Implicit Gender Cues in Candidate Communication

Jennifer J. Jones
Doctoral Candidate in Political Psychology
University of California, Irvine
jonesjj@uci.edu

August 30, 2016

Abstract

Communication is a major element of strategic self-presentation for political leaders and candidates for office. Work in social psychology and linguistics report reliable and consistent gender differences in the use of linguistic style words–the most frequent yet unassuming words we use in everyday language. Jones (2016) uses this insight to examine the gendered communication strategies that Hillary Clinton used as she ascended into more powerful political roles, finding that Clinton talks more "like a man" than she used to. However, it is unclear whether individuals have clear impressions of the ways men and women tend to structure language. Nor is it clear that gendered linguistic styles have an effect on perceptions of political figures or candidates for office. Therefore, I conducted two studies to explore the perceived difference and the potential effect of gendered linguistic styles. Results from study 1 show that participants associated the gender of feminine and masculine candidate statements in a manner that was reasonably consistent with gender-linked communication patterns, however, in the context of a campaign study, male candidates tended to be the default choice. Moreover, participants showed clear associations between feminine statements and the Democratic party, and masculine statements and the Republican party, lending support to Hayes (2011) and Winter (2010). Results from study 2 show a significant difference in participant evaluations of political candidates depending on the gendered style of communication used in candidate statements. Participants rated candidates with a feminine statement to be significantly more warm than candidates with a masculine statement, regardless of candidate gender. No significant difference on competence ratings was found between male and female candidates, supporting findings from Brooks (2013), Dolan (2014), and Hayes and Lawless (2015). Together these studies provide important insight into the perceptions of gendered communication on the campaign trail, which have implications for priming attitudes about gender and partisanship on the campaign trail.[1]

---

[1]This paper is a chapter of my dissertation.

> I get it that some people just don't know what to make of me.
> –Hillary Clinton, in her acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention

Like many of her past speeches, reactions to Hillary Clinton's historic acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention focused not on what she said, but how she said it. Fox News commentator Greg Gutfeld tweeted "even when she says, 'you know,' it's recited like a wind up doll"[2] and New York Times columnist David Brooks told PBS News anchor Judy Woodruff that Clinton failed to "emotionally connect" in her speech.[3] When then-Senator Obama spoke at the 2008 convention, it aligned with our expectations about how a leader should talk. Yet this is rarely, if ever, true for Clinton. When Clinton talks, she comes across as "unrelaxed"[4], "hair-raising"[5], "hectoring"[6], "nagging"[7] and "grating"[8] — at least to some people. It conflicts with expectations about how she should talk. Such comments illustrate a paradox that women in leadership roles confront. As a leader, Clinton is compared against traditionally masculine qualities that have long been associated with leadership—strength, determination, self-confidence, and more. She is criticized when she fails to display masculine leadership qualities and she is criticized and disliked when she fails to display feminine warmth. Despite her critics, however, Clinton has successfully navigated a path toward leadership in a profession dominated by men and by a male model.

How do female politicians like Clinton position themselves for success? Women rarely act "like women" to achieve power and influence in politics. Women aspiring toward leadership are more often pressured to adopt masculine styles of behavior in order to get their points across. The classic example is Margaret Thatcher, who was trained to lower her naturally high-pitched voice[9] in order to communicate with more authority (Cameron, 2005). In previous research I found that as Clinton transitioned from first lady to US senator to secretary of state, she spoke in an increasingly masculine way.[10] In talking more "like a man," Clinton has conformed to prominent gender norms in American politics. I argue that Clinton's career testifies to the conformities —and perhaps even contortions— that women undergo to achieve power and influence in a male-dominated political system. Clinton's example raises questions about the expectations we place on political leaders and the perceptions that women hold about their own ability to succeed in the political arena. Do women have to talk like men to be successful in politics? Why would a woman want to run for

---

[2]Greg Gutfeld Twitter, https://twitter.com/greggutfeld/status/758854585565917185
[3]PBS NewsHour, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WQs22igP–6c
[4]Bob Woodward, www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1602/06/smer.01.html
[5]Geraldo Riviera, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3CE9zdlhjzw
[6]Andrew Sullivan, www.advocate.com/andrew-sullivan
[7]Maureen Dowd, www.nytimes.com/2007/09/30/opinion/30dowd.html
[8]Katie Pavlich, https://youtu.be/iX-ZX73LYqA
[9]Watch "Margaret Thatcher voice before/after" at www.youtube.com/watch?v=28_0gXLKLbk
[10]Jones (2016) is forthcoming in the September edition of *Perspectives on Politics* but is now available to read online at dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592716001092

office if she has to act like someone she's not? These questions are the foundation for the research presented in this paper.

As with the Clinton study, I examine the concept of gendered linguistic styles, which draws from research in political psychology, political communication, social psychology, and linguistics. Linguistic style does not refer to the content or substance of language, but rather, to the linguistic structures —pronouns, articles, prepositions, and more- that shape and connect our thoughts into meaningful forms of communication. Work in social psychology and linguistics report reliable and consistent gender differences in linguistic style (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Pennebaker, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2013). I used this insight to examine the gendered communication patterns in Clinton's language over time and ultimately to conclude that Clinton talks more "like a man" than she used to. However, given the subtlety of linguistic style, it is unclear whether individuals have clear impressions of the ways men and women tend to structure language. Nor is it clear that gendered linguistic styles have an effect on perceptions of political figures or candidates for office. Do individuals have implicit knowledge of feminine and masculine linguistic styles and if so, does it matter?

To resolve these questions, I conducted two studies measuring the perceived difference and the potential effect of gendered linguistic styles. My objectives were to determine (1) if individuals reliably associate gendered linguistic styles with a politician's gender and/or party, and (2) the extent that gender-linked language matters for male and female candidate evaluations. Study 1 investigated whether gendered linguistic patterns in candidate statements act as an implicit cue by asking participants to identify the gender and partisan affiliation of the statement's author. Results show that participants overwhelmingly associated masculine statements with male candidates and, to a lesser degree, feminine statements with female candidates. Participants also showed strong associations between masculine statements and the Republican party and between feminine statements and the Democratic party, lending support to Hayes (2011) and Winter (2010).

Study 2 is a twist on the classic Goldberg experiment where the gender of a set of fictitious candidates was randomly assigned between groups, while leaving all else equal. I tested whether participants rated candidates differently on warmth and competence dimensions depending on whether the candidate's statement was written with a feminine or masculine linguistic style. Results show that participants rated candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth regardless of the candidate's gender, but do not show that competence ratings were significantly affected by candidate gender or statement style, lending support to recent work by Brooks (2013) and Hayes and Lawless (2015). Such findings have a number of important implications for public perceptions and expectations of candidates running for office, for the interactions between party and

gender stereotypes as well as for candidate communication strategies.

Gender on the campaign trail

Voters are the primary audience on the receiving line of candidate communication and their evaluations of political candidates can be consequential. A well-developed body of literature suggests that voters stereotype candidates based on their gender (e.g. Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Hayes, 2011; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; King and Matland, 2003; Winter, 2008), however recent studies call into question whether female candidates encounter a more difficult campaign environment than men (Brooks, 2013; Hayes and Lawless, 2015). Several studies find voters stereotypically assign female candidates with traditional gender traits and abilities and believe they are more competent when dealing with "feminine issues" related to social welfare, but less competent dealing with "masculine issues" such as crime, defense, and the economy (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; King and Matland, 2003). Herrnson, Lay and Stokes (2003) find female candidates are more successful when they are able to capitalize on gender stereotypes that are favorable toward women (e.g. trustworthiness) and women's issues and when they target female voters. Strach et al. (2015) found that ads using women's voices were perceived to be more credible than men's when the ad was about feminine or gender-neutral issues whereas ads using men's voices were more credible than women's when they featured masculine issues.

At the same time, some recent work defies the logic of the double bind. Brooks (2013) finds that among hypothetical candidates who had the same profile but different gendered names (e.g. Karen or Kevin), female candidates were rated similarly to males on traits such as competence, empathy, and the ability to handle an international crisis. Brooks (2013) also finds that inexperienced female candidates were rated as stronger, more honest, and more compassionate than inexperienced male candidates. Moreover, Hayes and Lawless (2015) find that in the 2010 midterm elections, neither voters nor journalists assessed candidates in gendered terms. They report that and male and female candidates were mentioned and treated similarly in local news coverage (Hayes and Lawless, 2015). Such work suggests a more equitable landscape for women in politics, but it goes against most established research on the subject. More work is needed until we can be confident in the notion that men and women are treated equally on the campaign trail.

This is further complicated by the fact that voters have gendered views of political parties. Several studies find that voters attribute partisanship to a candidate based on sex, viewing men as more conservative and women as more liberal (King and Matland, 2003; Winter, 2010). Voters tend to view the Republican Party as more masculine and more competent in dealing with masculine issues, such as foreign policy, whereas

the Democratic Party is seen as more feminine and more competent in dealing with feminine issues, such as education and healthcare (Hayes, 2011; Winter, 2010). Winter (2010) finds that the association between party and gender is not only explicitly expressed in surveys, but implicitly as well, suggesting that there are underlying cognitive associations between party and gender. There is even evidence to suggest that Republican and Democratic women differ in terms of visual appearance, and that this acts as a reliable partisan cue to voters (Carpinella and Johnson, 2013). In a series of experiments, participants were increasingly accurate in identifying Republican women as the number of feminine facial features increased (Carpinella and Johnson, 2013). The gendered nature of political parties may not be unique to the US political system either. Inglehart and Norris (2000) provide evidence to suggest the left-right ideological spectrum in other democratic systems evoke similar associations of gender.

Research has shown that these stereotypes can influence candidate evaluations (Herrnson, Lay and Stokes, 2003), voting behavior (Dolan, 2008), media coverage (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009) as well as the campaign strategies and messages adopted by party leaders and female candidates for office (Banwart and McKinney, 2005; Bystrom et al., 2004; Dittmar, 2015; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). In an analysis of professional campaign consultants and Dittmar (2014) finds gender to be a major consideration that affect a candidate's decisions about their self-presentation and campaign strategy. Dittmar (2015) argues that gender is embedded in the expectations for and behaviors of political candidates. In debates, Bystrom et al. (2004) find that female candidates who emphasized masculine traits in their campaigns were also more likely to win their races. Banwart and McKinney (2005) report that female candidates are more likely to identify with stereotypically masculine character traits in their campaign appeals than their male opponents. In campaign ads containing a voice-over announcer, Strach et al. (2015) found 63 percent used a male voice and 28 percent used a female voice— favoring the use of men in campaign ads by a 2:1 ratio. In short, gender is clearly a strategic consideration in campaign communication even if it is not clear how gender affects voter's perceptions on Election Day.

