THE CONSTRUCTION OF TWO SHORT FACTOR-MARKER SCALES MEASURING WOMEN’S PERCEIVED OBSTACLES (WO) AND WOMEN’S COPING EFFICACY (WOC) IN POLITICS

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The aim of this study was to develop two scales aimed to assess the perceived obstacles to a successful political career (WO) and the evaluation of a number of strategies useful to cope with these obstacles (WOC). A sample of three hundred and forty-nine women politicians elected to National and local office was collected. A random half of the dataset was subjected to exploratory factor analyses to detect the number of core factors measured by each list and to identify the simplest markers of each factor. Two and four major core dimensions, labeled External and Internal Obstacles, and Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping coping efficacy, accounted for most of the variance in WO and WOC ratings. Confirmatory factor analyses of selected markers carried out on the other half of the dataset yielded two well fitting models: a two-factor model with correlated factors for the WO and a hierarchical factor model positing a general coping factor along with four specific coping efficacy factors for the WOC.

Key words: Confirmatory factor analysis; Empowerment coping; Gender; Politics; Scale construction.

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INTRODUCTION

Women are greatly under-represented in political institutions in almost all countries. The percentage of women in Parliament in the world averages only about 17%; even in very developed nations, such as G8 countries, it stands at 17.4% (ASDO, 2007; IPU, 2008). Beside politics, the scarcity of women in leadership positions has been documented for most professions (Eagly & Carli, 2007). This vertical segregation by gender has stimulated important theoretical efforts as well as empirical studies to discover which factors still prevent women from taking leading positions in most fields and particularly in politics.

Structural approach supporters hypothesize that women’s under-representation in top positions might reflect their past lower social status, which, in turn, may have produced lower access to education, control of financial capitals, and fewer work opportunities (Sanbonmatsu; 2002; Stokes, 2005). According to gate-keeping theorists (Phillips, 1998; Sala, 2003; Sawer,
Mano, & Trimble, 2006), under-representation is mostly due to discriminatory behaviors enacted by males, who literally keep the gates closed to women, by deliberately excluding them at the entry level, and opposing their advance to higher positions during different stages of their careers. Proponents of situational interpretations argue that women, because they have to conciliate their private and public roles, cannot guarantee the total commitment organizations ask for (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Stokes, 2005).

Several theories hypothesize that the different roles played by men and women in Western societies are based on sex or gender differences. Evolutionary theorists (Geary, 1998; Pinker, 2002) believe the different roles women and men play in our society are rooted in biological and physiological sex differences. Women, because of their getting pregnant and nursing children, have developed a preference and aptitude for domesticity, whereas men, who were warriors and hunters, have developed characteristics such as competitiveness and dominance that make them more interested in power; therefore, men are more “naturally” drawn to the pursuit of political and economic power. Theories employing the term gender differences intend to underline that these arise from acquired social expectations of what masculine and feminine means (Stevens, 2007). They maintain, for instance, that the political under-representation of women is due to attributes typically associated to men and women as people, and to masculine and feminine cultures, which reinforce or diminish gender stereotypes and prejudices (Hofstede, 1998; Paxton, 1997; Wilcox, Stark, & Thomas, 2003).

Some theories focus specifically on the additional hurdles women face in the domain of politics, for instance the institutional approach underlines the role of variables such as party rules and electoral laws, and access to funds for campaigning (Stevens, 2007; Stokes, 2005). Theorists of the personalization of politics through mass media maintain that, in order to progress from candidacy to election and to be reelected, women need to successfully campaign and win. As politics has become more personalized, individual characteristics of politicians such as the values they hold, their personality traits, as well as their “look,” have assumed greater importance, and mass media have become more crucial in highlighting the personal characteristics of politicians (Caciagli & Corbetta, 2002). Mass media theorists hypothesize that the way women politicians are portrayed by media contributes to maintain political top positions in the hands of males (Molfino, 2006; Palmer & Simon, 2006).

Empirical studies have been conducted more often focusing on structural and institutional variables, because indicators are widely available and do not require active involvement by politicians. Results document that some structural obstacles, such as women’s lesser access to education, control of financial capital, and work opportunities have greatly diminished in the last decades; most women today no longer present weaker curricula than men and a sufficient eligible pool of qualified women is available in most professions (Sabbadini, 2004; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). Several institutional studies have also demonstrated that proportional electoral systems result in higher number of female representatives (Kenworthy & Malami, 1999; Paxton, 1997) and that left-wing parties have put forward a greater number of women to Parliament (Stevens, 2007). Also, female representation in political assemblies is much higher in countries where electoral laws or political parties statutes establish reserved quotas for women (Stokes, 2005).

Fewer researchers have been able to contact top and middle level women politicians to ascertain if they perceive the obstacles they face in political life as coming from situational, gatekeeping, gender differences or mass media variables, and, above all, how they cope with them.
Empirical studies with female politicians are rare and have yielded contrasting results. Some researchers have found that women politicians have problems remaining in politics because of family conflicts (Sapiro, 1982; Stoper, 1977; Thomas, 2002). Others (Francescato & Sorace, 2006; IPU, 2008) found, on the contrary, that most female members of Parliament were supported by partners, children, and parents.

Some divergent results have also emerged in studies that focused on gate-keeping variables. Most have found abundant evidence of discriminatory behaviors. Powerful men put other trusted males into strategic political positions (Thomas, 2002), keep women out of electoral lists (Lowenduski, 2005), or place them in the lower, unelectable places (Bledsoe & Herring, 1990; Carroll 1994; Mateo-Diaz, 2005). They marginalize elected politicians by not sharing vital information with them (Francescato & Sorace, 2006), or verbally intimidating and interrupting them even when they chair a meeting (Kathlene, 1994). Male politicians make negative comments about the femininity of assertive female colleagues (Rudman, 1998), relegate them to health, education, equal opportunities, and welfare committees (ASDO, 2007), and devalue their achievements attributing them to luck (Heilman, 1995). Men also resent women who are successful in politics, especially if they are wives and mothers (Sala, 2003).

These negative behaviors by colleagues are partially responsible of the “revolving door syndrome” which pushes women to leave political office more quickly then men (ASDO, 2007; Boothroyd, 2002; Childs, 2004; Francescato & Sorace, 2006; Green, 2004). However, a few studies have shown that women aspirants receive as much support as men (Dolan, Deckman, & Swears, 2006; Ondercin & Welch, 2005). Some powerful women have also been found to act as gate-keepers for younger female colleagues (Yoder, 2002) and not to team up to defend their colleagues (Francescato & Sorace, 2006).

