Cowboys and "Girlie-men":
Gender Imagery and the Evaluation of Political Leaders

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Abstract

This paper presents pilot data as part of a larger project to explore the ways that candidate communications can shape citizens' perceptions and evaluations of the candidates, and specifically the ways that those communications can affect *gendered* perceptions. Initial—and somewhat speculative—results suggest that rather subtle alterations to candidate imagery and rhetoric can influence the ways that citizens draw on their gender beliefs to understand and evaluate the candidates. These results are conditioned in important ways by citizens' own gender, and by the contrast between benevolent and hostile faces of sexism.

<center>**Current Research on Campaigns and Gender**</center>

Most quantitative research on the intersections of gender and campaigns falls into one of two categories: research on individual attitudes, voting, and participation that takes as its empirical focus the *gender gap*, and research that focuses on the influence of *candidate gender* on citizens' opinions, engagement, and behavior. **[[TBA: some data on prevalence of these approaches]]**

Gender Gap

The gender gap is an important phenomenon for both political and theoretical reasons. Politically, the gender gap is particularly potent. The raw size of the average male-female difference in opinion is much smaller than, for example, white-black differences (Kinder and Winter 2001). Nevertheless, because men and women each make up roughly half of the population, even a comparatively moderate difference between men and women in opinion, participation rates, and/or vote choice has a relatively large and direct effect on the overall distribution of opinion and voting. In comparison, because African Americans make up about 12 percent of the American population, a racial gap would have to be about four times as large as a comparable gender gap to have the same impact on the net population distribution.

In addition, attempts to account for gender gaps in voting and participation in particular have spurred excellent work on the root of these gaps. The best among this work has advanced the sophistication of our understanding substantially from the days when one might believe that the coefficient on a dummy variable for gender somehow captures the way that gender operates. In particular, Burns and colleagues have developed a nuanced theoretical account—and present impressive data—that traces the gender gap in participation (Burns, Schlozman, and Verba 2001). They show that participation differences are caused proximally by differences in resources, both material and psychic. But they then demonstrate the way that those resource differences arise as the product of the gendered construction of public, economic, and private realms. This account enhances our understanding both of political participation and of gender

itself. It emphasizes the ways that gender is constructed largely in private, through intimate relationships between men and women; this makes it easy for people to understand many of the antecedents of participatory differences as "individual choice" (to work or to stay home; to enter politics or not; and so on), rather than the product of something systematic like gender (see also Goffman 1977; Jackman 1994).

Work on the gender gap in opinion begins with Shapiro & Mahajan (1986; for an overview and summary of this vast body of work, see Sapiro 2003, 605-610). There has also been substantial work on the gender gap in voting (e.g., Conover 1988; Conover and Sapiro 1993; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999).

This has been useful insofar as it has drawn attention to the role of gender in structuring opinion and action in realms removed from questions directly related to sex and gender(Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999). This work has tried to sort out the source of gender differences, in terms of gender socialization, feminine or feminist values, maternal thinking, racial predispositions, and other factors. While this has led to significant theoretical work on the ways that gender ideas and ideologies link with opinion, the focus on the gender gap has in many cases drawn attention away from differences among men and among women, and away from similarities between them. This is somewhat ironic, because it reinforces (and probably grows out of) the idea that male and female are natural categories. (See Epstein (1988, chapter 2) for an interesting account of the role of binary gender distinctions in social scientific research.)[1]

Work on the gender gap in opinion has, therefore, moved forward in attempting to understand the ways that the gender gap arises, and therefore in the ways that gender operates in the political realm. The latest work has come very far from the idea that we can "explain" gender's role in opinion with a single coefficient on a dummy variable.

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[1] Another important line of work on gender and opinion focuses on people's understanding of their *own* gender and its impact on political beliefs and behavior. Much of this work has explored the roles played by gender identification and consciousness among women (Gurin, Miller, and Gurin 1980; Tolleson Rinehart 1992; Conover and Sapiro 1993). These factors are important for opinion, especially among women; however, they are theoretically distinct from beliefs about appropriate gender arrangements (Tolleson Rinehart 1992, 80), although they are related empirically, with identified or conscious women likely to fall at one extreme or the other of the gender ideology scale (Tolleson Rinehart 1992, chapter 4; for an overview of work in this vein, see Sapiro 2003).

Nevertheless, approaches that take the gender gap as their starting point provide only one vantage point for thinking about, in Nancy Burns' words, "the problem of locating a social construction [gender] in individual lives" in the opinion realm (2007, 106). Gender is an extraordinarily multifaceted concept. Haslanger (2000) develops a typology of approaches to understanding gender. Gender, she suggests, can refer to attributes of masculinity and femininity, both literally and symbolically, when applied to inanimate objects and concepts. A second, related sense of gender is in terms of roles that men and women typically play in American family and social life. Third, there are several varieties of gender identity, including public identity, psychological identity, self-concept, and political identity. All of these faces of gender have both descriptive and normative aspects. This variety of concepts has spawned a corresponding variety of measures of sexism, gender stereotypes, gender role beliefs, and more (Glick and Fiske 1997; Signorella 1999; Morrison et al. 1999; McHugh and Frieze 1997; Campbell, Schellenberg, and Senn 1997; Swim and Cohen 1997; Ashmore, Del Boca, and Bilder 1995; King and King 1997; Beere 1990a; Beere 1990b; Blaszczyk 2000).