Social Psychological Theories of Identity

We define ourselves— and others—in terms of our social identities. When making an introduction, we might respond, for example, "My name is Mary. I'm a mother of three children, a high school chemistry teacher and a fan of crime TV." In doing so, each of these identities (or roles)—mother, teacher, fan of crime TV—carry certain, distinguishing characteristics and attributes that shape who we are, who we see ourselves to be, and how we are treated by others. Such categorization helps to orient our own behavior and other's behavior

toward us. So too does language, which I will discuss in the following section.

In political psychology, questions about group-based identities, differences, and behaviors are largely founded on the assumptions underlying social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987). A well-established body of research demonstrates that social identities including gender, race, religion, and partisanship fuel group-based attachments, and consequently shape perceptions, attitudes, and judgments of the political world (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkes, 2012; Kinder and Sears, 1981; Tesler, 2014; Tesler and Sears, 2010; Winter, 2008). However, the availability or salience of a particular social identity largely depends on the context or situation. For example, as the first black president, Barack Obama's race is a highly salient feature of his identity and indeed, attitudes toward race factor significantly into public evaluations of his performance (Tesler, 2014; Tesler and Sears, 2010). When women are a minority within a group, such as in national or statewide elective offices, their identity as women is more salient. As women reach positions of higher power and authority, their gender is increasingly salient. A female chief executive or commander-in-chief defies normal expectations, thereby heightening the salience of her gender identity. The salience of gender is thus key to understanding the explicit and implicit assumptions made about who a female politician is and how she should behave.

Expectations of gender play a significant role in shaping how we "perform" gender. Viewed in this way, gender is a set of actions learned through cultural socialization, narratives, language, and other performative acts, which conform to or reject societal expectations and thus reflect such distinctions between male and female (Butler, 1999). Language is one site where these stylized performances occur. Mulac (2006) find that individuals have consistent gender-linked language stereotypes, which affect perceptions of the speaker. The way we use language thus reflects our sense of identity, our self-perception, and societal expectations that shape beliefs about how we "should" act. For a female politician, this performance factors into her strategic self-presentation. It is tied to the societal expectations and electoral constraints she perceives as well as the institutional norms of behavior that shape interaction and impact her ability to achieve her goals.

Stereotype Content Model

Like the social identity approach, the Stereotype Content Model (SCM Fiske et al., 2002) is also premised on the notion that prejudicial attitudes and stereotyping are consequences of the social structural relationships between groups. The SCM suggests that stereotypes are based on two "universal dimensions of social perception"—warmth and competence (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy and Glick, 2007). Fiske et al. (2002) suggest that perceptions of warmth and competence are organized along the social structural

relationships that exist between groups, (1) the groups' relative socio-economic status (high vs. low), and (2) the relative interdependence between groups. A group's status fuels perceptions of competence, whereas the group's interdependence with other groups fuels perceptions of warmth, and the combination of these factors shape the stereotypes associated with a given group.

Evaluations on both dimensions often reveal ambivalent stereotypes, which combine both hostile and favorable beliefs towards the same target group. This is often the case for women, providing a framework for understanding the logic behind the double binds faced by women in politics and in other leadership positions. When women are perceived highly on one dimension, they tend to be perceived negatively on the other dimension. For example, working women without children are seen as competent but cold, however when working women become mothers, perceptions of competence suffer and warmth improves (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2004). Moreover, this pattern does not occur when men become fathers. Instead, when men become fathers they gain perceived warmth and maintain perceived competence (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2004).

Implicit associations

One of the difficulties in conducting research on bias and stereotyping are the tools that researchers have available to measure such attitudes. Most common measures of inter-group prejudice such as modern sexism (Swim 1995) rely on self-reported attitudes towards particular groups in society and are typically presented in a survey format. Self-reports rely on interviewees to explicitly report their own bias or prejudice toward a particular group, which is extremely problematic given how pervasive motivated reasoning and self-serving biases are (e.g. Dovidio, Kawakami and Gaertner, 2002; Lodge and Taber, 2013; Pronin, Gilovich and Ross, 2004; Tetlock, 2005). Admitting prejudice is not a socially desirable response and consequently, individuals are likely to misrepresent their "true" or underlying feelings about certain groups (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998). Researchers have long recognized the need for better measurement techniques and in recent years, have turned to using implicit measures to study attitudes on socially sensitive topics (for a review, see Fazio and Olson, 2003). One innovation in this area is the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998), which reports the strength of automatic, implicit associations by measuring an individual's reaction time when tasked with associating two targeted social groups with positive or negative words or with specific traits and attributes (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998). Since implicit associations do not require introspective thinking, the role of self-reflective and deliberative thinking is reduced when utilizing measurement tools such as the IAT (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998; Nosek, Banaji and Greenwald, 2002). Such techniques may therefore reduce the level of bias that

accompanies self-report measures and they may better reflect the internal processes that underlie group-based prejudice (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998).

Using implicit attitude measures, Lodge and Taber (2013) find that salient, automatic evaluations toward in- and out-group members influence political attitudes and result in a cascade of biasing effects. They also provide evidence that subliminal priming influences conscious deliberation and subsequent evaluation of politicians and political issues even when the priming material (e.g. a smiley face) is wholly unrelated to the people or issues in question (Lodge and Taber, 2013). In a study of the infamous "Willie Horton" campaign ad broadcast during the 1988 presidential election, Mendelberg (2001) finds that framing crime in terms of a black felon whose race was not explicitly mentioned, but whose face was depicted on screen, made race more cognitively accessible in voters' minds and subsequently activated white voters' implicit racial biases when they turned out to vote. Chants to "build that wall" are not explicitly racist since most people outwardly reject racism, but like the Willie Horton ad, such appeals evoke underlying resentment toward Mexicans, and can fuel identity politics to dramatic effect. Political attitudes are thus affected by the conscious and unconscious feelings we have toward individuals and groups associated with a particular policy or issue— a process Winter (2008) terms "group implication." In a series of experiments, Winter (2008) finds that issue frames which implicitly invoke gender or race activate a conceptual lens— or set of predispositions— by which individuals view and form opinions about the issue in question. Yet he finds that issue frames which explicitly invoke gender are not effective in altering the conceptual lens that study participants used to evaluate the issue. Valentino, Hutchings, and White (2002) report similar effects from implicit racial messages. Activating implicit, rather than explicit, attitudes makes this a potent and subversive form of political massaging.

Such research expands and greatly advances the existing literature on public opinion and electoral behavior, which has long been dominated by rational choice approaches in political science. Examining the cognitive processes involved in social categorization opens the "black box" of decision-making and deliberation, and provides invaluable insight into the ways individuals reason about politics. In a similar vein, I investigate whether linguistic style can act as an implicit cue for a candidate's gender and/or party affiliation and whether such cues affect candidate evaluations.

Methods

Language is a Gateway into the Political Mind

The way we speak is intrinsically linked to our gender identity and to the political climates we surround ourselves in. My analysis of Clinton's language draws on research conducted by psychologist James Pennebaker of the University of Texas at Austin. Pennebaker and his colleagues have discovered that men and women tend to speak differently – not necessarily in the content or topics of their conversations, but in the use of seemingly unremarkable "function words," such as pronouns and prepositions. Whereas content words are "concepts particular to a given sentence," function words "are used to specify kinds of information, like tense or case, that are expressed in all or most sentences" (Pinker 1994, 784). We use function words to structure and connect our thoughts when communicating with others. For this reason, they reflect both the deeply social nature of communication as well as how individuals organize and orient themselves within the world. Pennebaker (2011) argues that this process of organization serves an important social purpose and, consequently, function words reveal much about the speaker's mind, their social status in society, as well as the situational context.

Function words are the most commonly written and spoken words in the English language, but because they have little semantic meaning by themselves, they are often implicit in speech and are not always consciously evaluated when speaking (Pennebaker, Mehl and Niederhoffer, 2003; Pinker, 1994; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010). When reading a story aloud, patients with damage to the language areas of the brain tend to omit function words but successfully read content words, suggesting that the brain processes function words differently from content words (Pinker, 1994). A growing body of research (aided by computational methods of analyzing speech) report broad patterns among various populations in their use of function words, or their linguistic style. In prior research, linguistic style has been linked to personality traits, levels of depression, relationship quality, status and social hierarchy, gender, and more (for a review, see Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010).

Measuring feminine and masculine linguistic styles

Schwartz et al. (2013) and Newman et al. (2008) report reliable and consistent gender differences in linguistic style through their analysis of tens of thousands of speech (verbal and written) samples from both men and women. In general and on average, women tend to use pronouns (especially 1st person singular pronouns), verbs and auxiliary verbs, social, emotional, cognitive and tentative words more frequently then men ((Arga-

mon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2013). In general and on average, men tend to use nouns, big words (defined as words greater than 6 letters), articles, prepositions, anger and swear words more frequently than women (Argamon et al., 2007, 2003; Mulac, 2006; Newman et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2013).

Table 1: Linguistic Style Differences Between Men and Women

Feminine Markers	Example	Masculine Markers	Example
Pronouns	anyone, her, this, you	Big words (>6 letters)	America, industrial
1st person singular	I, me, my	1st person plural	our, us, we, we've
Common verbs	are, need, start, went	Articles	a, an, the
Auxiliary verbs	am, don't, will	Prepositions	to, above, with, in
Positive emotion	agree, happy, relief	Swear words	shit, bitch, bastard
Negative emotion	cried, disagree, evil	Anger words	hate, kill, annoy
Social references	child, citizen, said, who		
Cognitive mechanisms	because, think, believe		
Tentative words	appear, chance, maybe		

In both studies, "masculine" and "feminine" candidate statements were constructed using this insight.

Candidate Statement Styles

In both studies, participants were asked to read eight randomly ordered, fictitious candidate statements that ranged from 150 to 200 words in length. In all scenarios, participants were told that statements came from candidates running for the US Senate. Half of the statements were exemplars of a masculine linguistic style and the other half were exemplars of a feminine linguistic style. "Masculine" and "feminine" statements are defined according to findings discussed in Pennebaker (2011), Schwartz et al. (2013) and Newman et al. (2008).[11]

To construct the statements, I first collected a convenience sample of candidate statements from state voter information guides for states that made archived guides available for elections prior and up to 2012. I then computed the ratio of feminine to masculine words in each statement and retained those that showed the clearest masculine or feminine patterns. I edited the statements to be vague in terms of ideology and partisanship and to remove any identifying information (e.g. references to people by name, state-specific locations, etc.). I also edited statements so that there was, linguistically, a clear contrast between the feminine and masculine statements. The feminine/masculine ratio ranged from 1.73 - 2.41 for feminine statements and 0.74 - 0.94 for masculine statements.