A plurality of cultural and individual factors influence whether “eligible” women will consider political involvement and, eventually, put themselves forward and be selected as candidate, win elections and remain in the political arena. In all these stages, empirical studies have found differences between men and women. Men follow public affairs more, have more political knowledge, higher political self-efficacy and empowerment, and are more often activists in political parties or movements (Dolan et al., 2006; Matland & Montgomery, 2003; Stokes, 2005). More men are encouraged to run for public office; and more women, even in the top tier of professional accomplishment, tend not to consider themselves qualified to run for political office (Fox & Lawless, 2004). Contrasting results have emerged regarding political ambition (Carroll, 1985; Costantini, 1990; Duerst-Lahti, 1998). Various authors (Conway, Steuernagel, & Ahern, 2005) have argued that we are witnessing the emergence of a “feminized” conception of politics, in which leadership can be defined as the ability to persuade individuals and groups to reason together for the solution of complex problems. This contrasts with the traditional model of leadership that views politics as a struggle to obtain power for one’s own faction and oblige others to follow suit (Conway et al., 2005). Whicker and Jewell (1998) carried out a study investigating politicians’ leadership styles: women were more prone to use a leadership style that encouraged reaching consensus, whereas men pursued personal power and control. Therefore, many women politicians face today a cultural double bind: “Male behavior is considered inappropriate for a woman and female behavior typified as caring, compassionate, sensitive and non-aggressive is inappropriate for a politician” (Githens, 2003, p. 43). Not much is known about what personal qualities and environmental supports women politicians need to both remain in politics, once
elected, and be able to reach top political positions upholding their convictions and values, but probably they need to have high levels of personal empowerment and a blend of feminine and masculine characteristics (Stevens, 2007).

Media theorists have shown that women politicians receive both less coverage and less favorable media representation in most Western countries, particularly in national competitions. They are less present in talk shows and news programs, and are portrayed as less likely to succeed. More comments are made on their physical appearance, and private lives, and less on their political positions (Dolan et al., 2006; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Molfino, 2006; Ondercin & Welch, 2005; Stephenson, 1998).

Reviewing the main theories and results of empirical studies, one can see that most obstacles faced by women politicians fall into two broad categories: a) those difficulties hypothesized by situational and gender differences theories that involve more inner obstacles, such as having ambivalent feelings toward the total commitment, long hours, and stresses of political life, not liking the constantly conflictive climate, not having enough confidence about one’s abilities to reach top positions and retain communal values, not being able to handle both family and political commitments; and b) those obstacles mostly emphasized by mass media and gate-keeping research, which are mostly environmental or interpersonal hurdles (hostile attitudes and behaviors from male politicians, masculine cultures which view politics as a “male” field, institutional party practices that disadvantage women, fewer opportunities for women politicians to access mass media).

Which types of obstacles are perceived today as stronger by women politicians, and with which types of obstacles do women politicians cope better? Which are harder to deal with? Reviewing existing data, we have difficulties answering these questions for a number of reasons. Different studies have focused on only one or two theories (Carroll, 1994; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Kathlene, 1994), therefore focusing on only one or two kinds of variables; moreover, even in studies that dealt with the same theory, for instance exploring gate-keeping variables, different instruments have been used (ranging from observation of television programs to interviews, from analysis of campaign materials and press releases to minutes of committee meetings). Furthermore, because most research has involved only one type of politicians (mostly women elected to local office) and very few have involved contemporaneously national and local politicians, we do not know which obstacles seem to be common for all women politicians, which prevail at different levels of political achievement, and especially how women politicians cope with them.

So we need to build specific instruments, which will include perceived difficulties derived from the four theories that primarily focus on personal, interpersonal, and environmental obstacles such as those postulated by situational, gender differences, gate-keeping, and media access. And we need to go beyond measuring perceived obstacles and build an instrument that can ascertain how well women politicians can cope with these obstacles. Only by having reliable multidimensional measures of the different kind of obstacles, one can ascertain which are perceived as most prevalent by all women politicians and which vary according to the type of political office held (local, national, international), political orientation or party affiliation, age, education, and other dispositional and environmental variables. Above all, we can explore which factors help women politicians cope with them, and find out which actions could best be taken to reduce turnover and increase female representation.
Aims and Scope

The goal of the present article is twofold. First, we aimed to illustrate the construction steps of two short scales measuring women’s perceived obstacles (WO) and women’s coping efficacy (WOC) in politics. Second, we aimed to test the structural validity of these short scales, each comprised of the simplest markers of each factor. To accomplish both goals we designed a psychometric study in which two preliminary lists of WO and WOC items were administered to a large group of women who were successful in politics, and then the number of items of each list was narrowed, based on a two-step “calibration and confirmation” strategy. In particular, the calibration step had the twofold purpose of detecting the number and content of the common factors underlying women ratings, as well as keeping a limited number of items measuring in an efficient way the common core factors just identified. The confirmation step had the purpose of cross-validating the calibration process, as well as testing alternative factorial structure of WO and WOC markers. Finally, we aimed to answer the following research question: “How were WO and WOC factors related?,” that is “How different kind of obstacles elicited different coping strategies in successful politicians?” To answer this question we relied on a full model in which WOC factors were regressed onto WO factors. Further details on statistical methods and procedures used to attain the aims of this paper will be disclosed in the following sections.

METHOD

Participants

A sample of three hundred and forty-nine Italian women politicians, either elected to the National Parliament (n = 109, 68.8%) or to Local Councils (n = 240, 10%) participated in this study. Participants’ age varied from 18 to 78 years (mean age = 47.18, SD = 10.6). At the local level, a total of 2400 surveys were sent either by mail or by e-mail to women elected as city majors or as representative to regional, provincial, and city councils in nine Italian regions, from the North, the Center, and the South of Italy. The response rate was about 10%. As to the national level, a total of 154 surveys were sent to all women elected as members of the Italian Parliament (both in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies). Also in this case the initial response rate was about 10%. After Members of Parliament were individually solicited by personnel of the research team, the response rate was raised to about 70% of the population, which is a remarkable percentage in studies on women elected to political office (Stevens, 2007). Two hundred and forty-eight (71.1%) and one hundred and one (38.9%) participants were in left-wing and right-wing political parties, respectively. Two participants (0.6%) had a junior high school degree, 105 participants (30.1%) had a high-school degree, and 233 participants (66.8%) had a college degree (nine participants did not report their educational level). Participants were about equally distributed in northern, central, and southern Italy political districts.