Gender of Candidates

Another line of quantitative research has explored the impact of a political candidate's gender on voters' perceptions, decision-making, and participation (Kahn 1996; Koch 2002; Sanbonmatsu 2002; McDermott 1997; Koch 2000; Schultz and Pancer 1997; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Fox and Oxley 2003; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Dolan 1998; Hansen 1997; McDermott 1998; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a; Dolan 2005; Kim 1998; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993b; Lawless 2004; Kahn 1993).

This body of research demonstrates that gender stereotypes affect candidate perceptions. This disadvantages female candidates in important ways, because they are judged to be worse decision makers and weaker leaders, and less competent and interested in issues of foreign policy and the economy. However, female candidates are also viewed as more honest and more compassionate, and are believed to be more interested in and trustworthy on "compassion" issues such as health care, education and those that

affect women and children. This means that political context matters; in 1992, for example, the Hill-Thomas hearings and other factors led voters to favor outsiders, and women in particular (Delli Carpini and Fuchs 1993; Duerst-Lahti and Verstegen 1995; Sapiro and Conover 1997; Dolan 1998; Kim 1998). This means among other things that candidates may make strategic choices about their self-presentation, and that the net effects of gender stereotypes may advantage female candidates, at least in some electoral contexts (Kahn 1993; Dolan 2005; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Iyengar et al. 1997)

This work is important, of course. However, we should expect citizens' gender stereotypes and gender norms to influence their perceptions of candidates and the political spectacle in ways far more subtle and well beyond the nominal gender of a political candidate. Our understanding of gender is incredibly rich and we have a powerful ability to apply our gender beliefs metaphorically to realms well beyond literal gender. Helen Haste argues that the idea of gender difference is so persistent in part because it serves as a sort of master metaphor that gives meaning to myriad dualities at the center of Western culture, including public-private, rational-intuitive, active-passive, hard-soft, thinking-feeling, and many more (1993; see also Ortner 1974). And even relatively young children have a very easy time classifying all manner of things as masculine or feminine, including toys, colors, types of plants and animals, and even shapes (Bem 1981; Leinbach, Hort, and Fagot 1997).

In short, we should expect that people's ideas about gender should influence their perception and evaluation of political objects beyond candidates—such as parties and issues. And in their perceptions and evaluations of candidates and other leaders, we should expect their ideas about gender to matter well beyond the male/female dichotomy.

Qualitative Cultural Studies and Historical Accounts of Masculinity and Politics

A different line of work has developed that explores these sorts of gender effects. Work in history and cultural studies—as well as popular and journalistic accounts—has developed very nuanced accounts of the way that political leaders enact, interact with, and reinforce complex cultural ideas about gender and

masculinity, and the way that the political realm serves as a stage for the symbolic enactment of gender. There is a huge body of work on the construction of masculinity and gender in society and politics (e.g. Kimmel 2006), and in particular in the bodies of the president and first lady, and many nuanced accounts of the role of masculinity in the behavior and cultural construction of individual presidents in the modern era, as well as a flood of journalistic political commentary and armchair psychological analysis of these same sorts of themes. President Reagan has drawn particular attention in this realm, as has President Clinton, especially in the context of the Lewinsky scandal; others have explored other presidents in modern and historical context (e.g. Vaughn 1994; Jeffords 1994; Bell 2006; for a provocative take on this work, for a popular audience, see Ducat 2004). Moreover, a range of historical scholarship has argued that policymaking has been influenced by ideas about and enactments of gender, masculinity and femininity, and sexuality in the public sphere—in particular in the context of foreign policy (e.g. Hoganson 1998; Dean 2001; Johnson 2004) and social welfare policy (e.g. Fraser 1989; Mettler 1998; Skocpol 1992; Goodwin 1997).

And in popular and journalistic accounts, those of us old enough likely recall well the ways that recent presidential campaigns have embodied symbolic gendered themes. Reagan played the independent cowboy to Carter's ineffectual bureaucrat, who was further effeminized by his inability to stand up to the Iranians. George H. W. Bush struggled with the "wimp factor," a product in part of the association with elite New England with femininity in the American imagination. While Bill Clinton "felt our pain," this symbolically feminine quality was counterbalanced by the phallic excess he displayed in his personal affairs, brought to public attention though a series of scandals over his extramarital affairs, from Gennifer Flowers through Monica Lewinsky. And George W. Bush highlighted his masculine image as a decisive, straight-talking, man of the people, while portraying John Kerry in symbolically gendered terms: as a flip-flopper, an effete intellectual, a wind surfer. And on and on.

A Pilot Study

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This pilot study is part of a larger project, then, that seeks to marry the sorts of insights we can draw from the rich, qualitative studies discussed above with the quantitative political behavior tradition. While the historical and cultural studies treatments deal in very nuanced ways with the ways that gender is constructed, symbolized, and enacted in the political spectacle, our knowledge of exactly how citizens might be reacting to this spectacle is more limited. This project attempts to develop our understanding of this, and this pilot is a first step in that direction.

