men who wear a tie more positive than men who do not wear a tie and than men who evaluate men who wear a tie, on the traits attractiveness and strong leadership.*

There are no significant differences to be found when comparing voting behaviour of males and females (p = .769). A Chi-square test for independence indicated no significant association between gender and voting behaviour X^2 (3, n = 75) = 1.133, p = .769, phi = .123.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the trait evaluations of clothing styles for males and females. There was no significant difference in scores for males

(M = 3.27, SD = 1.353) and females (M = 3.33, SD = 1.633); t (73) = -.172, p = .864 (two-tailed) for dominance rates on the formal clothing style. Running Independent Samples T-tests for each trait for each clothing style, in no case significant differences were revealed.

What we do see is that for the traits 'dominance', 'strong leadership', 'cunningness' and 'compassion' always (or two out of three times) females allocate higher scores. For the evaluated traits 'attractiveness' and 'honesty', this is the case with males. 'Attractiveness' and 'honesty' can definitely be defined as the higher the score the more positive the voter. With all other traits this seems more complicated and maybe differing for each individual. The second hypothesis is therefore not corroborated.

However, what we do see is the fact that a smaller amount of the females does not want to vote for any of the 'politicians', namely 23.8% of the females compared to 33.3% of the males. Overall, the voting behaviour of men and women is comparable, although a larger part of the males is voting for the politician in the in-between clothing style (36.4%) compared to women (35.7%, but a smaller part was not voting).

The second and more important part of this hypothesis focuses on the evaluation of different clothing styles by female respondents. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to compare scores of females on the trait of strong leadership for the stimuli persons with clothing style 2 (informal), clothing style 3 (in-between), and clothing style 1 (formal). The means and standard deviations are presented in table 4. There was a significant effect for the different clothing styles, Wilks' Lambda = .800, F (2, 40) = 4.989, p = .012, multivariate partial eta squared = .200. This indicates a large effect size (Pallant 2007, 227). However, not for the formal clothing style, the in-between clothing style stands out.

The same is done to compare scores of females on the trait of attractiveness for the stimuli persons with clothing style 2 (informal), clothing style 3 (in-between), and clothing style 1 (formal). The means and standard deviations are presented in table 4. There was no significant effect for the different clothing styles, Wilks' Lambda = .921, F (2, 39) = 1.667, p = .202, multivariate partial eta squared = .079. The non-parametric alternative, the Friedman test, showed similar results.

Trait	Clothing style	N	Mean	Standard deviation
Weak (0) – **Strong** (7)	Informal	42	3.19	1.612
	In-between	42	3.93	1.386
	Formal	42	3.33	1.663
Unattractive (0) – **Attractive** (7)	Informal	41	2.61	1.686
	In-between	41	3.05	1.658
	Formal	41	2.54	1.485

Table 4. Descriptive statistics for strong leadership- and attractiveness-scores for clothing style 1, 2 and 3.

A post-hoc test, with the Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons, shows a significant difference in the evaluation of an informal and an in-between clothing style for 'strong leadership'. In general, for both 'strong leadership' and 'attractiveness' the in-between clothing style is highest evaluated by the female respondents. This is a clear finding for not confirming the second hypothesis. Though, a closer look is needed. The same analysis has been run for each of the three questionnaires on the two traits. What stands out is that different patterns are found for the three men. Stimulus person 1 is evaluated most positive on the trait 'strong leadership' in an informal clothing style, whereas stimulus person 3 is highest rated in a formal clothing style on the same trait. Stimulus person 2 is most positive evaluated as a strong leader in the in-between clothing style. This is striking, not the clothing style determines the evaluation, but the person does.

H3: *When the clothing style of the respondent and the politician to be evaluated are similar, trait perceptions will be more positive.*

Most of the respondents describe their own clothing style as between formal and informal (50.0%), compared to informal (41.9%) and formal (8.1%). Also, most respondents say they would vote for the politician in the between formal and informal clothing style (35.5%), compared to informal (25.0%) and formal (10.5%). Because this question also included a 'none' response category (28.9%), the percentages are somewhat lower.

No significant relationship can be found in this case. Most respondents who define their own clothing style as formal, say they will not vote for any of the politicians in the pictures (4 out of 6). Most respondents who define their clothing style as informal will vote for the politician in clothing style 3 (15 out of 31), thus between formal and informal. And last

but not least, respondents with the clothing style between formal and informal, will vote also for the politician with a clothing style between formal and informal (11 out of 37) or vote for none of the politicians in the pictures (also 11 out of 37).