---

[11]See Appendix for candidate statements

All statements were written from a "Washington outsider," non-incumbent perspective. Although vague, statements were written with a broad theme where policy positions tend to be all-encompassing (e.g. growing small businesses, fighting the corrupting influence of special interests). Two statements (one masculine and one feminine) focused on: (1) the economy and jobs, (2) special interests and government accountability, (3) experience, effective leadership abilities, and practical problem-solving, and (4) trust in government and opportunities for future generations. Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and respond to Swim's (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

Study 1

Study 1 explored whether individuals have implicit knowledge of gendered linguistic styles by measuring how often study participants matched feminine candidate statements with female candidates and masculine candidate statements with male candidates. Similarly, study 1 explored whether gendered linguistic patterns act as a cue for the two major political parties in the US by measuring how often study participants associated feminine candidate statements with a Democratic candidate and masculine candidate statements with a Republican candidate.

Although this was an exploratory study, I expected participants to associate feminine candidate statements with female candidates and masculine candidate statements with male candidates (H1). I also expected participants to associate feminine statements with the Democratic party and masculine statements with the Republican party (H2). This is consistent with research that suggests voters view the Republican party as masculine, and the Democratic Party as feminine (Hayes, 2011; Winter, 2010).

Procedure

In study 1, participants were asked to identify, to the best of their ability, the gender and partisanship of the candidate whose candidate statement was given on the page. Participants encountered a randomly presented candidate statement and were required to stay on this page for 30 seconds before moving onto the next page. The next page repeated the candidate statement and asked participants to respond to two questions with two response choices for each: (1) Was the author of the candidate statement most likely written by a male or female candidate?; (2) Was the author of the candidate statement most likely written by a Republican or Democrat? Participants repeated these steps in this format for the remaining seven candidate statements. Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and responded to Swim's (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

Participants

A notice inviting participation to "identify the author of short political statements" was posted to Mechanical Turk, Amazon's online marketplace for human intelligence tasks. Participants were offered a small financial incentive to participate. By using MTurk's screening process, participation was limited to individuals with an IP addresses in the United States who were at least 18 years old and who speak English. In study 1, 448 (221 women) MTurk respondents consented to and completed the survey. All incomplete surveys were removed from the analysis.

The modal age group of participants was 25–34. Nearly 40 percent of participants live in the South[12] and 36 percent identified as Democrats, 24 percent as Republicans, 28 percent Independents and the rest identified with another party or did not know. 84 percent said they were registered to vote and 73 percent reported voting in the 2012 presidential election.

Results

I tested whether the proportion of participants selecting "female candidate" for feminine statements and "male candidate" for masculine statements differed significantly from random chance. Seen in figure 1, for the masculine statements, 77 percent of participants identified the author as a male candidate versus 23 percent who identified a female candidate, which is significantly different (χ^2 (1) = 503.63, p <.001). As seen in figure 2, there was some variation among the individual statements, however the general trend was true for all masculine statements. For the four feminine statements, 48 percent of participants identified the statement author as a female candidate, whereas 52 percent identified a male candidate, which is not significantly different from chance. Considering each feminine statement separately, on only one statement was the author's gender more likely to be identified as a female candidate (58 percent), which is significantly different (χ^2 (1) = 11.57, p <.001). For the remaining three feminine statements, participants identified the author as a female between 42 and 50 percent of the time, which can be seen in figure 2. Limiting the study to instances where participants identified a female candidate, 67 percent were for feminine statements versus 33 percent for masculine statements, which is significantly different from chance (χ^2 (1) = 155.01, p <.001).

---

[12]"The South," as defined by the Census, includes AL, AR, DE, D.C., FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

Figure 1: Overall Association Between Gender and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)
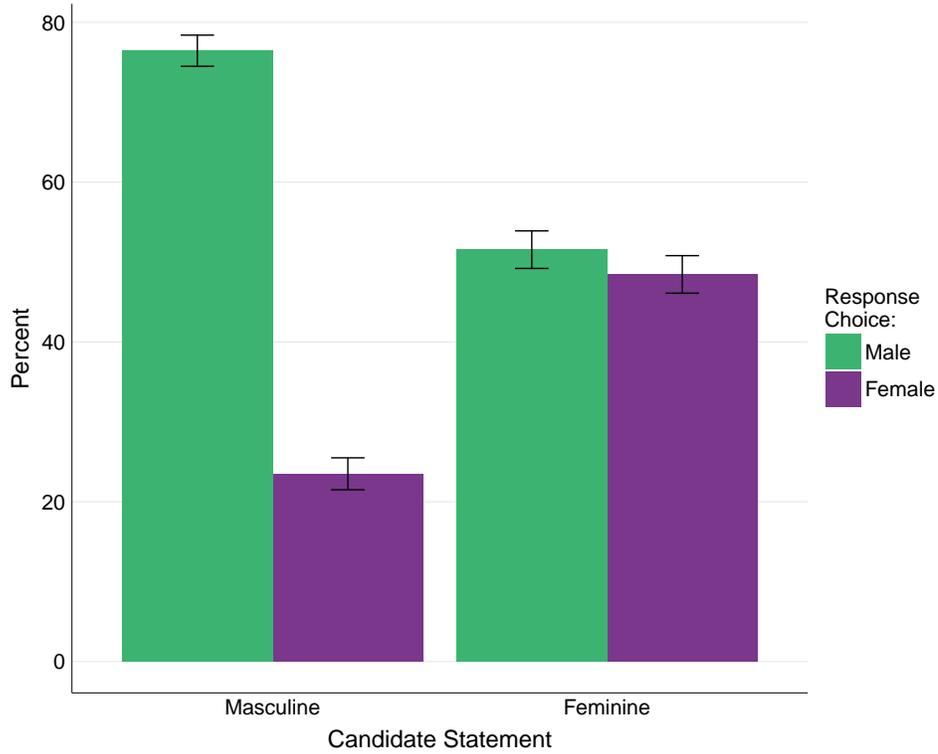
Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence limits

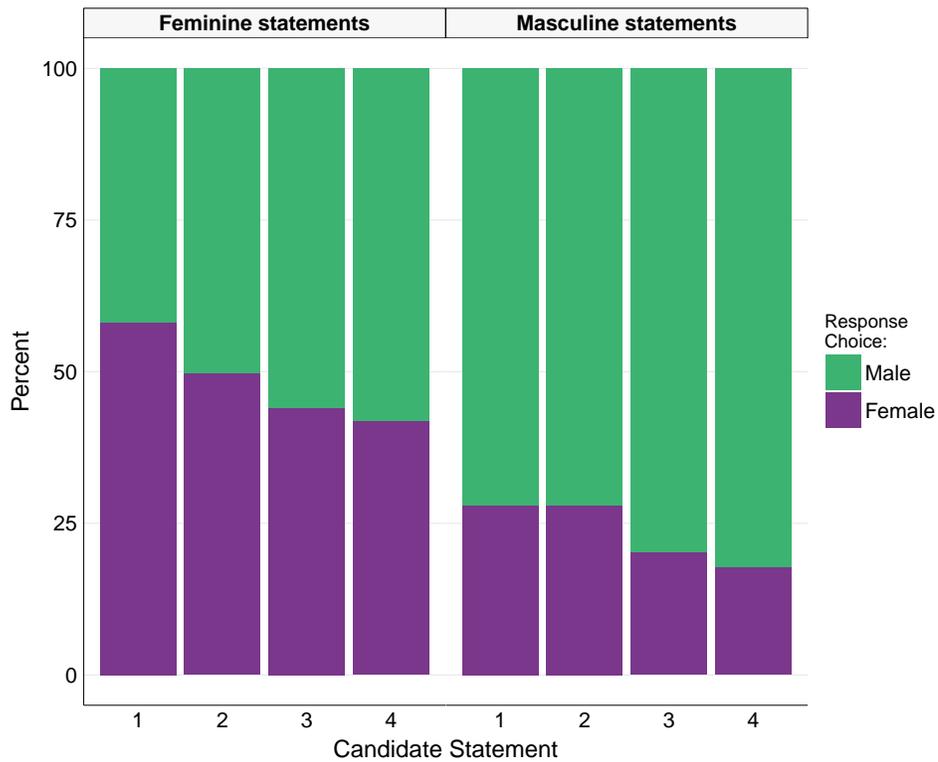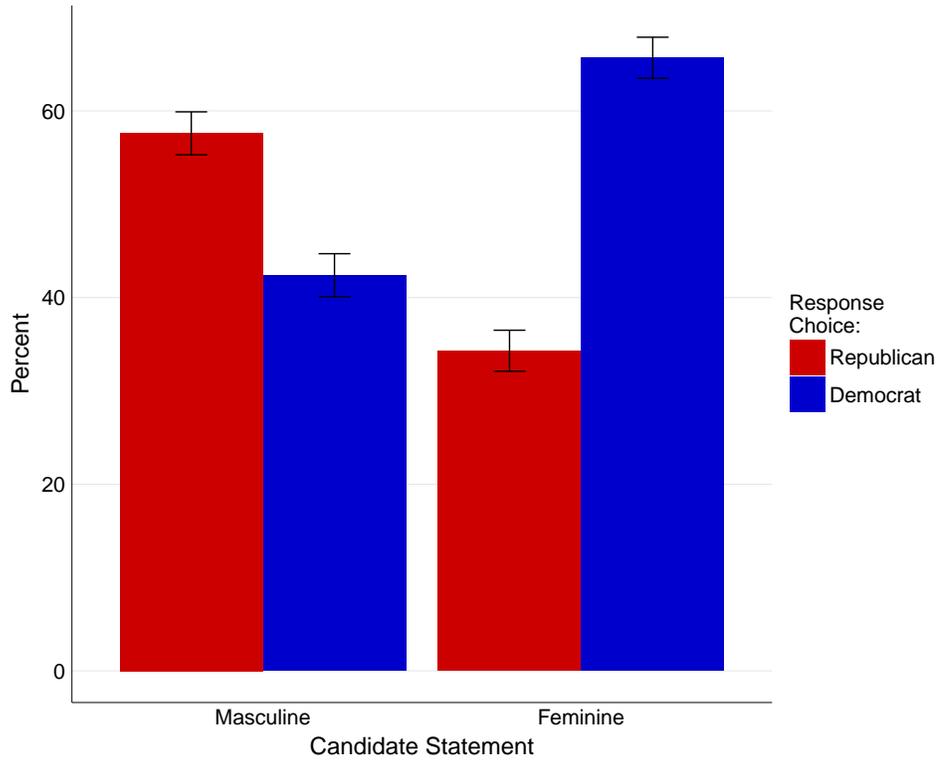Figure 2: Gender Identifications by Candidate Statement

Figure 3: Overall Association Between Party and Candidate Statement Style (N=448)

Note: Error bars represent 95% confidence limits

Seen in figure 3, for the masculine statements, 58 percent of participants identified the author as a Republican versus 42 percent who identified a Democrat (χ^2 (1) $= 41.9$, $p <.001$). Considering each masculine statement separately, figure 4 shows the general trend is true for all but one statements where 54 percent identified the author as a Democrat (*ns*). This time, responses to the feminine statements paint a clearer picture. For the four feminine statements, 66 percent of participants identified the author as a Democrat versus 34 percent who identified a Republican, which is significantly different from chance (χ^2 (1) $= 177.51$, $p <.001$).

