The Explicit and Implicit Gendered Basis of American Party Images

April 2009

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Paper prepared for presentation at the
Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association,
Chicago, IL, April 2009.

Arnold Schwarzenegger has repeatedly and notoriously described Democratic opponents as "girlie-men," while campaigning for George H. W. Bush in 1988 and 1992; then again in 2004 as Governor of California in battles with the legislature, and finally at the 2004 Republican national convention. These comments drew on common gender stereotypes about men who do not fit a certain masculine ideal to suggest that Democrats lacked traits like strength, toughness and aggressiveness—traits obviously important for successful presidential or gubernatorial leadership. The phrase was likely politically powerful because it drew not just on ideas about gender, but also built on associations the public already had for the Democratic Party. While they are generally not so explicit and do not use such colorful and controversial imagery to make the point, since the early 1980s Republicans have worked to shape popular images of the parties in terms of exactly these sorts of gendered stereotypes. Specifically, they have—with substantial success—positioned the Republican Party as the masculine party of "real men" and the Democratic Party as the party of effeminate wimps.

This paper documents these associations between gender and the parties and explores their implications for citizens images of the parties and for political cognition more broadly. These associations are one way that ideas about gender shape both elite strategies and citizens reactions to the parties and their candidates in ways that scholars of political behavior and gender and politics have not fully recognized or explored. The vast majority of research on gender and political behavior has focused on differences between male and female citizens—the gender gap—or how citizens view male and female candidates differently. Both of these lines of research have been productive, of course. The gender gap literature has explored the ways that political differences between men and women arise from differences in socialization, feminist or feminine values, maternal thinking, social location, and more (for overviews of this vast body of research, see Huddy, Cassese, and Lizotte 2008; Sapiro 2003, 605-10). Meanwhile, the candidate gender literature has explored the complex ways that gender stereotypes, which play a central role in person perception generally, condition the perception of political candidates in particular (for an overview see Dolan 2008).

An important line of work in this literature has begun to explore the interactions between citizens' gender and party stereotypes in shaping their perceptions of female candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009; Huddy and Capelos 2002; Matland and King 2002; Hayes 2009).

Nevertheless, beliefs about gender—encoded in gender stereotypes—contain more than ideas about men and about women as homogenous groups. People also have rich concepts for various subtypes of men and types of women (Eckes 1994; Deaux et al. 1985). In particular, people have well-developed ideas about masculinity and femininity, and individual men and women vary in the degree to which they are perceived to conform to these ideas about masculinity and femininity. This variation, in turn, has important consequences for perception and evaluation. Gender stereotypes are implicated in our ideas about what makes a "manly man" different from a "wimp"—or as Schwarzenegger might say, from a "girlie-man"—and those sorts of distinctions between types of men can carry important political implications. Thus, we can expect gender stereotypes can shape citizen's perceptions and evaluations of candidates or leaders even when all are men (or all are women), insofar as those candidates and leaders are measured against yardsticks of masculinity and femininity.

Historians, legal theorists, and cultural studies scholars—as well as the mainstream media—have explored the ways that male presidential candidates and other political leaders throughout American history have worked to demonstrate their own masculinity and to undermine the perceived masculinity of their opponents (e.g. Fahey 2007; Bederman 1995; Hoganson 1998; Dean 2001; Jeffords 1994; Ducat 2004; Rich 2004). However, we know almost nothing about how individual citizens react to explicit and implicit gendering strategies, or how ideals of masculinity and femininity shape citizen's perceptions of different types of male candidates—or different types of female candidates (see Rosenwasser and Dean 1989 for one relatively minor exception). And we have little sense of the ways these strategies have shaped the broader images of the parties that the public holds.

This paper explores the ways that the contemporary Republican and Democratic parties have become associated with masculinity and femininity, respectively, and shows that these associations exist both in the conscious images citizens hold for the parties and in implicit cognitive connections between party concepts and gender concepts. Drawing on three decades of American National Election Studies (ANES) data, I demonstrate that citizens associate the parties with gendered—i.e., masculine and feminine—traits, and that these associations developed over the course of the 1980s, likely in response to Republicans' electoral strategies and to the issue images of the parties. Then, drawing on experimental research, I present evidence that Americans' party images and gender images are *not* simply parallel stereotypes with shared content, but rather reflect unconscious cognitive connections between the two domains. This evidence suggests that people do not merely ascribe to the Democrats and Republicans a series of traits that happen to be feminine and masculine, respectively. Rather, their ideas about the parties are linked cognitively with their ideas about gender, so when they think about the Democratic party they are drawing directly—and unconsciously—on their concepts of femininity, and when they think about the Republican party they draw on their concepts of masculinity.

The paper proceeds as follows. In the next section, I briefly discuss American ideals of masculinity and the ways that the Republican party and its presidential candidates have attempted to associate themselves with masculinity and the Democrats with femininity. Then, in the first of two empirical sections, I present data on the gendered traits that Americans associate with the political parties, drawing on ANES open-ended data. I follow this with the results of an experiment that demonstrates the implicit cognitive underpinnings of those associations.

Finally, I conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for our understanding of the American political parties and for research on gender and political behavior. In particular, despite the general lack of explicitly gendered language in most political campaigns—except for the occasional comment from Schwarzenegger—and despite the fact that most campaigns continue to pit two men against each other, implicit ideas about gender can nevertheless structure citizens' reactions to them. The interconnected

nature of party and gender stereotypes suggest that we need explore further the intersectional nature of these two categories, and in particular the ways that a candidate's party affiliation creates a context that affects perception of their sex and of their embodiment of masculinity and femininity. Finally, I consider briefly how changes in political context might influence the ways that gendered party images interact with the characteristics of specific male and female candidates to shape voter decision making.

Hegemonic masculinity in American culture and politics

There is a large body of work on the construction of gender and masculinity in society, and in particular on the ways that culturally-sanctioned ideas about masculinity structure American political competition. Connell defines *hegemonic masculinity* as "the culturally idealized form of masculine character" (1990, 83; cited in Trujillo 1991, 290). While the culture always incorporates multiple versions of what it means to be a man—or a woman—*hegemonic* masculinity is the form that is most culturally valued. It is in relation to this masculinity that individual men negotiate their own identity and behavior as men, and against which that behavior is frequently judged (Connell 2005; Kimmel 2006; Kimmel 1987; Gilmore 1990; Ducat 2004; Trujillo 1991; Fahey 2007). Trujillo argues that hegemonic masculinity in American culture involves five interrelated characteristics: "(1) physical force and control, (2) occupational achievement, (3) familial patriarchy, (4) frontiersmanship, and (5) heterosexuality" (1991, 291). Many scholars further emphasize that an individual's masculinity is never fully secure: it must constantly be proven and reaffirmed through action.

The ideal of physical force and control requires men to be strong, aggressive, and violent, while also exhibiting self-control and a "manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance" (Kimmel 1987, 238). While aggressive violence and self-control are in some sense at odds with each other, the ideals of chivalric manhood reconciles them by emphasizing self-control in relation to women and other dependents while

lauding aggressive violence against other men who pose a threat to those dependents.[1] Occupational achievement, in turn, emphasizes the importance of status, and especially status earned through success in competition with other men. A focus on occupational achievement also separates the masculine spheres of work (and politics) from the feminine sphere of home and family, and to define some sorts of work as more manly and other sorts as more womanly.