Specifically, I am interested in the ways that gendered perceptions of political leaders, gendered portrayals and perceptions of political issues, and the strategic context of policy-making interact with each other. We might well expect that impressions of the president himself forms the context within which his policy actions are understood. We know that stereotypes shape our perceptions of ambiguous phenomena. For example, in a class study of stereotype effects, Dunning found that subjects are more likely to interpret an ambiguous shove as accidental by a white, and aggressive by a black (1976). Similarly, gender stereotypes affect perceptions and inferences about men and women. For example, Dunning and Sherman explored people's recall of sentences such as "When Jack found out that his friend had been murdered, he became very upset." People who read that sentence about Jack tended to recall (incorrectly) that he was described as *angry*, whereas people who read an equivalent sentence about "Jill" recalled her as *sad* (1997).

We know that people can act in ways that reinforce or undermine their apparent masculinity or femininity; we also know that certain issues appear to be associated with masculinity (war, the economy, etc.) or femininity (nation building, social welfare). How do these two different realms interact with each other. That is, do perceptions of a male president as particularly masculine facilitate his association with "masculine" policies, and vice versa? Does association with gendered policy realms reflect back on perceptions of the leader himself? The gender connotations of a policy—the policy itself and how it is talked about should matter. But we should also expect the gender associations of the leader in question to shape not just citizens' perceptions of that leader, but also their interpretations of the policies he or she pursues.

Specifically, this initial study, which is currently in progress, is designed to explore the ways that candidate communications can shape citizens' perceptions and evaluations of the candidate, and specifically the ways that those communications can affect the gendered nature of citizens' perceptions of the candidate. I am interesting in exploring the ways that cues about candidates' *symbolic* gender characteristics influence citizens' perceptions, evaluations, and choices.

For this paper I collected initial pilot data for an experiment that was designed to manipulate the gendered imagery associated with candidates. Specifically, I am interested in the ways that descriptions of candidates characteristics and issues positions can (1) directly affect evaluation of gender-linked traits of the candidates, such as strong leadership, manliness, and compassion, and (2) alter the relationship between gender predispositions and candidate evaluations. That is, I expect that candidates who are described in symbolically masculine ways and associated with symbolically masculine issues should be perceived themselves as being more masculine (and stronger leaders, etc.). In addition, I further expect that when respondents are exposed to gendered campaign imagery—that associates one candidate with masculinity and dissociates the other candidate from masculinity—that gender traditionalists will be attracted to the symbolically masculine candidate and that gender egalitarians will be attracted to the non-masculine candidate. That is, I expected gendered campaign imagery to alter the association between gender predispositions and candidate evaluations.

Study Design

Respondents were told that they were taking a survey to study how people gather political information from the internet. They filled out a paper and pencil survey that included printed versions from two candidate web sites. I focus on the Republican primary because I wanted to avoid the effects of candidate gender that a focus on the Democrats—and in particular Hillary Clinton—would bring to the study. I chose the two most prominent Republican candidates at the time of the study: John McCain and Mitt Romney.

The survey asked respondents to look at each web site and then answer a series of questions about their impressions of the quality and usability of the web sites and their impressions of the candidates. The survey then continued with a series of questions that measure respondents' gender predispositions, based on the Hostile and Benevolent Sexism scale (Glick and Fiske 1996; Glick and Fiske 1997), and a series of demographics.[2] The pilot survey was completed by 104 University of Virginia undergraduate students in return for extra-credit in a mid-level course on public opinion.

Unbeknownst to the respondents, the web pages they viewed, while based on the actual candidate sites, were systematically altered for the purposes of the experiment. Each candidate site—Romney and McCain—came in two versions, a "masculine" version that was altered in a variety of subtle ways to associate the candidate with traditional masculine traits, issues, and symbolic imagery and a "feminine" version, designed to associate the candidate with traditionally effeminate (or at least less masculine) traits, issues and imagery. There were two conditions in the experiment: in the first, "masculine McCain," condition respondents viewed the masculine version of the McCain website and the feminine version of the Romney site. In the second, "masculine Romney" condition respondents viewed the feminine McCain site and the masculine Romney site. Respondents were assigned randomly and double-blindly to condition.[3] Thus, there is no control condition; this was omitted from the pilot to maximize statistical power, and because the actual websites on which the treatments were based already included substantial gendered imagery.

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[2] Because gender predispositions are independent variables in the analysis, ideally I would have measured them in a pre-test *before* the treatments and opinion measures. However, to have done so would have risked priming gender for participants and revealing my particular interest in gender; it might therefore have interfered with the treatments. The risk with measuring them afterwards is that the treatments might affected their measurement. This seems relatively unlikely, though, because gender predispositions are acquired very young and are relatively stable. Moreover, this approach is common in this sort of study (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino 1999). And happily, the treatments did *not* substantially influence the level of gender predispositions (the difference across conditions is substantively small and not statistically significant).

[3] The sites were presented in random order in the survey as well, yielding a 2 X 2 design. Initial analyses reveal no effects of candidate order, so the four conditions have been collapsed to the two described in the text.

Treatments

The two versions of each website are reproduced at the end of the paper. There were a variety of alterations between the masculine and feminine version of each site. These variations are summarized in Table 1 and Table 2, below.