Figure 4: Party Identifications by Candidate Statement
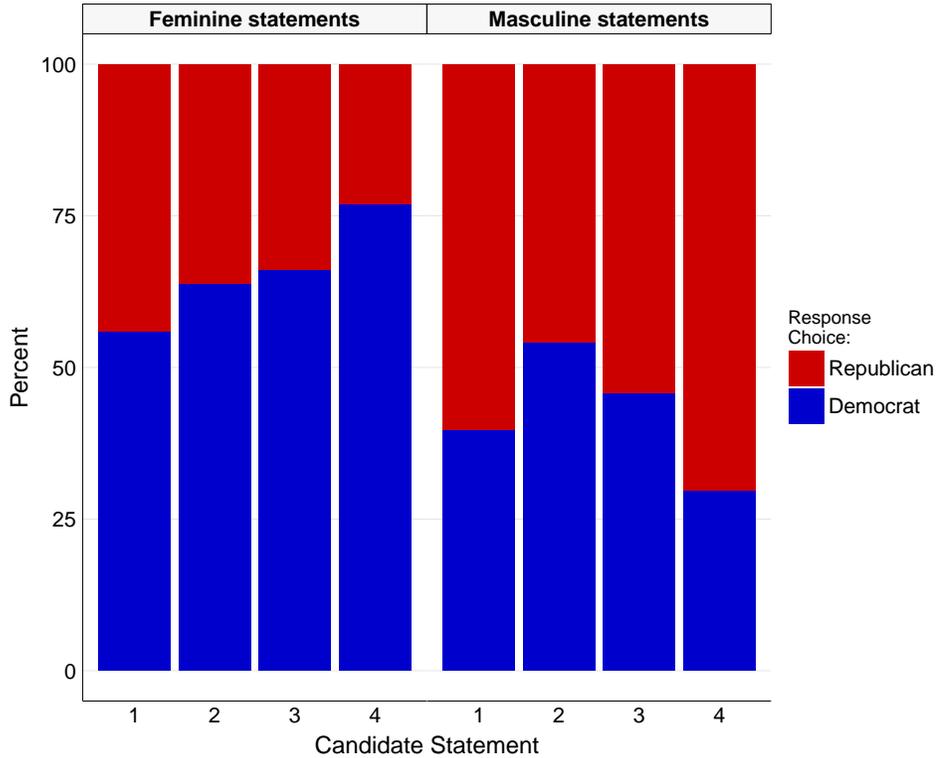
Discussion

Based on this analysis, I find clear support for the expectation that individuals are more likely to associate feminine styles with the Democratic party and masculine styles with the Republican party (H2). I find partial support for the expectation that individuals have an intuitive sense about what constitutes feminine and masculine language (H1). In support, I find a clear and strong association between masculine language and male candidates. However, evidence of an association between feminine language and female candidates is not so conclusive. When participants identified a female candidate as the author of the statement, the chance that it was a feminine statement was significantly higher. Figure 2 shows marked difference between selecting a female candidate for feminine statements and doing so for masculine statements. This lends some support for H1, but more fine-grain analysis and/or future of iterations of this survey must be conducted before we can be confident of these results. Considering the findings for the masculine statements, there may be another explanation that accounts for why feminine statements were not associated with female candidates as often as masculine statements were with male candidates. I suspect participants regarded the "default" response to be a male candidate. After all, although female politicians are becoming more visible in the political arena, women still represent less than a quarter of all statewide and national political offices. Thus, selecting male as the default would not be an unreasonable strategy. It would actually be

14

quite rational.

This study has a number of limitations. Individuals who reported feedback on the survey during initial testing (and some unsolicited feedback from Murk workers who participated) complained that it was frustrating and "hopeless" to try to determine the candidate's gender or party especially because there were no reliable party cues, and several felt they were "picking at random." The statistical analysis suggests otherwise. Fortunately, the average time to complete this survey was about eight minutes, so I do not think this frustration caused significant participant fatigue. However, a major drawback to this study was the failure to include a question asking participants directly for this feedback, which could have provided valuable insight into the strategies, if any, participants used to identify the statements. A similar improvement would be to include a question asking participants to indicate their level of confidence in the identifications they made. Such feedback could provide support for the case that gendered language acts as an implicit cue.

Study 2

Results from study 1 provide reasonable evidence that individuals have a sense of gender-linked linguistic styles. Building from Winter (2010, 2008), if the style by which a candidate communicates implicitly invokes gender (or party affiliation) as a cue, then it should succeed in activating a conceptual lens by which individuals will view and form an opinion about the candidate. Thus, study 2 focused on the potential consequences of gender-linked language use for candidate perception. Do individuals perceive male and female candidates differently depending on whether they conform to or deviate from gender-linked language? Specifically, study 2 was a mixed-factorial design in which the gender of a set of fictitious candidates was randomly assigned between groups. Study 2 examined whether individuals perceived male (or female) candidates with a feminine linguistic style to be more (or less) competent and more (or less) warm than a male (or female) candidate with a masculine linguistic style.

Study 2 follows in the tradition of Philip Goldberg's classic 1968 experiment, which had participants evaluate written essays that were identical except for the attached male or female name. In doing so, he found that the female-named essays received significantly lower ratings than male-named essays unless the essay was on a feminine topic. Goldberg's research has been replicated by a number of studies and his experimental design has been usefully employed in studies examining a broad range of topics. For example, in a recent study by Moss-Racusin et al. (2012) male and female faculty members rated female applicants higher than male applicants on likability, but lower on competence and hireability. Building on this design, I consider how candidate gender interacts with the use of gender conforming and non-conforming language

cues.

In study 2 I was most interested in exploring whether there were any effects of statement style for perception. However, given the well-developed literature in this area, I was able to formulate a few more directed hypotheses. As discussed in the previous section, men are presumed to be competent but to lack warmth, whereas women are presumed to be warm but to lack competence (Cuddy et al., 2009; Fiske et al., 2002; Glick et al., 2004). Thus, I expected female candidates with feminine statements to receive the highest overall ratings on the warmth dimensions but lowest on the competence dimension (H3), and I expected male candidates with masculine statements to receive the highest overall ratings on the competence dimension but lowest on the warmth dimension (H4). Relative to female candidates with feminine statements, I expected female candidates with masculine statements to receive higher ratings on the competence dimension, but lower ratings on the warmth dimension (H5), owing to the backlash effect many women confront when they act in ways that violate traditional gender stereotypes (Heilman et al., 2004; Rudman and Fairchild, 2004; Rudman and Glick, 1999). Relative to male candidates with masculine statements, I expected male candidates with feminine statements to receive higher ratings on the warmth dimension, with no effect on competence ratings (H6), given past research that suggests when men act counter stereotypically, they are perceived to be warmer but maintain perceived competence (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2004). In addition, given research on social identities that suggest favorability toward in-group members, I also expected an interaction between candidate gender and participant gender, in which participants rate candidates of the same gender more highly than participants of the opposite gender (H7). Finally, on the candidate comparison questions, I expected participants across groups would select candidates with feminine statements more often on the warmth dimension (H8), and select candidates with masculine statements more often on the competence and vote choice questions (H9).

Procedure

In study 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of 3 groups: a female candidate, male candidate, or non-gendered control group. Thus, the experimental treatment between groups varied by whether participants responded to questions about candidates who were all male, all female, or not gender specific (control group). Within groups, participants rated four candidates with feminine-style statements and four candidates with masculine-style statements. In the female candidate group, all statements were labeled with a common first name for women, such as "Stephanie Taylor" or "Maria Green." Similarly, in the male group, all statements were labeled with a common first name for men, such as "Stephen Taylor" or "Mark Green." A non-gendered control group was included as a baseline check for the main effect of statement style, if present.

16

In the control group, all statements were labeled with non-gendered names, for example, "Candidate B."

Each participant completed four randomly presented question blocks, where each block contained one candidate with a feminine statement and one candidate with a masculine statement. Participants were first presented with the name of an individual running for US Senate along with their corresponding candidate statement (randomly ordered within each block). Similar to study 1, participants were required to stay on this page for 30 seconds before moving onto the next page, which repeated the candidate's name and statement, and asked participants to rate each candidate on two two-item scales to assess perceived competence (competent, capable) and perceived warmth (sincere, trustworthy), based on previously used questions in Fiske et al. (2002). Warmth and competence ratings were recorded using a 5-point scale (1 = not at all to 5 = very). Participants were also asked to rate each candidate on the American National Election Survey (ANES) feeling thermometer, but on a modified 7-point scale (1 = very cold or unfavorable feeling to 7 = very warm or favorable feeling) due to the known problems associated with the 100-point feeling thermometer. The next two pages repeated this format for a different candidate with a contrasting statement style.

After answering questions about two candidates, participants viewed the two candidate names and corresponding statements side-by-side. Participants were asked to compare the two candidates and select which one they though was warmer, more competent, and that they would be more likely to vote for in an election. This process was repeated for the remaining three blocks (six candidate statements). Finally, all participants were asked to complete a demographic profile questionnaire and responded to Swim's (1995) Modern Sexism questionnaire.

Participants

A notice inviting participation to "rate political candidates" was posted to Mechanical Turk. Participants were offered a small financial incentive to participate. As in Study 1, participation was limited to individuals with an IP addresses in the United States who were at least 18 years old and who speak English. In study 2, 557 participants (285 women) consented to and completed the experiment.[13] Participants who did not complete the experiment were removed from the analysis. The modal age group of participants was 25-34. Similar to study 1, 40 percent of participants live in the South.[14] Among participants, 41 percent identified as Democrats, 21 percent as Republicans, 27 percent as Independents and the rest identified with another party or did not know. 82 percent said they were registered to vote and 73 percent reported voting in the

---

[13]And provided reliable data, determined by the Mahalanobis distance for extreme outliers and Johnson's (2005) LongString index, which filtered out workers who clearly "clicked through" the questions.