Third, the ideal of familial patriarchy requires men to enact the paternalistic role of providing for women and dependents and protecting them from external threats. This defines men as authoritarian fathers, husbands, and providers, while defining women as nurturing mothers, housewives, and sexual objects. Fourth, frontiersmanship suggests daring and romantic adventure, in which a man proves his manliness through strenuous engagement with and dominance of "nature." This imperative has its historical roots in archetype of the cowboy on the American frontier and in Teddy Roosevelt's advocacy—and enactment—of the "strenuous life"; it lives on in the image of the sportsman and hunter today (Kimmel 1987; Bederman 1995, chapter 5).

Finally, the demands of heterosexuality define appropriate relations with other men as competitive or social, rather than intimate or sexual, and proper relations with women as intimate and sexual. The norms of heterosexuality also serve to associate homosexuality with the feminine; and by extension to associate any shortcomings of hegemonic masculinity with questionable heterosexuality and therefore with femininity.[2]

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[1] Kristin Hoganson traces the ways that the chivalric ideals shaped politics and policymaking at the turn of the twentieth century (1998); see also Bederman (1995). See Nisbett and Cohen for an analysis of the role of "honor" in the culture of the American South that makes a similar argument (1996).

[2] There is an extensive social psychology literature showing that masculine and feminine do not form a single bipolar dimension. Rather, both are multidimensional constructs that vary somewhat independently from each other (Bem 1974; Spence, Helmreich, and Helmreich 1978). Nevertheless, the cultural construction of masculinity and femininity treats them as opposites, and in so doing maps "not masculine" onto "feminine" and vice-versa (Foushee, H. Clayton, Helmreich, and Spence 1979).

It is important to note that while discussions of masculinity and politics generally emphasize normative or culturally-valued aspects of masculinity, constructions of masculinity are neither set in stone nor purely positive. Hegemonic masculinity is, of course, a social construction, and is therefore malleable over the medium to long historical term. There are always subordinate, competing views of masculinity and femininity that critique the normative status of the hegemonic ideal; this leads Connell, for example, to emphasize the *masculinities* rather than a single homogenous concept (Connell 2005). These changes can be political consequential. Gail Bederman argues, for example, that normative views of maleness in America shifted in the late nineteenth century from a controlled manliness that emphasized aspects of moral strength over the physical to a more physical masculinity that emphasized aggressiveness, strength and sexuality (1995).[3] More recently, the feminist and gay liberation movements have both attempted, with some success, to reshape traditional ideas about gender relations in general and masculinity in particular (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).[4]

Second, even the dominant stereotypes of masculinity include negative, as well as positive, attributes. Thus, for example, stereotypes of men include negative characteristics such as greedy, hostile, and self-interested, in addition to positive characteristics such as competent, decisive, and confident (Spence, Helmreich, and Holahan 1979), and (Spence, Helmreich, and Helmreich 1978)some aspects of masculinity, such as aggressiveness and violence, are viewed negatively when they appear to be excessive or when applied to an undeserving target.

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[3] Bederman uses the terms "masculinity" and "manliness" to refer to these two versions of maleness, respectively. Other scholars of the same period do not necessarily maintain this distinction (e.g. Hoganson 1998, 231 (note 12)); nor do I except when discussing Bederman's work explicitly.

[4] On the ways that cultural ideas about gender are reproduced by the ways they structure behavior and social institutions, see, for example, Zimmerman and West (1987) and, more broadly, Lorber (1991).

Republicans and Democrats become masculine and feminine

Ideas about masculinity and femininity have long been associated with politics. The very idea of a political or public realm is constructed in contrast with the private, and the public/private duality itself is deeply gendered (e.g. Phillips 1991).[5] The public sphere was long explicitly associated with men; today of course formal gender segregation is gone, but the political realm continues to have symbolic masculine connotations.[6] And leadership—both in and out of politics—is also associated with masculinity, in part through the association of occupational status and achievement with masculinity (Ridgeway 2001).

In this context, we might expect political contests—especially for executive positions—to raise issues of gender and masculinity. When voters ask themselves what sort of leader a candidate will be, that question will implicitly evoke to some extent the question of how manly that candidate will be.[7] Insofar as this is the case, it gives candidates an incentive to prove their masculine credentials. In her analysis of Republican efforts to symbolically emasculate John Kerry in 2004, Anna Fahey argues that masculinity and gender ideals are central to American political competition:

> Election campaigns in particular have become ritualized performances of masculinity wherein candidates demonstrate gender ideals perceived as requisite for public office, particularly as U.S. president. Wahl-Jorgensen (2000) suggests that since the earliest American presidential contests, the definition of a candidate's gender traits has been one of the most important facets of electoral news coverage. Indeed, American political figures since Thomas Jefferson (accused of timidity and vanity) and Andrew Jackson (nicknamed "Miss Nancy" and "Aunt Fancy") have defended themselves against any suggestion of femininity in their public persona. Theodore Roosevelt, nicknamed "weakling," "Jane-Dandy," and "Oscar Wilde," achieved political success in large part through a concerted

[5] 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).

[6] John Kang argues that efforts to develop a new model of manly identity, appropriate to a democracy, lay at the center of the construction of the American constitution (2009). More broadly, on the role of gender ideals in the politics of the revolution and early republic, see Kerber (1986) and Bloch (1987).

[7] Male and female candidates may both be judged in terms of a set of stereotypically masculine attributes as well as some feminine attributes; this point underlines the ways that a focus on masculinity differs from a focus on candidate sex. As Danny Hayes notes, politics is typically *not* framed as a "battle of the sexes" even when a man and a woman run against each other (2009). However, campaigns may often involve an implicit battle of manliness.

> effort to reinvent himself as a man's man, connected to the rugged American West and militaristic conquest. (2007, 134-5)

In the 1960s, the Democratic party and Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in particular cultivated an image of potent masculinity.[8] However, since the 1980s the Republican party has been more effective than their Democratic opponents in associating themselves with masculine characteristics. Susan Jeffords argues that "Ronald Reagan and his administration [portrayed] themselves as distinctively masculine, not merely men but as decisive, tough, aggressive, strong, and domineering men . . . Ronald Reagan became the premier masculine archetype of the 1980s" (1994, 11). While George H. W. Bush struggled with the so-called "wimp factor," in the 1988 campaign he nevertheless cast Michael Dukakis as effeminate—a portrayal that combined policy claims about Democratic softness on defense with suggestions that Dukakis himself was insufficiently tough and aggressive. In this the Republicans were aided by Dukakis himself, when, for example, he posed in an armored personnel carrier looking rather out of place in an oversized helmet; the Bush campaign then used the footage in the famous "Tank" ad.[9] The Bush campaign was further assisted in its efforts to effeminize their opponent by Dukakis' calm and deliberate—and implicitly unmanly—reaction to a question in the second 1988 debate about how he would react to his wife being raped and killed.[10]

Bill Clinton presents a somewhat more complex gender picture. On the one hand he embodied stereotypically feminine characteristics such as emotional openness—he famously "felt our pain"—and his marriage to a strong, independent woman raised questions for many about his mastery of his own household. On the other, this may have been counterbalanced to some extent 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 (Ducat 2004; Berlant and Duggan

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[8] On the masculine culture of cold-war foreign policymaking, and the efforts by Kennedy, Johnson, and those in their milieu to construct and project a masculine image, see Dean (2001) and Johnson (2004).