In table 4 the respondent's clothing style is compared to the voting behaviour of this respondent in a cross table. The option to vote for none of the candidates in the pictures is omitted in this table, because it will not add anything to the understanding of a possible relationship (therefore N = 53 in table 4). What is shown in table 4, are the number and the percentage of respondents who would vote for one of the candidates in a formal, informal or in-between clothing style in comparison to the respondent's own clothing style. For instance, 38.5% of the respondents who define their own clothing style as 'in-between' would have voted for the candidate in a formal clothing style (all three questionnaires together).

			Respondent's clothing style			
			Formal	Informal	In-between	Total
Vote for candidate in clothing style:	Formal	Count	1	7	10	18
		%	50.0%	28.0%	38,5%	34.0%
	Informal	Count	0	3	5	8
		%	.0%	12.0%	19.2%	15.1%
	In-between	Count	1	15	11	27
		%	50.0%	60.0%	42.3%	50.9%
Total		Count	2	25	26	53
		%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5. Cross table 'respondents clothing style' and 'vote'
Values are absolute and relative numbers of respondents' answers to the question which the party leader in which clothing style to vote for organized by the respondents' own clothing style (N = 53).

A Chi-square test for independence indicated no significant association between clothing style of the respondent and voting behaviour X^2 (4, n = 53) = 2.107, p = .716, phi = .199. The high non-significance rate ensures there is no relation between these two variables. No evidence can thus be found for the third hypothesis.

H4: *The older the respondent, the more positive about a formal clothing style.*

The relationship between age and trait evaluations was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was a medium, negative correlation between age and compassion-scores (formal clothing style), r = -.317, n = 75, p = .006, with an older age associated with low compassion-scores on a formal clothing style. A small, positive

correlation exists between age and attractiveness-scores (informal clothing style), r = .228, n = 75, p = .050, with an older age associated with high attractiveness-scores on an informal clothing style. As last, there was a small, negative correlation between age and compassion-scores (in-between clothing style), r = -.269, n = 75, p = .019, with an older age associated with low compassion-scores on an in-between clothing style.

The same relationship between age and trait evaluations was also investigated using Spearman's Rank Order Correlation (rho). There was a small, negative correlation between age and compassion-scores (formal clothing style), rho = -.234, n = 75, p = .043, with an older age associated with low compassion-scores on a formal clothing style. A small, negative correlation was found between age and honesty-scores (formal clothing style), rho = -.218, n = 75, p = -.060 (not significant, but there is certainly an effect, only 6% chance this is a random effect), with an older age associated with low honesty-scores on a formal clothing style. Finally, there was a medium, negative correlation between age and compassion-scores (in-between clothing style), rho = -.329, n = 75, p = .004, with an older age associated with low compassion-scores on an in-between clothing style.

The only clear relationship these tests show is the older the respondent is, the less positive the compassion-score will be. One out of the six leadership traits shows a relationship with the age of the respondent. Therefore, also the fourth hypothesis is not confirmed. It looks like a counter effect can be discovered. Older people assign less positive compassion and honesty scores to the men dressed in formal clothing, opposite to hypothesis 4. Besides, older people do assign less negative attractiveness scores to men in informal clothing.

Respondents' advice

The words which were most written down as an answer to the open-ended question: "In what way should a party leader be dressed in your opinion?" were 'decently' and 'properly'. Other words as 'correctly' and 'representatively' were also written down a couple of times. However, what decently, properly and representatively means to the respondents differs between them. Some are pretty clear about what they think politicians should wear: "A suit with a tie!" others are less strict in this way: "Decent, professional, but he or she has to show also some of his or her uniqueness". "A tie is not necessary", "casual chic", and "not too formal, but also not too casual. Too formal creates a bigger distance between politicians and the people, whereas too casual will not be taken seriously". These quotes suggest what was

also found when testing the hypotheses: a clothing style between formal and informal is evaluated the best by the respondents.

Some of the respondents also mentioned that politicians have to wear different clothing styles on different occasions: “Decently, but it depends on the occasion, with official meetings, also in parliament, in a suit. However, with television appearances and so on it is also a good thing to show a more human side of the politicians, for example by ‘dressing-down’.” One of the respondents gave a clear example of what a politician should be dressed like: “I think Mark Rutte is a good example of a well-dressed, stylish, but not over-dressed politician.”

A notable remark came from one of the respondents: “According to the image of the political party.” But what is maybe the most important answer to the open-ended question is this one: “According to his own style”. Everyone has their own clothing style. Possibly it can be said that one looks best and most reliable when dressed in clothing according to his or her own style.