[14]"The South," as defined by the Census, includes AL, AR, DE, D.C., FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV

Figure 5: Candidate Warmth Ratings by Group
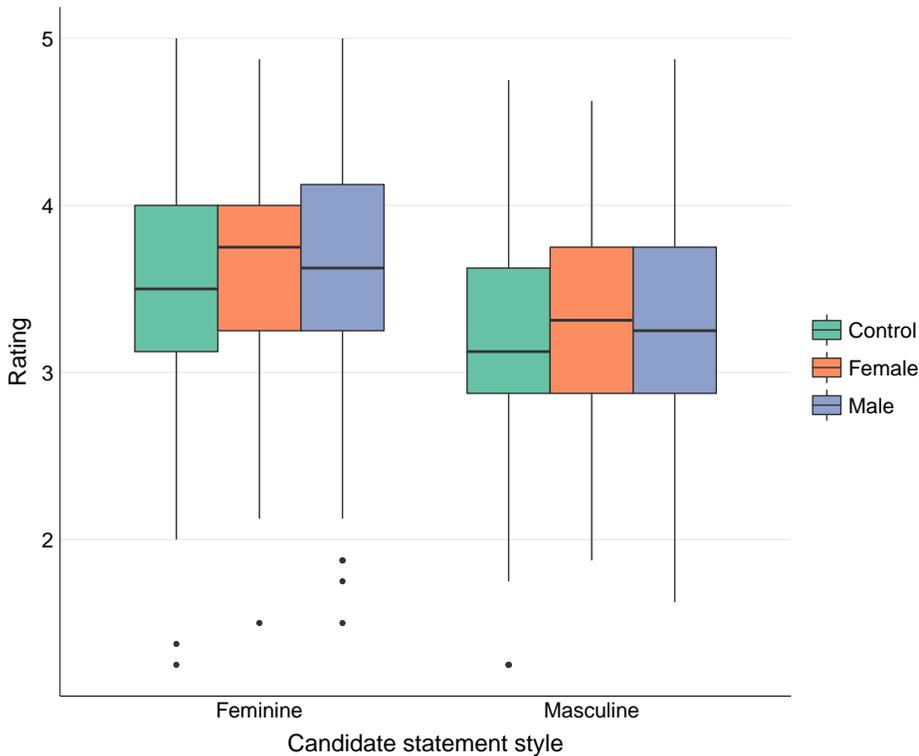
2012 presidential election.

Results

Warmth and Feeling Thermometer Ratings

Figure 5 displays differences in warmth ratings for male, female and control candidates using a Tukey boxplot to illustrate the distribution of data based on the inter-quartile range of values. Outliers are plotted as points.

Figure 5 shows that female candidates with either statement style were rated somewhat higher than male and control candidates. As expected in H3, female candidates with feminine statements received the highest overall ratings on the warmth dimension (M=3.63). Non-gendered control candidates, rather than male candidates, fared worse on warmth ratings, which suggests that merely presenting the statements with a realistic name has a positive, and perhaps humanizing effect on perception. Comparing the gendered candidates only, male candidates with masculine statements received the lowest rating on the warmth dimension (M=3.26), and therefore lend support to H4. Average values across groups are presented in table 2.

Table 2: Warmth Ratings by Group (N=557)

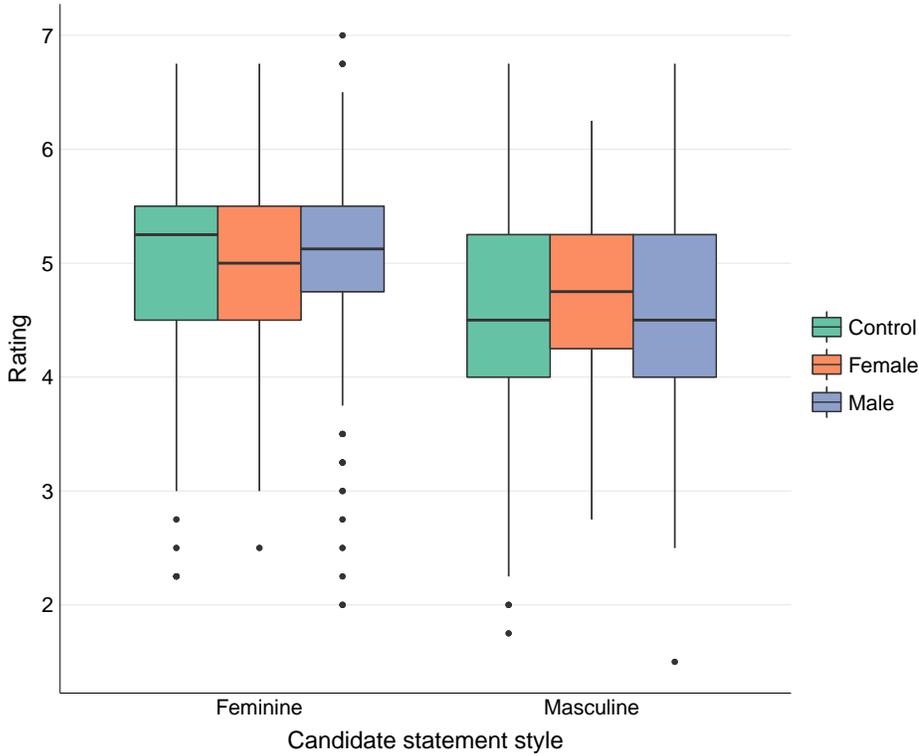| Statement Style	Group	M	SD
Feminine	Control	3.53	0.64
	Female	3.63	0.58
	Male	3.62	0.67
Masculine	Control	3.18	0.62
	Female	3.27	0.60
	Male	3.26	0.63

The most striking observation from the warmth ratings is not that participants gave different ratings based on candidate gender, but rather, that participants across groups consistently rated feminine statements higher on warmth than masculine statements. This finding aligns with a number of other studies that find women and feminine traits in general are perceived to be warmer than men and masculine traits (Cuddy, Fiske and Glick, 2004; Fiske et al., 2002; Rudman and Glick, 1999). In addition, this finding lends support to H5 and H6, which relate to perceptions of counter stereotypical behavior. Relative to their gender-consistent counterparts, female candidates with masculine statements received lower warmth ratings (H5) and male candidates with feminine statements received higher warmth ratings (H6).

To validate these observations, I performed a 3 (candidate gender) X 2 (statement style) X 2 (participant gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA), with candidate rating as the dependent variable. For warmth ratings, I found a significant main effect for both statement style, F (1,556) = 245.6, $p <$.001 and participant gender F (1, 553) =3.53, $p <$.03, but found no effect for candidate gender. Participant gender is significant primarily because female participants tended to give higher ratings overall, regardless of candidate gender or statement style. This is not only true for warmth ratings, but for feeling thermometer and competence ratings as well.

Findings on warmth ratings are further supported by ratings on the feeling thermometer question, which is an alternative way to measure perceptions on the warmth domain, illustrated in figure 6.

The seven-point scale allowed for greater variation, but the same pattern found on the warmth dimension holds true for feeling thermometer ratings. Seen in table **??**, regardless of candidate gender, participants gave higher ratings on the feeling thermometer to candidates with feminine statements over those with masculine statements. Among masculine statements, female candidates received the highest feeling thermometer ratings and control candidates received the lowest ratings. Likewise among feminine statements, female candidates received the highest feeling thermometer ratings, but ratings improved most for male candidates with a

Figure 6: Feeling Thermometer Ratings by Group

feminine style. I again found a significant main effect for both statement style, F (1,556) = 129, p <.001 and participant gender F (1, 553) =10.43, p <.002, but found no effect for candidate gender.

Table 3: Feeling Thermometer Ratings by Group (N=557)

Statement Style	Group	M	SD
Feminine	Control	4.97	0.89
	Female	5.03	0.74
	Male	5.01	0.90
Masculine	Control	4.57	0.85
	Female	4.70	0.78
	Male	4.59	0.91

For warmth ratings I also found a significant interaction between statement style and participant gender, F (1, 551) =20.8, p <.001 as well as candidate gender and participant gender F (2, 556) =73.71, p <.03. These interactions are displayed in figure 7.

Here, I find that the two gendered groups are the primary drivers of the interactions. Male participants in the female group tended to rate candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth than male participants in either the male or control candidate groups. This observation is reversed for female participants. Female participants rated male candidates with feminine statements higher on warmth than female participants who

Figure 7: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Warmth Ratings
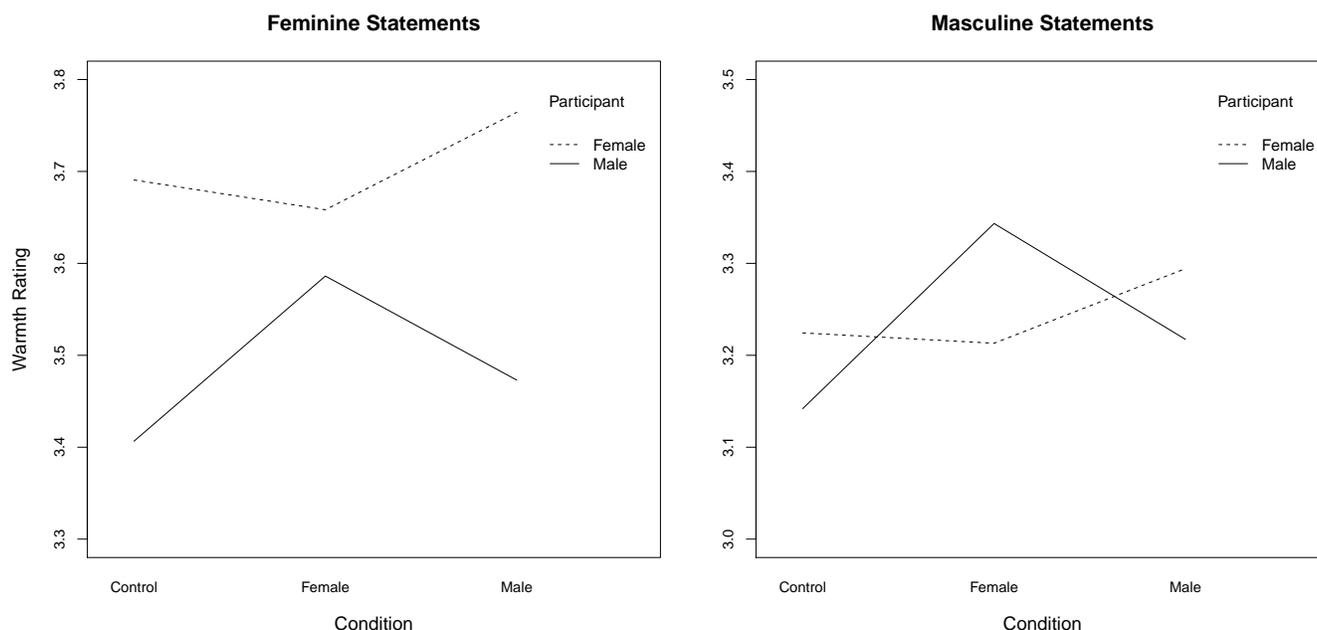
rated female candidates. The interaction between candidate and participant gender is even more apparent for ratings on the masculine statements. Here, male participants tended to rate female candidates with masculine statements higher on warmth than in the male or control candidate groups. Moreover, male participants rated female candidates higher on warmth ratings than did female participants, despite female participants giving higher ratings overall. Female participants rated male candidates with masculine statements higher on warmth than did either male participants or female participants who rated female candidates. Such findings are all contrary to expectations of in-group favorability (H7).

Similarly, for feeling thermometer ratings I found a significant interaction between statement style and participant gender, $F(1, 551) = 6.36$, $p < .02$. This interaction is plotted in figure 8. This suggests that female participants, in particular, perceived candidates with a masculine statement to be colder and less favorable than candidates with a feminine statement. Although this trend is true for participants in the control and male candidate groups, ratings by female participants are more clearly impacted by the differences in statement style. Unlike before, participant ratings did not differ significantly between groups.