[9] The ad is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BZkoKh_A5pw.

[10] Footage of this portion of the debate is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DF9gSyku-fc.

2001). Most recently George W. Bush worked hard to project his own masculine image as a decisive, straight-talking man of the American frontier, while portraying John Kerry in symbolically gendered terms: as a flip-flopper, an effete intellectual, a wind surfer (Fahey 2007). Again the Democratic candidate inadvertently assisted these Republican efforts, this time with an ill-advised photo opportunity of John Kerry looking awkward in brand-new hunting gear.

We might expect, therefore, that these various campaigns—and the different approaches to governance they foretold—would associate the Republican and Democratic parties with masculinity and effeminacy, respectively. These considerations of image and character were likely reinforced by three other, interrelated factors. First, there is considerable overlap in the political issues associated with (or "owned") by the parties, on the one hand, and the issues associated with men and women, on the other. Republican are thought to handle better such issues as defense, controlling crime and drugs, and the economy (Petrocik 1996); these are precisely the issues that Americans associate with men or with masculine traits (Kahn 1996; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Conversely, Democratic-owned issues such as social welfare, public education, promoting peace, and protecting the environment are also associated with women or with femininity (on this broad point, see Winter 2008b). Second, these parallel party and gender issue competencies are reflected in and reinforced by the gender gap in issue attitudes and party identification (e.g. Shapiro and Mahajan 1986; Gilens 1988; for an overview of the enormous gender gap literature, see Sapiro 2003). While the size and importance of the gender gap is perhaps overstated in the popular media, this emphasis likely serves to reinforce for the public the association of the Republican party with men and the Democratic party with women (Ladd 1997; Sapiro 2003). And finally, George Lakoff has argued that conservatives and liberals—and by extension the Republican and Democratic parties—operate in different, and metaphorically gendered, moral universes. In this account, different approaches to the appropriate role

of the government metaphorically evoke different views on parenting: the Republicans are the party of the strict father, while the Democrats are the party of the nurturing mother (Lakoff 2002).[11]

All of these factors should lead us to expect the Republicans to be viewed as the masculine party and the Democrats as the feminine party. We shall see.

Gendered associations of the contemporary American political parties

This first analysis explores the gendered trait associations contained in Americans' images of the contemporary political parties over the past three decades, drawing on the ANES open-ended questions about respondents' likes and dislikes about the political parties. In each pre-election study, the ANES asks respondents to mention up to five things they like and an additional five things they dislike about each of the political parties, along with parallel questions about each major-party presidential candidates (in presidential years), and each of the major-party House candidates in their district. The analysis in this paper focuses on the political parties—up to 20 distinct mentions per respondent. The ANES does not report respondents' actual remarks; rather, each remark is coded into one of 699 "party-candidate master codes" or categories. These like/dislike question batteries were included—with consistent coding of the open-ended remarks—beginning with the 1972 study.[12] Because the likes and dislikes battery was excluded in a number of non-presidential years, my analysis focuses on presidential years between 1972 and 2004.[13]

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[11] Of course, it could also be the case that Republicans are, in fact, more masculine than Democrats, either among officeholders or among the mass public (or both). This possibility is beyond the scope of this paper, and in any case could easily be either cause or effect of the gendered party images I discuss.

[12] The categories are listed in the appendix to the ANES cumulative file dataset. The mentions are in variables VCF0375A-VCF0379A (Democratic party likes), VCF0381A-VCF0385A (Democratic dislikes), VCF0387A-VCF0391A (Republican likes), and VCF0393A-VCF0397A (Republican dislikes). In 1972 the ANES reported only the first *three* mentions for each target, although up to five were collected in the interview. The 1972 dataset does report how *many* mentions each respondent made, up to five; this indicates that about two percent of respondents mentioned more than three things in a each category. Restricting the analysis in other years to only the first three mentions does not affect the patterns of results in those years, which suggests that the omission of the fourth and fifth mentions in 1972 probably does not substantially influence the patterns observed in that year.

[13] The patterns are not any different in the non-presidential years.

The analysis focused on stereotypical masculine and feminine traits.[14] The ANES party and candidate master codes were classified as masculine if they refer to traits or characteristics that are associated in contemporary American gender stereotypes with men or masculinity, and classified as feminine if they refer to traits or characteristics that are associated with women or femininity. The ANES master codes were classified independently by the author and two graduate student research assistants, both of whom were familiar with the gender stereotypes literature but were blind to the hypotheses of this study. After classifying the codes independently, the three coders met together to discuss differences and ambiguous cases, and came to agreement on final classification of each code.

Both positive and negative traits were included; for example, positive masculine traits include references to being statesmanlike, energetic, or efficient, and negative masculine traits include references to being cold or being selfish as well as references to sex scandals. Feminine traits included kind, gentle, and compassionate as well as weak and indecisive. In all, 37 codes were categorized as masculine (22 positive, 15 negative) and 26 as feminine (eight positive, 18 negative); the complete listing appears in the appendix.[15] Analyses are based on tallies of all mentions, separately for each of the four types (Democratic party likes, Democratic party dislikes, Republican party likes, and Republican party dislikes).[16]

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[14] Both issues and political groups can be understood to have both literal and more symbolic gender associations as well. As I discuss in the conclusion, an important area for additional future research is the ways that the gendered trait associations of the parties interact with and reinforce their group and issue associations.

[15] The raw number of codes classified as gendered in a particular category is not particularly meaningful, as the codes themselves vary in their specificity and by several orders of magnitude in how often they actually appear in the data.

[16] The distinction between positive and negative traits was collapsed for the analysis, so stereotypically masculine traits that are culturally sanctioned (e.g., independent, code 315) and those that are not (e.g., cold or aloof, code 438) were both classified simply as masculine, and normatively positive and negative feminine traits (e.g., kind, code 435 versus indecisive, code 304) were classified as feminine. In practice, the overwhelming majority of respondents' party likes were normatively positive traits, and dislikes were overwhelmingly negative, although there were a few exceptions. For example, a small handful of respondents indicated in 2004 that they liked the fact that the Democratic party lacked a definite philosophy (code 836). This example makes clear that a trait that is often considered a weakness can be a political asset in the right political context. I return in the conclusion to further consideration of the ways that political context interacts with gendered party images over time.

The unit of analysis is the mention, meaning that I exclude respondents who gave no mentions at all, and also respondents who gave no mentions of a particular type. That is, when examining Democratic Party Likes, I analyze the universe of mentions in that category, and therefore exclude respondents who had nothing positive to say—gendered or not—about the Democratic party. This has the effect, of course, of yielding a more informed and engaged sample than the nation as a whole, and of weighting more heavily the views of those respondents who gave more mentions in a particular category. This makes sense for the purpose of this paper, which is to examine the gendered nature of the parties' aggregate images and the ways in which impressions of the parties are tied to gendered traits; it also follows the approach of others who have used the ANES open-ended likes and dislikes data to explore party images (Baumer and Gold 1995).[17] In presidential years from 1972 through 2004, there were a total of 55,293 things mentioned as likes or dislikes for the parties; over this period 72 percent of respondents mentioned at least one "like" or "dislike" about one of the parties.[18]

Gendered party images

Table 1 shows the proportion of all party likes and party dislikes mentioned by respondents that were masculine or feminine, separately by party. If it worth noting first of all that a relatively large proportion of the things that people say they like or dislike about the political parties are gender-related traits. For example, about 11 percent of the things that respondents mention liking about the Republican party are either masculine or feminine traits, as are 5.5 percent of dislikes of the Republican party. For the Democratic party, just over six percent of both likes and dislikes are feminine traits. While gendered traits

[17] Reassuringly, the patterns of results are unchanged when multiple mentions by a single individual are collapsed, which reframes the analysis in terms of the proportion of respondents who mention gendered traits, rather than the proportion of mentions.