Instruments

As part of a large survey on “women and politics,” all research participants completed a 17-item list of preliminary WO items (reported in Appendix A), along with a 48-item list of pre-
liminary WOC items (reported in Appendix B). Each of the WO items described one of the obstacles that potentially affect the political career of women and may prevent them from attaining leadership positions. Participants provided their responses on a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all; 7 = very much), with higher scores representing greater perceived negative effect. Conversely, each of the WOC items described the extent to which political women can cope with different kinds of obstacles. Again, participants provided their responses on a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 = not at all; 7 = very much), with higher scores representing greater perceived coping ability. Thus, WO and WOC items were generated to represent the main theoretical accounts of why women are so greatly under-represented in political institutions. However, they differed from the rater’s point of view in that WO items asked for more general beliefs on behaviors that might be detrimental for women to attain leadership positions, whereas WOC items asked for more specific beliefs on behaviors that women in politics may put into practice to struggle against women’s under-representation in politics. As an example, the item “Men de-value women’s achievements attributing them to luck” was included in the WO to represent the gate-keeping approach, as well as the item “I can get my viewpoint accepted even when my male colleagues oppose it” was included in the WOC to represent the same approach. Appendices A and B make reference to the theoretical account for each item included in WO and WOC lists.

Procedures and Statistical Analysis

A preliminary item descriptive analysis (see Appendix A) was carried out to screen both the WO and the WOC lists for item distributions. In particular, each item was evaluated as appropriate based on: a) skewness and kurtosis within the normal range; b) relatively large item variance, and c) an average score within the central scale range. Items deviating dramatically from these criteria were excluded from the following multivariate analyses, that were carried out on a total of 15 out of 17 and 32 out of 38 WO and WOC items, respectively (see Appendices A and B). As we anticipated earlier, the scale development process was based on a two-stage “calibration and confirmation” procedure, in which a set of Maximum Likelihood exploratory factor analyses (EFAs) was carried out to search for the simple markers of WO and WOC factors; then, a set of confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) was carried out to cross-validate the calibration process on an independent sample of respondents.

In fact, the calibration stage was carried out on n = 183 research participants, who were randomly assigned to what hereafter will be referred to as “sub-sample A.” The confirmation stage was carried out on the remaining 166 research participants, hereafter referred to as “sub-sample B.” As a result of random assignment by the SPSS split-file procedure, research participants in sub-samples A and B did not differ in any of the sampling descriptive variables (i.e., age, national vs. local political level; left-wing vs. right-wing orientation; northern Italy, central Italy, southern Italy political district).

The Maximum Likelihood extraction method was used in EFAs for the following reasons. First, we wanted the extraction method in EFAs to match the estimation method in CFAs, thus preventing artifacts such as comparing EFA and CFA solutions estimated by different meth-
ods. In addition, the ML extraction method in EFA allowed us to corroborate the otherwise subjective choice on the number of core factors to retain for rotation by a goodness-of-fit statistic. Once the number of core factors was established, the calibration stage went on with iteratively repeated EFAs that were carried out until a simple factorial solution was attained by adding or removing items which loaded on more than a factor. The final EFA solution was obliquely (PROMAX) rotated.

Structural equation models were carried out on sub-sample B data to estimate parameters and to test hypotheses about the structure of WO and WOC factor markers by EQS 6.1 (Bentler, 2004). With reference to the WO, we tested four alternative models: a) a one-factor model with a single factor affecting all the WO items; b) a two-factor model with correlated factors resulting from earlier EFAs carried out on sub-sample A; c) a two-factor model with uncorrelated factors; and d) a second-order factor model positing a hierarchical arrangement of specific obstacle factors arrayed below a single general obstacle factor. Likewise, we tested four alternative models to fit WOC data: a) a one-factor model with a single latent variable affecting all of the WOC factor markers; b) a four-factor model with correlated factors resulting from earlier EFAs carried out on sub-sample A; c) a four-factor model with uncorrelated factors; and d) a second-order factor model with specific coping factors arrayed below a single general coping factor.

Beyond the ubiquitous inspection of each model’s chi-square statistic, we evaluated the goodness-of-fit considering both absolute (e.g., RMSEA) and comparative fit indexes (e.g., CFI, TLI) according to Hu and Bentler’s (1999) cut-off criteria (i.e., CFI or TLI > .95; RMSEA < .06). Pair-wise comparisons between alternative factor models were instead based on the absolute difference of each model’s chi-square statistics.

The association of obstacle factors with coping efficacy factors was also investigated by a structural model positing the WO factors as predictors of the WOC factors. Two different models were compared. The first model regressed the WOC first-order factors on the WO factors, after that the effect of the WOC second-order factor was removed. This model represented the view that different kinds of obstacles preventing women from being successful in politics elicited specific coping efficacies in women who were elected to National or Local Councils, and not a general coping efficacy. Conversely, the second model regressed the WOC second-order factor on the WO factors, only. This model tested the alternative point of view that different obstacles preventing women from being successful in politics elicited a general coping efficacy.

RESULTS

Women in Politics Obstacles Scale (WO): Exploratory Factor Analysis

A preliminary exploratory factor analysis was carried out on a total of 15 WO items (see Appendix A). The following eigenvalues greater-than-one were extracted (4.29, 2.10, 1.20, 1.08). The scree-plot revealed a clear-cut two-factor structure accounting for about 37% of the whole variance. The goodness-of-fit statistics was, however, statistically significant for both the two-factor, \( \chi^2(76) = 167.03, p < .001 \), and the four-factor solution, \( \chi^2(51) = 87.45, p < .001 \). Albeit the four-factor solution produced a relatively better fit to the observed data than
the two-factor solution, our inspection of the four-factor solution revealed that, whereas the first and the second factor were very consistent with the first and the second factors of the two-factor solution, the third and the fourth factor were comprised of items with relatively low primary loadings and noteworthy secondary loadings on more than one factor. We thus preferred the two-factor solution, based on the scree-plot as well as on factor simplicity criteria. Women elected to National or Local Councils evaluated the list of obstacles preventing women from achieving leading positions along two major core dimensions. The first factor after a PROMAX rotation mainly loaded on items tapping into the gate-keeping account of women segregation in politics (such as items #6 to #12 in Appendix A). Although a few items loading on this factor described discriminatory acts put into practice by other powerful women and the lack of women mentors (#1 and #15 in Appendix A), these characteristics were not a central aspect of this factor. We, thus, labeled this factor as External Obstacles, not just male gate-keeping. The second factor loaded the items tapping into the gender differences, situational and empowerment accounts of women segregation in politics (#2 to #5, and #13, #14, #15 in Appendix A). We labeled this factor as Internal Obstacles, as it described women’s self-perception of being either unwilling to compete for positions of higher power — because women dislike competitive and conflictive political climate — or feeling unable to conciliate public and private roles. After a PROMAX rotation, the two factors were moderately positively correlated ($r = .29$).