Conclusion

A conclusion is appropriate after all the tables, analyses, and interpretations of the last chapter. The first hypothesis, on whether wearing a tie always gets the most positive evaluations, cannot be confirmed. In this study it seems to be more appealing to the respondents that party leaders wear clothes of an in-between clothing style. This clothing style differed significantly from the other two clothing styles.

Also the second hypothesis cannot be corroborated. No statistically significant differences between males and females were found for any of the evaluated traits. What was discovered was some kind of pattern of which traits were most positively evaluated by males or by females. Honesty and attractiveness were most positively evaluated by males, a curious finding because we did expect women to be more positive, especially on these traits. From the second part of this hypothesis can be concluded that females did not evaluate a formal clothing style more positive than other clothing styles. For each of the stimuli persons another clothing style was most positively rated. Overall, the in-between clothing style was most positively rated by women.

For the third hypothesis, ‘when the clothing style of the respondent and the politician to be evaluated are comparable, trait perceptions will be more positive’, no significant evidence was found. Clothing styles of respondents do not have explanatory power. Lastly,

hypothesis 4: ‘the older the respondent, the more positive about a formal clothing style’. Also this hypothesis cannot be confirmed by this study. An opposite relation can be discovered for the traits compassion and honesty, and a positive effect on attractiveness scores for informal clothing of older people. However, the largest part of these significant relationships has only a small effect size.

According to the respondents, a party leader must be dressed in a decent way, with his own personal touch and tending towards formal. A tie is according to many respondents not really necessary, only on some occasions or when it suits the person. The more human side of the politician is seen by his voters when wearing informal or casual clothes. This is also what politicians have to wear when they are at a market and handing out flyers.

None of the hypotheses can be assumed to be true. However, this does not imply this thesis has no meaning. In the next section an answer to the research question will be given and implications of the findings will be discussed.

Discussion

After testing all hypotheses, it is now time to formulate an answer to the research question of this study, namely: Does clothing style of politicians influence trait perceptions and voting behaviour of Dutch voters? In this chapter, a short overview of the results will be given, as well as an answer to the research question. Also applicability to other countries, a reflection on the methodology and recommendations for further research will be addressed.

Overview

With the collected data, we cannot support the four hypotheses formulated in this study. Wearing a tie does not always obtain the most positive evaluations; an in-between clothing style does in most cases. No statistically significant differences were found in evaluations by men and women; the only pattern to be found was higher evaluations of males on two specific traits, namely honesty and attractiveness. And females do not evaluate formally dressed men more positive than men in other clothing styles. No evidence was found for the third hypothesis; respondents' clothing styles have no explanatory power in this study. Finally, also the fourth hypothesis could not be corroborated; older respondents are not more positive about a formal clothing style. Some opposite relations between age and different traits, contrary to expectations, were discovered.

However, it is not that we cannot learn from the results of this study. Evaluation of leadership traits by voters on persons with different clothing styles could not be explained by the set hypotheses. Other patterns, though, can be discovered.

By means of a differing clothing style, party leaders can accentuate some politically relevant leadership traits. It depends however on the person which clothing style is having a positive influence. Overall, an in-between clothing style seems to be most positively evaluated and most respondents would also vote for the person with this in-between clothing style. A party leader must be dressed in a decent way, with his own personal touch and tending towards formal. A tie is according to many respondents not really necessary, only on some occasions or when it suits the person. The more human side of the politician is seen by his voters when wearing informal or casual clothes. This is also what politicians have to wear when they are for example at a market, handing out flyers.

What seems to come out of the answers to the open-ended question and the questionnaire overall, is the fact that it depends on the person what he has to wear. Faces are

more important when evaluating unknown persons in pictures. Clothing style can in some way increase or decrease the scores of some traits, but no clear relationship is to be found between certain traits and a specific clothing style.

To recapitulate on the title, does fashion rule? The answer is a clear 'no'. However, clothing styles can influence voters' view on certain traits of politicians. Certain clothing styles strengthen leadership traits in the eyes of voters. The question which clothing style strengthens which leadership traits can, however, differ between individuals. The combination of the face and clothing style of a politician is determinative, it is an interaction effect. Which clothing style accentuates which leadership traits of politicians in voters' views has therefore to be investigated for each politician individually. This study may serve as a design for these individual studies. For campaign consultants, the results will not have a clear advice for their clients.

Reflection

In the research proposal for this thesis, a hypothesis which focused on the education level of the respondents was included. However, in the execution of the three last questionnaires, it seemed that this variable, based on the question 'highest level of education completed', had no good dispersion. Therefore, this hypothesis could not be tested well, and is excluded from the study.

