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EXPECTATIONS, PERCEPTIONS, AND SOCIAL ROLES: THE EFFECTS AND
PERFORMANCE OF GENDER IN CAMPAIGNS FOR THE UNITED STATES
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I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, David and Sarah Savel, who always encouraged all of my endeavors, and to my husband, Kevin Hawryluk, whose love and support was invaluable while conducting this research.

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ABSTRACT

I argue that the effects of gender on political actors must be considered within the context of other social identities, specifically motherhood. Motherhood, or the expectation that women will be mothers, places a distinct bind on women as candidates: women who emphasize motherhood and families too much may be evaluated as less capable of governing given their family commitments, while women who do not emphasize motherhood may fail to adhere to social norms regarding families. The motherhood bind intersects with other known binds such as the double bind. I conceptualize this third bind in three connected chapters using feminist theory, original surveys, and survey experiments.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINING THE TRIPLE BIND: SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS
FOR WOMEN POLITICIANS

Moms in tennis shoes, grandmas rocking cribs, campaign fliers with family photographs: Women who run for office often choose to strongly emphasize their families and their role as mothers. When women first began running for political office in large numbers in the 1980s and 1990s, women were likely to be given the advice from political consultants to actively avoid mentioning their families, and specifically to avoid discussing their roles as devoted wives or mothers for fear of appearing "too soft" for politics (Dittmar 2015). But more recently, women candidates may become more likely to attempt to have it all when it comes to being perceived as good candidates and good mothers. Women politicians have long faced a "double bind:" to adhere to female gender roles of being kind and compassionate, while also demonstrating the leadership skills necessary for politics that require assertiveness and toughness (Jamieson 1995). Although the "double bind" has been well–established in the literature,[1] a third bind complicates the other two: motherhood. All three binds play a crucial role in the creation of a candidate's image. Where motherhood is concerned, women are aware of the public norms to demonstrate that they are involved and thoughtful mothers, while at the same time not appearing too all–consumed with their families to be diligent politicians. Motherhood involves nurturing and is also tied up in ideas about responsibility and living up to expected social roles, and women who are mothers must contented with specific ideas about how a "good" mother acts while crafting their public persona.

Motherhood, and the expectation that women will be mothers, is not simply another social role or social expectation for women. "Mother" was historically the only socially acceptable occupation for women to choose, and this restriction has really only changed

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1. (Jamieson 1995) is the canonical example and (Teelee, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018) is a recent example of such studies.

within the last fifty years as women choosing to work outside of the home has become more normalized and less derided as it becomes more common.[2] Despite changes in the status of women and working habits in American life, political parties continue to view women primarily through the lens of motherhood and appeal to and engage with women as mothers, first and foremost (Greenlee 2014). A woman who is a mother has fulfilled one of the central tenets of being a "good," socially acceptable woman by having children, and positive traits (such as being compassionate, kind, caring, nurturing, etc.) are likely to be ascribed to her (Deason, Greenlee, Lagner 2015). The power of motherhood and the positive trait ascription that follows can be seen in that even when women violate female gender roles and pursue leadership positions unapologetically, they can counter possible negative impressions of themselves by highlighting their motherhood in order to evoke warmth and communality (Brescoll and Okimoto 2010; Heilman and Okimoto 2007). Motherhood, and even the performative aspect of motherhood women candidates often rely on, is not merely another detail of the candidate's image. Motherhood is one of, if not the most important social identities women can hold and be judged by and is not something women are able to ignore or change on a whim when it suits them. How women talk about their status as mothers or not mothers is not the same as men deciding between different colored ties.

The triple bind is an additional tightrope women candidates for political office must walk in order to prove that they are both traditional, devoted mothers, and exceptional candidates. The triple bind speaks to a prototypical problem many women candidates face. How exactly the triple bind manifests is inevitably different for different types of women with different identities, and how women choose to navigate it, or attempt to ignore it, differs as well. Despite these specific differences, the entrenched gender norms that affect the behavior of and expectations for women, as a class of individuals, result in a triple bind.

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2. This is not to discount the number of women during those times who worked outside of the home out of economic necessity in order to support their families, rather that even in those families husbands and wives would usually have preferred the wife to be able to stay at home (Hochschild 1989).

At first glance, a candidate's family may seem fairly innocuous, merely a detail about an individual, important for their private life, but not inherently public or political. However, such thinking fails to consider large bodies of work in the fields of sociology, gender studies, and feminist theory that forcefully argue for the primacy and political nature of the family. Borrowing from these literatures, I argue that the inherently political nature of family fundamentally impacts how we think about gender. Family and gender roles are indivisible from expectations surrounding the behavior of women candidates and therefore profoundly influences how women present themselves when they run for office.

Candidates choose how to present themselves as parents. The level of scrutiny parents, and specifically mothers, face when it comes to parenting practices and time spent parenting has been increasing in recent decades. Hays (1996) coined the phrase "intensive mothering" to describe the relatively new model of parenting that encourages mothers to expend a tremendous amount of time, energy, and money raising their children. According to time use studies of diary data collected from men and women from the 1960s to the late 1990s, mothers and fathers steadily increased the average time spent on childcare, (defined as minutes spent on primary childcare, daily care, and teaching and playing) with very few exceptions (Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). From the 1965 to 1998, the average time women spent on childcare increased 29 minutes per day, and the average time men spent on childcare increased 69 minutes per day, however women still spent an hour and a half more on childcare per day then men (Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). Empirical work suggests that increased expectations involving parenting have primarily affected women, as fathers remain somewhat insulated from societal pressures of "intensive parenting." More current studies have found that mothers still spend about twice as much time with their children as fathers do, and husbands are less likely than their wives to report pressures to parent in a particular way or spend a certain amount of time with their children (Pew Research Center 2013; Shirani, Henwood and Coltart 2012).

These forces create a system in which expectations for women as mothers are much greater than for men as fathers, which leads to a profound impact on expectations for women as candidates for political office. To conceptualize the triple bind, I will use feminist theory, surveys, and survey experiments. To demonstrate that the triple bind is something real women face as candidates, I will use current examples of women navigating the triple bind as political candidates. I will conclude by providing an overview of subsequent chapters that measure the existence and effects of the triple bind.

1.1 Different manifestations of the triple bind

Women politicians are acutely aware of the social and political pressures that create the triple bind, and behave accordingly. For some women, being attune to the triple bind means thinking strategically about when they first run for office. Nancy Pelosi had a long history of involvement in party politics, and was state party chairwoman in the 1980s, however she also had five children within six years and did not run for office until her youngest child was in high school. Women politicians are still likely to face concern about being away from their families if they have young children. Pelosi also shows an awareness of the triple bind by asserting feminine gender norms are an asset for politicians.

> "We listen. We have a certain level of humility that we can learn from what people are saying, so you listen....Women don't waste time. Women have to multi–task;...So if you are having a meeting, ...you want to hear what people have to say, you want to build some consensus to take you to the next step. I think that is part of the beauty of women in leadership." –Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D)[3]

Not all women decide to wait until their children are older to run for political office.

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3. As cited in Dittmar, Sanbonmatsu, and Carroll 2018, p. 198

Cathy McMorris Rodgers has had three children all while serving in Congress. McMorris Rodgers explicitly mentions her children and how her status as a mom impacts her thinking as a legislator, a she mentions, "I'm a mom. I have three kids, and I really do think that it's a perspective that is valuable and needed in politics" (As cited in Ethridge 2015, p. 37). Most of her legislative agenda has been about health care, long seen as a policy area women have natural expertise in because of its status as a "compassion" issue area. Specifically, her efforts have been about allocating more funds for research on pediatric diseases and advocacy efforts related to Down Syndrome, a condition her oldest son was born with. McMorris Rodgers emphasizes how her experiences with her family impact her policy agenda.

> " I find that representatives all are a product of our own experiences, too....
> that does influence [us] at times because our experiences often drive our pas-
> sions.... [I have] a child with special needs. And that has... not only introduced
> me to the disabilities community, but... I want to make sure that I'm giving...
> those issues a priority in Congress." –Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R)[4]

Some women navigate the triple bind by being known for their work on committees in Congress that have traditionally been considered more masculine (Finance, Armed Services, Homeland Security, etc.), but focusing on legislation that evokes compassion and care. For instance, during her time in office, Claire McCaskill was known for serving on the Armed Services Committee and the Committee on Homeland Security, but she is also known for leading efforts to combat sexual assault in the military, specifically authoring provisions that protect survivors of sexual assault from retaliation from their abusers and sponsoring legislation that expanded the role of special counsels for victims of sexual assault and rape in the military. As a mother of seven, McCaskill also discusses how she thinks of mothers and families when deciding on political issues.

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4. As cited in Dittmar, Sanbonmatsu, and Carroll 2018, p. 35

"[E]very day when I'm confronted with an issue to decide on, I try to think through in my mind, 'Okay what would the single mother living in Arnold, Missouri with three kids who makes \$27,000 a year, how will this help her or hurt her?' So I really try to do that filter every time." –Sen. Claire McCaskill (D)[5]

Perhaps the most common way women navigate the triple bind in politics is primarily focusing on policy areas that have long been associated with compassion. As an example, Patty Murray serves on the Committee on Health, Education, Labor and Pensions, and is primarily known for her work supporting government social programs. Murray has described how her personal story (working in her father's store with her seven siblings, her father having to stop work when his multiple sclerosis became too severe, the family going on foodstamps until her mother was able to find work after completing a government program aimed to help low–income families) instilled in her the need to help families struggling to support themselves. She is also known for getting into politics after advocating for specific policy issues and not being taken seriously because she was "just a mom."

"[W]hat... started me in politics to begin with is when I had a state legislator tell me I couldn't make a difference because I was just a mom in tennis shoes. I thought, 'Who are you to say that to me? Moms in tennis shoes have just as much right to be heard.'' – Sen. Patty Murray (D)[6]

One group of women who may not seem subject to the triple bind, is women who do not have children of their own. However, even women in Congress without biological children often attempt to present themselves in traditionally feminine manner that shows some acceptance and awareness of gender norms. For example, a woman who does not have children of her own may present herself as fiercely compassionate and caring towards women and

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5. As cited in Dittmar, Sanbonmatsu, and Carroll 2018, p. 56

6. As cited in Dittmar, Sanbonmatsu, and Carroll 2018, p. 55

children in order to assuage fears that she does not understand "average" American moms. For instance, former Senator Barabara Mikulski has never been married and has no children, but spent much of her time in Congress working on legislation designed to help women and children, such as child care and development and paycheck fairness. Another way women without children can demonstrate that they are conventionally motherly and compassionate is to center children in their discussions of political issues in general. Kamala Harris often utilizes this strategy in her discussion of criminal justice.

> "As a career prosecutor, I've seen how we make the biggest difference when we focus on the needs of our children. We need to fight for the next generation, invest in our schools, lower the cost of college tuition and give all parents access to affordable childcare." –Sen. Kamala Harris (D)[7]

Women politicians who have a variety of family backgrounds exhibit an awareness of the triple bind and attempt to present themselves to the public accordingly. Some women who have children choose to enter politics later in life so as to not appear to be neglecting their children. Other women with young children run for office and make their young motherhood a part of their appeal to voters. Women who gain expertise in traditionally masculine policy areas often discuss those political issues in a more feminine and compassionate manner than men. Women who focus on policy areas long associated with compassion often choose to lean into gender stereotypes while creating their public persona. Even women who do not have children can navigate the triple bind by keeping the experiences of women and children at the forefront of their discussion of policies and priorities. Regardless of their own backgrounds, women politicians have a tendency to present themselves as compassionate and motherly, in accordance with gendered expectations of behavior for politicians and political candidates.

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7. "Kamala Harris: Fearless for Children" 2016 campaign advertisement

1.2 Egalitarian aspirations vs. reality of gendered division of labor in parenting

In popular rhetoric, the U.S. has come a long way from the rigid gender divide of household labor common in previous eras. In reality, empirical evidence supports the conclusion that there are still significant gendered differences when it comes to who does what in most families. Within the family, women have traditionally been the ones primarily responsible for maintaining the home. Although a majority of Americans do not think that women should return to traditional homebound motherhood, the majority of men and women say children are better off with a parent at home (Pew Research Center 2014). The majority of adults now say that the ideal scenario is for women to work part time and for fathers to work full time when there are children in the family (Pew Research Center 2014; Pew Research Center 2013). These findings suggest that the majority of American are, in theory, supportive of women working outside the home and pursuing their own career goals. However, if a couple decides to have a family, most Americans still think women should be the ones more responsible for the couple's children.[8]

The expressed preferences for women as the caretakers of children and the home are born out in the reported average practices of American families. On average, mothers spend twice the amount of time on housework and childcare as their husbands, even stay–at–home dads with working wives spend only marginally more time on housework and childcare[9] than their employed wives (Pew Research Center 2013). When fathers stay at home to care for their children, it is typically due to illness, disability, or joblessness, in stark contrast to the 73 percent of mothers who stay home specifically to care for their home or family (Pew Research Center 2014). Much of any redistribution in family labor over the past few decades occurred largely through women reducing their housework slightly while men increased their time

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8. The wording of the parenting questions asked presumes the couple in question is heterosexual.

9. Housework and childcare are left to survey respondents to define for themselves.

in child-care activities, also slightly (Sanchez 1994). Most couples report that housework *should* be shared equally if the wife is employed, but in reality, the traditional domestic gender division of labor continues unabated in many families (Sanchez 1994). Husbands tend to report satisfaction with an equal division of housework only when their total number of housework hours are very low (Benin and Agostinelli 1988). Although *beliefs* about the appropriate roles of men and women in the workplace have undergone substantial shifts in the past several decades, assumptions about who should perform unpaid family work have changed more slowly, and actual *changes* in domestic behavior have been slower still (Coltrane 2000).

We know that women are more likely to shoulder the burdens of raising families: women do more than their fair share of cleaning, cooking, organizing, as well as existing in a sort of permanent *on-call* status when it comes to their children, that fathers simply do not. Women are more likely than men to change the whole course of their lives because of their family commitments (Okin 1991). This is not to say that men never change the course of their lives for the good of their families or wives, merely that doing so is seen as an act of exceptional self-sacrifice on the part of men, where it is *anticipated* and *expected* that women will make such sacrifices. Women experience social pressures and gender role expectations that make them "generally more inclined than men not to claim their fair share, and more inclined to order their priorities with the needs of their families" (Okin 1991 p. 31). When women choose to be assertive about their own priorities, they can face judgment for going against the norm of self–sacrifice.

Mothering norms are a key reason why women continue to do work that reinforce traditional divisions in household responsibilities, in spite of their employment responsibilities, that result in sexualized differences. That women do more housework and childcare work than men regardless of employment status is a well-known fact supported by academic studies, time-use reports, and analysis conducted by organizations like Pew Research Center.

In order to accomplish all of the tasks women are expected to complete and given time constraints, employed women have less time for leisure and less time for sleep than their husbands (Barnett and Shen 1997; Milkie and Peltola 1999; Robinson and Godbey 1997; Schor 1991). Some people may argue that this is unequal division does not necessarily mean that the sexualized differences that lead to inequality are an actual problem, and that women support this inequality and do not find fault with it. However, according to studies that look at how much satisfaction women find in domestic work, women are more likely than men to do domestic work out of obligation, rather than by choice, and the women who do the majority of their family's domestic work are likely to find domestic chores unpleasant and disempowering (Kroska 2003). Furthermore, when women accumulate enough resources to equalize power imbalances, they are more likely to refuse unequal divisions of household labor and demand a more equal division of household tasks, suggesting that when given the option, women seek to change sexualized differences in labor divisions (Ishii–Kuntz and Coltrane 1992).

How labor is divided in the family has ramifications for how children learn to view and value the work done by women and men. In the United States, the value of work is directly tied to the type of compensation one earns for performing that work. Work done to maintain family life and especially housework tends to be trivialized in the popular imaginations, in part because it still considered "women's work," and women do the bulk of it (Coltrane 2000; Okin 1979). The division of labor between a man who is in the workforce and earns a wage or salary and a woman who labors at home creates a gender structured family, which raises both practical and psychological barriers against women in other spheres of life (Okin 1991 p. 111). The family is political because it is the place where children first become aware that individuals classified as different genders will then be expected by society to live up to particular gendered expectations (Okin 1991). Even if a woman's income is about the same as her husband's, both she and her husband tend to interpret her income as "supplemental"

and his as "essential" (Moen and Sweet 2004; Potuchek 1997; Raley et al 2006). Even when women make more money than their husbands, couples are still likely to perceive the husbands work as more important, and women still do the majority of the housework in those families (Tichenor 2005).

Unwritten rules of family and home management dictate that women will perform the majority of the daily or weekly chores necessary for home maintenance, such as bathroom cleaning, dusting, vacuuming, meal preparation, kitchen scrubbing, and more. Furthermore, many men do not see the majority of this work as being time-consuming work that must be completed regularly. Thus, if women want these tasks done, many must choose to do them themselves. The main reason that husbands and heterosexual men living with women who work outside of the home do not do more housework is because they do not *want* to, and they are able to enforce their will within their family (Okin 1991 p. 153).

1.3   Theoretical explanation for unequal parenting practices

On average, women do more housework and perform more labor where children are concerned, as the previous section described. One explanation for why parenting and household labor divisions, on average, continue to be so imbalanced by gender is that gender socialization leads people to conclude that this sort of imbalance is natural and to be expected. Feminist theorists and sociologists have long argued that children are socialized into distinct gender roles from an early age, with long term effects for adults. Much of this work is theoretical, or based on small sample case studies, but given the substantial empirical evidence discussed in the previous section, nevertheless provide important context and a possible explanation for continued unequal parenting trends.

One theoretical reason for the triple bind can be traced to childhood socialization and children learning gender norms in the process. The socialization process of women being seen as nurturers is not biological, and begins early in life. Oftentimes girls are taught to identify

as nurturers from the first toys that they receive and games they are encouraged to play. Girls are frequently given dolls or stuffed animals to care for and often play house or school, whereas boys are more likely to be given tucks or tools. In addition, girls are more likely to be involved in the maintenance of their homes than boys. From a sheer quantity perspective, girls do around twice the amount of household labor as boys (Juster and Stafford 1991), and girls most often help with cooking and cleaning and are likely to babysit other children, whereas boys are more likely to be assigned chores related to yard care and are encouraged to play outside (Antill et al. 1996; Blair 1992).

Although gender role socialization is by no means monolithic, the general attribution of girls as more naturally nurturing and more attune to feelings than boys is widespread. The early socialization of boys and girls into distinct gender roles typically happens under a facade of it being only done under the false reasoning of the *naturalness* of that arrangement. Girls *want* to care for dolls and animals and boys simply do not. However, there is very little about gender roles that is biologically determined. No unambiguous conclusions about the relation of hormones to maternal instincts or materialism in humans have been able to be gleaned from biological studies, whereas sociological studies have continuously found links to society having particular preferences in personalities of boys and girls and evidence to conditioning to promote those particular personalities (Chodorow 1978 p. 25). Importantly, fathers, more than mothers, generally have been found to sex–type (encourage attributes generally considered more feminine and appropriate for girls and women) their children more consciously along traditional gender–role lines, perhaps out of a fear for the negative consequences that may befall their daughters if they transgress these norms (Chodorow 1978 p. 118).

Children learn to accept that family members of different genders are likely to have different social roles. The family as an institution is the place where children first learn how individuals interact with one another and appropriate social behavior. Many feminist

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theorists have argued that family structures often socialize children into accepting forms of oppression as natural (hooks 1984). The familial and marital structure of many/most families results in husbands having more power and freedom than their wives when it comes to appropriate social behavior (Okin 1991). In the historic, theoretical version of the family the rights and wants of wives are rarely considered outside of their family, and the desires of the family are almost always synonymous with the desires of the husband (Okin 1979). There has been a lack of questioning the way in which families have historically existed as agents of normalizing unequal relationships between the sexes through gendered norms and an unequal division of labor in the home (Pateman 1988). Unequal parenting is not a new phenomenon, and its continuation is supported by the historical normalcy given to such arrangements.

The acceptance of unequal gender dynamics within the family has been defined by the erroneous belief in the innateness of such organizational arrangements. Specifically, it has been seen as natural that women be the ones who nurture and are primary parents. There is no a biological basis that designates women as the ones who must perform whatever parenting children need, rather there has been a false conflation of childbearing and nurturing with pregnancy and parturition and a mistaken belief that women are imbued with a mothering instinct that makes them better suited to nurture children (Chodorow 1978). It is a social imperative, rather than a biological one that women nurture. Gender roles and the adherence of women to them is a product of behavioral conformity and an individual acquiescence to gender norms (Chodorow 1978). Some feminists have argued that, "men don't rear children because they don't want to rear children," this implies, of course, that they are in a position to enforce their preferences and women are not (Chodorow 1978 p. 31). Someone must be ultimately responsible for the primary care of children, and historically, this responsibility has always fallen to women. Heterosexual couples make the mutual choice to have children, and while both individuals enjoy the benefits of having children and watching them grow,

women remain more likely to be the ones responsible for more of the unpleasant aspects of childrearing: the emotional responsibility, the monotonous enforcement of discipline, the time commitment of permanent on–call status for sickness, accidents, and other chores.

Sociological and theoretical studies have long asserted that women are the ones expected to be primary parents, and the empirical studies reported in the previous section further support that conclusion. There is no biological basis for women being primarily responsible for the care of their children, but it is seen as out of the ordinary if fathers take a primary role in raising their children, especially their young children. Men serving as the primary carer for their children is an aberration when society continues to be constructed as if women will obviously be the ones caring for small children. Evidence of the the belief that women will, more often than not, serve as the caretaker of small children can be found in a variety of places ranging from in the way restrooms are designed without changing tables in men's rooms, to the lack of companies having procedures for unpaid paternal leave,[10] to the numerous activity and exercise classes designed for mothers and children, rather than fathers.The entirely different role and lifestyle designated for women can be explained by the mediating factor of the family (Okin 1979). "Women's mothering, like other aspects of gender activity, is a product of feminine role training and role identification" because all adults have had parenting modeled for them by their own parents, and yet women, and not men, continue to provide the bulk of labor-intensive parental care (Chodorow 1978 p. 31). Quantiative researchers have found evidence to suggest that mothers are vey much aware of general societal expectations that they serve as primary parents and strongly identify as mothers, first and foremost. Women tend to experience more role captivity as parents then men, meaning mothers are more likely to view parenting as a 24/7 responsibility that requires they allocate their time according to their children's needs (Mattingly and Bianchi 2003;

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10. Maternal leave is also not particularly ubiquitous, but companies often have no mechanism in place for men to take even unpaid paternal leave.

Nomacuchi and Brown 2011; Pearlin 1989).[11]

The belief in an innate ability of women to mother can be seen in the way that childless women are considered more suited to raise children than the male parent because a childless woman is seen as an inherently caring nurturer (hooks 1984 p. 137). Popular rhetoric about men lacking the ability to nurture is compounded by the fact that men are socialized to avoid assuming responsibility for child-rearing, even of their own children (hooks 1984 p. 140). It is seen as natural that men will try to shirk the responsibility of caring for their children. It is commonplace for men who are taking care of their own children to be spoken of as babysitting. Not only is this factually inaccurate (i.e. one cannot babysit one's own children), it is also insulting to men and infuriating to their wives who are then implied to always be the ones in charge of raising the children. Even though many individuals claim they believe men and women are equal and can both successfully nurture and parent children, others still feel that men are somehow less likely to successfully nurture their children (Doucet 2009; Rashley 2005)

The media contributes to the idea that men are less suited to care for children than women. Men in movies and television shows are constantly being depicted as hapless dolts when it comes to dressing children, changing diapers, or comforting children (Trolio 2017). A classic example of the father as inept archetype can be seen in the likes of Archie Bunker, but other examples are plentiful and varied such as Homer Simpson, Fred Flintstone, and the men of *Daddy Day Care.* Fathers are celebrated for learning how to braid hair or for sharing diaper changing duties with their wives. Men, and dads in particular, are commonly seen as immature, bumbling, and unable to interact appropriately or in a nurturing way towards their children in popular forms of entertainment. All of this reinforces the idea that women, and not men, make the best caregivers and that men are at a distinct disadvantage should they be in a position where they have to provide primary parenting for their children.

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11. This is not to say that fathers do not also feel significant responsibilities in regards to their children, rather that mothers are more likely to negotiate all other aspects of their lives around their children.

1.4 The consequences of gender role socialization and unequal parenting practices

Traditionally, society has acknowledged "masculine" tasks as productive and deserving of money and prestige, whereas "feminine" tasks like housework and childrearing are habitually undervalued and under–appreciated (Okin 1979). Asymmetric power relations between the sexes generally are reinforced by the sexual division of labor within the home. Women are more often then not, unable to freely choose to renegotiate the division of labor within their family. When wives perform a far greater share of the unpaid labor of the family, and subordinate their outside work lives to the needs of their husbands and children, which is the common arrangement within families (Okin 1991). Women need not be the primary ones involved in parenting and parenting can be a more equally shared responsibility between men and women. Families serve as the "first schools of moral development, the places where we first learn to develop a sense of justice" and if children learn to accept that women *should* be primarily concerned with raising children, they learn that women should not be involved in other professions that have more power and prestige in our society (Okin 1991 p. 31).

The current tendency of women being the one most likely to be primary parents for their children is reinforced by historical precedent. Every modern society, and most historic societies, has defined women as the carers: "ultimately responsible for looking after the old, the young and the sick, not to mention their able–bodied husbands" (Phillips 1991 p. 44). Women as the default primary parents of children is foundational in the formation of gendered identities (Okin 1991 p. 6). Mothers are not only the ones primarily responsible for nurturing their children, but the fact that for women, being a mother "is a defining feature of the social organization of gender" such that men retain dominance, in part because they are *not* the ones who mother (Chodorow 1978 p. 9). It is not just that women are expected to be the ones ultimately responsible for the children in a family, it is that women are expected to find primary fulfillment through their social identity as mothers. Social pressures are such

that women are likely to be seen as caregivers first, and if they do not see themselves that way, they risk being seen as peculiar and as failing to live up to social expectations of what it means to be a woman.

The triple bind describes what it is like for women with children to attempt to balance being both mothers and independent individuals with their own identities separate from their familial relationships and responsibilities. In heterosexual couples that have children, if both parents work outside the home, wives often face a "'second-shift sensibility'- a continual attunement to the task of striking and re–striking the right emotional balance between child, spouse, home, and outside job" (Hochschild 1989 p. 37). Women are more likely than their husbands to feel more responsible for maintaining the home and children, and feel more deeply torn between the demands of work and family than their husbands. Even among husbands that are sympathetic or share some of the duties necessary in home maintenance, when conflict between work and family responsibilities does arise many husbands still see the balance of responsibilities as their "wife's problem" (Hochschild 1989; Sanchez and Thomson 1997; Spain and Bianchi 1996). Among families in which husbands and wives claim to share childcare responsibilities, it is common for husband and wives to fall into helper–manager relationships respectively (Coltrane 1996; Gerson 1997). The household duties that are split up between husbands and their wives usually result in men having more control over when they make their contributions (e.g. grass needs to be cut regularly, but not at a set time, whereas dinner has to be made every night and during a set window of time) (Hochschild 1989). Furthermore, women are more likely than men to do domestic work out of obligation, rather than by choice, and women in those arrangements are more likely than men to report their domestic shores as unpleasant and disempowering (Kroska 2003).

When women are expected to be primary nurturers, they are seen as such to exclusion, or at a minimum, subordination, of all other roles. The triple bind describes the pressures that women face in feeling like they need to identify as primary nurturers in order to live

up to social expectations surrounding womanhood, while at the same time presenting themselves as capable employees. Even with laws and organizations like the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and non–discrimination statutes, women in the workplace suffer from social expectations that they will be mothers and primarily responsible for their children. Women may be passed over for jobs or promotions for fear they will not be "good investments" for the company because they will "inevitably" take maternity leave that the company would rather not pay. Women are also likely to suffer from assumptions that they may be less dedicated than equally qualified men because women may be more likely to have to leave to pick up their children from school or suddenly take time off to look after sick children. It is not uncommon for young women in the professional world to be given the advice to not mention their families in job interviews or to consider not wearing their wedding ring in order to not bring up potential commitments to their families that would take away from their time at the office. It is almost unheard of for young men to receive the same advice regarding their family life or aspirations for a family. Women who want high–powered careers may be given advice to deemphasize their family, however if they do so they risk being seen as cold and un–feminine, which can also be a detriment when it comes to career advancement. Women are damned if they do, damned if they do not when it comes to mentioning their families in career environments, and thus face a triple bind.

1.5   Political ramifications of the triple bind

Although the effects of the triple bind can be felt by professional women in general, it is particularly relevant that women politicians face this triple bind. For politicians, the effects of the triple bind are amplified because of public (not just social) pressure to conform to gender norms and expectations. The lives and choices of women in politics are scrutinized by the public more than the lives of average career women, and such scrutiny comes with electoral consequences. Extremely powerful and influential women politicians often like to

be known as mothers. More importantly, they like it to be *known* that they like to be known as mothers first and foremost. Women are removed from other labor activities because of their role as primary nurturer in the family. In discussions surrounding political rights of women and men, there has been an overall failure to critically engage with the prominence of the private sphere in the lives of women, "women and men are not equally autonomous and free" and because of these inequalities in marriage and the household make a nonsense of equal political rights (Phillips 1991 p. 31). Equal rights on paper are meaningless if men and women are not equally free to exercise those rights. If women are mothers first and autonomous beings second, it means that women are less free to make choices of their own volition and in their own self–interest. For politicians, this can mean that voters may assume a woman politician's sick children will take precedence over attending committee meetings, and although voters may prefer "traditional" women to career women, they also prefer dutiful representatives to shirkers.