Once we established a two-factor oblique solution as the reference structure of the WO item list, we moved toward the selection of a set of simple factor markers to provide us with a reliable assessment of the External and Internal obstacle factors as well as with a replicable factor model to be tested in the next CFA analyses. To this purpose, a set of EFAs were iteratively carried out removing at each step items with multiple factor loadings or with primary loadings below .30. This process resulted in the inclusion of eight-factor markers (highlighted in bold-type in Appendix A). To summarize this calibration process we present results from the last of our exploratory analyses, that is the one providing the simplest structure. Consistent with earlier results, the extraction procedure yielded two eigenvalues greater than one (2.94, 1.86), and the inspection of the scree-plot revealed a clear-cut two-factor solution accounting for about 47% of the whole variance. The goodness-of-fit statistic, $\chi^2(13) = 23.08, p = .041$, was still statistically significant, but, unlike our earlier analysis, the $p$ value approached the conventional significance level of $p < .05$. This finding indicated that the calibration process ended in a factor solution with a quite satisfactory fit to collected data. As expected, the first factor and the second factor loaded all the External and Internal factor markers above .62 (see Table 1, Panel A). None of the retained factor markers had noteworthy secondary loadings on the other factor, that is, $>.15$. Again, the inspection of the factor inter-correlation matrix revealed some degree of correlation between the External and the Internal factors ($r = .25$). The other confirmatory analyses will be applied to test a possible hierarchical arrangement of these oblique factors. To conclude, the selection of WO factor markers yielded two composite scores, each comprised of four items: Cronbach’s coefficients were above the conventional standard ($\alpha = .72$, for External Obstacle composite score; $\alpha = .81$ for Internal Obstacle composite score).
Women in Politics Obstacles Scale (WO): Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The two-factor model with *External* and *Internal* correlated factors not only resulted in good fit indexes (CFI = .97; TLI = .96; RMSEA = .058, \( \text{CI}_{90\%} = .00-.09 \)), but also had a nonsignificant chi-square, \( \chi^2 (19) = 29.44, p = .059 \). These findings supported the view that the factor structure, resulting from exploratory analyses on sub-sample A, reproduced sub-sample B data quite well. All the factor loadings reported in Figure 1 (Panel A) were statically significant and mirrored those reported in Table 1 (Panel A). The correlation of the External factor with the In-
FIGURE 1
Panel A: two-factor confirmatory factor analysis model of WO (Women Obstacles) items
(EXT = External Obstacles; INT = Internal Obstacles).
Panel B: hierarchical confirmatory factor analysis model of WOC (Women Obstacles Coping) item with four first-order factors (MED = Mass Media Coping Efficacy; EMP = Empowerment Coping Efficacy; CON = Conciliation Coping Efficacy; GK = Gate-Keeping Coping Efficacy) and one second-order factor.
ternal factor was again positive and statistically significant. The two-factor model with External and Internal correlated factors was also compared to alternative models in order to rule out the possibility that alternative models could account for the observed data as well as the model implied by the earlier exploratory analyses. In particular, the two-factor model with uncorrelated factors resulted in a statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (20) = 41.64, p < .01$, as well as in a significant worse fit than the model with correlated factors, $\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 12.20, p < .001$. Because the correlated factor model yielded a better fit to data than the uncorrelated model, we investigated whether the correlation of Internal and External obstacles could be attributed to a single first-order factor or to a hierarchical arrangement of two first-order and one second-order factors.3

The single first-order factor model, with both External and Internal factor markers loading on it, was rejected due to a significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (20) = 134.54, p < .001$, as well as to a significantly worse fit than the model with two correlated factors, $\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 105.10, p < .001$. Likewise, the hierarchical factor model yielded both a significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (20) = 47.11, p < .001$, and a worse fit than the model with two correlated factors, $\Delta\chi^2 (1) = 18.67, p < .01$. To conclude, the confirmation stage revealed that none of the more parsimonious alternative models improved the two-factor model with correlated factors, that was the best fitting model for the WO factor markers. Factor reliability assessed by the $\omega$ coefficient resulted in satisfactory values: $\omega = .73$ and $\omega = .82$, respectively, for External and Internal obstacle factors, thus showing that the selected WO markers provide a reliable assessment of obstacles perceived by women politicians.

Women in Politics Coping Efficacy Scale (WOC): Exploratory Factor Analysis

The WOC calibration process mirrored the WO calibration process, with a preliminary EFA — on sub-sample A data — aimed to establish the number of meaningful core factors, and with a set of iterative EFAs — on sub-sample B data — aimed to select factor markers that reliably assess the core factors. Despite seven eigenvalues greater than one (11.56, 1.89, 1.74, 1.59, 1.30, 1.27, 1.04) and despite a statistically significant goodness-of-fit statistic, $\chi^2 (402) = 662.58, p < .001$, the scree-plot revealed a four-factor solution accounting for about 50% of the whole variance. The first factor after PROMAX rotation loaded WOC items tapping into coping efficacy with male Gate-keeping (such as items #14, #29, #36, #28, and #15 in Appendix B). The second factor loaded WOC items tapping into Empowerment coping efficacy (such as items #8, #9, #20, #23, and #24 in Appendix B). The third factor loaded WOC items tapping into Mass Media coping efficacy (such as items #27, #37, #38 in Appendix B). Finally, the fourth factor loaded WOC items tapping into Conciliation coping efficacy (such as items #5, #33, #6, and #4 in Appendix B). These findings supported the view that women successfully elected to National or Local Councils evaluated their efficacy in coping with different obstacles along four major core dimensions.

Once we established a four-factor solution as the reference structure of WOC items, we moved toward the selection of simple factor markers. To summarize this process we present results from the last of an iterative set of exploratory analyses, that is, the one resulting in the retention of 12 factor markers (highlighted in bold type in Appendix B).

