Gender Stereotypes and Gender Preferences on the 2006 ANES Pilot Study

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Introduction

The study of gender and politics has grown significantly since the emergence of women and politics scholarship as a field in the 1970s and the founding of the APSA Women and Politics section in 1986 (Tolleson-Rinehart and Carroll 2006). The Women and Politics section has over 600 members today and its sponsored journal, *Politics & Gender*, has over 1,700 subscribers. The role of women in U.S. electoral politics has expanded as well. Since 1964, women have constituted a majority of voters (CAWP 2005). Meanwhile, the numbers of women in Congress and state legislatures today represent record highs. The nation is currently witnessing its first female Speaker of the House and the most competitive bid in U.S. history by a woman candidate for the presidency. These trends indicate that it is an important time to expand our understanding of the role of gender in American politics.

Candidate sex is relevant to voters in numerous and complex ways. At its most basic, candidate sex conveys information about the likely competence and behavior of politicians. Voters draw on the broad social categories of "men" and "women" when evaluating candidates. These gender stereotypes pervade American politics with implications for candidate evaluation, vote choice, and political participation. Women's historic underrepresentation in office also makes candidate sex meaningful. Today, for example, women are 16% of members of Congress, 18% of governors, and 23.5% of state legislators.[1] The implications of these statistics depend on the voter: while some voters desire greater officeholding by women, others infer from these low numbers that women are less suited for politics than men.

Including gender stereotype and gender preference items on the American National Election Studies will enable scholars to study the effects of candidate sex on public opinion, vote

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[1] Data are from the Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University <cawp.rutgers.edu/facts.html>.

choice, and political participation. In addition to constructing more accurate and complete models of U.S. political behavior, these items can contribute to a host of scholarly debates such as: the effect of women's candidacies on political engagement and mobilization; the gender gap in political participation; the role of stereotypes in shaping candidate evaluation and vote choice; the relative importance of stereotypes versus individuating information about candidates; the extent and nature of voter bias against women candidates; the effect of attitudes toward women's representation on political behavior; and the relative importance of gender preferences compared to other political influences such as political party and incumbency.[2]

We proposed items concerning gender stereotypes and women's representation through the ANES Online Commons. Our proposal was selected for inclusion on the Pilot Study and subsequently modified by the ANES Board of Overseers and the Principal Investigators, Jon A. Krosnick and Arthur Lupia. Our analysis of the Pilot items relies on the 2006 Pilot Advance Release (version 20070110). We use the 2004 weight variable and report the unweighted N. Where appropriate, we compare the pilot data to other telephone surveys including 2000 and 2002 statewide Ohio surveys.[3] We conclude with recommendations for future ANES studies. Overall, we recommend maintaining the items that appeared on the Pilot with a few revisions and additions.

Gender Stereotypes

There is abundant evidence that voters hold gender stereotypes about politicians. Huddy and Terkildsen define "political gender stereotyping" as "the gender-based ascription of different traits, behaviors, or political beliefs to male and female politicians" (1993: 120). Though many

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[2] See Dolan (2006) for a recent, comprehensive review of the literature on women candidates.
[3] See the Appendix for details.

gender stereotypes reflect beliefs about the typical man and woman in society, others arise from the political realm (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Sanbonmatsu 2003b). For example, voters may stereotype women candidates as liberal and Democratic because women politicians are in fact more liberal and Democratic than men. Political gender stereotypes may represent a distinct subtype of gender stereotypes (Clifton, McGrath, and Wick 1976; Deaux, Winton, Crowley, and Lewis 1985; Fiske 1998).

Stereotypes about the abilities and competencies of female and male candidates can serve as a basis for voters to choose or reject a candidate. For example, past work has demonstrated that people who value honesty and ethics in government were more likely to vote for a woman candidate in a race against a man (Dolan 1998; McDermott 1998). The impact of stereotypes often depends on the electoral context. Kahn's work on U.S. Senate candidates (1996) found that voters have more favorable evaluations of women candidates who run in campaigns that highlight "female" issues and much lower evaluations of women who run in more "male" issue environments.

Scholars have investigated the conditions under which voters rely on gender stereotypes rather than individuating information about candidates (Koch 2002). Stereotypes are usually thought to be more influential in the absence of other information: the less voters know about a candidate, the more likely they are to use candidate sex in order to make inferences (Huddy 1994). However, even if voters have a lot of information about candidates, stereotypes may still be consequential. Voters may rely on both individuating information and stereotypes in their evaluations of candidates (Bodenhausen, Macrae, and Sherman 1999). Stereotypes can be used to predict future behavior and may affect the processing of information. Moreover, since gender

stereotypes are prescriptive, deviations from stereotypical behavior are likely to be punished (Glick and Fiske 1990).

The absence of stereotype questions on the ANES has hampered scholarship on electoral behavior. Researchers have adopted a variety of approaches in an attempt to use ANES data to gauge voter stereotypes and the effects of stereotypes on vote choice. They have employed the feeling thermometers, the likes/dislikes questions and the 7-point ideology placement scales for congressional candidates, and supplemented vote choice data with information on campaign environments from media sources (Dolan 2004; Kahn 1996; Koch 2000, 2002). While creative and laudable given the limitations of the ANES, these approaches yield indirect evidence of voter stereotypes. The inclusion of gender stereotype questions on the ANES will allow for more valid and precise analyses of the effects of candidate sex on electoral behavior.