How families divide labor at home, and who is expected to be responsible for the most labor intensive tasks should be regarded as as a *political* and not just *social* concern (Phillips 1991). The "second-shift" mentality and societal pressures regarding the work women do at home has direct consequences for political involvement and strength of involvement. The *political* consequences of *private* arrangements have a deeply relevant impact on our social lives and democracy writ large (Phillips 1991). As long as it remains expected that women will be primary parents, primarily responsible for the private life of a family, women in politics will face an unspoken triple bind. They will be expected to live up to expectations as primary parents, while also devoting the necessary time and energy to being devoted public servants

The roots of the triple bind are in the social pressures and gender norms that are perpetuated through early socialization, and these social pressures have political ramifications when it comes to the role of families and the roles women are expected to play in families.

Family has always been a distinctly political institution and should be recognized as such by those who study politics. The family is political because state has a role conferring legal legitimacy onto certain types of families, and thus encouraging the recognition of only some families. In the United States, "the family" in popular rhetoric has meant a suburban, middle-class, married husband and wife couple with between 2 or 3 biologically related children (Coontz 2000; Smith 1993). Politicians and preachers hold up the "traditional" version of family as the one to be strived for, and the state actively encourages individuals to form such families. Furthermore, gender norms and social pressure also coincide with the traditional model of a family, with women providing emotional support and nurturing, and men providing financial support. Although a married husband and wife living together with their children may be less and less the norm for many individuals, it is still the default type of family in the national imagination and in government forms and procedures, and is the type of family incentivized in the U.S. tax code.

There are significant financial incentives for a heterosexual couple in a committed relationship to formalize that relationship through marriage. Married couples are able to file joint tax returns, inherit the estate of a spouse with exemption from estate and gift taxes, and receive numerous benefits when one of the two dies; the social security benefits, Medicare benefits, disability benefits, military insurance benefits, and retirement payments of the deceased spouse. Married couples also receive a variety of non–financial benefits for being married: bereavement leave, hospital visitation rights, and access to "families only" neighborhoods. Women face considerable social and financial pressure to enter into marriage, and thus conform to ideas about acceptable behavior for adult women. Although women are getting married later, and more couples are foregoing marriage, there is still considerable financial, political, and social pressure to get married. The pressure to marry is pervasive even for couples who are not heterosexual and thus outside of the popular vision of "the family" (Franke 2015). Regardless of how accurate the "traditional" family is for most women,

the expectation remains that most women *want* to get married and mirror this version of a family, to the degree to which they can.

Many other versions of families have always existed, but the aspirational version of family for "mainstream Americans" has remained the one described in the preceding paragraph. This vision of family as the standard has obvious racial, class, and sexual overtones. Historically, it has been more difficult for African–American and other non–white individuals to buy their own homes due to racist policies like restrictive covenants, and discrimination in home ownership loans in addition to a lack of generational wealth being passed down (Collins and Margo 2011). Although multi–generational living happens for families of many different racial and ethnic groups, Asian and Latino households are the most likely households to be multi–generational, and multi–generational living arrangements are often due to cultural norms rather than simple economic necessity (Cohn and Passel 2016). Although recent changes to marriage laws have perhaps made some room for homosexual couples, when it comes to visions of the "American family," these changes have been modest at best. Couples who do not have the financial means to have one spouse completely out of the waged/salaried work force, are also not able to fully attain the aspirational vision of family. When a particular type of family is held up as the preferred form, expectations about appropriate aspirations and behaviors for women get engrained in society.

1.6   Effects of motherhood norms

The triple bind is the fallacy of choice that surrounds how women navigate the competing commitments of work, social expectations of compassion, and family. There is a need for choice surrounding the decisions of balancing work and family, as well as a need for the ability to actually choose from all of the available choices. There is a difference between fasting and starving and "liberty is not just a matter of having rights on paper, it requires being in a position to exercise those rights" (Nussbaum 1999 p. 54). A woman can choose

to go to work, but if quality childcare is going to cost almost as much as, or more than she would be able to make at work, is she really going to choose to be away from her young child, be judged by society for doing so, and make less in the process? A woman can choose to refuse to do the housework unless her husband agrees to share the responsibilities of it, but if friends come over and the kitchen is messy and the carpet looks like it needs to be vacuumed, she knows that in the minds of many she will be the one judged for the failure to keep the home clean and inviting. Cult of domesticity–style rhetoric has tried to paint housework as the deeply fulfilling for all women, but as many feminists have pointed out, "if housework is so fulfilling men should have the chance to do it themselves: it is everybody's job, women just blame themselves or do it when it is not done or done well" (MacKinnon 1989 p. 93). Women may make the decision to work primarily or solely in the home, but it is important to consider whether they work in the home because they *want* to, because they *have* to, or because they *feel they have* to.

Young women are more likely than young men to place a premium on having a good marriage and family life, while men are socialized to prioritize having a good work life in order to provide for their families (Okin 1991 p. 141-142). In this way, women are more likely than men to come to the conclusion that their family and their home life are more important than having a successful career outside the home. The premium that women place on family impacts the types of careers they are likely to seek, if your family is the most important thing to you, you are unlikely to aspire to be a partner in a high–power law firm or a CEO of a company that would require well over 40 hours of work a week. Socialized choices when it comes to career and family "clearly affects women's decisions about the extent and field of education and training they will pursue, and their degree of purposiveness about careers" (Okin 1991 p. 142).

The family has always been a political institution that affects the political lives of individuals. Although family may seem like merely a part of the private life of candidates, the

preceding sections have described the numerous ways in which *private* family arrangements have significant *political* implications. Women face considerable social pressure to marry and create traditional families with their families. After creating such a family, women find themselves living in an institution that naturalizes inequality and thrives on their undervalued labor and their expected self–sacrifices for other members of their family. Early gender role identification and socialization teaches girls and boys that individuals of different genders are expected to behave differently, and that women are expected to mother and be primary parents for their children. When societal norms dictate that women provide considerable unpaid, and time-consuming labor for their families, they have less time to devote to their own careers, which may include politics. Although some of these norms may be changing, the historical precedent is still a considerable hurdle for many women to enter the political arena. If women are able to clear that initial hurdle of entering the arena, the pull of family and expectations surrounding family and traditional social roles still exerts a considerable amount of pressure on women politicians.

Women in the political arena face the double bind of appearing both feminine and tenacious, but the additional bind of parenthood exerts considerable added pressure on women candidates and politicians. Women must not only live up to traditional stereotypes involving nurturing and caring personalities, but also demonstrate their ability to be aggressive and fight for their political ideals and for their constituents at home. Women must show that they are deeply committed to their families and their role as mothers, but not too committed that they neglect their duties as legislators. Not only are the demands on a woman politicians time at odds (e.g. there is only so much time to tend to family demands and congressional business) the demands on a woman politician's image can also be at odds (e.g. a woman pushing her children on a swing evokes a very different image than a woman presiding over committee hearings). Women who run for political office must carefully navigate the triple bind that requires them to balance the emphasis they place on their fulfillment of

gender norms, their possessing aggressive leadership skills, and their role as involved parents in order to successfully present an image of an ideal woman candidate.

In the following chapters I analyze evidence of the existence of the triple bind and its effects. In *Measuring Compassion and Competence: Social Binds for Women Politicians*, II measure how voters evaluate the compassion and competence of women and men politicians. Specifically, I examine how Republican women are more likely to be evaluated as highly compassionate and highly competent than other politicians. Previous work has considered how personality trait assessments of candidates can influence general impressions of candidates, but I measure how gender stereotypes impact those assessments. The results suggest that women politicians must be seen as more highly compassionate and competent in order to be elected to office. In *Gender Stereotypes and Family in 2016 Senate Races*, I examine how the triple bind affects the behavior of women candidates with different family types in the 2016 Senate races in New Hampshire and California. Previous studies have considered how gender stereotypes affect vote choice, but few have considered how concerns about fulfilling gender stereotypes influence the behavior of women candidates. I find that regardless of their family background, women candidates present themselves as compassionate and motherly in order to successfully navigate the triple bind by demonstrating a fulfillment of gender norms and gendered expectations. In the final chapter, *Marriage, Children, and Gender: The Effects of Candidate Social Identities on Vote Choice*, I use an original dataset with a conjoint design that varies multiple social identities of hypothetical candidates (race, gender, sexuality, marital status, parental status, etc.) in order to consider how gender interacts with other social identities to create different manifestations of the triple bind for different types of women. My results suggest that voters respond most favorably to married, heterosexual candidates, but the effects of a candidate's parental status are less universal than previous studies have claimed. In fact, I find that the effects of a candidate's parental or custody status vary by gender and political party. My dissertation argues for the need to add a third bind to our

understanding of the social expectations women candidates and politicians face when they run for, and hold, political office.

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CHAPTER 2

MEASURING COMPASSION AND COMPETENCE: SOCIAL BINDS FOR WOMEN POLITICIANS

Does gender impact perceptions of the compassion and competence of political candidates in the United States? More importantly, do women need to appear more compassionate and competent than men in order to get elected to political office? The theory of a double bind suggests that women need to appear both highly compassionate and highly competent in order to be successful in politics. In order for women politicians to be perceived as living up to traditional gender norms pertaining to motherhood, without being seen as too soft to be considered tough politicians, women must be perceived as both compassionate and competent, and being perceived as such is more important for their electoral success than it is for men who run for office. Women politicians need to be able to be rated highly in compassion, without appearing less competent because they are compassionate.

Long standing gender stereotypes influence perceptions of politicians and expectations for how women politicians should act. Beliefs in gender stereotyping contribute to the idea that men and women are *naturally* predisposed to possessing particular personality traits. Specific personality traits are most frequently divided into those most associated with warmth, meaning compassion, nurturing, caring, etc.; and competence, meaning prowess, proficiency, accomplishment, etc. (e.g., Eagly and Steffen 1984; Hoffman and Hurst 1990; Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Eagly 2000). Women are often thought to be *naturally* more compassionate than men, and thus women are often perceived as being more associated with warmth. On the other hand, men are often thought to be more likely to be driven towards a pursuit of achievement or mastery of particular skills, and are therefore more easily associated with competence than warmth.

Although compassion and competence as personality traits are not necessarily mutually exclusive, they can be thought of as in a sort of competition with each other when it comes

to overall perceptions of an individual. Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick (2007) suggest that warmth and competence should be considered as separate dimensions in a space where some social groups achieve well on one dimension at the expense of the other, and other social groups achieve equally well (or poorly) on both dimensions. A person may give off an impression of being both compassionate and competent, or even compassionately competent (e.g. a particularly skilled nurse who cares deeply about patient care), but the dominant impression is probably closer to an either/or scenario between compassion and competence more often then not. The CEO of a Fortune 500 company goes to great lengths to appear skilled and competent, rather than compassionate, whereas a social worker is probably thought of as extremely compassionate, and evaluations of their competence are secondary. Anyone reading the preceding sentences probably pictured a man as the CEO and a woman as the social worker, illustrating the point of certain personality traits being associated with either men or women.

Although being perceived as equally compassionate and competent may be difficult and less common, successful women candidates need to do just that. There is a longstanding perception that women need to be twice as good as men in order to be successful in politics, meaning they need to be more qualified and more hardworking than men (See Anzia and Berry 2011 for a prominent example of such discussion). The theory of the double bind suggests that this general impression is also true for personality assessments (e.g. a woman must be seen as more compassionate than a man in order to be elected). Voters generally want politicians whom they perceive to be good leaders, who are honest, compassionate, and competent. The double bind argues that these personality assessments are particularly important for women politicians. It is important for men to also be seen as compassionate and competent, but this theory suggests that men can be seen as slightly less compassionate or competent without their favorability or electability suffering in the same way a woman's would. Women who are successful in politics are perceived as more compassionate and more

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competent than their colleagues who are men, because they have to be in order to be elected in the first place.

Part of the reason that women need to be perceived as both highly compassionate and highly skilled is to assuage concern about failing to live up to gender norms associated with gendered social roles like mothering. The conflict between being perceived as compassionate or being perceived as competent is further complicated by ideas about family roles and social obligations. Campaign strategists for women candidates often feel that women have a particular need to convince voters that service in Congress will not result in the neglect of her family obligations (Dittmar 2015). To put it simply, a politician's time is finite, and every hour that a politician spends in committee meetings or reading issue memos is an hour away from her family. Although a willingness to put in endless hours tending to congressional business may improve perceptions of competence, it may also result in a feeling that women politicians inevitably cannot be on call for emergency situations that may arise concerning the politician's children and thus result in perceptions of decreased compassion. Women must fight to be perceived as both highly compassionate and highly competent, rather than being perceived as having a high degree of one trait at the expense of the other. I use a two–dimensional grid to measure evaluations of a politician's skill and compassion.[1] The method of using the grid forces the issue of whether women who are successful in politics are more likely to be perceived as highly competent and highly compassionate than successful men in politics, suggesting that women *have* to be perceived as highly competent and highly compassionate in order to be successful.

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1. Data for this chapter was collected as part of a study conducted with John Brehm, but as the analysis in this chapter is my own, I will be using "I" in this chapter.

2.1 Theory

Prior research on how people think about women and men in terms of their social roles has identified two broad categories of gendered stereotypes, often described as warmth and competence (Deaux and Lewis 1984; Eagly and Steffen 1984; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992). Following Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick (2007, p 77) "warmth [pertains to] . . . friendliness, helpfulness, sincerity, trustworthiness, whereas competence [is] . . . related to intelligence, skill, creativity, and efficacy." Further, these stereotypes may have strong gendered associations, where women are more quickly associated with warmth, and men are more quickly associated with competence. Bem (1981) asserts this division of gender schemas between "feminine" nurture and "masculine" strength. Under the broader umbrella of feminine personality traits, scholars have included affectionate, sympathetic, gentle, sensitive, supportive, and kind and under the broad umbrella of masculine personality traits, scholars have included assertive, tough, aggressive, rational, and confident (Diekman and Eagly 2000; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Koch 1999; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988).

Beliefs about *natural* differences between the sexes and gender stereotypes are impacted by gender roles and perceived personality traits. A family in popular American rhetoric has meant a suburban, middle–class, married husband and wife couple with 2.5 biologically related children with Mom primarily responsible for the children, and Dad primarily responsible for financial support (Coontz 2000; Smith 1993). This historic formation of the family still impacts perceptions and expectations in the present era. Women are still often assumed to be primary parents for children, and are frequently most associated with their social roles as mothers and nurturers. This assumption is not altogether inaccurate, as women on average do twice the amount of childcare and housework as their husbands, even among couples that say sharing these duties is ideal (Pew Research Center 2014; Pew Research Center 2013). The engrained social division of labor in the home results in gender stereotypes and specific ideas about typical behavior for women and men (Hoffman and Hurst 1990). Women

are more likely to be perceived as nurturing and men to be perceived as assertive because of strong associations with particular social roles (Eagly and Steffen 1984). It is no accident that masculine and feminine personality traits are associated with these dominant social roles.

Numerous studies provide evidence for the continued gender stereotyping and gendered expectations of behavior of politicians. Numerous studies provide evidence for the continued gender stereotyping of politicians when it comes to coverage in the media. Women are more likely to have the media comment about their gender, children, personality, and marital status leaving a "warmer" impression than if they focus on a man's policy positions and accomplishments (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2001; Bystrom, Banwart, Kaid, and Robertson 2004; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005). The effects of differential media coverage are manifest when voters are more likely to recall a female candidate?s family and appearance than her campaign activities, even though they remember a male candidate?s campaign activities (Hitchon and Chang 1995).

Gender roles and beliefs about innate personality traits impact how voters perceive candidate behavior. Men and women can respond to current events in the same way and have the same policy positions and expertise, and they will still be perceived as having different levels of compassion and competency in regards to specific policy issues (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Funk 1996; Kahn 1992). More specifically, when a policy issue is considered related to compassion (e.g. education, health care, poverty) women are generally thought of as more likely to be experts then men (Bauer 2015; Dolan 2010, 2014; Fridkin, Kenney, and Woodhall 2009; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Koch 1999). Men are still often assumed to be more "naturally" forceful and tenacious, than women who are thought to be more passive (Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Sczesny, Bosak, Neff, and Schyns 2004). In American politics, assertiveness and tenacity are closely tied with evaluations of a politician's competence.

Ideas about proclivities for particular policy issues and personality traits also influence

what types of behaviors are seen as proper for women and men running for office to exude. Voters are more likely to value empathy in women who run for office than men (Brooks 2013). The need for women candidates to be seen as empathetic and compassionate by voters is likely tied to concern about women running for office breaking norms of what it means to be a woman. Although voters also see toughness as a necessary trait for women to have in order to be effective politicians in Congress, they must still come across as compassionate or risk being seen as gender norm violators (Brooks 2013). Evidence for this sort of thinking can be found in work by Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky (1992) that finds that women in leadership are likely to be evaluated unfavorably if they rely on "masculine" leadership practices that utilize assertiveness and aggressiveness. It is seen as natural that men are more forceful and tenacious, than women who are thought to be more passive (Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Sczesny, Bosak, Neff, and Schyns 2004). Women who run for office must walk a fine line between following gendered expectations when it comes to things like empathy and compassion, and at the same time challenging gendered expectations when it comes to forcefulness, while also being careful to not be *too* forceful. In American politics, assertiveness and tenacity are closely tied with evaluations of a politician's competence.

The study will unpack the degree to which it is more of an imperative for women candidates for public office to be perceived as having high levels of compassion and skill then for men to be evaluated as being both highly compassionate and highly skilled. My research question stems directly from the association between the social role of women as primary caretakers: when subjects are asked to evaluate women politicians, are the women automatically perceived as compassionate because of their assumed role of mothers and primary parent to children? For some women in politics, many will assume, "if they achieve professional success then they have likely neglected their 'womanly' duties; if they fail professionally, then they were wrong to attempt entering the public domain in the first place" (Lawless and Fox 2005, 60). Evidence for this sort of thinking can be found in studies that find voters prefer

male candidates to have teenage children and women candidates to have adult children, as there is some evidence that suggest that voters worry that a woman candidate with younger children will be hindered by torn loyalties to both her young children and politics (Barbara Lee Family Foundation 2001). Additionally, are women politicians perceived as having high levels of skill in addition to compassion, because it is assumed that in order for a woman to succeed in politics, she has to be twice as good as a man (Anzia and Berry 2011)? According to the theory of a double bind, women politicians must be perceived as being both highly compassionate and highly skilled. Although compassion and skill are undoubtedly important traits for men politicians to have as well, it is likely more imperative for women to possess those traits, and so on a whole women politicians who have won an election will be evaluated as having higher levels of compassion and skill then men who have been elected.

2.2   Data and Methods

The experiment sampled 1000 subjects, drawn equally from five states (ME, NH, SC, WA, WV), and randomly assigned into two conditions: a "family" prime (the treatment) and a control group, and measured for the "Republican Woman" and "Other" politicians.[2] The experiment itself was administered by Qualtrics from July 9th, 2016 to July 16th, 2016. In other words, the survey design is five replications of a 2x2 study.

These states were selected on the basis of the presence of a prominent Republican woman who has been in office for long enough in order to have had some policy achievements, who had family (either children and a spouse, or just a spouse), and to be familiar to the sample as a whole.[3] The choice of Republicans here was to constrain partisan effects with

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2. The "Republican Woman" list included Sen. Susan Collins (ME), Sen. Kelly Ayotte (NH), Gov. Nikki Haley (SC), Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (WA), and Sen. Shelly Moore Capito (WV). The "Other" list included Gov. Paul LePage (ME), Gov. Maggie Hassan (NH), Gov. Pat McCrory (NC, but in the SC treatment group), Rep. Raul Labrador (ID, but in the WA treatment group), Sen. Joe Manchin (WV),

3. The goal here was to select targets who would be familiar enough to the public to generate an impression.

respect to at least this one target of evaluation as well as increase the likely salience of importance of a candidate's family. Prominent Republican women were selected in order to make sure that family presentation and gender roles would likely be salient, because of the importance traditional placed on "family values" by Republican voters and candidates. The five "Others" (one alternate per state) would also be likely to be familiar to the subjects of varying characteristics (men or women, in the same party or opposing party, in the same state or out of state). Mainly governors and senators were selected in order to ensure state–wide name recognition and possibly some familiarity with policy accomplishments. Representative Rodgers is included because, although she does not hold a state-wide office, as the Chair of the House Republican Conference, she is the highest ranking woman in Congress.

2.2.1 Measures

Subjects were randomly assigned to a treatment emphasizing "family" and control conditions. If the subjects were in the treatment condition, the subjects were then primed in three ways:

- A word–length sorting exercise through five words with "family" references (home, reunion, hug, family, puppy).

- A slide listing how long the politician had been in office along with three of the target politician's policy accomplishments, *and* a description of the politician's her/his family.

- A photo accompanying the slide showing the candidate with her/his family.

If the subjects were in the control condition, they were primed with:

- A word–length sorting exercise through five non–family references (apartment, meeting, wave, people, plant).

- A slide listing how long the politician had been in office and only the politician's policy accomplishments (but not the family description).

- A photo accompanying the slide showing the official candidate photo.

Respondents were then asked to use the two–dimensional rating system assessing their skill on the vertical axis (from "not skilled' to "very skilled"), and their compassion on the

Figure 2.1: Example two–dimensional grid evaluating Nikki Haley in terms of compassion and skill

Using this grid, please mark the degree to which you agree with the following statements about Nikki Haley.

She is a "compassionate" person who cares about her constituents.

"Very compassionate"

She is a "skilled" lawmaker who works hard to make the best policies.

"Not skilled"

"Very skilled"
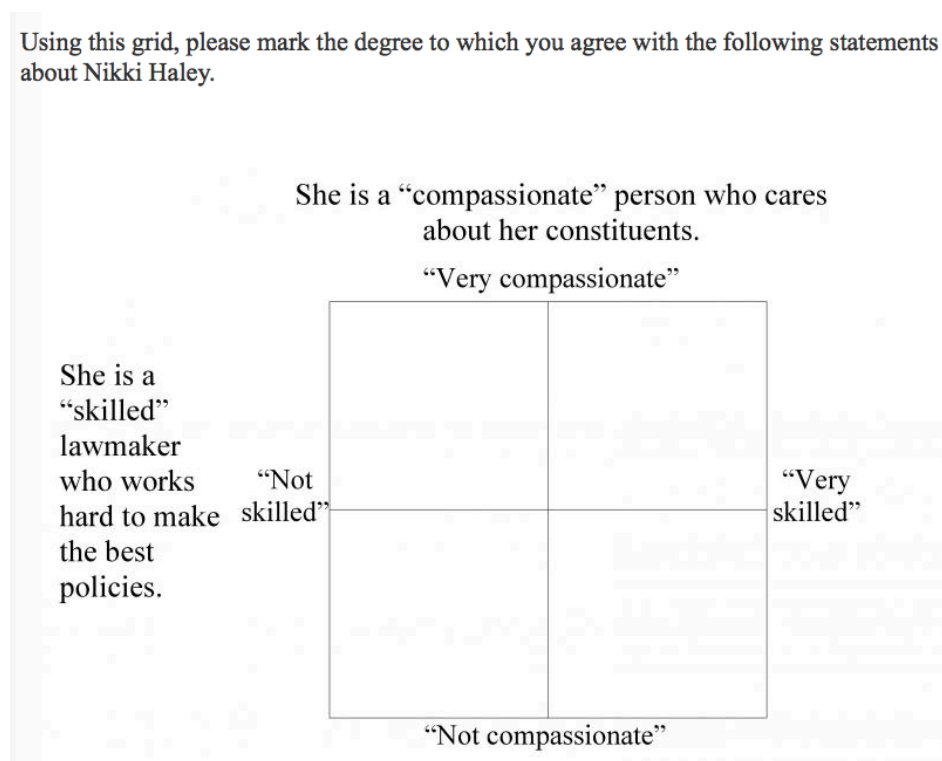
"Not compassionate"

horizontal axis (from "not compassionate" to "very compassionate"). By clicking on a point in the grid. Reproduced here is a sample grid for ratings for Nikki Haley in Figure 2.1.

The respondents then also were required to provide a short justification for their placement in the grid before continuing. I also obtained the same measures of skill and compassion in a four category assessment of the target politicians' competence and compassion. In addition, I obtained valuations of the subjects' ratings of the importance of competence and compassion (separately), feeling thermometer ratings of the two politicians, subject party identification (on a five point scale), subject liberal–conservative self–placement (on a seven point scale), subject gender, whether the subject had any children, the number of children that were still living at home, and the subject's age. I also obtained measures of political information in the form of a four question battery about national politics. The political knowledge questions were multiple choice and meant to gauge how much attention subjects paid to general discussions of government and politics.

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Table 2.1: Sample descriptives, 2016 Compassion Study, demographics

| | | | States | | | |
Variable	ME	NH	SC	WA	WV	All
Gender						
Male	19.0%	28.0%	33.3%	35.5%	23.5%	27.9%
Female	80.5	72.0	66.5	64.0	75.5	71.7
Other	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.4
Have Kids?						
Yes	69.0%	61.5%	59.5%	49.0%	65.5%	60.9%
No	31.0	38.5	40.5	51.0	34.5	39.1
Mean Number of Kids at Home						
	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.3
Mean Age						
	43.1	43.4	45.0	45.2	41.4	43.6
N	200	200	200	200	200	1000

2.2.2   Sample characteristics

The subjects in my study were quite diverse in terms of the number of children that they had, whether they had any children still living at home, and relevant political characteristics (party identification, liberal–conservative self–placement, and political informedness).

Table 4.1 displays sample descriptives in the demographic details I collected in the experiment. The samples were overwhelmingly composed of women: ranging from a low of 64.0% in Washington to a high of 80.5% in Maine. The gender imbalance is entirely accidental. The samples were otherwise of diverse demographics in plausible ways. For most of the states, slightly over half to two–thirds of the samples reported having children, and all of the states reported having an average of around 1.3 children with little variation. The subjects reported a wide range of ages, with an average of about 43.6 across the states. The states varied slightly in gender composition, and the proportion reporting children at home. Table 2.2 reports the political distributions for a few variables (party identification,

Table 2.2: Sample descriptives, 2016 Compassion Study, political measures

|			States			
Variable	ME	NH	SC	WA	WV	All
Party Identification						
Strong Rep.	17.0%	12.0%	23.0%	13.0%	13.5%	15.7%
Weak Rep.	13.5	9.0	12.5	12.0	14.0	12.2
Indep.	30.5	47.0	22.5	28.0	26.5	30.9
Weak Dem.	12.0	10.5	9.5	11.0	12.5	11.1
Strong Dem.	15.0	13.5	17.0	23.0	26.5	17.0
Other	12.0	8.0	15.5	13.0	17.0	13.1
N	200	200	200	200	200	1000
Liberal–Conservative Self–placement						
Ext. Cons.	4.0%	5.5%	7.5%	5.5%	6.5%	5.8%
Cons.	15.0	11.5	18.0	16.5	15.5	15.3
Slight Cons.	12.5	12.0	13.0	12.0	10.0	11.9
Mod.	33.5	35.5	32.5	28.0	34.5	32.8
Slight Lib.	13.0	11.0	11.0	10.0	13.0	11.6
Lib.	14.0	20.0	11.5	22.0	13.0	16.1
Ext. Lib	8.0	4.5	6.5	6.0	7.5	6.5
N	200	200	200	200	200	1000
Pol. Info.	.54	.56	.56	.60	.52	.55
N	200	200	200	200	200	1000

liberal–conservative self–placement, political information). The states are clearly diverse in terms of the partisanship and self-placement (within the state), and nearly equal in terms of the average score on the four item political information measure.

2.3   Results

Respondents were asked to evaluate Republican women and other politicians using one–dimensional measures of compassion and skill, a two–dimensional measure of compassion and skill, and feeling thermometer scores for both politicians. Both the one–dimensional and two–dimensional measures of compassion and skill demonstrate that Republican women politicians are more likely to be evaluated more favorably than other politicians, in terms of both compassion and skill. Regression models of feeling thermometer scores suggest that these trait evaluations impact a politicians general favorability with their constituents.