In spite of the fact that three eigenvalues greater than one were extracted (5.41, 1.48, 1.20), goodness-of-fit was statistically significant for a three-factor solution, $\chi^2 (33) = 88.93, p < .001$, but not for the four-factor solution, $\chi^2 (24) = 23.96, p = .46$. This finding supported the de-
cision to retain four factors for rotation (see Table 1, Panel B). Factors 1 to 4 properly loaded Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping factor markers, respectively. The size of primary loadings varied from .44 to .86, and there were no secondary loadings greater than .15. The four factors were significantly and positively intercorrelated. In particular, the coefficients of the Mass Media coping efficacy factor, with Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping were $r = .35, r = .29$, and $r = .42$, respectively. Likewise, the Empowerment coping efficacy factor was associated with Conciliation and Gate-keeping $r = .32$ and $r = .43$. Finally, Conciliation and Gate-keeping factors resulted in a coefficient of $r = .33$. These findings provided indirect support for the existence of a general higher order coping efficacy factor along with specific coping efficacy factors. This hypothesis will be tested later by using CFA analyses. To conclude, the selection of WOC factor markers yielded four composite scores, each comprised of three items. Cronbach’s coefficients were above the conventional standard (i.e., $\alpha = .76, \alpha = .83, \alpha = .76, \alpha = .78$ for Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping, respectively).

Women in Politics Coping Efficacy Scale (WOC): Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The four-factor model with Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping coping efficacy correlated factors resulted in good relative and absolute fit-indexes (i.e., CFI = .99; TLI = .99; RMSEA = .029, CI90% = .00-06) as well as in a nonsignificant chi-square value, $\chi^2 (48) = 54.59, p = .24$, showing that the hypothesized model, based on exploratory analyses carried out on sub-sample A, reproduced sub-sample B data quite well. The four factors were significantly and positively intercorrelated (all $rs$ were in the range of .40-.60). As a result, the alternative four-factor model with uncorrelated factors yielded a significant chi-square goodness-of-fit value, $\chi^2 (54) = 190.66, p < .001$, as well as a worse fit than the four-factor model with correlated factors, $\Delta \chi^2 (6) = 136.07, p < .001$.

Two alternative models were then tested to account for such a large overlapping of coping efficacy factors. The one-factor model, with Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping factor markers loading on it, was rejected due to a significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (54) = 326.03, p < .001$, as well as to a significant worse fit than the model with four correlated factors, $\Delta \chi^2 (4) = 271.44, p < .001$. In contrast, a hierarchical factor model, positing a general coping efficacy factor along with specific coping efficacy factors, yielded a chi-square goodness-of-fit statistic of about the same size as the four-factor model with correlated factors, $\chi^2 (50) = 54.81, p = .30$. This model, whose relative and absolute fit-indexes were much above the required standard (i.e., CFI = .99; TLI = .99; RMSEA = .024, CI90% = .00-06) was not significantly different from the four-factor model with correlated factors, $\Delta \chi^2 (2) = 0.22, p = .89$. According to Mulaik (2001), however, the hierarchical model provides us with a more parsimonious account of the observed data (i.e., four-factor loadings of the second-order factor on the first order factors were estimated instead of six-factor correlations) as well as with a more articulated picture of the structure of WOC factor markers in which random error and systematic error are taken into account (Figure 1, Panel B). All factor loadings of the first-order factors were statically significant and varying in the range .56-.93, .57-.92, .62-.82 and .60-.81, for Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping coping efficacy factor markers. Likewise, all factor loadings of the second-order factors were statically significant and approximately of the same size. Overall these
findings strongly support the existence of a general coping efficacy factor along with specific coping efficacy factors for difficulties women faced in their political carrier.

Reliability coefficients for first-order factors, assessed via CFA, resulted in $\omega = .84$, $\omega = .83$, $\omega = .75$, $\omega = .78$, for Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping specific coping efficacy, respectively. After we computed the indirect effect of the second-order factor on all coping efficacy factor markers (as the product of the second-order factor loadings times first-order factor loadings), the reliability coefficients for the General Coping Efficacy resulted in fairly high value ($\omega = .89$). These results showed that the selected WOC markers provided a reliable assessment of coping strategies for obstacles perceived by women politicians.

Factorial Invariance of WO and WOC Scales Across Left-Wing and Right-Wing Women

So far, we have carried out our confirmatory factor analyses, based on a single sample of respondents. In this paragraph, the main concern is whether the WO and WOC measurement models are invariant across left-wing and right-wing women, this variable being of noteworthy importance in political psychology. To this purpose, we broke the whole sample ($N = 349$) down into a sub-sample of left-wing women ($n = 248$) and right-wing women ($n = 101$), and tested whether the best fitting factor models of WO and WOC markers were invariant with respect to the political orientation. As to the WO factor markers, we carried out a multi-sample analysis of the two-factor models with correlated factors and compared it to the following models in which factor loadings were constrained to be equal and in which both loadings and factor correlation were constrained to be equal. According to Byrne (2006), the invariance of factor structure is supported if the fit of the constrained model(s) is non-statistically different from the unconstrained one. The unconstrained model of the WO factor markers resulted in a non-statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (38) = 42.13$, $p = .30$, as well as in satisfactory fit indexes (i.e., CFI = .99; TLI = .98; RMSEA = .026, CI90% = .00-.06), in the multi-group analysis. Likewise, the model with constrained loadings resulted in a non-statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (44) = 49.57$, $p = .26$, as well as in satisfactory fit indexes (i.e., CFI = .98; TLI = .98; RMSEA = .028, CI90% = .00-.06). Finally, the model with both loadings and factor correlation constrained to be equal resulted in a non-statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (45) = 50.06$, $p = .28$, as well as in satisfactory fit indexes (i.e., CFI = .99; TLI = .98; RMSEA = .026, CI90% = .00-.06). Both the constrained models did not differ statistically from the unconstrained model, $\Delta \chi^2 (6) = 7.44$, $p = .28$, and $\Delta \chi^2 (7) = 7.93$, $p = .34$, thus supporting the factor invariance of the WO factor markers across the two political orientations. As to the WOC, we followed the same analytic strategy: the unconstrained model was compared to alternative models, in which the loadings were constrained to be equal across groups. Because the unconstrained model of the WOC was a hierarchical factor model, the equality constraints were first imposed to the first-order loadings and then to both first-order and second-order loadings. The unconstrained model of the WOC factor markers resulted in a statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (100) = 142.45$, $p < .01$, but the other fit-indexes were above their respective standard (i.e., CFI = .98; TLI = .97; RMSEA = .035, CI90% = .02-.05). The model with first-order factor loadings constrained to be equal also resulted in a statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (108) = 152.91$, $p < .01$; however, its fit did not differ from that of the unconstrained model, $\Delta \chi^2 (8) = 10.46$, $p = .23$. The model with both first-order and second order
factor loadings constrained to be equal was also statistically significant, $\chi^2 (112) = 168.57$, $p < .01$; however, its fit differed from that of the unconstrained model, $\Delta \chi^2 (12) = 26.12$, $p < .05$. The inspection of lagrangian multipliers revealed that the equality constraint for the empowerment coping efficacy first-order factor on the general coping second-order factor should be released. We, thus, compared the unconstrained model to the model in which all factor loadings were constrained to be equal, but the loading of the empowerment coping efficacy first-order factor on the general coping second-order factor. This comparison resulted in a non-statistically significant difference, $\Delta \chi^2 (11) = 11.69$, $p = .38$, thus showing that the WOC measurement model was virtually invariant across political groups.