Competence ratings

As seen in figure 9, I found little difference in competence ratings across groups and statement styles.

Figure 8: Interaction between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Feeling Thermometer Ratings
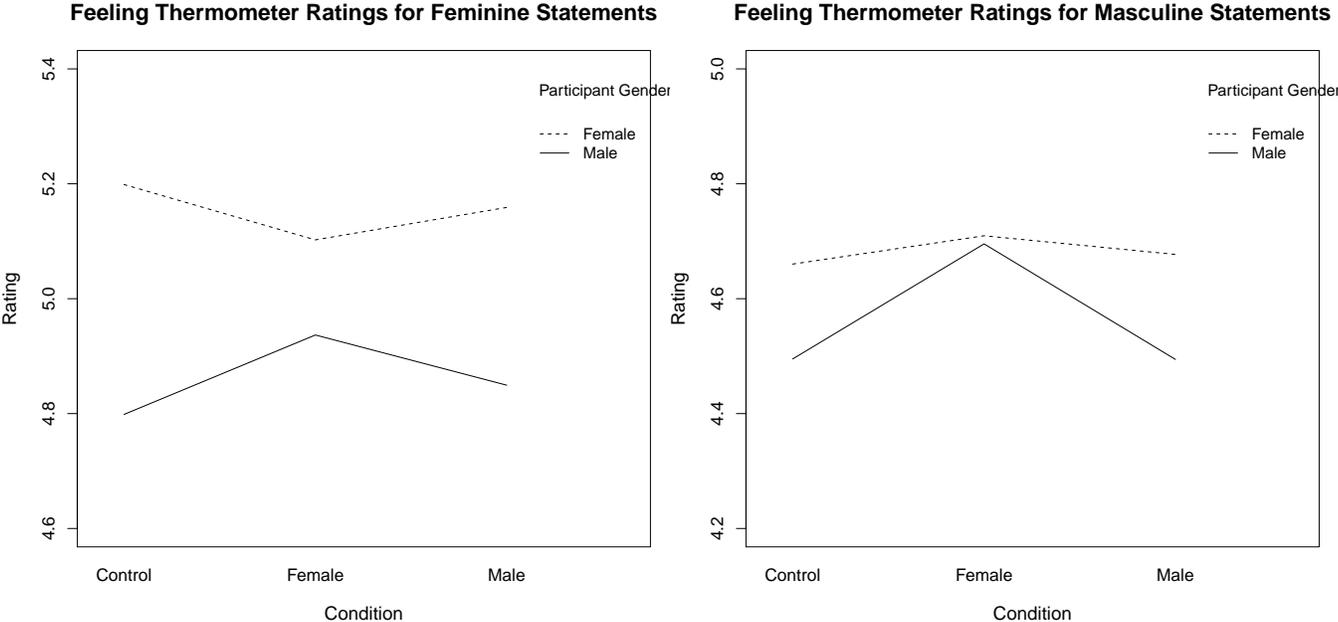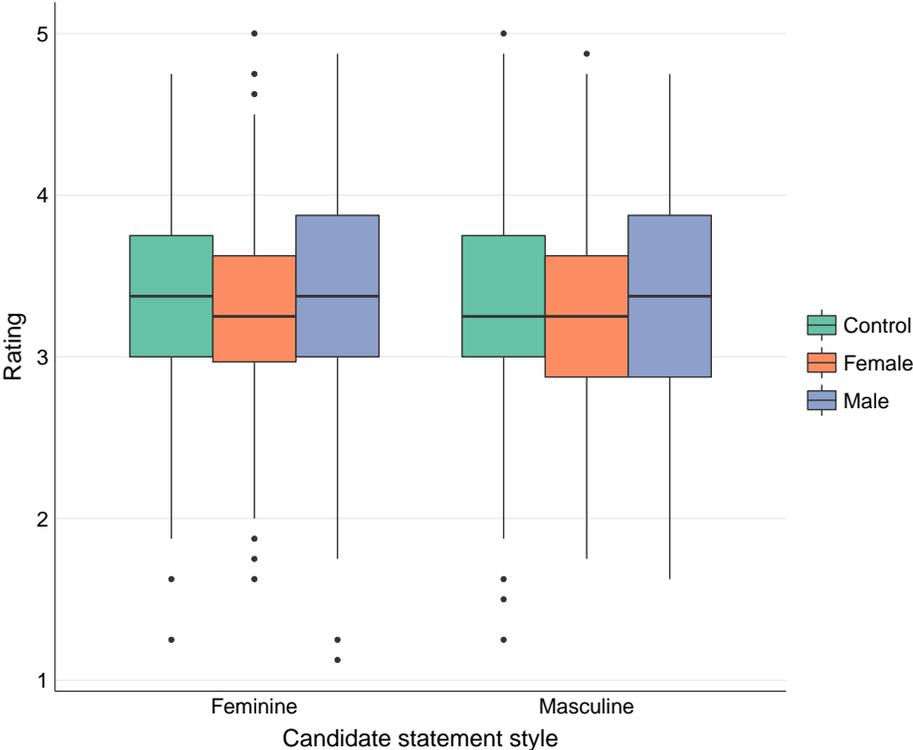

Figure 9: Competence Ratings by Group

Female candidates with either statement style were rated slightly lower than male and control candidates with either statement style. Male candidates received the highest competence rating, but this did not significantly differ from the average competence rating of female candidates ($p = .7$). Seen in table 4, female candidates received marginally higher competence ratings when using a masculine (M = 3.27) rather than feminine (M = 3.26) style, but this difference is likely due to chance. For this reason, I find only partial support for the expectation that female candidates with masculine statements would receive higher ratings on the competence dimension, but lower ratings on the warmth dimension (H5). For competence ratings, neither statement style nor candidate gender had a significant main effect, but the main effect of participant gender was significant, F (1, 553) =15.03, $p<.001$. A null effect on competence ratings for male candidates, however, supports H6 and prior research that suggests men do not face backlash when they violate gender norms (Cuddy et al. 2004).

Table 4: Competence Ratings by Group (N=557)

Statement Style	Group	M	SD
Feminine	Control	3.31	0.60
	Female	3.26	0.60
	Male	3.38	0.69
Masculine	Control	3.31	0.65
	Female	3.27	0.62
	Male	3.35	0.65

Although I did not find that participant gender significantly interacted with either statement style or candidate gender, some observations are still noteworthy and are illustrated in figure 10. Regardless of statement style, female participants rated female candidates slightly lower on competence (M = 3.31) than did female participants who rated male (M = 3.46) or control candidates (M = 3.44). Female participants gave the highest competence ratings to male candidates with feminine statements (M = 3.50). Although male participant ratings were lower than female participant ratings in absolute terms, male participant ratings did not differ by candidate gender. This suggests male participants were less affected, and perhaps less biased, by the candidate's gender than were female participants. Since female participants rated male and control candidates similarly, female participants appear to be slightly biased toward female candidates based on gender. Nevertheless, this is only an observation; it is not statistically significant and may very well be the result of random chance. Together with the interaction effects for warmth ratings, the expectation of in-group favorability (H7) is disputed on all levels.

Figure 10: Interaction Between Participant Gender and Statement Style on Competence Ratings
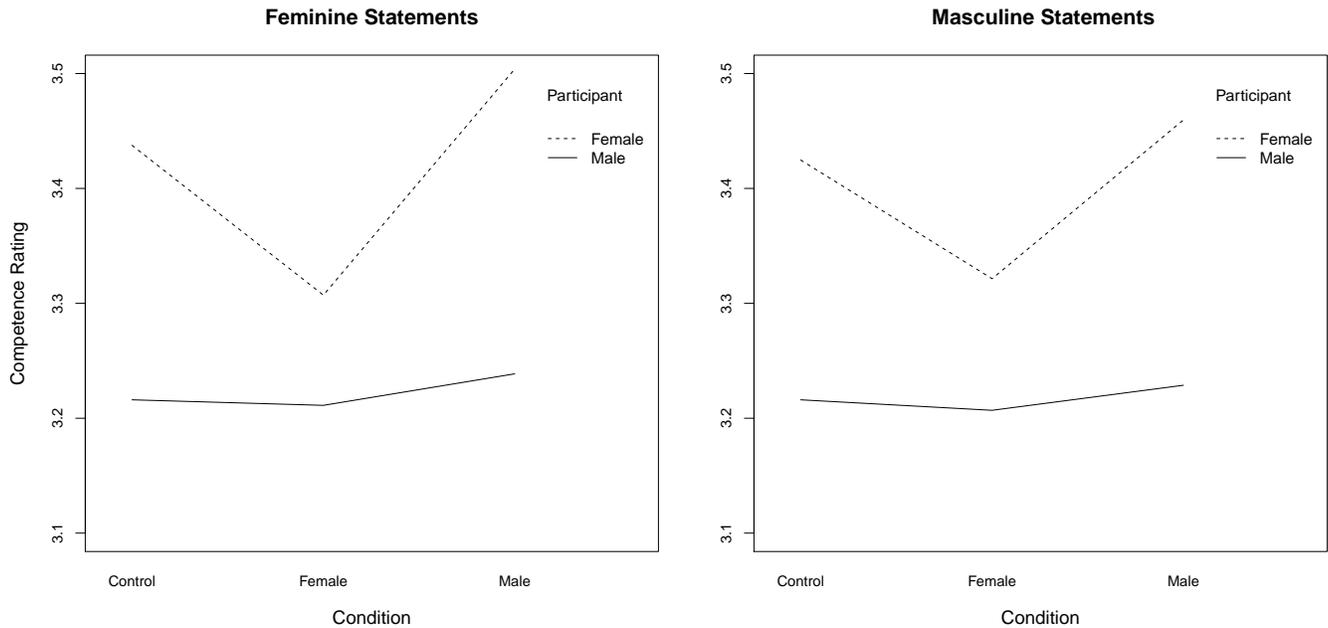
Candidate Comparisons

Results for the candidate comparison questions reinforce the finding that, in general, participants preferred candidates with feminine statements regardless of the candidate's gender. These results are described in table 5.

Table 5: Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles By Group (% N=557)

	Group	Masculine	Feminine
More like-able			
	Control	33.43	66.57
	Female	33.85	66.15
	Male	33.15	66.85
More trustworthy			
	Control	37.29	62.71
	Female	35.55	64.45
	Male	35.46	64.54
More Competent			
	Control	49.17	50.83
	Female	52.34	47.66
	Male	48.78	51.22
Vote Preference			
	Control	41.99	58.01
	Female	42.71	57.29
	Male	39.27	60.73

Table 5 shows very little difference in participant comparisons between groups— none are significant.

Across groups, candidates with feminine statements were selected far more often on the warmth comparison questions (which candidate is more ... likable/trustworthy). Participants were also more likely to vote for candidates with feminine statements in all groups, with a slight advantage for male candidates with a feminine style (61 percent compared to 57 percent in the female candidate group and 58 percent in the control group). The only question where participants were split was "which candidate is more competent?" Here we see some variation between groups, with participants in the male and control groups selecting candidates with a masculine statement about 49 percent of the time and participants in the female candidate group selecting candidates with a masculine statement about 52 percent of the time.