Table 1 About Here
(McCain website)

Table 2 About Here
(Romney website)

Both websites were based on the actual candidate website; they were modified through changes in text and pictures, many of which were simply drawn from other pages on the candidate sites. Thus, the websites had the "look and feel of the actual sites," and the images and text in the treatments all reflected either actual material from the real sites or very minor variations on material from the sites.

The masculine version of the McCain site was based almost entirely on an unmodified page from John McCain's site (as of February 2007), and emphasized McCain independence, leadership, and military record; it also positioned his wife as a traditional, subordinate help-mate. The feminine version altered features of the site to make McCain seem less forceful and independent. For example, images of Navy airplanes and the American flag were removed from the backgrounds; McCain was described as "understanding the needs" of our soldiers, rather than "fighting to strengthen our armed forces"; and more. In the masculine version, Cindy McCain was described in traditional terms, as "standing behind" John; in the feminine version she is described as having "an independent record." And in the masculine version, McCain is described as "demanding" that Congress stand up to lobbyists; i.e., pushing for Congressional autonomy. In the analogous section of the feminine version, McCain is said to have "labored to forge compromise."

The two versions of the Romney website differed in similar ways; they also differed in the issue they highlighted. Both versions drew on text from Romney's website. The masculine version drew attention to Romney's position on National Security, in which he argued that America "must defeat this radical and

violent faction of Islam" that is "waging war" on the US. This article is accompanied by a picture of Romney giving a speech, with clenched fist. In the feminine article, Romney is quoted discussing international cooperation, and arguing that "America must help lead a broad-based international coalition"; accompanying this article is a picture of Romney sitting, listening to others, with hands folded in front of him. Also among the difference in the Romney sites are very different descriptions of Ann Romney. In the masculine version, she is described as placing "primary importance on her role as a wife, mother, and grandmother," whereas in the feminine version Mitt Romney describes her as "my best counselor."

Measurement of Gender predispositions: Hostile & Benevolent Sexism

For this experiment I make use of Glick and Fiske's measures of Hostile and Benevolent Sexism to assess respondents' gender ideology (Glick and Fiske 1997; Glick and Fiske 1996; Glick and Fiske 2001). Glick and Fiske argue that gender prejudice is not wholly negative or hostile. Rather, largely because of close contact and interdependent structural arrangement of gender in American society (and most if not all others), gender hierarchy is justified in part through nominally-positive ideologies of paternalism (see also Jackman 1994; Goffman 1977). Thus, gender prejudice includes both Hostile Sexism, which involves antipathy toward women who are seen as not fitting into traditional gender roles, as well as Benevolent Sexism, which involves an emotionally positive, chivalrous view of women who adopt traditional gender roles. While these two faces of gender prejudice are affectively opposite, empirically they are moderately *positively* correlated, leading those who endorse both to be ambivalent. That ambivalence is resolved through subtyping of women; for example, benevolent sexism predicts warm attitudes toward conventional types of women (e.g., housewives), while hostile sexism predicts negative feelings about nontraditional women (e.g., career women) (Glick et al. 1997).

Thus, Hostile and Benevolent Sexism work as complementary justifications for traditional gender arrangements, and Benevolent Sexism in particular serves to mask gender dominance and lead women and men both to accept traditional gender arrangements. While they are moderately positively correlated, that

complementarity leads them to be associated differently with various gender-relevant targets. (The complete wording of these items is listed in the appendix.)

Results

Candidate Traits & Evaluations

The first question is whether the relatively subtle manipulation to the web site induced changes in the perceptions of the candidates, and especially in perceptions of gendered traits of the candidates. The survey asked respondents to rate each candidate in terms of whether he is "manly," "provides strong leadership," "cares about people like me," is "intelligent," and is "moral." The first three of these, in particular, are quite relevant to gender stereotypes, and insofar as the treatments influenced respondents evaluations along gender lines, we might expect systematic differences across condition in these ratings.

Table 3 shows the difference in ratings, McCain minus Romney, for each of these traits,[4] and Table 4 presents the difference in candidate preferences. The first item in Table 4 is based on items that ask whether each web site makes the respondent like the candidate more; the second is a single measure that asks which candidate the respondent would prefer to win the Republican nomination. For each item, the tables report the average of the ratings difference in the "Romney masculine" condition, and the difference between the conditions, expressed as the impact of the "McCain masculine" condition. All variables are coded zero to one. On the difference items, respondents are coded zero if they gave Romney the highest rating and McCain the lowest rating, one if they rated the candidates with the opposite pattern, and 0.5 if they rate them equally. Thus, higher ratings correspond to greater preference for McCain over Romney. Even in the "Romney masculine" condition, respondents rate McCain more positively on these traits, and in particular on the leadership and manliness items. And there is little difference between in ratings of the

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[4] Analyses that disaggregate the two candidate ratings generally yield similar conclusions, so for concision I present only the analyses of the difference ratings except where there are important differences in the disaggregated analyses.

candidates across the two conditions. The different treatments had no discernable effect on respondents' ratings of the candidates' leadership, manliness, intelligence, or morality, and no effect on the degree to which they like one candidate more, or prefer one candidate to the other.