[18] This ranged from a low of 66 percent in 1980 to a high of 77 percent in 2004. Overall, 48 percent of respondents mentioned something they like and 40 percent mentioned something they dislike about the Democrats; the corresponding percentages for Republicans were 39 and 46.

clearly do not dominate party impressions, these represent a substantively important fraction of the things people have to say about the parties.[19]

========== Table 1 Here ==========

Most importantly, the results in table 1 confirm the expectation about the specific form of these gendered associations: citizens view the Republican party in terms of masculine traits and the Democratic party in terms of feminine traits. Looking down the first column of the table, we see that masculine traits are much more prevalent among Republican party likes and dislikes, compared with Democratic likes and dislikes. Masculine traits are much more prevalent among the things respondents like about the Republican party: 10.7 percent of the things respondents like about the Republican party are masculine traits, compared with only 2.2 percent of the things they like about the Democratic party (all differences are statistically significant at $p < 0.001$). In other words, masculine traits are about 4.4 times more likely to be mentioned as reason to like the Republicans than as a reason to like the Democrats. Turning to masculine dislikes, we see less striking, but still substantively important differences between the parties. Masculine traits are about 50 percent more likely to be mentioned as something to dislike about the Republicans, compared to the Democrats (4.4 percent of mentions for Republicans versus 2.9 percent for Democrats).[20]

As expected, the opposite pattern holds for feminine traits: respondents are far more likely to mention feminine traits in reference to the Democratic party than the Republican party. About four percent of the things respondents mention as liking about the Democrats are feminine traits, compared with less than one percent of Republican likes. And about four percent of Democratic dislikes are feminine traits, compared with one percent of Republican dislikes.

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[19] Not surprisingly, mentions of issues and of groups that are associated with each party predominated.

[20] This difference is sharpened somewhat if references to sex scandals—most of which came up between 1992 and 2000 in reference to the Democratic party—are removed from the masculine trait category. Overall, XX percent of dislikes of the Democratic party—or about XX percent of the total masculine trait dislikes—fell in this category.

Development over time

Thus, the basic expectations regarding gendered party images are confirmed. Figure 1 shows the development of these patterns over time. It displays that proportion of gendered party likes and dislikes, separately for each year between 1972 and 2004. The top-left panel of the figure shows the proportion of each party's "likes" that are masculine. It indicates that the association of the Republicans with masculine traits has been moving upwards over the entire period; after jumping from 6.2 percent of likes in 1972 to 12.0 percent in 1980, the proportion of masculine traits among Republican likes has increased somewhat variably since. Meanwhile, the Democratic party has drawn a much lower—and essentially unchanging—proportion of masculine trait likes over the entire period. The pattern of masculine dislikes is less clear over time; as in the aggregate figures reported in table 1, the Republican party draws somewhat more masculine trait dislikes than the Democrats, although the differences are relatively smaller and show no particular trend over time.

========== Figure 1 Here ==========

Turning to feminine traits, in the bottom panels of figure 1, we see that the feminization of the Democratic party—in terms of both likes and dislikes—first begins to appear in 1980, and is solidified in 1984, after which it remains essentially steady over time since then. There is a jump in feminine dislikes in 2004, driven in part by a spike in references to the party lacking a definite philosophy (ANES code 836).[21] Over this period the Republican party draws a consistent—and consistently tiny—set of feminine trait likes and dislikes. These over time patterns are consistent with the argument that the gendered party images developed largely in response to the Republican and Democratic campaign strategies I discuss above.

[21] A reaction, perhaps, in general to the prominence of this theme in Republican campaigns in 2004, and in particular to the "flip-flopper" attacks on John Kerry.

Who genders the parties?

My expectation is that citizens who are more engaged with politics will absorb the gendered party images to a greater extent than those who are less engaged. I have suggested above that the gendered images of the parties have their roots in elite political discourse. Because these associations are frequently relatively subtle and symbolic, I expect that most citizens will not necessarily recognize the gendered nature of many messages they encounter about the parties, and will therefore not be in a position to accept or reject those messages based on their gendered contents. Following Zaller and others who have explored the effects of political discourse on opinion, I expect that those who are more politically engaged to absorb these gendered images the most (Zaller 1992; Converse 1990). Therefore, I expect political engagement to increase the probability of a respondent mentioning a feminine trait as a reason to like or dislike the Democratic party, and to increase the probability of mentioning a masculine trait as a reason to like or dislike the Republican party. Conversely, I do not expect engagement to influence the likelihood of mentioning the opposite, non-dominant gendered traits.

On the other hand, because Democrats, independents and Republicans are all exposed to essentially the same basic discourse about the parties and their candidates, I do *not* expect there to be important differences among citizens who identify with the Democratic or Republican parties. To be sure, I expect Democratic identifiers to have relatively positive images of the Democratic party and negative images of the Republican party, and I expect Republican identifiers to have the opposite pattern. However, I do *not* expect either Democrats or Republicans to be systematically more or less likely to hold a gendered image of either party. Insofar as Democrats have positive things to say about the Republican party, for example, I expect them to be just as likely to mention masculine traits as Republican identifiers; conversely, Republican identifiers who have positive things to say about the Democratic party should be as likely as Democrats to mention feminine traits as positive features of the Democratic party. Finally, for similar reasons I expect men and women to hold similarly gendered images of the two parties.

To explore these hypotheses, I constructed a series of eight dichotomous variables that indicate, separately for each party, for likes and for dislikes, and for masculine and for feminine traits, whether a respondent mentioned a relevantly gendered trait. Thus, for example, the first of these variables indicates whether a respondent mentioned a masculine trait as a reason to like the Democratic party; the second indicates whether a respondent mentioned a masculine trait as a reason to dislike the Democratic party, and so forth for feminine traits, and for the Republican party.

To explore the individual-level antecedents of holding gendered party images, I ran a series of probit models, one for each of these eight dependent variables. The independent variables are political engagement, as assessed by the ANES interviewers (coded to run from zero for the least informed to one for the most informed), party identification (entered as a pair of dummy variables: one for Democratic identifiers and one for Republican identifiers, with independents as the reference category), and gender (entered as a dummy variable for women, with men as the omitted category), as well as a dummy variables for each study year.[22] Each model was run only among respondents who gave at least one mention of the relevant type.[23] In addition, I restricted these models to presidential years from 1984 through 2004, since the gendered party images were less clearly established from 1972 through 1980.

Table 2 presents the results of these analyses for the Democratic party. The cell entries are the marginal effect of the independent variable on the probability of mentioning a gendered trait, with

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[22] Political engagement is based on the ANES pre-election interviewer's assessment of the respondent's level of political information (VCF0050A). Zaller reports that this assessment performs very well as a general measure of political engagement (1992, 338); this measure has the added advantage of being reasonably comparable across years, especially in comparison with fact-based measures. Party affiliation is drawn from the standard ANES party affiliation battery (VCF0301), with independents who lean toward a party classified as independents. The results are substantively unchanged when leaners are reclassified as partisans.

