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Gender and Party Stereotypes in the Evaluation of U.S. Senate Candidates

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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Rebecca Madelyn Shafer entitled "Gender and Party Stereotypes in the Evaluation of U.S. Senate Candidates." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.

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Gender and Party Stereotypes in the Evaluation of U.S. Senate Candidates

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Rebecca Madelyn Shafer
August 2013

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Dedication

To my loving and supportive family

Acknowledgements

I would like start my thanking my family for their help along this journey. First, I would like to thank my husband Walter, for his encouragement in pursuing my PhD and for his patience as I completed the process. I am also thankful to my two amazing daughters Brooke and Ember, who are the lights of my life. I hope my girls are inspired to pursue their dreams and that they realize they can do anything they set their minds to. I would also like to thank my father for nurturing and caring for me my whole life. Your love and support laid the foundation for who I am today and I am grateful for all the sacrifices you made. Thanks also go out to my mother, who always encouraged me to pursue my dreams. Finally, I would like to thank my in-laws for their assistance over the years; I am grateful and lucky to have both of you in my life.

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Abstract

In the United States, there has been a gradual increase of women elected to office, yet women are still drastically underrepresented at every level. One potential obstacle to the electoral success of women is the propensity of voters to stereotype candidates based on their gender. However, voters also stereotype political candidates based on their party affiliation. Therefore, it is important to understand how stereotypes regarding the Republican and Democratic Parties may interact with stereotypes concerning men and women.

While experimental research has been utilized extensively to test the effect of gender stereotypes on candidate evaluations; almost all of this research did not use the party affiliation of the candidate as a control. This dissertation adds to the experimental work on gender stereotyping by controlling for candidate gender and candidate party affiliation in an original survey experiment.

Undergraduate students at the University of Tennessee were asked to evaluate a hypothetical male or female U.S. Senate candidate in either the Democratic or Republican Party based on a one page biography and issue position vignette they read. The students were asked to rate the candidate on a variety of evaluation measures including: overall competency, electability, ideological orientation, personality traits, and issue competency. To ascertain the impact of the candidates' gender and party affiliation in above mentioned evaluation measures I executed several independent sample t-tests to compare various group means.

The results suggest that the gender of the candidate does not play a significant role in the perceived competency or electability of the candidate, or inferring a candidate's ideological orientation. However, for trait and issue evaluations, the results suggest there are complicated interactions between the candidate's gender, the candidate's party affiliation as well as the respondents' gender. The trait and issue evaluation results indicate that partisan stereotypes are prevalent and that both parties may have taken on gendered characteristics. Also, while trait and issue evaluation results indicate that gender stereotypes are used, it appears that gender stereotypes are conditioned by the candidates' party affiliation and influenced by the respondents' gender.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Explanation of Research Design

In 2013, women account for 18.1% of the seats in the 113th U.S. Congress. In the Senate, 20 women (16D, 4R) hold office, and 77 women (58D, 19R) serve in the House of Representatives (Center for American Women and Politics [CAWP] 2013b). While there has been a gradual increase in the amount of women serving office, there is still a huge disparity between the number of men and women elected to the United States Congress. Since women comprise over half of the United States population but are descriptively represented by less than a fifth of the members of the U.S. Congress, it is possible that the female population is not substantively represented.

It has been argued that descriptive representation is an important factor in the legitimacy of democratic institutions (Mansbridge 1999). Research suggests that increased numbers of women in office lead to an increase in political involvement, political interest and external efficacy of female individuals; and increased consideration of issues substantively important to women (Atkeson 2003; Atkeson and Carrillo 2007; Thomas, 1994). Since the presence of female officeholders provides a symbolic and substantive context that increases political engagement and representation of female citizens, it is important to determine the factors that may preclude women from obtaining elected office at numbers that are equivalent to men.

Research on the underrepresentation of women in elected office in the United States posits that there are several factors that may attribute to the lack of gender parity. While factors like party recruitment of candidates, male incumbency advantage, pre-candidacy occupations, political ambition, and gender stereotyping help explain why there is a lack of women in political office, none of these factors tell the whole story (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002; Burrell 1994; Carroll 1994; Crowder-Meyer 2011; Matland and King 2002; Lawless & Pearson 2008). Therefore, it is necessary that research in each of these areas continues so that we can get a more precise account of the mechanisms influencing the electoral success of women in American politics.

While previous research on gender stereotyping has led to important insights on how a candidate's gender may impact evaluations made by individuals, most of the work in this area has suffered from a serious design flaw, failing to account for partisan stereotypes. Since partisanship is one of the most important voting heuristics, the exclusion of the candidates' party affiliation may have led respondents to rely on the candidates' gender to inform their decisions. Therefore, previous research was unable to consider the possibility that the candidates' party affiliation may overwhelm the candidates' gender, or that there may be complex interactions between gender and party. This dissertation contributes to the literature on gender stereotyping by addressing how gender stereotypes interact with partisan stereotypes.

The rest of this chapter will proceed as follows. To get a better understanding of how these two heuristics may interact with one another, I will briefly describe the role of stereotypes, address the stereotypes associated with men and women, as well as stereotypes associated with the Republican and Democratic Parties. I will then discuss the results from the limited amount of work that has specifically addressed how these two stereotypes impact candidate evaluations. Based on this research, I will then specify the primary research questions of this dissertation. Next, I will explain how I answer my research questions with the use of an original survey experiment that accounts for the candidates' gender as well as the candidates' party affiliation. Finally I will discuss the dissertation structure, summarizing what will be discussed in each chapter.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are cognitive structures that can be used by humans to help process the vast amounts of information we receive on a daily basis. While stereotypes can be used effectively as an information processing shortcut, they may lead individuals to make inaccurate or biased assessments about other individuals. Previous empirical work on the use of stereotypes in candidate assessments has helped us better understand the impact of stereotypes on politicians. While the separate research

agendas on partisan stereotypes and gender stereotypes have increased our knowledge of the role of stereotypes in candidate evaluations, there is a gap in our understanding of how stereotypes pertaining to gender and party may interact with each other to affect how candidates are evaluated.

It is believed that individuals may utilize traditional gender stereotypes when evaluating male and female candidates because stereotypes are an efficient way to process information and a candidate's gender is a readily accessible cue. Therefore, it is important to understand how stereotypes regarding gender affect the electoral success of male and female candidates. The literature suggests that a candidate's gender does not seem to influence evaluations that citizens have regarding a candidate's electability and overall competency. Studies that control for the effects of incumbency posit that women are just as likely as men to win (Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Matland and King 2002; Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton 1997; Thomas and Wilcox 1998). However research does suggest that traditional gender stereotypes influence perceptions regarding the ideological orientation, policy competency and personality traits of male and female candidates (see review in Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002). Female candidates are more likely to be attributed stereotypical feminine traits like "compassion", are perceived as being more competent with social issues such as health care and education, and are evaluated as more liberal than their male counterparts (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b; Koch 2000, 2002). While it may not seem detrimental that male and female candidates are ascribed with different personality traits and that each gender is found to be more competent in certain policy areas, research suggests that people believe that stereotypical masculine traits are better suited for politics, and that policy areas in which men are considered superior and more important than the policy areas in which women are rated superior (Chang and Hitchon 1997; Hansen and Otero 2006; Hitchon and Chang 1995; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Lawless 2004; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989). Therefore, while people may not be explicitly biased against

female candidates, the traditional gender stereotypes they associate with male and female candidates may have an implicit impact on the electoral success of female candidates.

While the gender of a candidate may be a readily accessible cue and have a significant role in how citizens evaluate political candidates, it is not the only cue that is readily accessible to citizens. A candidate's party affiliation is considered the most widely used heuristic for drawing inferences about the candidate's ideological orientation and for assigning issue positions to the candidate (Conover and Feldman 1989; Hamill, Lodge, and Blake 1985; Lau and Redlawsk 2001; Rahn 1993). Democrats are stereotyped to be superior on social issues like health care and education; whereas Republicans are stereotyped to be superior on issues such as controlling crime and defense (Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2003; Winter 2010). A recent line of research suggests that each party may be attributed with stereotypical gendered traits. Republican candidates tend to be rated higher on stereotypical masculine traits, whereas Democratic candidates tend to be rated higher on stereotypical feminine traits (Hayes 2005). Therefore, the research suggests that citizens have stereotypes regarding the Republican and Democratic Parties, and that citizens use these partisan stereotypes to make cognitively efficient inferences about the candidates in each party.

In recent years there has been an increase in research that focuses on how the interaction between gender and party affect candidate evaluations, however the number of studies is limited, and the results have been mixed. The bit of survey research that has been done recently has produced varied results, with some studies indicating that party is the dominant cue while others indicate that gender transcends party (Huddy & Capelos 2002; Hayes 2011; Sanbonmatsu & Dolan 2009). Experimental work is even more limited and the results suggest that gender and party interact (Riggle et al. 1997; King and Matland 2003). The mixed results and the limited number of studies indicate that more research is necessary to gain a better understanding of how these two heuristics

affect the evaluations individuals make regarding political candidates, and if and/or how they may account for the disparity in electoral success of women in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

Research Questions

The primary research question of this dissertation is: When citizens are provided with the candidates' party affiliation, does it impact their utilization of gender stereotypes when forming evaluations about the candidate? More specifically: Are candidates primarily stereotyped by their party affiliation and thus unaffected by gender stereotypes? Does the gender of the candidate affect evaluations even when party has been taken into account? Or do gender and partisan stereotypes simultaneously impact candidate evaluations?

If the candidates are primarily stereotyped by their party affiliation then candidate evaluations across the two parties should be significantly different, but the evaluations between the male and female candidates within each party should be similar. If gender stereotypes transcend partisan stereotypes, candidate evaluations within each party should be significantly different yet same-gendered candidates across the two parties should have similar evaluations. However it might also be possible that gender stereotypes and partisan stereotypes interact, with partisan stereotypes causing statistically significant different evaluations between the two parties, and gender stereotypes causing statistically significant different evaluations between male and female candidates within each party.

I only address the primary research question on the evaluation measures pertaining to electability, overall competency and candidate ideology, because there is no theoretical justification to compare the candidates across the two parties on these measures. Therefore, I only compare the evaluations between male and female candidates within each party. However, since research indicates that parties are attributed with stereotypical traits and issues competencies, I address the

more specific research questions by analyzing the candidates within each party and between the two parties.

Research Design

The work of this dissertation tries to provide more insight on how the candidates' gender and party affiliation affect candidate evaluations, by creating an original survey experiment. While experiments are not used frequently in political science, they have been used quite extensively to study candidate evaluations (McGraw 2011). Experiments are useful to the study of candidate evaluations because they allow researchers to control for all other factors that may confound the results.

The survey experiment used in this dissertation was administered to undergraduate students in various political science courses at the University of Tennessee. The survey experiment was divided into three sections--a pre-treatment questionnaire, the experimental treatment, and a post-treatment questionnaire. The first section asked the students to answer basic demographic questions, their party identification and ideology; as well as questions regarding their political interest and political knowledge. The second section consisted of a one page candidate vignette that provided a brief introduction about the candidate followed by the candidate's issue positions on six policy areas. The students chose to read the Democratic or Republican candidate vignette based on his/her party identification. The gender of the candidate was manipulated and given to the students randomly. After the students read one candidate vignette, they were asked a series of questions in the third section that allowed me to analyze how the candidates were evaluated on a variety of measures. The students were asked to evaluate the candidate's likelihood of electoral success, his/her overall competency, ideological orientation, personality traits, and issue competency.

Methodology and Findings

Utilizing the various evaluation measures from the third section of the survey experiment, I performed independent sample t-tests to compare group means. First, I examined comparisons between male and female candidates within each party on all of the evaluation measures. Then for the trait and issue evaluations, I also compared group means between the Republican and Democratic candidates, which also includes comparisons of same-gender candidates of each party.

The results indicate that evaluations made by respondents concerning the candidate's electability, overall competency or inferring the candidate ideological orientation are not influenced by the candidate's gender. However, evaluations pertaining to the candidate's personality traits and issue competency are complex, with indications that these evaluations are impacted by the candidate's gender, the candidate's party affiliation, as well as the respondent's gender.

Dissertation Structure

Chapter 2 of this dissertation provides the theoretical foundation on which this dissertation is built. The chapter will start out by explaining why stereotypes are used, how they are formed and the effect they have on information processing. Then, I will review the previous literature on partisan stereotyping and gender stereotyping to demonstrate that each of these heuristics separately impact candidate evaluations. I will then discuss the literature in sociology and political science that pertain to how these two heuristics may interact with one another. The next section of this chapter will specifically address the previous research methods that have been used to study the effect of gender stereotypes on candidate evaluations. I will discuss how election results, surveys, and experiments have led to important findings; yet all have their limitations.

Chapter Three of this dissertation provides the research design and discusses the methodology used to test my hypotheses. The chapter begins by discussing why the use of a survey experiment is valid for testing my hypotheses as well as explaining how the treatment utilized in this

dissertation varies from previous work. Next, I describe the survey experiment in detail as well as how the data was collected. Then I state my hypotheses as they relate to previous work. Finally, I discuss how I will run my empirical analysis. This section will describe how I operationalize my variables so I can employ independent sample t-tests to compare group means within each party and across both parties on the various candidate evaluation measures.

Chapter Four of this dissertation provides the research findings. The chapter begins by providing the descriptive statistics. The quantitative results are then discussed by dividing the results by each set of evaluation measures. I begin with the results from the electability and overall competency measures, followed by the results pertaining to candidate ideology. Then, I discuss the results from the personality trait assessment and finally I discuss the results from the issue competency evaluations.

Chapter Five of this dissertation begins by providing an overview of the key findings and discusses their implications. Next, I describe how the work of this dissertation contributes to the research on gender stereotyping. Finally I discuss the limitations of this dissertation and provide recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Social cognition research indicates that individuals have a limited cognitive capacity to process information. Therefore, decisions and judgments may be made via cues in the environment and previously stored knowledge. One categorization technique that can be used to process information is the utilization of stereotypes. Stereotypes are “cognitive structures containing beliefs, knowledge, trait and attribute expectations that an individual holds about members of specific groups” (Riggle et al. 1997, pg 70). Stereotypes are used as a categorization technique because they are cognitively efficient and allow an individual to evaluate themselves positively based on their own social groups. Therefore, stereotypes not only serve to help simplify individual thinking but they also are important to intergroup relationships.

Human beings are bombarded with information and must seek ways to effectively process this information. Research indicates that humans have an affinity for stereotypic categorization because it is advantageous for processing information (Fiske 1998). In the social environment, stereotypes are cognitively efficient because they allow us to make initial assessments of other people based on their social categories rather than having to understand them as individuals. While individuating information about the other person is lost in this process, the loss is necessary to process all the cognitive demands.

Stereotypes are formed through socialization, experiences, and encounters with group members (Conover and Feldman 1989; Rahn 1993). While stereotypes come from within the mind of the individual, they are also often shared by people within a culture (Stangor and Schaller 2000). Sociocultural explanations of stereotyping would assert that influential adults are the primary mechanisms for a child’s formation of beliefs about various groups and these beliefs are then perpetuated through societal mechanisms like parents, peers, religious leaders and the mass media (Hamilton and Sherman 1994; Stangor and Schaller 2000).

Stereotypes allow people to group others based on their similarities and differences. The utilization of stereotypes allows for the differentiation between groups of persons, by associating particular features to each of the differentially perceived groups (Hamilton and Sherman 1994). The features that one associates with a particular group can be considered a group prototype. Therefore, when an individual encounters a person from a specific group he/she may stereotype him/her based on past experiences with members of the same group.

When an individual thinks about a particular social group, there are features that he/she automatically associates with that group and thus it is the features of the group that he/she is more likely to assume about unfamiliar individuals in the social group. However, stereotypes are only formed when there is a perceived difference between people holding one attribute and those holding another attribute. For example, individual's can be categorized by the color of their eyes; yet eye color does not activate stereotypes about attributes that are specific to individuals with a particular eye color. However, if people believed eye color was associated with level of intelligence, an individual's eye color would activate stereotypes regarding their level of intelligence.

Stereotypes are also utilized because they are important to an individual's self-esteem. Social identity theory posits that an individual's self-esteem is tied to his/ her membership in social groups (Hamilton and Sherman 1994; Tajifel and Forgas 2000). Stereotypes are thus used to make a distinction between groups to which one belongs and groups to which does not belong. To maintain a positive identity an individual may evaluate the group he/she belongs to (in-group) as superior to some other group (out-group). This in-group/out-group distinction may also lead to an in-group bias, because the individual seeks to maintain a positive personal identity, and in order to do so his/her social groups must also maintain a positive valued distinctiveness (Hamilton and Sherman 1994; Tajifel and Forgas 2000).

Individuals are also more likely to perceive members of an out-group as homogeneous; whereas they will perceive members of the in-group as heterogeneous. Heterogeneity occurs because there are familiar individual exemplars within the in-group (Fiske 1998). The perceived homogeneity of the out-group sets the stage for stereotyping because people are more likely to make stereotypic judgments about members of an out-group when they think that there is little to no variance between the individuals in the out-group. When an individual encounters an atypical member of an out-group, he/she may consider this atypical member to be a special case and thus excluded from the primary group stereotype. This process of subtyping allows group stereotypes to remain even in the presence of the individual exemplars, because the subtyped individuals are considered a distinct group whose stereotypes differ extensively from the superordinate group (Fiske 1998). It is also possible that a smaller group within a larger group may be seen to share many characteristics of a larger group, thus they are seen as a subgroup of the larger group. In the case of subgrouping, the smaller group continues to share the stereotype content with the larger superordinate (Schneider and Bos 2011).

Stereotype activation can affect how information is obtained, interpreted, and recalled. When salient cues induce categorization, an individual's processing and representation in memory about other individuals is influenced (Hamilton and Sherman 1994). Since human beings can be grouped into a variety of social categories in which they might belong, it is possible that the context in which the individual is viewed can have an impact on which social categorizations are salient. For example, when a woman is in a room full of men her gender may be a more salient category than if she was in a room full of women or a room where gender was more equitably distributed.

Individuals have a tendency to search out information that matches the stereotypes they hold rather than information that challenges their views. When an individual encounters information that is considered inconsistent with the stereotypes he/she holds, the information may be filtered out;

whereas stereotype confirming information would receive more attention (Cameron and Trope 2004; Hamilton and Sherman 1994; Stangor and Schaller 2000). Research also indicates that individuals are predisposed to recall information that is stereotype consistent. The demands of everyday life predispose individuals to recall consistent information because it is less cognitively demanding. Only in situations where cognitive demand is low are individuals more inclined to recall stereotype-inconsistent information to resolve inconsistencies (Fiske 1998; Macrae, Hewstone and Griffiths 1993). Therefore, stereotypes may be maintained and perpetuated due to the fact that people are often cognitively overloaded and therefore reliant on the efficiency of stereotypes.

Since stereotypes are used to process information and evaluate people on a daily basis, it makes sense that they are also used to evaluate political candidates. The world of politics is so complicated that people must often rely on classification schemes to guide them in processing all the information they receive. Stereotypes are also relevant in politics because most citizens do not devote a lot of time to political matters. Social taxonomies are utilized to reduce the vast amount of information received daily into smaller units of data that are manageable. Individuals can make inferences about a candidate based on the categorization schemes that arise from cues like the candidate's party affiliation and/or gender. Since stereotypes influence how we evaluate members of a group, they can also act to structure incoming information in a way that reinforces the stereotype.

Partisan Stereotypes

Since *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960) posited that an individual's party identification is the primary mechanism utilized in voting decisions, researchers have explored why and how party identification is used to make judgments about politics. A candidate's party affiliation is a dominant cue for voters and is readily used to draw inferences about candidates (Lau and Redlawsk 2001; Rahn 1993). It is the most widely used heuristic for assigning ideological orientations and issue positions to candidates (Conover and Feldman 1989; Hamill, Lodge, and

Blake 1985). The cognitive structures that contain an individual's beliefs, knowledge and expectancies about the two major political parties in the United States can be viewed as political party stereotypes. "Partisan stereotypes are rich cognitive categories containing not only policy information but group alliances, trait judgments, specific examples of group members, and performance assessments" (Rahn 1993, 474).

Previous research also indicates that partisan stereotypes play a more prominent role in voting decisions in low information elections and when a voter's political knowledge of a candidate's stand on issues is deficient (Conover and Feldman 1982; McDermott 1998; Rahn 1993). Since stereotyping is cognitively efficient, voters are able to make electoral decisions without exerting a lot of attention to politics. Therefore, while many citizens in a democracy may be poorly informed and only moderately interested in politics, they can utilize information shortcuts such as a candidate's party label to make a rational vote choice (Downs 1957; Schaffner, Streb and Wright 2001). A candidate's party affiliation provides the voter with fairly reliable cues about a candidate's stance on a vast array of policy issues. In partisan elections, a voter simply has to look at the ballot to provide them with a partisan cue when they know nothing else about the candidate.

The Democratic and Republican parties are also stereotyped as "owning" certain issue areas. Republicans "own" issues such as defense, taxes, and controlling crime; whereas Democrats "own" issues including health care, the environment, and education (Petrocik 1996; Petrocik, Benoit and Hansen. 2003; Pope and Woon 2009; Winter 2010). Some issues such as the state of the economy are not "owned" by either party, and are more reliant on the past performance of the candidate and current events. Just as there are some policy areas that are owned by each party, Hayes (2005) asserts that there are traits associated with each party. In short, there is "partisan trait ownership." His work indicates that Democratic candidates tend to be rated higher on feminine traits such as compassion and empathy, while Republican candidates are perceived as stronger leaders than

Democratic candidates, which is a stereotypical masculine characteristic. Winter (2010) asserts that the two parties have taken on gendered characteristics. People perceive the Republican Party as more masculine and the Democratic Party as more feminine. These gendered differences between the parties are very similar to differences seen between male and female candidates.

Partisanship is also important to how in-group/out-group distinctions affect candidate evaluations. Citizens process information about candidates based on their own party identification and the candidate's party affiliation. This view of partisanship is similar to social identity theory which posits that group memberships may impact one's evaluations of members of their in-group and individuals that are part of the out-group. To maintain the positive distinctiveness from the opposing party, citizens that share the party affiliation of a candidate are more inclined to process information that affirms their expectations, and are more likely to evaluate them more positively (Festinger 1957; Zajonc 1960; Zaller 2006). However, while party identification may be a strong predictor of public opinion, "when opinion is tracked over time to control for preexisting tastes and beliefs, different partisan groups seem to be similarly influenced by information" (Green, Palmquist, and Schickler 2002: 136). Therefore, when partisans are asked to rate a candidate within their party they are more likely to be supportive of him/her, but their assessments can be altered by new information.

Since party affiliation serves as an important heuristic in candidate evaluations, when the partisan cue is removed, individuals must seek out other information about the candidate (Schaffner, Streb & Wright 2001). Research on nonpartisan elections and primary elections indicates that citizens seek out other low cost cues such as demographic information, incumbency status, and name recognition in their voting calculus (Lawless and Pearson 2008; Schaffner, Streb & Wright 2001; Squire and Smith 1988). Therefore, it is possible that a readily accessible cue such as gender of the candidate

may play a more salient role in a candidate's evaluation when their party affiliation of the candidate is unknown.

Gender Stereotypes

One demographic characteristic that is easy for people to obtain and utilize as an information shortcut is gender. Gender, along with cues such as race and age are considered "primitive categories" because they are used automatically and universally when perceiving other human beings (Hamilton and Sherman 1994, 7). Since gender is one of the first cues people use to categorize other people, it can play a significant role in how information is processed. Gender categorization is also important to how information is processed because categorization based on gender is something that is acquired early in childhood and persists into adulthood. Research indicates that children utilize gender as a form of categorization earlier than race and age and that gender as a form of categorization continues to dominate in adulthood (Fiske 1998).

Gender beliefs are multifaceted, including the views that men and women have of themselves, the social roles held by each gender, and the stereotypes people have regarding the characteristics of each gender. While each of these components can affect and influence the others, the primary focus of my dissertation is stereotypes, and therefore gender stereotypes will be the focus of my research. A gender stereotype is a set of beliefs about the characteristics of men and women. As Deaux and LaFrance (1998, 793) note, "The scope of gender stereotypes is considerable, encompassing beliefs about physical characteristics, personality traits, role-related behaviors, occupational preferences, specific competencies, and emotional dispositions."

Gender stereotypes operate in an implicit rather than explicit manner, and therefore they remain pervasive and persistent. An individual may believe that he/she is not gender-biased, but he/she may in fact hold stereotypic beliefs about gender that influence his/her behavior and

judgments (Deaux and LaFrance 1998). It is near impossible to remain unbiased because society is rich with information regarding culturally appropriate gender roles and behavior.

In the family setting, a child is informed about gender differences directly and indirectly. Children may be directly influenced because they are often conditioned to play with certain toys, wear certain clothes, or act in certain ways. Children may be indirectly influenced by lessons they learn on the roles that men and women play in the family dynamic. They learn which parent plays a dominant role in child rearing and household maintenance, and they learn about the occupations of their parents. Therefore, we see that there can be varying degrees and types of stereotypic information that are conveyed from parent to child. During the school years, children are influenced by how their teachers interact with each gender differently and children are also more likely to start to segregate themselves based on gender (Kite, Deaux and Haines 2008). The media also play an important role in how gender stereotypes are perpetuated. Television programming and advertisements are more likely to have a woman in traditional female jobs or engaged in home centered behaviors, whereas men are more often portrayed in professional roles (Kite, Deaux and Haines 2008). Even in academic research, analysts study gender from the view of how women are different than men, with men being the traditional in-group and women the out-group. Miller, Taylor, and Buck (1991) posit that research focused on gender gaps found in the behavior of voters and college professors focuses on the attributes of the female members rather than the male members. For example, when referring to the gender gap in voting, we often refer to how women disproportionately vote for Democrats rather than stating that the gender gap represents how men vote disproportionately for the Republican candidates.

Research indicates that there are consistent traits that are commonly identified with women and men in the United States and worldwide (Williams and Best 1990). To help organize research on gender stereotypes, many social psychologists evaluate masculinity and femininity on two

dimensions—agency and communion. These two dimensions are discussed in terms of the traits that men and women are stereotyped to possess. Women are viewed as being concerned with the welfare of other people (*communal*) and therefore they are viewed as more understanding, gentle, and emotional; whereas men are viewed as controlling and assertive (*agentic*) and therefore they are seen as more self-confident, competitive, and independent (Deaux and LaFrance 1998; Eagly 1987; Kite, Deaux and Haines 2008). It may then be expected that male candidates are rated higher on agentic traits and female candidates are rated higher on communal traits. It may also be expected that male voters will be more inclined to espouse agency focused political attitudes and female voters may be more likely to espouse communally focused political attitudes (Diekmann and Schneider 2010).