A Structural Model Account of WO and WOC Relations

After we identified the best fitting structure for the WO and WOC factor markers and tested their factor invariance, a logical question arose: “How were perceived obstacles and perceived coping efficacy factors related?” To answer this question, we compared two alternative structural models. The first model regressed the WOC first-order factors on the WO factors (Figure 2, Panel A). The second structural model regressed the WOC second-order factor on the WO factors (Figure 2, Panel B). This strategy was needed in order to investigate whether specific coping efficacy factors or general coping efficacy factors are influenced by different perceptions of obstacles, as it is technically impossible to simultaneously test for both the hypotheses (i.e., no perceived obstacle factors may affect a specific coping factor both directly, as in Figure 2, Panel A, and indirectly, as in Figure 2, Panel B).

The first model (Figure 2, Panel A) yielded a statistically significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (157) = 199.44$, $p = .012$, indicating that the model fitted the data quite well, considering the relatively large sample size ($N = 349$), which may lead to virtually reject any reasonably well-fitting model, only on the inspection of chi-square. This conclusion was also supported by good comparative and absolute fit-indexes (i.e., CFI = .98; TLI = .98; RMSEA = .028), for the model in which specific coping efficacy factors were regressed onto external and internal obstacle factors. Before getting to the interpretation of the model parameters, we compared this model with the alternative one, depicted in Figure 2. In particular, the model in which the general coping efficacy factor regressed onto External and Internal obstacle factors (Figure 2, Panel B) yielded a significant chi-square, $\chi^2 (162) = 213.71$, $p < .001$, as well as a significantly worse fit, $\Delta \chi^2 (5) = 14.49$, $p < .05$, than the model in which specific coping components were hypothesized.

As expected, the inspection of the measurement model was consistent with earlier EFAs and CFAs, carried out on WO and WOC factor markers separately, with all factor loadings attaining the conventional levels of statistical significance. More importantly to the purpose of this subsection, the inspection of the $\gamma$s structural model parameters revealed that External and Internal obstacle factors significantly predicted specific coping efficacy factors (Figure 2, Panel A). In particular, whereas Mass Media coping efficacy was related only to the Internal obstacle factor ($\gamma = -.23$), the Empowerment coping efficacy was related to the Internal obstacle factor ($\gamma = -.23$) and
to a lesser extent to the External obstacle factor ($\gamma = .19$). Similarly, Conciliation and Gate-keeping coping efficacy factors were related to both Internal obstacle factor ($\gamma$s = -.28 and -.25, respectively) and to the External obstacle factor ($\gamma$s = .28 and .27, respectively).

As a whole, these results showed that specific coping efficacy factors, rather than general coping efficacy factors, are relevant to face both external and internal obstacles perceived by women in politics. With the exception of Mass Media coping efficacy, whose elicitation depended mostly on lesser perception of Internal obstacles, coping efficacy factors were elicited to about the same extent by Internal and External obstacles.
In the introduction of this paper, we have set a twofold goal. First, we aimed to illustrate the construction steps of two short factor marker scales measuring women’s perceived obstacles (WO) and women’s coping efficacy (WOC) in politics. Second, we aimed to test the structural validity of these factor marker scales. Two preliminary lists of WO and WOC items, being edited to represent the major theoretical accounts in the literature (for a review see Francescato & Sorace, 2006), were administered to a group of women who were elected to National or Local Councils, and then the number of items of each list was narrowed, based on a two-step “calibration and confirmation” strategy. In the calibration stage, data from a random half of research participants were first submitted to exploratory factor analyses, yielding two oblique External and Internal obstacle factors and four oblique Mass Media, Empowerment, Conciliation, and Gate-keeping coping efficacy factors, for the WO and the WOC lists, respectively. The calibration step continued with an iterative process, which led us to the retention of four markers for each of the WO factors and three markers for each of the WOC factors. In the confirmation stage, data from the remaining random half of research participants were submitted to a set of confirmatory factor analyses, modeling the structure of the selected markers. These latter analyses not only showed the robustness of the calibration process, as a two-factor model and a four-factor model, both with correlated factors, yielded a better fit to the collected data than alternative factor models (i.e., the general factor model and the factor models with uncorrelated factors), but also allowed us to model the covariance of WO and WOC factors in terms of a hierarchical arrangement of first-order and second-order factors. Here, WO and WOC structures diverged. The WO hierarchical model failed to improve the two-factor model with correlated factors in terms of absolute and relative fit indexes. Differently, the WOC hierarchical model fitted the collected data just as well as the WOC four-factor model with correlated factors. However, the hierarchical model was preferred because of its greater parsimony and its ability to disentangle general and specific coping efficacy components. Follow-up analyses strengthened the structural validity of both scales, because the WO and WOC measurement models were virtually invariant across left-wing and right-wing political women.