[23] Thus, for example, the models for mentioning a feminine "like" and for mentioning a masculine "like" about the Democratic party were run only among respondents who mentioned *some* reason to like the Democrats. For each like and dislike type, between one-third and one-half of respondents gave no mentions at all. This means that were I to run a model among all respondents, the coefficients would pick up the tendency to mention anything, rather than distinguishing those who mention a gendered trait from those who do not, from among those who say something about a party.

standard errors in parentheses.[24] The first row gives the impact of political engagement on the probability of mentioning each sort of gendered trait for the Democratic party. The effects here are clear. As I expect, political engagement has a strong impact on viewing the Democratic party in feminine terms (marginal effects of 0.139 and 0.109 for likes and dislikes, respectively, both $p<0.01$), and no impact whatsoever on viewing the Democratic party in masculine terms. As respondents become more politically engaged, they are much more likely to mention feminine traits—and no more likely to mention masculine traits—in relation to the Democratic party. This is strong support for the claim that these associations have their roots in the political discourse surrounding the parties.

========== Table 2 Here ==========

The rest of table 2 indicates that the likelihood of mentioning gendered traits about the parties are utterly unaffected by a respondent's party affiliation and gender. Democrats and Republicans are equally prone to think about the Democratic party in gendered terms, as are men and women.

Turning to images of the Republican party, table 3 presents results from the analogous probit models. Here the results for political engagement are the mirror-image of those for the Democratic party, as I expected. The most politically engaged are much more likely than the least engaged to mention masculine traits as something they like about the Republicans (marginal effect of 0.197, $p<0.01$) and somewhat more likely to mention masculine traits as something to dislike about the Republicans (marginal effect of 0.072, $p<0.01$). In contrast, and as expected, political engagement has no substantive impact on the probability of mentioning feminine characteristics as reasons to like or dislike the Republicans.

========== Table 3 Here ==========

[24] Marginal effects were calculated using Stata's MFX command. For the dummy variables (party affiliation and gender), the marginal effect is the difference in probability between an otherwise-average respondent who has the characteristic and one who does not. For political engagement the calculation is the instantaneous marginal impact of a one-unit change in engagement on the probability. Because political information is coded to run from zero to one and because the predicted probability curve is quite linear across the entire range, this marginal effect is essentially equivalent to the difference in predicted probabilities between otherwise-average respondents who are most informed and least informed.

Turning to respondent partisanship, we see do see some small effects. Republican identifiers are somewhat more likely than independents to mention masculine things they like about their own party, and somewhat less likely to mention masculine things they dislike about the party (marginal effects of 0.045 and –0.045 respectively, $p<0.01$), and Democratic identifiers are slightly less likely than independents to mention masculine things they like about the Republican party (marginal effect –0.035, $p<0.05$). Thus, there may be some mild differences across partisanship groups in their tendency to mention masculine things about the Republican party; nevertheless these relatively isolated differences do not suggest qualitative differences in gendered party images. Finally, and again as expected, there are tiny and fairly random differences between the genders, confirming that the gendering of the party images is something that both men and women absorb in similar ways from the political discourse.

Overall, then, these results confirm my expectations. We see nuanced pattern of variation by political engagement, and a general lack of variation by partisanship or gender. In short, these patterns support the claim that the party images are held broadly among the public, and derive importantly from the partisan political discourse to which citizens are exposed.

The implicit cognitive connection between Democrats and femininity

The results thus far indicate that the images of the political parties held by Americans contain an important gendered aspect: the Republicans are more likely to be ascribed stereotypically masculine traits, and the Democrats are more likely to be ascribed feminine traits. By itself this tells us something important about the image of the parties that citizens hold consciously. At the very least, citizens associate gender-stereotyped traits with the parties, and these traits likely drive a range of inferences about candidates associated with each party. Moreover, these images seem to have their roots in the political discourse surrounding the parties and their candidates, as suggested by the development of the images over time in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and by the ways that these images are moderated by political engagement.

In this section of the paper I present experimental evidence about the psychological mechanism that underlies these images. Specifically, I show that at a cognitive level, party images and gender stereotypes are not simply unrelated concepts with parallel trait content. Rather, implicit connections exist that connect the parties with our ideas about gender. In short, when Americans think about Democrats and Republicans, ideas about femininity and masculinity are automatically and unconsciously activated.

To show this, I examine the effects of thinking about one or the other political party on the cognitive accessibility of ideas about masculinity and femininity. It is a well-established phenomenon in social psychology that accessing a concept makes that concept—and other concepts that are closely linked with it—more accessible in memory and therefore faster to access subsequently. Cognitive accessibility is the mechanism underlying many priming effects, in which exposure to a political issue makes that issue more accessible in memory, and therefore more likely to come automatically to mind subsequently in thinking about related issues.[25]

I used a lexical decision task (LDT) to measure cognitive accessibility; this is the standard approach developed by Fazio (1990) and employed by previous studies in political science (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997). In the LDT, a series of letter strings are flashed on a computer screen one at a time in a random order. Some of these strings are words and some are nonsense letter combinations, and participants are asked to distinguish "as quickly and accurately as possible" between the two by pressing one computer key for words and a different key for non-words. Of the words, five were stereotypically feminine or related to women ("feminine," "housewife," "librarian," "nurse," and "skirt") and five were masculine or related to men ("doctor," "janitor," "masculine," "razors," "trousers"); these were mixed with twelve non-gendered filler words (e.g., "actual," "tutorial," "remorse") and with 32

[25] There is lively debate on the relatively importance of (unconscious) cognitive accessibility versus (conscious) evaluation of importance in the priming of political attitudes (Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002; Miller and Krosnick 2000; Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley 1997). See Winter for a discussion of this debate that focuses on the interaction between accessibility and importance on the one hand, and relevance on the other (Winter 2008a, 147-151).

pronounceable nonsense strings (e.g., "catipal," "igamine," "raich").[26] The computer recorded the length of time in milliseconds that participants took to classify each target string. The logic of this procedure is that respondents will be systematically faster to identify words that are relevant to schemas that have been primed, and extensive research in social psychology has demonstrated the reliability and validity of this measure of cognitive accessibility (Fazio 1990; Wittenbrink 2007). Importantly, the feminine and masculine words were chosen to be associated with gender but *not* also possibly associated directly with either of the parties. This ruled out most gender-related traits, and it ensures that insofar as thinking about the parties makes these gender-relevant words more accessible, that this must be due to cognitive links between party and gender schemas, and not simply because the target words are themselves part of the party schema.[27]

Therefore, insofar as implicit cognitive connections exist between the Democratic party and femininity, I expect that thinking about the party should facilitate recognition of feminine words. Similarly, an implicit connection between the Republican party and masculinity should facilitate the recognition of masculine words.

The lexical decision task was embedded within a web-based survey on political attitudes and political advertising.[28] The survey and lexical decision task were completed between December 2008 and

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[26] The feminine, masculine, and filler words were matched for length and frequency of appearance in the English lexicon (Kucera and Francis 1967). The nonsense words were created by swapping letters or phonemes in real words, and were matched with the words for length. The LDT portion of the study began with a shorter set of training trails to give participants a chance to get used to the identification task.