Table 3 About Here
(Traits main effects)

Table 4 About Here
(Candidate preference main effects)

The one exception to this pattern is in the degree to which respondents report that they feel that each candidate "cares about people like me." In the "Romney masculine" condition, respondents rate the two candidates about equally on this item (mean of 0.565); when exposed to the "McCain masculine" condition, respondents feel that McCain cares *more* about people like them. The difference is not enormous (–0.053 on a zero-one scale) and is at the edge of statistical significance. Table 5 reports these same set of figures, separately for female and male respondents. It shows that the difference in sense of caring is somewhat larger among men (–0.081) than among women (–0.043). Otherwise the non-results are essentially the same among both men and women.

Table 5 About Here
(Candidate traits & preferences by gender)

Antecedents of Candidate Traits

So beyond a moderate effect on the sense that the candidates care—especially among men—the different versions of the web sites had little discernable impact on respondents' evaluation of candidate traits. Of course, this could be evidence that the alterations across the sites were simply too subtle to have much impact, or it could be that I simply do not have enough cases to detect rather subtle effects. However, it could also be the case that these sorts of subtle gender cues do have less direct effects on how respondents evaluate candidates. Specifically, rather that altering traits or candidate evaluations directly, they may operate by altering the *mix* ingredients that make up those evaluations. That is, they may have a priming effect for gender predispositions—when a candidate is described in masculine, gendered terms, people

should be induced to evaluate him in terms of their thoughts and feelings about gender relations. This more subtle, indirect, effect is what I am most interested in, and in this section I take up the question of whether the treatments primed gender considerations for respondents in such a way that they drew on them differently in evaluating the candidates across conditions.

Specifically, I expect gender traditionalists to be drawn toward the candidate whose website portrays him in masculine terms, and away from the candidate whose website portrays him in emasculated or feminine terms. To see, I ran the following model for each of the trait items I describe above:

$$\text{Trait} = b0 + b1[\text{Hostile Sexism}] + b2[\text{Hostile Sexism} \times \text{McCain Masculine Condition}] +$$
$$b3[\text{Benevolent Sexism}] + b4[\text{Benevolent Sexism} \times \text{McCain Masculine Condition}] +$$
$$b5[\text{McCain Masculine Condition}]$$

I estimate this model by OLS regression.[5] Coefficient b1 represents the effect of Hostile Sexism on the dependent variable, *for respondents in the "Romney masculine" condition.* The difference in the effect of Hostile Sexism among respondents in the "McCain masculine" condition is represented by b2. Analogously, b3 represents the "Romney masculine" condition impact of Benevolent Sexism and b4 is the change in that impact for respondents in the "McCain masculine" condition. Thus, the relevant coefficients for evaluating the priming hypotheses are b2 and b4. Each represents the difference across experimental conditions in the relationship between gender predispositions (hostile and Benevolent Sexism, respectively) and the dependent variable. Because the dependent variables are coded such that higher values indicate greater support for McCain, relative to Romney, the expectation is that the sign of the b2 and b4 coefficients will be *positive*. That is, in the "McCain masculine" condition, I expect gender traditionalists to be more supportive of McCain (and gender egalitarians less supportive), compared with the "Romney masculine" condition.

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[5] The trait difference dependent variables have a theoretical seven-point range, although many of them only take on five or six actual values empirically. As always, the results are substantively identical when the models are estimated by ordered probit.

Table 6 About Here
(Effect of Gender Predispositions on candidate traits)

The blizzard of results, presented in Table 6, can be easily summarized: there is basically no relationship between gender predispositions and evaluation of candidate traits in the "Romney masculine" condition, and there is essentially no difference in those relationships in the "McCain masculine" condition. The Hostile Sexism interaction terms (b2) are all substantively rather small and not statistically significant; moreover, five of the six are negative, which is counter to expectations. The Benevolent Sexism interaction terms (b4) are also quite small and not statistically significant, although four of the five are positive.

Table 7 presents this same analysis, separately by respondent gender. While the extremely limited number of cases available for these analyses mean that the results are very noisy, there is some suggestion of an interesting pattern to these results. I hesitate to take very seriously the estimated values for particular coefficients, given the large standard errors and few cases; nevertheless the basic pattern is suggesting. Among women, in the "Romney masculine" condition, Hostile Sexism tends to be positively related to trait evaluations, meaning that Hostile Sexists rate McCain more favorably. The interaction term (b2) tends to be negative, indicating that Hostile Sexists move toward Romney in the "McCain masculine" condition. For Benevolent Sexism, the pattern among women is essentially the reverse: in the "Romney masculine" condition the coefficient (b3) tends to be negative, indicating that Benevolent Sexists are drawn to Romney; the b4 interaction terms tend to be positive, indicating that the "masculine McCain" condition draws Benevolent Sexists toward McCain. Thus, these results suggest that for female respondents, the masculine conditions attract Benevolent Sexists, and repel Hostile Sexists.

Among men, on the other hand, the basic pattern is the opposite. There is essentially no relationship between Hostile or Benevolent Sexism and trait evaluations in the "Romney masculine" condition. But the "McCain masculine" treatment has the opposite effect among men, compared to women. For men, the b2 coefficients are generally positive, indicating that the "McCain masculine" condition attracts Hostile Sexist men to McCain (and repels hostile anti-sexist men). And the b4

coefficients are generally negative, indicating that *Benevolent Sexist* men are repelled by the "McCain masculine" treatment (and benevolent anti-sexist men are attracted).