In further research it is important to focus on a good dispersion of the respondents, by means of a random sample. Also a larger number of respondents is needed to create a bigger chance on non-violation of the assumption of normality. In that way, statistical analyses have a stronger explanatory power. The snowball sampling method can cause a possible bias in the results. With a random sampling method the respondents would probably be normally distributed, whereby there would have been more certainty in saying the formulated hypothesis cannot be supported by this study. It is however not without a reason an explorative research. The aim of the study was to expose a possible relationship between party leaders' clothing styles and voters' trait evaluations and voting behaviour.

When reviewing the study, the pictures used could have been better employed in a different way, to exclude eventual flaws. One cannot ask anybody to keep the same facial expression for four different photographs. In forthcoming research Photoshop has to be incorporated in the study and the same picture of the men's faces has to be imposed on pictures of different clothing styles (in which for every person the same clothes are used).

When looking closely at the pictures, one can distinguish minor changes in the facial expressions of the men. We cannot be sure this has not played a role in the evaluations by the respondents. Take for example the pictures of person 2 (see Appendix 3), the chin of the man is slightly raised in the picture with the formal clothing style, compared to the other two pictures. It is a very small change, but excluding these differences would lead to a clearer view of the relationships and differences found in this study.

Are the results of this study also applicable to the perception of voters in other countries? As previously indicated, the Netherlands is the perfect case to investigate the influence of clothing on voting behaviour and trait perceptions of voters. It would therefore not be fair to say conclusions of this study are directly applicable to political systems and voters of other countries. However, it is not unimaginable to expect certain patterns can also be found in other countries. The combination in a picture of a certain clothing style and the face or appearance of a person make voters change their trait evaluations. Most likely, because of similar developments in the political and socio-economic landscape of Western countries, these effects will also be found. Further research should prove whether these interaction effects are related to leadership traits in the same way as was found in the Dutch case.

Further research

Now we know some more about the influence of clothing styles on voting behaviour and trait evaluations of voters on political party leaders, it is important to expand this knowledge. Two recommendations will be made. Firstly, random assigned left-right positions can be added to the pictures. In this way, an extra dimension is engaged in the study: will clothing styles still have an influence when also some party statements are given to the respondents in addition to the pictures of stimuli persons in different clothing styles?

Secondly, the study only focussed on men's clothing styles, but in this era of equality it seems not right to exclude women. Different respondents did mention this as a flaw in the research, however after explaining the reasons for this choice, all of them understood. Further research should certainly focus on or include female clothing styles.

Research shows women are still, more than men, judged by their appearance.[8] When the British *Marie-Claire* asked 3000 women, half of them thought their looks were of bigger

[8] Dressenhuys, C. "Hé, lekker wijf!" In: *Trouw* (June 3, 2012).

influence than their capacities at work.[9] In this respect, it would be of added value to include women also as stimuli persons in forthcoming research, probably even more differences between women than between men will be found and the influence of clothing on trait perceptions in politics.

According to this study it is expected that, with female stimuli persons that faces are also important. The interaction between a face and a certain clothing style will be determinative for respondents' trait evaluations of female 'party leaders'. Account should be taken of the fact that women's clothing can be a lot more diverse than men's clothing. A possible solution is to use the same sets of clothes, jewellery and hairstyle for all women in the pictures.

Conclusion

Politicians' clothing can reinforce certain leadership traits in the eyes of voters. However, it differs between politicians which clothing style enhances which leadership traits. In general, an in-between clothing style yields the most positive responses (and votes). But when looking independently at each trait, quite different evaluations appear between different persons. Clothing styles cannot be seen independently from their wearers. Some small changes in methodology and recruitment of respondents will make findings of further research stronger. In further research, women most definitely have to be included as stimuli persons.

The communication style of a politician cannot be dissociated from the context he is operating in (De Haan 2000, 236). And so can clothing style from the politician wearing it.

[9] "Vrouw wordt op uiterlijk beoordeeld." In: *Spits* (May 16, 2011).

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

This is an example of one of the questionnaires (Experimental Group 1). Because the questionnaires were carried out in Dutch, this appendix is also in Dutch.

Beste lezer,

Deze enquête is een onderdeel van mijn afstudeerscriptie voor de master Nationale Politiek. De enquête heeft betrekking op hoe u personen beoordeelt op verschillende leiderschapskwaliteiten, op basis van foto's.