[27] That is, if response times to a feminine trait word like "compassionate" are reduced by thinking about the Democratic party, this could simply be due to the association of compassion with the Democrats. On the other hand, words like skirt—which have a clear link with gender but no plausible direct connection with politics—should be made accessible by thinking about the Democrats only insofar as ideas about the Democrats and about gender are linked cognitively. I did include two gendered traits—"masculine" and "feminine"—given their obvious face validity as measures of gender associations for the parties. In any case, the results presented here are substantively unaffected by the exclusion of these two items.

[28] The LDT was implemented using PxLab, an open-source software application for implementing psychological experiments, available from http://www.uni-mannheim.de/fakul/psycho/irtel/pxlab/index.html. The web survey was implemented in PHPQuestionnaire (http://www.chumpsoft.com), which was modified by the author to implement streaming video and to interface with PxLab.

February 2009 by 195 University of Virginia undergraduate students, who were recruited from three lower- and mid-level political science courses in return for extra course credit.[29] At the beginning of the survey, all participants were shown an identical pair of nonpolitical television advertisements.[30] Next, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: control, Democratic or Republican. Those in the control condition immediately completed the lexical decision task. Those in the Democratic or Republican conditions were induced to think about the Democratic or Republican party, respectively, by answering the standard ANES likes and dislikes questions about the relevant party and *then* completing the lexical decision task. After the LDT respondents completed whichever likes and dislikes they had not already answered, followed by additional political and demographic questions. The structure of the these three experimental conditions is summarized in table 4. Importantly, by using the likes and dislikes questions to induce respondents think about one of the parties, I was able to prime their party schema without introducing any particular content about the party. This means that any implicit connections between party and gender that I find already exist already for participants, and are not the product of the experimental stimulus.

========== Table 4 Here ==========

To measure the implicit associations between femininity and the Democratic party, I examine the difference in average reaction time for feminine words between the control and Democratic conditions.[31] There is enormous individual variation in reaction times to all words, so to maximize statistical power I

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[29] As is typical with student samples, the participant pool is not representative of a national sample. The participants are relatively young (age averaged 20 and ranged from 17 to 32). About two thirds (69 percent) of participants were women; 54 percent identified as Democrats, 26 percent as Republicans and 19 percent as independent. There were no substantively or statistically significant demographic differences across conditions, and there is no evidence that gender, party identification, or political knowledge moderate any of the findings reported below.

[30] The ads were for the Chevy Malibu and for the Apple iPod. There was also a fourth condition, which included a pair of political advertisements in place of the product commercials. Participants in this fourth condition were omitted from the present analysis.

[31] Because reaction time data are notoriously noisy, following standard practice I exclude trials with extreme outlier response times in calculating the averages, as well as trials in which a respondent misidentified a target word as a non-word.

estimate this difference with a regression model that includes each individual's average reaction time for the neutral words as a covariate, plus a dummy variable for the experimental condition.[32] The coefficient on the condition dummy is the direct estimate of the effect on reaction time to feminine words of thinking about the Democratic party, and is therefore my indicator of an implicit cognitive connection between the party and femininity. To estimate the implicit association between masculinity and the Republican party I conduct a parallel analysis of masculine-word reaction times between the control and Republican party conditions. To put the estimated effects in context, I scale the results to reflect the neutral-word reaction times of an average respondent. Figure 2 presents the results of these analyses; the underlying regression models are presented in the appendix.

========== Figure 2 Here ==========

There is clear evidence for an implicit cognitive connection between the Democratic party and femininity. As depicted in the left panel of figure 2, average response time to the feminine words was reduced by 51 milliseconds ($t=2.27$, one-sided $p=0.012$). This suggests that simply by bringing the Democratic party to mind by asking participants what they like and dislike about the party, an implicit link with gender schemas is automatically and unconsciously activated. For the Republican party and masculinity, the results are consistent with expectations, although the effect is considerably smaller and less clear statistically. Thinking about the Republican party reduces average reaction times for masculine words by about 20 milliseconds ($t=1.69$, one-sided $p=0.046$).

These findings suggest, then, that the gendered party images I discuss above are the product, at least in part, of connections between party and gender that are knit into our very cognitive fabric.

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[32] Thus, I regress individual-level average reaction time to feminine words on individual-level average reaction time to neutral words and a dummy variable for the Democratic condition. Because the estimated coefficients for neutral-word reaction times are very close to one, the approach I take is almost identical to simply subtracting each respondents' neutral-word average from their feminine-word average, and in any case this alternate approach generates estimates of the size of the priming effect that are within two milliseconds of the estimates I present below.

Conclusion

Taken together, my findings demonstrate that ideas about the two political parties are mapped onto ideas about the two genders, both in the images citizens consciously hold of the parties and in the implicit connections between their mental conceptions of the parties and of gender.[33] These findings have important implications for the growing literature on the interactions between party stereotypes and gender stereotypes in shaping citizens' impressions of candidates. A large body of laboratory experimental research demonstrates that gender stereotypes shape citizens' perceptions of candidates' traits and issues positions, especially for female candidates and especially in the absence of partisan cues. However, recent work that explores the interaction between party and gender stereotypes suggests that they can interact in complex ways (Dolan 2004; Huddy and Capelos 2002; Koch 2002), perhaps especially for Republican female candidates, whose party and gender cues in some sense conflict (McDermott 1997). In other contexts, party cues seem to overwhelm gender cues (Hayes 2009). However, this paper suggests that party and gender stereotypes are not dueling, independent systems, but rather two sets of stereotypes with important substantive and cognitive linkages. This implies that "party stereotype effects" probably carry important indirect effects of gender stereotypes. It also suggests a need to explore the interactions between party and gender stereotypes in ways that explore not just variation in candidate party affiliation and candidate sex but also variation in candidate gender; that is, variation in the ways that male and female candidates embody maleness and femaleness.

[33] This mapping of one binary distinction onto another raises the question of how third parties are understood. Baker notes that during the height of the nineteenth century party era, men who were not committed to either party were seen as "political impotent" and referred to as the "third sex" of American politics (1984, 628), and Hoganson cites references from this era to members of third parties as "'eunuchs,' 'man-milliners,' members of a 'third sex,' 'political hermaphrodites,' and 'the neuter gender not popular either in nature or society'" (1998, 23). On a related note, see Fausto-Sterling (Fausto-Sterling 1993) for an argument that sex is itself not as simple a binary distinction as we often assume.

The research on candidate gender suggests that voters' gender stereotypes frequently disadvantage female candidates in important ways, because they are judged to be worse decision makers and weaker leaders, as well as less competent on and less 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 the 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; Iyengar et al. 1997).

This body of research has some implications for how to think about the net electoral effects of the gendering of the political parties. Different issue agendas and different constructions of the problems we face should affect the degree to which citizens feel a need—conscious or subconscious—for symbolically masculine leaders. The masculine image of fatherly protection may be more appealing in times of external threat and in times when people feel insecure about changing gender relations within society.

For example, Kristin Hoganson argues that shifting gender relations in the family, the workplace, and in politics conspired to make a form of potent, aggressive masculinity particularly politically salient at the turn of the twentieth century and contributed to American involvement in the Spanish-American war. After the subsequent Philippines war turned into a bloody, cruel quagmire, however, this aggressive masculinity came to seem reckless and dangerous, increasing the appeal of those who promised an end to the war and a more peaceful approach (1998).