In sum, based on the present data, we were able to set up two reliable multidimensional factor-marker scales including items from different major theories of women segregation in politics. Beyond supporting reliability and validity, the findings reported in this paper also have potentially important psycho-social implications. First, it looks like successful women in politics perceive male gate-keeping and discriminatory practices as central features of the External WO factor. Items describing structural/institutional obstacles also loaded on the external difficulty factor but are side aspects of it. Second, the Internal WO factor included both situational and empowerment obstacles as its central characteristics. As to the structure of coping efficacy, the present data reveals that women perceive their coping efficacy as a function of a single general factor and of four specific coping factors. This hierarchical view has some implications for modeling the process of women segregation in politics as well as in other domains. In fact, whereas specific coping factors are more likely to represent coping skills that are modeled by specific environments, such as the political one; general coping skills might be conceptually equated to persons’ styles, that are less likely to be modeled by the environment, albeit still relevant for being a successful political women.
The relations of WO and WOC factor marker scales provides further support to the conclusion that specific coping factors are modeled by specific obstacle factors. First, the model positing specific coping efficacy factors as being related to external and internal obstacle perceptions results in a significantly better fit than the model positing a single general coping efficacy component. This finding is consistent with the view that specific and environmentally modeled coping abilities, beside a general and stylistic personal coping ability might be required in order to successfully overcome obstacles preventing women from taking leading positions in politics. Second, the inspection of the structural coefficients reveals that the greater the perception of external obstacles (e.g., “Men devalue women’s achievements attributing them to luck”), the greater the ability of political women, who are elected to National Parliament or to Local Councils, to cope with these difficulties by integrating stereotypically male with stereotypically female characteristics through an Empowerment process, by balancing work and family duties in a Conciliation process. Conversely, the greater the perception of internal obstacles (e.g., “Women choose not to compete for places of very high power”), the lesser the ability of political women to put any specific coping strategy into practice.

This picture of obstacles-coping relations, albeit based on items that are politics specific, may shed light on a more general process that prevents women from attaining leading positions in other difficult environments (e.g., top-management positions in big companies). It is worth noting that both the WO and WOC factor markers can be generalized to many professional fields in which women perceive serious obstacles to their career. Not only should further studies go in the direction of testing this hypothesis, but also political actions, aimed to increase women’s participation in politics as well as in other specific environments, should strive to empower specific coping efficacy components, rather than focus on general persons’ styles.

Re-focusing on applying WO to political studies, the following steps should also go in the direction of ascertaining which types of obstacles are perceived as most important by all women involved in politics (e.g., activists, local and national politicians), and which obstacles may vary according to women’s political orientation, age, length of experience, type of political office held (local, national, international). Further studies should, therefore, explore what obstacles might be detected at an activist level of political involvement, which, in turn, may contribute to the drop-out rate of elected women. Above all, we hope that future research can examine which factors may help women politicians cope with different types of obstacles, suggesting which actions could best be taken to reduce turnover and increase female representation.

NOTES

1. We wish to thank Albert Bandura, Gianvittorio Caprara, and Leonie Huddy for their help in formulating the initial items of this scale.
2. Items that were dropped out from scale development analyses failed to meet one of the following criteria: 1) an average rating in the range 2-6; 2) a kurtosis and/or skewness coefficient lower than 1; 3) a standard deviation greater than 1. Item 17 of the WO was dropped out because of the high rate of missing value (> 20%).
3. Statistically, both the single first-order factor model and the hierarchical factor model are more parsimonious than the two-factor model with correlated factors, because both the former models account for the observed data with relatively less free parameters than the latter model, as one can see by their relatively greater number of df (Mulaik, 2001). Accordingly, the single first-order factor model and the hierarchical factor model are equally parsimonious; however, they differ in their ability to model different sources of error variance in the dataset. According to the Bentler and Weeks (1980) representation, the
single first-order factor model is represented by a single set of equations in which each observed variable \( I_i = F_i + E_i \) with \( F_i \) representing the variance of the latent variable and \( E_i \) in the equation representing a mixture of random and systematic error variance, that is not further distinguishable. Differently, the hierarchical factor model is represented by two sets of equations. The first set mirrored the one described earlier, in which each item \( I_i = F_i + E_i \). In addition, the second set of equations specified that each latent variable \( F_i = F_i^2 + D_i \) with \( F_i \) representing the variance of other latent variables (i.e., a second order factor) and \( D_i \) representing specific error variance. Taken together, the two sets of equations allow us to make a distinction between random and systematic error variance by modeling them by error terms \( E_i \) and \( D_i \), respectively.

4. \( \omega = \frac{\sum \lambda_i^2}{\sum \lambda_i^2 + \sum Var(e_i)} \) where \( \lambda_i \) = the standardized factor loadings for the factor and \( Var(e_i) \) = the error variance associated with the individual indicator variables.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX A
Descriptive Statistics and Item-Factor Correlations for WO Preliminary Item List.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WO ITEM (Reference Theory)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>External</th>
<th>Internal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lack of a sufficient number of senior women to act as mentors. (STR)</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>.20**</td>
<td>.13*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women have weaker professional curricula. (STR)</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>.08**</td>
<td>.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Top positions are too stressing and demanding. (GD)</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
<td>-0.54</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td>.75**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Women do not want to live mutilated lives. (GD)</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>-0.90</td>
<td>.17**</td>
<td>.79**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Organizational practices make it hard for women to conciliate work and family responsibilities. (SIT)</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>-0.76</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>.18**</td>
<td>.72**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Women are perceived by their male colleagues as less influential. (GK).</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>-0.70</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.26**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Powerful women threaten male identity. (GK)</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>-1.18</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td>.20**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Men resent and fear career women. (GK)</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>-1.20</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Men envy women when they can be both political leaders and mothers. (GK)</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>-0.86</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>.85**</td>
<td>.20**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Men devalue women’s achievements attributing them to luck. (GK)</td>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>-0.70</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
<td>.78**</td>
<td>.21**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Men are assigned to more influential commissions. (GK)</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>-1.38</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>.46**</td>
<td>.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Women’s participative management leadership style is seen by men as a lack of authority and confidence. (GD)</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>-0.46</td>
<td>-0.61</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Women abandon the race to the top positions because they find politics too competitive and conflicting. (GD)</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>-0.48</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.59**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Women choose not to compete for places of very high power. (GD)</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>-1.10</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>.69**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Powerful women hinder their female colleagues. (GK)</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.76</td>
<td>.38**</td>
<td>.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Women cannot guarantee the total commitment required by top positions since they have to conciliate public and private roles. (SIT)</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-1.01</td>
<td>.15**</td>
<td>.48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Women have fewer opportunities to appear on TV and on printed press. (MED)</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-1.34</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.40**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Bold-type items were retained as WOC factor markers. Italics items were excluded from factor analyses based on qualitative inspection of response distribution. WO = Women Obstacle Scale; WOC = Women Obstacle Coping Scales; STR = Structural Approach; GD = Gender Differences Approach; SIT = Situational Approach; GK = Gate-Keeping Approach; MED = Mass Media Approach.