U krijgt een aantal foto's te zien. Dit zijn foto's van fictieve lijsttrekkers van Nederlandse politieke partijen. Wilt u de volgende foto's beoordelen, door het geven van een cijfer tussen de 0 en 7 (waarin 0 staat voor het linker kenmerk, 7 voor het rechter kenmerk en alle tussenliggende waarden voor tussenliggende beoordelingen), op de onderstaande kenmerken.

Deze lijsttrekker komt op mij over als:

-	Onderdanig	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dominant
-	Zwak	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sterk
-	Naïef	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sluw
-	Onaantrekkelijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Aantrekkelijk
-	Harteloos	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Meelevend
-	Oneerlijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Eerlijk

Deze lijsttrekker komt op mij over als:

-	Onderdanig	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dominant
-	Zwak	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sterk
-	Naïef	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sluw
-	Onaantrekkelijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Aantrekkelijk
-	Harteloos	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Meelevend
-	Oneerlijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Eerlijk

Deze lijsttrekker komt op mij over als:

-	Onderdanig	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dominant
-	Zwak	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sterk
-	Naïef	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Sluw
-	Onaantrekkelijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Aantrekkelijk
-	Harteloos	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Meelevend
-	Oneerlijk	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Eerlijk

Op welke van deze drie lijsttrekkers zou u op basis van deze foto's stemmen?



- Lijsttrekker 1
- Lijsttrekker 2
- Lijsttrekker 3
- Geen

Hoe vindt u dat een lijsttrekker zich zou moeten kleden?

Hoe zou u uw eigen kledingstijl omschrijven?

- Formeel
- Informeel
- Tussen informeel en formeel in

Nu volgen nog een aantal algemene vragen.

Geslacht

- Man
- Vrouw

Leeftijd

Hoogst genoten opleiding

- Basisschool
- VMBO
- MBO
- HAVO
- VWO
- HBO
- WO

Hartelijk bedankt voor uw medewerking. Uw antwoorden zullen vertrouwelijk en anoniem behandeld worden.

Fleur Veringa
fleur.veringa@live.nl

Appendix 2: Codebook

Variable	SPSS Variable name	Coding instructions
ID	Identification number	Number assigned to each survey
V0	Number of questionnaire	1 = Questionnaire 1 2 = Questionnaire 2 3 = Questionnaire 3
V11	Submissive/Dominant Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very submissive) to 7 (very dominant)
V12	Weak/Strong Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very weak) to 7 (very strong)
V13	Naïve/Cunning Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very naive) to 7 (very cunning)
V14	Unattractive/Attractive Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very unattractive) to 7 (very attractive)
V15	Heartless/Compassionate Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very heartless) to 7 (very compassionate)
V16	Dishonest/Honest Person 1	Enter number circled from 0 (very dishonest) to 7 (very honest)
V21	Submissive/Dominant Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very submissive) to 7 (very dominant)
V22	Weak/Strong Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very weak) to 7 (very strong)
V23	Naïve/Cunning Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very naive) to 7 (very cunning)
V24	Unattractive/Attractive Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very unattractive) to 7 (very attractive)
V25	Heartless/Compassionate Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very heartless) to 7 (very compassionate)
V26	Dishonest/Honest Person 2	Enter number circled from 0 (very dishonest) to 7 (very honest)
V31	Submissive/Dominant Person 3	Enter number circled from 0 (very submissive) to 7 (very dominant)

V32	Weak/Strong Person 3	
		Enter number circled from 0 (very weak) to 7 (very strong)
V33	Naïve/Cunning Person 3	
		Enter number circled from 0 (very naive) to 7 (very cunning)
V34	Unattractive/Attractive Person 3	
		Enter number circled from 0 (very unattractive) to 7 (very attractive)
V35	Heartless/Compassionate Person 3	
		Enter number circled from 0 (very heartless) to 7 (very compassionate)
V36	Dishonest/Honest Person 3	
		Enter number circled from 0 (very dishonest) to 7 (very honest)
V4	Who would you vote for?	1 = Picture 1
		2 = Picture 2
		3 = Picture 3
		4 = None
V5	Own clothing style	1 = Formal
		2 = Informal
		3 = Between formal and informal
V6	Sex	1 = Males
		2 = Females
V7	Age	Age in years
V8	Highest education completed	
		1 = Elementary school
		2 = VMBO
		3 = MBO
		4 = HAVO
		5 = VWO
		6 = HBO
		7 = WO
		8 = n.a.

Appendix 3: Photos

Pictures control questionnaire

1. 	2. 	3. 
4. 	5. 	6. 

Pictures questionnaire 1

1a.	2b.	3c.
		

Pictures questionnaire 2

1b.	2c.	3a.
		

Pictures questionnaire 3

1c. 	2a. 	3b.