In conclusion, it seems likely that on balance the masculinization of the Republican party and feminization of the Democratic party has conferred a net electoral advantage on Republicans. However, cultural ideas about masculinity and femininity, and about their connections with politics are complex

enough that Democratic candidates may have more latitude than simply to try to out-man the Republican party. While analysts have commented on Barack Obama's relatively feminine appearance and approach, he does not seem to have suffered from this image in the ways that his recent Democratic predecessors. Of course many factors shaped Obama's image and his ultimate success, including of course his unique status as the first African American major-party nominee and the deep public anger over the Iraq war and other failings of the Bush presidency. This context, however, may have allowed Obama to project an image not of effeminacy, nor of aggressive masculinity, but rather of moral and controlled manliness (Cooper 2008). This sort of reshaping of the terms of the connection of masculinity and politics may have helped the Democrats win the White House in 2008; it leaves unanswered, of course, the broader question of how political leadership might be decoupled from masculinity in whatever form. Even with this sort of flexibility in the definition of political masculinity, as long as our ideas about our political parties and politics in general are mapped onto notions of gender, women and men who do not reflect hegemonic ideas of masculinity will face difficult, if not insurmountable, hurdles in convincing many citizens of their suitableness for leadership.

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Tables & Figures

Table 1: Gendered party trait impressions, 1972-2004

	Percentage of mentions that are		*Total*
	Masculine	*Feminine*	*mentions*
Democratic Party Likes	2.2	4.1	15,896
Republican Party Likes	10.7	0.6	12,238
Difference	+8.5***	–3.5***	
Democratic Party Dislikes	2.9	4.4	12,290
Republican Party Dislikes	4.4	1.0	14,703
Difference	+1.5***	–3.4***	

Source: National Election Studies, presidential years from 1972–2004.
*** $p<0.001$

Table 2: Determinants of holding a gendered image of the Democratic party, among respondents who mention any likes or dislikes, 1984–2004

	Mentioned masculine		*Mentioned feminine*	
	like	*dislike*	*like*	*dislike*
Political engagement	–0.004	–0.011	0.139**	0.109**
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Democrat	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.000
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Republican	–0.007	–0.014*	0.002	–0.001
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Female	–0.002	0.003	0.018*	–0.007
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.009)
N	5,262	4,335	5,262	4,335
chi2	7.74	33.84	72.28	67.93

Cell entries are marginal effects of each independent variable on the probability of mentioning a gendered trait, based on probit models; standard errors of marginal effects appear in parentheses. Models also include year dummies. Source: American National Election Studies.
** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 3: Determinants of holding a gendered image of the Republican party, among respondents who mention any likes or dislikes, 1984–2004

	Mentioned masculine		*Mentioned feminine*	
	like	*dislike*	*like*	*dislike*
Political engagement	0.197**	0.072**	–0.011	0.019*
	(0.027)	(0.017)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Democrat	–0.036*	0.008	–0.003	–0.011*
	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Republican	0.044**	–0.046**	0.006	0.016*
	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Female	–0.008	–0.017*	0.003	–0.003
	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
N	4,316	4,972	4,316	4,972
chi2	112.73	70.77	13.28	56.16

Cell entries are marginal effects of each independent variable on the probability of mentioning a gendered trait, based on probit models; standard errors of marginal effects appear in parentheses. Models also include year dummies. Source: American National Election Studies.
** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; ^ $p<0.10$ two tailed

Table 4: Summary of experimental conditions

Control condition	*Democratic condition*	*Republican condition*
Product commercials	Product commercials	Product commercials
– –	*Prime:* Democratic party likes & dislikes	*Prime:* Republican party likes & dislikes
Lexical decision task	Lexical decision task	Lexical decision task
Democratic party likes & dislikes	– –	Democratic party likes & dislikes
Republican party likes & dislikes	Republican party likes & dislikes	– –
(remainder of survey)	(remainder of survey)	(remainder of survey)

Figure 1: Gendered party mentions by year

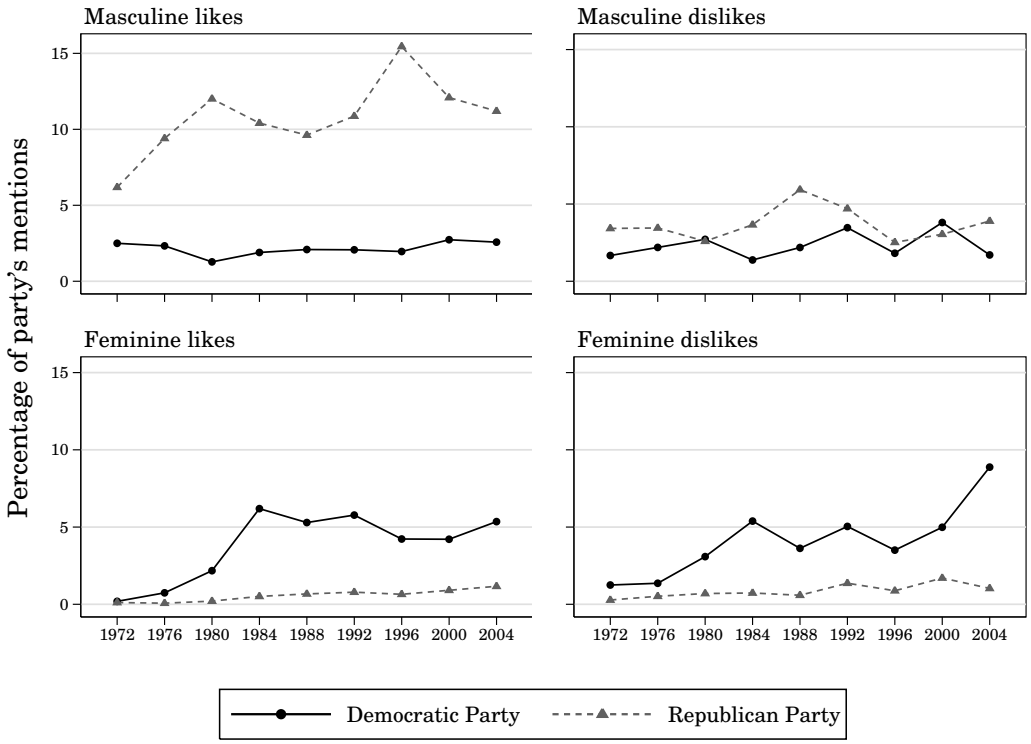
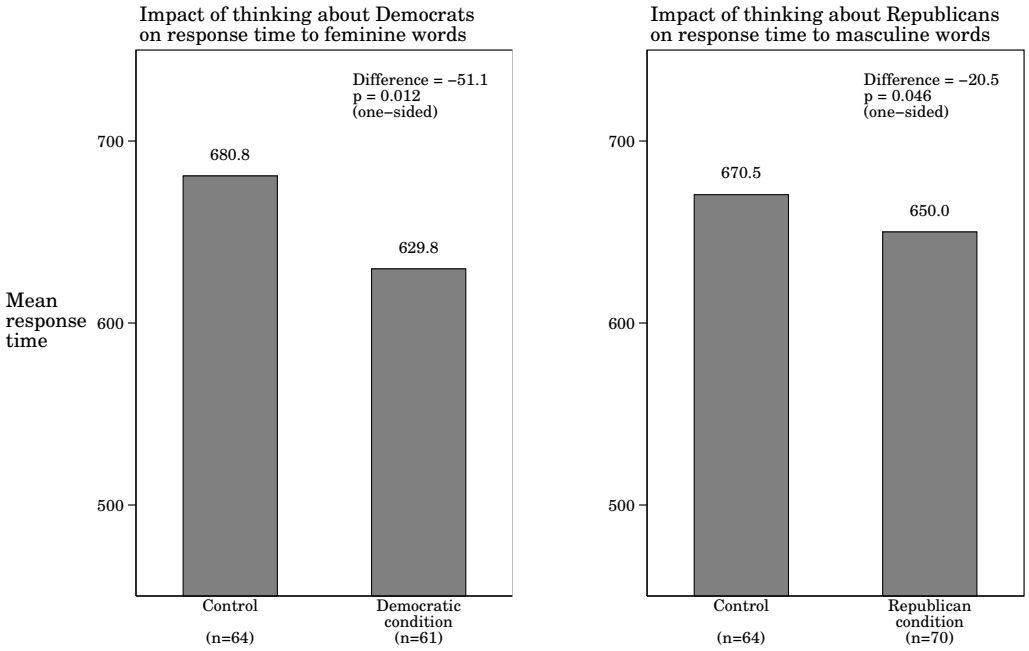