In order to understand how constituents evaluate women and men politicians on the basis of their compassion and skill, it is helpful to first consider the one–dimensional measures of compassion and skill. The one–dimensional measures of personality traits reflect standard measurement procedures used by the American National Election Studies. The one–dimensional measures also provide a more generalized baseline than the measurements given using the two–dimensional grid. Figure 2.2 illustrates how compassionate respondents rated the Republican woman and other politician in their state. Respondents were asked to choose how compassionate they felt each politician was using a five point scale ("not at all," "not too," "somewhat," "very," "extremely"). Figure 2.2 shows the percentage of respondents in each state sample that rated each politician as having a particular level of compassion. In every state but Washington, over 50 percent of respondents rated the Republican woman in their state as either very or extremely compassionate. To be fair, other politicians were also rated as highly compassionate by their constituents, but not quite as uniformly as Republican women. Governor LePage in Maine is the large anomaly in this

Figure 2.2: Level of Compassion for Republican Women and Other Politicians
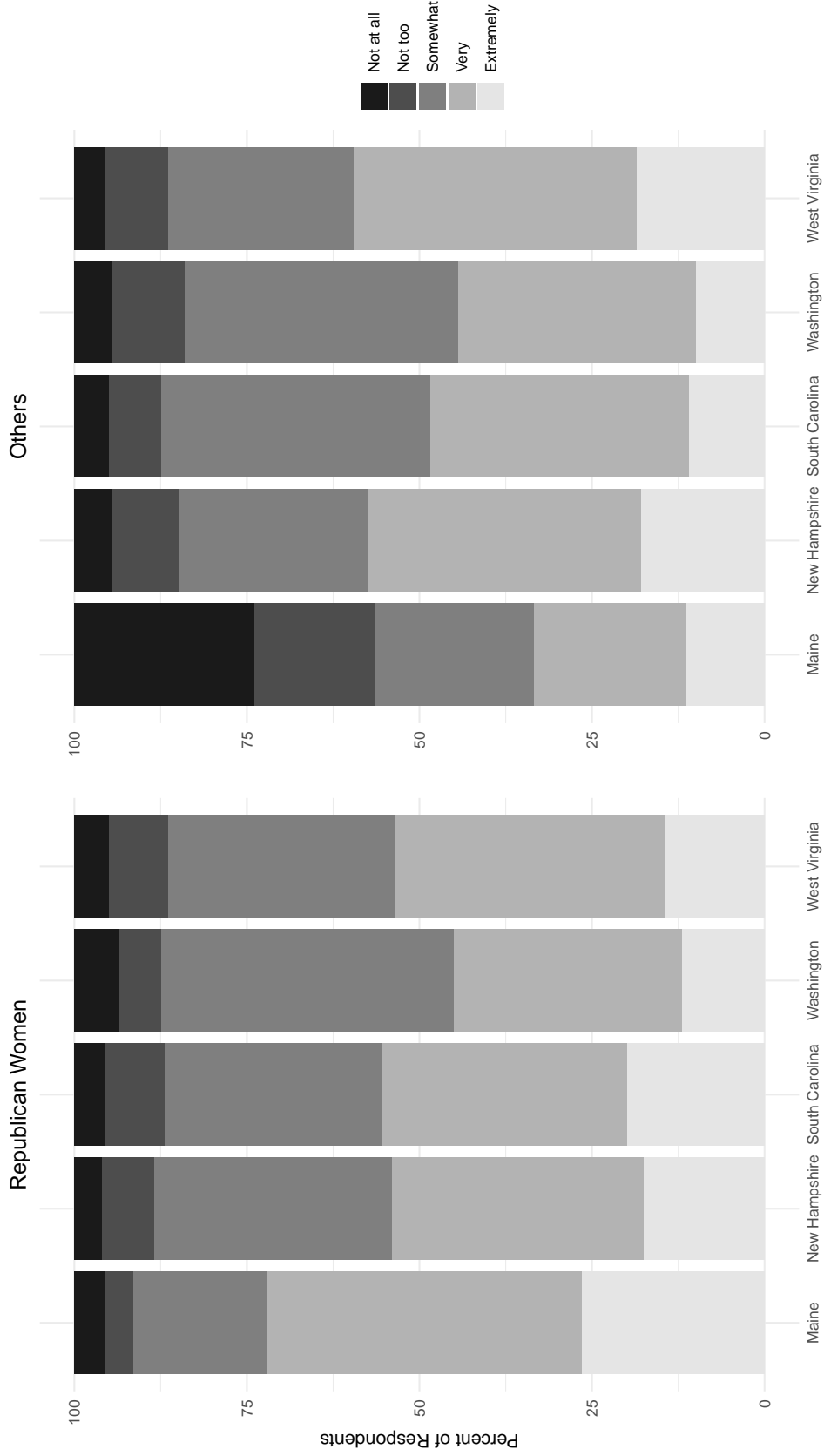
study, at the time, he had become a fairly unpopular governor and suffered from low approval ratings. One of the other politicians who was rated the highest in compassion was the only woman among the other politicians, Governor Maggie Hassan of New Hampshire.

In addition to examining how compassionate respondents found each pair of politicians, respondents were also asked to evaluate each politician's skill using the same five point scale ("not at all," "not too," "somewhat," "very," "extremely"). The differences in skill ratings for Republican women and other politicians are not as large as the differences in compassion for Republican women and other politicians, but Republican women are rated as slightly more skilled than the other politician in their sample. Like with compassion, Governor LePage is the anomaly among other politicians when it comes to evaluations of skill. The one–dimensional results largely support the hypotheses proposed in this study. Respondent evaluations of compassion and skill of politicians using one–dimensional metrics suggest that Republican women are rated as more skilled and more compassionate than other politicians. However, these differences are rather small, and given that the measure is only a five point scale, these differences may not represent substantively meaningful differences.

In this study, I have the benefit of using both one–dimensional ordered scales and two–dimensional continuous scales for evaluating the compassion and skill of candidates. The two–dimensional grid allows for more continuous measures of compassion and skill, in addition to forcing respondents to consider compassion and skill simultaneously. The two–dimensional representations of skill and compassion largely affirm the findings from the one–dimensional scales, but allow respondents more specificity in how they may rate their politicians.

Figure 2.4 depicts the placement on the two–dimensional scale for compassion and skill of Republican women candidates. Placements in the upper right quadrant denote respondents feeling that the politician was both highly compassionate and highly skilled. The two–dimensional grid allows for more variation, but still shows that Republican women were

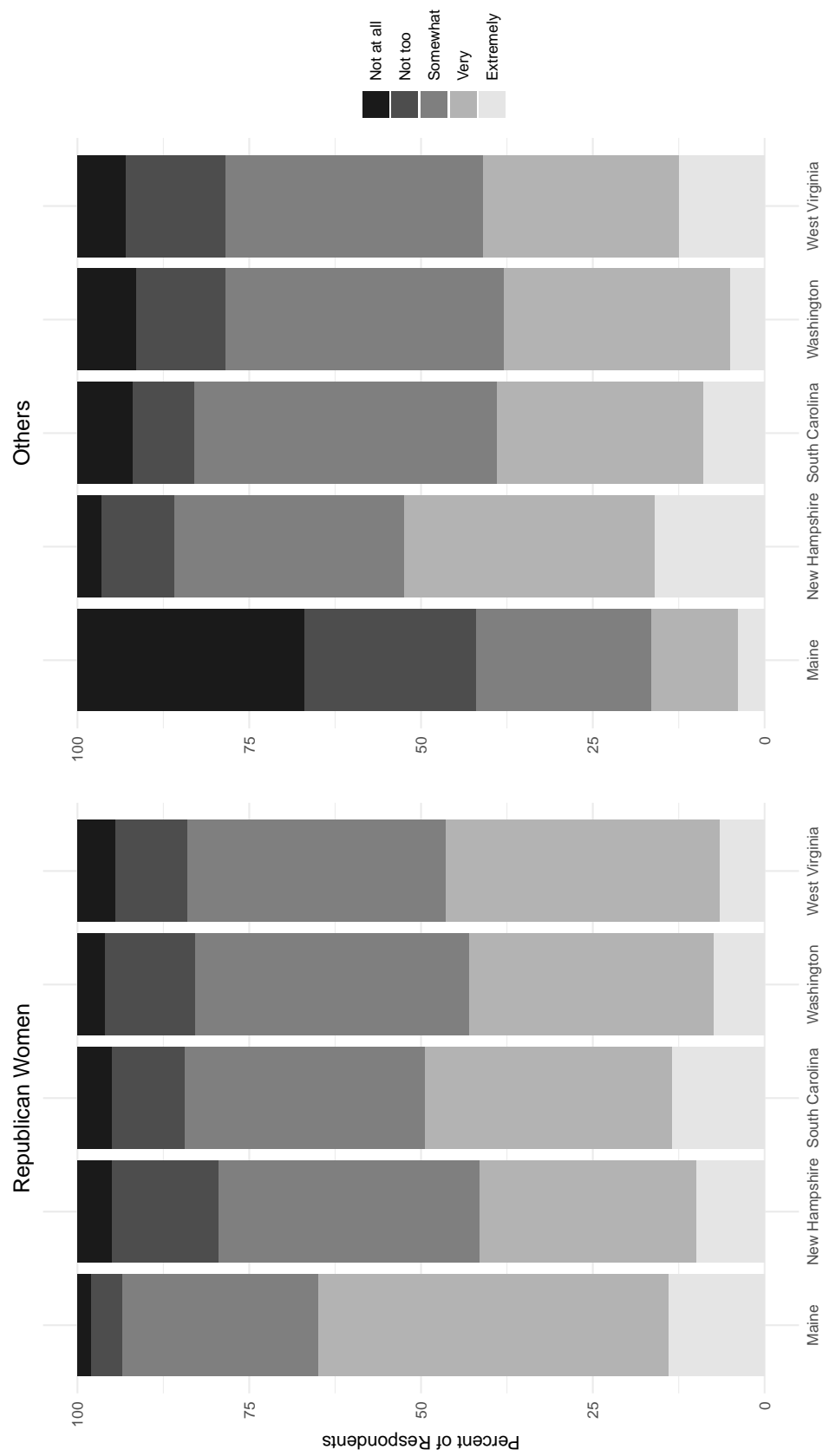Figure 2.3: Level of Skill for Republican Women and Other Politicians

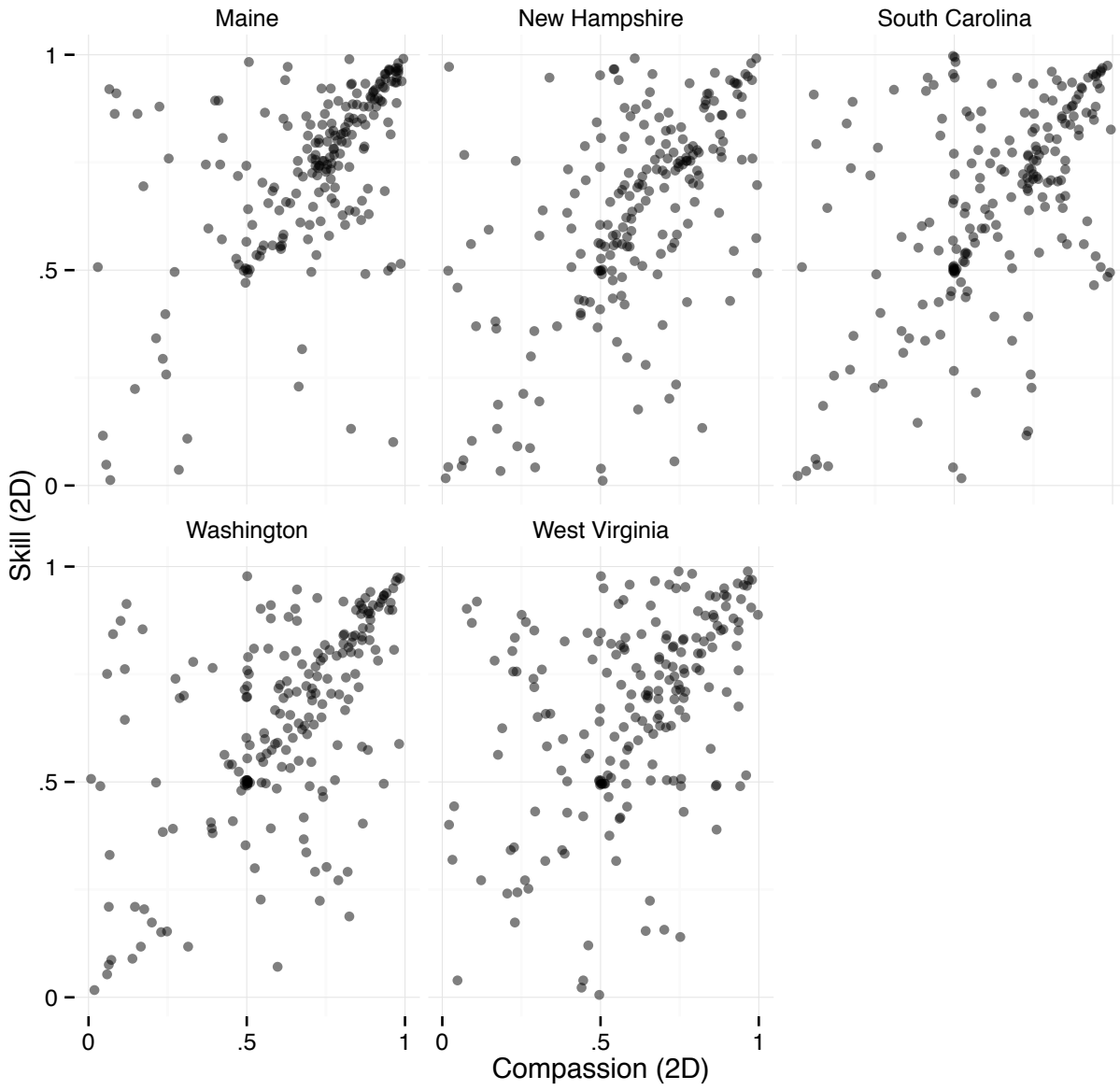*Figure 2.4: Skill and Compassion for Republican Women Politicians*

Table 2.3: Difference in Median FT Scores

	R. Woman FT	Other FT	Difference
Maine	75	40	35*
New Hampshire	60	70	−10
South Carolina	70	50	20*
Washington	60	50	10*
West Virginia	60	55	15

*Note: Statistically significant differences at .01 are marked *.*

generally rated as highly compassionate and highly skilled. This suggests that respondents were largely consistent in their ratings of politicians using the one–dimensional scales and the two–dimensional grid. There is some variation in the rating, but there is a preponderance of ratings in the uppermost right quadrant.

Figure 2.5 shows how respondents evaluated other candidates using the two–dimensional grid. Whereas the one–dimensional scales shown in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 show only slight variation between Republican women politicians and other politicians, Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5 suggest that opinions of other politicians may be considerably more diffuse than opinions of Republican women. The majority of ratings are still in the upper right quadrant for other candidates, but there is more variation than was evident for Republican women. These findings support the assertion that, although politicians who have been elected are inevitably going to be rated as skilled and compassionate, there may be more room for variation if the politician in question is not a Republican woman.

These results suggest that Republican women are more uniformly evaluated as being highly skilled and highly compassionate than other politicians. It is also necessary to consider if these trait assessments actually affect a politician's favorability with their constituents. Respondents provided their general favorability towards the two politicians in their sample through the use of a feeling thermometer. Table 2.3 shows that the feeling thermometer scores for Republican women and other politicians were statistically significantly different for all but the two other politicians. These results suggest that respondents generally rated

Figure 2.5: Skill and Compassion for Other Politicians
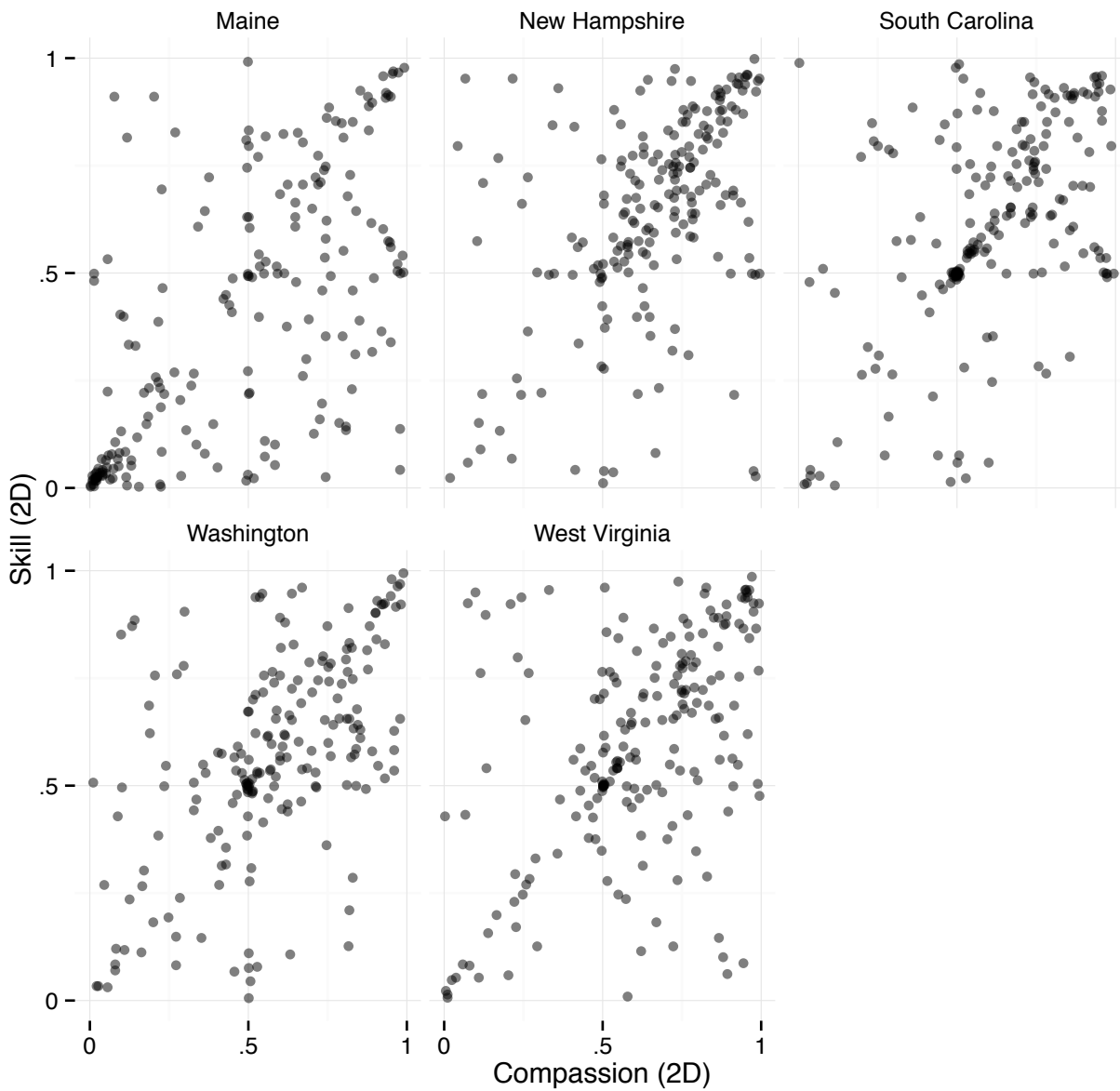
Republican women and other politicians differently. Except in New Hampshire, where the other politician was also a woman, Republican women women were rated more favorably than other politicians. Besides New Hampshire and West Virginia were the two state in which feeling thermometer scores for the Republican woman and the other politician were not statistically significantly different from one another, and in both states the other politician was a Democrat. The results shown in Table 2.3 suggest that other politician's political party and other politician's gender are important variables to include in a model predicting feeling thermometer scores. The differences shown in Table 2.3 also suggest that respondents were using the feeling thermometers to denote their preferences rather than rating all politicians equally, or rating all politicians at 50.

Table 2.4 depicts the ordinary least squares regression models for feeling thermometer scores given to both Republican women and other politicians. For Republican women, the only statistically significant variables in the model are the respondent's political knowledge, if the respondent was a conservative, and how compassionate and skilled respondents evaluated the politician to be. Compassion and skill of politician were measured using the same five point scale. Evaluations of compassion appear to have mattered significantly more than evaluations of skill when it comes to Republican women. This is in keeping with the hypothesis that Republican women need be seen as being compassionate as part of their fulfillment of gender norms that assume women are more compassionate than men. Women politicians who appear compassionate can help placate fears voters may have that they too assertive and not feminine enough because they are running for office. Interestingly, respondents who were Republicans (Co–Partisans) were not any more likely to rate Republican women more favorably than respondents who were Democrats. However, respondents who identified as conservatives (Co–Ideologues) on average, rated Republican women 2.89 points higher than respondents who identified as liberal. Respondents who were able to answer general knowledge questions about government and politics correctly were also more likely to rate

Table 2.4: FT Regressions

	R. Woman FT (1)	Other FT (2)
R has Kids	1.42 (1.20)	0.29 (1.22)
Treatment	−0.77 (1.15)	0.99 (1.17)
R is a Woman	−0.83 (1.31)	−0.48 (1.32)
R's Political Knowledge	5.51** (2.40)	4.74* (2.44)
Co-Partisans	0.58 (1.86)	3.44* (1.89)
Independent	1.71 (1.60)	3.05** (1.65)
Other Partisanship	−0.86 (2.04)	−1.67 (2.08)
Co-Ideologues	2.89* (1.72)	5.24*** (1.72)
Moderate	0.07 (1.53)	3.05** (1.51)
Compassion of Candidate	12.52*** (0.83)	9.50*** (0.75)
Skill of Candidate	7.60*** (0.78)	10.82*** (0.74)
Other Candidate from Same State		0.90 (1.35)
Other Candidate Man		−1.45 (1.67)
Constant	−13.47*** (2.99)	−19.16*** (3.51)
Observations	1,000	1,000
R^2	0.52	0.60
Adjusted R^2	0.51	0.60
Residual Std. Error	18.16 (df = 988)	18.38 (df = 986)
F Statistic	95.89*** (df = 11; 988)	114.44*** (df = 13; 986)

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Republican women more favorably than respondents who could not answer the questions correctly.

The model predicting feeling thermometer scores for other politicians has two different variables than the model predicting feeling thermometer scores for Republican women because other politicians were a less homogenous group. Other politicians included politicians who were men and women, politicians who lived in and near the same state as the respondent, and politicians who were Republicans and Democrats. However, whether the other politician was from the same state and whether or not the other politician was a man both do not have a statistically significant relationship with the feeling thermometer score given to other politicians. Partisanship and ideology are both related to the feeling thermometer scores for other politicians. A respondent's political knowledge had a positive and statistically significant relationship to feeling thermometer scores for politicians. The coefficient for compassion of the politician was not as large for other politicians as it was for Republican women. In fact, the coefficient for compassion of the other politician is nearly identical to skill of the other politician, with an increase of 1 point in both corresponding to about a 10 point increase in feeling thermometer score. The equal relationship between skill and compassion evaluations is in stark contrasts to the model for Republican women, in which the compassion of the politician mattered considerably more than the skill of the politician. These results suggest that while evaluations of skill and compassion are important for both Republican women and other politicians, evaluations of compassion are likely to matter more for Republican women than other politicians.

2.4   Discussion

The results presented in this chapter are largely in keeping with previous studies that have argued that the double bind describes the need for women politicians to be seen as both exceptionally compassionate and exceptionally competent in order to be elected to political

office. The Republican women in the study were on a whole, rated more favorably than other politicians. Republican women being more highly rated in this study is consistent with previous findings that women need to be seen as better than equally situated men in order to get elected (Anzia and Berry 2011). Republican women were rated as more compassionate than other politicians in the study, which is in agreement with canonical studies that have suggested that women are likely to be seen as more compassionate than men (Diekman and Eagly 2000; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). The regression models predicting feeling thermometer scores for Republican women and other politicians suggest compassion is more closely tied to favorability for women politicians than it is for other politicians. The greater importance of compassion for Republican women follows from Brooks's (2013) findings that evaluations of compassion are more important for women politicians than men politicians.

These results provide some evidence to support the existence of a double bind, but given the small size of the study and the limited nature of the results, it would be premature to draw too strong of a conclusion from these results alone. Republican women who are successfully elected to office appear to be rated as highly compassionate and highly skilled. This in and of itself is not especially surprising or interesting, but evidence provided here does suggest that being seen has highly compassionate may be more of a compulsory for Republican women than for other politicians. The results presented here also provide support for the hypothesis that positive trait evaluations correspond to positive general impressions of candidates and politicians.

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CHAPTER 3

GENDER STEREOTYPES AND FAMILY IN 2016 SENATE RACES

Voters may no longer express blatant hesitancy in voting for women when they run for political office (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014; Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Sanbonmatsu 2002),[1] however this does not mean that women candidates no longer face particular burdens because of their gender. One of the most difficult expectations women candidates face is being married and having children. Voters prefer candidates with traditional family roles (i.e. spouse and parent), but traditionally being a husband vs. a wife or a father vs. mother are not equal comparisons or equal time commitments for candidates. Women still spend more hours on family work then men, and so when voters express a preference for candidates with stereotypical family roles they are actually expressing a much more challenging expectation for women candidates (Bianchi 2006; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006; Lawless and Fox 2004). Voters prefer women (and men) to be married and have children, but given gender disparities when it comes to sharing family duties, these expectations are considerably more challenging for women than men (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Teelee, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018).

In order to meet expectations regarding family roles, women who run for office place a large emphasis on their families and their role as mothers and/or grandmothers. In general, candidates seek to show that they fulfill societal norms and do not appear to be too out of the ordinary in any way, but norms surrounding family are particularly pivotal in providing a general impression of an individual. Hillary Clinton is just like your friendly neighborhood abuelita[2] and Nancy Pelosi is "Grandma Mimi,"[3] who defines herself as a mother

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1. Although Streb and colleagues (2008) do suggest hypothetical studies may over–inflate the general population's willingness to support a woman running for president.

2. "7 ways Hillary Clinton is just like your abuela" `https://www.hillaryclinton.com`

3. Stated by Pelosi in numerous interviews and referenced by many news outlets. A recent example can be found here `https://www.rollcall.com/news/opinion/ruthless-grandma-finally-gets-her-due-`

and grandmother first. Being a mother is not just an isolated social identity, but is tied to gender stereotypes and beliefs about acceptable and expected behavior for individuals. Single women are often perceived as selfish and married women without children are likely to be seen as overly ambitious and unlikeable, and even married women with children are rated unfavorably if they express too much ambition (Jalalzai 2018; Jamieson 1995). Gender stereotypes are predicated on beliefs that women are naturally more compassionate and caring and men are more aggressive and analytical (Diekman and Eagly 2000; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Mo 2015; Prentice and Carranza 2002; Schneider and Bos 2014; Vinkenburg et al. 2011). Motherhood and feminine gender stereotypes reinforce each other as related aspects of a "typical" woman's personality and social role. If a woman is not a mother, she can still demonstrate adherence to feminine gender stereotypes of being caring and nurturing, but mothers are likely to be seen as inherently possessing personality traits associated with feminine gender stereotypes.

Very few women have been able to successfully run for Congress. Only 329 women have ever been members of Congress, of which, 112 are currently serving.[4] Women make up less than 20 percent of members of the 115th Congress. Having so few women serve in Congress remains an important problem because having women involved in politics influences the types of policies pursued and helps ensure that the people are being represented by the best possible politicians, rather than the best of only a subsection of the population (e.g. men). Having women in office has had a demonstrable effect on the way government works and the sort of outputs government provides (Burrell 1996; Dodson 2006; Pearson and Dancy 2011; Swers 2013). The more women run for and hold political office, the more likely women are to be interested in politics and political campaigns, to follow politics in the media, and to be able to express informed opinions about candidates that run for Congress (Burns,

pelosi

4. https://www.senate.gov/CRSpubs/bee42bd4-0624-492c-a3b0-a5436cb9e9a2.pdf

Schlozman, Verba 2001; Burrell 2014).

Even though having more women in Congress is a laudable problem, few women decide to run for Congress. Previous studies have found that women are less likely than men to express a desire to run for political office (see Fox and Lawless 2014 for a seminal example of such work), but fewer studies have explored systemic explanations for why women are more likely than men to think that running for office will be too arduous to be worth it. One explanation for why more women do not express an interest in running for political office, is that women do not run because the expectations surrounding family are more arduous for women to live up to than they are for men. Among officeholders, men and women are equally likely to have children, but among individuals in "feeder careers" for politics men are much more likely to have children than women (Lawless and Fox 2010). This means that there are a significant number of single and childless women in careers likely to lead to politics, but these individuals are likely to be ill–favored by voters and elites and married women with children may be less interested in running because of their greater commitments at home (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013, Lawless and Fox 2004; Teelee, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018).

One manifestation of the difference in difficulty of living up to expectations for male and female candidates is with respect to fulfilling gender stereotypes. Previous considerations of the role of gender stereotypes have almost exclusively thought of gender stereotypes in predicting vote choice, and have not measured their role in candidate behavior. Regardless of the role of gender stereotypes in influencing vote choice, gender stereotypes are highly influential when it comes to candidate behavior and candidate image creation. Although both women and men must struggle to meet expectations of acceptable behavior for candidates, fulfilling gender stereotypes and presenting oneself as a competent candidate is likely to be a more delicate balancing act for women than men. Fulfilling gender stereotypes and motherhood expectations are two important boxes for women candidates to be able to check

off in order to be safely unobjectionable to constituents. Regardless of the actual effect of gender stereotypes on voters' evaluations of female candidates, the candidates *themselves* are concerned with how gender stereotypes may affect their favorability with voters. Candidates worry that voters hold gender stereotypes that depict women as more nurturing than aggressive or logical, and therefore gender stereotypes of women are at odds with voters' expectations of politicians as tough, ambitious individuals (Huddy and Capelos 2002). Citizens can thus be expected to have a predisposition for assuming women are overly nice and insufficiently tough and as a result may form negative opinions of women when they run for office.

Women as candidates may feel conflicting expectations of fulfilling feminine gender stereotypes and being a determined and unwavering candidate. Women candidates are likely to feel that they must toe the line of appearing traditional feminine, while also tough. Men may also face pressure to fulfill gender stereotypes, but masculine gender stereotypes are not at odds with expectations for "typical" politicians. Meaning that when men exhibit more traditionally masculine personality traits, such as being assertive and tough, these traits are also qualities that voters tend to value in their candidates and politicians. In this study, I advance a theoretical explanation of how women candidates navigate conflicting expectations when it comes to fulfilling gender norms, specifically those involving motherhood, and being excellent candidates, and provide qualitative support to the theoretical argument from two U.S. Senate races.