Table 6: Combined Comparisons Between Candidates with Contrasting Statement Styles (% N=557)

	Masculine	Feminine	Chi-squared
More Competent	50.1	49.9	.899
More Like-able	33.5	66.5	243.13***
More Trustworthy	36.1	63.9	172.53***
Vote Preference	41.3	58.7	66.97***

Collapsing across groups, table 6 demonstrates that 67 percent of all participants rated candidates with feminine statements to be more likable than those with a masculine statement, which is significantly different from chance (χ^2 (1) = 243.13, p<.001). Similarly 64 percent of all participants rated candidates with feminine statements to be more trustworthy than those with a masculine statement, and again this is significantly different (χ^2 (1) = 172.53, p<.001). This finding confirms the expectation that candidates with feminine statements would be favored on the warmth dimension (H8). However, there is no significant difference in overall competence ratings. Against expectations, voting preferences also tended to favor candidates with a feminine statement (59 percent), which is significantly different from chance (χ^2 (1) = 66.97, p<.001). These findings do not lend support to the expectation that candidates with masculine statements would be favored on the competence and vote choice questions (H9).

Discussion

Findings and observations from study 2 suggest that statement style indeed had an effect on perceptions of political candidates. Gendered statement styles had a clear effect on perceived warmth, but not on perceived competence. Surprisingly, gender did not significantly affect competence ratings either. Although there is observational evidence that female candidates with feminine statements were perceived as less competent, unlike the resume studies (e.g. Moss-Racusin et al., 2012), female candidates were not rated as significantly less competent than male candidates or female candidates with masculine statements. Thus, study 2 does not suggest that female candidates are better off when they used a masculine style. In fact, all candi-

25

dates—regardless of gender—tended to be warmer and more electable when using a feminine style. It does appear, however, that male candidates gained the most when using a feminine style. They are perceived to be just as competent, but warmer. These results, while promising, are still highly tentative. A more fine-grain analysis and/or future of iterations of this experiment must be conducted before we can be confident of these results.

There are a number of limitations with his experiment. First, I did not include issue area as a variable in my analysis, which may interact with candidate gender and/or statement style to affect competence ratings as Strach et al. (2015) found. Although I designed the candidate statements so they reflected broad themes, I did not design them carefully enough to test whether issue area might moderate perceptions of the candidates and their associated statement styles.

Conclusion

Communication is a major element of strategic self-presentation for political leaders and candidates for office. This area of research is particularly important for women in US politics who are increasingly running for public office, but remain numerically underrepresented at all levels, particularly in leadership positions. I conducted two studies measuring the perceived difference and the potential effect of gendered linguistic styles. My results can be summarized succinctly.

Study 1 investigated whether gendered linguistic patterns cue associations of gender and partisan affiliation by measuring how often participants identified the candidate's gender and party in a manner consistent with gendered linguistic norms and with gendered perceptions of Democratic and Republican party. My findings show that individuals overwhelmingly associated masculine statements with male candidates and, to a lesser degree, feminine statements with female candidates. Thus, it appears that individuals have a certain degree of implicit knowledge about gendered communication styles but, in the context of a campaign study, male candidates tended to be the default choice. Moreover, participants showed clear associations between feminine statements and the Democratic party, and masculine statements and the Republican party, which support findings by Hayes (2011) and Winter (2010). Study 2 explored whether individuals perceive male and female candidates differently depending on whether they conform to or deviate from gender-linked language by randomizing candidate gender and measuring candidate ratings for candidates with gender conforming and non-conforming statements. I found a significant difference in participant evaluations of candidates depending on the gendered style of communication used in their candidate statement. Participants rated candidates with a feminine statement to be significantly more warm than candidates with a

26

masculine statement, regardless of candidate gender. Such perceptions seemed to have an overall positive effect since participants were also more likely to vote for candidates with feminine statements. I found very little difference, particularly on competence ratings, across male, female, and control candidate groups, which supports work by Brooks (2013), Dolan (2014) and Hayes and Lawless (2015).

Together these two studies lend important insight into the perceptions of gendered communication on the campaign trail. In everyday interaction, it is reasonable to assume that most function words are not *consciously* manipulated. Function words constitute the vast majority of words we speak everyday, and for this reason, they are often implicit in speech and not always consciously evaluated when speaking (Pinker, 1994; Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010). Consequently, my approach examines elements of communication that are, for the most part, hidden from view. I see linguistic style as an implicit cue that may have implications for priming attitudes about gender and partisan politics. Likewise, it is unlikely that function words are *strategically* manipulated in the same ways we would expect content words and issue frames to be, such as "estate tax" versus "death tax." In general, strategic political communication tends to emphasize content over style. Pronouns, articles, prepositions and other function words are unlikely to be the focus of discussions about framing and messaging, but it may be worthwhile to include them in the conversation. As my findings suggest, the smallest, seemingly insignificant words that we use everyday may in fact alter perceptions of a candidate's warmth.

Nevertheless, the findings and observations presented here are tentative and must be verified and replicated in order to assert any firm conclusions about gendered styles of communication. Such work could have a number of important implications for understanding public perceptions and expectations of political candidates, the interaction between party and gender stereotypes, as well as for candidate communication strategies. Candidates strive to win elections, but they have little, if any, control over economic indicators, incumbency, geographic partisan sorting, and other major factors that drive voting decisions. How they present themselves in the political arena and how they frame salient issues of the day, however, are things they can control. Women more often than men take time to painstakingly deliberate the costs and benefits of running for office. For many women, perceptions of a hostile and unfair electoral arena preclude them from running at all (Lawless and Fox, 2010). They may find relief and encouragement knowing that they do not have to talk "like a man" to be considered competent and electable.

Appendix

Linear Mixed Effects Models for Study 2

I considered a linear mixed effects model, which accounts for the random variation among individual participants. My results were not substantively different. In the models below, the coefficient for "female condition" reflects difference between participants in the female condition and participants in the male and control conditions. Likewise the coefficient for "male condition" reflects the difference between participants in the male condition and participants in the female and control conditions.

Table 7: Linear Mixed Effects Models for Candidate Ratings

	Competence	Warmth	Feeling Thermometer
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Intercept	3.23***	3.44***	4.85***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Masculine statement	−0.002	−0.26***	−0.33***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Female condition	−0.07	0.07	0.02
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Male condition	0.05	0.08	0.01
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Female participant	0.19***	0.21***	0.29***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Masculine statement:Female condition	0.01	0.02	0.10
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Masculine statement:Male condition	−0.02	0.003	−0.001
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Masculine statement:Female participant	−0.01	−0.21***	−0.17*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
N	1,114	1,114	1,114
Log Likelihood	−927.88	−916.05	−1,295.07
AIC	1,875.76	1,852.10	2,610.13
BIC	1,925.91	1,902.26	2,660.29

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

Feminine Candidate Statements

1 - "CB" Cynthia/Christopher Brooks

I am not a career politician. I'm a business owner and parent who has raised two wonderful children in public school. I'm running for United States Senate because I want young people to have the same opportunities I had when I was growing up. I'm worried that young people today are struggling just to make ends meet. Something has gone wrong and I'm afraid Washington politicians don't have the will to make it right. If the same career politicians continue representing us, we will continue losing American jobs and raising American debts. I'm running because I'm tired of politicians talking, acting, and voting like they can't hear the American people. My priorities will include working with my colleagues to renew our nation's sagging infrastructure, improve our public education system, make safe and sound defense policy, common sense regulatory reform, and responsible environmental policies. I will bring the same commitment, determination and hard work to Congress that I've given my private sector endeavors. Thank you.

2 - "MG" Maria/Mark Green

I'm running for United States Senate because I believe in inclusion, hope, and new ways to resolve old problems. I have the experience, ability, and ideas to lead. In all my public service – as a state prosecutor, county administrator, and state representative – I have broken down barriers, built bridges, and brought people together to achieve solutions in the public interest first. We can restore peace, progress, and renew the American dream of freedom and opportunity by building lasting partnerships. I will reject the bluster and bravado that has so soured our global alliances and I will rebuild our foreign relationships. I want to improve education and empower parents and teachers so they can pursue excellence and innovation. I want to inspire hope in every American. My colleagues would agree that I say what I believe, do what I say, and hold myself accountable. I hope my record will encourage you to support my candidacy.

3 - "FL" Felicia/Frank Lee

I grew up in a small town. My mother was a postal worker and my father was a textile factory worker. They didn't have much money, but they had family. They taught me the value of hard work and perseverance. They taught me the importance of acting with integrity, ethics and professionalism. I'm running for United States Senate because my parents passed a better world onto me. I want to ensure that our children have the same opportunities I've had: strong schools, affordable health care, and good jobs. I want to unlock the doors of opportunity to grow businesses, access education and good paying jobs, raise families safely, and realize a bright, secure future for seniors, children, and grandchildren. I can bring the change our state needs.

If I am elected, I will promote economic policies that work for middle class families. I will challenge special interests and fight for new job training programs. I will work to make our neighborhoods safer, healthier, and stronger. I'm asking for your vote. I'll never forget where I come from.

4 - "JW" Janet/John Walker

The American Dream our parents worked so hard for is slipping away. That's why I'm running to be our next United States Senator. I have spent my life bringing people together, solving tough problems, and making a difference in our communities. I might be running against some formidable opponents, but they're career politicians. My real opponents will be Washington lobbyists and their big financiers. If I'm elected Senator, lobbyists will not set my agenda. I will be committed to the voters. I will not let big banks control the nation's purse any longer. I will close corporate loopholes and give relief to middle class Americans. I will forge bipartisan solutions and pass job training legislation. I will work to protect our cities, reform our public schools, and combat crime. Finally, I am committed to ensuring Social Security and Medicare benefits are available to everyone who depends on them - including my mom and dad. Please visit my website and get to know me. I would be honored to have your vote.

Masculine Candidate Statements

1 - "ST" Stephen/Stephanie Taylor

The federal government is out of control – a jack of all trades and a master of none. There is a reason so many citizens in this state are outraged. Members of Congress throw trillions into a military industrial complex that spies on American citizens. They permitted enormous financial institutions to mortgage America's future on their gambling debts. Congress is no longer accountable to the people. Citizens of this state need a different path forward – one that prunes the tree of an inefficient government to restore the fruit of a good government. This cannot be achieved by re-electing the same politicians who made the mess. As a lawyer intimately familiar with the complexities of government, I know what to trim and I'll work toward sensible solutions to balance the federal debt and deficit budgets. Let's restore a system of accountability. It's time for us to leave the world a better place for our children and grandchildren. Thank you.