The societal and occupational roles that men and women traditionally hold in society can also be understood on the dimensions of agency and communion. The societal roles that are typically associated with men include head of household, financial provider, and leader; whereas women are seen as providers of emotional support, tenders of the house, and caregivers (Cejka and Eagly 1999). Eagly's (1987) social role theory posits that people may associate men and women with certain occupational roles and thus may also associate men and women with certain characteristics that the occupation holds. Since women are disproportionately represented in occupations requiring communal traits; and men are disproportionately represented in occupations that require agentic traits, the traits of each gender is then associated with the occupational traits (Eagly and Karau 2002; Kite, Deaux and Haines 2008). Even in the twenty first century, many occupations are dominated by one gender. For example, over 80 percent of social workers and elementary school teachers are women, whereas 80 percent of architects and engineers are men (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). The roles that men and women play in society affect people's beliefs about their own capacities and skills, as well as their expectations about the traits and beliefs of women and men (Deaux and LaFrance 1998). Therefore, the occupational roles that men and women traditionally

hold can shape attitudes regarding male and female candidates, as “politician” traditionally is viewed as a masculine occupation. The occupational roles that men and women hold can also affect political attitudes due to factors associated with occupational roles. For example, a female elementary school teacher may have a particular preference on education policy, and since her field is dominated by women, she may be more inclined to feel that a female candidate shares her policy stance.

While communion and agency are conceptually independent, research indicates that people tend to consider them unidimensional. Therefore, when the perceiver rates the target as highly agentic, the perceiver will also tend to find the target less communal (Deaux and LaFrance 1998). This effect can have an impact on how female leaders are perceived. When a female leader is perceived as being agentic, she may be evaluated unfavorably due to gender role violation (Eagly and Karau 2002). Therefore, agentic females may overcome stereotypes of lesser competence but in doing so they are found to violate the stereotypic prescription that they ought to be communal. This contradiction means that agentic female leaders may be seen as insufficiently nice, whereas agentic male leaders will not be judged as harshly on the communal dimension (Rudman and Glick 2001). The research in this area suggests that amount of incongruity between leader roles and the female gender roles is dependent on how the leader role is defined. While agentic qualities are found to be more important than communal qualities for all political offices, the incongruity between the agentic role associated with leaders and the communal role associated with females are found to be the most extreme at the highest levels of office (Eagly and Karau 2002; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b). The gender of the perceiver may also influence the incongruity between leader and female gender roles, with men having a tendency to view female leaders as less qualified than male leaders.

Individuals may rely on stereotypes based on gender when attributing certain beliefs, traits and issue competencies to male and female candidates. This may be particularly true for female candidates, because their gender may serve as a minority status that prompts an individual to use

gender as a cue; whereas gender as a cue may remain inactive for male candidates (Conover and Feldman 1989; Hamilton and Sherman 1994). Just as partisan stereotypes are more likely to be used by individuals with limited political knowledge, a low level of political knowledge may increase an individual's use of gender stereotypes for processing information (Kahn 1992).

Gender Stereotypes and Candidate Evaluations

Research on gender stereotyping suggests that citizens assign attributes to candidates based on gender. The three types of stereotypes that are studied in the literature are: (1) those focused on traits (e.g. aggressive or compassionate); (2) those focused on issue competency (e.g. social issues vs. international issues); and (3) those focused on beliefs (e.g. ideology, partisan identification) (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b).

Stereotypical traits associated with men are competitiveness, leadership, strength, ambition, aggression, and assertiveness; whereas stereotypical traits associated with women are gentleness, compassion, compromise, and caution (Chang and Hitchon 1997; Lawless 2004). Previous research indicates that stereotypical masculine traits such as competence are considered better-suited for politics than feminine traits. (Chang and Hitchon 1997; Hansen and Otero 2006; Lawless 2004; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b). Stereotypical masculine traits are also considered more important as level of office increases (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989). A meta-analysis of 31 experimental and non-experimental studies on gender stereotyping finds that “female candidates are much more likely to be attributed stereotypical a female traits than male candidates are to be attributed stereotypically male traits” (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002, 8).

Gender stereotypes also influence perceptions of male and female competency on policy issues. Male candidates are considered superior on the economy, agriculture, foreign policy, defense, crime, and the military; while female candidates are considered superior on education, poverty,

health care, the environment and women's rights (Hansen and Otero 2006; Hitchon and Chang 1995; Kahn 1994; Lawless 2004; Sanbonmatsu 2002). Issues that are usually considered men's issues tend to be rated as more important for higher level positions than women's issues (Hitchon and Chang 1995; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b).

Research also indicates that a candidate's gender is utilized to infer ideological orientations; thus female candidates are considered more liberal than male candidates (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy & Terkildsen 1993a; Koch 2000; Koch 2002; McDermott 1998). Citizens infer ideological orientations of female candidates based on gendered stereotypes regarding personality traits and issue competency; however, gender stereotypes are not utilized to infer the ideological orientations of male candidates. Koch (2002) suggests that the utilization of gender to infer ideological orientation has consequences for information processing regarding female candidates in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. It is easier for citizens to process information on a female Democratic candidate than a female Republican candidate because the former's gender and party affiliation both send a cue that the candidate is liberal. In the latter case, the task of processing information is more difficult because the cues being sent about gender (liberal) and party affiliation (conservative) are contradictory. Koch (2002) suggests that for a female Republican candidate the two contradictory pieces of information can intensify the candidate's gender when citizens are processing information regarding the candidate.

Many of the stereotypes associated with male and female candidates could arise from context of the job as a politician. For centuries, politics has been considered the work of men, and the status of the job may cause unequal judgments about male and female candidates. Role congruity theory suggests that females may have a more difficult time acquiring leadership roles because there is a lack of congruency between characteristics associated with being a leader and the characteristics associated with being a woman (Eagly and Karau 2002). Therefore, women are seen as being less

competent leaders than men. The less positive evaluation of female leaders is more pronounced when females occupy leadership roles in male-dominated fields (Eagly, Makhijani and Klonsky 1992).

Since female politicians are still a minority, it is possible that this minority status in the political world sends signals that traditional stereotypes regarding females are relevant for drawing inferences regarding female politicians. This inability to draw on previous experiences with female politicians may make gender more salient because one woman in a crowd of men will be rated differently than a woman in a gender balanced crowd (Kray and Shirako 2012). Research also indicates that people perceive women as a group to be more homogenous than men as a group (Richards and Hewstone 2001).

However, Diekmann and Eagly (2000) find that gender stereotypes can be either dynamic or static. As perceptions of role equality increase over time, there is a modest increase of masculine personality traits ascribed to women; yet at the same time the stereotypes about men have remained relatively stable. Empirical research posits that an increase in the number of female leaders can produce a more androgynous concept of leadership which in turn may reduce bias toward female leaders (Koenig et al. 2011).

Interactions between Candidate Gender and Party Affiliation

Research in sociology, specifically on social cognition, has shown that stereotypes play an important role in information processing. This research also finds that there are very few objects in our social world that can be assigned to an exclusive category. Therefore, when individuals are processing information about a particular political candidate there are some key characteristics that people use to evaluate them. The important role that partisan affiliation has on perceptions of candidates is well documented in political science research. Gender stereotyping of political candidates has not been as well researched or as well established as the work on party identification.

While the current research on gender stereotyping has led to a wealth of information about perceptions of female candidates, the field lacks experimental work that controls for not only the gender of the candidate but also the party affiliation of the candidate.

When citizens evaluate candidates, they use the candidate's gender and party affiliation to make inferences about him/her. These two category memberships are bound to interact with one another. Since stereotypes are part of a hierarchical category system, some categories are going to play a superordinate role, while others will be subordinate. While gender is often considered a superordinate category because of its status as a "primitive category", party affiliation is a superordinate category in politics. Since both of these categories may be considered superordinate in the evaluation of candidates, it is important to study how the two categories affect candidate evaluations. If subjects are given both the gender and the party affiliation of the candidate, one of the categorization schemes may play a dominant role in the subject's evaluation.

Since research in social psychology indicates that humans have the tendency to categorize individuals based on how they differ from the default category, it is possible that female politicians are categorized differently than their male counterparts because male politicians are the default category regardless of party affiliation. Therefore, the gender of the female candidate becomes salient because it is not the default category, while the party of the female candidate is not the leading trigger in one's categorization of the candidate. Yet, for a male candidate, gender is not an association that is made because the default category is male politician and therefore the salient trigger is the party affiliation of the candidate. Since almost all previous experimental work did not provide the party identification of the candidate being evaluated, subjects may have been more inclined to evaluate the candidate based on the candidate's gender because it was a prominent feature of the candidate.

The gender and party of the candidate may also interact with the gender and party of the individual who is evaluating the candidate. Social psychology literature indicates that there is an in-group bias, where members of the same group as the individual being evaluated are more likely to evaluate that individual positively (Hamilton and Sherman 1994). Therefore, a voter should rate the candidate of the same party in a favorable manner because there is an in-group bias. Yet we must also consider the gender of both the candidate and the voter to determine if there is a gender affinity effect. As mentioned previously, social identity theory supports the idea of voting along gender lines. Since gender serves as a major social identity group, it is possible that an individual's self-esteem is improved when he/she votes for someone of the same gender. If the candidate and the voter are of the same party and the same gender, will the voter be more inclined to evaluate the candidate positively because there are two in-group biases in action? What if the voter and the candidate are of opposite genders? Will the in-group biases based on their shared party affiliation remain, or will their gender differences diffuse any biases that may have been present if the gender was unknown?

Today there is a large partisan gap in female office holding. While research finds that women and men win at the same rate when the incumbency advantage is taken into account, there are more females politicians elected into political office in the Democratic Party (Lawless and Pearson 2008). In 2010, female Democrats accounted for 76.5 percent of Senate seats, 76.7 percent of House seats, and 69.9 percent of statewide elected executive offices held by women (CAWP, 2010). Research has investigated why we see more women elected from the Democratic Party than the Republican Party. Some research suggests that Democratic female candidates have an easier time getting through primaries and that they draw fewer challengers than Republican women (Bratton 2004). Other research finds that Democratic women are evaluated less harshly by Democratic voters than Republican women are by Republican voters (King and Matland 2003). The political climate of a city or region may also impact the electoral success of women in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Research on descriptive representation at the municipal level indicates that a larger percentage of women are elected to city council in cities that are liberal (Smith, Reingold and Owens 2012). If Winter (2010) is correct that parties have taken on gendered characteristics, it is plausible to assume that the parties' gendered characteristics interact with the candidate's gender.

The utilization of gender stereotypes to infer ideological orientation can have consequences for both Democratic and Republican female candidates. Republican and Democratic female candidates are perceived to be more liberal than their male counterparts (Lawless 2004; Riggle et al. 1997; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009). When citizens evaluate a female Republican candidate, they are receiving two contradictory pieces of information. The partisanship stereotype suggests that she is a conservative, but the gender stereotype suggests that she is more liberal than a Republican male. Koch (2002) suggests that these two contradictory factors actually intensify the impact of the candidate's gender because the citizen must spend more time processing the information. In contrast, when citizens are forming an impression of a female Democratic candidate, they are receiving two pieces of information that are harmonious, since female politicians and the Democratic Party are considered liberal. This reduces the time spent processing information. Yet, the inference that female candidates are more liberal than their male counterparts can cause Democratic female candidates to be perceived as further left on the ideological spectrum than most voters, while this same inference allows the female Republican candidate to be perceived as closer to most voters (Koch, 2000).

The interaction between gender and party also plays a prominent role in determining which policies male and female candidates in both parties are perceived to handle more effectively. Utilizing public opinion polls, Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2009) found that female Democrats and female Republicans are both seen as better to handle education than their male counterparts, and less able to handle crime. But Republican women were seen as less competent to handle both

education and crime issues than female Democratic candidates when evaluated by voters in their own party. Utilizing a different data set, Dolan (2010) found that gender stereotypes transcend party stereotypes, as Democrats and females saw women as better at all policy issues, but males and Republicans saw men as better in all policy areas.

If Hayes (2005) and Petrocik (2003) are correct that each party owns specific issues and trait perceptions, then the factors that are owned by each party may be attenuated or intensified by the gender of the candidate. For example, it may be possible that female Republicans are rated higher on the issue of defense than female Democrats because Republicans “own” the defense issue. However, female Republicans may not be rated as highly as male Republicans on the issue because the defense issue is stereotyped as a masculine policy issue. It also may mean that male and female Democratic candidates are rated similarly on the issue of defense because it is not an issue area that the democrats “own”; or it may be possible that the male Democratic candidate is rated higher than the female Democratic candidate because it is considered a masculine issue.

Previous Research

Studies of candidate gender in elections have utilized election results, public opinion surveys, and experiments. Each method of empirical analysis has provided important information concerning the effects of gender on candidate evaluations; yet all have their limitations. The following sections will describe how the various empirical methods were utilized and the results that have been ascertained by each approach.

Election Results

Research on the effects of gender on election results examines whether or not women are as successful as men in general elections, and whether women’s success is determined by party. While male candidates win more often than female candidates, the differences are largely due to male incumbency advantage. When studies control for the effects of incumbency, the results indicate that

women are just as likely as men to win (Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Matland and King 2002; Seltzer, Newman, and Leighton 1997; Thomas and Wilcox 1998). However, Lawless and Pearson (2008) assert that in primary elections the success of a female candidate varies from election to election and within each party. They conclude that “the women who emerge from primaries to compete in general elections are more likely to have electoral experience and raise more money than their male counterparts, suggesting that to make it through the primary process; women must be stronger candidates than their male counterparts” (Lawless and Pearson 2008, 7).

Elections results indicate that there has been a gender gap in American politics since the 1980s. First, there is a large partisan gap in women’s office-holding. Since the mid-1980s, the number of women elected to office at the federal and state levels has increased steadily within the Democratic Party. But female representation within the Republican Party has been much lower (Winter 2010). Lawless and Pearson (2008) assert that Democratic women are elected at a greater frequency than Republican women because Democratic women fare better in primaries. Women may also be elected by the Democratic Party in larger numbers because there is also a gender gap in voting and partisanship. Since the 1980s, women have supported Democratic candidates more than men, and have been more likely to identify themselves as Democrats than men (Matland and King 2002; Winter 2010). The gender gap in voting and partisanship can be attributed to the issues that each party “owns.” Since female candidates are more likely than male candidates to “own” social welfare issues, and candidates within the Democratic Party are more likely to “own” the same issues, it makes sense that women are more likely to vote for candidates within the Democratic Party (Huddy, Cassese and Lizotte 2008).

Elections results provide good data because they reflect the real world. However, election results do not get to the heart of why there is a gender disparity in American politics. Electoral

results shed light on the issue, but the nature of electoral data means that they are not very helpful in explaining why there is an issue and how that issue may be resolved.

Surveys

Survey research has been used quite extensively to test the effects of gender on candidate evaluations. It can be utilized to ask specific questions that test the effects of gender, or it can be used to test the effect of gender on the perceptions of actual male and female politicians. When surveys are used to test for gender effects in a direct manner, they generally are used to ask respondents if they would be willing to vote for a female candidate. Most surveys of this type have found that Americans are willing to vote for a female candidate; however, research indicates that there is a social desirability effect in these answers (Falk and Kenski 2006). For example, a 2008 Pew Research Center for the People and the Press study found that 69% of respondents agreed that “women and men make equally good political leaders” (Taylor et. al., 50). Yet when respondents were asked why gender parity is lacking in the top political offices in the United States, 51% of respondents stated that “Americans simply aren’t ready to elect a woman to high office” (Taylor et. al., 3). Therefore, it is possible to assume that people will be quick to say they support female candidates while stating that women are not going to be successful because others are not as open to the idea of a female candidate as they are.

There are other types of surveys on which respondents are asked to rate actual candidates on a variety of measures. These types of surveys are indirect ways to measure the effect of gender on candidate evaluations. These types of surveys are used to see if gender affects how candidates are evaluated in regards to their ideological positions (beliefs), their traits, and their issue competency. The results indicate that male and female candidates are evaluated differently. Surveys measuring differences in belief stereotypes indicate that female candidates are seen as more liberal than male candidates (Alexander and Anderson 1998; Koch 2000; McDermott 1997). On issue competency,

male candidates tend to be favored on issue areas including crime, the military, and foreign policy; while female candidates tend to be rated higher on social issues such as education and Social Security (Falk and Kenski 2006; Sanbonmatsu 2004). In terms of trait evaluations, female candidates are believed to be warmer and more compassionate than male candidates, while male candidates are seen as more competent and intelligent (Dolan 2010; Koch 1999)

Surveys that have investigated how gender and party stereotypes interact to shape candidate evaluations have produced mixed results. Koch's (2000) analysis of the perceived ideological orientations of actual male and female officeholders indicates that female candidates in both parties are perceived as more liberal than their male counterparts and more liberal than they actually are based on ADA roll-call vote scores. Sanbonmatsu and Dolan (2009) assert that gender stereotypes transcended party. They contend that perceived issue competency and issue positions by both Republican and Democratic politicians differed by gender. However, others conclude that the party affiliation of the candidate is dominant over the candidate's gender as a predictor of voter attitudes (Hayes 2009, 2011). His results indicate that male and female candidates within the same party received similar trait ratings; whereas the trait ratings between party candidates varied significantly.

The mixed results on the interaction between gender and party stereotypes indicate that further research is needed to get a better understanding of how these two cues interact and what effects they have on candidate evaluations. While surveys are important to research agenda setting the interactions between gender and party stereotypes, the availability of data is limited.

Survey Experiments

Experiments also have been used to study the effect of gender on candidate evaluations. They have helped scholars overcome limitations that are apparent in observational studies, and they allow for more precise measures of how gender affects candidate evaluations. Since Saprio's (1981) pioneering experiment, there have been over a dozen experiments designed to estimate the effect of

gender on perceptions of candidates (see Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002; Matland and King 2002). Researchers have used experiments to test how gender affects vote choice and/or how gender affects evaluations regarding candidate traits, issue competency, and beliefs.

The main stimuli used in the majority of the experiments were variations of candidate descriptions and/or speeches (see review in Matland and King 2002). The length and content of the candidate descriptions and speeches varied in each experiment. In many of the experiments testing for differences in the level of support, respondents read a set of candidate descriptions and then selected their preferred candidate on a ballot (Adams 1975; Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Garrett and Brooks 1987; Sigelman and Sigelman 1982; Spohn and Gillespie 1987). Two experiments utilized issue positions in an issue position matrix to test for gender effects (Fox and Smith 1998; Riggle et al. 1997); and another experiment utilized fictional newspaper articles to test to for gender effects (Kahn 1992)

The majority of work that investigates whether gender affects vote choice concludes that there are no direct effects (Matland and King 2002). Only two studies found significant differences in level of candidate support based on gender. Adams (1975) found that there was less support for female candidates than male candidates in national and executive elections, and more support for female candidates in local elections. Fox and Smith (1998) found that there was a pro-male bias in their college sample taken from Wyoming, but not their college sample from the University of California, Santa Barbara. Two other experiments found that while there was no direct effect that signaled a difference in the level of support, there were some significant complex interactions that indicated that there were differences in the level of support (Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Spohn and Gillespie 1987).

The experimental work testing candidate trait evaluations has found that female candidates are considered more honest, caring, compassionate, and kind than their male counterparts; whereas

male candidates are perceived as more aggressive, assertive and tough than their female counterparts (Alexander and Anderson 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b; Leeper 1991; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989). These experimental results also indicate that masculine traits are seen as more desirable traits for an officeholder (Matland and King 2002). However, these experiments have failed to conclude whether male candidates have more of the desirable male traits. Since men are considered the default group, it is possible that voters feel that male candidates are heterogeneous and thus the studies fail to find significant results; whereas women are the marked group and therefore homogenous and more readily characterized (Lorenzi-Cioldi, Eagly and Stewart 1995).

As for policy issues and candidate gender, research indicates that female candidates are seen as better than male candidates at handling certain policy issues (e.g. education, health care). However, the results are more ambiguous as to whether or not male candidates are seen as superior at handling certain policy areas. Some experiments have found policy areas where men were considered superior (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Rosenwasser et. al. 1987; Sapiro 1981); while others have found no issue area where male candidates are found superior (Kahn 1992; Leeper 1991).

Experiments have also been used to test for gender-based affinity effects to determine whether or not individuals are more inclined to support candidates of the same gender. The experiments that have explicitly tested for affinity effects have shown mixed results. Affinity effects were found in two studies that provided very short candidate descriptions (Garrett and Brooks 1987; Sigelman and Sigelman 1982); whereas three other studies that provided more detailed candidate information found that under most model specifications affinity effects disappear (Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Riggle et al 1997; Sapiro 1981). In regards to female candidates it is possible that female respondents may report that they are inclined to vote for a female candidate, yet they may rate the female candidate higher on stereotypical female traits.

While previous experimental work has led to insightful conclusions about the role of gender in candidate evaluations, it is not without its shortcomings. Many of the previous experiments contain very little information for participants to evaluate candidates. If the research on information processing is correct, then gender will play a more significant role in candidate evaluations when participants have little else to evaluate the candidate by (McDermott 1997, 1998). The lack of information about the candidate is also unrealistic as to how citizens evaluate candidates. While the mass public may not pay much attention to politics, an experimental stimulus that provides little to no information about candidates' policy stands leaves for huge generalizations. In a recent meta-analysis, Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil (2002) conclude that as information increased in the stimulus material, the gap between male and female candidates declined on male traits. This suggests that as information increases the role of male stereotypes declines in candidate evaluations.

Almost all previous experiments failed to provide the partisanship of the candidate to respondents. Since the party of the individual and the party of the candidate play such a significant role in information processing, the fact that almost every study fails to account for this factor is significant in how the hypothetical candidate(s) were evaluated. In the following paragraphs I will review four experiments that have tested for gender and party simultaneously and provide a brief overview of how the research in this dissertation will provide greater insight on how gender and party affiliation impact candidate evaluations.

As part of a study on the differences in low versus high complexity decision tasks in the utilization of gender stereotypes, Riggle et al. (1997) utilized an information matrix for the high complexity treatment. The information matrix listed the names of the candidates in the top of the columns, and the rows were labeled with short descriptors that included issue positions and party affiliation. Respondents were able to self select what information they wanted to learn more about for any particular candidate. Riggle and her colleagues (1997) did not specify the impact that the

candidate's party affiliation had on the respondent's vote choice. Their results did indicate that a gender bias was not evident in the high complexity decision task, which indicates that gender bias may be more pronounced when there is little information to make candidate inferences.

Huddy and Capelos (2002) utilized a survey experiment that tested a parallel processing model of stereotypes. The parallel processing model would suggest that people are able to incorporate multiple pieces of stereotypical attributes about a person, when they are forming their impressions of others. Their data came from a random sample of residents in Long Island New York. The respondents were read a brief description of a candidate that was described as having typically masculine or feminine personality traits. The respondents were then asked to infer the candidate's ideology and to rate the candidates competence on social welfare issues as well as military and crime-related issues. Their results indicate that there is very little integration between gender and party stereotypes. They conclude that a candidate's party affiliation dominated gender as a predictor of voter attitudes. They find that a candidate's party influences perceptions about a candidates competence on compassion and women's issues and a candidate's ideology; yet a candidate's gender only influenced ones' perceptions of the candidate's competence on women's issues.

The experimental work of King and Matland (2003) is a huge influence on this dissertation. They realized that a major limitation of the experimental work on gender stereotyping was that the party identification of the candidate was not included. Their data came from a random national telephone survey in which respondents received a short description of a Republican candidate running for Congress. The respondents were then asked if they would be likely to vote for the candidate, and then asked to evaluate the candidate on a number of traits. Since their sample was a random national sample, their respondents included Republicans, Democrats, and independents. Their results indicated that gender effects were still apparent with the inclusion of party labels. The

results indicate that *ceteris paribus*, for Republicans, the female Republican was seen as more liberal than the comparable male Republican. But being female did not send a strong ideological signal to independent and Democratic respondents. The results showed that Democratic and independent respondents felt as if the female Republican candidate was more likely to share their concerns compared to the male Republican candidate. Republican subjects were also more likely to say they would vote for the male Republican candidate, while the Democratic and independent respondents were more likely to say they would vote for the female Republican candidate.

In a recent experiment, Banwart (2010) utilized undergraduate participants who were exposed to candidate advertising in two mixed-gender congressional races. The two pairings of candidates were either a female Republican versus a male Democrat, or a female Democrat versus a male Republican. Her respondents were exposed to a series of six television advertisements, three for each candidate. Her first set of results were similar to much of the previous work analyzing whether trait and policy evaluations differed due to the gender of the candidate. The results of trait evaluations were consistent with previous research, with the male candidates scoring higher on traditional masculine traits and the female candidate scoring higher on traditional feminine traits. In terms of issue competency, her results indicated that the male candidates were rated higher than the female candidates on military and economic issues; however, the female candidates were not rated higher than the male candidates on compassion issues. Her work extended beyond much of the prior work on gender stereotyping by asking whether trait and policy evaluations differed on the basis of the candidates party affiliation. In terms of trait evaluations, the candidates' party affiliation did not evince significant differences between the candidates. In terms of policy evaluations she found mixed results. On issues such as handling the military and the economy, a candidate's party affiliation did not generate any differences in evaluations. However, on compassion issues, the

female Democrat was rated higher than the female Republican and the male Democrat was rated higher than both the female Republican and the male Republican.

While the work of King and Matland (2003) is an inspiration to my dissertation, I believe that my dissertation will help to illuminate the interaction of gender and party affiliation in the evaluation of candidates in the United States. This dissertation will study evaluations of male and female candidates in both parties, whereas King and Matland (2003) only analyzed the interaction between party and gender for a hypothetical Republican candidate. This dissertation will also improve upon the work of King and Matland (2003) by providing a more detailed candidate vignette which is more consistent with the amount of information an individual receives about a candidate in real life. In the next section, I will detail how my survey experiment allows for an analysis into the interactions between the candidates gender, the candidates party affiliation, the respondents party affiliation and the respondents gender.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

As mentioned in the literature review, experiments have been an asset to the study of gender stereotyping. They have allowed researchers to overcome obstacles associated with electoral results and public opinion polling, especially limited data and social desirability bias. Experimentation has also been beneficial to the study of candidate evaluations because it allows researchers to manipulate candidate traits and situational factors independently (McGraw 2011). While experimentation is not used as frequently in political science as it is in other academic fields, it has been used quite extensively and has been extremely beneficial to the study of gender and politics.