I examine two 2016 U.S. Senate races in which women ran against each other and analyze the prevalence of family and feminine gender stereotypes in their communications with constituents. In the California Senate race, both candidates did not have biological children of their own, so neither candidate was able to draw on personal fulfillment of gender norms related to their family, but they were also not subject to attacks from an opponent who did comply with gendered family norms. In New Hampshire, both candidates were mothers,

so neither was able to claim privileged adherence to family norms. In sum, in California neither candidate was able to gain a strategic advantage for being a mother and in New Hampshire, the motherhood advantages both candidates could try to claim were likely to cancel each other out. I chose these particular races in order to demonstrate how, even in races where one could reasonably expect the least amount scrutiny over candidate family type and adherence to gender norms, women candidates still feel the need to demonstrate that they fulfill gender norms, through their family life and/or their commitment to particular policies. This paper presents evidence that women who run for office try to demonstrate that they adhere to gender stereotypes, and that women who have traditional families with a spouse and children, are likely to highlight their status as mothers, particularly in low information settings like campaign advertisements. Even women who do not have biological children attempt to demonstrate gender stereotype adherence through discussions of their childhood or gendered policy issues.

3.1   Previous Literature on Gender Stereotypes

Previous studies that examine gender stereotypes have primarily analyzed voter behavior rather than candidate behavior, and have found mixed results. Previous literature that has considered the influence of gender stereotypes on elections has been mainly concerned with how gender stereotypes may influence vote choice. Some scholars have argued that gender stereotypes, and gender itself, influences how voters perceive and evaluate political candidates (Funk 1996; Hart, Ottati, and Krundick 2011; Sullivan and Arbuthnot 2009). Others have suggested that voters are less likely to apply gendered stereotypes to potential candidates if other cues, such as incumbency and partisanship are present (Broockman et al. 2017; Dolan 2011, 2014; Dolan and Lynch 2014; Hayes 2005, 2011; Hayes and Lawless 2015; McDermott 1997). Experiments with hypothetical male and female candidates have generally found larger differences in evaluations of candidates than studies that feature actual

candidates (Brooks 2013; Hayes, Lawless, and Baitinger 2014). Many of these studies look only at the effects of candidate gender broadly, rather than focusing on *why* candidates of different genders may be evaluated differently. Additionally, few studies have considered why *candidates* are prone to believe that they will be evaluated differently because of their gender.

In studies that have found that gender matters when it comes to vote choice, scholars have argued that gender influences how candidate behavior, and candidates in general, are perceived by potential voters. Men and women candidates acting in the same way will be perceived as conveying different emotions and possessing different levels of competency on policy issues (Fridkin, Kenney, and Woodall 2009; Funk 1996; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Kahn 1992). Candidate gender matters in context. Voters are not likely to say that they like a candidate less because she is a woman, but they are likely to have different expectations for women than men politicians, as they are likely to interpret the actions of women differently as a result of their gender. For example, a woman who cries while making a statement after a natural disaster may be seen as "too emotional" or ill-equipped to handle the clean up efforts, whereas a man who cries might be described as showing compassion and support for victims of the disaster. Candidates may believe their actions will be interpreted in light of their gender. Women may think that voters want to hear them talk about their families and their children, while also being apprehensive that in doing so they do not appear to be *too* nurturing or *too* focused on their families and personal lives. Concern over being seen as *too* nurturing or *too* soft for politics is tied to the conventional wisdom that views men as more *naturally* tenacious and forceful than women and women as more nurturing and passive than men (Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). Voters are more likely to consider toughness as a necessary trait for women to be effective politicians, and men who are seen as too tough are rated unfavorably (Brooks 2013).

Although the exact effects of candidate gender on vote choice are still debated, women

candidates cannot be blamed for believing they need to emphasize their families given the wealth of media coverage devoted to their families and family arrangements. Although women candidates of today are not often subject to the extreme sexism women faced thirty or forty years ago, women who run for office are often still judged by how well they balance their obligations to their family and their political ambitions, as evidenced by the frequency with which women are asked about juggling family and career. When women first began running for political office, many in the media portrayed them as neglecting their families and their roles as wives and mothers and they were asked questions such as "Who's looking after your children?" (Carroll 1994). Women are still far more likely to face questions about if they can balance the demands of motherhood and political careers than men, who tend to only be asked questions about the ages of their children and the type of activities they enjoy (Carroll and Fox 2014). Women candidates are likely to receive advice from strategists that they need to assuage fears of constituents that they may be neglecting their families by being involved in politics (Dittmar 2015). Work–life balance is a much more popular topic for those reporting on women than those reporting on men. News outlets are more likely to mention the gender, children, personality, and marital status of women who run for office than men who do the same (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2001; Bystrom et al. 2004; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson 2005). Because of this scrutiny, women are likely to believe they need to think about how they look, dress, and present themselves in ways that most men in politics do not.

We do not know the precise effect of candidate gender on vote choice, however the studies discussed in the preceding paragraphs suggest that candidates *themselves* worry about the effect their gender and their adherence to gender norms may have on their campaigns. All candidates must carefully consider the image they present to constituents, however the list of considerations and expectations women candidates must meet may be particularly burdensome and contradictory. Women candidates may devote time to discussing their families

as a means to show they are feminine and share similar values to "average" women in the U.S. In order to learn more about the influence of gender stereotypes on elections, I advance a theoretical explanation for why women candidates may choose to feature their families so prominently in their campaigns.

3.2 Theory

Parenthood, and its effects on both candidate behavior and voter evaluations of candidates, is an understudied topic in political behavior. On the rare occasion when the effects of parenthood are examined, discussions are usually limited to how being a parent can lead voters to become more conservative, and in addition to being a shallow exploration of the effects of parenthood, is also erroneous (Greenlee 2014). Work that explores the complexities of parenthood, family, and gender roles within families is rare, and when these issues are mentioned, family often ends up serving only as a synonym for how candidates are viewed on their handling of gender relations and "women's issues", like equal pay, birth control access, and abortion rights (Stach 2006). The lack of systematic studies on the influence of family in candidate evaluations and candidate presentation is especially peculiar considering the emphasis that many politicians put on family. Candidate families are often an important consideration in candidate self–presentation and politicians invoke family in speeches, tributes, statements, and daily business in Congress (Stach 2006). Parenthood, and motherhood more specifically, has been increasingly politicized in American politics and both parties have utilized rhetoric that praises women in traditional domestic roles (Deason, Greenlee, and Langner 2015).

The media and voters place a lot of importance on the family lives of political candidates, particularly women, and because of this women who run for office strategically consider the type of image they present, vis á vis their family. This is not to say, that men do not also carefully consider the family image they are presenting to potential voters, simply that there

is likely more at stake for women who run. Even though child–rearing practices may be more egalitarian now than in decades passed, women remain more likely than men to report that they are responsible for the majority of childcare (Carroll and Fox 2014) and time–use studies of how couples share childcare and household responsibilities support this assertion (Pew Research Center 2015). This may contribute to women candidates being carefully scrutinized when it comes to their involvement with their families, as men have had their parenting practices scrutinized with far less frequency, if at all (Dolan 2014). Voters may be concerned about how well women candidates are living up to gender role expectations tied to taking care of their families in a way that does not register in their evaluations of men candidates.

Women who run for political office strive to present a public image that will increase their chances of getting elected. Women who run for office must concern themselves with being perceived as tough but not overly domineering or "shrill," and one strategy women have increasingly turned to is running "as women" (Herrnson, Lay, Stokes 2003). Running "as women," perhaps described more accurately as "as female," involves women leaning into gender stereotypes and emphasizing stereotypically feminine characteristics or traits. Women can gain a strategic advantage from running "as women" by staking out expertise in issues women are believed to have special expertise in or gaining the support of women's groups (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Kahn 1996). Certain policy issues are wrapped up in gender stereotypes. Men are considered *naturally* better able to handle foreign policy and national defense and women are believed to be *innately* more interested in and capable of handling education and healthcare (Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2011; Lawless 2004). By positioning themselves as experts in these "feminine" policy issues, women are able to reinforce the idea that they are living up to gender role expectations and are stereotypically feminine, while at the same time presenting themselves as skilled policy experts.

Women also run "as women" by emphasizing motherhood in how they talk about their

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opinions and worldview. Candidates make mention of their families in a variety of ways ranging from featuring their families in campaign commercials and public appearances, or centering them in their discussion of issue positions (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2004). For example, a woman candidate may say, "As the mother of two young children, I care about education." Women may also make allusions to family in order to still seem feminine when talking about policy issues that have been traditionally seen as masculine policy issues, like criminal justice or national defense.[5] Campaign strategists advise women candidates that they need to convince voters that service in Congress will not have a negative impact on the candidate's family or children (Dittmar 2015). Women candidates are more likely to center their family in their interactions with potential voters, perhaps because they know that they are more likely to have their family commented on by the press and evaluated by voters than candidates who are men (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2001; Fox and Lawless 2014). Voters are more likely to recall a female candidate's family and appearance than her campaign activities, whereas they remember a male candidate's campaign activities (Hitchon and Chang 1995). When female candidates reference non–marriage and non–motherhood they are rated unfavorably (Bell and Kaufmann 2015; Deason, Greenlee, and Langner 2015; Stalsburg 2010). The modern conversation about gender roles may have changed, but still often stresses the need for women to show voters that they are devoted mothers in addition to competent legislators.

Family image presentation may differ depending on the audience that is likely to receive a given communication from a candidate. Candidates will seek to highlight their compassion and their families in campaign advertisements, but stick to strict issue stances in order to appear tough in debates because tenacity is seen as a particularly necessary trait for female politicians (Brooks 2013). These differences may further be significant because the political knowledge and interest levels of viewers of debates, and campaign advertisements

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5. See the forthcoming section for specific examples related to criminal justice (Harris) and national defense (Sanchez).

vary to a large degree. Stereotypes are thought to be more influential in the absence of other information: the less voters know about a candidate, the more likely they are to use candidate gender in order to make inferences about a candidate's compassion and competence and the more likely gender stereotyped thinking is to be activated (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; McDermott 1997). Only the most political interested and motivated watch political debates, especially debates for the United States Senate, whereas more typical, "average" voters who are often not particularly informed about politics will be exposed to campaign advertisements.

Since family image and presentation tends to be something potential voters remember about female candidates and influences eventual evaluations of candidates, it is important to understand and explore just how political candidates talk about their families as they run for office in order to measure how much family presentation and gender norm fulfillment actually impact a candidate's image. I argue that female candidates will discuss their families and family life to a large degree in order to appeal to potential voters and to strategically run "as women". More specifically, I will show that women who have families that are in the image of the "traditional American family" (i.e. mom, dad, kids, never divorced), will mention family more than candidates who do not embody traditional family norms. Furthermore, candidates who do not have a "traditional American family" still appeal to voters "as women" by showing their compassionate, nurturing side in other ways such as showing prowess in issue areas typically associated with feminine expertise in order to show that they are still feminine and caring even if they do not adhere to gender norms concerning family.

The degree to which women candidates discuss their families or make overt appeals involving their fulfillment of gender stereotypes is likely to vary by the type of communication candidates are using. Debates are likely to feature more technical information than the others because candidates need to prove their competence and fluency in discussing political issues

they will face in the Senate. Only the most political engaged voters are likely to be watching a Senate debate, those who are least likely to rely on gender stereotypes of affective evaluations of candidates (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Senate debates in both states were not televised on statewide television programs and so, while voters may have had more exposure to the debate through reporting on them, few voters in either state watched the debate.[6] In their campaign websites there is more room than in a debate to provide personal information to potential voters and create a caring and compassionate image, rather than solely providing issue stances and technical discussions of the political issues. Internet users are no longer a narrow subset of the population as a whole. Campaign websites have become a popular source of information for voters; upwards of 15 percent of voters visit campaign websites before general elections (Clift 2004). Campaign website are well–suited for an examination of a candidate's public image (Dolan 2005). Commercials and interview clips are likely to reach the most uninformed voters who are more likely to make their decisions on personality assessments, of which, warmth and compassion are likely to play a large role. The majority of the candidate YouTube videos were campaign advertisements that played on television. Other videos included in the candidate YouTube channels were clips from television news interviews or short debate clips.

In summation, I advance the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: *Biological mothers will discuss their families more than non–biological mothers.*

Hypothesis 2: *All women candidates will appeal to gender norms and stereotypes.*

Hypothesis 3: *Women candidates will mention their families and appeal to voters using gender stereotypes with increasing overtness as the communication type becomes more informal (i.e. debates to websites to commercials).*

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6. In California the debate aired at the same time of the San Francisco Giants wild-card playoff game further limiting viewership. In New Hampshire, only some of the debates were televised at all, with others appearing only on YouTube or CSPAN.

3.3 Methods

In order to test the theory that women candidates mention family and attempt to demonstrate a fulfillment of gender stereotypes and norms, I analyze two U.S. Senate races in 2016 in which women were running against each other. I focus only on races where women were running against other women because elections in which women were running against men, although more common, may over–inflate how often women mention their families or demonstrate a fulfillment of gender norms. Additionally, by choosing races in which women are running against women, both candidates are subject to the same sort of gender stereotypes, so the results allow me to isolate the effect of differences in family structure of the candidate while controlling for a host of other issues related to candidate gender. Analyzing two senate races with women running against other women allows for looking at two women and how they talk about their families and demonstrate gender stereotype fulfillment while facing the same Senate race. Women running against other women is still a rare phenomenon in American politics, but by focusing on these two elections, it provides the unique opportunity to compare how women present their families when running in a race against a woman with a similar family structure (e.g. two mothers running against each other in New Hampshire, and two women without biological children running against each other in California).

The 2016 election cycle was a particularly relevant time for an analysis that focuses on how candidates present and talk about their families because the presidential race, featuring two candidates with very different family structures, resulted in a lot of emphasis put on the gender and family dynamics of candidates running for office. Instead of focusing on the presidential race, I analyze two Senate races, in order to have high profile offices where women have been successful in the past, in addition to avoiding the novelty of the first female candidate of a major party running for the political office. Both New Hampshire and California have had multiple women serve as senators, and both senators not up for re–election in 2016 in those states were also women. A Senate race provides a good unit of

analysis because serving in the senate requires a mastery of national issues and appeal on a state–wide level, rather than a particular small region within a state.

These particular cases are illustrative because they should underestimate the importance of considerations of gender stereotypes and family in candidate image presentation. In both states, the candidates have similar enough backgrounds, either being norm followers (e.g. mothers) in New Hampshire, or norm violators (e.g. non–biological mothers) in California, that neither candidate should be able capitalize on voter approval or fear voter reprisal when it comes to living up to, or failing to live up to gender stereotypes. However, my results suggest that even when candidates should reasonably expect the least amount of scrutiny about their family and adherence to gendered family norms, they still feel the need to demonstrate that they fulfill gender norms. To examine the prominence of candidate family and gender stereotypes fulfillment, I analyze debate performances, candidate webpages, and campaign advertisements.

The California and New Hampshire Senate races in 2016 provide a unique opportunity to study how women candidates discuss their families and highlight gender norm compliance. In California, Kamala Harris is married and has no children. Loretta Sanchez married in 2011 after divorcing her first husband in 2004. Sanchez has no biological children, but is stepmother to her second husband's adult children from a previous marriage. Thus the California race allows me to explore the role that family may play when candidates do not have "traditional families," but because neither candidate has a "traditional family," family is unlikely to be a large issue in the election because neither candidate is able to demonstrate a fulfillment of family norms. In New Hampshire, both Maggie Hassan and Kelly Ayotte are married with two children. Hassan's children are young adults and Ayotte has adolescent children. Both candidates in New Hampshire fulfill gender norms when it comes to family, so they both can attempt to capitalize on that fulfillment by bringing up their families in the campaign. In California, both candidates are Democrats and in

Table 3.1: Candidate characteristics, 2016 U.S. Senate Races in New Hampshire and California

	New Hampshire		California	
	Ayotte	Hassan	Harris	Sanchez
Sex	woman	woman	woman	woman
Husband	yes	yes	yes	yes
Biological Children	yes	yes	no	no
Party ID	R(moderate)	D(moderate)	D	D
Race	White	White	Multiracial	Latina

New Hampshire, Ayotte is a Republican and Hassan is a Democrat, but both were largely considered moderates. About 40 percent of voters in New Hampshire do not identify as Republicans or Democrats,[7] and thus extreme shows of partisanship are rare in elections in the state. The characteristics of these races and these women, allow me to control for as many confounding factors as possible in order to analyze the effect of family type on how candidates talk about their families in different types of communication. A mix of examining frequency of word usage and qualitative discussion is appropriate because in addition to doing word counts, a more informal discussion is also appropriate because family presentation and how candidates discuss family in general is oftentimes very subtle.

Table 3.1 shows the possible candidate comparisons, as well as those that are beyond the scope of this study. Since all candidates are straight women that are married to men I cannot make comparisons across gender or sexuality, but I can discuss how gender stereotypes and family influence the image projected by a variety of women. The fact that women with a variety of personal characteristics still present themselves with overt mentions to their families and gender stereotypes suggest that this is a far reaching phenomenon faced by many women candidates.

In order to analyze the image presentation of female candidates, I have compiled infor-

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7. `http://www.independentvoterproject.org/primary_map`

mation from three different forms of communication candidates have with voters: debate performances, candidate websites, and campaign advertisements. I transcribed the only debate that occurred in the California race and 4 of the 6 debates that occurred in the New Hampshire race.[8] I compiled information available on candidate websites; their home page, "about me" page, and all information related to their issue positions, and included it in my content analysis. I transcribed all of the videos that each candidate featured on their campaign YouTube channels. These videos were a mix of taped commercials, news segments featured on television, and interviews with constituents and supporters. The results that follow consist of a qualitative analysis of the communications the four candidates had with their constituents as well as term frequency counts for each candidate for each form of communication.[9] After each document had been cleaned, term counts were compiled for each candidate by form of communication, along with counts for the 50 most common two word phrases, bigrams, and counts for the 50 most common three word phrases, trigrams, across all four candidate have also been recorded.

3.4   Results

There is considerable theoretical support for women candidates emphasizing their families and their adherence to gender stereotypes in order to appeal to voters. However, analyzing the actual communications candidates have with their constituents is an important next step in exploring the influence of gender stereotypes on candidate behavior. The purpose of collecting information from candidate webpages, debate transcripts, and campaign advertisements is to compare how women may make mention of their families, or families in general,

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8. I chose to transcribe the debates that had the largest audiences and were the most readily available. The debates took place from the end of September 2016 until the beginning of November 2016.

9. The Porter stemming algorithm was used to remove common endings for all terms in each text. Additionally, stop words, commonly occurring, but meaningfully insignificant words were removed. The list of removed stop words can be found at `http://www.ai.mit.edu/projects/jmlr/papers/volume5/lewis0 4a/a11-smart-stop-list/english.stop`. Original stop words consisting of each candidate's first and last name were also removed. All punctuation and digits were removed from all texts.

across different types of communication platforms. The results that follow demonstrate support for H1, H2, and H3.

3.4.1 Debates

Given the format of debate performances, it is unusual for candidates to mention their families often, but one would expect biological mothers to briefly mention their families. In keeping with H1, the mothers in New Hampshire mention their families more than the candidates in California.

Kelly Ayotte frequently talked about her own family as a way to demonstrate her understanding of, and attachment to, the issues being debated. She argued that she was in favor of keeping Medicare and Social Security strong because her mother used both programs. She discussed how, as the wife of a combat veteran, the granddaughter of a World War II veteran, and the stepdaughter of a Vietnam veteran, she understood the need to ensure that veterans have access to healthcare. "As the mother of two children,"[10] Ayotte argued the national debt is an unacceptable burden to leave to future generations and is the reason why she's always looking to cut wasteful spending. She asserted that, as someone who took out student loans to pay her way through law school, and then transferred those payments to childcare after paying them back, she understood the need to make college more affordable.[11] In addition to discussing her own family as informing her decision–making process, Ayotte also centered New Hampshire families in her arguments. Ayotte discussed the need to combat the heroin epidemic and turn it around for hurting New Hampshire families, and explained how her views have been informed by families of the victims of the epidemic. Ayotte maintained that the Affordable Care Act needed to be repealed because it was not affordable for New Hampshire families. In several debates, Ayotte argued that families can-

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10. Ayotte, Kelly "New Hampshire Senate Debate 10 October 2016"

11. Ayotte, Kelly "New Hampshire Senate Debate 27 October 2016"

not live on minimum wage and so the emphasis should be put on better paying jobs. As predicted, Ayotte leveraged her role as a mother as part of her dedication to the political issues she was discussing. In this way, Ayotte was able to present herself as both living up to feminine gender norms and mastering complex policy issues.

Like her opponent, Maggie Hassan also used her own family to talk about the political problems she was debating. Hassan has a son with special needs, and in the debates she frequently mentioned how her experiences making sure he was receiving the best care helped her and her husband understand just how complicated the health care system can be, in addition to realizing how important having health insurance is for everyone. Hassan argued that being the daughter of a World War II Veteran caused her to understand the need to take care of veterans and make sure they are getting the respect and care they deserve. In every debate, Hassan included a short anecdote about her father, who is a World War II veteran, asking her "What are you going to do for freedom today?" as the family sat around the breakfast table, and how that has been the sort of spirit she tried to bring to her job as governor and that was the spirit she would bring to Washington if elected. Hassan also spoke of understanding the needs of New Hampshire women and families. According to Hassan, parents need to be confident that their children will have brighter futures, and that even those on minimum wage need to be able to support their families. Hassan vowed to fight for working class families and making education affordable for all families. Additionally, Hassan argued for equal pay for equal work and to always stand up for a woman's right to choose. Like Ayotte, Hassan presented herself as maternal, as well as committed to the issues.

Family and gender stereotypes had little salience in the California Senate debate, as predicted given that it is a type of communication in which candidates expect only highly knowledgeable and highly motivated viewers and the fact that neither woman has biological children.

Ms. Harris did not discuss her husband in her opening statement, but remarked that

she was running because she wanted children to get the education they deserve and wanted college students to be able to pay off their student loans. So although Ms. Harris did not mention her family specifically, she still appealed to traditional gender stereotypes surrounding feminine compassion and understanding, in keeping with H2. In her opening statement, Representative Sanchez referenced growing up in a working class family as the daughter of immigrants as evidence of her ability to relate to "average" Californians.[12] Rep. Sanchez also discussed being married to a retired colonel from the U.S. Army and having a stepson in the army as part of her understanding the many problems facing the armed forces and national security. Besides both affirming their support for a woman's right to choose, their opening statements were essentially the only time either candidate in California mentioned their families or children specifically in their debate.

While candidates in New Hampshire made more direct appeals involving their families, and families in general, than the candidates in California, family was not among the most popular topics in the debates in either state. This can further be seen by analyzing the most commonly used words and phrases in debates from either state. Family, children, or mentions of the family members of the candidates are not featured in the 25 most common words in either race, for either candidate (See Figure 3.1, Figure 3.2, Figure 3.3, and Figure 3.4). Instead, all candidates focused on specific issue areas. New Hampshire candidates discussed their families more than the California candidates did, the biological mothers also primarily focused on the policy areas they felt were the most important. Ayotte made frequent references to business, tax policy, and working for the people of New Hampshire (Figure

As H1 suggests, the women who are biological mothers mention their families in the debates more than non–biological mothers, however as H3 suggests, the family of each candidate is not a prevalent topic for any of the candidates. Candidates do make some allusions

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12. "California Senate Debate" 6 October 2016

Figure 3.1: The most frequently used terms used by Kelly Ayotte in the debates.
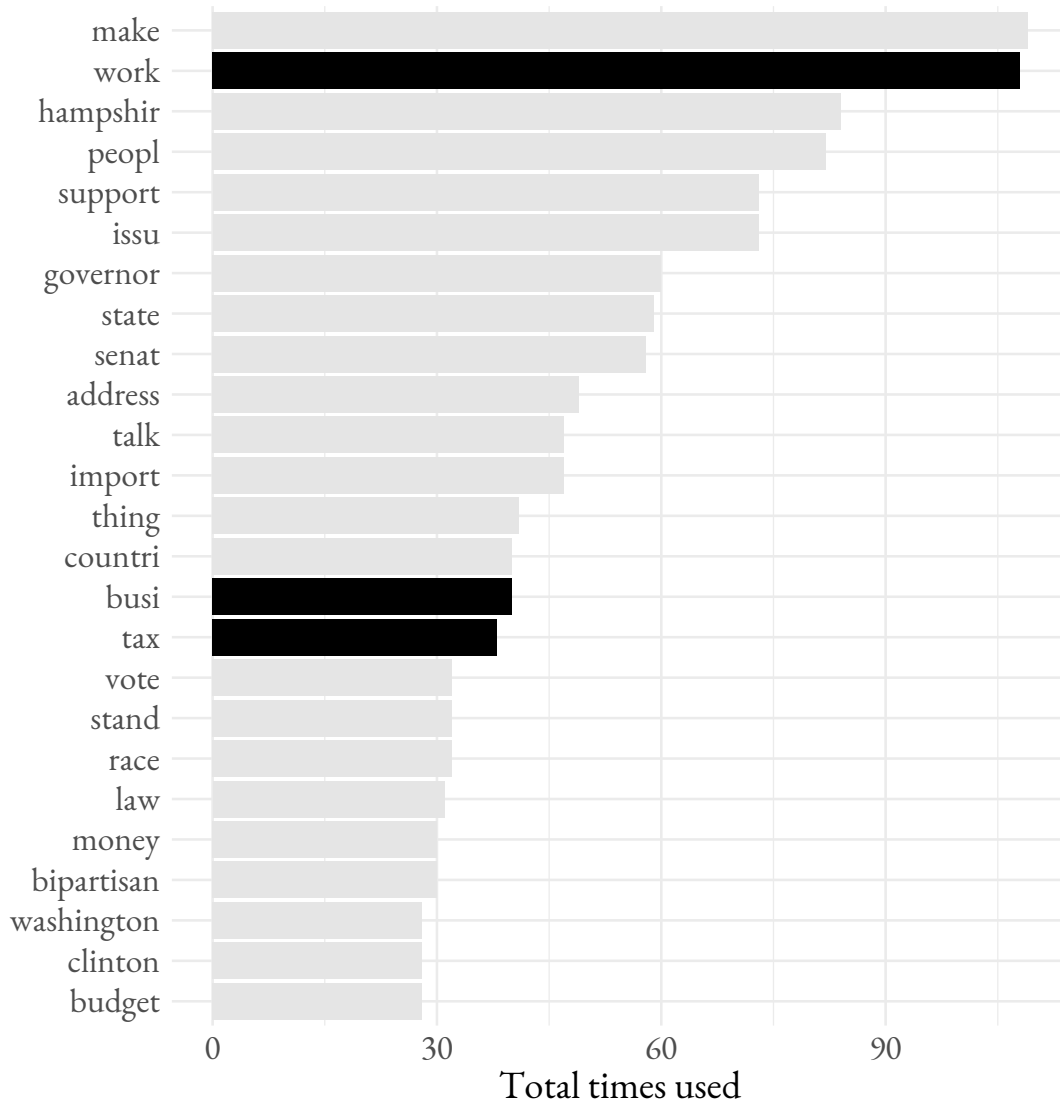
For all term count figures, counts for the top 25 terms are shown. In instance were the top 25, 26, etc. term are equally frequent, counts for each of those terms are displayed..

Figure 3.2: The most frequently used terms used by Maggie Hassan in the debates.
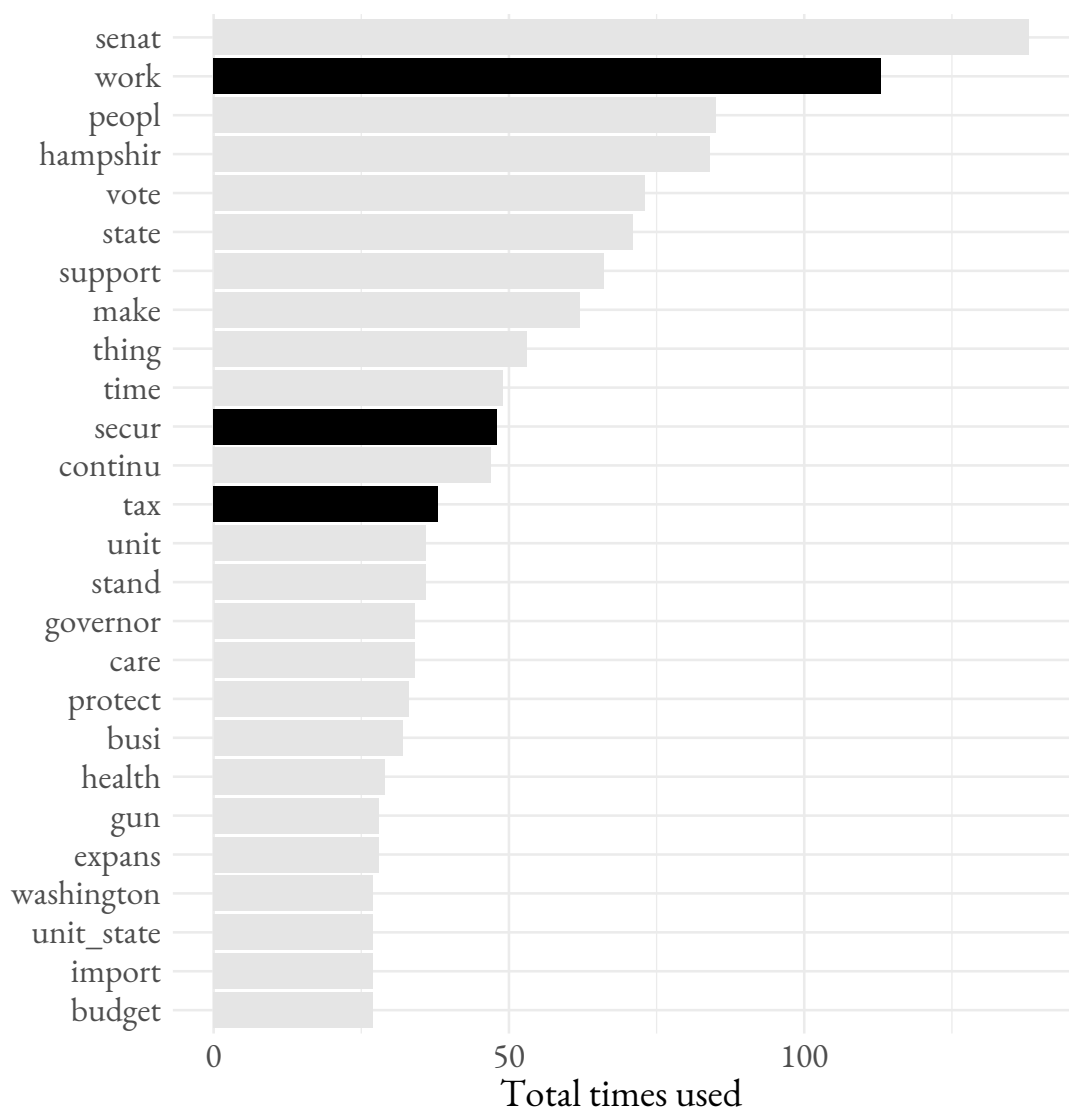
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with more masculine gender norms or issue areas.

Figure 3.3: The most frequently used terms used by Kamala Harris in the debate.
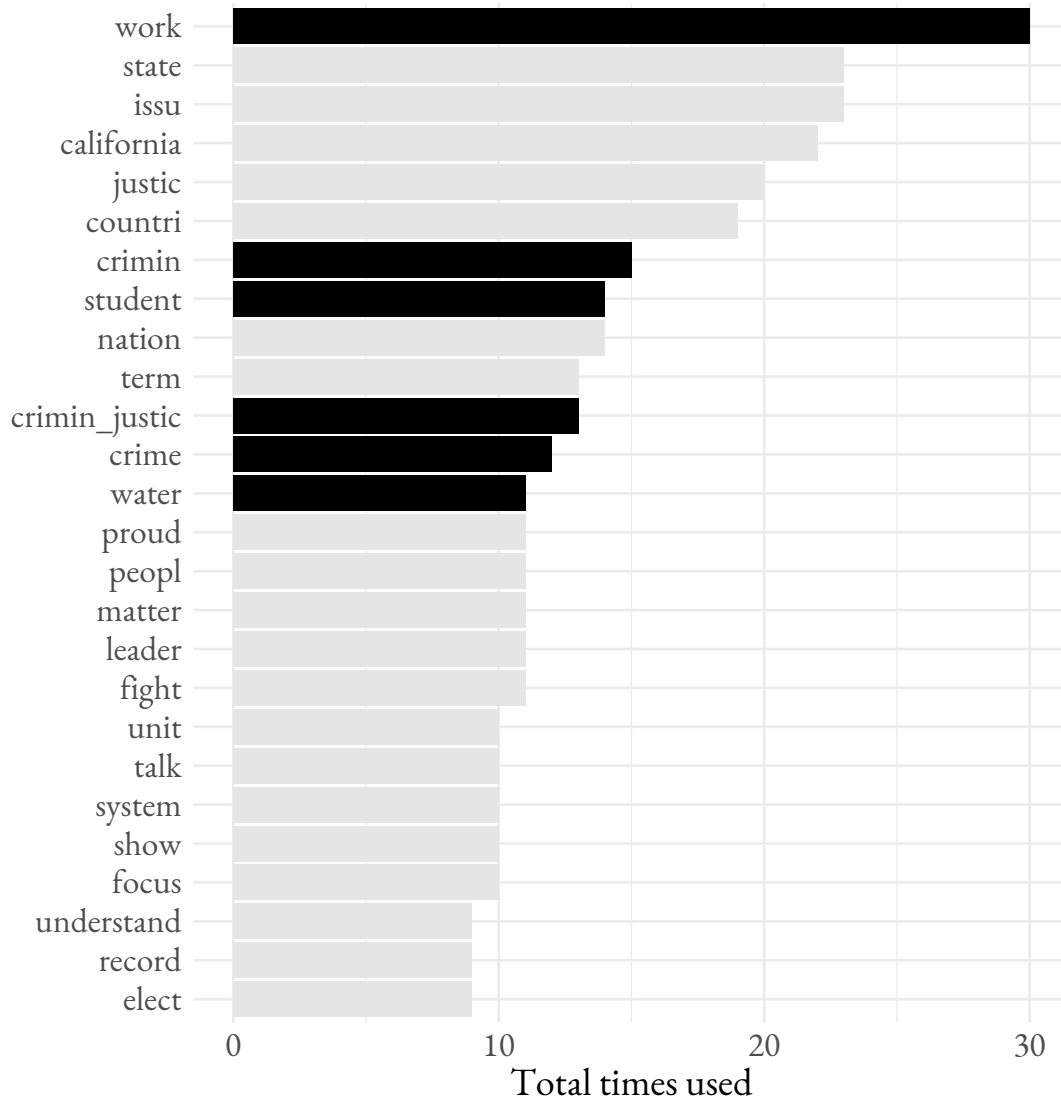
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with more masculine gender norms or issue areas.

Figure 3.4: The most frequently used terms used by Loretta Sanchez in the debate.
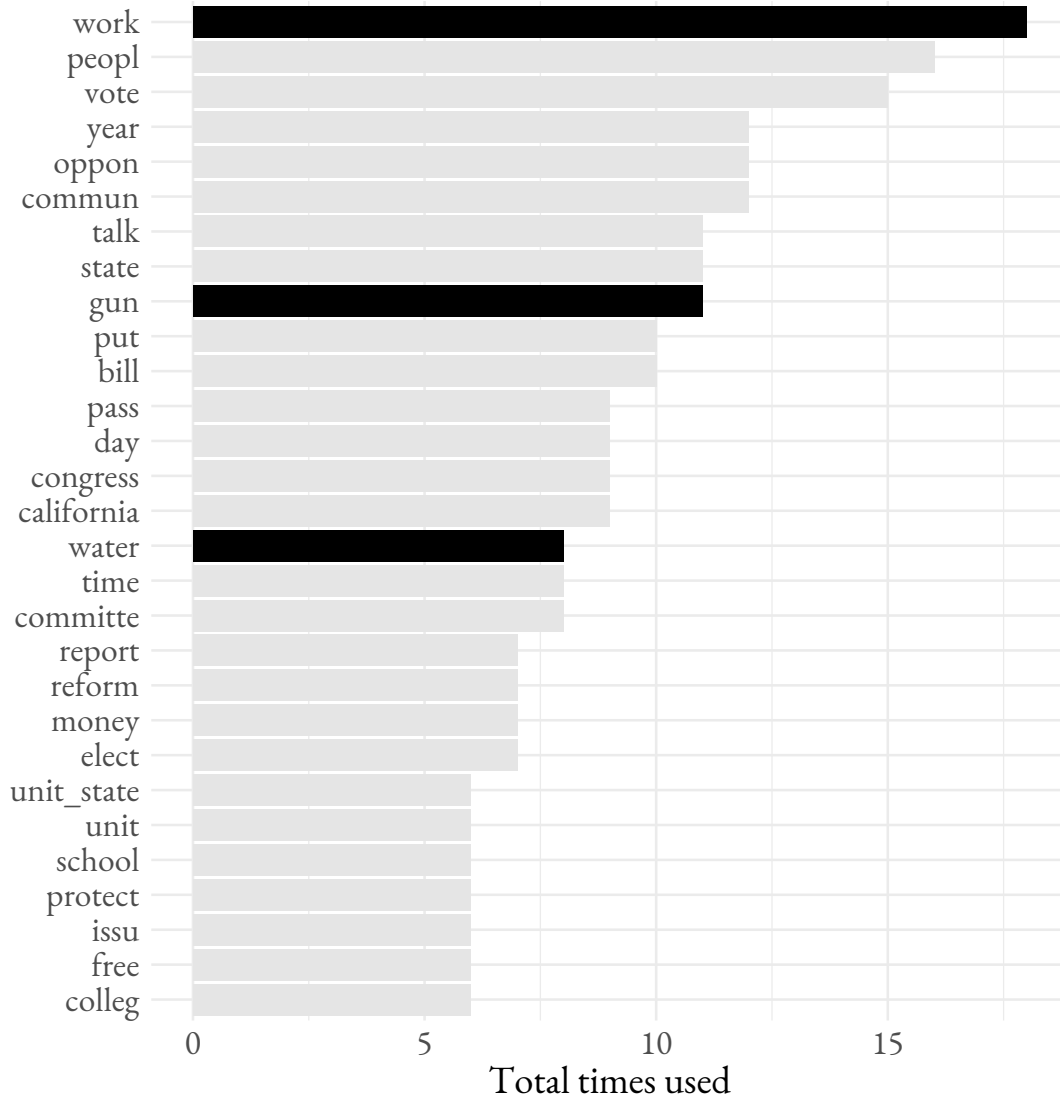
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with more masculine gender norms or issue areas.

to feminine gender stereotypes, and the women who are mothers discuss how being a mother impacts their policy beliefs, in keeping with H2.

3.4.2   Websites

During their debates, the candidates were almost never specifically asked about their families or personal lives. In their last debate, the New Hampshire candidates were asked to name their favorite teacher and explain why the teacher was their favorite, but the personal nature of the question was an anomaly. This is not to say that candidates were not free to mention their families in talking about the political issues, but they rarely did so during the debates. Websites provide the opportunity for candidates to appeal to voters who are likely less politically knowledgeable than those who watch debates. Website viewers may me more susceptible to emotional cues given their lower level of political knowledge (Huddy and Capelos 2002). Unlike debate performances where family references and other appeals to gender stereotypes were minimal, all candidates make more references to their families on their campaign websites. Candidates also have much more control over what they are able to have on their website than what they are able to bring up in a debate setting, where they are at least somewhat limited by the questions they are asked.

In New Hampshire, both candidates discussed their husbands and children when talking about political issues on their campaign websites. In her "About Me" section, Kelly Ayotte mentioned her family including her husband, Joe, whom she describes as a combat veteran who she helped with launching his small business, which makes her knowledgeable about how the Senate affects local businesses in New Hampshire.[13] She also discussed raising her two children, Kate and Jake. Ayotte's family is a fixture in how she described understanding the issues. In "Jobs and the Economy," Ayotte talked about helping her husband start a successful small business. She brought up being a working mom, arguing that as a working

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13. "*Kelly for New Hampshire.* `http://kellyfornh.com`

parent, she understands the need to "closely watch spending and stick to a budget."[14] She emphasized that she is a working mom who commutes from Nashua every week, who knows the importance of balancing a job and raising a family.[15] Ayotte put a particular emphasis on showing that she was living up to traditional gender norms when it comes to family. In her "Education" section, her website again focused on her status as a mother "with two kids in school, Kelly is deeply invested in a better education for all of our children." She argued that because of her husband's veteran status, her commitment to honoring the promises made to veterans is deeply personal. Ayotte made many more mentions of her family than either candidate in California. This may be because, not only is she a mother, but she is a mother of young children, which remains rare for women in Congress (Burrell 2014).

As in her debate performances, Ayotte describes herself as both fulfilling gender stereotypes and as a policy expert. In addition to speaking of her own family, Ayotte's refers to New Hampshire families, not individuals. In her "Heroin Epidemic" section she discussed the devastation families are facing. In "Working Families she described the need for flex–time so "moms and dads can continue to work while taking care of their families," argues against pregnancy discrimination to allow moms to not "choose between their jobs and a healthy pregnancy," and mentioned the need to reform student loans so parents can save for their kids' college education. She described the need to keep the environment protected for New Hampshire families.[16] Ayotte discussed the need to find solutions that makes sense for New Hampshire families.[17] She stated the need to "keep out kids safe from predators and ...drugs."[18] Kelly Ayotte's campaign website was filled with language directly tied to invoking the image of a concerned parent who is a politician in order to fight for families and

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14. "Taxing and Spending" *Kelly for New Hampshire.* `http://kellyfornh.com`

15. "Working Families" *Kelly for New Hampshire.* `http://kellyfornh.com`

16. "Environment" *Kelly for New Hampshire.* `http://kellyfornh.com`

17. "Health Care" *Kelly for New Hampshire.* `\url{http://kellyfornh.com}`

18. "Public Safety" *Kelly for New Hampshire.* `http://kellyfornh.com`

Figure 3.5: The most frequently used terms used by Kelly Ayotte's campaign website.
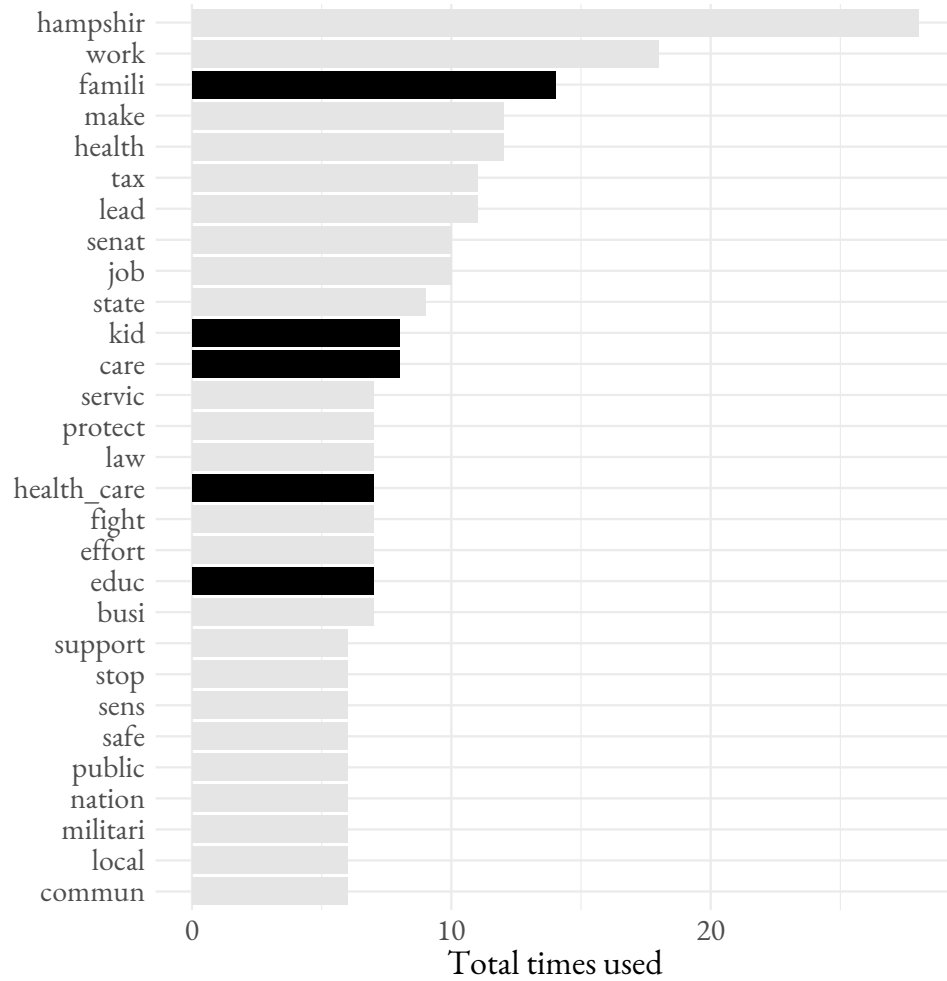
Counts for the top 29 words are shown instead of the top 25 because the last 9 words were used with identical frequency.

children like hers. This is also driven home by the many videos that accompany the text described that also paint an idyllic "family woman" image of the candidate. Ayotte's efforts to portray herself as someone intimately concerned with families can be seen by examining her most commonly used words on her website, among them families, kids, education, and healthcare (See Figure 3.5).

Maggie Hassan's website did not focus on her family's experience quite to the extent of Ayotte, but she still mentioned her family often, and more than she did in the debates. In her "About Me" section, Hassan described how she was drawn to public service by advocating for her son, who has severe disabilities, and how that experience has made her fight to make sure that all children can be included in their communities and have the same opportunities that all parents want for their children[19]. She went on to mention her husband, Tom, who is a principal, and her children, Ben and Meg, who are in their twenties, along with the family dog. This description, of political activism being the start of a a desire to run for public office is a common experience for many women in politics.

In her issue sections, Hassan continued to mention her own family. In describing her opinions on the issues, she discussed how her experiences with her son caused her to become involved in public service as well as describing the commitment to education that her family shares, in addition to her husband being a principal, her daughter is an educator, as were her parents.[20] She brought up her commitment to providing all individuals the same opportunities, again mentioning her experiences with her son.[21]

Hassan described her support for women and families in general on her candidate website. She detailed her commitment to giving women the right to make their own health care decisions and to decide when they are ready to start a family.[22] Hassan states her support

19. *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

20. "Education and Workforce Development" *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

21. "Fully Including People with Disabilities" *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

22. "Women's Health and Economic Security" *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

Figure 3.6: The most frequently used terms used by Maggie Hassan's campaign website.
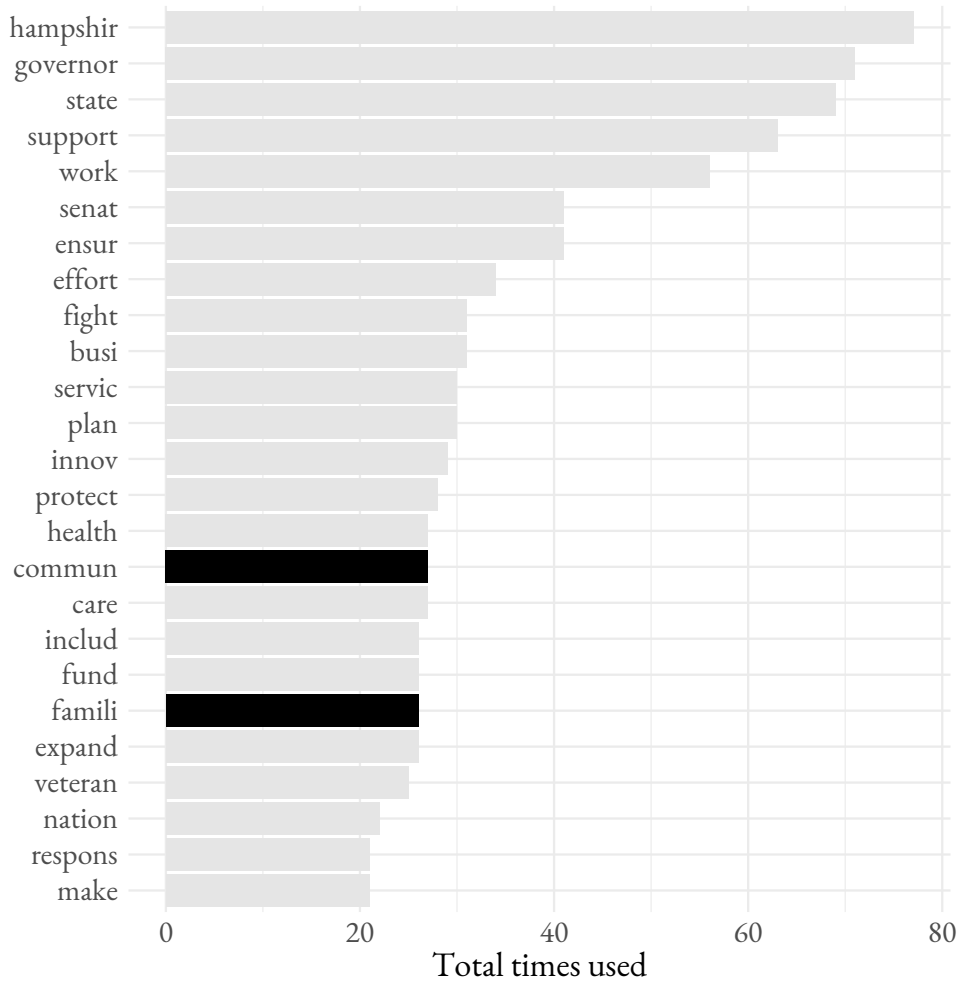
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with feminine gender norms or issue areas.

of efforts to expand paid family leave to ensure that workers are able to support their families. She described the need to protect children from repeat offenders and human traffickers.[23] Hassan details her commitment to helping "hard–working families" and "helping middle–class families make ends meet."[24] Family was among the 25 most frequently used words on Hassan's website (See Figure 3.6).

Even candidates without biological children are likely to make appeals involving their families, or children in general, in order to appeal to voters. Both candidates without biological children made references to family, but focused on their parents and their upbringing instead of their spouses and/or dependents. Kamala Harris discussed her family by talking about her parents, but not her husband on her website. In her "About Me" section, Ms. Harris mentioned being the daughter of immigrants from India and Jamaica who were active in the civil rights movement.[25] She discussed how growing up in an environment with great teachers instilled in her the desire to help children and be passionate about justice and civil rights for all. Repeatedly, Ms. Harris made mention of her commitment to helping women and children and explained that she became a prosecutor because she wanted to help the most vulnerable: children, immigrants, women, the poor, people subject to hate crimes. Similar to in the debate, Ms. Harris demonstrated her fulfilling of traditional gender norms without embodying familial gender norms.

Ms. Harris's campaign website was much more extensive than Rep. Sanchez and she discussed the issues in greater depth. Ms. Harris mentioned her family as a part of her discussion of immigration and civil rights. She stated she "is the daughter of immigrants and knows that embracing our diversity makes the fabric of our society stronger, our economy more innovative, and our community more inclusive"[26] and being raised by a family steeped

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23. "Public Safety" *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

24. "Innovate NH 2.0" *Maggie Hassan for Senate.* `http://maggiehassan.com`

25. *Kamala Harris for Senate* `http://kamalaharris.org`

26. "Immigration" *Kamala Harris for Senate.* `http://kamalaharris.org`

Figure 3.7: The most frequently used terms used on Kamala Harris's campaign website.
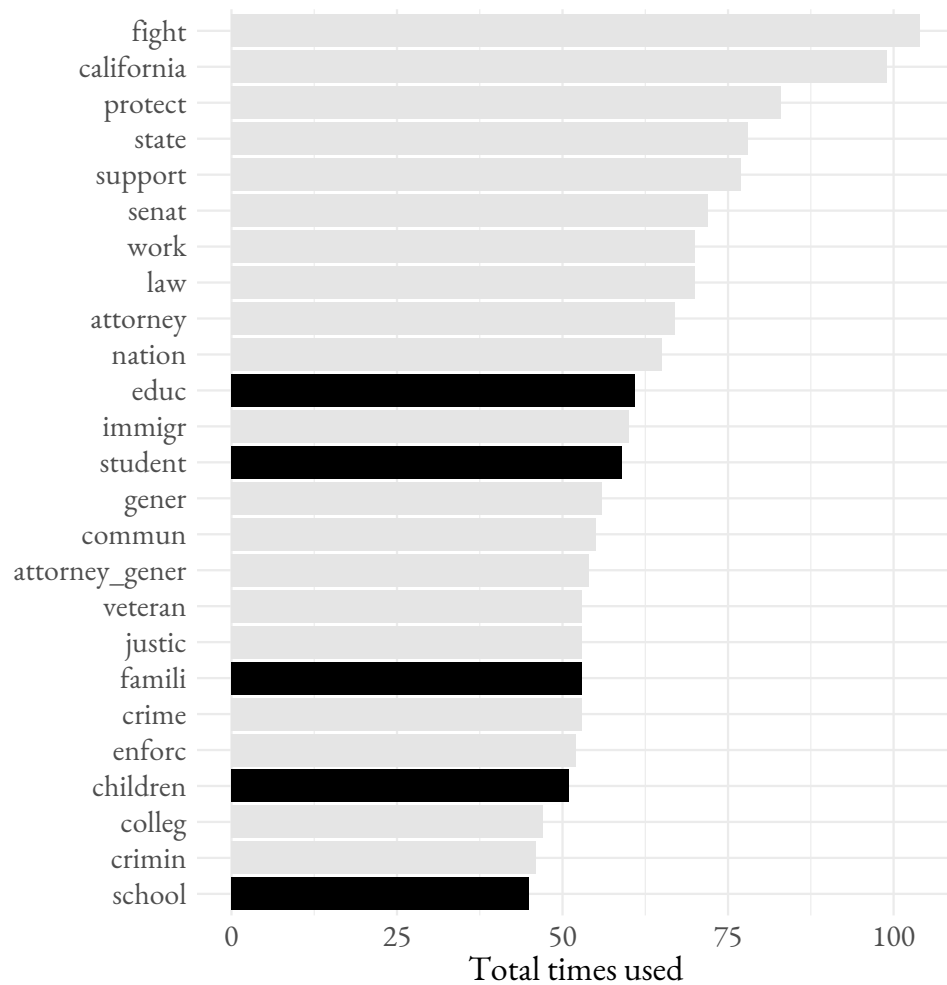
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with feminine gender norms or issue areas.

in the Civil Rights Movement, she has "fought her entire career for justice for everyone — especially for those whose voices aren't often heard by the people in power."[27] As in the debate, on her campaign website Ms. Harris centered the lives of women and children in her discussion of political issues that matter to her.

She discussed the importance of quality education as the way to end school truancy, rehabilitate young people, and stop the escalation of criminal behavior. Ms. Harris argued

27. "Civil Rights, Justice, and Equality for All" *Kamala Harris for Senate.* `http://kamalaharris.org`

that combating human trafficking that enslaves poor and vulnerable women, girls, and boys, is key and "investing in the lives of women and girls throughout the world will pay dividends in security and economic development"[28]. Even discussing the need to protect the environment in order to create "more sustainable water future for California's children"[29] demonstrates how Ms. Harris often framed her stances on issues in how they will affect women and children. Ms. Harris's emphasis on family, children, and education, can be easily seen by considering her most commonly used words on her website (See Figure 3.7).

Similarly to in the debate, on her website Rep. Sanchez emphasized her parents rather than her husband or stepchildren. In her "About Me" section she discussed her working class roots and how she has been working since she was an ice cream scooper in high school.[30] She also highlighted her knowledge of military and security issues, mentioning her service on the Armed Services Committee along with various subcommittees. As part of her security bona fides, Rep. Sanchez discussed how she has been an advocate for women serving in combat roles and stopping sexual assault in the Armed Forces. Rep. Sanchez made no mention of her husband, ex–husband, or stepchildren on her campaign website, which is notable considering her husband's and stepson's military service.

In specific issue areas, gender norm and stereotype fulfillment were evident on Rep. Sanchez's website. In her website section, "Stand with Women," she outlined her role as one of the many co–sponsors of the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act, her role as founder and Chair of the Congressional Women in the Military Caucus, vows to fight to eliminate violence against women, and discusses her belief in the need to empower women through education. Sanchez discussed her own family in her "Education" and "Immigration" issue areas by mentioning that she is a Head Start child herself, and "a symbol of the fair shot at success that all

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28. "Forging Lasting Peace Around the World" *Kamala Harris for Senate.* `http://kamalaharris.org`

29. "Protecting the Environment and Building a Clean Economy" *Kamala Harris for Senate.* `http://kamalaharris.org`

30. *Loretta Sanchez for Senate.* `http://www.loretta.org`

Figure 3.8: The most frequently used terms used on Loretta Sanchez's campaign website.
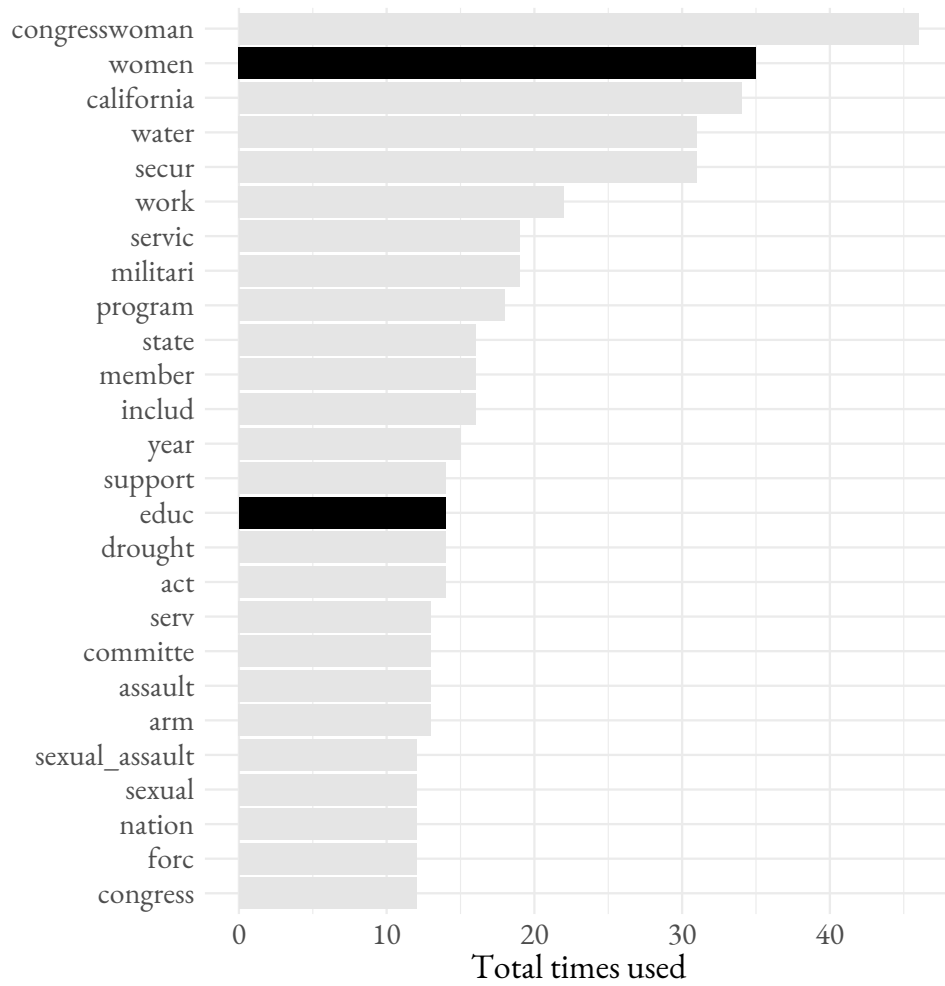
Note: Highlighted terms denote terms associated with feminine gender norms or issue areas.

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children deserve from their earliest of days" and that her parents were immigrants that spoke little English and worked hard to raise and support a family of seven. In "Healthcare" she argued that every child, should have access to quality medical care and again affirmed her support for women in the military in her "Veterans" section. Although Sanchez mentioned families and briefly discusses her own, her website appealed to gender norm fulfillment by emphasizing women and education. Sanchez was the only candidate in these two campaigns not to have family among her top mentions on her website. However, she does appeal to gender stereotypes by having both education, a "feminine" issue area, and women among her top mentions on her website (See Figure 3.8).

The results demonstrate support for H1. Kelly Ayotte mentioned family the most of any of the four candidates. Maggie Hassan and Kamala Harris used the word family almost the same number of times, but Hassan was more likely to be referring to her own family and Harris was likely to be referring to Californian families in general. Loretta Sanchez, a non–biological mother, mentioned family, her own or families in general, with the least frequency of any of the candidates. All four candidates make overt mentions of feminine policy issues and show an adherence to gender norms by how they discuss policy issues, as H2 would predict. All four candidates mentioned family and gender stereotype fulfillment more in their campaign websites than in their debate performances, demonstrating support for H3.

3.4.3   Campaign Advertisements

As with their websites and debate performances, in their campaign advertisements, the New Hampshire candidates made more frequent mention of their families and families in general. Kelly Ayotte had 61 videos, most of which are short in length, on her campaign YouTube channel. In 3 of them, Ayotte discussed how being the wife of a combat veteran and coming from a military family augmented her experiences on the Armed Services Committee, helping

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her to understand security concerns as well as the need to honor veterans.[31] Ayotte also frequently discussed how being a working mom helped her understand the issues; whether it's working across the aisle with other moms to end gridlock in the Senate,[32] being the first woman attorney general in New Hampshire while pregnant and understanding how important workplace protections are for women,[33] or discussing understanding the need for flex–time so working parents can continue to work and take care of their families.[34] In discussing the environment, Ayotte talked about the need to protect the environment so future families can enjoy it, just like hers does, while showing video of her on all terrain vehicles and hiking with her family.[35] In a WMUR Profile video about Ayotte, she was shown hiking with her aunt and talking about how much fun she has running outdoors. In the profile she also mentioned getting her kids ready for school and being grateful for the support of her husband Joe. Ayotte also talked about, and featured her daughter in several videos. In one video, she talked about her daughter being what drives her and that wakes up every day because she "want[s] to ensure a better quality of life for my 10 year old daughter and for all of our daughters."[36] In another video, her daughter, Kate talked about shooting hoops with her mom, while doing so, and discussing how Ayotte "helps with homework, she helped Dad start his business, and she even fought to put bad guys in jail."[37]

The focus of 2 of the 31 videos on Maggie Hassan channel was her experiences as a mother. In "Got Involved," Hassan describes the experience of having a son, Ben, that was born with Cerebral Palsy. She discussed anxiety she had before his first day of school and

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31. "Solutions for New Hampshire", "Kelly Supports a Strong Military and is Keeping Us Safe", "National Security Leader"

32. "Working Moms Get Things Done in the Senate"

33. "Creating a Healthy Workplace for Pregnant Women"

34. "Supporting Working Families"

35. "I'm Protecting the Environment Because NH is Worth It!" and "Promoting Tourism and Outdoor Recreation"

36. "Better Opportunities for NH Families" and "Better Lives for All of Our Daughters"

37. "Hoops" and "Hoops Outtakes"

how when he was able to board the school bus like any other kid, she was so thankful for the families that came before her own that had made it possible. She explained that that is one of the reasons she became involved in politics. The video also featured footage of the Hassan family in their home around the kitchen table. In "Mom," Hassan's daughter, Meg talked about her brother and how her mom instilled in them both the importance of finding solutions for challenges and working with your community to get things done. She also explained that this is what drives her mother. The video featured footage of Maggie Hassan pushing her son around their home and the family laughing together.

Kamala Harris's YouTube channel has over 35 videos, and she continued to focus on families, children, and women in many of them. She frequently discussed the role that growing up with parents in the civil rights movement had in shaping her commitment to civil rights and justice for all. She only has her husband mentioned in one video, when he is thanked by supporters at a campaign rally.[38] In "Kids for Kamala: Why We're Proud of Kamala," a woman of color and her daughter took turns discussing why they support Kamala (because she's a great person and helps her community in addition to fighting for education and justice reform). "It's Kamala" is a campaign video in which children took turns mispronouncing Harris's first name and discussing how she's in favor of education and affordable childcare, obviously seeking to elicit the opinion that Harris is caring and nurturing. In "#KidsForKamala: Catching Up with Kamala," Harris featured her niece and goddaughter interviewing her. Her niece was also the spokesperson for #KidsForKamala, a separate twitter profile in support of Harris. In the video the two discussed why it is important for young people to care about politics and campaigns, Harris discusses how her niece has given her advice and taught her dance moves. They also discussed the importance of equal pay and a plethora of other issues. Not having kids of her own, Harris seems to have been wanting to demonstrate that she is still nurturing and motherly, and thus fulfilling

38. In "Kamala Harris Speaks on Election Night"

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gender norms.

Loretta Sanchez's YouTube channel was not particularly prolific, as her campaign did not produce many advertisements, but she did mention her family and her parents in the few videos that she featured[39]. In "Líder" ("Leader"), a Spanish campaign advertisement she explained that, loosely translated, she will fight for immigration reform and that she is like her constituents and she will fight for them. In "Familia," another Spanish campaign advertisement, Sanchez said that she is the daughter of Mexican immigrants who worked hard to get ahead and she will fight for immigration reform. Family photos featuring her with her sister and parents flashed in the background of the advertisement. Sanchez also featured an endorsement from Bishop Mendez explaining how Sanchez comes from humble beginnings, and that she has always remembered her community and helped whenever possible. In "Loretta Sanchez addresses UCLA ROTC", Sanchez mentioned that her husband is a retired U.S. Army colonel who jumped out of planes for the 82nd and that her youngest step–son is a 2nd Lieutenant and her sons' grandfathers served in World War II and the Korean War. In "Loretta Sanchez Unveils Comprehensive Immigration Plan," Sanchez explains that her grandparents died when they were young in Mexico, and her parents came to the United States to find a better life. Her parents had her and her siblings educated in the United States, and they all received advanced degrees. She also asserted that her parents are the only parents in the history of the United States to send two daughters to the United States Congress at the same time. She argued that immigration is about family values and that we need to keep families together, out of moral necessity. She maintained that "others and their children should" be able to stay." In "Sanchez Sisters Makes History," Sanchez featured her mother and sister. In Spanish, her mother says that Linda, Loretta's sister, and Loretta are fighting for schools because education is the best road for a better future because she taught them and she has been a teacher for 18 years.

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39. Her channel features 16 videos

All candidates in this study made several mentions of their families in their campaign advertisements. They clearly showed that they fulfill societal norms when it comes to women being nurturing and caring. Furthermore, the candidates with biological children both made many more mentions of their families and children and discuss how their roles as mothers influences their political outlook. The content of each candidate's campaign advertisements provide support H1, H2, and H3.[40]

3.5   General Discussion

The analysis of the communications of all four candidates provides considerable support for H1, H2, and H3. Hypothesis 3 suggests that when women candidates expect only highly motivated, political interested viewers they will not spend much time devoted to discussing their families or positioning themselves as fulfilling gender norms. Hypothesis 3 is predicated on the work of Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) and Huddy and Capelos (2002), which suggests that voters who are highly politically engaged are unlikely to be swayed by affective appeals. My findings suggest that candidates may be aware that those highly motivated and politically engaged individuals are unlikely to be won over by emotional appeals that lack political substance, whereas those same appeals may be effective when used on less informed, or more casual voters. In debates, no candidate devoted considerable time to discussing their families, and this was true for even biological mothers. As H3 predicts, the candidates mention their families and gender norms more in their campaign websites than they did in the debates. Loretta Sanchez was the only candidate who did not have family among her top mentions in her campaign website, but she still mentioned her family and gender norms more in her website than she did during the debate. All four candidates focus on families and presenting a feminine or maternal image the most in their advertisements, as H3 suggests.

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40. Term frequency figures are not provided for campaign advertisements because of the lack of words spoken in the advertisements for all four candidates.

The communications of all four candidates suggest that as women candidates expect less interested and less motivated viewers, they will spend more time discussing families and gender norms than when the candidates expect only the most politically knowledgeable viewers.

Hypothesis 2 maintains that women will appeal to gender norms and stereotypes in their communications with voters. Previous work has found that women are likely to get a strategic advantage by staking out "women's issues" and by appearing conventionally feminine (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Kahn 19996) and women who are not seen as nurturing and compassionate are likely to be considered abnormal (Diekman and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004). Dittmar (2015) has also documented how campaign strategists are likely to advise women to demonstrate how being in Congress will not detract from their family life. The mothers in my sample appear to have taken the advice of such strategists and centered their families in their campaigns. Evidence that supports H2 can be found in all forms of communication for biological mothers, and in campaign websites and advertisements for non–biological mothers. In the debates, both mothers talked about how being a mother impacted the policies they cared most about. The mothers also discussed how they considered how proposals would affect families like their own, and mentioned how their families helped them understand the issues. Hassan discussed how advocating for her son helped her sympathize with how complicated health care and insurance policies can be for families to navigate. Ayotte discussed how her experience with student loans and her mother utilizing Social Security solidified her commitment to making college affordable and strengthening Social Security.

More evidence for H2 can be found in the campaign websites and advertisements of all four candidates. All candidates have feminine policy issues, or words pertaining to women and children among their top mentions. Furthermore, in both websites and advertisements each candidate positions herself as fighting for women, children, and families thereby conforming

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to ideas about women being natural carers and maternal, even if they do not have their own biological children.

The results presented in the previous section also demonstrate considerable support for Hypothesis 1, candidates who are mothers mention their families with greater frequency than candidates who are not biological mothers. Scholars have found that family is an important part of a candidate's image (Stach 2006), women are more likely to have their parenting scrutinized than men (Dolan 2014), and when women candidates discuss not being married or not being mothers they are rated unfavorably (Bell and Kaufman 2015; Deason, Greenlee, and Langner 2015). My results suggest that women candidates, knowing that mothers are preferred to non–mothers, are likely to act strategically and emphasize their motherhood status. In the debates, both mothers mentioned their families and their children, albeit briefly, and both non–biological mothers only mentioned their families in their opening statements. Although all candidates discussed family in their websites, mothers spent more time discussing *their* own families rather than families in general. Mothers used their websites to discuss in great detail how their families and their children made them understand the importance of various policy issues. Each mother devoted at full advertisement to talking about their children and their families. Both candidates without biological children spent more time creating a generally compassionate and competent image, rather than focusing on their roles as a wife, in Harris's case, or as a wife and step–mother in Sanchez's case.

These results suggest that candidates who are biological mothers are more likely to speak about their families than female candidates who are not biological mothers, but non–biological mothers still attempt to demonstrate a fulfillment of gender norms through the issues they discuss most. Additionally, the less political knowledge the audience is expected to have for a given form of communication, the more candidates are likely to emphasize their families and their fulfillment of traditional gender norms. Gender stereotype fulfillment and considerations of family were an important topic in both of these Senate races, which can

be clearly seen by analyzing their debate performances, campaign websites, and campaign advertisements.

The results in this chapter are in agreement with previous literature and provide more evidence that a double bind exists for women candidates. Specifically, this chapter provides evidence to suggest that women candidates are aware of the double bind and navigate it in their own way, depending on their own family and life circumstances. This chapter adds to the existing literature by uncovering evidence of a triple bind, in addition to the double bind. These four candidate do not only present themselves as feminine and hardworking, but also as motherly and/or family oriented. The triple bind manifests differently depending on a candidate's personal life and areas of policy expertise, but all four women in this sample show a cognizance of presenting themselves as feminine and motherly and/or family oriented in addition to being tenacious and assertive candidates.

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CHAPTER 4

MARRIAGE, CHILDREN, AND GENDER: THE EFFECTS OF CANDIDATE SOCIAL IDENTITIES ON VOTE CHOICE

Gender and its impact on elections in the United States continues to be a topic of immense importance within the study of American politics. One need only consider the 2016 presidential election in the U.S. for an illustration of the continued salience of sexism and gender stereotypes. Mentions of both presidential candidates' families, and how they did or did not reflect traditional values were also prominent in the election. Since 2016, more women have been signing up for candidate workshops and filing paperwork to run in elections as a result of frustrations with the political climate, and understanding the role of gender and family in American elections continues to be a pressing and timely issue.

Scholars have been interested in the general effects of gender on elections for many decades, researching whether or not voters apply gender stereotypes to women and men who run for office or whether being a woman can be an asset when running in particular types of elections,[1] among numerous other topics. Although the findings regarding the effect of gender on vote choice are somewhat mixed, in general scholars agree that most voters are unlikely to refuse to support women candidates simply because they are women (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014a; Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Sanbonmatsu 2002).[2] Even if voters are unlikely to punish women candidates simply for being candidates, this does not mean that gender has no role in vote choice. Gender is not an isolated variable about an individual, but an important social category wrapped up in gender roles, socialization, and different social expectations. Studying the effects of gender on vote choice should involve thinking about

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1. See Banaji, Hardin, and Rothman 1993; Brooks 2013; Diekman and Eagly 2000; Sczesny et al. 2004 for examples of seminal work on gender stereotypes and vote choice.

2. Most vote choice studies are self–reports of willingness to support particular candidates, so the findings of Streb and colleagues (2008) that hypothetical studies may over–inflate the general population's willingness to support a woman running for president are a particularly relevant counterpoint.

how gender impacts other social identities.

The results of this study suggest that thinking of gender in isolation misses a significant amount of its effects and relevance on vote choice. Candidate gender and family roles are among the most common traits remembered by respondents in this study, and are most likely to be used by respondents to describe the candidates they were asked to evaluate. In determining the favorability of particular candidates, the effects of a candidate's gender depended on the candidate's parental status as well. Meaning that respondents did not automatically rate candidates with children more favorably, and in fact the effect of a candidate having children, particularly young children, varied by gender. Women with young children were rated less favorably by respondents than men with young children. However, when it came to respondents actually choosing which candidate to support, the effects of parental status varied by gender only among Republican respondents. These results suggest that examining the more subtle effects of gender, particularly those related to gender roles, may provide a better understanding of the effects of gender on political behavior and vote choice.

Understanding how gender may subtly influence political behavior and vote choice may help to explain why there are not more women serving in Congress. Gender has an acute effect on how individuals move through the world and are treated by others, and can influence how other characteristics or personality traits are perceived. Society places distinct expectations on individuals of different genders, and political candidates of different genders (MacKinnon 1989; Okin 1991; Pateman 1988). Individuals of different genders are still generally expected to inhabit different social roles. One of the most difficult expectations women candidates face is being married and having children. Voters prefer candidates with traditional family roles (i.e. spouse and parent), but traditionally being a husband vs. a wife or a father vs. mother are not equal comparisons or equal time commitments for candidates. Women still spend more hours on family work then men, and so when voters express a preference for candidates with stereotypical family structures they are actually expressing a much

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more challenging expectation for women candidates (Bianchi 2006; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006; Lawless and Fox 2004). Voters prefer women (and men) to be married and have children, but given gender disparities when it comes to sharing family duties this expectations is considerably more challenging for women than men (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Teelee, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018).

Although popular rhetoric may suggest that expectations of strict adherence to gender roles are less common now than twenty years ago, there is evidence to suggest that voters still prefer candidates than can demonstrate some adherence to traditional gender role norms. Voters expect women candidates to demonstrate that they are feminine and maternal and thus living up to typical gender norms (Carroll and Fox 2014). At the same time, voters also evaluate women candidates for public office for their competency and their ability to aggressively fight for their constituents (Brooks 2013; Huddy and Capelos 2002). In this way, women candidates face a double bind: appearing traditionally feminine and unobjectionably female often comes with the perception of being unable to assertively tackle tough policy issues. The double bind (Jamieson 1995) that women candidates face when running for election has been well documented within women and politics literatures, but such studies have not considered how parenthood further complicates the original binds. Where parenthood is concerned, women must demonstrate that they are involved and nurturing mothers without being perceived as too preoccupied with motherhood and their children to be dedicated politicians. Given that expectations surrounding fatherhood are less time consuming than motherhood, there is not much of a risk that fathers will be perceived as not having enough time for politics. Voters are likely to generally prefer candidates of both genders to be married and have children, however voters may also worry that a married woman with children may have less time to devote to being a legislator than a similarly situated man. Conversely, voters may worry that if a married woman with children serves in Congress that she is taking time away from being home with her family.

In order to assess the effects of gender on elections in the U.S., one must consider the effects of family. To do so, I conducted a survey experiment that asked respondents to evaluate hypothetical candidates of different genders and with different family characteristics. There is considerable reason to suggest that candidates of both genders will be evaluated favorably if they are married and have children. However, because being married and having children comes with different expectations for women and men there is also reason to believe that the effects of having children, and having children of different ages, differs depending on if the candidate is a woman or a man. People with different identities are subject to different assumptions and standards when it comes to gender and family norms, and so it is necessary to consider gender, race, and sexuality when measuring the effects of family and gender on candidate evaluations.

During the survey, respondents were asked to evaluate two candidates running in a primary for the U.S. House of Representatives.[3] Each candidate's gender, marital status, parental status, custody status (where applicable), sexuality, race, and age were randomized so that respondents evaluated a wide range of candidates with different types of families. After choosing between two candidates, respondents rated the candidates using a feeling thermometer and were also asked to describe their general impression of each candidate. Women with different identities are often subject to different assumptions and standards when it comes to gender and family norms, and the conjoint design of the experiment takes a multifaceted approach to measuring how gender and family affect candidate evaluations. The results are highly suggestive that gender and family characteristics have a significant effect on evaluations of individuals who run for Congress. More importantly, the effect of a candidate's gender and family characteristics differs depending on the gender of the candidate.

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3. Respondents were pre–sorted by which political party they most identified with (Democratic or Republican), and were told they would be evaluating a hypothetical primary for that party.

4.1   Gender and vote choice

Understanding which candidate profiles are likely to elicit the most favorable reactions from voters is key to understanding what types of candidates are likely to be successful when running for political office. In the U.S. many individuals choose not to be particularly informed about politics because of disinterest, apathy, or for other reasons (Converse 1964; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996). Turnout for elections hovers around 50 to 60 percent of the population (Pew Research Center 2018). When voters do make it to the polls, their decisions are rarely the result of hours of researching the policy positions and job performance of candidates for political office. Instead voters rely shortcuts and cues to make their decisions. These shortcuts can consist of taking the advice of a particularly informed friend, news organization, or occupational or social organization, but often voters are guided simply by their political party (Lewis–Beck et al. 2008).

Political party is not the only shortcut voters use to make their decisions, and it is explicitly irrelevant during primaries. Some shortcuts that voters rely on are related to the biographical or identity characteristics of candidates. A candidate's gender, race, sexuality, or other characteristics influence the overall impression voters may have of a candidate (Funk 1996; Hart, Ottati, and Krumdick 2011 2011; Rahn et al. 1990; Sullivan and Arbuthnot 2009). These studies also argue that the less knowledge a voter has about a particular candidate, the more likely they are to use shortcuts in order to make political decisions. The demographic characteristics of candidates who run for office can impact how likely the candidates are to ultimately be elected to political office.

Gender is a highly powerful priming tool that affects how information about a candidate is processed and evaluated. Most studies that have attempted to measure the effect of gender on voter evaluations of candidates have focused on considering whether individuals are generally more likely to support male or female candidates or whether or not gender stereotypes still play a role in candidate evaluations, and results of such studies have been

relatively mixed. Some evidence has suggested that gender is not likely to have as large of an impact of vote choice as partisanship or incumbency (Dolan 2011, Dolan 2014a; Dolan and Lynch 2014; Hayes 2005, 2011; Hayes and Lawless 2015; McDermott 1997). However, studies that ask respondents to evaluate hypothetical candidates in which only gender is manipulated have found large gender discrepancies, with female candidates being rated less favorably than male candidates (Brooks 2013; Hayes, Lawless, and Baitinger 2014). Many of these studies look only at the effects of candidate gender broadly, rather than considering some of the ways in which gender interacts with other candidate characteristics, like family. Gender and family characteristics are tied to ideas about proper social roles and social expectations for individuals, which are greatly influenced by gender stereotypes. There is a lack of evidence that considers how social role expectations and a candidate's family characteristics may interact with their gender and influence how candidates are perceived and judged by potential voters. Since the design of this experiment allows for varying parental information, in addition to gender, this study provides a more of an examination of how social role expectations may affect vote choice. Voters may expect a woman with two young children to be constrained differently than a man with two adult children, and the survey design of this experiment allows for the examination of such differences.

Gender is likely to have a greater influence on vote choice in primary elections because voters are unable to rely on other cues, and because of other particularities of primary elections. Previous studies have found convincing evidence that the presence of a women candidate in a primary tends to result in a larger number of contenders and men are more likely to have uncontested primary races (Lawless and Pearson 2008; Palmer and Simon 2006; Milyo and Schosberg 2000). Party leaders remain hesitant to recruit women for office, due in large part to the believed uncertainty surrounding the electability of a woman as opposed to a man (Sanbonmatsu 2006). African Americans, liberals, feminists, and individuals with high levels of education are those most likely to vote for women, so it is unsurprising that

Democratic women typically fair much better in primary races than Republican women (Dolan 2004; Shames 2015). For instance, in 2016 Democratic women won 64 percent of primaries they ran in and Republican women won only 47 percent of primaries in which they competed (Center for American Women and Politics 2016). Some of this discrepancy may be because, although candidates may be able to overcome gender stereotypes, many individuals have baseline preferences of candidates of a particular gender and are predisposed to support either men or women candidates (Sanbonmatsu 2002).

The salience of gender stereotypes is not automatic, and the circumstances surrounding elections matter (Bauer 2015). Whether or not gender stereotypes influence candidate evaluations depends on a given electoral context (Dolan 2014b; Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2016). The existence of situational cues in a campaign, like a candidate frequently being seen with their young children or a candidate who is pregnant, may make voters more likely to rely on gender stereotypes in their evaluations of candidates, which suggests the importance of family presentation in shaping voters' evaluations of candidates. Expectations surrounding maternal responsibilities increase the salience of gender stereotyping in candidate evaluations. Child rearing, as part of gender roles, is associated with distinct personality traits like nurturing and being compassionate (Deaux and Lewis 1984; Eagly and Steffen 1984; Hoffman and Hurst 1990). Gender stereotypes and gender roles are directly related to norms surrounding ideal family dynamics and family characteristics. Certain gender roles, like being a wife and mother, can only be fulfilled with a particular type of family. Although the impact of gender on vote choice is an often studied topic, the effects of candidate family characteristics and their connection to gender and gender norms are rarely examined.

4.2   Gender, Family, and Vote Choice

Studies that consider the effects of gender and family on vote choice are particularly timely given relatively recent changes in expectations surrounding parenthood, and motherhood

specifically. The influx of parenting blogs, the additional emphasis placed on developmental milestones in children, and pressure created from documenting parenthood through social media has created a culture of "intensive parenting" (adapted from "intensive mothering" (Hays 1996)), describing the cultural pressure for mothers to spend a disproportionate amount of time, energy, and money raising their children (Shirani, Henwood, and Coltart 2012). These societal pressures have resulted in men and women spending more time involved in childcare than their parents or grandparents, despite popular rhetoric about the more "family oriented" past (Sayer, Bianchi, and Robinson 2004). Although fathers have increased the time they spend on caring for their children, the brunt of increased expectations surrounding parenthood has fallen on women, as empirical work suggests fathers remain insulated form societal pressures related to parenting (Shirani, Henwood, and Coltart 2012). Mothers remain the ones most likely to be scrutinized for their parenting practices, and remain the ones most likely to prioritize their parenting responsibilities.

Evidence for continued unequal expectations when it comes to parenting can also be found in large, nationally representative surveys of adults reporting on the labor they perform in their households. Not only are women the ones doing the lion's share of parenting in most households, most adults say this is something to be expected and desired. When a family has children, the majority of adults in the U.S. believe that it is best if mothers work part–time while fathers continue to work full–time (Pew Research Center 2014; Pew Research Center 2013). Furthermore, only 34 percent of adults say that kids will be just as well off if their mom works compared to 76 percent who say kids will be just as well off if their dad works (Pew Research Center 2014). On average, mothers spend almost twice the amount of time on housework and childcare as their husbands (on average 28 hours per week for women vs. 16 hours per week for men), even stay–at–home dads with working wives spend only marginally more time on housework and childcare than their employed wives (Pew Research Center 2013). When fathers stay home to care for their children, it is typically due

to illness, disability, or joblessness, which is in stark contrast to the 73 percent of mothers at home specifically to care for their home or family (Pew Research Center June 2014). In households where both the mother and father work full time, mothers are also more likely to be the parents to take care of sick children and manage the children's schedules (Pew Research Center 2015).[4] Day–to–day parenting remains primarily the job of moms. Even in households where both parents work full time, most parents say that the majority of parenting responsibilities falls to mothers (Pew Research Center 2015). National surveys and research studies both suggest that the time commitment involved in being a mother vs. being a father remain drastically unequal.

Expectations that women will have children and be mothers, and expectations for the behavior of mothers in general has ramifications for candidates. The division of labor at home and expectations surrounding social roles has direct consequences for political involvement and strength of involvement, and should be regarded as a *political* and not just *social* concern (Coltrane 2000; Gary 1999; Phillips 1991). As long as it remains expected that women will be primary parents, primarily responsible for the private life of a family, women in politics will face social binds, wherein women have to show that they ascribe to traditional roles of being a mother while also being tireless politicians. Women politicians will be expected to live up to expectations as primary parents, while also devoting the necessary time and energy to being devoted public servants.

Expectations surrounding family and motherhood influence the how women politicians are treated and expected to behave within the political arena. Female candidates are more likely to center their family in their interactions with potential voters, perhaps because they know that they are more likely to have their family commented on by the press and evaluated by voters than candidates who are men (Banwart, Bystrom, and Robertson 2001; Fox and

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4. In these households, 54 percent said the woman was more likely to manage the children's schedules, compared to 6 percent who said the man was more likely to manage the children's schedules. 47 percent said the woman was more likely to look after sick children, compared to 6 percent who said the man was more likely to look after sick children

Lawless 2014). Voters are more likely to recall a female candidate's family and appearance than her campaign activities, whereas they remember a male candidate's campaign activities (Hitchon and Chang 1995). Although news outlets and voters may meticulously judge a female candidate's parenting practices, the parenting choices that male candidates make are unlikely to be scrutinized at all (Dolan 2014a). Gender role expectations in general may be less diametrically divided than in past decades, but when it comes to parenting, women candidates are more likely to be expected to show voters that they are devoted mothers in addition to competent legislators.

Family and motherhood expectations also impact how likely women are to run for office, when women run for office, and how likely they are to be successful. Voters prefer women candidates to be married and have children, and when women candidates reference non–marriage and non–motherhood they are rated unfavorably (Bell and Kaufmann 2015; Deason, Greenlee, and Langner 2015; Stalsburg 2010). Women are least likely to be interested in politics when they are most likely to give birth (when they are 20–35), a time period that is typically crucial for candidate development and when individuals with political aspirations are most likely to begin attempting to make important connections and become involved with politics (Quaranta and Dotti Sani 2018). Some women choose to delay political careers in order to be home with their children and have less taxing careers than members of Congress do when their children are young, and women who run for political office and serve in Congress are on average older than their male counterparts, and have older children (Burrell 2014; Carroll and Fox 2014). However, women who are married are also less likely to express political ambition or a desire to run for office (Crowder–Meyer 2017). Voters prefer candidates with stereotypical families, but given the longer hours women spend caring for children and maintaining family life, this puts a decidedly heavier burden on women then men when they run for office (Bianchi 2006; Lawless and Fox 2004; Iversen and Rosenbluth 2006; Teele, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018). Although voters prefer candidates with families,

voters may also be likely to infer that women candidates will inevitably have less time for political work if they have families and are mothers, hence the effect of a woman having a family is not as clearcut as it may appear at first blush, and warrants further study.

4.3   Method

Previous studies have found mixed results when it comes to estimating the effects of candidate gender on vote choice and have rarely considered gender as it relates to social roles and family. In this study I examine how gender and social roles may influence vote choice and general opinions of candidates. In order to measure the effects of gender and family, I consider not only which candidates are preferred, but also a candidate's general favorability and the impression respondents have of each type of candidate.

The data for this study was collected using an online survey experiment conducted in June 2018. The sample of U.S. adults was fielded by Qualtrics according to fixed demographic quotas so that the total sample matches the adult U.S. Census population on gender, race, and age. Respondents answered demographic questions and a series of questions about net neutrality before being asked to evaluate two candidates running for Congress.[5]A total of 3,028 respondents completed the experiment, which included attention checks at the beginning and end of the survey. Each respondent evaluated a pair of candidate profiles, for a total of 6,056 evaluated pairings. Descriptive statistics for the sample, stratified by candidate gender and party, can be found in Table 4.1. Respondents were sorted so that they were evaluating two candidates from the political party closest to their personal beliefs.[6] To remove the effects of partisan cures, respondents were told that the two candidates were

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5. The survey was a cooperative study with two separate sets of substantive questions following demographic questions. The net neutrality section is unrelated to the present analysis.

6. This was accomplished using a separate question from the partisanship and political ideology questions respondents answered at the beginning of the survey. Respondents were asked which party they most identified with and were forced to choose either the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. Respondents only evaluated candidates in primaries of the political party closest to their own in order to account for the more than half of states in which at least one political party uses closed primaries.

Table 4.1: Demographic statistics, 2018 Candidate Family Study

Variable	Woman Republican	Woman Democrat	Man Republican	Man Democrat	All
Gender					
Male	57.1%	42.9%	55.0%	45.9%	50.1%
Female	42.9	56.9	44.9	54.0	49.8
Prefer not to answer	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Partisanship					
Democrat	0.9%	74.1%	0.7%	73.6%	40.0%
Republican	72.0	0.3	70.8	0.4	33.3
Independent	10.0	9.2	11.1	9.6	9.9
None	17.2	16.4	17.4	16.4	16.8
Race					
White	87.4%	60.7%	83.9%	61.0%	72.3%
Black/African American	1.4	16.7	2.6	15.2	9.5
Asian	2.6	4.7	4.1	6.1	4.5
Latino	3.5	7.2	3.3	7.8	5.6
Native American	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.6
Pacific Islander	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.2
Multiracial	4.0	8.6	4.8	8.8	6.7
Other	0.5	1.2	0.22	0.6	0.6
Marital Status					
Married	53.2%	40.2%	51.4%	39.9%	45.7%
Divorced	10.7	12.1	11.2	9.2	10.8
Separated	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4
Widowed	6.0	5.6	5.8	5.4	5.6
Single	28.5	40.7	30.1	44.2	36.4
R Has Children					
Yes	63.4%	52.3%	61.3%	50.2%	56.4%
No	36.7	47.7	38.7	49.9	43.6
Median Age					
	50	43	49	42	46
N	1416	1637	1615	1388	6056

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running against each other in a Republican (or Democratic) primary for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Respondents were asked to choose between the two candidates, each of which had a profile randomly generated from a set of seven attributes. Attribute order was also randomized for each pairing so as not to bias respondents towards thinking a particular attribute was more important than any other. Candidate sex, marital status, parental status, custody status (where applicable), homelife,[7] race, and age were varied for each candidate.[8] All levels of each attribute can be found in Table 4.2 and a sample pair of candidates can be found in Table 4.3.

The descriptions were meant to depict candidates with a variety of types of families. Age of candidate was varied from 40s to 80s in order to be able to have candidates in the study that were parents of young children, parents of adult children, and grandparents. Candidate race and sexuality were also varied because expectations when it comes to gender and family vary among individuals of different races and those with different sexualities. Candidate profiles represent candidates with different variations of attributes most related to conceptions of a candidate's family life. Respondents were purposefully not given information about candidate issue stances, or incumbency in order to focus on measuring the impact of family characteristics and gender on vote choice.

In addition to choosing between two candidates, respondents were asked to give their gen-

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7. The attribute "homelife" was created in order to include sexuality in a manner most reflective of how candidates talk about their sexuality (i.e. Heterosexual candidates are unlikely to say, "I'm straight," rather voters find out the candidate is heterosexual because they are married to an individual of the opposite gender. "Proud member of the LGBTQ community" is included so that the sexuality of single individuals can still be detectable.

8. Whenever possible, individual attribute levels were equally likely for all candidates (e.g. A quarter of the candidate profiles created were Asian, a quarter were Latino, a quarter were Black/African American, and a quarter were white). However some candidate profile combinations were restricted due to age or marital status (e.g. No candidates were 81 with two young children, no candidates were 41 with two children and two grandchildren, and no one besides divorced candidates with young children had a custody status that was anything other than NA). Furthermore, all candidates who were divorced had young children in order to have enough candidates for whom custody status was not simply NA. A complete list of restrictions placed on candidate profiles can be found in the Appendix.

Table 4.2: Candidate Attributes

Attributes	Values
Sex	Woman
	Man
Marital Status	Married
	Divorced
	Single
Children	No children
	2 young children
	2 adult children
	2 children and 2 grandchildren
Parental Custody	NA
	Full
	Shared
	None
Homelife	Lives alone
	Lives with wife
	Lives with husband
	Proud member of the LGBTQ community
Race	White/Caucasian
	Black/African American
	Asian
	Latino
Age	42
	63
	81

	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Sex	Man	Woman
Marital Status	Married	Divorced
Children	2 adult children	2 young children
Parental Custody	-	Shared
Homelife	Lives with husband	Lives alone
Race	Black/African American	White/Caucasian
Age	63	42

eral impression of each candidate using a blank text box. Respondents were also instructed to evaluate each candidate using a feeling thermometer on a 0–100 scale, with 0 being very unfavorable and 100 being very favorable. Respondents were given separate screens for choosing between each candidate, giving their general impression of each candidate, and using the feeling thermometers. Respondents gave their opinions on the same two candidates across all three forms of measurement and candidate profiles were repeated on each of the three screens.[9]

4.4   Results

Candidate family characteristics and candidate gender both impacted how respondents evaluated candidates in the study in a non–additive way. The effects of candidate gender and gender roles related to children and family cannot be neatly separated from one another. Respondents generally regard candidates being married and having children positively, but a candidate's gender and age of children complicate how these candidate characteristics are received. The descriptions respondents gave for the candidates and the favorability scores for the candidates, support the assertion that candidate gender and candidate family charac-

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9. Respondents were asked to choose between the two candidates on one screen, provide a text response of their general impression of each candidate on the next screen, and rate each candidate using the feeling thermometer on the third screen.

teristics impacted overall evaluations of candidates. The results also suggest that the extent to which gender and parental status affect evaluations of candidates vary by political party of respondents and candidates. Among Republicans, candidates who are men with children are more likely to be selected by respondents to support in the primary for the House of Representatives, whereas women candidates do not receive an electoral benefit from being parents. Democratic respondents however, favor parents, regardless of candidate gender.

4.4.1   General impressions of candidates

Before attempting to measure the effects of a candidate's gender and family, it is necessary to consider how influential these characteristics are when it comes to how respondents think about candidates. While looking at the profiles of the two candidates running in a hypothetical primary election, respondents were asked to provide their general impression of each candidate. Respondents were required to write more than ten characters about each of the candidates, but were otherwise unconstrained in their responses.[10] The open–ended question allows for an evaluation of what words and ideas were most often used to describe particular types of candidates. The responses allow for insight into what candidate qualities were most influential in creating each respondent's general impression of each candidate.

In order to understand how gender may have influenced what words were most commonly used to describe candidates of different genders, I divide the general impressions given by each respondent by candidate gender. Other candidate attributes are equally distributed across women and men candidates (i.e. in the sample there are roughly the same amount of heterosexual men and heterosexual women, the same amount of Latino men and Latina women, the same amount of women with two young children and men with two young children, etc.). Figure 4.1 depicts the twenty most common words used to describe men

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10. Less than 1 percent of respondents wrote the minimum amount about the candidates (8 characters), the median text response was characters 41 characters, and the maximum response was 757 characters.

Figure 4.1: Top 20 Words Used to Describe Men and Women Candidates
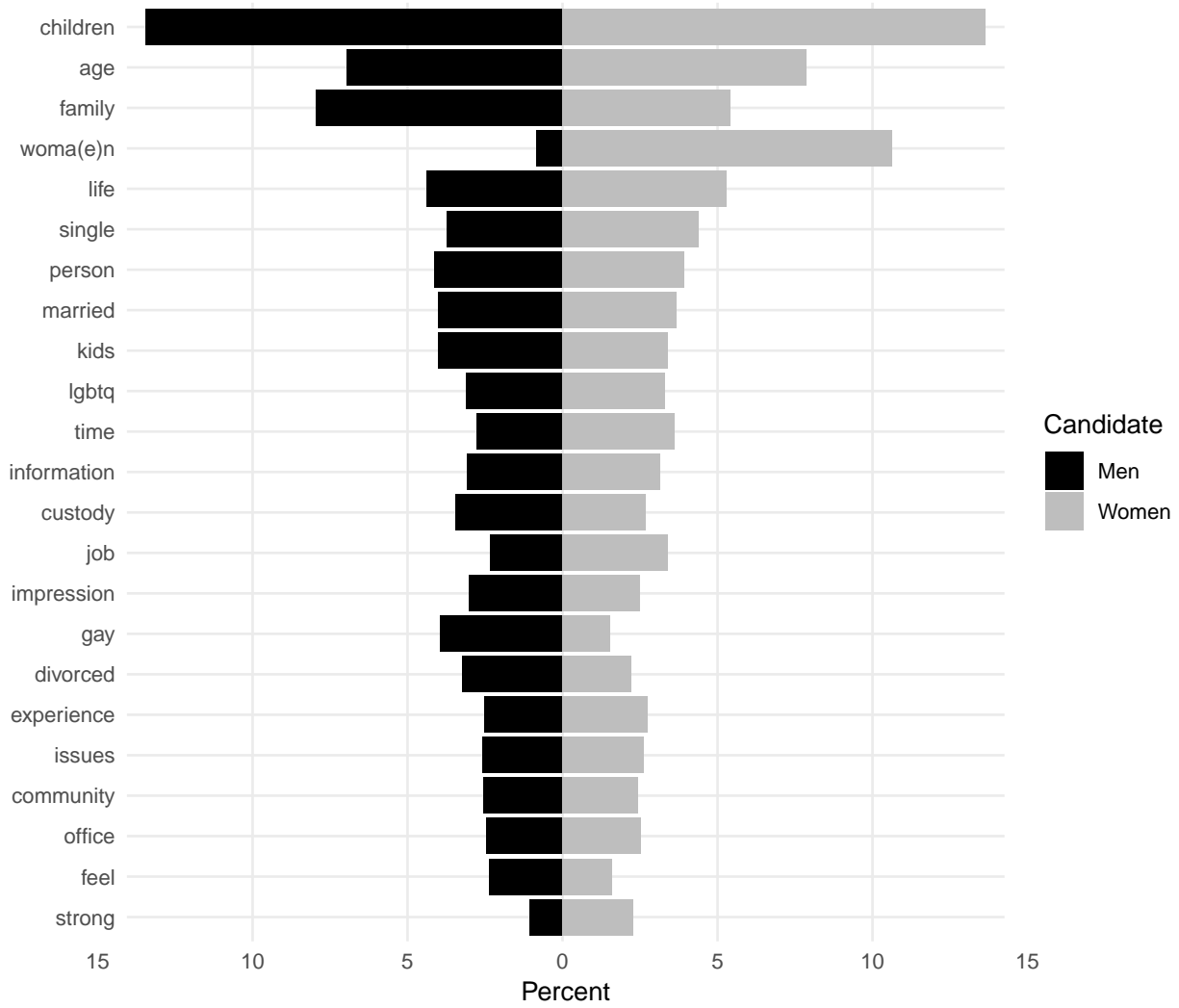
and women candidates.[11] Regardless of candidate gender, children, family, and kids are all among the most frequent words used to describe candidates.[12] Additionally, after children and family there is a considerable drop–off in the percentage of respondents that use any of the most common words to describe women or men candidates. Although there are relatively similar results for men and women when it comes to words specifically related to family and children, more than 10 percent of respondents mention a woman candidate's gender when describing their general impression of the candidate. Men candidates on the other hand do not have any allusion to gender among the most common words used to describe them.

Since respondents only evaluated candidates of their own party, it is important to also consider if these results really only reflect one political party, or if the results hold across party lines. Figure 4.2 shows that the results do in fact hold for both Republican respondents describing their candidates and Democratic respondents describing their candidates. Children and family are among the top mentions for both Republicans and Democrats, as is gender. Suggesting that regardless of party, a candidate's children, family, and gender all factored heavily in the general impression respondents had of candidates.

Another way to examine how respondents may have had different impressions of candidates based on gender is to consider the differences with which certain key words were used to describe women and men candidates. In selecting key words I focus on words that denote gender roles (mother, father, woman, man), "family words" (children, kids, family), gendered personality traits (strong, compassionate, nurturing, caring, stable, responsible), and words related to other social identities (race[13] and lgbtq[14]). Figure 4.3 illustrates the

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11. Percentages are the average amount of respondents that mentioned each word (e.g. Almost 15 percent of respondents mentioned the word children when describing their impression of women candidates).

12. I remind the reader that respondents were unconstrained in their responses and that there were 3,053 descriptions of women candidates, thus even small percentages represent a sizable number of respondents from the sample.

13. Included in the counts for race are usage of the words white, black, asian, and latino.

14. Included in the counts for lgbtq are usage of the words gay and homosexual.

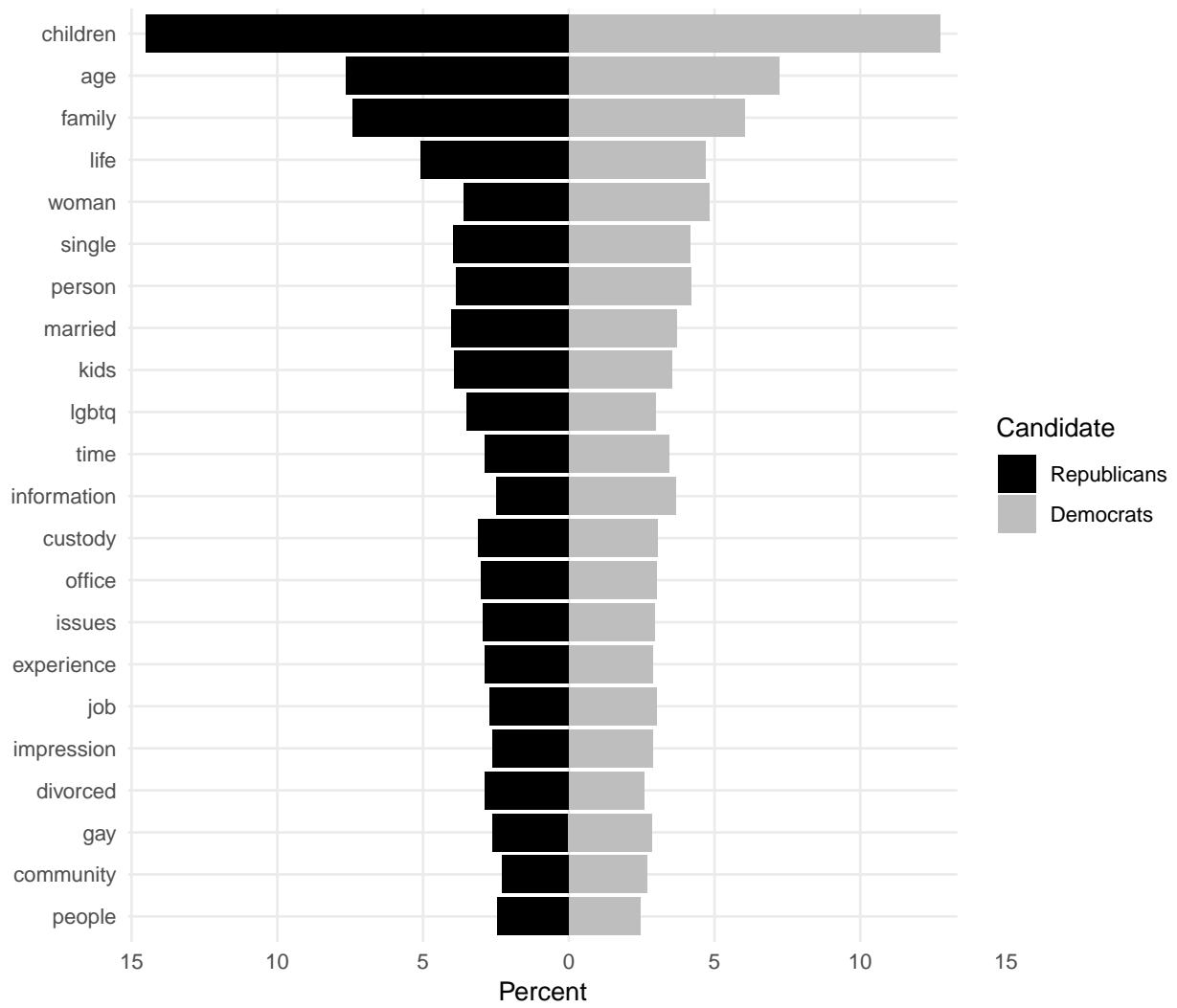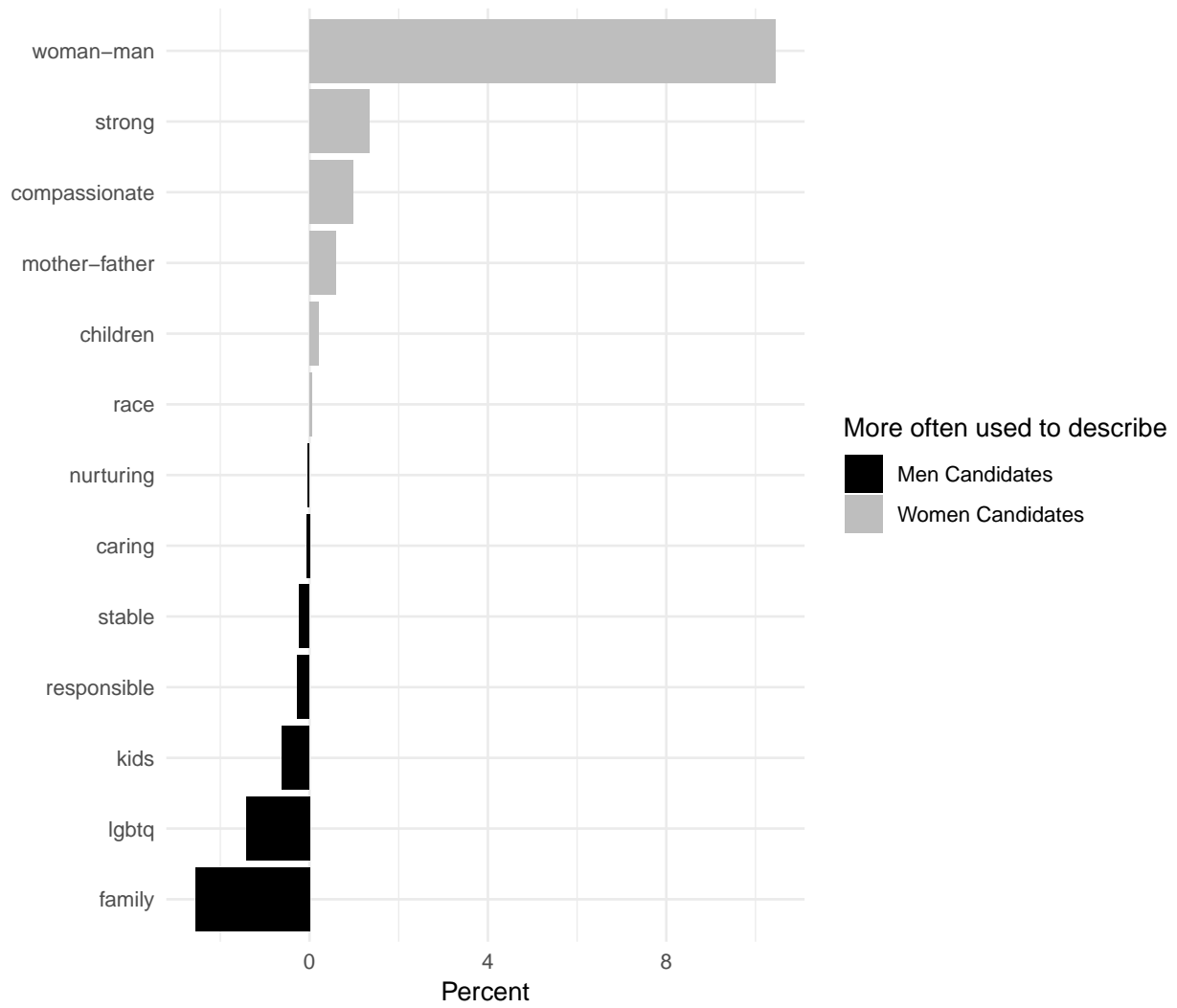*Figure 4.2: Top 20 Words Used to Describe Republican and Democratic Candidates*

Figure 4.3: Difference in Average Usage to Describe Men and Women Candidates

difference in average usage of meaningful words used to describe women and men candidates. Figure 4.3 shows that although children, kids, and family were often used to describe both women and men candidates, respondents mention children more when describing women candidates and respondents mention family and kids more when describing men candidates (though these differences are rather small). Respondents mentioned sexuality more when giving their general impression of men candidates than women candidates and reference race with almost equal frequency when discussing women and men candidates. Figure 4.3 reinforces how much more often respondents referenced the gender of women candidates than men candidates.

Although the most common words used to describe candidates of different genders are similar across party lines, Figure 4.4 does reveal some key differences. The percentage differences are small, but Democrats are more often described by their gender or race than Republicans. Republicans are more likely to be described by mentioning the candidate's family, children, or sexuality than Democrats.

4.4.2   Favorability of candidates

In addition to describing their general impression of each candidate they were asked to evaluate, respondents reported how favorable they found each candidate using a feeling thermometer. Modeling the variance in feeling thermometer scores for candidates with different characteristics allows for an examination of how different biographical characteristics affect overall favorability ratings. Figure 4.5 displays OLS regressions for the feeling thermometer scores, treated here as if continuous given the one hundred point scale, and shown with 95 percent confidence intervals.[15] The results support the conclusion that gender and family influence how respondents evaluate candidates for office. Model 1 includes only variables about the political candidate being evaluated, Model 2 adds an interaction effect between

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15. Full regression table results can be found in Table A1 the Appendix.

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Figure 4.4: Difference in Average Usage to Describe Republican and Democratic Candidates
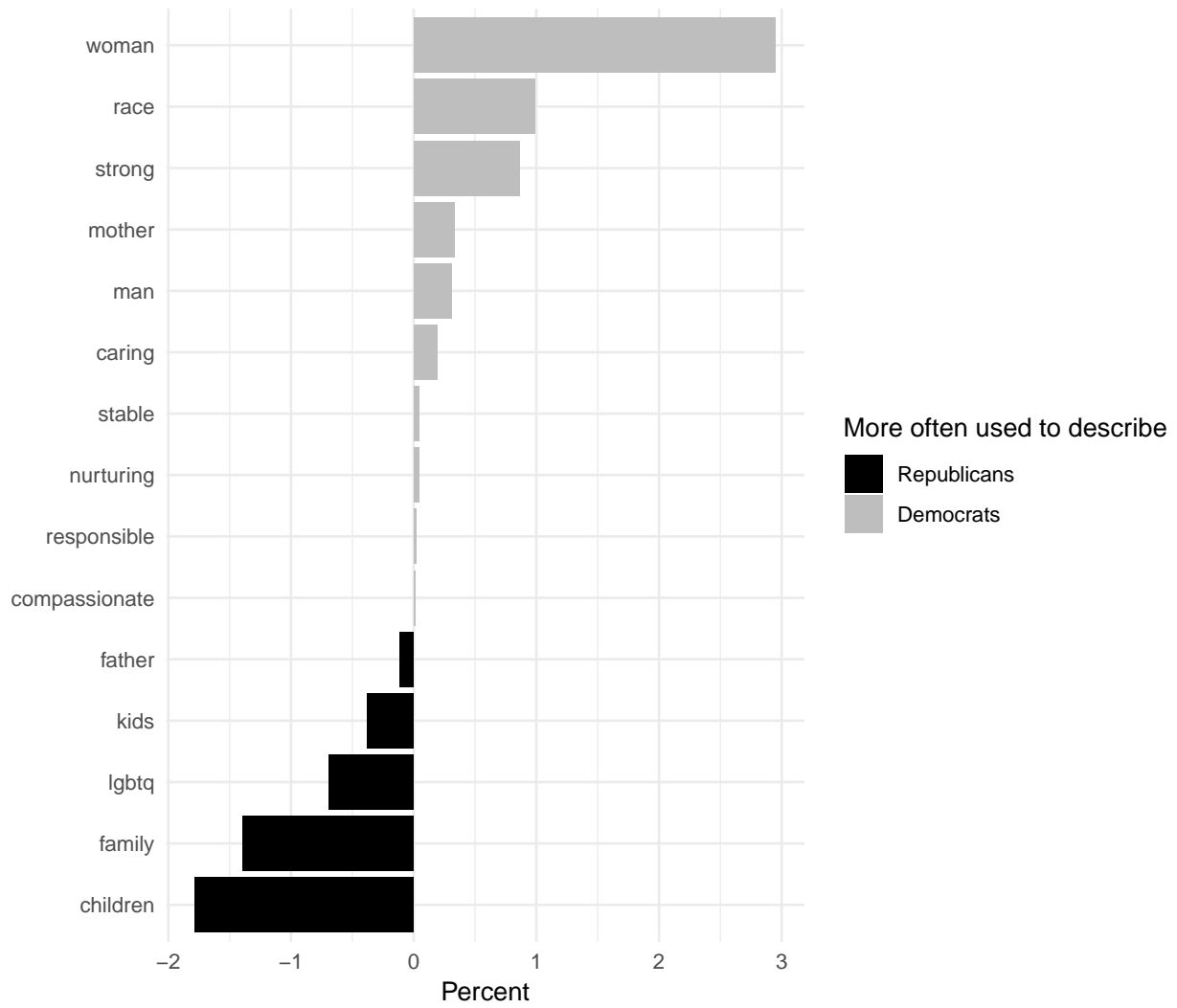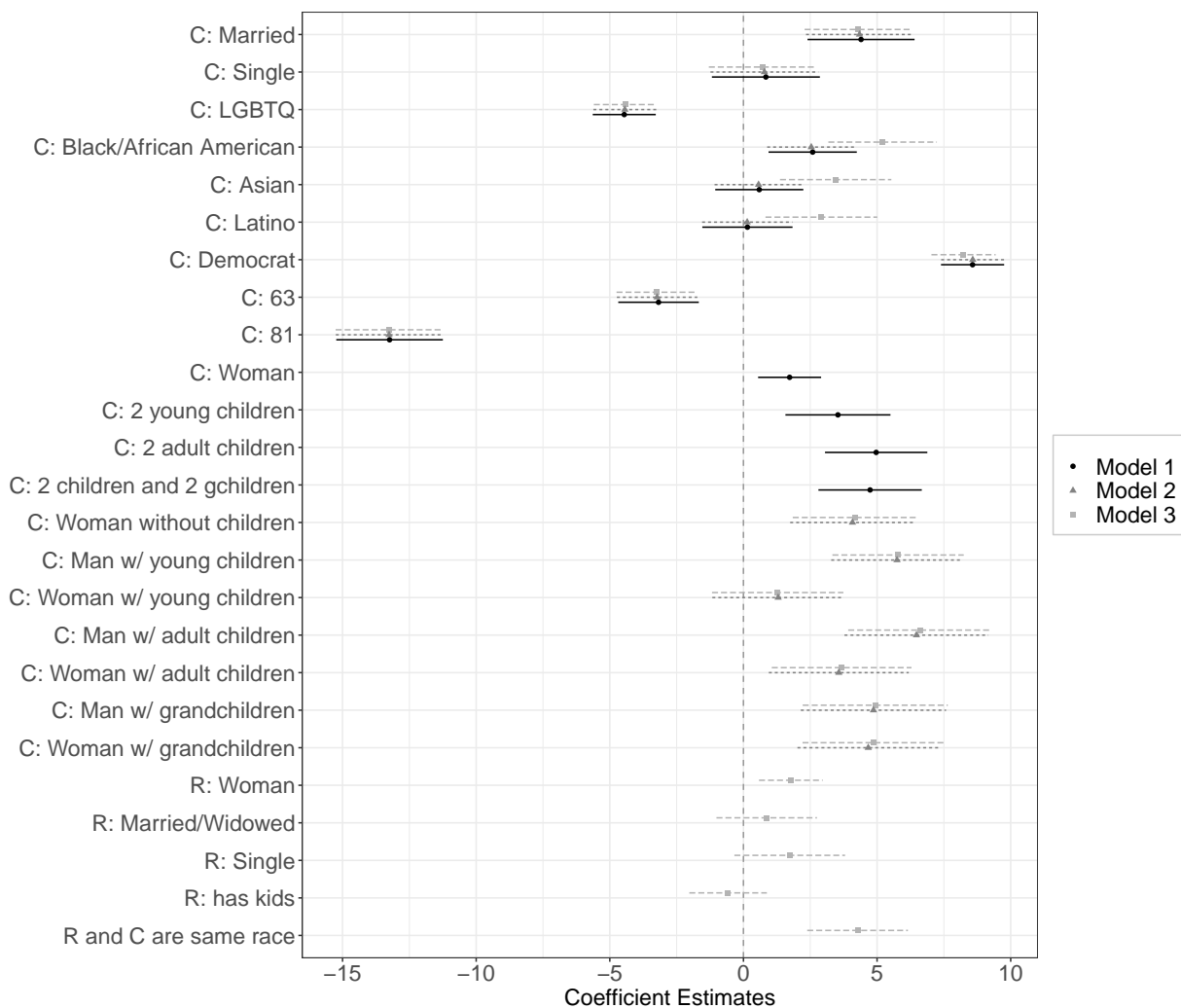
Figure 4.5: Feeling Thermometer Scores

C is divorced, C is white, C is 42, C has no children, C is a man with no children, and R is Divorced/Separated are the omitted baseline groups.

candidate gender and candidate children, and Model 3 adds variables about the individual respondents.

Figure 4.5 demonstrates how gender and family affect a candidate's overall favorability among respondents. Model 1 is the most basic model which considers candidate characteristic effects separately and in a strictly additive fashion. Model 1 shows that respondents reacted most favorably to candidates that were married, heterosexual, young, had children, and were women. Candidate race is a noisy variable in Model 1 without consistent effects. Additionally, Democratic respondents rated their candidates more favorably than Republican candidates.

Model 1 suggests that regardless of other characteristics, respondents like candidates that are married and have children, and they actually prefer women candidates over men. However, given expectations surrounding parenthood and gendered division of labor within the home, there is reason to believe that the combination of gender and parental status likely has more than an additive effect on candidate evaluations. Model 2 considers candidate gender and parental status as inseparable characteristics (methodologically as an interaction term). The coefficient estimates for the interaction term are shown in reference to men without children. When gender and parental status, including age of children, are considered as inseparable characteristics, the results show that women candidates are not universally preferred to men. When a candidate does not have children, respondents evaluate women more favorably than men and there is virtually no difference between men and women candidates if they have grandchildren. However, when candidates have young or adult children, respondents rate women less favorably than men.

Model 3 includes variables concerning respondent characteristics. Respondent characteristics are generally not statistically significant, however women respondents rate candidates an average of 1.77 points higher than men respondents. The effects of candidate race are somewhat unclear until respondent race is also included in the model. When respondents

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evaluate candidates belonging to their own race, they rate them 4.27 points higher than if the candidate were to belong to another race. Additionally, Model 3 suggests that candidates of color are rated more favorably than white candidates. Model 3 suggests that estimates for the effects of candidate traits on overall candidate favorability are stable. Taken together, all models demonstrate that respondents responded the most favorably to married, heterosexual, young candidates, and the effects of candidate gender varied by candidate parental status.

4.4.3   Respondent preferences

While respondent descriptions of candidates and models of candidate favorability scores can help explain what factors influence a respondent's impression of a candidate, which candidates are most likely to be preferred by respondents and ultimately chosen in the hypothetical primary is also of interest. Respondent choice between candidates is coded as a binary variable, where a value of one indicates that a respondent selected the candidate as their preferred choice in the primary election and zero otherwise. I analyze the data following the approach developed by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014) to estimate average marginal component effects (AMCEs) and average component interaction effects (ACIEs). To estimate the AMCE of each attribute on the probability that the candidate will be preferred, I perform basic linear regressions with standard errors corrected for within–respondent clustering. Due to the high degree of difference between Democrats evaluating Democratic candidates and Republicans evaluating Republican candidates, I calculate AMCEs and ACIEs by party.[16] Candidates that were divorced were the only candidates for which custody status had values other than NA, and all divorced candidates had young children. In order to accurately estimate AMCEs and ACIEs for children and custody status, it is necessary to calculate separate models for candidates that were divorced and candidates

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16. Marginal effects for candidates of both parties can be found in Figure A1 and Table A2 of the Appendix.

that were married or single.

I begin with Figure 4.6, which shows the relative importance of candidate attributes on electoral support for Republican candidates.[17] The dots denote point estimates for the AMCEs and ACIEs, which indicate the average effect of each attribute or interaction of attributes on the probability that the candidate will be selected as the respondent's preferred choice for the House of Representatives. The horizontal bars show 95 percent confidence intervals. Within each category of attributes, one treatment is chosen as the omitted reference category and listed below the figure. Reported coefficients for variables with more than two categories should be compared to the reference category rather than each other directly (i.e. the coefficient estimate for Black/African American is for Black/African American in reference to White and the coefficient estimate for Asian is for Asian in reference to White).

As discussed in the theoretical sections, previous studies have found that candidates who exhibit traditional family backgrounds are likely to be preferred to candidates who do not have such backgrounds. Among Republicans, these results largely support the hypothesis that candidates with traditional families will be preferred, but with important caveats. Unsurprisingly, candidates who are young are preferred over candidates who are older to a statistically significant degree. Candidates who are 42, were more likely to be selected than candidates who were 81. Candidates who were 42 were also more likely to be selected than those who were 63, but this difference is not as significant or as large as the difference between candidates who were 81 and 42. Age is likely to affect whether or not a Republican candidate is chosen only when the candidate is particularly young (in their 40s) or particularly old (in their 80s). In keeping with previous findings, Republicans also prefer candidates who are married over those who are single. In this study, divorced candidates all have young children, and so it should be remembered that these effects are not just for divorced candidates, but divorced candidates with young children.

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17. Full regression table results can be found in Table A3 the Appendix.

Figure 4.6: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Republican Candidates
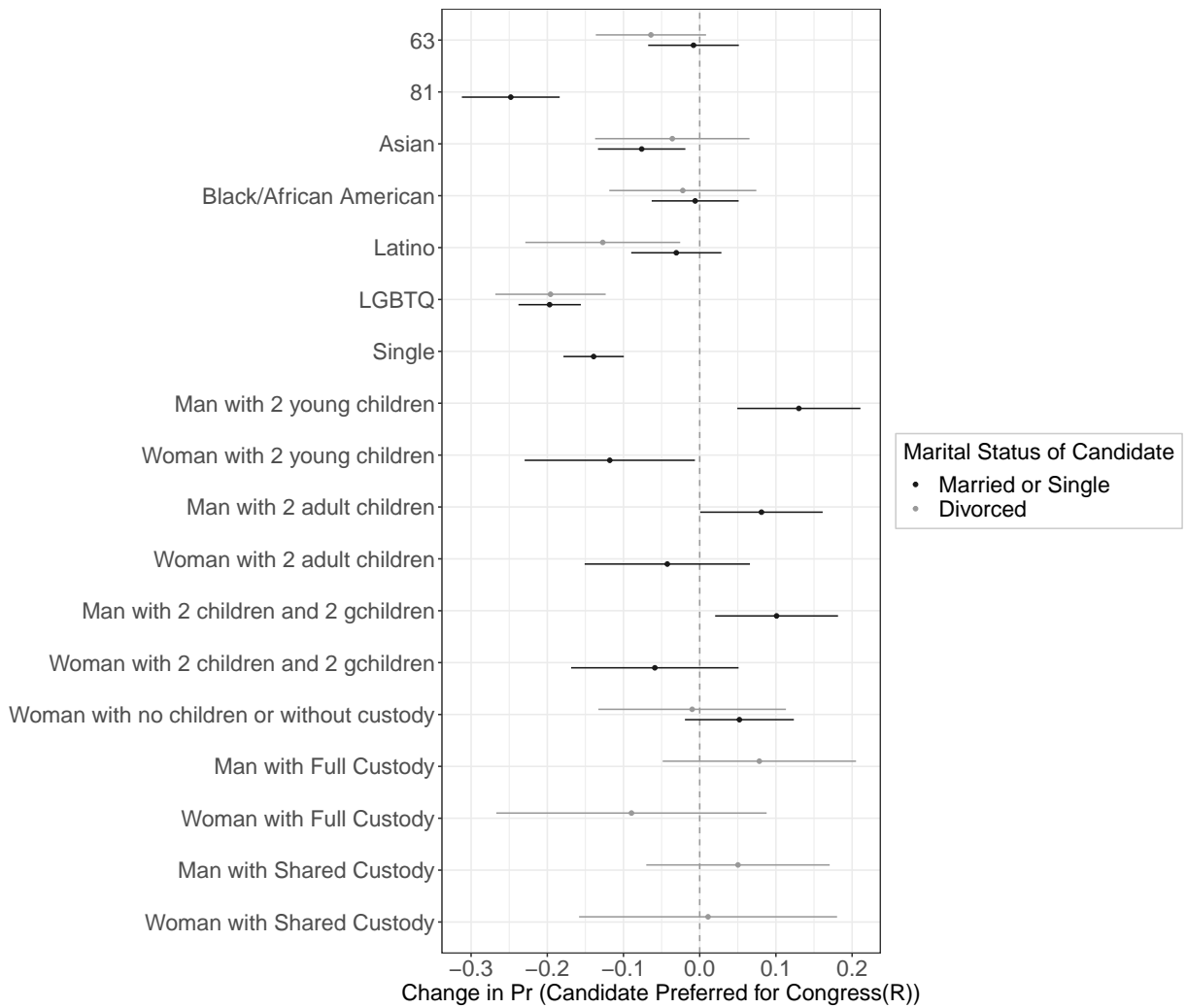
42, White, Married, and Man with no children or without custody are the omitted baseline groups.

Sexuality is not often included in studies of vote choice, but the results of this study are consistent with ideas about what individuals are likely to be Republicans politicians. In the 116th Congress, there are no Republican members who are openly homosexual. In the current Congress, 93.6 percent of all Republicans are white, compared to 62 percent of Democrats who are white. Republican respondents in this study were less likely to support candidates who were explicitly LGBTQ or persons of color. Besides age, sexuality was one of the biggest sources of bias against Republican candidates. Respondents show a bias against LGBTQ candidates of 20 percentage points, regardless of the candidate's marital status. Candidates who were white were more likely to be preferred than candidates of color, although those differences are not often statistically significant.

Contrary to common wisdom and some studies, Republican respondents did not universally prefer candidates who had children to those who did not. The effects of candidate parental or custody status vary among Republicans according to candidate gender. Men who are candidates with children, of any age, are always preferred to men without children. Furthermore, men who have children are preferred to women who have children, and this difference is the largest when the candidate has young children. The only candidate sex and parental status combination in which women are preferred to men, are when the candidate has no children, and this difference is not statistically significant. When a candidate does not have custody of their children, women candidates are preferred over men. However, if a candidate has full custody of their children, men are preferred to women. Among candidates with shared custody of their children, men and women fare about the same.

Figure 4.7 shows the relative importance of candidate attributes on electoral support for Democrats.[18] When it comes to age and marital status, Democrats differ only slightly from Republicans. Among Democrats, married candidates are more likely to be selected than single candidates, but the difference is less pronounced than among Republicans. A

18. Full regression table results can be found in Table A4 the Appendix.

Figure 4.7: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Democratic Candidates
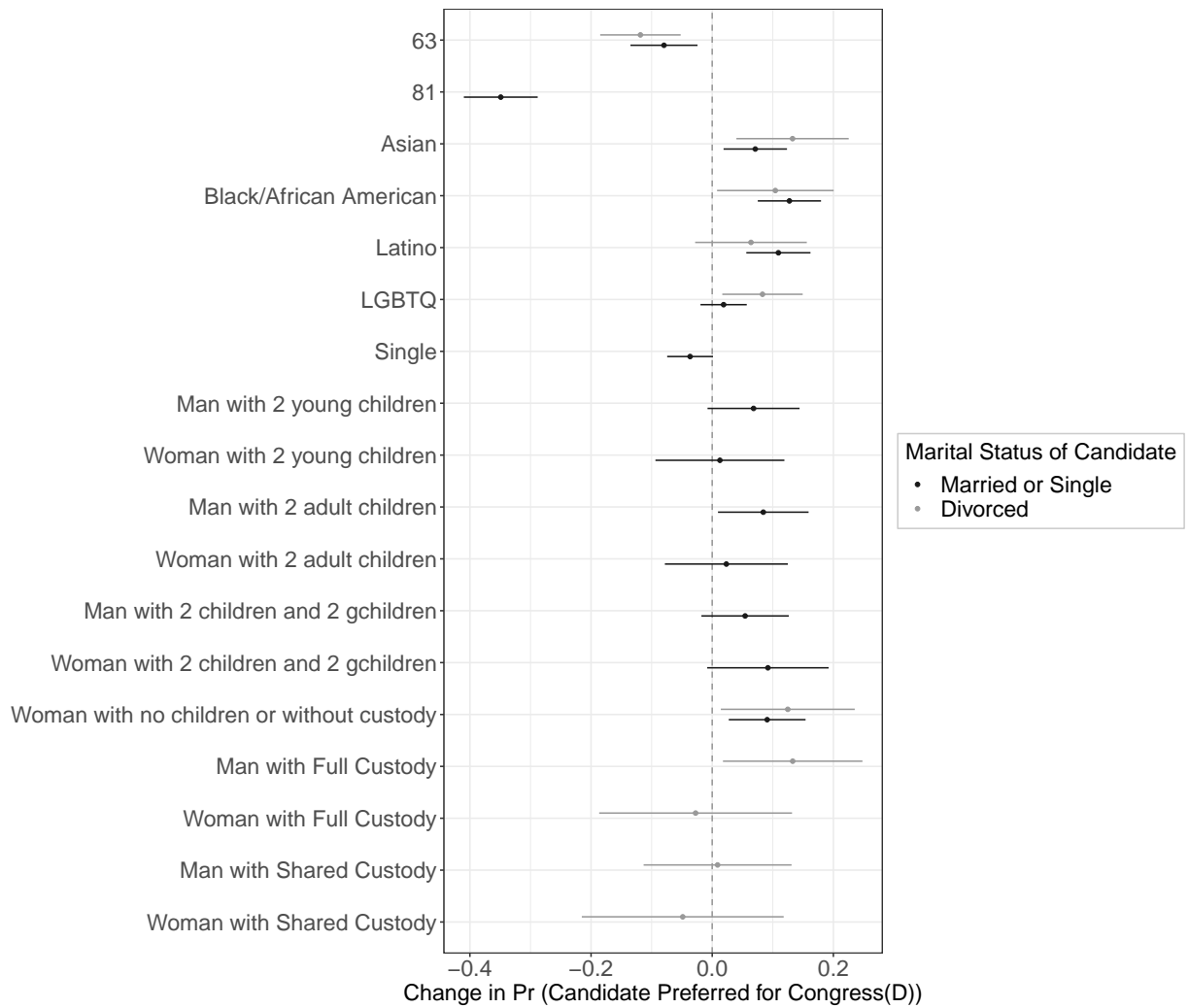
42, White, Married, and Man with no children or without custody are the omitted baseline groups.

candidate being older hurts their chances of being selected more if they are Democrat than if they are a Republican, as both 81 and 63 year old candidates are at a disadvantage over those that are 42.

Among Democrats, candidate sexuality and race have almost the opposite effect that they had among Republicans on the probability that a particular candidate will be selected in the hypothetical primary. Candidates that are explicitly members of the LGBTQ community do not face any penalty from respondents, and in fact are slightly more likely to be selected than heterosexual Democratic candidates. Candidates of color were not likely to be punished by respondents, and in fact, were more likely to be selected than candidates who were white. These findings are the most significant for married or single candidates, but the AMCE estimates for married or single and divorced are similar. Given that people of color make up a much larger portion of Democratic Congressional delegation (38 percent), it is not shocking that Democratic respondents are not likely to be reluctant to select candidates of color, but it is surprising that being a candidate of color can actually be an advantage for Democratic candidates.

The effect of candidate parental or custody status does not vary much by candidate gender among Democrats, unlike Republicans. Men with children are very slightly more likely to be selected than women with children, but these differences are not significant. Women without children are preferred over men without children. If a candidate does not have custody of their children, they are more likely to be selected if they are a woman. Like Republicans, men with full custody of their children are preferred to women with full custody of their children and their is almost no preference between women who have shared custody of their children and men who have shared custody of their children. Democratic candidates who have children are more universally given an electoral advantage than Republican candidates, regardless of gender, and the effects of custody are noisy at best.

4.5 Discussion

Collectively, these results suggest that a candidate's gender and family characteristics affect how a candidate is perceived, and women candidates who have children may face biases that men do not. Perhaps most convincingly, candidate family attributes and candidate gender are likely to influence a voter's general impression of a candidate. Family characteristics of all candidates were the most common attributes to be remembered and commented on by respondents. Furthermore, women candidates were significantly more likely than men candidates to have respondents mention their gender when describing their general impression of each candidates.

By examining how candidate attributes influence a candidate's favorability among respondents, more can be learned about how a candidate's biographical characteristics influence how voters perceive them. Previous studies have found that voters prefer candidates who are married and have children (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Teelee, Kella, and Rosenbluth 2018). The results presented here agree in part with previous findings, but suggest an important clarification. Respondents generally found candidates who were married and heterosexual more favorable than candidates who were not, however having children did not always result in respondents rating candidates more favorably. The finding that the effects of candidate gender vary by candidate parental status is an important addition to previous scholarship that has primarily considered such categories as strictly separate from one another. This clarification is not a refutation of previous findings, but rather an additional caveat possible only because this study varies the age of children, whereas previous studies have only informed respondents about the number of children of candidates.

When it comes to selecting between two candidates, these results suggest that candidate parental status, gender, sexuality, age, and marital status all impact vote choice, but that some of the effects vary by party. Party differences are particularly important, as Democratic women fair much better in primaries than their Republican counterparts (Dolan 2004;

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Shames 2015), and women make up a much smaller percentage of the Republican Congressional delegation (7.6 percent) than the Democratic delegation (38.4 percent). The results presented here help to explain why Democratic women are much closer to parity with Democratic men than Republican women are to Republican men. Regardless of party, voters are likely to prefer young candidates who are married. The effects of parental status and gender, sexuality, and race are different when Democrats evaluate Democratic candidates and when Republicans evaluate Republican candidates. The Democratic party has long been considered more progressive on race and LGBTQ rights, and racial minorities and LGBTQ individuals have long made up important voting blocs within the Democratic party. It is perhaps unsurprising then that when choosing candidates, Democratic respondents were more supportive of candidates of color and LGBTQ candidates than Republican respondents. Democratic respondents favored candidates who were women with or without children and men with children. Republican respondents however, favored men with children over women with children. The Republican Party has been the party of family values and tends to be more likely to support traditional gender roles for men and women, so perhaps traditional family values were at odds with having women serve in Congress. These results suggest that previous findings that voters generally do not like it when women candidates do not have children (Bell and Kaufmann 2015; Deason, Greenlee, and Langnar 2015), may have been too general and not considered the fact that some voters (particularly Republicans) may also view women candidates with children unfavorably as well.

Gender and family continue to influence how voters are likely to think about political candidates and impact the political chances of political candidates. Candidates who generally conform to gender and family norms have a better chance of being evaluated favorably and ultimately gaining electoral support, but the effects and importance of these norms are likely to vary by political party.

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4.7 Appendix

Candidate Profile Restrictions

- Age:42;Children:Two children and two grandchildren

- Age:81;Children:Two young children

- Age:42;Children:Two adult children

- Marital Status:Married;Parental Custody:Full

- Marital Status:Married;Parental Custody:Shared

- Marital Status:Married;Parental Custody:None

- Marital Status:Single;Parental Custody:Full

- Marital Status:Single;Parental Custody:Shared

- Marital Status:Single;Parental Custody:None

- Marital Status:Divorced;Homelife:Lives with wife

- Marital Status:Single;Homelife:Lives with wife

- Marital Status:Divorced;Homelife:Lives with husband

- Marital Status:Single;Homelife:Lives with husband

- Homelife:Lives alone;Marital Status:Married

- Marital Status:Married;Homelife:Proud member of LGBTQ community

- Parental Custody:Blank;Marital Status:Divorced

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:No children;Parental Custody:None

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two adult children;Parental Custody:None

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two children and two grandchildren;Parental Custody:None

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two adult children;Parental Custody:Full

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two children and two grandchildren;Parental Custody:Full

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two adult children;Parental Custody:Shared

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:Two children and two grandchildren;Parental Custody:Shared

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:No children;Parental Custody:Full

- Marital Status:Divorced;Children:No children;Parental Custody:Shared

Figure A1: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Candidates of Both Parties
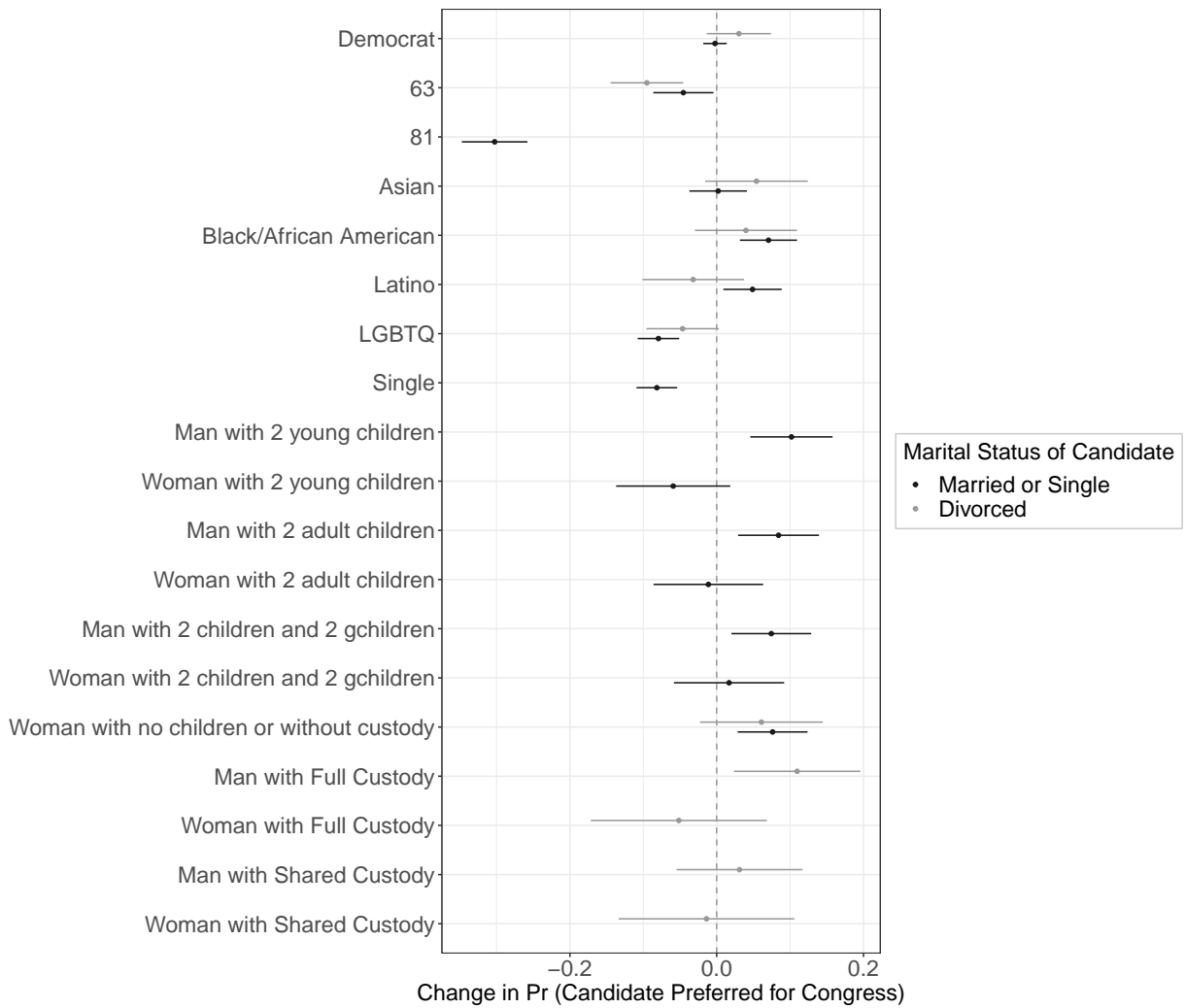
C is divorced, C is white, C is 42, C has no children, C is a man with no children, and R is Divorced/Separated are the omitted baseline groups.

Table A1: Feeling Thermometer Scores, OLS regression models

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
C: Woman	**1.73**(0.60)		
C: 2 young children	**3.54**(1.00)		
C: 2 adult children	**4.97**(0.98)		
C: 2 children and 2 gchildren	**4.74**(0.99)		
C: Married	**4.40**(1.02)	**4.34**(1.02)	**4.29**(1.02)
C: Single	0.84(1.03)	0.78(1.02)	0.72(1.03)
C: LGBTQ	**-4.46**(0.60)	**-4.44**(0.60)	**-4.22**(0.60)
C: Black/African American	**2.59**(0.84)	**2.54**(0.84)	**5.21**(1.04)
C: Asian	0.84(1.03)	0.57(0.84)	**3.45**(1.06)
C: Latino	0.15(0.86)	0.14(0.84)	**2.92**(1.07)
C: Democrat	**8.57**(0.60)	**8.58**(0.60)	**5.58**(0.60)
C: 63	**-3.18**(0.77)	**-3.23**(0.77)	**-3.23**(0.77)
C: 81	**-13.24**(1.02)	**-13.24**(1.02)	**-13.26**(1.02)
C: Woman w/o children		**4.07**(1.19)	**4.17**(1.19)
C: Man w/ young children		**5.75**(1.25)	**5.79**(1.25)
C: Woman w/ young children		1.30(1.26)	1.28(1.25)
C: Man w/ adult children		**6.47**(1.37)	**6.61**(1.37)
C: Woman w/ adult children		**3.57**(1.34)	**3.67**(1.33)
C: Man w/ 2 children and 2 gchildren		**4.86**(1.39)	**4.93**(1.38)
C: Woman w/ 2 children and 2 gchildren		**4.67**(1.35)	**4.86**(1.35)
R: Woman			**1.77**(0.61)
R: Married/Widowed			0.87(0.96)
R: Single			1.73(1.06)
R: Has kids			-.57(0.74)
R and C are same race			**4.27**(0.96)
Intercept	**56.56**(1.47)	**55.43**(1.56)	**50.86**(1.98)
Adjusted R^2	0.082	0.084	0.088

C has no children, C is divorced, C is white, C is 42, C is a man with no children, and R is Divorced/Separated are the omitted clusters. $N = 6056$ for all models. Coefficients in bold are significant at .01. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table A2: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Candidates, clustered by respondent

Variable	Married or Single Candidates	Divorced Candidates
Democrat	-0.00(0.01)	0.03(0.02)
63	**-0.05**(0.02)	**-0.10**(0.03)
81	**-0.30**(0.02)	
Asian	0.00(0.02)	0.05(0.04)
Black/African American	**0.07**(0.02)	0.04(0.04)
Latino	**0.05**(0.02)	-0.03(0.03)
LGBTQ	**-0.20**(0.02)	-0.05(0.03)
Single	**-0.08**(0.01)	
Man with 2 young children	**0.10**(0.03)	
Woman with 2 young children	-0.05(0.04)	
Man with 2 adult children	**0.08**(0.03)	
Woman with 2 adult children	-0.01(0.04)	
Man with 2 children and 2 gchildren	**0.07**(0.03)	
Woman with 2 children and 2 gchildren	0.02(0.04)	
Woman with no children	**0.08**(0.02)	
Woman with no custody		0.06(0.04)
Man with full custody		**0.11**(0.04)
Woman with full custody		-0.05(0.06)
Man with shared custody		0.03(0.04)
Woman with shared custody		-0.01(0.06)
Intercept	**0.81**(0.05)	**0.57**(0.06)
R^2	0.091	0.023
N	4,525	1,531

42, White, Married, Man with no children, and Man with no custody are the baseline groups.
Coefficients in bold are significant at .05. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table A3: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Republican Candidates, clustered by respondent

Variable	Married or Single Candidates	Divorced Candidates
63	-0.01(0.03)	-0.06(0.04)
81	**-0.25**(0.03)	
Asian	**-0.08**(0.03)	-0.04(0.05)
Black/African American	-0.01(0.03)	-0.02(0.05)
Latino	-0.03(0.03)	**-0.13**(0.05)
LGBTQ	**-0.20**(0.02)	**-0.20**(0.04)
Single	**-0.14**(0.02)	
Man with 2 young children	**0.13**(0.04)	
Woman with 2 young children	**-0.12**(0.06)	
Man with 2 adult children	**0.08**(0.04)	
Woman with 2 adult children	-0.04(0.06)	
Man with 2 children and 2 gchildren	**0.10**(0.04)	
Woman with 2 children and 2 gchildren	-0.06(0.06)	
Woman with no children	**0.05**(0.04)	
Woman with no custody		-0.01(0.06)
Man with full custody		0.08(0.06)
Woman with full custody		-0.08(0.08)
Man with shared custody		0.05(0.06)
Woman with shared custody		0.01(0.09)
Intercept	**1.17**(0.07)	**0.88**(0.08)
R^2	0.122	0.059
N	2,098	706

42, White, Married, Man with no children, and Man with no custody are the baseline groups. Coefficients in bold are significant at .05. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.

Table A4: Marginal Effects of Candidate Attributes on Voting Decision for Democratic Candidates, clustered by respondent

Variable	Married or Single Candidates	Divorced Candidates
63	**-0.08**(0.03)	**-0.12**(.03)
81	**-0.35**(0.03)	
Asian	**0.07**(0.03)	**0.13**(0.05)
Black/African American	**0.13**(0.03)	**0.10**(0.05)
Latino	**0.11**(0.03)	0.06(0.05)
LGBTQ	0.02(0.02)	**0.08**(0.03)
Single	-0.04(0.02)	
Man with 2 young children	0.07(0.04)	
Woman with 2 young children	0.01(0.05)	
Man with 2 adult children	**0.08**(0.04)	
Woman with 2 adult children	0.02(0.05)	
Man with 2 children and 2 gchildren	0.05(0.04)	
Woman with 2 children and 2 gchildren	0.09(0.05)	
Woman with no children	**0.09**(0.03)	
Woman with no custody		**0.12**(0.06)
Man with full custody		**0.13**(0.06)
Woman with full custody		-0.03(0.08)
Man with shared custody		0.01(0.06)
Woman with shared custody		-0.05(0.09)
Intercept	**0.52**(0.06)	**0.32**(0.07)
R^2	0.111	0.054
N	2,427	825

42, White, Married, Man with no children, and Man with no custody are the baseline groups.
Coefficients in bold are significant at .05. Standard errors are reported in parentheses.