Table 7 About Here
(Effect of Gender Predispositions on traits, by gender)

Finally, I turn to an analysis of the impact of gender predispositions on candidate preference. Given the moderating effect of gender that I found in the analysis above, I conduct this analysis separately among women and men as well. As with the previous analyses, these results are quite noisily estimated. Nevertheless, the basic pattern of results appears consistent with the models of trait evaluations. Table 8 presents the model of candidate preferences. Among women, the different treatments appear to alter the impact of Hostile Sexism on opinion. The b2 estimated coefficient is negative, which implies that Hostile Sexists are pushed away from the candidate with the masculine web site and hostile anti-sexists are attracted to the masculine web site. Among men, the b2 coefficient is the opposite: Hostile Sexist men are attracted to the candidate with the masculine website. Also among men, the b4 coefficient is negative, indicating that Benevolent Sexist men are pushed away from the candidate with the masculine web site.

Table 8 About Here
(Effect of Gender Predispositions on candidate preference, by gender)

Summary and Conclusions

This analysis is based on a small amount of pilot data. It is based on a convenience sample of undergraduate students, and all of the statistical estimates are very noisy. These are important caveats, and more data are needed before we draw firm conclusions. Despite these important caveats, however, there are some interesting patterns among the data, and it is worth considering the implications of these findings, assuming they do hold up to further data collection.

First, these results suggest that relatively subtle manipulation of gendered candidate imagery can have important effects on how people think about those candidates. I did not observe major *direct* effects on perceptions of candidate traits, including gender-relevant traits. Insofar as this imagery affected candidate

perceptions, it did so by engaging participants' gender predispositions, and altering the relationship between gender predispositions and candidate evaluations—both traits and overall candidate preference.

These effects were nuanced in two important ways. First, they appear to draw in contrasting ways on two dimensions of gender ideology, and second, they appear to be moderated importantly by respondent gender. This tells us something important about the complexity and contingency of gender predispositions: gender ideology is a complex system. In particular, my characterization of particular imagery as "masculine" or "feminine" clearly oversimplifies the situation, since my treatments appear to engaged two elements of gender ideology—Hostile and Benevolent sexism—in contrasting ways. This is consistent with prior work on Hostile and Benevolent Sexism, and suggests that beliefs about gender are engaged in complex ways by campaign imagery.

In addition, it appears that Hostile and Benevolent Sexism are engaged in opposite ways among women and men. Certainly men and women stand in different structural positions vis-à-vis gender and patriarchy. This means that both Hostile and Benevolent Sexism may have somewhat different meaning for men and for women; it also means that respondent gender may react to different elements of the gendered imagery I present. Both of these possibilities—or some combination—clearly have important implications for how we think about gender ideology as well as candidate communication.

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APPENDICES

Benevolent Sexism Items ([R] indicates item is reverse-coded)

No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

Women should be cherished and protected by men.

Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

[R] In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

[R] People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

Hostile Sexism Items ([R] indicates item is reverse-coded)

Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

Women are too easily offended.

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

[R] Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

[R] There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

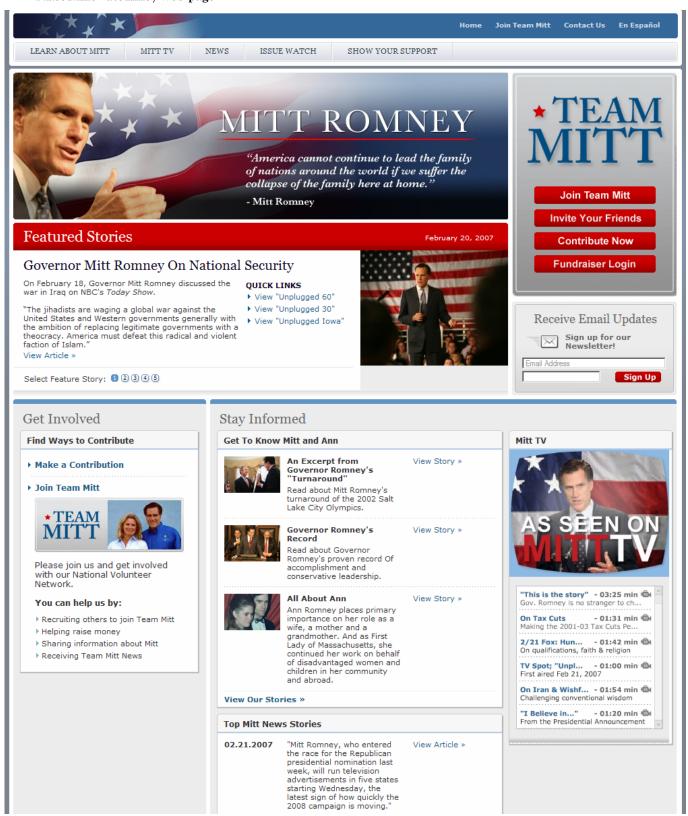[R] Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
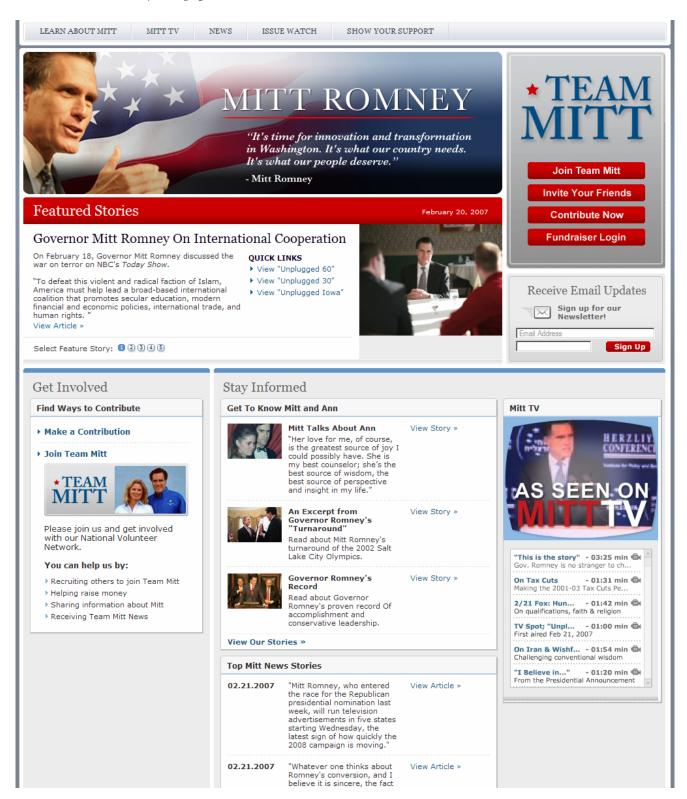
"Masculine" McCain web page