This dissertation adds to the study of gender and politics and gender stereotyping by utilizing an original survey experiment that allows me to test for interactions between party and gender in the evaluation of candidates for U.S. Senate. Since differentiation based on gender is learned at a young age and is activated frequently, an individual's stereotypes about men and women are automatically activated in the presence of a gender stimulus. While partisan stereotypes may not be activated as frequently or learned at as young of an age as gender stereotypes, the party identification of a candidate is a significant heuristic in an individual's evaluations of candidates. Therefore, a survey experiment allows me to explore an individual's unconscious thoughts and feelings regarding political candidates because the respondent is unaware that these stereotypes have been activated.

The experimental treatment I utilize here varies from that used in previous research on gender stereotyping by allowing respondents to read a one page candidate vignette for the candidate that is closest to his/her party identification. Previous studies utilize a non-partisan profile or a vague candidate description. My method allows for a more nuanced investigation of the role of gender and party in the utilization of gender stereotypes. King and Matland (2003) argue this is an important control because of the importance of party as a voting heuristic. They argue that in previous experiments where party label was not supplied, respondents may have had to rely more

heavily on gender stereotypes in their evaluations of candidates. Matland (1994) also posits that candidate gender had an effect when respondents identified politically with the candidate, whereas candidate gender did not have an effect when respondents were politically distant from the candidate. This technique is important because when the party affiliation of the candidate is absent it is impossible to investigate perceived differences between men and women of different political parties. Therefore, the absence of the candidate's party affiliation makes it impossible to ascertain whether candidate evaluations are similar for male and female candidates in both parties (Matland 1994; McGraw 2011).

Social cognition research would suggest that party identification as a cue in the experiment would help generate an in-group bias toward the candidate in the vignette. The randomization of the candidates' gender allows me to see if there is an in-group or out-group effect on the evaluations. The rest of the chapter will detail the design of the survey experiment, how the data was collected and finally how the variables will be **operationalized**.

Design

Participants in this study were undergraduate students in political science courses at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. While it would have been more desirable to study a representative sample of the national adult population in the United States, much of the previous experimental work on gender stereotyping has been done using student participants (see review in Matland and King 2002). In a meta-analysis of surveys and experiments on gender stereotyping, Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil (2002) posit that the results from studies on college students did not vary significantly from those on adult populations. Previous studies also indicate that students should be less inclined to stereotype female candidates because they hold more egalitarian sex-role attitudes than older individuals and are better educated than the general population. Therefore, if traditional gender stereotypes persist in an experiment with college students then I am confident that the findings

would hold true among a representative age sample (Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983; Sears and Huddy 1990; Dolan & Sanbonmatsu 2011). Therefore, while students are utilized as a convenience sample, previous research indicates that the results should be externally valid because conceptually equivalent relationships have been “detected across people, places, times, and operationalizations” (Druckman and Kam 2011: 74).

As part of the survey packet, the students received two copies of an informed consent form.¹ The students were told by their instructor or me that that they were part of a study investigating political attitudes and opinions about political candidates. This was also specified in their consent form. The consent form specified that each student’s participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from participation at any time for any reason. It also specified that answers were confidential, that each questionnaire would be given a number in place of a name, that complete questionnaires would be stored in a locked closet, and that the questionnaires would be destroyed after data analysis was complete. The students were instructed to sign, date, and return one copy of the informed consent form to their instructor for my records, and to keep a copy for their records.

My survey experiment was crafted by employing questions and techniques that had been used in previous experimental work in the area of gender stereotyping. The survey packet was divided into three sections--a pre-treatment questionnaire, the experimental treatment, and a post-treatment questionnaire. For sampling convenience respondents received a survey packet that contained a Democratic candidate and a Republican candidate. Since the experiment utilizes a between-subjects design, half of the students randomly received directions and a questionnaire indicating that the candidates were female (Treatment #1), the other half that the candidates were male (Treatment #2).² This process was utilized so that it was not possible for the respondent to choose a candidate based on gender. The vignettes for the male and female candidate of the same

¹ The entire survey is contained in Appendix.

² See Appendix A and Appendix B for full female and male survey treatment packets.

party contained the same exact information, except for the fact that the first name and the pronouns were gender specific. The between-subject design and the randomization of the candidate gender should ensure that the experimental groups are nearly identical. While experiments often rely on control groups, experiments on gender stereotyping tend to exclude control groups and test for effects between different treatment groups. A major reason for the lack of a control group in gender stereotyping experiments can be attributed to the likelihood that if the gender of the candidate was not specified in the control group, subjects may be inclined to assume subconsciously that the candidate is male and therefore the control group would not be a genuine control group.

The first section of the survey packet contained a brief pre-test questionnaire that asked participants their party identification, ideology, political interest, and political knowledge.³ The pre-test questionnaire also asked respondents to provide basic information including their age, race/ethnicity, and gender. As displayed in Figure 3.1, to measure party identification, respondents were asked “Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?” If the respondent selected Republican or Democrat, he/she was asked to indicate whether his/her identification was strong or not very strong. If a respondent reported that he/she was independent or something else, he/she was asked “Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?” Those that reported that they were independent or something else had the option to specify that they did not think of themselves as closer to either party. As Figure 3.2 displays, to measure the respondent’s ideology, I used a traditional seven point scale where one signified extremely liberal and seven signified extremely conservative.

³ While the measures for political interest and political knowledge are not used for any analysis in this dissertation, they contributed to my cover story and could be beneficial to future analysis.

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? **(Please circle the appropriate responses)**

0. REPUBLICAN >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?

A. STRONG REPUBLICAN
B. NOT VERY STRONG REPUBLICAN

1. DEMOCRAT >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?

A. STRONG DEMOCRAT
B. NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT >>> Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
C. NEITHER

3. SOMETHING ELSE >>> Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
C. NEITHER

Figure 3.1: Survey Question – Respondent Party Identification

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? If you haven't thought much about this, please leave this question blank. **(Please circle the appropriate number)**

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| EXTREMELY LIBERAL | LIBERAL | SLIGHTLY LIBERAL | MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE | CONSERVATIVE | EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Figure 3.2: Survey Question – Respondent Ideology

As displayed in Figure 3.3, I measured political interest by asking respondents three questions that tapped into their attention to politics, their likelihood of voting, and whether or not they followed what was going on in government. To directly measure a person's self reported interest in politics they were asked whether they were very much interested in politics, somewhat interested in politics or not much interested in politics. Respondents were also asked to report how likely they were to vote in the next presidential election on a five point scale with zero indicating they were not likely to vote at all and four indicating that they were almost certain they would vote. The final political interest question asked respondents to report on a four point scale how much they followed what was going on in government and public affairs, with zero indicating that they hardly at all followed and three indicating that they followed what was going on in government and public affairs most of the time.

As can be seen in Figure 3.4, respondents were asked five open-ended questions that were used to measure different types of political knowledge. The utilization of different questions that cover five separate political topics allows for a careful investigation of political knowledge (Lizotte & Sidman 2009). The respondents were asked 1) "Do you happen to know what job or political office John Boehner holds?" 2) "Do you happen to know what job or political office David Cameron holds?" 3) "How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto?" 4) "For how many years is a Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one term of office?" 5) "How many justices (judges) are there on the U.S. Supreme Court?"

The second section of the survey packet contained the experimental stimulus—a one page candidate vignette. Experiments in the field of gender stereotyping often use variations in candidate descriptions and/or speeches; however, the length and content of the candidate descriptions have varied (see review in Matland and King 2002). The vignettes have varied from very short biographies that contained a few sentences about the demographics of the candidate, to longer vignettes that

Some people don't pay much attention to politics. How about you, would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in politics? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

0. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
1. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
2. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

How likely would you say you are to vote in the 2012 presidential election? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

0. NOT LIKELY AT ALL
1. NOT VERY LIKELY
2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
3. VERY LIKELY
4. ALMOST CERTAIN

Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

0. HARDLY AT ALL
1. ONLY NOW AND THEN
2. SOME OF THE TIME
3. MOST OF THE TIME

Figure 3.3: Survey Questions – Respondent Political Interest

Do you happen to know what job or political office **John Boehner** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

Do you happen to know what job or political office **David Cameron** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto?
(Please specify) >>> _____

For how many years is a Senator elected – this is, how many years are there in one term of office?
(Please specify) >>> _____

How many justices (judges) are there on the U.S. Supreme Court?
(Please specify) >>> _____

Figure 3.4: Survey Questions – Respondent Political Knowledge

contained biographies and issue position statements. Some experiments have also utilized campaign speeches as the stimulus, including Sapiro's (1981) pioneering experiment that replicated a speech that had been given by the former U.S. Senator Howard Baker. A meta-analysis on gender stereotyping literature indicates that the type of stimulus information made available to respondents showed little difference in the prevalence of stereotypes (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002). However, research indicates that as information increases the prevalence of stereotypes decreases, therefore I elected to utilize a longer candidate vignette that included a brief biography of the candidate and six issue position statements (Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil 2002; Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Riggle et al 1997; Sapiro 1981). I believe that the utilization of a longer vignette will help strengthen my results. The vignette started with a brief biography of the candidate. The biography included the candidate's name, his/her party affiliation, and specified that he/she was a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

My decision to test gender stereotyping on candidates for the U.S. Senate was determined by a variety of factors. First of all, my choice was informed by prior research indicating that there is a connection between a respondent's likelihood of attributing stereotypical traits to candidates and the level of office sought; stereotypical masculine traits are generally considered more important as level of office increases (Adams 1975; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Rosenwasser and Dean 1989). In addition, using the U.S. Senate allowed me to investigate a larger range of issue positions (e.g. Foreign Policy), since candidates running for state and local office primarily focus on domestic issues. Finally, I considered the history of women running for public office. At one end of the spectrum, women have been relatively successful at winning elections for state and local offices. "Since 1971, the number of women serving in state legislatures has more than quintupled" (CAWP 2012). At the other, the United States has yet to see a women elected as the President or Vice President. In 2012, 23.7 percent of the 7,382 state legislators in the United States are women;

whereas 16.8 percent of the 535 members of the 112th U.S. Congress were women. In 2012, women held seventeen percent of the 100 seats in the Senate and 16.8 percent of the 435 seats in the House of Representatives. Out of the seventeen seats held by women in the Senate, twelve of them were held by Democrats and five were held by Republicans.

The candidate's biography did not include personal information about marital status, parental status, or age. While each of these variables may be utilized in real world candidate evaluation, for this experiment they would have acted as extraneous variables, confounding the results (McGraw 2011). For example, research suggests that motherhood may harm perceptions of women in the workplace, whereas parental status may actually enhance judgments of men (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007; Biernat and Deaux 2012). Research on the biographies of members of the U.S. House, indicates that female representatives tend to be older than their male counterparts, they tend to have smaller family sizes, and they are more likely to be single (Burrell 1996).

Each vignette then highlighted the candidate's position on variety of issues. The six issue position statements highlighted issues that are considered stereotypical male issues (military/defense spending, the economy, and crime), as well as stereotypical female issues (health care, the environment, and education). The issue position statements were constructed from actual position statements from the websites of members of the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives. All the Republican issue position statements were abstracted from actual Republican members of the House and Senate at the time the experiment was being conducted. The same holds true for the Democratic issue positions.⁴ The issue position statements were taken from a variety of party-

⁴ Republican issue position statements were derived from: Senator Kelly Ayotte (NH), Senator Bob Corker (TN), Senator Rand Paul (KY), Representative Diane Black (TN-6th District), Representative Phil Gingrey (GA-11th District), Representative Robert W. Goodlatte (VA-6th District). Democratic issue position statements were derived from: Senator Jeanne Shaheen (NH), Senator Sherrod Brown (OH), Senator Jack Reed (RI), Senator Kay Hagen (NC), and Senator Jeff Bingaman (NM).

specific sources to ensure that the position statements felt authentic to how candidates would tailor their positions and authentic to the themes of each party.

Since the vignette is more complex than a brief one paragraph biographical description of the candidate, the gender of the candidate should not be very salient. A longer vignette is also more realistic. As I mentioned in the literature review, when information processing is more complex, individuals are less likely to rely on heuristics such as gender because they have more information to process and therefore do not rely so heavily on the gender cue. I believe that having a long vignette that includes candidate issue positions is important to understanding the role gender plays in the evaluation of candidates when the candidate's party affiliation is indicated.

Students were instructed to read only one candidate vignette and were told to select either the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate based on their own party preference. As mentioned previously, half of the students in each party randomly received the female candidate vignette, while the other half received the male candidate vignette. Figure 3.5 shows the female Democratic vignette, and Figure 3.6 shows the female Republican vignette. The vignettes for the male Democratic and male Republican candidates are identical to their female counterparts, except for the fact that the first name and the pronouns are masculine. While allowing respondents to choose which party vignette they read adds an additional variable to the design, I control for this problem by making intra-party comparisons. This allows me to test whether or not respondents of the same party identification as the candidate evaluate female and male candidates differently. While I could have randomly assigned party and gender to subjects, I believe that allowing subjects to read the vignette for the candidate that is closer to their own party identification is more realistic. This manipulation also allowed me to test for in-group and out-group biases. Since the candidate and the participants all belong to the same political party there should be some bias. Yet since the gender of the candidate is random, it will be possible to measure the impact of the participant's gender on

Form A –Democratic Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Susan Davis, a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate. Ms. Davis is a businesswoman and is currently serving her third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. Susan Davis believes that our government should work for us, not against us. She believes it should ensure opportunity not just for those with the most money and influence, but for every American who is willing to work

Susan Davis knows we need to continue to create jobs and lay the foundation for long-term economic growth. She understands that it is the private sector, not the government that will create jobs that put people back to work and strengthen the economy. But she also knows that the government has an important role to play in creating the right atmosphere for entrepreneurship and innovation. The future of the American economy lies in innovation. That's why we need to create the right climate for companies and entrepreneurs to create the high-tech, 21st century jobs that will pay good wages and support the American middle class.

Ms. Davis believes that supporting our troops is imperative. Our troops must get the support and the protection they need. From providing them with body and vehicle armor, to boosting their base pay, our troops must come first. Susan Davis supports the process of withdrawing our forces from Iraq and refocusing our efforts on Afghanistan and Pakistan. She supports our policy of preventing Afghanistan and Pakistan from becoming safe-havens for those who seek to attack our country.

Susan Davis supports legislation that would cut health care costs, protect consumer choice, and ensure all Americans access to quality affordable coverage. She believes that health care reform is about protecting what works and fixing what's broken. Our health care system is broken if private insurance companies dictate which doctors your children can see or which health services you're able to access and afford.

Quality education is central to individual economic opportunity and sustained American prosperity. To compete in a global economy, American students must receive an education that will prepare them for the challenges that lay ahead of them. It is essential that the next generation of American workers and entrepreneurs are prepared to succeed in the 21st-century global marketplace. At all levels, Ms. Davis believes in the fundamental partnership between educators, parents, and students to nurture talent and promote achievement.

Susan Davis believes in fighting for environmental protections and conservation of our natural resources. We have made our air cleaner to breathe and our water safer to drink, but environmental stewardship is an ongoing responsibility. From combating climate change to protecting our streams, forests, and wildlife, it is important that we continue to protect our environment for both current and future generations.

Ms. Davis posits that we need to provide local, state, and federal law enforcement with the tools they need to combat crime. To keep our communities safe, we must not only be tough on crime, but also look for ways to address the root causes of illegal behavior. She supports funding for law enforcement, legislative initiatives to crack down on gang activity, and other measures to provide new avenues for rehabilitation.

Figure 3.5: Female Democratic Candidate Vignette

Form B – Republican Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Susan Davis, a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate. Ms. Davis is a businesswoman and is currently serving her third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. All you ever asked of government is to stand on your side, not in your way. Susan Davis will stand on your side and fight for your future.

Susan Davis trusts that the strength of America's entrepreneurial spirit will lead our economic recovery. That's why she supports common sense, pro-growth policies that encourage private sector innovation and job creation. The federal government needs to support entrepreneurs by eliminating burdensome regulations and discriminatory taxes that are holding businesses back.

Protecting America from another terrorist attack is a primary goal of our federal government. We know the fight will be long and hard, but we can't give up our commitment to a secure America and a free and peaceful world. Fighting the War on Terror means preemptively disarming those leaders who harbor terrorists and weapons of mass destruction. It means giving our military, law enforcement, and intelligence organizations the tools they need to keep us safe.

Ms. Davis believes in a market-based approach to health care. She wants to harness the power of competition to bring down costs and expand access to quality care. That includes implementing insurance reforms such as allowing for the purchase of coverage across state lines and enabling small businesses to form pools that enhance their purchasing power. Additionally, she believes health savings accounts should be expanded, individuals who purchase health insurance should have the same tax benefits that employers receive, and that states should be allowed to establish adequate high risk pools

Susan Davis is a strong advocate for ensuring all children have access to quality education and are given the opportunity to succeed. She believes in more local control over education, where states, localities, and most importantly parents can play a much more significant role in their children's schooling. The federal government has simply used its power to disregard parental rights, restrict teachers, and leave kids with an unsatisfactory education, unable to compete in a quickly advancing world.

Ms. Davis posits that we need policies which encourage investment in environmentally sound, cost-effective practices without stifling innovation and setting our economy back. While Washington may develop the guidelines, we need to get the government out of the way, and let local people get the job done. Congress and government agencies must use a tailored approach to each environmental issue and consider the economic impacts of proposed policies upon everyone involved. Furthermore, programs must include enough flexibility to be implemented in an efficient and effective manner.

Susan Davis believes in tough law enforcement, severe penalties for those who commit crime, and continued funding for law enforcement programs making a difference in our communities. She believes that local, state, and federal authorities must work together as partners to enforce the law, and that they must be given the legal tools and funding resources necessary to do their jobs well.

Figure 3.6: Female Republican Candidate Vignette

candidate evaluation. I also believe that allowing subjects to choose their party vignette while randomly assigning the gender of the candidate allows for a more valid assessment of how female and male candidate in each party are evaluated by their constituents.

After students examined the candidate vignette, they filled out a questionnaire that asked them to evaluate the candidate's traits, issue competency, ideology, and overall competency. First, respondents were asked to indicate which candidate vignette they read. This allowed me to determine which form each student read and to compare this answer with the student's self-reported party identification in the first section to ensure that the student followed the directions. The respondents were then asked a series of questions about the candidate's overall competency and electability. To measure the candidate's electability, each respondent rated the candidate's likelihood of winning the election, and told me how likely he/she would be vote for the candidate. Figure 3.7 contains the female version of the electability questions. The male version is identical except for the first name of the candidate. For these two measures I used a scale of 1-4, with one indicating "not at all likely" and four indicating "very likely". These measures allow me to determine if there is a difference between the electability of the male and female candidates in each party. Figure 3.8 displays the female version of the four questions that were used to measure the candidate's overall competency. First, they were asked how competent the candidate was in arguing his/her views? Students could score the candidate on a scale of one to four, where one indicated that the candidate was "not competent" and four indicated that the candidate was "very competent". Next they were asked how well the candidate understood the issues discussed in the speech. Again the scale was from one to four, with one indicating "not well at all" and four indicating "very well". The third question asked the respondents to rate the clarity of the candidate's stands on the issues. A score of one indicated that the candidate was "not clear at all" and four indicated that the candidate was "very clear". The final question asked the respondents how much they agreed or disagreed with the

In your opinion, what is the likelihood that Susan Davis will win the election for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
2. NOT VERY LIKELY
3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
4. VERY LIKELY

Suppose the election were held today. How likely are you to vote for Susan Davis for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
2. NOT VERY LIKELY
3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
4. VERY LIKELY

Figure 3.7: Survey Question - Female Candidate Electability

How competent was Susan Davis in arguing her views? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT COMPETENT
2. NOT VERY COMPETENT
3. SOMEWHAT COMPETENT
4. VERY COMPETENT

How well do you think Susan Davis understands the issues discussed in the speech. **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT WELL AT ALL
2. NOT VERY WELL
3. FAIRLY WELL
4. VERY WELL

How clear are Susan Davis's stands on the issues? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT CLEAR AT ALL
2. NOT VERY CLEAR
3. FAIRLY CLEAR
4. VERY CLEAR

How much do you agree or disagree with Susan Davis? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
3. SOMEWHAT AGREE
4. STRONGLY AGREE

Figure 3.8: Survey Question - Female Candidate Overall Competency

candidate. For this question a score of one indicated that a respondent “strongly disagreed” and a score of four indicated a respondent “strongly agreed”. These measures established whether gender and/or party have an effect on the electability and overall rating of a candidate.

It is not known whether or not gender affects the electability or overall competency ratings of a candidate when controlling for the candidate’s party affiliation. However, the previous experimental literature indicates that gender does not seem to have significant effects on a respondent’s evaluation of a candidate’s electability or overall competency. Ekstrand & Eckert’s (1981) experiment on gender and voter choice did not find any direct evidence indicating a difference in level of support for male and female candidates. However, their analysis indicated that female voters favored the female candidate when she was liberal but did not favor the conservative female candidate. They also found a relationship between the subject’s party identification and support for conservative and liberal female candidates. Their results indicate that for both Democratic and Republican identifiers, there was increased support for the liberal female candidate and decreased support for the conservative female candidate. Fox & Smith (1998) found regional differences in their analysis of gender bias and voting. Their data indicates that there was no gender bias in their California sample, yet there was a pro male bias in their Wyoming sample. Therefore, the male and female candidates in each party should be rated very similar. This leads me to hypothesize the following:

H1: On electability, respondents will rate male and female candidates within each party similarly.

H2: Respondents will give similar competency ratings to male and female candidates within each party.

Figure 3.9 displays the female version of the candidate ideology measure, in which the respondents were asked to rate the candidate’s ideology on a traditional seven point scale. Based on previous research, I expect that female candidates in both parties will be rated as more liberal than the male candidates of the same party (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy & Terkildsen 1993a;

Please indicate what you believe to be Susan Davis's general ideological stance. **(Please circle appropriate response)**

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| EXTREMELY LIBERAL | LIBERAL | SLIGHTLY LIBERAL | MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE | CONSERVATIVE | EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Figure 3.9: Survey Question - Female Candidate Ideology

Koch 2000; Koch 2002; McDermott 1998). Thus, I hypothesize the following:

H3: Respondents will give female candidates within each party more liberal ideology scores than male candidates.

As displayed Figure 3.10, subjects were then asked to rate the candidate on a series of twelve traits. The series of traits are similar to those used in previous work and included masculine traits such as “aggressive” and “ambitious”, as well as feminine traits such as “compassionate” and “caring.” Researchers have used a variety of feminine and masculine traits in experimental work on gender stereotyping. Descriptors of feminine traits include “cautious,” “warm,” “honest,” “emotional,” “talkative,” “feminine,” “gentle,” “sensitive,” and “compassionate” (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Kahn 1992). For masculine traits, previous studies have used descriptors including “aggressive,” “tough,” “coarse,” “assertive,” “ambitious,” “masculine,” “rational,” “self-confident,” “active,” and “stern” (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b). In this experiment, I use the descriptors “compassionate,” “honest,” “knowledgeable,” “aggressive,” “rational,” “assertive,” “cautious,” “caring,” “competent,” “competitive,” “ambitious,” and “willing to compromise.” The respondents were asked “In your opinion how well do the following words describe the candidate, not well at all, not too well, quite well, or extremely well?” The trait measures allow me to see if respondents evaluate male and female candidates differently based on a stereotypical association of traits associated with men and women. The previous literature indicates that male and female candidates are often rated higher on traits that are stereotypically ascribed to members of their gender group. My measures also allow me to compare how Democratic and Republican candidates are evaluated by their partisans. Previous research on partisan trait stereotypes indicates that the Democratic candidates will be rated higher on stereotypical feminine traits and the Republican candidates will be rated higher on stereotypical

Below is a list of characteristics that can describe a candidate. In your opinion how well does of the following words describe Susan Davis, not well at all, not too well, quite well, or extremely well? **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Word | Not well at all | Not too well | Quite well | Extremely well |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| Compassionate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Honest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Knowledgeable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aggressive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Rational | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Assertive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Cautious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Caring | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competitive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Ambitious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Willing to compromise | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Figure 3.10: Survey Question - Female Candidate Trait Evaluations

masculine traits.⁵ This also allows me to measure differences between the trait ratings for female Democrats and female Republicans by their partisans (same with male candidates). These measures permit me to investigate whether or not differences in the trait measures can be ascribed to gender and/or party affiliation. Thus, I hypothesize the following:

H4: When comparing candidates within each party, respondents will rate female candidates higher than male candidates on stereotypical feminine traits, and male candidates higher than female candidates on stereotypical masculine traits.

H5: When comparing candidates across parties, Democratic respondents' will rate Democratic candidates higher than Republican respondents' will rate the Republican candidates on stereotypical feminine traits, and Republican respondents' will rate the Republican candidates higher than Democratic respondents' rate the Democratic candidates on stereotypical masculine traits.

Figure 3.11 displays the final set of questions, which concerns each respondent's rating of the candidate's competency on 12 issues. The students were asked to rate candidate competence on the six issues that were discussed specifically in the candidate vignette (the economy, military/defense spending, health care, education, the environment, and crime), as well as six additional issues that were not described in the vignette (Social Security, energy, foreign policy, agriculture/farming, taxes, and homeland security). Respondents rated the candidate's competency on a scale from 1-4, with one indicating that the candidate was "not competent" and four indicating that the candidate was "very competent". As I mentioned in the literature review, previous research indicates that there are policy areas in which either male or female officeholders are considered superior. Female candidates are considered superior on the issues of education, poverty, health care, and women's rights; while male candidates are considered superior on foreign policy, the economy,

⁵ Although the comparisons between the Democratic and Republican candidates do not conform to true experimental procedures because the Democratic and Republican treatments were not identical, each vignette was created to be authentic to how candidates would tailor their positions and authentic to the themes of each party. Therefore, the cross party comparisons will shed light on how partisans evaluate their candidates and whether partisans rate their candidate higher on traits that are stereotypically ascribed to candidates of their party compared to how candidates in the other party are evaluated by their partisans.