Figure 2: Implicit Party-Gender Connections



Figures show mean predicted reaction times by condition, for a respondent with typical neutral–word reaction times, from regression models that include respondents' mean neutral–word reaction time as a covariate, as described in the text. Regression models appear in the appendix.

Appendix Tables

Table 1: Impact of thinking about parties on gendered-word reaction times

	Reaction time to feminine words	*Reaction time to masculine words*
Average neutral-word reaction time	0.94** (0.08)	0.81** (0.06)
Democratic condition	–51.05* (22.47)	–
Republican condition	–	–20.48^ (12.09)
Intercept	57.08 (55.68)	141.75** (38.78)
N	125	134
Std error of regression	124.73	69.85
R-squared	0.52	0.60

Feminine-word model run among participants in the control and Democratic conditions; masculine-word model among participants in the control and Republican conditions.
** p<0.01; * p<0.05; ^ p<0.10 two tailed

Masculine (+) trait

Code	Description
121	Can trust them; they keep their promises; you know where they stand
213	Dependable/Trustworthy/Reliable; a man you can trust with the responsibilities of government ("trust" in the capability sense, rather than the honesty sense)
215	A military man; a good military/war record; served in Viet Nam: decorated veteran
218	Has government experience/political experience/seniority/ incumbency (also see code 0722)
220	A statesman; has experience in foreign affairs
301	Dignified/has dignity
303	Strong/decisive/self-confident/aggressive; will end all this indecision; 'sticks to his guns' [2004]
305	Inspiring; a man you can follow; "a leader"; charisma
313	A politician/political person; (too) much in politics; a good politician; part of Washington crowd; politically motivated; just wants to be re-elected
315	Independent; no one runs him; his own boss
403	Man of high principles/ideals; high moral purpose; idealistic (if too idealistic, code 0416) ; morality
411	Patriotic; (88) like Bush's stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue; (Pro) Kerry statements/actions about the Viet Nam War. (The R says that Kerry was right, showed bravery, in statements/actions after he came home from the war.)
415	Realistic
425	Self-made; not well off; started out as poor; worked his way up; (started out) unpolished/unrefined/rough
432	Safe/Stable
503	Not controlled by party regulars/bosses
601	Good/Efficient/Businesslike administration; balanced budget; lower/wouldn't increase national debt; cautious spending
617	Will face (difficult) issues; faces problems directly; faces up to political reality
707	Speaks of party/candidate as good protector(s); will know what to do; more intelligent
835	Has a well-defined set of beliefs/definite philosophy; does not compromise on principles; has (clear) understanding of goals they stand for
837	Favor work ethic; believes in self-reliance/in people working hard to get ahead
841	Keep track of/control over administration heads, cabinet members, etc.; follow through on policies; determine if programs are working

Masculine (-) trait

Code	Description
172	Doesn't listen to/understand the needs and wants of the people/the majority of the people
191	Doesn't recognize need to reform some of its stands/initiatives that haven't worked/won't work
312	Doesn't know how to handle people (at personal level)
318	Not humble enough; too cocky/self-confident
328	Doesn't listen to the people/does not solicit public opinion; isn't accessible to constituents (NFS)
431	Unsafe/Unstable; dictatorial; craves power; ruthless
436	Cold/Aloof
438	Not likeable; can't get along with people
465	Taking undeserved credit; taking credit for actionc ,events, or policies one is not responsible for; Gore claiming "to have invented the internet"
604	Dishonest/Corrupt government; "mess in Washington"; immorality in government; reference to Hayes, Mills, Lance
719	Sexual scandals; reference to Chappaquidic; Kennedy's personal problems; damaging incidents in personal life–sexual escapades
808	Not humanistic; favor property rights over human beings
830	Anti-equality; believe some people should have more than others/people should not be treated equally
832	Selfish, only help themselves
846	Will not involve people/Congress/Cabinet/advisors/other government officials in government/decision making

Feminine (+) trait

Code	Description
311	Knows how to handle people (at personal level)
327	Listens to the people/solicits public opinion; any mention of polls or questionnaires; is accessible to constituents (NFS)
435	Kind/Warm/Gentle; caring
437	Likeable; gets along with people; friendly; outgoing; nice
807	Humanistic; favor human beings over property rights
829	For equality; believe everyone should have things equally/ be treated equally
831	Generous, compassionate, believe in helping others
845	Will involve/wants to involve people/Congress/Cabinet/ advisors/other government officials in government/ decision making

Feminine (-) trait

Code	Description
214	Undependable/Untrustworthy/Unreliable; a man you can't trust with the responsibilities of government
216	Not a military man; bad military/war record; no military/war record (but see 0719); dodged the draft; joined the National Guard; questions his service in Viet Nam
219	Lacks government experience/political experience
221	Not a statesman; lacks experience in foreign affairs
304	Weak/indecisive/lacks self-confidence/vacillating; "waffles"; "wishy-washy"
306	Uninspiring; not a man you can follow; not a leader; lacks charisma
316	Not independent; run by others; not his own man/boss
404	Lacks principles/ideals
412	Unpatriotic; (88) dislike Dukakis' stand on Pledge of Allegiance issue; (Anti) Kerry statements/actions about VietNam after he came back from war. (The R says Kerry was wrong, defamed America, was unpatriotic after he came home from the war.)
416	Unrealistic; too idealistic; (if "idealistic" in positive sense, code 0403)
418	Not sensible; impractical
502	Controlled by party regulars/bosses/machine
541	Reference to the Eagleton affair–1972; reference to physical or mental health of vice-presidential incumbent/ candidate; emotional stability/state of V-P incumbent/ candidate
618	Will not face (difficult) issues; will not face problems directly; ignores political reality
708	Speaks of party/candidate as bad protector(s); won't know what to do
836	Has poorly defined set of beliefs; lacks a definite philosophy; compromise on principles; has no (clear) understanding of goals they stand for
838	Doesn't favor work ethic; believes in people being handed things/in government handouts (if specific policy mentioned, code in 0900's) ; doesn't believe in teaching people to be independent
842	Don't (as in 0841)