* p < .05. ** p < .01.
### APPENDIX B
Descriptive Statistics and Item-Factor for WOC Preliminary Set of Items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOC ITEM (Reference Theory)</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>MED</th>
<th>EMP</th>
<th>CON</th>
<th>GK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I can always find powerful mentors to help me progress in my career. (STR)</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>21**</td>
<td>23**</td>
<td>04**</td>
<td>16**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I can always find inspiration in groundbreaking women. (STR)</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.82</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>19**</td>
<td>11**</td>
<td>14**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. My professional curriculum enables me to compete very successfully with my male colleagues. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>-0.95</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>24**</td>
<td>37**</td>
<td>14**</td>
<td>45**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I can handle well the stress that top positions involve. (CON)</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>1.48</td>
<td>-0.62</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>24**</td>
<td>42**</td>
<td>47**</td>
<td>45**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. I can balance my family responsibilities with the demands of my public obligations. (CON)</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>27**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>86**</td>
<td>33**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I can always manage my work life well even when I have serious family worries. (CON)</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>-0.55</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>36**</td>
<td>79**</td>
<td>35**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I can pursue ambitious goals more effectively than my male colleagues. (EMP)</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>40**</td>
<td>83**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. I have all the qualities needed to reach the top positions in my party. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>-0.90</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>55**</td>
<td>29**</td>
<td>40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. I can be an effective leader even under the most difficult conditions. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>-0.56</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>59**</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>57**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. I can handle male colleagues who try to interrupt me when I talk and try to prevail over me. (GK)</td>
<td>5.82</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>-1.02</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>45**</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>55**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. I can lobby effectively with my female colleagues. (EMP)</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>-0.44</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>18**</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>10**</td>
<td>31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. I can find ways to overcome institutional norms and practices that limit women’s opportunities. (GK)</td>
<td>5.02</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>40**</td>
<td>37**</td>
<td>52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. I can be an effective mentor for my younger female colleagues. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>32**</td>
<td>14**</td>
<td>30**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I can always effectively overcome discriminatory practices of males in power. (GK)</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>-0.45</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>27**</td>
<td>46**</td>
<td>31**</td>
<td>56**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. I can get my viewpoint accepted even when my male colleagues oppose it. (GK)</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>-0.77</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>34**</td>
<td>50**</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>81**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I can get my parents and siblings to support my pursuits. (CON)</td>
<td>5.66</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>-1.26</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>26**</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>15**</td>
<td>21**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I can effectively silence male colleagues when they gossip about other women. (GK)</td>
<td>6.07</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>-1.16</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>22**</td>
<td>46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I can fully maintain my feminine identity even when I am the only woman in a group of forceful males. (EMP)</td>
<td>6.44</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>-1.77</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>25**</td>
<td>31**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. I can manage positions of great responsibility at the top of my organization. (EMP)</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>-1.40</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>23**</td>
<td>47**</td>
<td>31**</td>
<td>43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. I can imagine myself as the leader of my party. (EMP)</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>-0.61</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>42**</td>
<td>51**</td>
<td>26**</td>
<td>38**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. I can deal with problems as well or even better than my male colleagues. (EMP)</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>-1.00</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>31**</td>
<td>47**</td>
<td>21**</td>
<td>44**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Women with whom I work think that I have the qualities for holding a top position. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.66</td>
<td>1.19</td>
<td>-0.96</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>32**</td>
<td>43**</td>
<td>25**</td>
<td>43**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. I always find effective ways to realize my achievements. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>40**</td>
<td>86**</td>
<td>37**</td>
<td>55**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. I can achieve the most ambitious objectives. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>-0.90</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>41**</td>
<td>90**</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>54**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. I can gain my partner’s total support in what I undertake. (CON)</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>-1.32</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>23**</td>
<td>27**</td>
<td>44**</td>
<td>27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. I can get my party to support equal opportunities for men and women. (GK)</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>-0.86</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>38**</td>
<td>27**</td>
<td>37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. I can gain access to television to explain my views. (MED)</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-1.09</td>
<td>88**</td>
<td>47**</td>
<td>34**</td>
<td>40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. I can hold my own when dealing with very powerful men. (GK)</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>-0.99</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>44**</td>
<td>48**</td>
<td>29**</td>
<td>86**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. I can win approval for my proposals even in the presence of strong prejudices against women. (GK)</td>
<td>5.43</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>-0.86</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>45**</td>
<td>53**</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>86**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. I can influence important decisions in my organization. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>-0.79</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>41**</td>
<td>55**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>51**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. I can maintain my identity as a woman while pursuing a political career. (EMP)</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>-1.48</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>20**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>34**</td>
<td>48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Men with whom I work are certain that I have the qualities for holding the most powerful positions. (EMP)</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>-0.54</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>37**</td>
<td>36**</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>42**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. I can manage my political task without sacificing my private life. (CON)</td>
<td>4.70</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>-0.49</td>
<td>26**</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>82**</td>
<td>31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. I can get my male colleagues to trust me completely. (GK)</td>
<td>5.64</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>-0.59</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>25**</td>
<td>43**</td>
<td>39**</td>
<td>40**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. I can gain considerable respect even from those who disagree with my points of view. (GK)</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>21**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>33**</td>
<td>46**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. I can perform very effectively activities that are normally dominated by males. (GK)</td>
<td>5.89</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>-0.84</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>27**</td>
<td>48**</td>
<td>37**</td>
<td>58**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. I can always gain access to newspapers to express my points of view. (MED)</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-0.95</td>
<td>85**</td>
<td>47**</td>
<td>35**</td>
<td>47**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. I can always gain visibility through television. (MED)</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.88</td>
<td>81**</td>
<td>28**</td>
<td>18**</td>
<td>30**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Bold-type items were retained as WOC factor markers. Italic items were excluded from factor analyses based on qualitative inspection of response distribution. WO = Women Obstacle Scale; WOC = Women Obstacle Coping Scales; STR = Structural Approach; GD = Gender Differences Approach; SIT = Situational Approach; GK = Gate-Keeping Approach; MED = Mass Media Approach. **p < .01.