"Feminine" McCain web page

"Masculine" Romney web page

"Feminine" Romney web page

Tables

Table 1: John McCain website versions

"Masculine" Version	"Feminine" Version
Imagery	
Navy airplanes	(no airplanes)
"Glamour" shot of Cindy McCain	Cindy McCain speaking emphatically in front of microphone
flag background	plain background
Text	
Contribute: Be part of the team	Contribute: John McCain needs your help
John McCains record of leadership and experience prepares him to stand up to our nations dangerous threats	John McCain has a remarkable record of experience that embodies his unwavering commitment to serving others
...has led the fight to strengthen our armed forces.	...understands the needs of our soldiers.
...demands that Congress fix the broken system in Washington that allows lobbyists to write legislation.	...has labored to forge compromise that end loopholes for special interests.
Cindy stands behind John McCain. She has dedicated her life to improving the lives of those less fortunate ...	Cindy McCain has an independent record of fighting for those less fortunate ...

Table 2: Mitt Romney website versions

"Masculine" Version	"Feminine" Version
Imagery	
Romney in front of flag, fist clenched, speaking forcefully to crowd.	Romney siting at table with hands folded, listening to others.
Text	
Banner quotation: "American cannot continue to lead the family of nations around the world if we suffer the collapse of the family here at home."	"It's time for innovation and transformation in Washington. It's what our country needs. It's what our people deserve."
Feature story: Governor Mitt Romney on National Security: "The jihadists are waging a global war against the United States and Western governments generally [. . .] America must defeat this radical and violent faction of Islam."	Governor Mitt Romney On International Co-operation: "To defeat this violent and radical faction of Islam, America must help lead a broad-based international coalition that promotes secular education, modern financial and economic policies, international trade, and human rights."
All about Ann: Ann Romney places primary importance on her role as a wife, a mother and a grandmother. And as First Lady of Massachusetts, she continued her work on behalf of disadvantaged women and children in her community and abroad.	Mitt Talks About Ann: "Her love for me, of course, is the greatest source of joy I could possibly have. She is my best counselor; she's the best source of wisdom, the best source of perspective and insight in my life."

Table 3: Direct effect of treatment on candidate trait evaluations

	Strong Leader	Manly	Cares about People Like me	Intelligent	Moral
Impact of McCain Masculine Condition	0.015 (0.027)	0.020 (0.031)	−0.053^ (0.031)	0.012 (0.027)	−0.017 (0.031)
Baseline (Romney Masculine) Condition	0.614** (0.019)	0.611** (0.022)	0.565** (0.022)	0.529** (0.019)	0.529** (0.022)
N	104	103	103	103	103
Std. error of regression	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.16

Dependent variables are difference in evaluations of the two candidates (McCain – Romney). Estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 4: Direct effect of treatment on candidate preference

	Like Candidate More (McCain)	Candidate Preference (McCain)
Impact of McCain Masculine Condition	−0.022 (0.032)	−0.005 (0.056)
Baseline (Romney Masculine) Condition	0.575** (0.023)	0.755** (0.040)
N	104	104
Std. error of regression	0.17	0.28

Estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 5: Direct effect of treatment on candidate trait evaluations by gender

	Strong Leader	Manly	Cares about People Like me	Intelligent	Moral	Like Candidate More (McCain)	Candidate Preference (McCain)
	Among Women						
Impact of McCain Masculine Condition	0.038	0.027	−0.043	0.011	0.000	−0.052	0.050
	(0.041)	(0.046)	(0.044)	(0.041)	(0.044)	(0.047)	(0.084)
Intercept (b0)	0.595**	0.587**	0.571**	0.532**	0.524**	0.619**	0.714**
	(0.032)	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.037)	(0.067)
N	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
Std. error of regression	0.15	0.17	0.16	0.15	0.16	0.17	0.31
	Among Men						
Impact of McCain Masculine Condition	−0.007	0.039	−0.081^	0.011	−0.043	−0.017	−0.061
	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.049)	(0.047)	(0.077)
Intercept (b0)	0.628**	0.628**	0.561**	0.528**	0.533**	0.544**	0.783**
	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.047)
N	48	47	47	47	47	48	48
Std. error of regression	0.13	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.16	0.16	0.26