Based on your impressions of Susan Davis, please provide your best guess as to her competence on each the following issues. **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Issue | Not competent | Not very competent | Competent | Very competent |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| The Economy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Social Security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Energy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Military/Defense spending | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| The Environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Foreign policy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Agriculture/Farming | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Homeland security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Figure 3.11: Survey Question - Female Candidate Issue Competency Evaluations

crime, defense, and the military. (Hansen and Otero 2006; Hitchon and Chang 1995; Kahn 1992; Kahn 1994; Lawless 2004; Sanbonmatsu 2002).

However, some experimental work indicates that male and female candidates are rated higher on the issue positions mentioned above only when the issue position was not specifically addressed in the candidate vignette (Kahn 1992; Leeper 1991; Matland 1994; Sapiro 1981). Since there are also issue positions that are stereotypically associated with the Republican (e.g. defense and crime) and Democratic parties (e.g. social issues), the measures I use will allow me to investigate differences within parties and between parties.⁶ Thus, I hypothesize the following:

H6: When comparing within each party, respondents will rate female candidates higher than male candidates on stereotypical female issues areas, and male candidates higher than female candidates on stereotypical male issue areas.

H7: When comparing across parties, Democratic respondents' will rate Democratic candidates higher than Republican respondents' rate Republican candidates on stereotypical female issue areas, and Republican respondents' will rate Republican candidates higher than the Democratic respondents' rate Democratic candidates on stereotypical male issue areas.

How Variables are Operationalized

To determine if candidate evaluations differ based on the party or gender of the candidates and/or the gender of the respondents, I will utilize independent sample t-tests to compare group means, using pooled estimates of the variance. I will examine the differences of means between binary groups (independent variable) on a variety of candidate evaluation measures (dependent variable). My dependent variables are interval variables that attempt to measure each candidate's overall competency, electability, ideology, personality traits, and issue competency. This form of analysis is consistent with previous experimental analyses (Ekstrand & Eckert 1981; Spohn & Gillespie 1987; Leeper 1991; Kahn 1992; Matland & King 2002).

⁶ As mentioned in the last section the comparisons between the Democratic and Republican candidates do not conform to true experimental procedures because the Democratic and Republican treatments were not identical. However, the cross party comparisons will shed light on how partisans evaluate their candidates and whether partisans rate their candidates higher on issues that are stereotypically ascribed to candidates of their party compared to how partisans in the other party rate their candidates.

Data Collection

After all the students were surveyed, I manually entered the data into STATA. Each survey packet was assigned a case identification number. Since the dependent variables were interval, I maintained the numerical values used in the survey packet. However, for my independent variables I generated the appropriate binary variables for each set of analyses. Therefore, I created several binary groups based on the candidate's gender, the candidate's party affiliation, the respondent's gender and the respondent's party identification.

To account for the gender of the respondent and the candidate's party affiliation, I created variables based directly on the responses from the survey. To account for the respondents' gender I created the variable *Gender* on which female respondents were assigned a value of 1, and male respondents were assigned a value of 0. To account for a candidate's party affiliation, I created the variable *Form*, for which the value 0 indicated the respondent read the Democratic vignette, and the value of 1 indicated that the respondent read the Republican vignette. Since the respondents were unaware of the gender manipulation, I created the variable *Treatment*, to indicate if the respondent received the female treatment (1) or the male treatment (0).

Since I used a branching method to ascertain each respondent's party identification, I had to generate the appropriate binary groups in multiple steps. First, I used the traditional seven point party identification variable (*Party*), for which 1=Strong Democrat 2= Not Very Strong Democrat 3= Leaning Democrat 4= Neither Party 5=Leaning Republican 6= Not Very Strong Republican and 7=Strong Republican. I assigned each respondent who indicated that he/she considered him/herself a partisan the appropriate partisan placeholder (coded as 1, 2, 6, or 7). Respondents that considered themselves Independent or something else were assigned a value of 3 if they considered themselves closer to the Democratic Party, 5 if they considered themselves closer to the Republican Party, and 4 if they did not consider themselves closer to either party. From here I classified each respondent's

party identification as *Democrat* if he/she was coded as a 1, 2, or 3 and as a *Republican* if he/she was coded as a 5, 6, or 7. Those respondents that were coded as a 4 were considered true independents, and are therefore dropped from the sample (N=16). Finally, I created the binary variable *Twoparty*, for which the value 0 indicated the respondent's party identification was Republican, and the value of 1 indicated the respondent's party identification was Democratic.

The primary binary groups that were created to account for the candidates gender (*Treatment*), the candidate's party affiliation (*Form*), the respondent's gender (*Gender*), and the respondent's party identification (*Twoparty*) were used to create additional binary groups for my within party and across party analyses. For example, to compare the evaluations of the male and female Democratic Candidates among the full Democratic sample, I created a binary Democratic candidate (*Demcand*) variable, for which a value of 1 was assigned to each Democratic respondent who read the female Democratic vignette, and 0 was assigned to each Democratic respondent who read the male Democratic vignette. All respondents that read the Republican vignettes were coded as missing.

To get a better understanding of the binary independent variables that will be used for analysis, I have included Figure 3.12 and Figure 3.13, which display the hierarchical organization of my analyses. Figure 3.12 displays the within party hierarchy, and Figure 3.13 displays the cross party hierarchy. As Figure 3.12 indicates, my analysis begins by comparing the male and female candidate within each party by the full party sample. Then for each party, I divide the sample based on the gender of the respondent. As Figure 3.12 indicates, for my cross party comparisons, I begin by comparing the Democratic and Republican candidates by the full sample. Next, I compare the same gendered candidates by all the respondents that received the specific gendered treatment. I also divide the full sample based on the gender of the respondent to compare the Republican and

Democratic evaluations. Finally, I compare the same gendered candidates within each respondent gender.

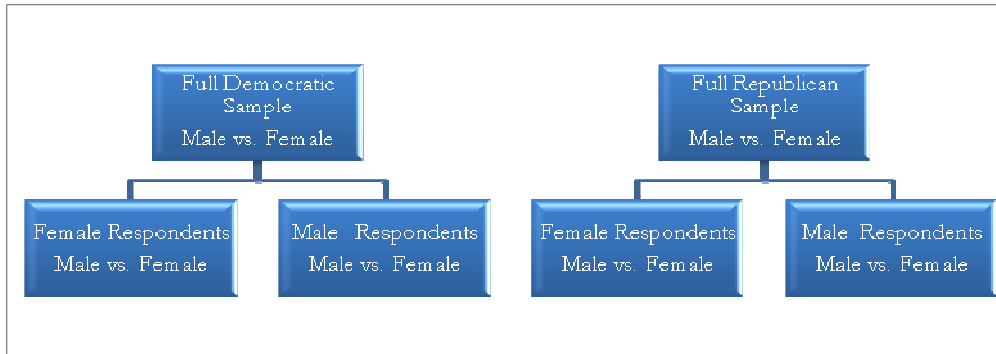


Figure 3.12: Within-Party Hierarchy

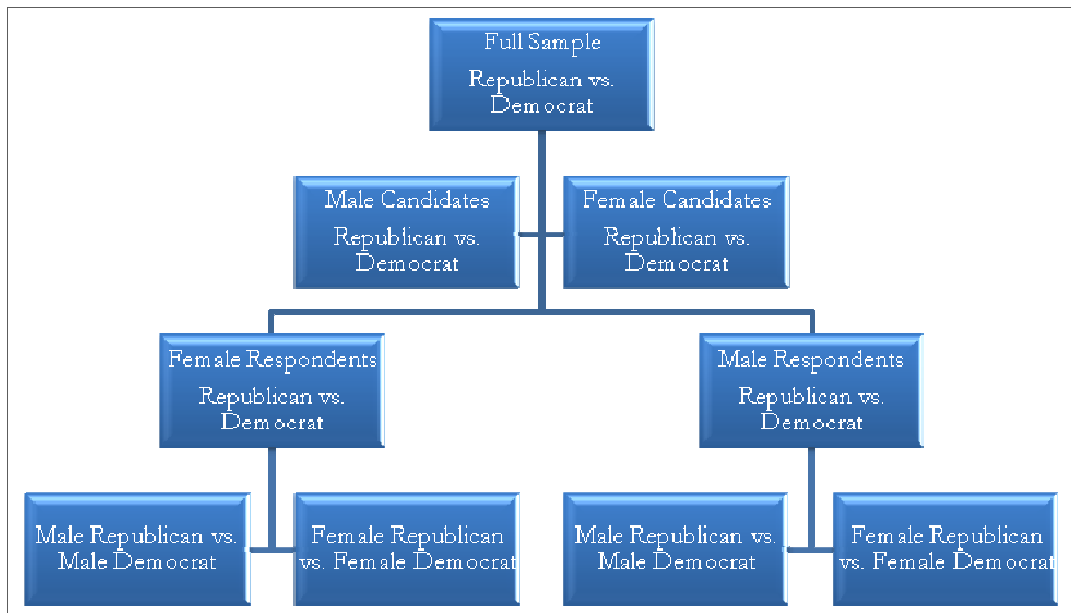


Figure 3.13: Across-Party Hierarchy

Chapter 4: Research Findings

The total number of participants in the survey experiment was 383. Twenty two participants reported that they read a candidate vignette that was not consistent with their party identification, and were thus removed from the analysis. Two participants were removed from the analysis because they did not report their party identification; and 16 additional participants were removed from the analysis because they reported that they were true independents. This left the study with a sample of 343 respondents.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.1 provides descriptive statistics for my independent variables.⁷ As expected with a random distribution of the treatments, 50.14 percent of the participants received the female candidate treatment, and 49.86 percent received the male candidate treatment. The gender of the participants was also fairly even, with females accounting for 47.94 percent and males accounting for 52.06 percent. Participants read the Republican candidate profile at a higher rate than the Democratic candidate profile, 58.31 to 41.69 percent.

To determine if candidate evaluations differ based on the groups associated with the candidates and/or the respondents, I utilized an independent sample t-test to compare group means, using pooled estimates of the variance. I compared the differences of means between binary groups (independent variable) on a variety of candidate evaluation measures (dependent variable). The dependent variables I utilized are interval variables that attempt to measure the candidates' overall competency, electability, ideology, personality traits, and issue competency. Table 4.2 provides the descriptive statistics for the dependent variables that are used in this chapter. My analyses are consistent with previous experimental analyses (Ekstrand & Eckert 1981; Spohn & Gillespie 1987; Leeper 1991; Kahn 1992; Matland & King 2002).

⁷ All tables are found in Appendix C.

RESULTS

The results are divided into four major sections: (1) electability /overall competency; (2) candidate ideology; (3) traits; and (4) issues. For each section, I start by briefly discussing the measures used. I will also reiterate my hypotheses. Next, I provide the results from each comparison of group means, highlighting the significant results. For each section I begin by providing the results for the within party comparison, followed by the results for the across party comparisons. Finally, each section ends with a synthesis of the results and discussion of how the results relate to my hypotheses.

Overall Competency

The literature on how gender affects perceived candidate electability or perceived overall competency indicates that gender does not have significant effects. To test my first two hypotheses, I compared the group means on two measures of candidate electability and four measures of overall competency. For electability, respondents were asked the likelihood that the candidate would win a seat in the U.S. Senate, and were also asked to state how likely they were to vote for the candidate. To measure overall competency, respondents were asked to evaluate how well the candidate argued his/her issues, understood the issues, and how clear he/she was on the issues. Respondents were also asked how much they agreed or disagreed with the candidate. Based on previous studies, my first two hypotheses are that male and female candidates will receive similar ratings on the two electability measures, and that they will receive similar ratings on the four overall competency measures.

To begin my within party analyses of electability and overall competency, I divided the full sample into two smaller sub-samples based on the party affiliation of the candidates. Then I analyzed the group means for the male and female candidates within each party. This step allows me to see if male and female candidates within the same party are evaluated similarly or differently on

measures of electability and overall competency. Then, within each party I further divided the samples based on the gender of the respondent, and then analyzed the group means for the male and female candidates. This step of the analysis allows me to see whether or not there are differences in how male and female respondents evaluate male and female candidates within each party.

Male versus Female

My first set of tables displays overall evaluations of male and female candidates within the Democratic Party. Table 4.3 displays the overall mean scores for the male and female Democratic candidates on the electability/overall competency measures for all subjects who read the Democratic candidate vignette. For the male and female Democratic candidates, the respondents perceived no difference in any of the six evaluation measures. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 divide the Democratic sample according to the gender of the respondent. Table 4.4 displays the evaluations of the male and female candidates by the male Democratic respondents; and Table 4.5 displays the evaluations made by the female Democratic respondents. For male and female respondents within the Democratic sample, there were no differences in candidate ratings.

The next set of tables duplicates the previous analyses but for the Republican candidates by the Republican respondents. Table 4.6 displays the scores for the male and female Republican candidates on the electability/overall competency questions by all the subjects that read the Republican candidate vignette. Tables 4.7 and 4.8 divide the sample based on respondent gender. Table 4.7 displays the evaluations for the male and female candidates by the male Republican respondents; and Table 4.8 displays the evaluations made by the female Republican respondents. The results for the full Republican sample and the male respondent sub-sample indicate that there was no perceived difference between the male and female Republican candidates in any of the six evaluation measures. The one measure that was statistically significant was the comparison of the

male and female candidates on being competent in arguing his/her views by female respondents. For female Republican respondents, the female Republican candidate was perceived as more competent in arguing her views than the male Republican candidate (3.33 to 3.11, $p < .10$).

Summary of Electability/Overall Competency Findings

The results indicate that my first two hypotheses are confirmed. Specifically, when it comes to electability and overall competency, respondents within each party see little difference between male and female candidates. My only statistically significant finding is that female respondents view the female Republican candidate as better at arguing her views than the male Republican candidate. My results are consistent with the previous literature, as I found no evidence that there is less support for female candidates than male candidates. Thus, I conclude that a candidate's gender seems to have little impact on respondents' general candidate evaluations.

Ideology

Research indicates that a candidate's gender is utilized to infer ideological orientation, with female candidates being considered more liberal than male candidates (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy & Terkildsen 1993a; Koch 2000; Koch 2002; McDermott 1998). Therefore, I hypothesized that within each party the female candidate would be seen as more liberal than the male candidate. For each party, I conducted t-tests on the ideology ratings assigned to the candidates. Then for each party, I compared the ideology ratings for the male and female candidates based on the gender of the respondent. The results of these analyses are found in Tables 4.9 and 4.10. Table 4.9 shows that overall, respondents did not view the female Democratic candidate as more liberal than the male Democratic candidate. As for the Republican candidates, Table 4.10 shows that female respondents see no ideological difference between men and women. However, among male respondents, the female candidate was seen as more conservative than the male candidate (5.69 to 5.36, $p < .10$).

These results contradict previous literature and my third hypothesis. The female candidate in both parties was never viewed as more liberal than the male candidate, and among Republican men, the female Republican candidate was seen as more conservative.

Traits

While the electability and overall competency results indicate that respondents do not view male and female candidates differently, previous research suggests that people associate different traits with male and female candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Kahn 1992). Just as the male and female candidates may be ascribed stereotypical masculine and feminine traits due to their gender, the Democratic and Republican parties may have taken on gendered characteristics. Specifically, it may be that Democratic candidates are seen as more feminine and Republican candidates are seen as more masculine (Hayes 2005; Winter 2010).

My fourth hypothesis concerns how male and female candidates within each party are evaluated. I hypothesize that when comparing candidates within each party; respondents will rate the female candidates higher than male candidates on stereotypical feminine traits, and will rate male candidates higher than female candidates on stereotypical masculine traits. For my fifth hypothesis, I make predictions regarding trait evaluations across the two parties. My fifth hypothesis states that the Democratic respondents will rate the Democratic candidates higher than Republican respondents will rate the Republican candidates on stereotypical feminine traits, and the Republican respondents will rate the Republican candidates higher than the Democratic respondents will rate the Democratic candidates on stereotypical male traits.

Like the previous section on electability and overall competency, I first divide the full sample based on party to compare trait evaluations between the male and female candidates within each party. Then, within each party I will further divide the samples based on the gender of the respondent and analyze the group means for the male and female candidates. Next, I will compare

the trait evaluations between the Democratic and Republican candidates. I begin with a broad comparison, analyzing the whole sample and comparing the group means for the Republican and Democratic candidates. Then, I divide the sample by the gender of the respondent to ascertain whether or not gender affects the evaluation of the candidates. Next, I analyze the same gendered candidates (e.g. female Democrat versus Female Republican), by all respondents that received that particular gendered treatment. Finally, I analyze the same gendered candidates according to the gender of the respondent. This final step allows me to ascertain whether or not there are differences in how male and female respondents' rate male and female candidates in each party.

Male versus Female

The first set of analyses is for the full Democratic sample. Table 4.11 shows the mean scores for the male and female Democratic candidates on the trait evaluations for traits relevant to the Democratic candidate vignette. The results indicate that the male candidate was perceived as significantly more knowledgeable (2.91 to 2.68, $p < .05$), aggressive (2.31 to 1.95, $p < .01$), assertive (2.72 to 2.36, $p < .01$), and ambitious (3.12 to 2.84, $p < .05$) than the female candidate. For the full Democratic sample the female candidate was never rated higher than the male candidate.

Tables 4.12 and 4.13 divide the Democratic sample by the gender of the respondent. Table 4.12 displays the trait evaluations for the male and female candidates by the male Democratic respondents; and Table 4.13 displays the evaluations made by the female Democratic respondents. As the results in table 4.12 indicate, the male respondents perceived the male candidate as significantly more knowledgeable (2.84 to 2.58, $p < .10$), aggressive (2.29 to 1.92, $p < .10$), and assertive (2.72 to 2.28, $p < .01$). The results for the female respondents indicate that there were no traits on which the male candidate was rated more favorably. However, the female respondents perceived the female candidate significantly more cautious (2.86 to 2.47, $p < .05$).

The next set of analyses is for the Republican candidates. Tables 4.14, 4.15 and 4.16 provide the trait evaluation results for male and female Republican candidates. Table 4.14 compares the male and female Republican candidate among all the participants who read the Republican vignette. For the full Republican sample, the female candidate was perceived as significantly more caring (3.01 to 2.86, $p < .10$) and willing to compromise (2.41 to 2.25, $p < .10$). The male candidate was not rated superior on any of the 12 traits. Tables 4.15 and 4.16 divide the sample based on the gender of the respondent. Table 4.15 displays the results for the male respondents, and Table 4.16 displays the results for the female respondents. Table 4.15 indicates that male Republican respondents did not rate either candidate more favorably on any of the 12 traits. However, Table 4.16 indicates that the female Republican respondents perceived the female candidate as significantly more compassionate (3.00 to 2.77, $p < .05$), caring (3.10 to 2.84, $p < .10$), and willing to compromise (2.47 to 2.18, $p < .05$).

Summary of Male versus Female Findings

The results of the within party analyses provide support for my fourth hypothesis. However, the results indicate that there is interaction between a candidate's party affiliation, his/her gender, and the gender of the respondent. In the full Democratic sample, the male candidate was rated higher than the female candidate on four traits that are stereotypically masculine; yet the female Democratic candidate was not rated higher on any trait. The male Democratic candidate was rated higher than the female candidate on the traits "knowledgeable," "aggressive," "assertive," and "ambitious." However, when the samples were divided based on the gender of the respondent, the results indicate that it was male respondents who perceived the male candidate as significantly more "knowledgeable", "aggressive", and "assertive". The results also show that female respondents find the female candidate significantly more "cautious" than the male candidate. Therefore, in the Democratic sample, it is clear that male candidates are more likely to be attributed masculine traits,

especially by male respondents; and that female candidates are more likely to be attributed feminine traits by female respondents

The results from the full Republican sample indicate that stereotypically feminine traits were ascribed to the female Republican candidate; yet the male Republican candidate was not rated higher on any of the 12 traits. The full Republican sample viewed the female candidate as significantly more “caring” and “willing to compromise” than the male candidate. When we look at the results for the sub-samples, they show that the stereotypically feminine traits “caring” and “willing to compromise,” found in the full sample, are primarily ascribed by the female respondents. The female respondents were also more likely to ascribe the trait “compassionate” to the female candidate. However, the male candidate was not rated higher on any of the traits, and the male respondents did not rate the male or the female candidate higher on any of the traits.

When we compare the results for the male and female candidates in both parties some interesting findings result. For the Democratic sample, the male candidate was more likely to be ascribed masculine traits by male respondents, while in the Republican sample the female candidate was more likely to be ascribed stereotypically feminine traits by female respondents. These results suggest that there is some interaction between the gender of the candidate and the gender of the respondent. Among Democratic respondents, the male and female candidates might both be viewed as possessing stereotypically feminine traits since their party is considered to possess more feminine traits. But male respondents may feel the need also to attribute the male candidate with higher ratings on traits that are masculine. In the Republican sample, the male and female Republican candidates may be viewed as possessing stereotypically masculine traits since their party is considered more masculine, and just as the male Democratic respondents rated the male candidate higher on masculine traits, the female Republican respondents may have felt the need to rate the female candidate higher on stereotypically feminine traits. Overall, it is quite interesting that male

Democratic respondents were more inclined to rate the male Democratic candidate higher on masculine traits and the female Republican respondents were more inclined to rate the female Republican candidate higher on the feminine traits. In all, the results of this analysis clearly indicate that there is an interaction between the traits associated with the parties, the gender of the candidate, and the gender of the respondent.

Democrats versus Republicans

While the previous analyses compared the mean trait scores for male and female candidates, the rest of the analyses compare the evaluations that Democratic respondents made concerning the Democratic candidates to the evaluations that were made by the Republican respondents concerning the Republican candidates.⁸ Table 4.17 displays the results for the trait evaluations by the whole sample comparing the means scores for the Democratic and Republican candidates regardless of gender. The traits on which Democratic respondents view their candidate more favorably than Republican respondents view their candidate, are “cautious” (2.68 to 2.31, $p < .01$), “caring” (3.08 to 2.93, $p < .05$), and “willing to compromise” (2.61 to 2.32, $p < .01$). The traits on which Republican respondents view their candidate more favorably than Democratic respondents view their candidate are “honest” (2.94 to 2.70, $p < .01$), “knowledgeable” (3.04 to 2.79, $p < .01$), “aggressive” (2.72 to 2.12, $p < .01$), “assertive” (3.03 to 2.53, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.05 to 2.54, $p < .01$), and “ambitious” (3.30 to 2.97, $p < .01$).

Tables 4.18 and 4.19 divide the sample by the gender of the respondent; Table 4.18 displays the results for male respondents, and Table 4.19 displays the results for female respondents. The results for the male respondents in Table 4.18 are very similar to those for the whole sample. The male Democratic respondents view their candidate more favorably than male Republican

⁸ As mentioned in the last chapter, the Democratic and Republican vignettes were not identical, however each vignette was created to be authentic to how candidates in each party would tailor their positions and authentic to the themes of each party. Therefore, any difference in the trait evaluation ratings for the Democratic and Republican candidates may be due to the fact that the vignettes were different.

respondents view their candidate on the traits “cautious” (2.70 to 2.36, $p < .01$) and “willing to compromise” (2.59 to 2.34, $p < .05$). However, male Democratic respondents did not give their candidate a higher rating on the trait “caring” than the male Republican respondents gave their candidate. The male Republican respondents view their candidate more favorably than the male Democratic respondents view their candidate on the traits: “honest” (2.91 to 2.65, $p < .01$), “knowledgeable” (2.83 to 2.09, $p < .01$), “aggressive” (2.83 to 2.09, $p < .01$), “assertive” (3.06 to 2.48, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.05 to 2.58, $p < .01$), and “ambitious” (3.28 to 2.87, $p < .05$). The male Republican respondents also saw their candidate as more competent than male Democrats saw their candidate (3.04 to 2.77, $p < .01$). The results in Table 4.19 for the female respondents’ evaluations of the Democratic candidates are consistent with those for male respondents—Democrats gave their candidate a higher rating on the traits “cautious” (2.67 to 2.26, $p < .01$) and “willing to compromise” (2.61 to 2.33, $p < .01$) than Republicans gave their candidate. Female Republican respondents gave their candidate higher ratings than female Democratic respondents gave their candidate on five of 12 traits. Like the full sample and the male respondents, female Republicans gave their candidate higher ratings than female Democrats gave their candidate on the traits “honest” (2.99 to 2.74, $p < .01$), “aggressive” (2.62 to 2.13, $p < .01$), “assertive” (2.99 to 2.59, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.03 to 2.51, $p < .01$), and “ambitious” (3.30 to 3.06, $p < .05$).

While the previous three tables examined evaluation measures for the Democratic and Republican candidates regardless of the candidate’s gender, the next two tables, Tables 4.20 and 4.21 divide the sample based on the candidate’s gender. Table 4.20 shows how Democrats viewed the female Democratic candidate and how Republicans viewed the female Republican candidate. Table 4.21 compares the two male candidates. The results in Table 4.20 are consistent with those of the last three tables (4.17, 4.18, and 4.19). Specifically, Democratic respondents who viewed the female candidate vignette gave their female candidate higher marks than did Republican respondents who

viewed their female candidate vignette, on the traits “cautious” (2.71 to 2.34, $p < .01$) and “willing to compromise” (2.60 to 2.41, $p < .10$). Republican respondents gave their female candidate higher marks than Democratic respondents gave their female candidate on the traits “honest” (3.01 to 2.65, $p < .01$), “knowledgeable” (3.07 to 2.68, $p < .01$), “aggressive” (2.73 to 1.95, $p < .01$), “assertive” (2.97 to 2.36, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.06 to 2.53, $p < .01$), and “ambitious” (3.32 to 2.84, $p < .10$). As the results in Table 4.21 indicate, Democratic respondents gave their male candidate higher marks than did Republican respondents gave their male candidate on the traits “cautious” (2.66 to 2.27, $p < .01$), “willing to compromise” (2.62 to 2.25, $p < .01$), and “compassionate” (2.93 to 2.79, $p < .10$). The results in Table 4.21 also indicate that Republican respondents view their male candidate more favorably than Democratic respondents view their male candidate on the traits “aggressive” (2.74 to 2.31, $p < .01$), “assertive” (3.10 to 2.72, $p < .01$), and “competitive” (3.04 to 2.54, $p < .01$).

The next four sets of tables compare the evaluations of the candidates by dividing the sample by the candidate’s gender and the respondent’s gender. Table 4.22 shows how female Democrats viewed the female Democratic candidate and how female Republicans viewed the female Republican candidate. Table 4.23 shows how male Democrats viewed the female Democratic candidate and how male Republicans viewed the female Republican candidate. Table 4.22 shows that the female Democratic respondents ranked the female Democratic candidate higher on the trait “cautious” than female Republican respondents ranked the female Republican candidate (2.86 to 2.29, $p < .01$). However, female Republican respondents rated their female candidate higher on the traits “honest” (3.09 to 2.71, $p < .01$), “knowledgeable” (3.13 to 2.78, $p < .05$), “aggressive” (2.72 to 1.97, $p < .01$), “assertive” (2.94 to 2.46, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.04 to 2.58, $p < .05$), and “ambitious” (3.45 to 2.92, $p < .01$) than did female Democratic respondents rated their female candidate. The male respondents’ evaluations of the female candidates shown in Table 4.23 indicate that there are no traits in which the male Democrats rated their female candidate higher than male Republicans

rated their female candidate. However, male Republicans rated their female candidate higher than male Democrats rated their female candidate on the traits “honest” (2.94 to 2.59, $p < .05$), “knowledgeable” (3.00 to 2.58, $p < .01$), “aggressive” (2.75 to 1.92, $p < .01$), “assertive” (2.98 to 2.28, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.06 to 2.49, $p < .01$), and “ambitious” (3.28 to 2.77, $p < .01$). The results for the comparison between the male Democratic and the male Republican candidates diverge from those pertaining to the female candidate comparisons. As Table 4.24 indicates, female Democratic respondents rated their male candidate higher than female Republican respondents rated their male candidate on the trait “willing to compromise” (2.63 to 2.18, $p < .01$), while female Republican respondents rated their the male candidate higher than female Democratic respondents rated their male candidate on the traits “assertive” (3.05 to 2.71, $p < .05$) and “competitive” (3.02 to 2.43, $p < .01$). The results from the male respondent comparisons in Table 4.25 indicate that male Democratic respondents rated their male candidate higher than male Republican respondents rated their male candidate on the trait “cautious” (2.88 to 2.32, $p < .01$), while male Republican respondents rated their the male candidate higher than male Democratic respondents rated their male candidate on the traits “knowledgeable,” (3.09 to 2.84, $p < .10$), “aggressive” (2.89 to 2.29, $p < .01$), “assertive” (3.12 to 2.72, $p < .01$), “competent” (3.11 to 2.69, $p < .01$), “competitive” (3.04 to 2.69, $p < .05$), and “ambitious” (3.29 to 3.00, $p < .05$).

Summary of Republican versus Democrat Findings

The results from the full sample analyses comparing the Republican and Democratic candidates confirm my fifth hypothesis. Specifically, Democratic respondents rated their candidates higher than Republican respondents rated their candidates on stereotypically feminine traits, while Republican respondents rated their candidate higher than Democratic respondents rated their candidate on stereotypically masculine traits. When we break the findings down by the gender of the respondent, the results are very similar. Male Democratic respondents rated their candidate higher

than male Republican respondents rated their candidate on the traits “cautious” and “willing to compromise.” As for female respondents, female Democratic respondents rated their candidate higher than female Republican respondents viewed their candidate on the traits “cautious” and “willing to compromise.” Female Republican respondents rated their candidate higher than female Democratic respondents rated their candidate on the issues “honest,” “aggressive,” “assertive,” “competitive,” and “ambitious.”

Overall, the results indicate that respondents within each party seem to associate gendered traits to their party candidates. The Republican respondents rated the Republican candidates higher than the Democratic respondents rated the Democratic candidates on stereotypically masculine traits (except for “honest”) and the Democrat respondents rated the Democratic candidates higher than the Republican respondents rated the Republican candidates on stereotypically feminine traits.

My fifth hypothesis is further confirmed in the analyses comparing the female Democratic candidate to the female Republican candidate and the male Democratic candidate to the male Republican candidate. The results indicate that respondents tended to ascribe stereotypically masculine traits to both male and female Republican candidates, and stereotypical feminine traits to both male and female Democratic candidates. These results indicate that the party of the candidate has a significant impact on the trait evaluations.

While the analyses indicate that the Democratic candidate is more likely than the Republican candidate to be ascribed stereotypically feminine traits by fellow partisans, and the Republican candidate is more likely than the Democratic candidate to be ascribed stereotypically masculine traits by fellow partisans regardless of the candidate’s gender, there is slight variation in the tendency for male and female candidates in each party to be ascribed particular traits. Republican respondents rated both their female and male candidates higher than Democratic respondents rated their candidates on the traits “aggressive,” “assertive,” and “competitive.” But Republican respondents

rated their female candidate higher than Democratic respondent rated their female candidate on the traits “honest,” “knowledgeable,” and “ambitious.” Therefore, the female Republican candidate was rated more favorably by fellow Republicans than the female Democratic candidate was by fellow Democrats on two stereotypically masculine traits and one stereotypical feminine trait. Similarly, Democratic respondents rated their male candidate higher than Republican respondents rated their male candidate on the trait “compassionate.”

The final set of trait evaluation comparisons divided the sample by the gender and party of the candidate as well as the gender of the respondents. In the analyses comparing the female candidates, the results for the female Republican candidate are consistent with those of previous analyses, and are consistent among both genders of respondents. The female Republican candidate was rated higher by Republicans than the female Democratic candidate was by Democrats on the traits “honest,” “knowledgeable,” “aggressive,” “assertive,” “competitive,” and “ambitious.” The analysis comparing the female Democratic candidate to the female Republican candidate indicates that only female Democrats rated their female candidate higher than Republicans rated their female candidate on the trait “cautious.” When we examine how respondents rate the male candidates, the results indicate that female Democratic respondents rate their male candidate higher than female Republican respondents rate their male candidate on the trait “willing to compromise.” However, male Democratic respondents rated their male candidate higher than male Republican respondents rated their male candidate on the trait “cautious.” Finally, in all, Republican respondents rated their male candidate higher than Democratic respondents rated their male candidate on the traits “knowledgeable,” “aggressive,” “assertive,” “competent,” “competitive,” and “ambitious.” Among female respondents, female Republicans rated their male candidate higher than female Democrats rated their male candidate on the traits “assertive” and “competitive.”

Summary of Trait Evaluation Findings

The overall findings for trait evaluations largely confirm my two trait hypotheses. The findings indicate that a candidate's gender and party affiliation, as well the respondent's gender, affect a candidate's trait evaluations. My fourth hypothesis stated that within each party, respondents would rate female candidates higher than male candidates on stereotypically feminine traits, and male candidates higher than female candidates on stereotypically masculine traits. While the male candidate in Democratic Party was more likely to be ascribed stereotypically masculine traits than the female Democratic candidate, and the female candidate in both parties was more likely to be ascribed stereotypically feminine traits, the analyses indicate that the gender of the respondent affected the results. Specifically, the stereotypically masculine traits ascribed to the male candidates in the Democratic Party were ascribed by male respondents, whereas the feminine traits ascribed to the female candidate in both parties were only ascribed by the female respondents. Therefore, my fourth hypothesis was partially confirmed. While it is correct that male and female candidates are ascribed stereotypically gendered traits, it appears these stereotypically gendered traits are only ascribed by respondents that are the same gender as the candidate.

Not only are male and female candidates ascribed stereotypically masculine and feminine traits, but the Democratic and Republican parties seem to be ascribed masculine and feminine traits, thus confirming my fifth hypothesis. The results indicate that Republican respondents rate their candidates higher than Democratic respondents rate their candidates on masculine traits, while Democratic respondents rate their candidates higher than Republicans rate their candidates on stereotypically feminine traits. The gender of the candidate seems to make little differences in these trait evaluations.

Overall, the findings indicate that political candidates have a tendency to be ascribed stereotypically gendered trait evaluations based on their party affiliation. To a lesser degree

candidates are ascribed gendered trait evaluations due to their gender and the gender of the respondent evaluating the candidate. For example, while a female Republican candidate is more likely to be attributed feminine traits than her male Republican counterpart, she is also more likely to be ascribed more stereotypically masculine traits than her female Democratic counterpart.

Issues

Gender stereotypes also influence perceptions of male and female competency on policy issues. Male candidates are considered superior on the economy, agriculture, foreign policy, defense, crime, and the military, while female candidates are considered superior on education, poverty, healthcare, the environment, and women's rights (Hansen and Otero 2006; Hitchon and Chang 1995; Kahn 1994; Lawless 2004; Sanbonmatsu 2002). However, the Democratic and Republican parties are also stereotyped as "owning" certain issue areas. Republicans "own" issues such as defense, taxes, and controlling crime, while Democrats "own" issues including health care, the environment, and education (Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2003; Pope and Woon 2009; Winter 2010).

To test how stereotypes pertaining to gender and party affect issue evaluations, the respondents were asked to rate the candidate in the vignette on 12 different policy areas. I asked respondents to rate candidate competence on six issues discussed in the candidate vignette--the economy, military/defense spending, health care, education, the environment, and crime. I also asked about six additional issues that were not described in the vignette--Social Security, energy, foreign policy, agriculture/farming, taxes, and homeland security.

My sixth hypothesis concerns how male and female candidates within each party are evaluated. I hypothesize that when comparing candidates within each party, respondents would rate the female candidate higher than male candidate on stereotypically feminine issues, and male candidates higher than female candidates on stereotypically masculine issues. My seventh hypotheses

make predictions regarding issue evaluations across the two parties. My seventh hypothesis states that Democratic respondents will rate the Democratic candidates higher than the Republican respondents will rate the Republican candidates on stereotypically feminine issues, and the Republican respondents will rate the Republican candidates higher than the Democratic respondents rate the Democratic candidates on stereotypically masculine issues.

Like in previous sections, here I analyze and describe my data in the same order. First, I divided the full sample based on party to compare issue evaluations between the male and female candidates within each party. Then, within each party I further divided the samples based on the gender of the respondent and analyze the group means for the male and female candidates. Next, I compared the issue evaluations between the Democratic and Republican candidates. I begin with a broad comparison, analyzing the whole sample and comparing the group means for the Republican and Democratic candidates. Then, I divided the sample by the gender of the respondent, to ascertain whether or not gender affects the evaluation of the candidates. Next, I analyzed the same gendered candidates (e.g. female Democrat versus Female Republican), by all respondents that received that particular gendered treatment. Finally, I analyzed the same gendered candidates according to the gender of the respondent. This final step allows me to ascertain whether or not there are differences in how male and female respondents' rate male and female candidates in each party.

Male versus Female

The first set of tables compares the male and female candidates within the Democratic Party. Table 4.26 shows the mean scores for the male and female Democratic candidates on the issue evaluations by all the subjects that read the Democratic candidate vignette. The results from the full Democratic sample indicate that the male candidate was rated superior on issues dealing with energy (2.66 to 2.36, $p < .05$) and military/defense spending (2.94 to 2.47, $p < .01$). The female candidate was not rated superior on any of the 12 policy areas.

Tables 4.27 and 4.28 divide the Democratic sample by the gender of the respondent. Table 4.27 displays the issue evaluations of the male and female candidates by the male Democratic respondents, and Table 4.28 displays the issue evaluations made by the female Democratic respondents. As the results in Table 4.27 indicate, the female candidate was not rated superior on any of the policy areas by the male Democratic respondents. The male candidate was rated superior on issues pertaining to Social Security (2.61 to 2.28, $p < .05$), energy (2.59 to 2.15, $p < .05$), and military/defense spending (2.97 to 2.46, $p < .05$). The results for the female Democratic respondents in Table 4.28 indicate once again that the female candidate was not rated superior in any policy area, while the male candidate was rated superior on issues pertaining to health care (3.03 to 2.66, $p < .05$) and military/defense spending (2.91 to 2.49, $p < .05$).

The next set of analyses compares the male and female Republican candidates on 12 policy areas. Tables 4.29, 4.30 and 4.31 provide the results for the issue evaluations of male and female Republican candidates. Table 4.29 compares the male and female Republican candidate by all participants who read the Republican vignette. Tables 4.30 and 4.31 divide the sample based on the gender of the respondent, with Table 4.30 displaying the results for the male respondents and Table 4.31 displaying the results for the female respondents. The results in Table 4.29 indicate that the female candidate was rated superior on the issue of education (3.26 to 3.03, $p < .05$), while the male candidate was rated superior on the issue of the economy (3.17 to 2.91, $p < .01$). The results for the male Republican respondents in Table 4.30 are similar to those in Table 4.29. However, the results in Table 4.31 for the female Republican respondents indicates that the female candidate was rated superior on the issue of taxes (3.08 to 2.80, $p < .05$), while the male candidate was not rated superior on any of the policy areas.

Summary of Male versus Female Findings

The results from the Democratic sample indicate that it was the male candidate who was seen as superior on a number of policy issues. For the full Democratic sample, the male Democratic candidate was evaluated as better able to deal with the issues of energy and the military. The respondent sub-samples also indicate that male and female respondents rated the male candidate as better able to deal with the military. This evaluation is consistent with previous research that posits that male candidates are seen as superior on military issues and defense spending. The male and female respondents did vary on other policy areas. For the male respondents, the male candidate was evaluated as better able to deal with Social Security and energy, while female respondents rated the male candidate more favorably on the issue of health care. The superior ratings for the male candidate on the issues of health care and Social Security run counter to the results from previous research. Overall the results from the Democratic sample do not confirm my sixth hypothesis. While the male Democratic candidate was rated superior on some stereotypically masculine policy areas, he was also rated superior on some stereotypically feminine policy areas, and the female Democratic candidate was not rated superior on any policy area.

The results from the full Republican sample indicate that the male candidate was viewed as better able to deal with the economy, while the female candidate was viewed as better able to deal with education. These two findings are consistent with previous research. The results from the respondent sub-sample indicate that it was male respondents and not female respondents who rated the male and female candidates in this manner; however, the female respondent sub-sample rated the female Republican candidate as better able to deal with the issue of taxes. The results from the male respondent sub-sample indicate that it was male respondents who maintained some stereotypical beliefs regarding policy areas in which male and female candidates are superior. The more favorable evaluations for the female candidate by the female respondents on the issue of taxes

runs counter to previous research; however this policy area was not discussed in the vignette. In all, the results from the Republican sample seem to provide minimal support for my sixth hypothesis, as it was only male respondents who rated the male and female candidates superior on stereotypically gendered policy areas.

Overall, the comparisons of male and female candidates within each party do not confirm my sixth hypothesis. While a few findings were consistent with my hypothesis, the number of significant results was minimal, and a few results ran contrary to my hypothesis. For the Democratic sample, the male candidate's superiority on the issue of military/ defense spending is consistent with my hypothesis. But the superior rating for the male Democratic candidate on the issues of health care and Social Security runs counter to my hypothesis. Also, in the Democratic sample, the female respondent was not rated superior on any of the policy areas. For the Republican sample the male candidate's superiority on the issue of the economy, and the female candidate's superiority on the issue of education, are consistent with my hypothesis. But these results were only statistically significant for the whole sample and the male respondent sub-sample.

It is also interesting that it was the male Democratic candidate that was rated more favorably than the female Democratic candidate on the issue of military and defense spending; however, there was not statistical difference found between the male and female Republican candidates on this issue. The results indicate that the party affiliation of the candidates as well as the gender of the candidate may affect how the male and female candidates were evaluated on various issues. For the Democratic sample, the male Democratic candidate may have been rated more favorably on the issue of military and defense spending because the Republican Party is stereotypically associated with this policy area. It may be the case that within the Republican Party respondents found little reason to evaluate the male superior to the female because it was a Republican policy area. However, within the Democratic Party the female candidate may have received less favorable ratings because it is a

policy area that is not stereotypically associated with the Democratic Party and it is a stereotypically masculine policy area. The same mechanism may have been in place for the Republican Party respondents rating the female Republican candidate better on education. Since education may be seen as a stereotypically Democratic issue and a stereotypically female policy issue, the two contradictory pieces of information may have made Republican respondents (especially men) more inclined to rate the female Republican candidate more favorably.

Democrats versus Republicans

While all the previous analyses compared the mean issue evaluation scores for male and female candidates within each party, the rest of the analyses compare the evaluations that Democratic respondents made concerning the Democratic candidates to the evaluations that were made by the Republican respondents concerning the Republican candidates.⁹ Table 4.32 compares the mean scores among the whole sample for the Democratic and Republican candidates regardless of gender. The results indicate that Democratic respondents rated their candidates higher than Republicans rated their candidates on issues pertaining to energy and the environment. Republican respondents rated their candidates higher than Democrats rated their candidates on many issues including the economy, education, military/defense spending, foreign policy, agriculture, crime, taxes, and homeland security.

Tables 4.33 and 4.34 divide the sample by the gender of the respondent. Table 4.33 displays the results for the male respondents, while Table 4.34 displays the results for the female respondents. Table 4.33 indicates that the male Democrats rated their candidate higher than male Republicans rated their candidate on the environment (2.97 to 2.47, $p < .01$), while male Republicans rated their candidate higher than male Democrats rated their candidate on a majority of issues including the economy (3.09 to 2.79, $p < .01$), education (3.12 to 2.87, $p < .05$), military/defense

⁹ As mentioned in the section on trait evaluations, the issue evaluation ratings for the Democratic and Republican candidates may be different because the vignettes were different.

spending (3.05 to 2.69, $p < .01$), foreign policy (2.58 to 2.31, $p < .05$), crime (2.69 to 3.07, $p < .01$), taxes (2.91 to 2.43, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.09 to 2.58, $p < .01$). Table 4.34 displays similar results. Female Democrats rated their candidate higher than female Republicans rated their candidate on energy (2.65 to 2.33, $p < .01$) and the environment (2.93 to 2.45, $p < .01$), while female Republicans rated their candidate higher than female Democrats rated their candidate on a majority of the issues including the economy (2.97 to 2.70, $p < .05$), health care (3.08 to 2.84, $p < .05$), education (3.17 to 2.96, $p < .10$), military/defense spending (2.93 to 2.70, $p < .01$), foreign policy (2.54 to 2.26, $p < .05$), crime (3.18 to 2.54, $p < .01$), taxes (2.95 to 2.39, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.00 to 2.43, $p < .01$).

While the previous three tables examined issue evaluation measures for the Democratic and Republican candidates regardless of the candidate's gender, Tables 4.35 and 4.36 divide the sample based on each candidate's gender. Table 4.35 compares the female Democratic candidate and the female Republican candidate, while Table 4.36 compares the two male candidates. Table 4.35 shows that Democratic respondents rated their female candidate higher than Republican respondents rated their female candidate on the issue of the environment (2.93 to 2.52, $p < .01$), while Republicans rated their female candidate higher than Democrats rated their female candidate on several issues including the economy (2.91 to 2.68, $p < .05$), education (3.26 to 2.92, $p < .01$), military/defense spending (2.98 to 2.47, $p < .01$), foreign policy (2.55 to 2.22, $p < .01$), crime (3.17 to 2.64, $p < .01$), taxes (2.97 to 2.34, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.04 to 2.47, $p < .01$). The results for the comparison between the male candidates in Table 4.36 indicate that Democrats rated their male candidate higher than Republicans rated theirs on issues pertaining to energy (2.66 to 2.32, $p < .01$) and the environment (2.99 to 2.40, $p < .01$), while Republicans rated their male candidate higher than Democrats rated theirs on the economy (3.17 to 2.82, $p < .01$), crime (3.06 to 2.62, $p < .01$), taxes (2.89 to 2.51, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.06 to 2.56, $p < .01$).

The next four sets of tables compare the issue evaluations of the candidates by dividing the sample according to the candidate's gender and the respondent's gender. Table 4.37 shows how female Democrats viewed the female Democratic candidate and how female Republicans viewed the female Republican candidate. Table 4.38 shows how male Democrats viewed the female Democratic candidate and how male Republicans viewed the female Republican candidate. Table 4.39 displays the results for the male candidates by the female respondents, and Table 4.40 displays the results for the male candidates by the male respondents. Table 4.37 indicates that female Democratic respondents rated their female candidate higher than female Republican respondents rated their female candidate on the issue of the environment (2.88 to 2.56, $p < .10$), while female Republicans rated their female candidate higher than Democrats rated theirs on the economy (2.90 to 2.60, $p < .10$), health care (3.10 to 2.66, $p < .01$), education (3.29 to 3.00, $p < .10$), military/defense spending (2.96 to 2.49, $p < .01$), foreign policy (2.53 to 2.23, $p < .10$), crime (3.19 to 2.49, $p < .01$), taxes (3.08 to 2.35, $p < .01$), and homeland security (2.94 to 2.40, $p < .01$). For the male respondents' evaluations of the female candidates, Table 4.38 shows that male Democrats rate their female candidate higher than male Republicans rate their female candidate on the issue of the environment (2.97 to 2.46, $p < .01$), while male Republicans rate their female candidate higher than male Democrats rate their female candidate on education (3.23 to 2.84, $p < .05$), military/defense spending (2.98 to 2.46, $p < .01$), foreign policy (2.55 to 2.21, $p < .10$), crime (3.14 to 2.77, $p < .05$), taxes (2.84 to 2.33, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.12 to 2.54, $p < .01$).

For the comparison between the male candidates by female respondents, Table 4.39 shows that female Democratic respondents rate their male candidate higher than female Republicans rate their male candidate on issues pertaining to energy (2.71 to 2.32, $p < .01$) and the environment (2.97 to 2.33, $p < .01$), while female Republican respondents rate their male candidate higher than female Democrats their male candidate on crime (3.18 to 2.60, $p < .01$), taxes (2.80 to 2.43, $p < .05$), and

homeland security (3.07 to 2.46, $p < .01$). Finally, the results for the male candidates by the male respondents in Table 4.40 indicate that male Democrats rate their male candidate higher than male Republicans rate their candidate on issues pertaining to energy (2.59 to 2.32, $p < .10$) and the environment (2.97 to 2.48, $p < .01$), while male Republicans rate their male candidate higher than male Democrats rate their male candidate on the economy (3.26 to 2.84, $p < .01$), crime (3.00 to 2.59, $p < .05$), taxes (2.96 to 2.55, $p < .01$), and homeland security (3.07 to 2.63, $p < .01$).

Summary of Republican versus Democrat Findings

Starting with the full sample it is clear that the parties are viewed differently by their adherents. The majority of the issues on which Republicans are rated higher by Republicans than Democrats are by Democrats are stereotypically Republican or masculine issues. Specifically, Republican respondents rate their candidates higher than Democrats rate their candidates on the economy, education, military and defense spending, foreign policy, agriculture, crime, taxes, and homeland security. Democratic respondents rate their candidate higher than Republicans rate their candidates on the issues of the environment and energy. The results of comparisons of male and female respondents are fairly consistent with those from the full sample.

Most results from my analyses of the full sample confirm my seventh hypothesis. However, the fact that Republicans viewed their candidates more favorably than Democrats viewed their candidates on the issues of health care and education contradict previous research. Social issues such as health care and education are stereotypical feminine issues and are generally “owned” by Democrats. While the issue of health care may be viewed as one on which historically the Democratic Party was superior, recent changes in health care legislation in the United States may have affected my results.

When I compared candidates across parties and controlled for gender, the results indicate that there are policy areas which are “owned” by one party or the other. However, the results also

indicate there are policy areas in which the gender and the party of the candidate affect respondents' evaluations. While there were no statistically significant differences between the male candidates on the issues of education, military and defense spending, and foreign policy, Republican respondents rated their female candidate higher than Democratic respondents rated their female candidate on these issues. On foreign policy and defense spending, the divergent results for the male candidates and the female candidates may be due to an interaction between party and gender. For the male candidates, while these two policy areas are stereotypically Republican strengths, gender may have attenuated the differences. Yet for the female candidates the party cue and the gender cue may have intensified the differences. On the issue of education, previous research indicates that the female Democratic candidate should have been rated higher by Democrats than the female Republican candidate was by Republicans. However, my results indicate otherwise.

This final set of analysis indicates once again that the parties are viewed differently by their partisans. Republicans rate their candidates higher than Democrats rate their candidates on the issues of crime, taxes, and homeland security, while Democrats rate their candidates higher than Republicans rate their candidates on the environment. All of this is consistent with prior research. However, the results also indicate that there are interactions between a candidate's party affiliation, the candidate's gender, and the respondent's gender. For the Democratic candidates, the impact of the candidate's gender influenced evaluations on the issue of energy, yet the respondent's gender did not influence evaluations. For the Republican candidates, the gender of the candidate and the gender of the respondent had a significant impact on policy area superiority. Aside from the three policy areas in which Republicans rate their candidate higher than Democrats rate their candidate, the only other policy area in which the male Republican candidate was rated higher by his partisans than the male Democratic candidate was rated higher by his, the economy. These results were only found to be significant for the male respondent sub-sample. The results also indicate that female Republicans

rate their female candidate higher than female Democrats rate theirs on the issue of the economy. These results indicate that there was clearly an interaction between the gender of the candidate and the gender of the respondent, with each gender rating the candidate of the same gender superior in this particular policy area.

Summary of Issue Evaluation Findings

The overall findings on issue evaluations are mixed. Neither of my issue evaluation hypotheses is strongly confirmed. My sixth hypothesis regarding how male and female candidates within each party are evaluated was not confirmed. There were very few policy areas in which the male or female candidate was rated superior, and while some of the results were consistent with my hypothesis, some results contradicted my sixth hypothesis. My seventh hypothesis is partially confirmed. While the Republican candidates did receive superior ratings by the Republican respondents on several stereotypically masculine issues, they also received superior ratings on some stereotypically feminine issues; and the only stereotypically feminine issue in which the Democratic candidates received superior ratings by the Democratic respondents was on the issue of the environment. In conclusion, the findings from the issue evaluations indicate that party is the primary heuristic utilized in evaluations of candidate competency on a variety of policy areas. However, the findings also suggest that the gender of the candidate and the gender of the respondent interact for some policy evaluations.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Previous work on gender stereotyping suggests that people use gender stereotypes when evaluating candidates (Kahn 1992). People often rely on gender cues when attributing certain beliefs, traits, and issue competencies to candidates. However, most of the previous experimental work on gender stereotyping tests the effects of gender on candidate evaluations without accounting for candidate party affiliation. All of this begs the question: Do perceptions of female politicians stem from gender and/or partisan stereotypes?

To fill this gap in the literature, I conducted an experiment that investigated evaluations of hypothetical male and female U.S. Senate candidates in the Republican and Democratic parties. Respondents were randomly assigned a male or a female candidate from their party. Each respondent read either a Republican or Democratic candidate's one page issue position vignette, and then took a survey containing questions about candidate electability, overall competency, personality traits, policy area competency, and ideological orientation.

This study addresses if and how a candidate's gender and/or party affiliation affect evaluations of male and female candidates. This study also attempts to ascertain whether the gender of the individual making the evaluation influences his/her evaluations. I use independent sample t-tests to compare group means on evaluation measures, comparing evaluations within each party and across the two parties. In this chapter, I review the findings and the implications of my work. I also discuss the contributions of my research to the study of gender stereotyping, and then examine the limitations of this dissertation. I conclude by discussing future directions in research on gender stereotyping.

Review of Findings and Implications

My experiment produced mixed results. My findings suggest that evaluations made by respondents concerning a candidate's electability, overall competency, and ideological orientation are not

influenced by the candidate's gender. However, the gender of the candidate does appear to affect evaluations of the candidate's personality traits and issue competency. My findings also suggest that these evaluations are affected by the candidate's gender and party affiliation as well as the respondent's gender.

Candidate Electability, Competency, and Ideology

Gender does not appear to affect evaluations of a candidate's electability and competency, as expected. Previous experimental and survey research indicates that there is no difference in the level of support for male and female candidates (Ekstrand and Eckert 1981). My lack of statistically significant results also indicates that a respondent's gender has little influence on his/her evaluations, thus suggesting no gender affinity effects. These results are consistent with similar past experiments (Ekstrand and Eckert 1981; Riggle et al 1997; Sapiro 1981).

As for candidate ideological orientation, the results are contrary to previous research. Specifically, I find that female candidates within each party are not viewed as more liberal than their male counterparts. In fact, the one statistically significant result obtained in the analysis of candidate ideology indicates that within the Republican Party, male respondents rated the female Republican candidate as more conservative than her male counterpart.

While my results on candidate ideology were counter to my hypothesis and contradicted previous research, it is possible that my use of undergraduate students affected how respondents rated the candidates on this measure. Since the respondents were young, they may not have had a clear understanding of ideology. It is also possible that within a younger demographic more egalitarian sex-role attitudes affected evaluations of candidate ideology in the same way that it influenced evaluations of the candidates' electability and overall competency.

Candidate Personality Traits

The results from evaluations of candidate personality traits indicate that gender stereotyping may occur in an implicit manner rather than an explicit manner. First, the results comparing male and female candidates within each party indicate that male and female candidates are attributed stereotypically gendered personality traits. Second, the cross party results support Hayes (2005) and Winter (2010) in their assessment that the two parties have taken on gendered trait characteristics. Democratic respondents rated their candidates more favorably than Republican respondents rated their candidates on stereotypically feminine traits; while Republican respondents rated their candidates higher than Democratic respondents rated their candidates on stereotypically masculine traits. Finally, the results from the within party comparisons indicate that a respondent's gender may affect candidate evaluations. For example, I find that in the Republican Party, the female candidate receives superior evaluations on stereotypically feminine traits; however, these superior trait evaluations come from female respondents rather than male respondents. In the Democratic Party, the male candidate received superior trait evaluations on stereotypically masculine traits, and these superior evaluations were made by male respondents only. Also, in the Democratic Party, the female candidate received a superior trait evaluation on the stereotypically feminine trait "cautious", and this superior evaluation was made by female respondents only. The interaction of respondent gender and candidate gender and party affiliation is interesting, as the female Republican and the both Democrats received more favorable trait ratings from respondents of the same gender. Also, for the female Republican and the male Democrat, the traits on which the candidates received superior ratings were contrary to gendered personality traits that are associated with each party. Therefore, while the Republican Party may be ascribed stereotypically masculine personality traits, the female respondents within the Republican Party held gender stereotypes of personality traits that were associated with the female candidate. The same logic can be used for the male Democratic candidate

receiving superior ratings on stereotypically masculine personality traits exclusively from the male respondents, while the Democratic Party in general is more likely to be ascribed stereotypical feminine personality traits.

Overall, the results indicate that there is an interaction between the candidate's party affiliation, the candidate's gender, and the respondent's gender. The results from the cross party comparisons and the within party comparisons clearly indicate that while each party has taken on gendered characteristics, when male and female candidates within each party are evaluated, the use of traditional gender stereotypes is conditioned by party stereotypes as well as the respondent's gender.

Issue Competency

The results from the issue competency evaluations are mixed. While some results were consistent with my hypotheses and previous work on gender stereotyping, some ran counter to my hypotheses. The mixed results are seen in the within party comparisons as well as the cross party comparisons.

Not only are the results from the within party comparisons of male and female Republican and Democratic candidates mixed, there are few statistically significant results. In the comparison of male and female Democratic candidates, the superior rating for the male candidate on the issue of military and defense spending is consistent with my hypothesis; however, the Democratic male candidate also received superior ratings on two stereotypically feminine issues. The male Democratic candidate received superior ratings on the issue of Social Security by male respondents, and superior ratings on health care by female respondents. These results run counter to my hypothesis concerning gender stereotyping within each party. No statistically significant results indicate that the female Democratic candidate was superior to the male on any policy area, much less on any stereotypically feminine policy area.

Among Republican respondents, the results were generally consistent with my hypothesis. There were very few significant results, but the significant results indicate that the gender of the respondent affected evaluations. The male respondents rated the male candidate superior on the stereotypically masculine issue of the economy and the female candidate superior on the stereotypically feminine issue of education. These findings confirm my hypothesis. The only other statistically significant result occurred in the female respondent sub-sample, with the female candidate receiving more favorable ratings on the issue of taxes. This runs counter to my hypothesis.

Overall, the results from the within party sample comparisons indicate that there is no consistent gender stereotyping of issue competency. The significant results from the two parties are sparse, and while some of the significant results confirm my hypothesis, many significant results run counter to my hypothesis. The lack of statistically significant results indicates that in general, candidates do not seem to be attributed with stereotypically gendered issue superiority. However, the results that were consistent with my hypothesis (except the male Democratic candidate superiority on the issue of health care by female respondents) happened to be on issues that were included in the vignette, whereas the results that were significant but ran counter to my hypotheses concerned issues that were not discussed in the vignette. The relationship between candidate superiority on an issue and the issue being addressed specifically by the candidate runs counter to some previous experimental work indicating that male and female candidates were rated higher on their stereotypically gendered issue positions only when the issue position was not specifically addressed in the candidate vignette (Kahn 1992; Leeper 1991; Matland 1994; Sapiro 1981).

While there was a lack of significant results for the within sample comparisons, there are several statistically significant results for the across party comparison; however, like the within sample comparison, some of the significant results are consistent with my hypotheses and some run counter to my hypotheses. The Republican candidates were rated higher by their fellow partisans

than the Democratic candidates were by their partisans on the majority of issue ratings, and most of their superior issue ratings were on stereotypical masculine policy areas. These findings are consistent with my hypotheses. However, the female Republican candidate received higher ratings from Republicans than the female Democratic candidate received from her partisans on the issues of health care and education. This runs counter to my hypotheses.

The Democratic candidates were rated higher by their fellow partisans than the Republican candidates were by their partisans on the issue of the environment, which is a stereotypical feminine policy area. This finding is consistent with my hypotheses. The male Democrat candidate also received higher ratings from Democrats than the male Republican candidate received from his partisans on the issue of energy.

A further analysis of the results from the between party comparisons shows that not only does the party of the candidate affect candidate evaluations, but the gender of the candidate and the gender of the respondent interact in the respondent's evaluations. While male and female respondents in the Republican Party consistently rated their male and female candidates higher than male and female Democrats rated their male and female candidates on the issues of crime, taxes, and homeland security, there are several significant results that depend upon on the gender of the candidate and/or the gender of the respondent. For example, the only other statistically significant superior rating for the male Republican candidate was on the issue of the economy, and this superior rating was only found in the male respondent sub-sample. Similarly, the female Republican candidate received a superior rating on the economy, but only from female respondents. On the issues of education, military and defense spending, and foreign policy, the female Republican candidate received better ratings from her fellow partisans than the female Democratic candidate received from her partisans. However, only the female Republican respondents rated the female Republican

candidate superior on the issue of health care compared to the how female Democratic respondents rated the female Democratic candidate.

The overall findings on issue evaluations are mixed. Neither of my two issue evaluation hypotheses is clearly confirmed. The results suggest that the primary heuristic used when making evaluations of issue competency is party affiliation. The Democratic candidates were rated more favorably on the issue of the environment, which is a stereotypically feminine policy area, and a policy area “owned” by the Democratic Party. The Republican candidates were rated more favorably on stereotypically masculine policy areas such as crime, taxes, and homeland security; however, these policy areas are “owned” by the Republican Party. Furthermore, the analysis of the comparison of male and female candidates within each party on these issues shows that the gender of the candidate does not affect the results. However, the results also suggest that on other policy areas, the gender of the candidate as well as the gender of the respondent affects candidate evaluations and that these evaluations are influenced by the candidate’s party affiliation

Overall, the results suggest that a candidate’s party affiliation has the most significant impact on candidate evaluations. While partisan stereotypes influence inferences that individuals make regarding a candidate’s ideological orientation, policy area superiority, and personality traits, the results suggest that people rely on gender stereotypes in evaluating male and female candidates in some policy areas, and that traditional gender stereotypes are particularly influential in evaluating candidate personality traits. Finally, the results indicate that the gender of the individual making the evaluations can impact the utilization of partisan and gender stereotypes.

Contributions to Research on Gender Stereotyping

My results suggest that research on gender stereotyping cannot continue to exclude party identification. People hold partisan stereotypes, and these stereotypes interact with gender stereotypes. It is also clear that an individual’s own gender impacts his/her evaluations.

Since I studied evaluations from individuals whose party identification is the same as the candidate, the results are more consistent with how voters in each party may assess their political candidates, much in the same manner as candidates are assessed in a primary election. A recent line of research on the electoral success of female candidates indicates that primaries are where women face the toughest challenges (Lawless and Pearson 2008). To begin, women are less likely to enter primaries, and often when they do it is to challenge other women. The presence of a woman in the primary, even an incumbent, tends to attract other candidates, including men and women from the same party and women from the other party.

The results of electability and overall competency analyses indicate that citizens do not have explicit gendered stereotypes. While the lack of significant results may be due to social desirability bias, it may also imply that many people truly believe that men and women are equal as candidates. Yet, the statistically significant results of my within party comparisons on trait evaluations suggest that gendered stereotypes act in an implicit manner. Therefore, while individuals may honestly believe that male and female candidates are equally competent and that they are equally likely to win, they may possess gendered stereotypes about the traits of male and female candidates.

While a candidate's gender had a significant impact on trait evaluations, the results from the trait and issue evaluations indicate that a candidate's party affiliation sends a clear signal to voters pertaining to issues and traits that are associated with each party. Thus the results indicate that a candidate's gender does not act alone in sending signals about trait and issue superiority. The results indicate that a candidate's party affiliation, his/her gender, and the respondent's gender interact to affect how voters process information about candidates.

For example, the Republican Party is stereotyped as the masculine party. Yet the male Republican candidate was not rated superior to the female Republican candidate on any of the stereotypically masculine traits; however, the female Republican candidate was rated superior on

stereotypical feminine traits but only by female respondents. The same type of scenario is evident in the Democratic Party. While the Democratic Party is stereotyped as the feminine party, the male Democratic candidate was viewed as superior on stereotypically masculine traits, but only by male respondents. These results indicate that individuals do not perceive differences between male and female candidates within the same party on traits on which the party is stereotypically superior. They do, however, find differences between male and female candidates within the same party on traits that are not stereotypically dominated by the party. This divergence may be intensified by the voter's gender. Therefore, the results suggest that future research on the impact of gender stereotyping and candidate evaluations must assess how party stereotypes and gender stereotypes interact.

Limitations and Future Research

While my results suggest that there are complex interactions between partisan stereotypes and gender stereotypes, there are limitations to this study. First and foremost, while the utilization of a student sample is common in experimental work on gender stereotyping, it is not unassailable. Since my respondents were undergraduates at the University of Tennessee, demographic variability is not present. The ability to carry out a similar study on a random national sample would allow for a more robust analysis on the interactions of gender and partisan stereotypes.

Second, while my results allow me to analyze how male and female candidates are evaluated by respondents within their party, a major weakness of the study is that it did not allow me to analyze how male and female candidates were evaluated by individuals of the opposing party identification or true independents. Therefore, I believe that the work of this dissertation needs to be extended to allow individuals to assess candidates across party lines. This extension will allow for a more nuanced investigation of how gender and party interact within and across party lines.

As the work of King and Matland (2003) demonstrates, the evaluations of hypothetical male and female Republican candidate were contingent on the gender of the candidate and the party

identification of the respondent. Their results indicated that Republican respondents were more likely to vote for the Republican man, and that Democratic and Independent respondents were more likely to vote for the Republican woman. They also found that Democratic and Independent respondents were more likely than Republican respondents to rate the female Republican candidate favorably on trait evaluations. As for ideology, their results indicated that the Republican female candidate was seen as less conservative than the male candidate by Republican respondents; however, there was no variation in the level of perceived conservatism between the male and female Republican candidate by Democratic and Independent respondents.

I believe that it is also important for future research to account for how the parties have taken on gendered characteristics. While traditional gender stereotypes may exist in both the Democratic and Republican parties, the gendered characteristics associated with each party may affect how the candidates' actual gender influences an individual's assessment of the candidate. This line of research needs to be investigated, and I think that it is possible to examine how parties hold gendered characteristics, by continuing experimental research similar to mine.

I think it is also important for future research to focus on how descriptive representation affects candidate evaluations. As the number of women in politics increases, it is possible that stereotypes that were traditionally associated with female candidates will diminish. Social role theory posits that as the distribution of women in politics changes, there should be a shift in the characteristics associated with roles (Eagly 1987). As voters become more accustomed to seeing a woman succeed in political office, they may update their perceptions about women as politicians. It is important to understand why women are successful at winning elections in some geographic locations but not in others. Are women successful in some districts because there is a shift in the populations' stereotypes regarding female politicians? Or are there other mechanisms at work? The work of Fox & Smith (1998) indicates that there may be other characteristics such as the political

culture that shapes a bias for / against female candidates. A recent line of research on the determinants of women's descriptive representation at the municipal level posits that political characteristics such as the supply of group resources available to women and the ideological climate of the city are particularly important to the presence of women as mayors and council members (Smith, Reingold, and Owens 2012). A recent empirical analysis pertaining to female political leadership in Latin America indicates that individuals affiliated with the left are more inclined to possess egalitarian gender attitudes (Morgan and Buice 2013).

If stereotypical beliefs about women are altered due to their changing roles in society, it is important to ask whether or not there are changes in how female candidates are evaluated. Survey, experimental, and cross-cultural data indicate that perceptions of dynamic changes seen in female characteristics are tied to changes in societal roles (Sczesny et al. 2008). Since there have been some drastic changes in the societal roles of women over the last century, it is possible that beliefs about women are dynamic. For example, between the 1930s and World War II, the status of women increased. This is shown by the percentage of women in college (41 percent in 1940), and an increase in the ratings of female assertiveness during this period. After World War II, there was a decline in the number of women in college (32 percent in 1952), and there was a decrease in perceptions of female assertiveness. The measures of both these ratings increased during the late 1960s, with women's college attendance not reaching the 1940 level until 1965 (Twenge 2001).

However, while there has been some change in the societal roles that women hold, women maintain dominant domestic and social roles. In educational attainment there has been an increase in the number of women earning undergraduate and graduate degrees. In 2007-2008, women accounted for 57 percent of undergraduate enrollments, 61 percent of all master's degrees awarded, and 51 percent of all doctoral degrees awarded (Aud et al. 2010). However, women accounted for only a quarter of graduate degrees in fields including engineering and computer information sciences

(Aud et al. 2010). In the workforce, women are still more likely than men to work in occupations with communal characteristics (e.g. nursing), and they are very unlikely to hold powerful positions in business (Sczesny et al. 2008). In the home, women are still considered primary caregivers. At the same time, men's roles have remained stable. In education and the workforce, men still dominate fields considered agentic. At home, while there has been an increase in the time men report spending with their children, this number is dwarfed by the hours women report spending with children (Sczesny et al. 2008).

If younger generations see more women in politics and leadership positions, it is possible that traditional stereotypes associated with female candidates will become obsolete. Yet it is also possible that the slow change in domestic and social roles associated with men and women will cause traditional stereotypes to persist. However, it is also possible that in the future, individuals will no longer evaluate female politicians primarily based on their superordinate category as women, allowing female politicians to be viewed as a subgroup with distinct attributes within a large heterogeneous group of women (Richards & Hewstone 2001).

Therefore, it is important that future research on gender stereotyping take further consideration of whether or not female politicians are perceived as a subgroup or a subtype of the larger group "women." If female politicians are currently a subtype of the larger group of women, they may warrant stereotypes that are distinctly different than stereotypes for women in general. Schneider and Bos' (2011) analysis of stereotypes pertaining to black politicians and black people in general indicates that there was little overlap of stereotype content between the two groups. If people perceive the category "female candidate" as distinctly different than the category of "women," then activating the stereotype of a female candidate will not activate the stereotype of women. Therefore, it is possible for female candidates to be stereotyped in a different manner than women in general, thus preserving the traditional stereotypes of women.

It is also important for research on gender stereotyping to consider the possibility that female candidates are judged relative to within-group standards of stereotyped traits (Biernat & Deaux 2012). This shifting standards model asserts that “because different groups have different stereotypes associated with them, standards *shift* depending on the social category membership of the individual being judged” (Biernat 2009: 137) For example, an individual may rate a female candidate as highly competent, but the subject’s rating may be based on how the female candidate rates compared to other female candidates, not male candidates. Therefore, the term “competent” could mean something very different for a male candidate than it does for a female candidate. This means that the measures for rating competence between a man and a woman could be quantitatively different. Therefore, a woman could be rated higher or equal to a man on a stereotypically male trait, but that measurement may not be accurate because the measures are not objective. Another example is related to the subjective scales often used to rate the aggressiveness of males and females. Men are usually stereotyped as being more aggressive than women. Therefore it may take a stronger display of aggression from a man for a subject to see him as acting aggressively, whereas a woman may be viewed as aggressive for a less intense act of aggression (Deaux & LaFrance 1998).

Since subjective language can play an important role in the analysis of gender stereotyping, it is important that the field try to improve upon its use of objective rating scales. Biernat (2009) asserts that an objective measurement scale comparing male and female leadership skills would be the assignment of a letter grade, rather than a subjective seven point scale. Research on shifting standards indicates that for some gender and racial stereotypes, the assimilation to stereotypes is more pervasive when utilizing objective measures rather than subjective measures (Biernat 2009). I believe the idea of shifting standards of stereotypes is expressed quite well by Foshchi (1998: 63), who states that:

those who are considered to be of lower status will have their performances scrutinized and then assessed by a stricter standard than those who are of higher status; the latter, on the other hand, will be given the benefit of the doubt and will be treated with more lenient standard than the former.

If the current measurements utilized in the gender stereotyping literature are found to indicate shifting standards, then it is possible that some citizens feel that female candidates are not as “qualified” as their male counterparts, and therefore women are still unable to break down the barriers necessary to win elections for higher levels of office. I believe that it is possible for shifting standards to affect female candidates when they are run in non-partisan elections or primary elections, because their gender becomes a more salient heuristic.

Another important area of study from social psychology concerns the fact that there can be contradictory evaluations of females in agentic roles. While a female in an agentic role may be rated as successful as a male counterpart, research indicates that she may be considered more hostile and less rational than her male counterpart (Sczesny et al. 2008). This indicates that the study of female candidates and the impact of gender stereotypes on their evaluations needs to proceed with caution, because women can be rated as effective and successful, yet they may be penalized by also being rated as hostile. Therefore, if a female candidate is able to overcome traditional gendered stereotypes, she may still suffer at the ballot box because voters may perceive her as being more hostile and less rational than her male counterpart.

Conclusion

In this study, I have shown that partisan stereotypes interact with gender stereotypes and respondent gender. My analysis suggests that future research on the impact of gender on candidate evaluations needs to account for candidate party affiliation. The findings also lend some support to Winter’s (2010) assertion that the parties have taken on gendered characteristics, particularly in regards to

gendered personality traits. Overall, Republican candidates received superior ratings on masculine personality traits by their partisans, and Democratic candidates received superior ratings on stereotypically feminine traits by their partisans, regardless of gender. However, the results indicate that male and female candidates within the same party are rated differently on those personality traits that are not associated with their political party. Therefore, future research on gender stereotyping needs to account for party identification, and must further refine how these two heuristics affect the success of female candidates in both parties.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Female Treatment Survey Packet

Informed Consent Form

Note: Please return this copy of the informed consent form to your instructor.

Project: Understanding Political Attitudes & Opinions

- The purpose of this study is to understand individual political attitudes and opinions about political candidates.
- You will complete a questionnaire for this study. The questionnaire will take between 20-30 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study will be over when you complete the questionnaire.
- Anything pertinent to this study that you discuss with Mrs. Shafer (the principal investigator for this study) or your instructor before, during, or after the study is confidential. Your completed questionnaire will be given a number in place of your name.
- Each questionnaire will be collected by Mrs. Shafer. All completed questionnaires will be stored in a locked closet in the Political Science Graduate Student Offices, 347 South Stadium Hall, UTK. All questionnaires will be destroyed when data analysis is complete. Information from this study may be presented at conferences and in publications. Results will be presented in group form and may be published in journals and presented at professional conferences. Names of participants will never be revealed.
- You may contact Mrs. Shafer, (865) 974-4470, rshafer@utk.edu at any time to ask questions about any aspect of this study.
- Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to participate or to withdraw from participation at any time for any reason.

I have read the attached project description and had any questions answered by Mrs. Rebecca Shafer and/or my instructor:

Name

Signature

Date

Informed Consent Form

Note: Please keep this copy of the informed consent form for your records.

Project: Understanding Political Attitudes & Opinions

- The purpose of this study is to understand individual political attitudes and opinions about political candidates.
- You will complete a questionnaire for this study. The questionnaire will take between 20-30 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study will be over when you complete the questionnaire.
- Anything pertinent to this study that you discuss with Mrs. Shafer (the principal investigator for this study) or your instructor before, during, or after the study is confidential. Your completed questionnaire will be given a number in place of your name.
- Each questionnaire will be collected by Mrs. Shafer. All completed questionnaires will be stored in a locked closet in the Political Science Graduate Student Office, 347 South Stadium Hall, UTK. All questionnaires will be destroyed when data analysis is complete. Information from this study may be presented at conferences and in publications. Results will be presented in group form and may be published in journals and presented at professional conferences. Names of participants will never be revealed.
- You may contact Mrs. Shafer, (865) 974-4470, rshafer@utk.edu at any time to ask questions about any aspect of this study.
- Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to participate or to withdraw from participation at any time for any reason.

I have read the attached project description and had any questions answered by Mrs. Rebecca Shafer and/or my instructor:

Name

Signature

Date

Instructions: I would like to ask you a number of questions about the national political scene in general, and about your political activities in particular. I will begin with a series of items about you and your political activities, opinions, and beliefs. Then I would like you to read the profile of the candidate from the party which is closest to your own party identification. *It is important that you read only one profile.* Finally, after you are finished reading the profile, I would like you to respond to a series of survey items about the candidate whose profile you chose to read. Although nothing I ask about here will be particularly sensitive, I want to assure you that your answers will remain anonymous. In the questionnaire that follows there are quite a few items, but most of them can be answered very quickly. Therefore, this survey should not take you more than 20-30 minutes to complete.

Thank you for your participation!

Section I. I would like to begin by learning a little bit about you.

1. What year were you born? **(Please specify)** >>> _____

2. Are you male or female? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**
 0. MALE
 1. FEMALE

3. What racial or ethnic group or groups best describe(s) you? **(Please circle the appropriate response; More than one response is allowed)**
 0. WHITE/CAUCASIAN
 1. BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN
 2. NATIVE AMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN
 3. HISPANIC OR LATINO
 4. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
 5. OTHER >>> Please specify _____

Section II. Now I would like to learn more about your political attitudes, opinions, and activities.

4. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? If you haven't thought much about this, please leave this question blank. **(Please circle the appropriate number)**

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| EXTREMELY LIBERAL | LIBERAL | SLIGHTLY LIBERAL | MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE | CONSERVATIVE | EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

5. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? **(Please circle the appropriate responses)**

0. REPUBLICAN >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?

- A. STRONG REPUBLICAN
- B. NOT VERY STRONG REPUBLICAN

1. DEMOCRAT >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?

- A. STRONG DEMOCRAT
- B. NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT

2. INDEPENDENT >>> DO you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

- A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
- C. NEITHER

3. SOMETHING ELSE >>> DO you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

- A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
- C. NEITHER

6. Some people don't pay much attention to politics. How about you, would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in politics? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
- 1. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
- 2. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

7. How likely would you say you are to vote in the 2012 presidential election? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. NOT LIKELY AT ALL
- 1. NOT VERY LIKELY
- 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 3. VERY LIKELY
- 4. ALMOST CERTAIN

8. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. HARDLY AT ALL
- 1. ONLY NOW AND THEN
- 2. SOME OF THE TIME
- 3. MOST OF THE TIME

Section III. Now I would like to see how much you know about the world of politics. Few people get all these questions correct, so if you don't know an answer, just leave that question blank.

9. Do you happen to know what job or political office **John Boehner** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

10. Do you happen to know what job or political office **David Cameron** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

11. How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto?
(Please specify) >>> _____

12. For how many years is a Senator elected – this is, how many years are there in one term of office?
(Please specify) >>> _____

13. How many justices (judges) are there on the U.S. Supreme Court?
(Please specify) >>> _____

Form A –Democratic Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Susan Davis, a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate. Ms. Davis is a businesswoman and is currently serving her third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. Susan Davis believes that our government should work for us, not against us. She believes it should ensure opportunity not just for those with the most money and influence, but for every American who is willing to work

Susan Davis knows we need to continue to create jobs and lay the foundation for long-term economic growth. She understands that it is the private sector, not the government that will create jobs that put people back to work and strengthen the economy. But she also knows that the government has an important role to play in creating the right atmosphere for entrepreneurship and innovation. The future of the American economy lies in innovation. That's why we need to create the right climate for companies and entrepreneurs to create the high-tech, 21st century jobs that will pay good wages and support the American middle class.

Ms. Davis believes that supporting our troops is imperative. Our troops must get the support and the protection they need. From providing them with body and vehicle armor, to boosting their base pay, our troops must come first. Susan Davis supports the process of withdrawing our forces from Iraq and refocusing our efforts on Afghanistan and Pakistan. She supports our policy of preventing Afghanistan and Pakistan from becoming safe-havens for those who seek to attack our country.

Susan Davis supports legislation that would cut health care costs, protect consumer choice, and ensure all Americans access to quality affordable coverage. She believes that health care reform is about protecting what works and fixing what's broken. Our health care system is broken if private insurance companies dictate which doctors your children can see or which health services you're able to access and afford.

Quality education is central to individual economic opportunity and sustained American prosperity. To compete in a global economy, American students must receive an education that will prepare them for the challenges that lay ahead of them. It is essential that the next generation of American workers and entrepreneurs are prepared to succeed in the 21st-century global marketplace. At all levels, Ms. Davis believes in the fundamental partnership between educators, parents, and students to nurture talent and promote achievement.

Susan Davis believes in fighting for environmental protections and conservation of our natural resources. We have made our air cleaner to breathe and our water safer to drink, but environmental stewardship is an ongoing responsibility. From combating climate change to protecting our streams, forests, and wildlife, it is important that we continue to protect our environment for both current and future generations.

Ms. Davis posits that we need to provide local, state, and federal law enforcement with the tools they need to combat crime. To keep our communities safe, we must not only be tough on crime, but also look for ways to address the root causes of illegal behavior. She supports funding for law enforcement, legislative initiatives to crack down on gang activity, and other measures to provide new avenues for rehabilitation.

Form B – Republican Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Susan Davis, a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate. Ms. Davis is a businesswoman and is currently serving her third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. All you ever asked of government is to stand on your side, not in your way. Susan Davis will stand on your side and fight for your future.

Susan Davis trusts that the strength of America's entrepreneurial spirit will lead our economic recovery. That's why she supports common sense, pro-growth policies that encourage private sector innovation and job creation. The federal government needs to support entrepreneurs by eliminating burdensome regulations and discriminatory taxes that are holding businesses back.

Protecting America from another terrorist attack is a primary goal of our federal government. We know the fight will be long and hard, but we can't give up our commitment to a secure America and a free and peaceful world. Fighting the War on Terror means preemptively disarming those leaders who harbor terrorists and weapons of mass destruction. It means giving our military, law enforcement, and intelligence organizations the tools they need to keep us safe.

Ms. Davis believes in a market-based approach to health care. She wants to harness the power of competition to bring down costs and expand access to quality care. That includes implementing insurance reforms such as allowing for the purchase of coverage across state lines and enabling small businesses to form pools that enhance their purchasing power. Additionally, she believes health savings accounts should be expanded, individuals who purchase health insurance should have the same tax benefits that employers receive, and that states should be allowed to establish adequate high risk pools

Susan Davis is a strong advocate for ensuring all children have access to quality education and are given the opportunity to succeed. She believes in more local control over education, where states, localities, and most importantly parents can play a much more significant role in their children's schooling. The federal government has simply used its power to disregard parental rights, restrict teachers, and leave kids with an unsatisfactory education, unable to compete in a quickly advancing world.

Ms. Davis posits that we need policies which encourage investment in environmentally sound, cost-effective practices without stifling innovation and setting our economy back. While Washington may develop the guidelines, we need to get the government out of the way, and let local people get the job done. Congress and government agencies must use a tailored approach to each environmental issue and consider the economic impacts of proposed policies upon everyone involved. Furthermore, programs must include enough flexibility to be implemented in an efficient and effective manner.

Susan Davis believes in tough law enforcement, severe penalties for those who commit crime, and continued funding for law enforcement programs making a difference in our communities. She believes that local, state, and federal authorities must work together as partners to enforce the law, and that they must be given the legal tools and funding resources necessary to do their jobs well.

Instructions: Now I would like you to answer a few questions about Susan Davis. I realize that you do not have extensive knowledge of the candidate, but hopefully you have an idea of what Susan Davis is like, and this view will help you to answer the following questions.

1. What form did you read? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. FORM A (THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)
2. FORM B (THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)

2. In your opinion, what is the likelihood that Susan Davis will win the election for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
2. NOT VERY LIKELY
3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
4. VERY LIKELY

3. Suppose the election were held today. How likely are you to vote for Susan Davis for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
2. NOT VERY LIKELY
3. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
4. VERY LIKELY

4. How competent was Susan Davis in arguing her views? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT COMPETENT
2. NOT VERY COMPETENT
3. SOMEWHAT COMPETENT
4. VERY COMPETENT

5. How well do you think Susan Davis understands the issues discussed in the speech. **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT WELL AT ALL
2. NOT VERY WELL
3. FAIRLY WELL
4. VERY WELL

6. How clear are Susan Davis's stands on the issues? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. NOT CLEAR AT ALL
2. NOT VERY CLEAR
3. FAIRLY CLEAR
4. VERY CLEAR

7. How much do you agree or disagree with Susan Davis? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

1. STRONGLY DISAGREE
2. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
3. SOMEWHAT AGREE
4. STRONGLY AGREE

8. Please indicate what you believe to be Susan Davis's general ideological stance. **(Please circle appropriate response)**

EXTREMELY LIBERAL LIBERAL SLIGHTLY LIBERAL MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE CONSERVATIVE EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Below is a list of characteristics that can describe a candidate. In your opinion how well does each of the following words describe Susan Davis, not well at all, not too well, quite well, or extremely well? **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Word | Not well at all | Not too well | Quite well | Extremely well |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| Compassionate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Honest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Knowledgeable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aggressive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Rational | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Assertive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Cautious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Caring | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competitive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Ambitious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Willing to compromise | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

10. Based on your impressions of Susan Davis, please provide your best guess as to her competence on each of the following issues. **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Issue | Not competent | Not very competent | Competent | Very competent |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| The Economy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Social Security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Energy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Military/Defense spending | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| The Environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Foreign policy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Agriculture/Farming | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Homeland security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix B: Male Treatment Survey Packet

Informed Consent Form

Note: Please return this copy of the informed consent form to your instructor.

Project: Understanding Political Attitudes & Opinions

- The purpose of this study is to understand individual political attitudes and opinions about political candidates.
- You will complete a questionnaire for this study. The questionnaire will take between 20-30 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study will be over when you complete the questionnaire.
- Anything pertinent to this study that you discuss with Mrs. Shafer (the principal investigator for this study) or your instructor before, during, or after the study is confidential. Your completed questionnaire will be given a number in place of your name.
- Each questionnaire will be collected by Mrs. Shafer. All completed questionnaires will be stored in a locked closet in the Political Science Graduate Student Offices, 347 South Stadium Hall, UTK. All questionnaires will be destroyed when data analysis is complete. Information from this study may be presented at conferences and in publications. Results will be presented in group form and may be published in journals and presented at professional conferences. Names of participants will never be revealed.
- You may contact Mrs. Shafer, (865) 974-4470, rshafer@utk.edu at any time to ask questions about any aspect of this study.
- Participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to participate or to withdraw from participation at any time for any reason.

I have read the attached project description and had any questions answered by Mrs. Rebecca Shafer and/or my instructor:

Name

Signature

Date

Informed Consent Form

Note: Please keep this copy of the informed consent form for your records.

Project: Understanding Political Attitudes & Opinions

- The purpose of this study is to understand individual political attitudes and opinions about political candidates.
- You will complete a questionnaire for this study. The questionnaire will take between 20-30 minutes to complete. Your participation in this study will be over when you complete the questionnaire.
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I have read the attached project description and had any questions answered by Mrs. Rebecca Shafer and/or my instructor:

Name

Signature

Date

Instructions: I would like to ask you a number of questions about the national political scene in general, and about your political activities in particular. I will begin with a series of items about you and your political activities, opinions, and beliefs. Then I would like you to read the profile of the candidate from the party which is closest to your own party identification. *It is important that you read only one profile.* Finally, after you are finished reading the profile, I would like you to respond to a series of survey items about the candidate whose profile you chose to read. Although nothing I ask about here will be particularly sensitive, I want to assure you that your answers will remain anonymous. In the questionnaire that follows there are quite a few items, but most of them can be answered very quickly. Therefore, this survey should not take you more than 20-30 minutes to complete.

Thank you for your participation!

Section I. I would like to begin by learning a little bit about you.

1. What year were you born? **(Please specify)** >>> _____

2. Are you male or female? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**
 0. MALE
 1. FEMALE

3. What racial or ethnic group or groups best describe(s) you? **(Please circle the appropriate response; More than one response is allowed)**
 6. WHITE/CAUCASIAN
 7. BLACK/AFRICAN-AMERICAN
 8. NATIVE AMERICAN/AMERICAN INDIAN
 9. HISPANIC OR LATINO
 10. ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER
 11. OTHER >>> Please specify _____

Section II. Now I would like to learn more about your political attitudes, opinions, and activities.

4. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? If you haven't thought much about this, please leave this question blank. **(Please circle the appropriate number)**

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| EXTREMELY LIBERAL | LIBERAL | SLIGHTLY LIBERAL | MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE | CONSERVATIVE | EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

5. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? **(Please circle the appropriate responses)**

0. REPUBLICAN >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?

- A. STRONG REPUBLICAN
- B. NOT VERY STRONG REPUBLICAN

2. DEMOCRAT >>> Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?

- A. STRONG DEMOCRAT
- B. NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT

3. INDEPENDENT >>> DO you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

- A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
- C. NEITHER

4. SOMETHING ELSE >>> DO you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

- A. DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- B. REPUBLICAN PARTY
- C. NEITHER

6. Some people don't pay much attention to politics. How about you, would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in politics? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. NOT MUCH INTERESTED
- 1. SOMEWHAT INTERESTED
- 2. VERY MUCH INTERESTED

7. How likely would you say you are to vote in the 2012 presidential election? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. NOT LIKELY AT ALL
- 1. NOT VERY LIKELY
- 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 3. VERY LIKELY
- 4. ALMOST CERTAIN

8. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

(Please circle the appropriate response)

- 0. HARDLY AT ALL
- 1. ONLY NOW AND THEN
- 2. SOME OF THE TIME
- 3. MOST OF THE TIME

Section III. Now I would like to see how much you know about the world of politics. Few people get all these questions correct, so if you don't know an answer, just leave that question blank.

9. Do you happen to know what job or political office **John Boehner** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

10. Do you happen to know what job or political office **David Cameron** holds?
(Please specify) >>> _____

11. How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto?
(Please specify) >>> _____

12. For how many years is a Senator elected – this is, how many years are there in one term of office?
(Please specify) >>> _____

13. How many justices (judges) are there on the U.S. Supreme Court?
(Please specify) >>> _____

Form A –Democratic Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Richard Davis, a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate. Mr. Davis is a businessman and is currently serving his third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. Richard Davis believes that our government should work for us, not against us. He believes it should ensure opportunity not just for those with the most money and influence, but for every American who is willing to work

Richard Davis knows we need to continue to create jobs and lay the foundation for long-term economic growth. He understands that it is the private sector, not the government that will create jobs that put people back to work and strengthen the economy. But he also knows that the government has an important role to play in creating the right atmosphere for entrepreneurship and innovation. The future of the American economy lies in innovation. That's why we need to create the right climate for companies and entrepreneurs to create the high-tech, 21st century jobs that will pay good wages and support the American middle class.

Mr. Davis believes that supporting our troops is imperative. Our troops must get the support and the protection they need. From providing them with body and vehicle armor, to boosting their base pay, our troops must come first. Richard Davis supports the process of withdrawing our forces from Iraq and refocusing our efforts on Afghanistan and Pakistan. He supports our policy of preventing Afghanistan and Pakistan from becoming safe-havens for those who seek to attack our country.

Richard Davis supports legislation that would cut health care costs, protect consumer choice, and ensure all Americans access to quality affordable coverage. He believes that health care reform is about protecting what works and fixing what's broken. Our health care system is broken if private insurance companies dictate which doctors your children can see or which health services you're able to access and afford.

Quality education is central to individual economic opportunity and sustained American prosperity. To compete in a global economy, American students must receive an education that will prepare them for the challenges that lay ahead of them. It is essential that the next generation of American workers and entrepreneurs are prepared to succeed in the 21st-century global marketplace. At all levels, Mr. Davis believes in the fundamental partnership between educators, parents, and students to nurture talent and promote achievement.

Richard Davis believes in fighting for environmental protections and conservation of our natural resources. We have made our air cleaner to breathe and our water safer to drink, but environmental stewardship is an ongoing responsibility. From combating climate change to protecting our streams, forests, and wildlife, it is important that we continue to protect our environment for both current and future generations.

Mr. Davis posits that we need to provide local, state, and federal law enforcement with the tools they need to combat crime. To keep our communities safe, we must not only be tough on crime, but also look for ways to address the root causes of illegal behavior. He supports funding for law enforcement, legislative initiatives to crack down on gang activity, and other measures to provide new avenues for rehabilitation.

Form B – Republican Candidate

Below are some statements issued by Richard Davis, a Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate. Mr. Davis is a businessman and is currently serving his third term as a state senator.

These are tough times for many of you. You're worried about keeping your job or finding a new one, and are struggling to put food on the table and stay in your home. All you ever asked of government is to stand on your side, not in your way. Richard Davis will stand on your side and fight for your future.

Richard Davis trusts that the strength of America's entrepreneurial spirit will lead our economic recovery. That's why he supports common sense, pro-growth policies that encourage private sector innovation and job creation. The federal government needs to support entrepreneurs by eliminating burdensome regulations and discriminatory taxes that are holding businesses back.

Protecting America from another terrorist attack is a primary goal of our federal government. We know the fight will be long and hard, but we can't give up our commitment to a secure America and a free and peaceful world. Fighting the War on Terror means preemptively disarming those leaders who harbor terrorists and weapons of mass destruction. It means giving our military, law enforcement, and intelligence organizations the tools they need to keep us safe.

Mr. Davis believes in a market-based approach to health care. He wants to harness the power of competition to bring down costs and expand access to quality care. That includes implementing insurance reforms such as allowing for the purchase of coverage across state lines and enabling small businesses to form pools that enhance their purchasing power. Additionally, he believes health savings accounts should be expanded, individuals who purchase health insurance should have the same tax benefits that employers receive, and that states should be allowed to establish adequate high risk pools

Richard Davis is a strong advocate for ensuring all children have access to quality education and are given the opportunity to succeed. He believes in more local control over education, where states, localities, and most importantly parents can play a much more significant role in their children's schooling. The federal government has simply used its power to disregard parental rights, restrict teachers, and leave kids with an unsatisfactory education, unable to compete in a quickly advancing world.

Mr. Davis posits that we need policies which encourage investment in environmentally sound, cost-effective practices without stifling innovation and setting our economy back. While Washington may develop the guidelines, we need to get the government out of the way, and let local people get the job done. Congress and government agencies must use a tailored approach to each environmental issue and consider the economic impacts of proposed policies upon everyone involved. Furthermore, programs must include enough flexibility to be implemented in an efficient and effective manner.

Richard Davis believes in tough law enforcement, severe penalties for those who commit crime, and continued funding for law enforcement programs making a difference in our communities. He believes that local, state, and federal authorities must work together as partners to enforce the law, and that they must be given the legal tools and funding resources necessary to do their jobs well.

Instructions: Now I would like you to answer a few questions about Susan Davis. I realize that you do not have extensive knowledge of the candidate, but hopefully you have an idea of what Susan Davis is like, and this view will help you to answer the following questions.

1. What form did you read? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 3. FORM A (THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE)
- 4. FORM B (THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)

2. In your opinion, what is the likelihood that Susan Davis will win the election for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 5. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
- 6. NOT VERY LIKELY
- 7. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 8. VERY LIKELY

3. Suppose the election were held today. How likely are you to vote for Susan Davis for U.S. Senate? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 0. NOT AT ALL LIKELY
- 1. NOT VERY LIKELY
- 2. SOMEWHAT LIKELY
- 3. VERY LIKELY

4. How competent was Susan Davis in arguing her views? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 5. NOT COMPETENT
- 6. NOT VERY COMPETENT
- 7. SOMEWHAT COMPETENT
- 8. VERY COMPETENT

5. How well do you think Susan Davis understands the issues discussed in the speech. **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 5. NOT WELL AT ALL
- 6. NOT VERY WELL
- 7. FAIRLY WELL
- 8. VERY WELL

6. How clear are Susan Davis's stands on the issues? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 5. NOT CLEAR AT ALL
- 6. NOT VERY CLEAR
- 7. FAIRLY CLEAR
- 8. VERY CLEAR

7. How much do you agree or disagree with Susan Davis? **(Please circle the appropriate response)**

- 5. STRONGLY DISAGREE
- 6. SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
- 7. SOMEWHAT AGREE
- 8. STRONGLY AGREE

8. Please indicate what you believe to be Susan Davis's general ideological stance. **(Please circle appropriate response)**

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| EXTREMELY LIBERAL | LIBERAL | SLIGHTLY LIBERAL | MODERATE/ MIDDLE OF THE ROAD | SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE | CONSERVATIVE | EXTREMELY CONSERVATIVE |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

9. Below is a list of characteristics that can describe a candidate. In your opinion how well does the following words describe Susan Davis, not well at all, not too well, quite well, or extremely well? **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Word | Not well at all | Not too well | Quite well | Extremely well |
|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|
| Compassionate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Honest | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Knowledgeable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Aggressive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Rational | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Assertive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Cautious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Caring | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Competitive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Ambitious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Willing to compromise | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

10. Based on your impressions of Susan Davis, please provide your best guess as to her competence on each the following issues. **(Please circle correct responses)**

| Issue | Not competent | Not very competent | Competent | Very competent |
|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| The Economy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Health care | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Education | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Social Security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Energy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Military/Defense spending | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| The Environment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Foreign policy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture/Farming | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Crime | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Taxes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Homeland security | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

Appendix C: Tables

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics - Independent Variables

| | Mean | Std. dev. | Min | Max |
|----------------------|-------------|------------------|------------|------------|
| Female Candidate | 0.501 | 0.501 | 0 | 1 |
| Republican Candidate | 0.583 | 0.494 | 0 | 1 |
| Female Subject | 0.479 | 0.500 | 0 | 1 |
| Republican Subject | 0.583 | 0.494 | 0 | 1 |

Source: Author's Data

Table 4.2: Descriptive Statistics - Dependent Variables

| | Mean | Std. dev. | Min | Max |
|--|-------|-----------|-----|-----|
| <u>Electability / Overall Competency</u> | | | | |
| Likelihood Candidate Will Win | 3.114 | 0.531 | 1 | 4 |
| Would Vote For Candidate | 3.209 | 0.676 | 1 | 4 |
| Candidate was Competent | 3.161 | 0.685 | 1 | 4 |
| Candidate Understand Issues | 3.102 | 0.647 | 1 | 4 |
| Candidate Clear on Issues | 3.217 | 0.741 | 1 | 4 |
| Agreed with Candidate | 3.212 | 0.575 | 1 | 4 |
| <u>Traits</u> | | | | |
| Compassionate | 2.871 | 0.569 | 1 | 4 |
| Honest | 2.840 | 0.658 | 1 | 4 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.935 | 0.674 | 1 | 4 |
| Aggressive | 2.478 | 0.914 | 1 | 4 |
| Rational | 3.006 | 0.620 | 1 | 4 |
| Assertive | 2.828 | 0.789 | 1 | 4 |
| Cautious | 2.463 | 0.776 | 1 | 4 |
| Caring | 2.994 | 0.671 | 1 | 4 |
| Competent | 3.020 | 0.650 | 1 | 4 |
| Competitive | 2.836 | 0.826 | 1 | 4 |
| Ambitious | 3.162 | 0.753 | 1 | 4 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.443 | 0.739 | 1 | 4 |
| <u>Issues</u> | | | | |
| Economy † | 2.918 | 0.722 | 1 | 4 |
| Health Care † | 2.968 | 0.699 | 1 | 4 |
| Education † | 3.050 | 0.739 | 1 | 4 |
| Social Security | 2.460 | 0.719 | 1 | 4 |
| Energy | 2.400 | 0.756 | 1 | 4 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.871 | 2.849 | 1 | 4 |
| Environment † | 2.665 | 0.796 | 1 | 4 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.450 | 0.838 | 1 | 4 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.154 | 0.787 | 1 | 4 |
| Crime † | 2.912 | 0.841 | 1 | 4 |
| Taxes | 2.721 | 0.765 | 1 | 4 |
| Homeland Security | 2.827 | 0.819 | 1 | 4 |
| Republican Candidate Ideology | 5.528 | 0.071 | 1 | 7 |
| Democratic Candidate Ideology | 3.122 | 0.089 | 1 | 7 |

Source: Author's Data

† Issues discussed in Vignette

Table 4.3: General Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by All Democratic Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 3.04 | 3.06 | 0.21 | 0.83 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.23 | 3.15 | -0.67 | 0.51 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.17 | 3.09 | -0.74 | 0.46 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 2.92 | 3.00 | 0.74 | 0.46 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 3.04 | 3.06 | 0.14 | 0.89 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.15 | 3.09 | -0.53 | 0.60 |
| N‡ | 75 | 67 | | |

Source: Author's Data

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.4: General Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Male Democratic Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 2.97 | 3.03 | 0.44 | 0.66 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.15 | 3.16 | 0.01 | 0.99 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.10 | 2.94 | -0.94 | 0.35 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 2.77 | 2.97 | 1.16 | 0.25 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 3.10 | 2.97 | -0.68 | 0.50 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.10 | 3.03 | -0.48 | 0.63 |
| N‡ | 39 | 32 | | |

Source: Author's Data

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.5: General Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Female Democratic Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 3.11 | 3.09 | -0.20 | 0.84 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.31 | 3.11 | -1.16 | 0.25 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.25 | 3.21 | -0.31 | 0.76 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 3.08 | 3.03 | -0.41 | 0.68 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 2.97 | 3.11 | 0.76 | 0.45 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.19 | 3.11 | -0.49 | 0.63 |
| N‡ | 36 | 34 | | |

Source: Author's Data

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.6: General Evaluations of Male Republican Candidates by All Republican Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 3.14 | 3.17 | 0.41 | 0.68 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.22 | 3.22 | 0.01 | 0.99 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.24 | 3.13 | -1.13 | 0.26 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 3.21 | 3.19 | -0.23 | 0.82 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 3.41 | 3.26 | -1.61 | 0.11 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.28 | 3.27 | -0.12 | 0.91 |
| N‡ | 97 | 102 | | |

Source: Author's Data

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.7: General Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Male Republican Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 3.22 | 3.23 | 0.08 | 0.94 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.18 | 3.23 | 0.38 | 0.71 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.15 | 3.12 | -0.16 | 0.88 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 3.18 | 3.14 | -0.32 | 0.75 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 3.34 | 3.23 | -0.81 | 0.42 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.34 | 3.30 | -0.40 | 0.69 |
| N‡ | 48 | 56 | | |

Source: Author's Data

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.8: General Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Female Republican Respondents

| Evaluation of Candidate | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Likelihood of Winning Election ^a | 3.07 | 3.11 | 0.43 | 0.67 |
| Would Vote for Candidate ^a | 3.27 | 3.24 | -0.20 | 0.84 |
| Competent in Arguing Views ^a | 3.33* | 3.11 | -1.72 | 0.09 |
| Understands the Issues ^a | 3.26 | 3.27 | 0.09 | 0.93 |
| Clear Stand on Issues ^a | 3.48 | 3.29 | -1.47 | 0.14 |
| Agree with Candidate ^b | 3.22 | 3.27 | 0.34 | 0.73 |
| N‡ | 45 | 46 | | |

Source: Author's Data

*Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed t-test

a: The scale used was 1 = not at all 2 = not very 3 = somewhat 4 = very

b: The scale used was 1 = strongly disagree 2 = somewhat disagree 3 = somewhat agree 4 = strong agree

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true N is slightly higher

Table 4.9: Ideology Scores for Democratic Candidates

| | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-Test Score | Probability |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Full Democratic Sample | 3.14 | 3.11 | -0.17 | 0.86 |
| Female Respondents | 3.09 | 3.06 | -0.11 | 0.92 |
| Male Respondents | 3.18 | 3.16 | -0.07 | 0.94 |

Source: Author's Data

The scale used was 1 = extremely liberal 2 = liberal 3 = slightly liberal 4 = moderate/middle of the road 5 = slightly conservative 6 = conservative 7 = extremely conservative

Table 4.10: Ideology Scores for Republican Candidates

| | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-Test Score | Probability |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Full Republican Sample | 5.64 | 5.42 | -1.54 | 0.13 |
| Female Respondents | 5.57 | 5.47 | -0.52 | 0.61 |
| Male Respondents | 5.69* | 5.36 | -1.72 | 0.09 |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = extremely liberal 2 = liberal 3 = slightly liberal 4 = moderate/middle of the road
5 = slightly conservative 6 = conservative 7 = extremely conservative