2 - "PA" Patrick/Patricia Allen

Something has gone wrong in America. Across the country, people feel disconnected from a government that serves powerful special interests instead of citizens and they're angry that politicians don't care much about the voters who elected them. These days, politicians are elected based on how much money they raise and then, once elected, they spend the rest of the time in office raising more money for the next election. My campaign is different. It is energized at the grassroots level and funded by thousands of citizens from across the state, not by special interests. Let's revitalize the political process and restore a sense of community and confidence in government. The future holds greater possibilities: a renaissance of small businesses, more jobs for American workers, and higher quality education for the next generation of leaders. Let's put government and the economy back into the hands of the people. Together we can restore a government of, by, and for the people, but this change can only happen from the ground up – not through my actions, but from yours. Vote to join us.

3 - "KH" Ken/Karen Hall

As a doctor, I spent a lifetime dedicated to making a difference in the lives of others. Why am I willing to leave a profession like that to run for Congress? Because I'm frustrated that the struggling economy and massive amount of debt we've accumulated are resulting in fewer opportunities for the next generation. The voices of the people should not be drowned out by corporations or billionaires. Changing the current course means changing the representatives we send to Washington. We need leadership to reduce the burden of high taxes and debilitating government regulations, to increase the efficiency of government, and to balance

the nation's budget. I'm running for United States Senate because I'm a capable leader with the skills and ability to bring opportunity back to the people of this state. I will bring much needed analytical capabilities and innovative thinking to Washington that can shift the mindset of Congress from partisan stalemate to practical problem-solving. Let's restore a more efficient, accountable, and trustworthy federal government. Let's get small businesses growing again. Learn more about these proposals on the web.

4 - "DM" Daniel/Debra Mason

The economy, while in the early days of a recovery, is emerging from one of the worst recessions in American history. I'm running for United States Senate because our state needs a proven and effective leader who can navigate through the challenges we face as a nation. If elected, my number one priority will be to bring stability to the nation's economy. I want to increase the number of American businesses around the world, protect our national security interests, and push for greater oversight over the federal bureaucracy. I support a sensible financing plan to help homeowners with their mortgages, a much needed infrastructure plan to create jobs, and tax credits for employers that hire unemployed veterans and the long term unemployed. I am committed to protecting the Social Security and Medicare programs for all of our seniors. I have the expertise, experience, and commitment to make a difference for you. With your support, we can accomplish many great things for the benefit of all Americans. Thank you!

Bibliography

Alexander, Deborah and Kristi Andersen. 1993. "Gender as a Factor in the Attribution of Leadership Traits." *Political Research Quarterly* 46(3):527–545.

Argamon, Shlomo, Moshe Koppel, James Pennebaker and Jonathan Schler. 2007. "Mining the Blogosphere: Age, gender and the varieties of self-expression." *First Monday* 12(9).

Argamon, Shlomo, Moshe Koppel, Jonathan Fine and Anat Rachel Shimoni. 2003. "Gender, genre, and writing style in formal written texts." *TEXT* 23:321–346.

Banwart, Mary Christine and Mitchell S. McKinney. 2005. "A Gendered Influence in Campaign Debates? Analysis of Mixed-gender United States Senate and Gubernatorial Debates." *Communication Studies* 56(4):353–373.

Brooks, Deborah J. 2013. *He Runs, She Runs: Why Gender Stereotypes Do Not Harm Women Candidates.* Princeton University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1999. *Gender Trouble.* London, UK: Routledge.

Bystrom, Dianne G, Terry Robertson, Mary Christine Banwart and Lynda Lee Kaid. 2004. *Gender and candidate communication: Videostyle, webstyle, newstyle.* New York: Routledge.

Cameron, Deborah. 2005. "Language, gender, and sexuality: Current issues and new directions." *Applied Linguistics* 26(4):482–502.

Carlin, Diana B. and Kelly L. Winfrey. 2009. "Have You Come a Long Way, Baby? Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, and Sexism in 2008 Campaign Coverage." *Communication Studies* 60(4):326–343.

Carpinella, Colleen M and Kerri L Johnson. 2013. "Politics of the face: The role of sex-typicality in trait assessments of politicians." *Social Cognition* 31(6):770–779.

Cuddy, Amy JC, Susan T Fiske and Peter Glick. 2004. "When professionals become mothers, warmth doesn't cut the ice." *Journal of Social Issues* 60(4):701–718.

Cuddy, Amy JC, Susan T Fiske, Virginia SY Kwan, Peter Glick, Stephanie Demoulin, Jacques, Philippe Leyens, Michael Harris Bond, Jean, Claude Croizet, Naomi Ellemers and Ed Sleebos. 2009. "Stereotype content model across cultures: Towards universal similarities and some differences." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 48(1):1–33.

Cuddy, Amy, Susan T. Fiske and Peter Glick. 2008. "Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map." *Advances in experimental social psychology* 40:61–149.

Dittmar, K. 2015. *Navigating Gendered Terrain: Stereotypes and Strategy in Political Campaigns.* Temple University Press.

Dolan, K. 2014. *When Does Gender Matter?: Women Candidates and Gender Stereotypes in American Elections.* Oxford University Press.

Dolan, Kathleen. 2008. "Is there a gender affinity effect in American politics? Information, affect, and candidate sex in US House elections." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(1):79–89.

Dovidio, John F, Kerry Kawakami and Samuel L Gaertner. 2002. "Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 82(1):62.

Fazio, Russell H and Michael A Olson. 2003. "Implicit measures in social cognition research: Their meaning and use." *Annual review of psychology* 54(1):297–327.

Fiske, Susan T, Amy JC Cuddy and Peter Glick. 2007. "Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence." *Trends in cognitive sciences* 11(2):77–83.

Fiske, Susan T, Amy JC Cuddy, Peter Glick and Jun Xu. 2002. "A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 82(6):878.

Glick, Peter, Maria Lameiras, Susan T Fiske, Thomas Eckes, Barbara Masser, Chiara Volpato, Anna Maria Manganelli, Jolynn CX Pek, Li-li Huang, Nuray Sakalli-Uet al. 2004. "Bad but bold: Ambivalent attitudes toward men predict gender inequality in 16 nations." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 86(5):713.

Greenwald, Anthony G, Debbie E McGhee and Jordan LK Schwartz. 1998. "Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74(6):1464.

Hayes, Danny. 2011. "When gender and party collide: Stereotyping in candidate trait attribution." *Politics & Gender* 7(02):133–165.

Hayes, Danny and Jennifer L Lawless. 2015. "A Non-Gendered Lens? Media, Voters, and Female Candidates in Contemporary Congressional Elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(01):95–118.

Heilman, Madeline E, Aaron S Wallen, Daniella Fuchs and Melinda M Tamkins. 2004. "Penalties for success: reactions to women who succeed at male gender-typed tasks." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89(3):416.

Herrnson, Paul S, J Celeste Lay and Atiya Kai Stokes. 2003. "Women running "as women:" candidate gender, campaign issues, and voter targeting strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65(1):244–255.

Huddy, Leonie and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "Gender stereotypes and the perception of male and female candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 37:119–147.

Iyengar, Shanto, Gaurav Sood and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public opinion quarterly* 76(3):405–431.

Jones, Jennifer J. 2016. "Talk "Like a Man": The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013." *Perspectives on Politics* 14(3):1–18.

Kinder, Donald R and David O Sears. 1981. "Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 40(3):414.

King, David C and Richard E Matland. 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.

Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard L. Fox. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why women don't run for office.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lodge, Milton and Charles Taber. 2013. *The Rationalizing Voter.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The race card: Campaign strategy, implicit messages and the norm of equality.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Moss-Racusin, Corinne A., John F. Dovidio, Victoria L. Brescoll, Mark J. Graham and Jo Handelsman. 2012. "Science faculty's subtle gender biases favor male students." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 109(41):16474–16479.

Mulac, Anthony. 2006. The Gender-Linked Effect: Do Language Differences Really Make A Difference? In *Sex Differences and Similarities in Communication*, ed. Daniel J. Canary and Kathryn Dindia. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Newman, Matthew L., Carla J. Groom, Lori D. Handelman and James W. Pennebaker. 2008. "Gender Differences in Language Use: An Analysis of 14,000 Text Samples." *Discourse Processes* 45(3):211–236.

Nosek, Brian A, Mahzarin R Banaji and Anthony G Greenwald. 2002. "Math=male, me=female, therefore math=x me." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 83(1):44.

Pennebaker, James W. 2011. *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us.* New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Pennebaker, James W., Matthias R. Mehl and Kate G. Niederhoffer. 2003. "Psychological aspects of natural language use: Our words, our selves." *Annual review of psychology* 54(1):547–577.

Pinker, Steven. 1994. *The language instinct: The new science of language and mind.* Vol. 7529 Penguin UK.

Pronin, Emily, Thomas Gilovich and Lee Ross. 2004. "Objectivity in the eye of the beholder: divergent perceptions of bias in self versus others." *Psychological review* 111(3):781.

Rudman, Laurie A. and Kimberly Fairchild. 2004. "Reactions to counterstereotypic behavior: the role of backlash in cultural stereotype maintenance." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 87(2):157.

Rudman, Laurie A and Peter Glick. 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(5):1004.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender stereotypes and vote choice." *American Journal of Political Science* pp. 20–34.

Schwartz, Andrew, Johannes C. Eichstaedt, Margaret L. Kern, Lukasz Dziurzynski, Stephanie M. Ramones, Megha Agrawal, Michal Shah, Achal Kosinski, Martin E. P. Stillwell, David Seligman and Lyle H. Ungar. 2013. "Personality, Gender, and Age in the Language of Social Media: The Open-Vocabulary Approach." *PLoS ONE* 8(9).

Strach, Patricia, Zuber Katherine, Franklin Fowler Erika, N. Ridout Travis and Searles Kathleen. 2015. "In a Different Voice? Explaining the Use of Men and Women as Voice-Over Announcers in Political Advertising." *Political Communication* 32(2):183–205.

Tajfel, Henri and John C Turner. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *The social psychology of intergroup relations* 33(47):74.

Tausczik, Yla R and James W Pennebaker. 2010. "The psychological meaning of words: LIWC and computerized text analysis methods." *Journal of language and social psychology* 29(1):24–54.

Tesler, Michael. 2014. "Priming Predispositions and Changing Policy Positions: An Account of When Mass Opinion is Primed or Changed." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4):806–824.

Tesler, Michael and David O. Sears. 2010. *Obamas Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Tetlock, Philip. 2005. *Expert political judgment: How good is it? How can we know.* Princeton University Press.

Turner, John C, Michael A. Hogg, Penelope J. Oakes, Stephen D Reicher and Margaret S. Wetherell. 1987. *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization perspective.* New York: Blackwell.

Winter, Nicholas J. 2010. "Masculine Republicans and feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' explicit and implicit images of the political parties." *Political Behavior* 32(4):587–618.

Winter, Nicholas J. G. 2008. *Dangerous frames : how ideas about race and gender shape public opinion.* Vol. Studies in communication, media, and public opinion Chicago: University of Chicago Press.