Dependent variables are difference in evaluations of the two candidates (McCain – Romney). Estimates with standard errors in parentheses..
** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 6: Effect of Gender Predispositions on Candidate Evaluations

	Strong Leader	Manly	Cares about People Like me	Intelligent	Moral
Hostile Sexism (b1)	0.140	0.054	0.007	−0.008	0.128
	(0.130)	(0.148)	(0.149)	(0.131)	(0.150)
HS × masculine McCain Cond. (b2)	−0.196	−0.281	−0.144	0.032	−0.159
	(0.184)	(0.209)	(0.211)	(0.186)	(0.212)
Benevolent Sexism (b3)	−0.124	0.064	−0.088	−0.072	0.050
	(0.130)	(0.148)	(0.149)	(0.132)	(0.150)
BS × masculine McCain Cond. (b4)	0.025	0.102	0.094	0.100	−0.146
	(0.186)	(0.211)	(0.213)	(0.188)	(0.214)
Masculine McCain condition (b5)	0.077	0.079	−0.042	−0.041	0.105
	(0.086)	(0.098)	(0.099)	(0.087)	(0.099)
Intercept (b0)	0.612**	0.563**	0.600**	0.563**	0.458**
	(0.065)	(0.074)	(0.075)	(0.066)	(0.075)
N	104	103	103	103	103
Std. error of regression	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.16

Dependent variables are difference in evaluations of the two candidates (McCain – Romney). OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.

** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 7: Effect of Gender Predispositions on Candidate Evaluations by gender

	Strong Leader	Manly	Cares about People Like me	Intelligent	Moral
Among Women					
Hostile Sexism (b1)	0.400	0.030	0.151	0.544^	0.473
	(0.285)	(0.331)	(0.321)	(0.288)	(0.320)
HS × masculine McCain Cond. (b2)	−0.511	−0.411	−0.262	−0.478	−0.487
	(0.320)	(0.371)	(0.360)	(0.323)	(0.359)
Benevolent Sexism (b3)	−0.673*	0.009	−0.491^	−0.499^	−0.098
	(0.252)	(0.293)	(0.284)	(0.255)	(0.284)
BS × masculine McCain Cond. (b4)	0.621*	0.170	0.535	0.608*	0.047
	(0.293)	(0.340)	(0.330)	(0.296)	(0.329)
Masculine McCain condition (b5)	−0.024	0.098	−0.153	−0.069	0.133
	(0.114)	(0.132)	(0.128)	(0.115)	(0.128)
Intercept (b0)	0.716**	0.575**	0.702**	0.546**	0.416**
	(0.091)	(0.106)	(0.103)	(0.092)	(0.103)
N	56	56	56	56	56
Std. error of regression	0.14	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.16
Among Men					
Hostile Sexism (b1)	0.109	0.009	0.070	−0.185	0.032
	(0.161)	(0.178)	(0.201)	(0.166)	(0.210)
HS × masculine McCain Cond. (b2)	0.413	0.957*	−0.272	0.234	−0.020
	(0.409)	(0.453)	(0.512)	(0.423)	(0.534)
Benevolent Sexism (b3)	0.109	0.058	0.136	0.027	0.069
	(0.155)	(0.171)	(0.194)	(0.160)	(0.202)
BS × masculine McCain Cond. (b4)	−0.755^	−0.792^	−0.165	−0.325	−0.328
	(0.410)	(0.453)	(0.512)	(0.423)	(0.534)
Masculine McCain condition (b5)	0.187	0.041	0.101	0.052	0.112
	(0.149)	(0.165)	(0.187)	(0.154)	(0.195)
Intercept (b0)	0.527**	0.597**	0.466**	0.600**	0.486**
	(0.106)	(0.118)	(0.133)	(0.110)	(0.139)
N	48	47	47	47	47
Std. error of regression	0.13	0.14	0.16	0.13	0.17

Dependent variables are difference in evaluations of the two candidates (McCain – Romney). OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 8: Effect of Gender Predispositions on Candidate
Evaluations

| | Candidate Preference (McCain) | |
	Women	Men
Hostile Sexism (b1)	0.366	−0.127
	(0.575)	(0.325)
HS × masculine McCain Cond. (b2)	−1.037	0.605
	(0.645)	(0.825)
Benevolent Sexism (b3)	−0.364	−0.330
	(0.509)	(0.313)
BS × masculine McCain Cond. (b4)	−0.014	−0.805
	(0.591)	(0.827)
Masculine McCain condition (b5)	0.408^	0.050
	(0.229)	(0.301)
Intercept (b0)	0.734**	0.995**
	(0.184)	(0.215)
N	56	48
Std. error of regression	0.29	0.26

Dependent variables are difference in evaluations of the two candidates (McCain – Romney). OLS estimates with standard errors in parentheses.
** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed