

The Effects of Counter-Stereotypic Gender Strategies on Candidate Evaluations

Nichole Bauer, PhD

University of Alabama

nmbauer1@ua.edu

Do not cite without author's permission.

Abstract: Voters do not associate female candidates with feminine stereotypes, but voters also do not associate female candidates with the qualities most valued in political leaders such as experience and knowledge. Emphasizing masculine qualities is one strategy female candidates can use to overcome this subtle form of gender bias—but, current research offers conflicting conclusions on whether female candidates benefit from breaking with feminine norms or face a backlash for being too aggressive and not likable enough. This manuscript investigates how voters respond to the counter-stereotypic gender strategies of female candidates. Using a series of experiments, I test how trait associations that are counter-stereotypic to a female candidate's gender improve voter evaluations along masculine and feminine leadership dimensions. The results suggest that female candidates benefit from counter-stereotypic trait associations, but this positive effect only occurs among voters of the same political party. Counter-stereotypic female candidates face a backlash from voters of the opposite political party.

Recent elections have seen a surge of female candidates running for office at the local, state, and national level. However, women's political underrepresentation persists in the U.S. political system with women holding only 20% of seats in Congress and a woman has yet to win the nomination of a major political party for the presidency. Barriers to improving women's representation include lower levels of political ambition (Lawless, 2012), a gender-based aversion to electoral competition (Kanthak & Woon, 2015), and entry barriers posed by party gatekeepers (Sanbonmatsu, 2006). It is unclear whether female candidates also face gender bias from voters—especially considering the evidence that women do win elections at roughly equal rates to their male counterparts (Fox, 2010).

Conventional feminine stereotypes characterize women as passive, emotional, and superficial (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). These characteristics contrast sharply with the masculine expectations political leaders be tough, assertive, and decisive (Holman, Merolla, & Zechmeister, 2011; Koenig, Eagly, Mitchell, & Ristikari, 2011). Recent research shows that voters do not automatically attribute feminine characteristics to female candidates (Bauer, 2015; Brooks, 2013; Dolan, 2014), but voters also do not automatically attribute masculine characteristics positively associated with leadership to female candidates (Schneider & Bos, 2014). Taken together, these findings suggest that female candidates fall into a nebulous category of being neither a leader nor a lady in the eyes of voters. Female candidates might be able to overcome this subtle form of gender bias by emphasizing masculine qualities in their campaign messages (Brooks, 2013; Fridkin & Kenney, 2015), but they may also experience a counter-stereotypic backlash for being too tough and not nice enough—especially from voters of the opposite political party (Krupnikov & Bauer, 2014). These dynamics suggest that female candidates are in a bind where they must display counter-stereotypic qualities to prove their

qualifications, but doing so comes at the cost of likability. Existing research has yet to consider whether counter-stereotypes shift the way voters think about female candidates as leaders and whether the positive effects of counter-stereotypes come at a cost.

This manuscript uses two original survey experiments to show that counter-stereotypic strategies have an expansive effect on female candidates leading to improved evaluations on conventionally masculine qualities such as knowledge and experience. These results also show that shared partisanship protects female candidates from a backlash effect; however, when partisanship is not shared female candidates can face a penalty from out-partisans for being counter-stereotypic.

The increasing number of women running for political office coupled with the finding that female and male candidates garner equal vote shares suggests that institutional barriers to the ballot are dissipating (Fox, 2010). However, this absence of gender differences in vote outcomes does not mean gender is absent in how voters form impressions of female candidates (Mo, 2015; Schneider & Bos, 2014). Clarifying how voters evaluate female candidates is pivotal to understanding the broader dynamics of women's underrepresentation in politics. After all, if female candidates do not win elections, women's representation will not improve.

Gender Stereotypes & Voter Decision-Making

Stereotypes about women include being warm and nurturing (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). These traits have a close connection to the social roles conventionally held by women, such as being a mother or a homemaker (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Stereotypes about men include being tough and aggressive; and, these traits match those associated with filling leadership roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig et al., 2011; Vinkenbunrg, van Engen, Eagly, & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2011). Feminine stereotypes are thought to pose obstacles for female candidates

because they do not match the expectations voters have for political leaders (Holman et al., 2011), and because voters may see female candidates as having only feminine qualities and lacking masculine qualities (Bauer, in press).

Recent research suggests voters do not perceive female candidates as having feminine qualities (Bauer, 2015; Brooks, 2013; Dolan, 2014); but, research also suggests voters do not readily attribute female politicians, in general, with positive leadership qualities such as experience and knowledge (Schneider & Bos, 2014). These findings indicate that voters have ambiguous expectations for female candidates that align with neither feminine nor masculine stereotypes. This ambiguity creates a perceptual bias where voters perceive female candidates as lacking pivotal leadership qualities.

By emphasizing characteristics that run counter to feminine stereotypes, female candidates may be able to improve their ratings on leadership characteristics. But, existing research offers conflicting conclusions about the ability of female candidates to highlight counter-stereotypic traits. Analyses of the traits female candidates highlight in their campaign materials shows a focus on masculine over feminine traits (Fridkin & Kenney, 2015). Certain contexts, such as a national security crisis, may call for female candidates to be counter-stereotypic and, under these circumstances, counter-stereotypes are more likely to benefit female candidates (Holman, et al., 2011). And, female candidates receive positive ratings on handling stereotypically masculine issues, such as foreign affairs or the military, when they use an issue and trait-based counter-stereotype strategy (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993a; Schneider, 2014).

Other studies show that counter-stereotypic female candidates can face a backlash for breaking feminine norms by airing negative ads (Hitchon & Chang, 1995; Krupnikov & Bauer, 2014). Female candidates might also face a counter-stereotype backlash when a female

candidate's opponent uses strategies forcing her to emphasize feminine issues when she might not otherwise (Windett, 2014). Yet, another line of research demonstrates that voters do not punish or reward female candidates any differently than male candidates who also engage in masculine behaviors such as displaying toughness or anger (Brooks, 2013). Overall, it is not clear whether counter-stereotypic gender strategies lead voters to think about female candidates as leaders.

These disparate findings suggest that how voters respond to counter-stereotypic strategies for female candidates depends on two factors: (1) the type of counter-stereotypic strategy (i.e., whether it is emphasizing traits, behaviors, or issues); and (2) the valence of the strategy (positive or negative). Much of the existing literature on counter-stereotypes for female candidates focuses on negative counter-stereotypic behaviors (see e.g., Brooks (2011, 2013); Krupnikov and Bauer (2014)). A female candidate losing her temper breaks with stereotypes characterizing women as agreeable, but this is also a normatively negative behavior for both women and men inside and outside the political context. The extent to which a counter-stereotypic behavior for a female candidate is generally considered to be a positive or negative behavior may determine whether she faces a backlash effect. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b) find that more positive counter-stereotypic strategies, such as emphasizing traits that align with leadership, provide female candidates with a boost on masculine issues—and, this suggests that positive counter-stereotypic strategies that align more closely with leadership perceptions may benefit female candidates.

Second, whether female candidates face a backlash effect may depend on the extent to which voters perceive counter-stereotypic female candidates as breaking with their gender versus conforming to leadership expectations. The premise of a counter-stereotypic backlash is that

voters expect female candidates to uphold feminine norms and will react negatively when female candidates fail to uphold these norms (Brooks, 2011). This logic leads to a double-bind in which female candidates need to prove they have strong leadership qualities but receive negative evaluations on feminine traits when doing so. Issue-based counter-stereotypic strategies are unlikely to produce a backlash effect because this is a positive strategy that conforms to the partisan and leadership expectations voters have for candidates (Petrocik, 1996). While Brooks (2013) finds that voters may not punish female candidates differently from male candidates for being tough or showing anger, voters are also not evaluating women positively on critical leadership dimensions where voters perceive female candidates to be at the greatest deficit. In sum, how voters respond to counter-stereotypic female candidates depends on the type of counter-stereotypic strategy and whether that counter-stereotypic strategy conforms to leadership expectations.

The project departs from existing research by focusing on whether positive counter-stereotypic gender strategies help voters see female candidates as leaders. This research also expands on work about the effects of counter-stereotypes by investigating how these strategies affect both male and female candidates. Research on counter-stereotypic gender strategies often compares the same set of behaviors for female and male candidates, such as both genders emphasizing masculine issues or both genders acting tough on the campaign trail. As such, it is not clear how voters evaluate male candidates who break with masculine stereotypes. I also consider how candidate partisanship might affect voter responses to counter-stereotypic candidates—an aspect overlooked in much of the existing literature.

Shifting Candidate Categorization with Counter-Stereotypes

I turn to psychology research to understand how counter-stereotypic strategies can shift the way voters categorize female candidates. Two relevant tools individuals use to form impressions of others include perceived category membership and individuating information (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Individuals tend to categorize others based on observable characteristics (Biernat, 1991; Biernat & Manis, 1994; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). When observable characteristics do not facilitate a clear categorization, individuals will look for additional individuating information to guide impression formation (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). Evidence from existing research suggests that female candidates are not clearly categorized as leaders or as women relying on baseline, observable characteristics. In other words, gender is not a strong enough cue to categorize female candidates as women but being political contenders is also not strong enough to categorize female candidates as leaders.

Individuating information can shift the categories used to form impressions of that person (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). For example, a female lawyer might not clearly fit feminine stereotypes characterizing women as passive or stereotypes characterizing lawyers as assertive. Receiving additional individuating information about this particular woman, such as seeing her act aggressively in the courtroom, can increase the perception she fits into the “lawyer” category (Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). This categorization process means that directly emphasizing characteristics associated with political leaders can increase the categorization of female candidates as leaders. Masculine qualities are most strongly associated with political leadership (Holman et al., 2011; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b); thus, female candidates must emphasize qualities that are also counter-stereotypic to their gender.

Male candidates, as compared with female candidates, are more easily categorized as political leaders due to the congruence between being male, being a leader, and masculine traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koenig et al., 2011; Vinkenburg et al., 2011). The strength of this connection between men and leadership could weaken if male candidates emphasized counter-stereotypic gender characteristics—in this case a male candidate emphasizing feminine characteristics.¹ But, I argue the congruence between being male and being a leader is so strong that counter-stereotypes will not harm male candidates and male candidates will actually be seen as having both feminine and masculine qualities (Kunda & Thagard, 1996). The first hypothesis outlines these gender differences:

Shifting Categories Hypothesis: Counter-stereotypic gender strategies will increase the perception female candidates fit into the category of “leader,” and counter-stereotypic gender strategies will not shift the categorization of male candidates as leaders.

Adopting strategies that run counter to feminine stereotypes but conform to leadership roles will strengthen the fit of a female candidate into the category of a leader. A consequence of this re-categorization is that female candidates should be associated less strongly with feminine stereotypes and more strongly associated with masculine qualities.

The categorization of female candidates as leaders will result in positive assessments on critical leadership dimensions such as knowledge and experience, but the effects may not be uniformly positive. Female candidates, unlike their male counterparts, may experience a backlash effect for breaking with gender stereotypes. A tough woman, for example, will be

¹ Research suggests male candidates rely on feminine stereotypes in campaign advertising and on their websites (Dolan, 2005; Sapiro, Walsh, Strach, & Hennings, 2011). While masculine characteristics dominate stereotypes about leaders (Holman et al., 2011; Lawless, 2004), some feminine traits are considered valuable for leadership such as being honest and empathetic (Funk, 1999; Miller, Wattenberg, & Malanchuk, 1986).

evaluated as tough, aggressive, and competent, but may also be evaluated as unlikable, cold, and distant (Rudman & Glick, 1999). This backlash can occur if the counter-stereotypic behavior of a woman increases the salience of feminine stereotypes (Kunda & Oleson, 1997). Essentially, being counter-stereotypic can remind individuals that a woman is breaking with feminine norms.

However, I argue this backlash effect will not occur for two reasons. First, positive counter-stereotypes will change the reference category against which voters evaluate female candidates. This prediction builds off the first hypothesis that counter-stereotypic traits will shift the categorization of female candidates as leaders. A category-driven impression formation process means that voters will interpret masculine qualities as positive leadership qualities and not undesirable qualities for women (Biernat, 1991; Biernat & Manis, 1994). For example, voters will interpret a female candidate talking about “fighting for her constituents” as a positive leadership characteristic and not as a woman unexpectedly displaying aggression. Shifting the categorization of female candidates as leaders changes the reference category against which voters will evaluate female candidates. Voters will not evaluate female candidates based on how warm or likable they are as women but on how warm or likable they are as leaders. The standards of warmth and likability for women and leaders are very different standards, and leaders are, perhaps, held to a lower standard of warmth compared to women.

Second, shared partisanship between a candidate and a voter will protect female candidates from a backlash effect. Voters will root for tough female candidates that belong to their political party. Motivated gender stereotype theory argues that individuals will only use feminine stereotypes to negatively judge counter-stereotypic women when they perceive a conflict or disagreement with that particular woman (Sinclair & Kunda, 1999). In an increasingly polarized campaign environment, being on the other side of the political aisle can be a perceived

point of disagreement between a voter and a candidate (Krupnikov & Bauer, 2014). Therefore, shared partisanship will protect counter-stereotypic female candidates from a backlash effect. This means counter-stereotypic female candidates might face a backlash on feminine qualities from opposing partisans. Essentially, opposing partisans may see a tough female candidate as also being cold, distant, and unlikable. Opposing partisans will still be more likely to categorize counter-stereotypic female candidates as leaders, but will be more likely to punish counter-stereotypic female candidates for breaking with feminine norms.

Counter-stereotypic male candidates who emphasize feminine qualities will also not face a backlash effect for breaking with leadership expectations. The first hypothesis predicts that counter-stereotypic strategies will not shift the reference category against which voters evaluate male candidates. Voters readily categorize male candidates as leaders and there is a strong association between being male and being a leader that is unlikely to weaken even when the male candidate emphasize counter-stereotypic gender traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Essentially, the connection between being male and being a leader is so strong that voters will see counter-stereotypic traits as leadership traits for a male candidate. Voters will see counter-stereotypic male candidates as being both tough and sensitive. The second hypothesis focuses on the absence of a counter-stereotype backlash for female and male candidates:

Counter-Stereotype Backlash Hypothesis: Neither male nor female candidates who rely on counter-stereotypic gender strategies will face a backlash effect for breaking with gender norms.

Overall, I predict counter-stereotypic gender strategies will benefit female candidates in several ways. First, counter-stereotypes will increase the categorization of women as leaders, and subsequently decrease the salience of feminine stereotypes for female candidates. Second,

counter-stereotypes will improve candidate ratings on leadership characteristics where female candidates are traditionally at a disadvantage. Third, counter-stereotypes will not lead to a backlash effect for female candidates or male candidates.

Experimental Design

An experimental approach is appropriate for testing my hypotheses because the method allows for the direct manipulation of counter-stereotypes. I use two experiments to test my hypotheses. The first experiment rigorously measures shifting stereotypes in response to counter-stereotypes, and the second experiment serves as a robustness check and allows me to test the partisan dynamics.

As the two studies rely on similar designs, I start by describing their overall structure, and then highlight how the two studies differ. The experiments manipulated candidate gender (male or female), stereotypes (counter-stereotypic or stereotypic), and included control conditions without stereotypes. This basic design builds on previous research presenting voters with vignettes about candidates and varying the gender of the candidate (see e.g., Sapiro, 1981; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). The first study matched partisanship so that participants saw candidates with whom they *shared party*. Democratic participants received information about Democratic candidates and Republican participants received information about Republican candidates. Those identifying as Independent received a follow-up question asking them to select their preferred party identification. This method of partisan control is beneficial because it limits the types of inferences participants make about candidates without partisan labels. The partisan control in this study allows me to test the prediction that shared partisanship will prevent a counter-stereotypic backlash against female candidates—a relationship unconsidered in previous research. The second study also manipulated candidate gender (male or female), stereotypes

(counter-stereotypic or stereotypic), and also included a no stereotype control group. The second study included an additional experimental factor manipulating whether participants were of the *same party* or a *different party* as the candidate.² This study allows me to test whether counter-stereotypic female candidates face a backlash from voters of the opposite political party. Table I outlines the design of the two studies.

[Table I Here]

I use both feminine and masculine traits and gender roles to manipulate stereotypes. Traits are powerful inferential tools in stereotyping as individuals use these cues to make inferences about the roles for which individuals are suited (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Biernat, Manis, & Nelson, 1991; Kunda & Sherman-Williams, 1993; Kunda, Sinclair, & Griffin, 1997; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Moreover, in campaigns voters respond to the types of traits used to describe candidates in news coverage (Fridkin & Kenney, 2011), and traits factor into voter decision-making (Funk, 1999; Miller et al., 1986). Psychology research shows that traits and roles work together to affect gender stereotype reliance (Biernat & Manis, 1994; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Kunda & Thagard, 1996). Including the gender role cues in the stereotype manipulation is appropriate given the overarching goal of seeing how gender stereotypes affect the categorization of female candidates. The counter-stereotypic condition for the female candidate, which is stereotypic for the male, described the candidate as *tough, assertive, and outspoken* and discussed the candidate's background in business. The counter-stereotypic condition for the male candidate, which is stereotypic for the female, described the candidate as

² In experiment 1, 21% initially identified as Independent. Each participant selected a preferred party when prompted on the follow-up screen. In experiment 2, 25% identified as Independent, and all but three did not select a preferred party.

caring, compassionate and nurturing and mentioned the candidate's family. The control conditions include no gender stereotypes. The full treatments are in Web Appendix 1.³

The names Susan Foster and Tom Larson cued candidate gender. A pre-test with an undergraduate sample (N=140) confirms these names are equitable in terms of age ($p=0.1460$), education ($p=0.9887$), warmth ($p=0.3640$), and emotionality ($p=0.3881$). Both studies embedded the stereotypes in a newspaper article. This stimulus design models how voters learn about candidates outside the experimental setting (West, 2005).

Sample

The main study was conducted through Survey Sampling International (SSI), a market research company that recruits adults to participate in online panels (N=716). Berinsky, Margolis, and Sances (2014) find this platform particularly useful for recruiting participants from difficult to reach experimental populations. The second study took place on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk). MTurk is an innovative online recruitment platform where participants opt to participate in studies for a nominal payment. Table II displays the demographic characteristics of the two samples along with the demographics of samples recruited via the Internet and the 2010 Census. Overall, the samples do not deviate significantly from other Internet based samples.

[Table II Here]

Measures

I measure the categorization of candidates with two batteries asking participants to rate how well a specific trait described the candidate with values ranging from "very well" to "not

³ In a pre-test on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, N=100), 94% chose women as more caring, 67% as more compassionate, and 65% as more honest compared to men. For the masculine traits, 92% chose men as more tough, 88% as more assertive, and 78% as more outspoken.

well at all.” The two batteries include a series of agentic and communal attributes.⁴ The agentic items correspond to masculine stereotypes and include the traits: assertive, coarse, tough, aggressive, stern, masculine, active, rational, and self-confident. These items reflect characteristics individuals associate with political leaders (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b), and more positive ratings indicate a stronger categorization of women as leaders. The communal items corresponded to feminine stereotypes and include the traits: gentle, sensitive, feminine, emotional, talkative, and cautious. Individuals tend to associate these traits with women and women’s communal gender roles as mothers and caregivers (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b). Higher communal ratings suggest a stronger association with conventional feminine stereotypes and a stronger categorization based gender. With both scales, I use the average of the masculine and communal attributes. On the measures, higher values indicate positive ratings, and the variables range from 0 to 1.⁵

Participants also rated the candidates on strong leadership and knowledge. Past research shows that voters generally consider these characteristics important when selecting a candidate (Funk, 1999; Miller et al., 1986) Additionally, voters tend to perceive female candidates as lacking these qualities (Brooks, 2011; Leeper, 1991; Schneider & Bos, 2014). Finally, I include two variables to gauge a likability backlash. Participants rated candidate likability with a 50-point feeling thermometer. The second item asked participants to rate how warm they felt toward the candidate. If counter-stereotypic female candidates face a backlash effect, they may receive more positive ratings on strong leadership and knowledge but less positive ratings on warmth

⁴ I use the terms agentic and communal in place of masculine and feminine because the traits on these scales are tied to agentic and communal roles (Eagly and Karau, 2002).

⁵ A factor analysis shows the communal and agentic trait items load onto two separate factors. Using Cronbach’s alpha, the agentic items have a reliability coefficient of $\alpha = 0.9018$ and the communal trait items have $\alpha = 0.8428$.

and likability. All of the variables range from 0-1 with higher values indicating positive evaluations.

The Effects of Counter-Stereotypes on Female and Male Candidates

I start by examining the effects of counter-stereotypes in the first study with shared partisanship. I use a series of two-tailed t-tests to compare candidate ratings from the counter-stereotypic to the control condition for female and male candidates.⁶ This approach is appropriate because my hypotheses predict how candidate evaluations shift based on the control condition evaluations in response to counter-stereotypic information.

Experiment 1: Counter-Stereotype Effects

If the categorization hypothesis is correct, then female candidates should receive higher ratings on masculine attributes in the counter-stereotypic compared to the control condition. Table III displays the difference in means from the treatment to the control condition for the female and male candidates along both the agentic and communal scales. Participants rated the counter-stereotypic female candidate and the stereotypic male candidate more positively on agentic attributes. This suggests that both female and male candidates benefit from emphasizing leadership characteristics, regardless of whether these characteristics run counter-stereotypic to their gender.⁷

[Table III Here]

The increased categorization of women as leaders should weaken the association of communal attributes to female candidates. The second column in Table III shows the changes in candidate evaluations on the communal characteristics. Again, participants gave the largest

⁶ All the control group comparisons are in Web Appendix 2 for the outcome variables.

⁷ A multinomial logit shows that participant age, gender, ideology, income level, and race do not predict group assignment.

increase to both the counter-stereotypic female and stereotypic male candidate. The female candidate's boost on communal attributes in the counter-stereotypic condition suggests that breaking with gender may expand the set of traits associated with female candidates.⁸ The counter-stereotypic female candidate also receives more positive ratings on communal attributes than the stereotypic female candidate does. This suggests the positive ratings on communal attributes come from evaluations based on how well the female candidate fits the leadership role.

I next turn to testing how counter-stereotypes affect candidate evaluations on masculine dimensions that matter for voter evaluations and dimensions where female candidates might face a backlash effect. The top half of Figure 1 shows the effects of counter-stereotypes and stereotypes on strong leadership and knowledge ratings. The counter-stereotypic female candidate receives a 0.07 (SE=0.03) boost on strong leadership, $p=0.0284$, and a 0.05 (SE=0.03) boost on knowledge, $p=0.0735$. Counter-stereotypes do not significantly affect male candidates. However, being stereotypic does improve the male candidate's rating on strong leadership by 0.07 (SE=0.03) points, $p=0.016$, but there is no significant effect on knowledge. Both female and male candidates benefit when they emphasize masculine characteristics that align most closely with leadership.

[Figure 1 Here]

⁸ That the counter-stereotypic female candidate receives a more positive rating on communal characteristics could be a positive effect based on how well the female candidate fits the leadership role, or the counter-stereotypic behavior could be activating feminine stereotypes. The experiment included a measure of feminine stereotype activation. Here, participants rated each candidate along a scale with the ends of the scales defined as: (1) strong-weak, (2) harsh-lenient, (3) cold-warm, (4) hard-soft, and (5) distant-caring (Rudman, Greenwald, & McGhee, 2001). The final scale is the average of these five items with higher values indicating a stronger activation of feminine stereotypes. If counter-stereotypic female candidates activate feminine stereotypes then she should receive a higher rating on this stereotype measure in the counter-stereotypic condition compared to the control condition. There is no difference in the activation of feminine stereotypes in the counter-stereotypic condition ($M=0.58$, $SD=0.11$) compared to the control condition ($M=0.59$, $SD=0.09$), $p=0.2475$, for the female candidate.

The backlash hypothesis predicts that female candidates will not face a penalty for being counter-stereotypic to their gender. The logic behind this prediction is that by shifting the categorization of female candidates to political leaders changes the standards against which voters evaluate these candidates. This means the counter-stereotypic female candidates are being evaluated based on how warm they are as leaders and not as ladies: reflecting the divergent standards of warmth and likability associated with the categories of being a “leader” and “lady.” The bottom half of Figure 1 shows whether counter-stereotypic female candidates experience the “competent, yet out in the cold” backlash effect. The counter-stereotypic female candidate’s feeling thermometer rating does not significantly change from the control group rating. On warmth, counter-stereotypes actually have a positive effect. The counter-stereotypic female candidate receives a 0.07 (SE=0.04) boost on warmth, $p=0.042$. Adhering to feminine stereotypes does not have a significant effect on the female candidate. The male candidate receives a 0.09 (SE=0.03) boost on warmth in the stereotypic condition, where the male candidate matches leadership expectations, $p=0.0087$, and counter-stereotypes do not have a significant effect. That the male candidate also gains a boost on warmth when emphasizing masculine qualities supports the conclusion that these candidate evaluations are based on the positive categorization of the candidates as leaders.

Participants are rating how warm they feel toward the counter-stereotypic female candidate as a leader, and because the counter-stereotypic female candidate fits into the leadership category most strongly she receives a boost on warmth. If this boost on warmth were based on the female candidate’s gender then two additional effects should occur. First, the stereotypic, or more feminine, female candidate should also receive a boost on warmth relative to the control condition—but this boost does not occur. Second, the stereotypic, or more masculine,

male candidate should not receive a boost on warmth, but the stereotypic male candidate receives a positive boost on warmth. Thus, both the female and male candidates are rewarded on warmth when they emphasize the qualities that most clearly reflect leadership expectations.⁹

Partisan Differences in Counter-Stereotype Effects

The first set of analyses grouped together evaluations for the Democratic and Republican candidates, but there may be differences across candidate partisanship. Stereotypes about women and men closely overlap with stereotypes about Democrats and Republicans (Hayes, 2005; Winter, 2010), and this could affect how counter-stereotypes affect Democratic and Republican candidates. A counter-stereotypic Democratic female candidate breaks with both gender stereotypes and partisan stereotypes. A break with gender stereotypes for a Republican female candidate means being more consistent with partisan stereotypes of Republicans as more masculine. These differences in the relationship between partisan and gender stereotypes means that the counter-stereotypic Democratic female candidates receive more negative evaluations compared to Republican female candidates. I conduct the same set of comparisons as above, comparing the counter-stereotypic to the control condition, and then use a difference-in-differences (DID) approach to compare differences in effects for the Democratic and Republican female candidates.

On the communal and agentic attributes, both the Democratic and Republican female candidates benefit from being counter-stereotypic. The counter-stereotypic Democratic woman receives a 0.05 (SE=0.03) boost on agentic attributes and this is no different from the 0.06

⁹ Using an ANOVA analysis with an interaction between the counter-stereotype condition and candidate gender confirms the main findings. The interaction is significant on the agentic attributes (F=11.93, df=1, p=0.006), strong leadership (F=9.73, df=1, p=0.0019), knowledge (F=4.53, df=1, p=0.0337), communal attributes (F=8.79, df=1, p=0.0031), warmth (F=5.52, df=1, p=0.019), and does not reach significance for the feeling thermometer (F=0.36, df=1, p=0.5486).

(SE=0.03) boost received by the Republican female candidate, $p=0.6138$. Both the Democratic and Republican women also gain on communal attributes, and there is no difference in the size of the effect for the Democratic female (DID=0.06, SE=0.02) and the Republican female (DID=0.06, SE=0.03), $p=0.9892$. These patterns hold on the strong leadership and knowledge ratings as well as the feeling thermometer and warmth ratings where the counter-stereotypic female candidate will most likely experience a backlash effect.¹⁰ Following masculine stereotypes benefits both Democratic and Republican female candidates when evaluated by voters of the same political party.

The main analyses found no significant effects for being stereotypic. However, breaking down the comparisons based on candidate partisanship does show some notable differences. The Democratic female candidate experiences a small but statistically insignificant drop in agentic (DID=-0.02, SE=0.03, $p=0.5498$) and communal attribute ratings (DID=-0.02, SE=0.03, $p=0.4656$) in the stereotypic compared to the control condition. The Republican female candidate receives small but statistically insignificant boosts on agentic (DID=0.03, SE=0.04, $p=0.4618$) and communal attributes (DID=0.02, SE=0.03, $p=0.03$). The differences between the Democratic and Republican female candidates are significant on the agentic attributes, $p=0.0362$, and marginally significant on communal attributes, $p=0.0723$ (significant at $p=0.0362$ using a one-tailed t-test). Being stereotypic decreases the categorization of Democratic female candidates as leaders while it increases the categorization of Republican female candidates as leaders. These patterns suggest that Democratic female candidates may face a backlash for being ladies even among co-partisans.

¹⁰ See Web Appendix 3 for the full set of comparisons between Democratic and Republican women.

These differences in the processing of feminine stereotypes for Democratic and Republican women are subtle, and examining the other outcome variables shows these effects do not extend to the overall evaluations of the candidates. The Democratic female candidate who is stereotypic gains on strong leadership, knowledge, warmth, and the feeling thermometer while the effects are insignificant for the Republican female candidate. Being stereotypic may benefit the Democratic female candidate because feminine stereotypes match Democratic Party stereotypes, but feminine stereotypes do not match partisan stereotypes for the Republican female candidate. The Republican female candidate who is stereotypic may present a case of conflicting identities where her partisanship and gender do not match, and in this context fellow partisans have difficulty processing this information (Akerloff and Kranton, 2000).

Experiment 2: Different Partisanship & Counter-Stereotype Effects

The first study looked at the effects of counter-stereotypic strategies when participants and candidates share partisanship, and the second study builds on these findings to investigate counter-stereotype effects when participants and candidates are of the opposite political party.¹¹ The backlash hypothesis argues that shared partisanship immunizes counter-stereotypic female candidates from losing on warmth. In these analyses, I compare the counter-stereotypic to the control group when relative partisanship differs.¹²

The main study documented positive gains for counter-stereotypic female candidates on both measures. When partisanship differs, counter-stereotypic female candidates are still more strongly categorized as leaders with a 0.05 (SE=0.02) boost compared to the control condition, $p < 0.001$. The same-party counter-stereotypic female candidate does receive a 0.10 (SE=0.02)

¹¹ Web Appendix 4 includes the control group means and Web Appendix 5 includes the same party versus different party results comparisons.

¹² A multinomial logit shows that participant age, gender, ideology, income level, and race do not predict group assignment.

increase on the agentic scale compared to the control condition, $p < 0.001$. The difference-in-differences for the different and same-party counter-stereotypic women are statistically significant with the same party female candidate receiving a stronger boost, $p < 0.001$. The different-party counter-stereotypic male candidate, which in this case refers to the feminine male candidate, does suffer a 0.03 drop on the leadership categorization measure, but this is only marginally significant $p = 0.0982$. The same-party counter-stereotypic male candidate's leadership evaluation does not significantly change from the control group ratings. Comparing the 0.03 decrease in evaluation for the counter-stereotypic different party male candidate to the 0.01 decrease for the counter-stereotypic same party male candidate shows these values do not differ significantly from one another.

Relative partisanship does not affect the leadership rating of the counter-stereotypic female candidate, but relative partisanship plays a greater role on the communal ratings. The counter-stereotypic different party female candidate receives more negative ratings along communal dimensions with a 0.07 decrease ($SE = 0.02$) compared to the control condition, $p < 0.001$. This differs from the ratings of the counter-stereotypic female candidate in the same party condition, $p < 0.001$. Separating these comparisons by Democratic and Republican voter partisanship shows no significant differences. When *relative partisanship differs* both Democratic and Republican voters rate the other party counter-stereotypic female candidate as more of a leader but less of a lady. The counter-stereotypic male candidate's rating on communal attributes does not change when relative partisanship differs, $p = 0.2396$, but the counter-stereotypic male candidate does receive a significant 0.04 boost, $p = 0.0221$, on communal attributes among co-partisans. Thus, the counter-stereotypic male candidate has both agentic and communal qualities, while the counter-stereotypic female candidate lacks communal qualities.

The top half of Figure 2 shows the effects of counter-stereotypes on female and male candidates ratings on strong leadership and knowledge based on relative partisanship. Overall, the same party female candidate generally receives a boost on the outcome variables. Counter-stereotypic female candidates receive a 0.06 boost on strong leadership but this increase just falls short of statistical significance ($SE=0.04$, $p=0.1018$, one-tailed $p=0.0509$) and a marginally significant 0.05 boost on knowledge ($SE=0.03$, $p=0.0898$, one-tailed $p=0.0449$) when being evaluated by voters of the opposite political party. The counter-stereotypic male candidate's evaluations do not significantly change on strong leadership and knowledge in the same and different party conditions.

Counter-stereotypic female candidates do face a backlash from voters of the opposite political party on warmth ($DID=-0.11$, $SE=0.03$, $p<0.001$) while the difference on the feeling thermometer is not significant. Partisan differences, alone, could motivate this backlash effect or a combination of partisan differences and gender could jointly motivate this backlash effect. If this backlash effect were only due to partisan differences then the counter-stereotypic male candidate would also receive a backlash. Counter-stereotypic male candidates do *not* face a backlash effect on warmth, and in fact receive a 0.06 boost on warmth that is statistically significant, $p=0.0162$. The difference on the feeling thermometer is not statistically significant. This reinforces the argument that differing partisanship and a female candidate's gender jointly motivate this backlash effect against counter-stereotypic female candidates.

I next compare whether there are significant differences in how Democratic and Republican voters evaluate counter-stereotypic female candidates of the opposite political party. Previous research suggests that Democratic voters are willing to cross party lines to support a Republican female candidate but that Republican voters are not willing to cross party lines to

support a Democratic female candidate (King & Matland, 2003; Brians, 2005). A caveat about the next set of analyses is that breaking apart the conditions by participant partisanship does leave the Republican voter conditions with relatively low power—approximately 30 participants per condition. The Democratic voter conditions have better power with approximately 65 participants per condition; as such the comparisons between the two are not balanced. Thus, these analyses are very preliminary and more work with a balanced partisan sample needs to be done to better understand the gender and partisan dynamics facing counter-stereotypic female candidates. I focus on comparing the difference-in-differences in how Democratic voters rate Republican female candidates and how Republican voters rate Democratic female candidates.

The difference-in-differences in ratings between Democratic and Republican participants is not statistically significant on strong leadership or knowledge—both types of voters give a boost to the other party counter-stereotypic female candidate. Both types of voters also punish the counter-stereotypic female candidate similarly on warmth. On the feeling thermometer rating, Democrats punished the Republican female candidate, but Republicans reward the Democratic female candidate on this dimension. This finding could be spurious given the low power in these conditions but warrants more in-depth analyses.

Results Summary

These two studies suggest that being counter-stereotypic helps female candidate overcome a subtle but pernicious form of gender bias. Under conditions of shared partisanship, counter-stereotypic female candidates face few risks as they receive positive ratings on leadership qualities and communal dimensions. When facing voters of the opposite political party, however, counter-stereotypic female candidates receive more critical evaluations. While counter-stereotypic female candidates still receive positive evaluations on agentic qualities from

voters of the opposite political party, there is a backlash effect on communal qualities. Shared partisanship is an important dynamic that protects counter-stereotypic female candidates from the negative effects of a double-bind.

Discussion

Counter-stereotypes help female candidates overcome the perception they lack positive leadership qualities. As long as a voter and a candidate share the same partisanship, female candidates do not face a backlash effect for breaking with gender stereotypic expectations. This finding builds on previous research showing that female candidates are not subject to a double-bind for breaking with feminine stereotypes (see e.g., Brooks 2013), and further expands on this research to consider how partisanship affects candidate evaluations. Across both studies, feminine stereotypes provided female candidates with little benefits and this suggests that even among co-partisans feminine female candidates may face a backlash from being a lady over a leader. These findings also suggest several avenues for future research about voter responses to counter-stereotypic and stereotypic behavior and differences in responses across partisanship.

A key condition leading to the positive counter-stereotype effects in this study is the positive nature of the counter-stereotype strategies and the positive partisan context in which the evaluations took place. Different contexts may lead to different findings. Female candidates who fail to campaign on feminine issues when their male opponents do can face a backlash for failing to meet this feminine expectation (Windett, 2014). Other contexts find that female candidates can be rewarded for being more masculine such as during a national security crisis (Holman et al., 2011). Future work should exposure the different conditions that may affect the value of counter-stereotypes for female candidates and politicians.

The first study found small partisan differences in response to Democratic and Republican female candidates—especially in the stereotypic, feminine conditions. Feminine stereotypes go against Republican stereotypes, and this clash may harm Republican female candidates. On the other hand, Democratic stereotypes align with feminine stereotypes, and this congruence may benefit feminine Democratic female candidates. Masculine stereotypes, however, have a more expansive effect in that they improve evaluations of both Democratic and Republican female candidates. A useful avenue to examine in future work is how the connection between partisan and gender stereotypes may differentially affect Democratic and Republican woman.

The ability of a female candidate to break with feminine stereotypes successfully depends on the type of voter she is trying to attract. In primary elections, when female candidates are safely among co-partisans, a counter-stereotypic backlash is unlikely to occur. Future work should examine whether there are differences in how Democratic and Republican primary voters respond to co-partisan and counter-stereotypic female candidates. To date, there is little research examining the dynamics of primary elections for female candidates (for exceptions, see Lawless and Pearson (2008); Barnes, Branton, and Cassesse (in press)). In general elections, female candidates need support from their base and, depending on the level of office and type of district, out-partisans. Many female candidates at the congressional level run for office in districts and states that are fairly homogenous in terms of the state's partisanship—but as female candidates run for office at higher levels the ability to attract cross-over support becomes more critical.

Counter-stereotypes benefit female candidates, but these benefits do not extend to male candidates. For male candidates being counter-stereotypic means emphasizing feminine stereotypes, and male candidates may use these strategies to create a tough yet sensitive image.

However, male candidates gain little from such strategies. In fact, male candidates receive less positive evaluations on leadership and feminine qualities when being counter-stereotypic. The best way for a male candidate to convey a tough, yet sensitive image is to follow masculine stereotypes. Masculine stereotypes adhere to the expectations voters have for political leaders, and following these strategies provides benefits to both female and male candidates.

Conclusion

More women are running for political office, but the numbers of women actually in political office are far below any measure of gender parity. Women's gains in Congress and across state legislatures have stalled in the last fifteen years with women holding only 20% of seats in Congress and 25% of seats across state legislatures. The influx of women running for office suggests that entry barriers to the ballot are fading away, but perceptual barriers among voters still exist. Breaking with feminine stereotypes is one strategy female candidates can use to improve their ratings on critical leadership dimensions. These findings, on the one hand, mean that female candidates are not constrained by their gender. But, female candidates gain little from following feminine stereotypes and this means that female candidates still have to manage their gender to downplay feminine stereotypes and play up masculine stereotypes. This research lays the groundwork for identifying how voters respond to the behaviors, traits, and strategies of female politicians inside and outside the context of political campaigns.

References:

- Akerlof, G. A. and Kranton, R. E. (2000). Economics and identity. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(3), 715-753.
- Barnes, T. D., Branton, R. P., and Cassese, E. C. (in press). A Re-examination of Women's Electoral Success in Open Seat Elections: The Conditioning Effect of Electoral Competition. *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*.
- Bauer, N. M. (2015). Who Stereotypes Female Candidates? Identifying Individual Differences in Feminine Stereotype Reliance. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(1), 94-110.
- Bauer, N. M. (in press). Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office: Gender Stereotype Activation and Support for Female Candidates. *Political Psychology*, doi: 10.1111/pops.12186.
- Berinsky, A. J., Margolis, M. F., & Sances, M. W. (2014). Separating the Shirkers from the Workers? Making Sure Respondents Pay Attention on Self-Administered Surveys. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(3), 739-753.
- Biernat, M., & Manis, M. (1994). Shifting Standards and Stereotype Based Judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66(1), 5-20.
- Biernat, M., Manis, M., & Nelson, T. E. (1991). Stereotypes and Standards of Judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(4), 485-499.
- Brooks, D. J. (2011). Testing the Double Standard for Candidate Emotionality: Voter Reactions to the Tears and Anger of Male and Female Politicians. *Journal of Politics*, 73(2), 597-615.
- Brooks, D. J. (2013). *He Runs, She Runs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Dolan, K. (2005). Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(1), 31-44.
- Dolan, K. (2014). *When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates & Gender Stereotypes in American Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role Congruity Theory of Prejudice Toward Female Leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109(3), 573-594.
- Fiske, S. T., & Neuberg, S. L. (1990). A continuum of impression formation, from category-based to individuating processes: Influences of information and motivation on attention and interpretation. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 23). New York: Academic Press.
- Fox, R. L. (2010). Congressional Elections: Women's Candidacies and the Road to Gender Parity. In S. J. Carroll & R. L. Fox (Eds.), *Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fridkin, K. L., & Kenney, P. J. (2011). The Role of Candidate Traits in Campaigns. *Journal of Politics*, 73(1), 61-73.
- Fridkin, K. L., & Kenney, P. J. (2015). *The Changing Face of Representation: The Gender of U.S. Senators and Constituent Communications*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Funk, C. L. (1999). Bringing the Candidate into Models of Candidate Evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 61(3), 700-720.
- Hayes, D. (2005). Candidate Qualities through a Partisan Lens: A Theory of Trait Ownership. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 908-923.

- Hitchon, J. C., & Chang, C. (1995). Effects of Gender Schematic Processing on the Reception of Political Commercials for Men and Women Candidates. *Communication Research*, 22(4), 430-458.
- Holman, M. R., Merolla, J., & Zechmeister, E. (2011). Sex, Stereotypes, and Security: An Experimental Study of the Effect of Crises on Assessments of Gender and Leadership. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 32(3), 173-192.
- Huddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. (1993a). The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office. *Political Research Quarterly*, 46(3), 503-525.
- Huddy, L., & Terkildsen, N. (1993b). Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(1), 119-147.
- Kanthak, K., & Woon, J. (2015). Women Don't Run: Election Aversion and Candidate Entry. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3), 595-612.
- King, D. C., & Matland, R. E. (2003). Sex and the Grand Old Party: An Experimental Investigation of the Effect of Candidate Sex on Support for a Republican Candidate. *American Politics Research*, 31(6), 595-612.
- Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A. A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are Leader Stereotypes Masculine? A Meta-Analysis of Three Research Paradigms. *Psychological Bulletin*, 137(4), 616-642.
- Krupnikov, Y., & Bauer, N. M. (2014). The Relationship Between Campaign Negativity, Gender and Campaign Context. *Political Behavior*, 36(1), 167-188.
- Kunda, Z., & Oleson, K. C. (1997). When Exceptions Prove the Rule: How Extremity of Deviance Determines the Impact of Deviant Examples on Stereotypes. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 72(5), 965-979.
- Kunda, Z., & Sherman-Williams, B. (1993). Stereotypes and the Construal of Individuating Information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 19(1), 90-99.
- Kunda, Z., Sinclair, L., & Griffin, D. (1997). Equal Ratings but Separate Meanings: Stereotypes and the Construal of Traits. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72(4), 720-734.
- Kunda, Z., & Thagard, P. (1996). Forming Impressions from Stereotypes, Traits, and Behaviors: A Parallel-Constraint-Satisfaction Theory. *Psychological Review*, 103(2), 284-308.
- Lawless, J. L. (2004). Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11th Era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57(3), 479-490.
- Lawless, J. L. (2012). *Becoming a Candidate: Political Ambition and the Decision to Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Leeper, M. S. (1991). The Impact of Prejudice on Female Candidates: An Experimental Look at Voter Inference. *American Politics Research*, 19(2), 248-261.
- Miller, A. H., Wattenberg, M. P., & Malanchuk, O. (1986). Schematic Assessments of Presidential Candidates. *American Political Science Review*, 80(2), 521-540.
- Mo, H. C. (2015). The Consequences of Explicit and Implicit Gender Attitudes and Candidate Quality in the Calculations of Voters. *Political Behavior*, 37(2), 357-395.
- Moss-Rascusin, C. A., & Rudman, L. A. (2010). Disruptions in Women's Self-Promotion: The Backlash Avoidance Model. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 34, 186-202.
- Petrocik, J. R. (1996). Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40(3), 825-850.

- Prentice, D. A., & Carranza, E. (2002). What Women and Men Should Be, Shouldn't Be, Are Allowed to Be, and Don't Have to be: The Contents of Prescriptive Gender Stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(4), 269-291.
- Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (1999). Feminized Management and Backlash Toward Agentic Women: The Hidden Costs to Women of a Kinder, Gentler Image of Middle Managers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77, 1004-1010.
- Rudman, L. A., Greenwald, A. G., & McGhee, D. E. (2001). Implicit Self-Concept and Evaluative Implicit Gender Stereotypes: Self and Ingroup Share Desirable Traits. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27(9), 1164-1178.
- Sanbonmatsu, K. (2006). *Where Women Run: Gender and Party in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Sapiro, V., Walsh, K. C., Strach, P., & Hennings, V. (2011). Gender, Context, and Television Advertising: A Comprehensive Analysis of 2000 and 2002 House Races. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(64), 107-119.
- Schneider, M. C. (2014). The Effects of Gender-Bending on Candidate Evaluations. *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, 35, 55-77.
- Schneider, M. C., & Bos, A. L. (2014). Measuring Stereotypes of Female Politicians. *Political Psychology*, 35(2), 245-266.
- Sinclair, L., & Kunda, Z. (1999). Motivated Reasoning With Stereotypes: Activation, Application, and Inhibition. *Psychological Inquiry*, 10(1), 12-22.
- Vinkenburg, C., van Engen, M. L., Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2011). An Exploration of Stereotypical Beliefs about Leadership Styles: Is Transformational Leadership a Route to Women's Promotion? *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22(1), 10-21.
- West, D. (2005). *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns, 1952-2004* (Vol. 4). Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Windett, J. (2014). Gendered Campaign Strategies in U.S. Elections. *American Politics Research*, 42(4), 628-655.
- Winter, N. J. G. (2010). Masculine Republicans and Feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' Explicit and Implicit Images of the Political Parties. *Political Behavior*, 32, 587-618.

Table I: Experimental Design	
Study 1, N=711	
Democratic Partisanship	Republican Partisanship
Female, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=75	Female, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=42
Female, Stereotypic Traits, n=71	Female, Stereotypic Traits, n=47
Female, No Stereotypes, n=75	Female, No Stereotypes, n=46
Male, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=74	Male, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=48
Male, Stereotypic Traits, n=73	Male, Stereotypic Traits, n=45
Male, No Stereotypes, n=70	Male, No Stereotypes, n=45
Study 2, N=1195	
Same Party	Different Party
Female, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=93	Female, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=98
Female, Stereotypic Traits, n=104	Female, Stereotypic Traits, n=101
Female, No Stereotypes, n=103	Female, No Stereotypes, n=101
Male, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=101	Male, Counter-Stereotypic Traits, n=101
Male, Stereotypic Traits, n=99	Male, Stereotypic Traits, n=95
Male, No Stereotypes, n=96	Male, No Stereotypes, n=103

Table II: Sample Demographics					
	SSI Sample	MTurk Sample	2012 Pew	2014 CCES	2010 Census*
% Women	42%	49%	55.74%	53%	50.8%
% Democrats	47%	51%	40%	37%	**
% Republicans	29%	22%	24%	27%	**
% Independents	23%	27%	35%	27%	**
% White	75%	82%	80.87%	74%	74.83%
Age					
18-24	14%	22%	10.25%	8%	13.08%
25-44	36%	51%	23.41%	21%	35.01%
45-64	35%	17.5%	39.01%	47%	34.74%
65+	14%	9.5%	27.33%	25%	17.17%

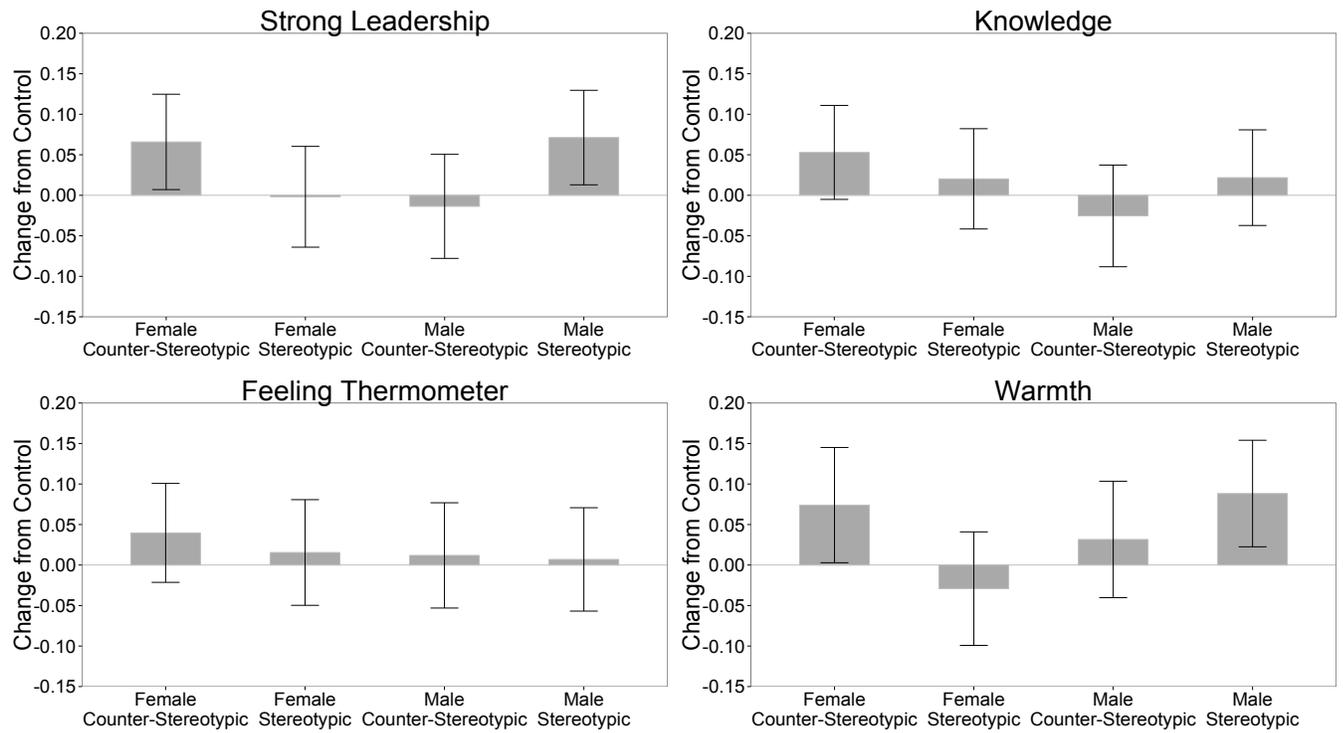
**the Census does not include data on citizen partisanship.

Table III: Candidate Categorization

	Agentic Attributes	Communal Attributes
Female, Counter-Stereotypic	0.0565 ^{***} (0.0213)	0.0654 ^{***} (0.0222)
Female, Stereotypic	-0.0001 (0.0221)	-0.0056 (0.0237)
Male, Counter-Stereotypic	-0.0057 (0.0218)	0.0129 (0.0214)
Male, Stereotypic	0.0527 ^{***} (0.0194)	0.0515 ^{**} (0.0205)

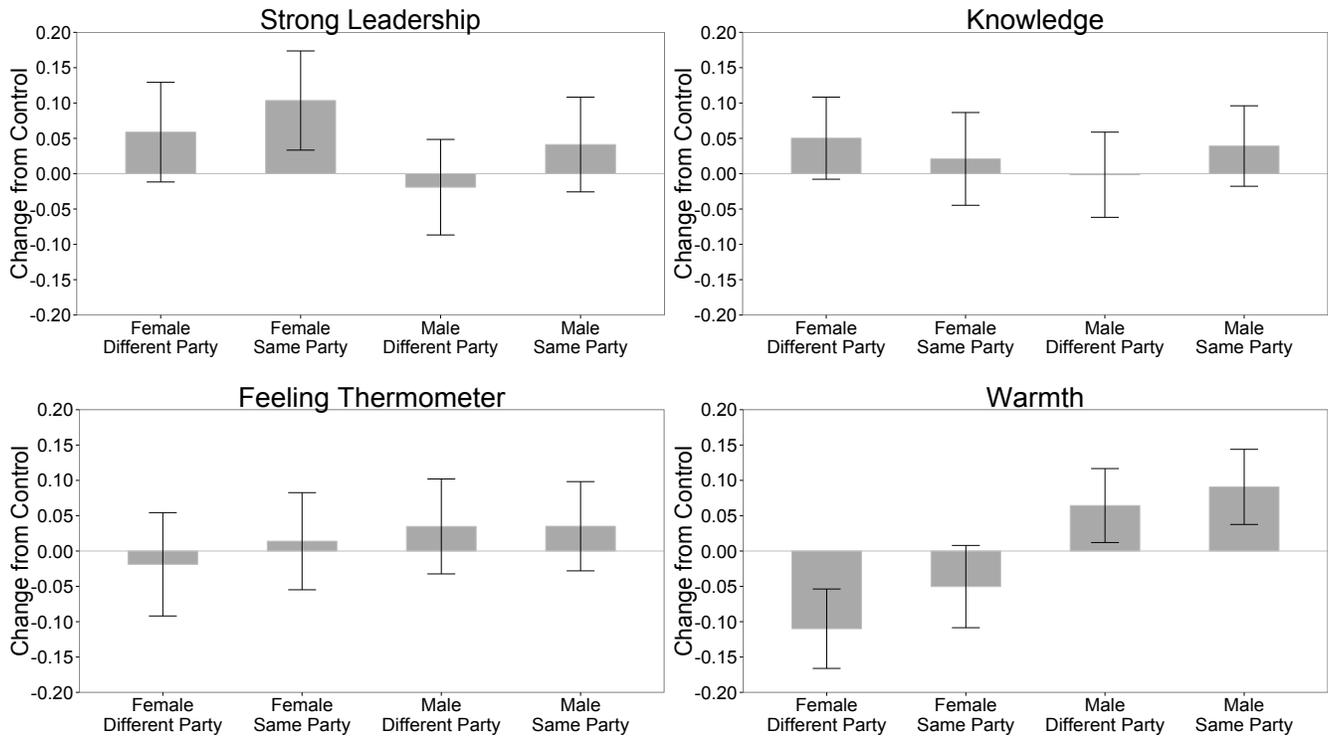
Note: Each cell displays the difference from the treatment to the control condition for each candidate type with the standard errors in parentheses. ^{***}p<0.01, ^{**}p<0.05, ^{*}p<0.10

Figure 1: The Effects of Counter-Stereotypes on Candidate Evaluations



Note: Each bar displays the differences from the treatment to the control group. 95% confidence intervals displayed.

Figure 2: The Effects of Counter-Stereotypes based on Different Relative Partisanship for Female Candidates



Note: Each bar displays the differences from the counter-stereotypic group to the control group. 95% confidence intervals displayed.

Web Appendix 1: Treatments

Stereotypic Female/Counter-Stereotypic Male Manipulation

Race for the Senate Continues

With Election Day drawing closer, Republican/Democrat Susan Foster/Tom Larson attended a rally today to talk about her/his message of change with members of the community. Foster's/Larson's children were at her/his side during the event.

Foster/Larson expressed the need for new compassionate and sensitive voices in Washington. Speaking to parents she/he exclaimed, "I'm a mother/father who cares about my family, and I know how difficult it is to make ends meet. Families today need relief." Foster's/Larson's campaign has emphasized improving conditions for American families and children.

With parents in the community embracing her/his cause, Foster's/Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her/His caring and nurturing approach to politics resonates with families throughout the state. Judy Smith, a parent in the community said of Foster/Larson, "I feel like she/he really understands the challenges facing our community, and we need someone like that representing us."

Counter-Stereotypic Female/Stereotypic Male Manipulation

Race for the Senate Continues

With Election Day drawing closer, Republican/Democrat Susan Foster/Tom Larson attended a rally today to talk about her/his message of change with members of the community. Foster's/Larson's business partners were at her/his side during the event.

Foster/Larson expressed the need for new tough and assertive voices in Washington. Speaking to voters she/he exclaimed, "I'm a business owner who works hard, and I know how difficult it is to make ends meet. People today need relief." Foster's/Larson's campaign has emphasized improving conditions for Americans.

With businesses in the community embracing her/his cause, Foster's/Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her/His aggressive and outspoken approach to politics resonates with voters throughout the state. John Smith, a member of the community said of Foster/Larson, "I feel like she/he really understands the challenges facing our community, and we need someone like that representing us."

Control Conditions

Race for the Senate Continues

With Election Day drawing closer, Republican/Democrat Susan Foster/Tom Larson attended a rally today to talk about her/his message of change with members of the community.

Foster/Larson expressed the need for new voices in Washington. Speaking, he/she exclaimed, "I know how difficult it is to make ends meet. People today need relief." Foster's/Larson's campaign has emphasized improving conditions.

Foster's/Larson's campaign has gained momentum in recent weeks. Her/His approach to politics resonates with voters throughout the state. One member of the community said of Foster/Larson, "I feel like she/he really understands the challenges facing our community, and we need someone like that representing us."

Web Appendix 2: Study One: Control Group Comparisons

Study 1: Control Group Means (SD)			
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	p-value
Agentic Attributes	0.42 (0.16)	0.44 (0.17)	0.3368
Strong Leadership	0.64 (0.23)	0.63 (0.26)	0.6424
Knowledge	0.66 (0.23)	0.67 (0.25)	0.6748
Communal Attributes	0.38 (0.17)	0.41 (0.17)	0.2685
Feeling Therm.	0.60 (0.25)	0.57 (0.26)	0.3794
Warmth	0.66 (0.27)	0.65 (0.28)	0.6232

Web Appendix 3: Study One: Across Party Comparisons

Across Partisan Comparisons: Agentic Variables									
Counter-Stereotypic Conditions									
	Agentic Attributes			Strong Leadership			Knowledge		
	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID
Female	.051*	.063*	-.011	.059	.077	-.018	.055	.049	.006
Male	-.002	.012	-.014	-.032	.015	-.047	-.025	-.027	.002
DID	.053***	.051**		.091***	.062*		.079***	.076**	
Stereotypic Conditions									
	Agentic Attributes			Strong Leadership			Knowledge		
	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID
Female	-.017	.027	-.044**	.020	.035	.055*	.053	-.029	.082**
Male	.074***	.019	.054***	.080**	.057	.023	.033	.003	.030
DID	-.091***	.003		-.060**	-.091**		.020	-.032	

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. All tests of significance are two-tailed. All effects are the average evaluation in the treatment condition minus the control condition. Positive numbers mean a more favorable evaluation in the treatment condition.

Across Partisan Comparisons: Communal Variables									
Counter-Stereotypic Conditions									
	Communal Attributes			Feeling Therm.			Warmth		
	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID
Female	.064**	.064*	.001	.029	.059	-.030	.058	.098	-.040
Male	-.007	.043	-.050***	.024	-.008	.032	.061*	.014	
DID	.071***	.021		.004	.066*				
Stereotypic Conditions									
	Communal Attributes			Feeling Therm.			Warmth		
	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID	Dem	Rep	DID
Female	-.022	.022	-.043*	.049	-.035	.084*	-.045	-.001	-.044
Male	.087***	-.006	.093***	.025	-.020	.046	.148	.084	-.087**
DID	-.109***	.028		.024	.015		-.193***	.006	

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. All tests of significance are two-tailed. All effects are the average evaluation in the treatment condition minus the control condition. Positive numbers mean a more favorable evaluation in the treatment condition.

Web Appendix 4: Second Study Control Group Means

Study 2: Control Group Means (SD)						
	Diff. Party Female	Diff. Party Male	p-value	Same Party Female	Same Party Male	p-value
Agentic Attributes	.39 (.12)	.42 (.13)	.0853	.38 (.11)	.41 (.11)	.0895
Strong Leadership	.46 (.25)	.48 (.22)	.5024	.53 (.25)	.49 (.24)	.1848
Knowledge	.55 (.21)	.58 (.20)	.1305	.61 (.23)	.61 (.22)	.8953
Communal Attributes	.45 (.14)	.38 (.13)	.0002	.44 (.15)	.39 (.12)	.0055
Feeling Therm.	.46 (.26)	.46 (.22)	.8744	.54 (.24)	.52 (.23)	.6260
Warmth	.49 (.21)	.48 (.18)	.7249	.51 (.21)	.50 (.20)	.9433

Web Appendix 5: Study 2: Same vs. Different Partisan Comparisons

Second Study Comparisons: Same vs. Different Party Candidates									
Counter-Stereotypic Conditions									
	Agentic Attributes			Strong Leadership			Knowledge		
	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID
Female	.098 ^{***}	.053 ^{***}	.012	.104 ^{***}	.058 [*]	.045 [*]	.021	.050 [*]	-.029
Male	-.016	-.031 ^{***}	.015	.041	-.019	.060 ^{**}	.039	-.001	-.041 [*]
DID	.115 ^{***}	.085 ^{***}		.063 ^{**}	.078 ^{***}		-.018	.052 ^{**}	
Stereotypic Conditions									
	Agentic Attributes			Strong Leadership			Knowledge		
	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID
Female	-.023 [*]	-.057 ^{***}	.034 ^{***}	-.015	-.033	.018	-.006	.001	-.007
Male	.092 ^{***}	.059 ^{***}	.033 ^{**}	.131 ^{***}	.053	-.078 ^{***}	.019	-.043	.063 ^{***}
DID	-.116 ^{***}	-.117 ^{***}		-.146 ^{***}	-.086 ^{***}		-.025	-.045 ^{**}	

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. All tests of significance are two-tailed. All effects are the average evaluation in the treatment condition minus the control condition. Positive numbers mean a more favorable evaluation in the treatment condition.

Second Study Comparisons: Same vs. Different Party Candidates									
Counter-Stereotypic Conditions									
	Communal Attributes			Feeling Therm.			Warmth		
	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID
Female	-.017	-.065 ^{***}	.048 ^{***}	.014	-.019	.033	-.050 [*]	-.109 ^{***}	.060 ^{***}
Male	.040 ^{**}	.023	.017	.035	.035	.001	.091 ^{***}	.064 ^{**}	-.026
DID	-.057 ^{***}	-.088 ^{***}		-.021	-.054 ^{**}		-.141 ^{***}	-.174 ^{***}	
Stereotypic Conditions									
	Communal Attributes			Feeling Therm.			Warmth		
	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID	Same Party	Diff. Party	DID
Female	.085 ^{***}	.040 ^{**}	.044 ^{***}	.029	-.026	.055 ^{**}	.106 ^{***}	.052 [*]	.054 ^{***}
Male	-.040 ^{**}	-.082 ^{***}	.042 ^{***}	.007	-.068 ^{**}	.075 ^{***}	-.084 ^{***}	-.152 ^{***}	.067 ^{***}
DID	.125 ^{***}	.122 ^{***}		.021	.043 ^{**}		.190 ^{***}	.203 ^{***}	

* p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01. All tests of significance are two-tailed. All effects are the average evaluation in the treatment condition minus the control condition. Positive numbers mean a more favorable evaluation in the treatment condition.