Table 4.11: Trait Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by All Democratic Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.91 | 2.93 | 0.19 | 0.85 |
| Honest | 2.65 | 2.76 | 1.05 | 0.30 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.68 | 2.91 ** | 1.99 | 0.05 |
| Aggressive | 1.95 | 2.31 *** | 2.54 | 0.01 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 3.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Assertive | 2.36 | 2.72 *** | 2.82 | 0.01 |
| Cautious | 2.71 | 2.66 | -0.36 | 0.72 |
| Caring | 3.14 | 3.01 | -1.02 | 0.31 |
| Competent | 2.93 | 2.97 | 0.33 | 0.74 |
| Competitive | 2.53 | 2.54 | 0.08 | 0.94 |
| Ambitious | 2.84 | 3.12 ** | 2.13 | 0.03 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.60 | 2.62 | 0.14 | 0.89 |
| N‡ | 74 | 67 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.12: Trait Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Male Democratic Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.85 | 2.94 | 0.61 | 0.54 |
| Honest | 2.59 | 2.72 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.58 | 2.84 * | 1.68 | 0.10 |
| Aggressive | 1.92 | 2.29 * | 1.86 | 0.07 |
| Rational | 3.03 | 2.94 | -0.55 | 0.58 |
| Assertive | 2.28 | 2.72 *** | 2.59 | 0.01 |
| Cautious | 2.56 | 2.88 | 1.43 | 0.16 |
| Caring | 3.13 | 2.94 | -1.05 | 0.30 |
| Competent | 2.85 | 2.69 | -0.98 | 0.33 |
| Competitive | 2.49 | 2.69 | 1.00 | 0.32 |
| Ambitious | 2.77 | 3.00 | 1.24 | 0.22 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.62 | 2.56 | -0.27 | 0.79 |
| N‡ | 38 | 31 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.13: Trait Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Female Democratic Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.97 | 2.89 | -0.67 | 0.51 |
| Honest | 2.71 | 2.77 | 0.38 | 0.71 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.78 | 2.94 | 0.94 | 0.35 |
| Aggressive | 1.97 | 2.28 | 1.49 | 0.14 |
| Rational | 2.97 | 3.03 | 0.39 | 0.70 |
| Assertive | 2.46 | 2.71 | 1.34 | 0.18 |
| Cautious | 2.86 ** | 2.47 | -2.35 | 0.02 |
| Caring | 3.14 | 3.06 | -0.56 | 0.58 |
| Competent | 3.03 | 3.20 | 1.17 | 0.25 |
| Competitive | 2.58 | 2.43 | -0.84 | 0.40 |
| Ambitious | 2.92 | 3.20 | 1.52 | 0.13 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.58 | 2.63 | 0.27 | 0.79 |
| N‡ | 35 | 34 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.14: Trait Evaluations of Republican Candidates by All Republican Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Compassionate | 2.90 | 2.78 | -1.47 | 0.14 |
| Honest | 3.01 | 2.87 | -1.53 | 0.13 |
| Knowledgeable | 3.07 | 3.01 | -0.70 | 0.48 |
| Aggressive | 2.73 | 2.74 | 0.05 | 0.96 |
| Rational | 2.98 | 3.04 | 0.69 | 0.49 |
| Assertive | 2.97 | 3.10 | 1.24 | 0.22 |
| Cautious | 2.34 | 2.27 | -0.73 | 0.46 |
| Caring | 3.01 * | 2.86 | -1.64 | 0.10 |
| Competent | 3.05 | 3.09 | 0.42 | 0.67 |
| Competitive | 3.06 | 3.04 | -0.20 | 0.85 |
| Ambitious | 3.32 | 2.38 | -0.43 | 0.67 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.41 * | 2.25 | -1.67 | 0.10 |
| N‡ | 97 | 100 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.15: Trait Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Male Republican Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.78 | 2.82 | 0.38 | 0.71 |
| Honest | 2.94 | 2.88 | -0.48 | 0.63 |
| Knowledgeable | 3.00 | 3.09 | 0.78 | 0.44 |
| Aggressive | 2.75 | 2.89 | 0.83 | 0.41 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 3.05 | 0.45 | 0.66 |
| Assertive | 2.98 | 3.12 | 0.97 | 0.34 |
| Cautious | 2.40 | 2.32 | -0.55 | 0.58 |
| Caring | 2.92 | 2.88 | -0.41 | 0.68 |
| Competent | 2.96 | 3.11 | 1.20 | 0.23 |
| Competitive | 3.06 | 3.04 | -0.16 | 0.87 |
| Ambitious | 3.28 | 3.29 | 0.04 | 0.97 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.36 | 2.32 | -0.31 | 0.76 |
| N‡ | 48 | 56 | | |

Source: Author's Data

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.16: Trait Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Female Republican Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 3.00 ** | 2.77 | -2.12 | 0.04 |
| Honest | 3.09 | 2.89 | -1.58 | 0.12 |
| Knowledgeable | 3.13 | 2.93 | -1.39 | 0.17 |
| Aggressive | 2.72 | 2.50 | -1.34 | 0.18 |
| Rational | 2.96 | 3.02 | 0.50 | 0.62 |
| Assertive | 2.94 | 3.05 | 0.73 | 0.47 |
| Cautious | 2.29 | 2.23 | -0.42 | 0.67 |
| Caring | 3.10 * | 2.84 | -1.69 | 0.10 |
| Competent | 3.15 | 3.07 | -0.58 | 0.56 |
| Competitive | 3.04 | 3.02 | -0.12 | 0.91 |
| Ambitious | 3.35 | 3.25 | -0.65 | 0.52 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.47 ** | 2.18 | -2.14 | 0.04 |
| N‡ | 46 | 43 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.17: Trait Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by All Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Democratic Candidates | Republican Candidates | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.92 | 2.84 | -1.15 | 0.25 |
| Honest | 2.70 | 2.94 *** | 3.30 | 0.00 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.79 | 3.04 *** | 3.44 | 0.00 |
| Aggressive | 2.12 | 2.72 *** | 6.33 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 3.01 | 0.15 | 0.88 |
| Assertive | 2.53 | 3.03 *** | 5.95 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.68 *** | 2.31 | -4.48 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 3.08 ** | 2.93 | -1.94 | 0.05 |
| Competent | 2.95 | 3.07 | 1.61 | 0.11 |
| Competitive | 2.54 | 3.05 *** | 5.93 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 2.97 | 3.30 *** | 3.99 | 0.00 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.61 *** | 2.32 | -3.57 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 142 | 196 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.18: Trait Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Democratic Candidates | Republican Candidates | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.89 | 2.80 | -0.94 | 0.35 |
| Honest | 2.65 | 2.91*** | 2.52 | 0.01 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.09 | 2.83 *** | 3.68 | 0.00 |
| Aggressive | 2.09 | 2.83 *** | 5.50 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 2.99 | 3.03 | 0.44 | 0.66 |
| Assertive | 2.48 | 3.06 *** | 5.02 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.70 *** | 2.36 | -2.78 | 0.01 |
| Caring | 3.04 | 2.90 | -1.49 | 0.14 |
| Competent | 2.77 | 3.04 *** | 2.64 | 0.01 |
| Competitive | 2.58 | 3.05 *** | 3.81 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 2.87 | 3.28 *** | 3.69 | 0.00 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.59 ** | 2.34 | -2.18 | 0.03 |
| N‡ | 69 | 105 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.19: Trait Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Democratic Candidates | Republican Candidates | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.93 | 2.89 | -0.46 | 0.65 |
| Honest | 2.74 | 2.99 *** | 2.51 | 0.01 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.86 | 3.03 | 1.56 | 0.12 |
| Aggressive | 2.13 | 2.62 *** | 3.67 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 2.99 | -0.11 | 0.91 |
| Assertive | 2.59 | 2.99 *** | 3.39 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.67 *** | 2.26 | -3.73 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 3.10 | 2.98 | -1.08 | 0.28 |
| Competent | 3.11 | 3.11 | -0.04 | 0.97 |
| Competitive | 2.51 | 3.03 *** | 4.30 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 3.06 | 3.30 ** | 2.06 | 0.04 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.61 *** | 2.33 | -2.58 | 0.01 |
| N‡ | 70 | 90 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.20: Trait Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates

| Trait Characteristics | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Compassionate | 2.91 | 2.89 | -0.08 | 0.93 |
| Honest | 2.65 | 3.01 *** | 3.61 | 0.00 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.68 | 3.07 *** | 3.81 | 0.00 |
| Aggressive | 1.95 | 2.73 *** | 6.02 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 2.98 | -0.21 | 0.83 |
| Assertive | 2.36 | 2.97 *** | 5.05 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.71 *** | 2.34 | -3.02 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 3.14 | 3.01 | -1.28 | 0.20 |
| Competent | 2.93 | 3.05 | 1.24 | 0.22 |
| Competitive | 2.53 | 3.06 *** | 4.04 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 2.84 | 3.32 *** | 4.04 | 0.00 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.60 * | 2.41 | -1.73 | 0.09 |
| N‡ | 74 | 96 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.21: Trait Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates

| Trait Characteristics | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Compassionate | 2.93 * | 2.79 | -1.69 | 0.09 |
| Honest | 2.76 | 2.87 | 1.07 | 0.29 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.91 | 3.01 | 0.97 | 0.34 |
| Aggressive | 2.31 | 2.74 *** | 3.06 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 3.00 | 3.04 | 0.41 | 0.69 |
| Assertive | 2.72 | 3.10 *** | 3.44 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.66 *** | 2.27 | -3.38 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 3.01 | 2.86 | -1.40 | 0.16 |
| Competent | 2.97 | 3.09 | 1.10 | 0.27 |
| Competitive | 2.54 | 3.04 *** | 4.38 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 3.12 | 3.28 | 1.45 | 0.15 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.62 *** | 2.25 | -3.27 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 67 | 100 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.22: Trait Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Compassionate | 2.97 | 3.00 | 0.22 | 0.83 |
| Honest | 2.71 | 3.09 *** | 2.77 | 0.01 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.78 | 3.13 ** | 2.26 | 0.03 |
| Aggressive | 1.97 | 2.72 *** | 4.14 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 2.97 | 2.96 | -0.10 | 0.92 |
| Assertive | 2.46 | 2.94 *** | 2.66 | 0.01 |
| Cautious | 2.86 *** | 2.29 | -3.60 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 3.14 | 3.10 | -0.26 | 0.80 |
| Competent | 3.03 | 3.15 | 0.87 | 0.39 |
| Competitive | 2.58 | 3.04 ** | 2.44 | 0.02 |
| Ambitious | 2.92 | 3.45 *** | 2.77 | 0.01 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.58 | 2.47 | -0.80 | 0.43 |
| N‡ | 35 | 46 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.23: Trait Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.85 | 2.78 | -0.51 | 0.61 |
| Honest | 2.59 | 2.94 ** | 2.35 | 0.02 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.58 | 3.00 *** | 3.02 | 0.00 |
| Aggressive | 1.92 | 2.75 *** | 4.38 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 3.03 | 3.00 | -0.20 | 0.85 |
| Assertive | 2.28 | 2.98 *** | 4.36 | 0.00 |
| Cautious | 2.56 | 2.40 | -0.91 | 0.36 |
| Caring | 3.13 | 2.92 | -1.61 | 0.11 |
| Competent | 2.85 | 2.96 | 0.87 | 0.39 |
| Competitive | 2.49 | 3.06 *** | 3.11 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 2.77 | 3.28 *** | 2.86 | 0.01 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.62 | 2.36 | -1.51 | 0.14 |
| N‡ | 38 | 48 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.24: Trait Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.89 | 2.77 | -1.05 | 0.30 |
| Honest | 2.77 | 2.89 | 0.80 | 0.42 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.94 | 2.93 | -0.07 | 0.95 |
| Aggressive | 2.29 | 2.50 | 1.11 | 0.27 |
| Rational | 3.03 | 3.02 | -0.04 | 0.96 |
| Assertive | 2.71 | 3.05 ** | 2.17 | 0.03 |
| Cautious | 2.47 | 2.23 | -1.64 | 0.11 |
| Caring | 3.06 | 2.84 | -1.30 | 0.20 |
| Competent | 3.20 | 3.07 | -0.90 | 0.37 |
| Competitive | 2.43 | 3.02 *** | 3.82 | 0.00 |
| Ambitious | 3.20 | 3.25 | 0.28 | 0.78 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.63 *** | 2.18 | -2.86 | 0.01 |
| N‡ | 34 | 43 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.25: Trait Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Trait Characteristics | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Compassionate | 2.94 | 2.82 | -0.92 | 0.36 |
| Honest | 2.72 | 2.88 | 1.11 | 0.27 |
| Knowledgeable | 2.84 | 3.09 * | 1.92 | 0.06 |
| Aggressive | 2.29 | 2.89 *** | 3.15 | 0.00 |
| Rational | 2.94 | 3.05 | 0.80 | 0.43 |
| Assertive | 2.72 | 3.12 *** | 2.50 | 0.01 |
| Cautious | 2.88 *** | 2.32 | -3.22 | 0.00 |
| Caring | 2.94 | 2.88 | -0.41 | 0.68 |
| Competent | 2.69 | 3.11 *** | 2.78 | 0.01 |
| Competitive | 2.69 | 3.04 ** | 2.10 | 0.04 |
| Ambitious | 3.00 | 3.29 ** | 2.17 | 0.03 |
| Willing to Compromise | 2.56 | 2.32 | -1.50 | 0.14 |
| N‡ | 31 | 56 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not well at all 2 = not too well 3 = quite well 4 = extremely well

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

Table 4.26: Issue Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by All Democratic Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Economy † | 2.68 | 2.82 | 1.23 | 0.22 |
| Health Care † | 2.84 | 2.99 | 1.20 | 0.23 |
| Education † | 2.92 | 2.93 | 0.06 | 0.96 |
| Social Security | 2.36 | 2.45 | 0.72 | 0.48 |
| Energy | 2.36 | 2.66 ** | 2.33 | 0.02 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.47 | 2.94 *** | 3.37 | 0.00 |
| Environment † | 2.93 | 2.99 | 0.39 | 0.70 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.22 | 2.37 | 1.10 | 0.28 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.04 | 2.07 | 0.26 | 0.79 |
| Crime † | 2.64 | 2.62 | -0.12 | 0.90 |
| Taxes | 2.34 | 2.51 | 1.27 | 0.21 |
| Homeland Security | 2.47 | 2.56 | 0.63 | 0.53 |
| N‡ | 73 | 66 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true N is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.27: Issue Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Male Democratic Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.74 | 2.84 | 0.60 | 0.55 |
| Health Care † | 3.00 | 2.94 | -0.35 | 0.72 |
| Education † | 2.84 | 2.90 | 0.29 | 0.77 |
| Social Security | 2.28 | 2.61 ** | 2.17 | 0.03 |
| Energy | 2.15 | 2.59 ** | 2.46 | 0.02 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.46 | 2.97 ** | 2.48 | 0.02 |
| Environment † | 2.97 | 2.97 | -0.03 | 0.98 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.21 | 2.44 | 1.14 | 0.26 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.03 | 2.10 | 0.39 | 0.70 |
| Crime † | 2.77 | 2.59 | -0.89 | 0.37 |
| Taxes | 2.33 | 2.55 | 1.22 | 0.23 |
| Homeland Security | 2.54 | 2.63 | 0.44 | 0.66 |
| N‡ | 38 | 31 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true N is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.28: Issue Evaluations of Democratic Candidates by Female Democratic Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.60 | 2.80 | 1.12 | 0.27 |
| Health Care † | 2.66 | 3.03 ** | 2.17 | 0.03 |
| Education † | 3.00 | 2.91 | -0.50 | 0.62 |
| Social Security | 2.46 | 2.29 | -0.82 | 0.42 |
| Energy | 2.59 | 2.71 | 0.67 | 0.51 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.49 | 2.91 ** | 2.20 | 0.03 |
| Environment † | 2.88 | 2.97 | 0.46 | 0.64 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.23 | 2.29 | 0.32 | 0.75 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.06 | 2.03 | -0.17 | 0.87 |
| Crime † | 2.49 | 2.60 | 0.57 | 0.57 |
| Taxes | 2.35 | 2.43 | 0.40 | 0.69 |
| Homeland Security | 2.40 | 2.46 | 0.30 | 0.76 |
| N‡ | 34 | 34 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true N is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.29: Issue Evaluations of Republican Candidates by All Republican Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.91 | 3.17 *** | 2.65 | 0.01 |
| Health Care † | 3.00 | 3.02 | 0.21 | 0.84 |
| Education † | 3.26 ** | 3.03 | -2.41 | 0.02 |
| Social Security | 2.45 | 2.54 | 0.86 | 0.39 |
| Energy | 2.33 | 2.32 | -0.06 | 0.95 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.98 | 3.01 | 0.26 | 0.80 |
| Environment † | 2.52 | 2.40 | -1.13 | 0.26 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.55 | 2.58 | 0.28 | 0.78 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.21 | 2.24 | 0.29 | 0.77 |
| Crime † | 3.17 | 3.06 | -1.03 | 0.31 |
| Taxes | 2.97 | 2.89 | -0.79 | 0.43 |
| Homeland Security | 3.04 | 3.06 | 0.17 | 0.87 |
| N‡ | 96 | 100 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.30: Issue Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Male Republican Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|
| Economy † | 2.90 | 3.26 *** | 2.77 | 0.01 |
| Health Care † | 2.89 | 3.00 | 0.85 | 0.40 |
| Education † | 3.23 * | 3.02 | -1.77 | 0.08 |
| Social Security | 2.45 | 2.61 | 1.20 | 0.23 |
| Energy | 2.31 | 2.32 | 0.02 | 0.98 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.98 | 3.11 | 0.75 | 0.46 |
| Environment † | 2.46 | 2.48 | 0.18 | 0.86 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.55 | 2.61 | 0.38 | 0.70 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.12 | 2.31 | 1.29 | 0.20 |
| Crime † | 3.14 | 3.00 | -0.87 | 0.39 |
| Taxes | 2.84 | 2.96 | 0.96 | 0.34 |
| Homeland Security | 3.12 | 3.07 | -0.36 | 0.72 |
| N‡ | 47 | 55 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.31: Issue Evaluations of Republican Candidates by Female Republican Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Candidate | Male Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.90 | 3.05 | 1.02 | 0.31 |
| Health Care † | 3.10 | 3.05 | -0.48 | 0.63 |
| Education † | 3.29 | 3.05 | -1.59 | 0.12 |
| Social Security | 2.45 | 2.43 | -0.12 | 0.90 |
| Energy | 2.33 | 2.32 | -0.10 | 0.92 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.96 | 2.91 | -0.31 | 0.76 |
| Environment † | 2.56 | 2.33 | -1.52 | 0.13 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.53 | 2.55 | 0.08 | 0.94 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.28 | 2.14 | -0.75 | 0.45 |
| Crime † | 3.19 | 3.18 | -0.04 | 0.97 |
| Taxes | 3.08 ** | 2.80 | -2.00 | 0.05 |
| Homeland Security | 2.94 | 3.07 | 0.84 | 0.40 |
| N‡ | 47 | 42 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.32: Issue Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by All Respondents

| Policy Area | Democratic Candidate | Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.75 | 3.05 *** | 3.84 | 0.00 |
| Health Care † | 2.91 | 3.01 | 1.32 | 0.19 |
| Education † | 2.92 | 3.14 *** | 2.67 | 0.01 |
| Social Security | 2.41 | 2.51 | 1.27 | 0.21 |
| Energy | 2.50 ** | 2.34 | -2.04 | 0.04 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.69 | 3.01 *** | 3.36 | 0.00 |
| Environment † | 2.96 *** | 2.45 | -6.12 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.29 | 2.56 *** | 2.98 | 0.00 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.06 | 2.22 * | 1.82 | 0.07 |
| Crime † | 2.63 | 3.11 *** | 5.45 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.42 | 2.93 *** | 6.33 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.50 | 3.05 *** | 6.26 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 140 | 195 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.33: Issue Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Policy Area | Democratic Candidate | Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Economy † | 2.79 | 3.09 *** | 2.86 | 0.01 |
| Health Care † | 2.97 | 2.94 | -0.25 | 0.80 |
| Education † | 2.87 | 3.12 ** | 2.15 | 0.03 |
| Social Security | 2.43 | 2.54 | 1.04 | 0.30 |
| Energy | 2.35 | 2.31 | -0.33 | 0.74 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.69 | 3.05 *** | 2.65 | 0.01 |
| Environment † | 2.97 *** | 2.47 | -4.32 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.31 | 2.58 ** | 2.12 | 0.04 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.06 | 2.22 | 1.42 | 0.16 |
| Crime † | 2.69 | 3.07 *** | 2.94 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.43 | 2.91 *** | 4.40 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.58 | 3.09 *** | 4.32 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 69 | 104 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.34: Issue Evaluations of Democratic and Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Policy Area | Democratic Candidate | Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.70 | 2.97 ** | 2.33 | 0.02 |
| Health Care † | 2.84 | 3.08 ** | 2.26 | 0.03 |
| Education † | 2.96 | 3.17 * | 1.86 | 0.06 |
| Social Security | 2.38 | 2.44 | 0.50 | 0.62 |
| Energy | 2.65 *** | 2.33 | -2.75 | 0.01 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.70 | 2.93 * | 1.89 | 0.06 |
| Environment † | 2.93 *** | 2.45 | -3.90 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.26 | 2.54 ** | 2.12 | 0.04 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.04 | 2.21 | 1.25 | 0.21 |
| Crime † | 2.54 | 3.18 *** | 5.36 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.39 | 2.95 *** | 4.70 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.43 | 3.00 *** | 4.72 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 68 | 91 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.35: Issue Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates

| Policy Area | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.68 | 2.91 ** | 2.12 | 0.04 |
| Health Care † | 2.84 | 3.00 | 1.53 | 0.13 |
| Education † | 2.92 | 3.26 *** | 3.07 | 0.00 |
| Social Security | 2.36 | 2.45 | 0.81 | 0.42 |
| Energy | 2.36 | 2.33 | -0.21 | 0.83 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.47 | 2.98 *** | 3.73 | 0.00 |
| Environment † | 2.93 *** | 2.52 | -3.50 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.22 | 2.55 *** | 2.58 | 0.01 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.04 | 2.21 | 1.36 | 0.17 |
| Crime † | 2.64 | 3.17 *** | 4.32 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.34 | 2.97 *** | 5.58 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.47 | 3.04 *** | 4.62 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 73 | 96 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.36: Issue Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates

| Policy Area | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.82 | 3.17 *** | 3.18 | 0.00 |
| Health Care † | 2.99 | 3.02 | 0.31 | 0.76 |
| Education † | 2.93 | 3.03 | 0.89 | 0.37 |
| Social Security | 2.45 | 2.54 | 0.74 | 0.46 |
| Energy | 2.66 *** | 2.32 | -3.10 | 0.00 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.94 | 3.01 | 0.58 | 0.56 |
| Environment † | 2.99 *** | 2.40 | -4.94 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.37 | 2.58 | 1.58 | 0.12 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.07 | 2.24 | 1.33 | 0.19 |
| Crime † | 2.62 | 3.06 *** | 3.49 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.51 | 2.89 *** | 3.40 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.56 | 3.06 *** | 4.22 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 66 | 100 | | |

Source: Author's Data

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.37: Issue Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.60 | 2.90 * | 1.83 | 0.07 |
| Health Care † | 2.66 | 3.10 *** | 3.09 | 0.00 |
| Education † | 3.00 | 3.29 * | 1.87 | 0.07 |
| Social Security | 2.46 | 2.45 | -0.06 | 0.95 |
| Energy | 2.59 | 2.33 | -1.43 | 0.16 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.49 | 2.96 *** | 2.50 | 0.01 |
| Environment † | 2.88 * | 2.56 | -1.78 | 0.08 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.23 | 2.53 * | 1.66 | 0.10 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.06 | 2.28 | 1.14 | 0.26 |
| Crime † | 2.49 | 3.19 *** | 3.86 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.35 | 3.08 *** | 4.23 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.40 | 2.94 *** | 3.10 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 34 | 47 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.38: Issue Evaluations of Female Democratic and Female Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Policy Area | Female Democratic Candidate | Female Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.74 | 2.90 | 1.03 | 0.31 |
| Health Care † | 3.00 | 2.88 | -0.82 | 0.41 |
| Education † | 2.84 | 3.23 ** | 2.43 | 0.02 |
| Social Security | 2.28 | 2.45 | 1.20 | 0.23 |
| Energy | 2.15 | 2.31 | 0.95 | 0.35 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.46 | 2.98 *** | 2.63 | 0.01 |
| Environment † | 2.97 *** | 2.46 | -3.22 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.21 | 2.55 * | 1.89 | 0.06 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.03 | 2.12 | 0.63 | 0.53 |
| Crime † | 2.77 | 3.14 ** | 2.18 | 0.03 |
| Taxes | 2.33 | 2.84 *** | 3.47 | 0.00 |
| Homeland Security | 2.54 | 3.12 *** | 3.34 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 38 | 47 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.39: Issue Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates by Female Respondents

| Policy Area | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.80 | 3.05 | 1.51 | 0.13 |
| Health Care † | 3.03 | 3.05 | 0.12 | 0.91 |
| Education † | 2.91 | 3.05 | 0.76 | 0.45 |
| Social Security | 2.30 | 2.43 | 0.78 | 0.44 |
| Energy | 2.71 *** | 2.32 | -2.53 | 0.01 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.91 | 2.91 | -0.02 | 0.99 |
| Environment † | 2.97 *** | 2.33 | -3.93 | 0.00 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.29 | 2.55 | 1.33 | 0.19 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.03 | 2.14 | 0.59 | 0.56 |
| Crime † | 2.60 | 3.18 *** | 3.71 | 0.00 |
| Taxes | 2.43 | 2.80 ** | 2.31 | 0.02 |
| Homeland Security | 2.46 | 3.07 *** | 3.59 | 0.00 |
| N‡ | 34 | 42 | | |

Source: Author's Data

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

Table 4.40: Issue Evaluations of Male Democratic and Male Republican Candidates by Male Respondents

| Policy Area | Male Democratic Candidate | Male Republican Candidate | T-test Score | Probability |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Economy † | 2.84 | 3.26 *** | 2.83 | 0.01 |
| Health Care † | 2.94 | 3.00 | 0.36 | 0.72 |
| Education † | 2.90 | 3.02 | 0.70 | 0.48 |
| Social Security | 2.61 | 2.61 | 0.01 | 0.99 |
| Energy | 2.59 * | 2.32 | -1.77 | 0.08 |
| Military / Defense Spending † | 2.97 | 3.11 | 0.77 | 0.44 |
| Environment † | 2.97 *** | 2.48 | -2.85 | 0.01 |
| Foreign Policy | 2.44 | 2.61 | 0.95 | 0.34 |
| Agriculture / Farming | 2.10 | 2.31 | 1.22 | 0.23 |
| Crime † | 2.59 | 3.00 ** | 2.12 | 0.04 |
| Taxes | 2.55 | 2.96 *** | 2.56 | 0.01 |
| Homeland Security | 2.63 | 3.07 *** | 2.68 | 0.01 |
| N‡ | 31 | 55 | | |

Source: Author's Data

* Significant at the 0.10 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

** Significant at the 0.05 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

*** Significant at the 0.01 level, 2 tailed *t*-test.

The scale used was 1 = not competent 2 = not very competent 3 = competent 4 = very competent.

‡ This is the number of cases for the question with the fewest responses. For most questions the true *N* is slightly higher.

† These issues were discussed in the vignette.

VITA

Rebecca Shafer was born in Seoul, South Korea on May 27, 1977 while both her parents were serving in the U.S. Army. She was raised primarily in Rio Rancho, New Mexico but moved to Nevada during high school. She graduated from Green Valley High School in Henderson, NV in 1995. She moved to South Florida the following year where she attended and eventually graduated from Florida Atlantic University, earning a bachelor's degree in Psychobiology in 2000. After several years working various jobs and then working with her husband, she started graduate school at the University of Tennessee. She earned her Master's degree in political science from the University of Tennessee in 2009. While at the University of Tennessee she served as the Treasurer for the Political Science Graduate Student Association during the 2009-2010 academic year and then served as the vice-president of the Political Science Graduate Student Association during the 2011-2012 academic year. Rebecca completed her Ph.D. at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in 2013.