Pilot Items

In proposing the Pilot items, our goal was to enable researchers to more fully examine the presence and effect of gender stereotypes and gender preferences in the American political system. To this point, much of the data on stereotypes has been conducted through experimental designs or hypothetical elections and has not been able to make a link between voter beliefs and concrete political behaviors. Experimental designs that manipulate candidate sex surreptitiously are powerful ways to detect voter stereotypes. However, we believe that individual-level measures of gender stereotypes are critical to advancing scholarship. Regular inclusion of gender stereotype and gender preference questions will allow researchers to track the development and change of these important attitudes, while at the same time determining whether and to what degree they shape individual political decisions and behaviors.

Voters' gender stereotypes can be divided into three areas: personality traits, issue competency, and issue positions (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Voters believe that female politicians possess more "feminine" traits, such as warmth and compassion, and fewer "masculine" traits, such as leadership and strength (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Burrell 1994; Kahn 1994; Lawless 2004). Female politicians are perceived as better able to handle "compassion" issues, such as education and poverty, as well as women's rights issues; male politicians are perceived as better able to handle issues such as crime, defense, and foreign policy. Female candidates are also believed to be more liberal, Democratic, and feminist than male candidates (Sapiro 1981-1982; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Leeper 1991; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Alexander and Andersen 1993; Burrell 1994; Kahn 1994; Matland 1994; McDermott 1997; Lawless 2004).

Though we categorize stereotypes according to type, it is important to note that scholars have not reached consensus about the dimensionality of gender stereotypes (Deaux and Lewis 1984; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). Voter beliefs about men and women candidates can be categorized according to type (trait, competency, and position), female versus male strengths, and whether views are consistent or inconsistent with dominant stereotypes. Inclusion of a range of stereotype items on the ANES will enable researchers to advance our understanding of the interrelationship of stereotypes.

The Pilot included a trait question about women and men's emotional suitability for politics. The belief that men are naturally suited for the public sphere and women the private sphere was used historically to exclude women from politics and continues to shape men's and women's political participation.

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Table 1: Mod23_4

"Do you think that most men candidates who run for political office are better suited emotionally to work in government than are most women candidates, that most women candidates are better suited emotionally to work in government than are most men candidates, or do you think men and women candidates are equally suited emotionally to work in government?"

	Percentage
Men	15.2
Women	4.3
Equal	80.0
Don't know	0.1
Refused	0.3
N = 665	

This item is similar to a question that has been asked regularly on the NORC General Social Survey: "Tell me if you agree or disagree with this statement: Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women." In the 2004 GSS, 25.4% agreed and 74.6% disagreed.

The vast majority of Pilot respondents believe that men and women are equally suited emotionally to work in government. To the extent that respondents diverged from this egalitarian response, it was more common to see men rather than women as better suited, consistent with past work on gender stereotypes. Respondents who chose men or women were queried about the intensity of their view. "A moderate amount" was the modal response to this follow-up question.

Table 2: Mod23_5

"A great deal better suited, moderately better suited, or slightly better suited?"
(asked of those respondents who answered men or women)

	Men better suited	Women better suited
A great deal	33.1%	24.5%
A moderate amount	43.9	56.5
A little	23.1	19.0
N =	101	31

Cell entries are percentages.

Voters hold stereotypes beyond personality traits. The remaining Pilot stereotype items concerned issue competency and issue position. Unlike most past work, the Pilot items specified party. Thus, respondents were asked—for each party—whether a man or a woman would be better able to handle a given issue. One issue competency question concerned an area where men usually are perceived to have an advantage (crime) and the other an area where women are usually advantaged (education). The sole issue position item concerned a politician's likely abortion position. The order of crime and education and the order of the party versions of the questions were randomized.

Table 3

"Now I have some questions about how men and women who are Democrats and Republicans are likely to handle issues in the U.S. Congress."

Mod23_6
"Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling crime - a Democrat who is a man, a Democrat who is a woman, or would they do an equally good or bad job?"

Mod23_8
"Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling education - a Democrat who is a man, a Democrat who is a woman, or would they do an equally good or bad job?"

Mod23_10
"Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling crime - a Republican who is a man, a Republican who is a woman, or would they do an equally good or bad job?"

Mod23_12
"Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling education - a Republican who is a man, a Republican who is a woman, or would they do an equally good or bad job?"

	Democrats in Congress	Republicans in Congress
Better at handling crime		
Man	18.2%	19.4%
Woman	4.9	5.3
Equal	76.2	74.5
Don't know	0	0.3
Refused	0.7	0.6
Better at handling education		
Man	4.2	3.4
Woman	24.3	24.0
Equal	71.1	71.9
Don't know	0	0.3
Refused	0.4	0.4

N = 665
Cell entries are percentages.

Table 4

Mod23_14
"Which Congressional Representative do you think would be more likely to support abortion being legal in all circumstances - a Democrat who is a man, a Democrat who is a woman, or would they be equally likely?"

Mod23_16
"Which Congressional Representative do you think would be more likely to support abortion being legal in all circumstances - a Republican who is a man, a Republican who is a woman, or would they be equally likely?"

	Democrats in Congress	Republicans in Congress
More likely to support legal abortion		
Man	7.8	8.5
Woman	41.9	34.4
Equal	49.0	55.7
Don't know	1.0	1.0
Refused	0.4	0.5

N = 665
Cell entries are percentages.

Responses to the Pilot items reveal that men are perceived to have an advantage on crime and women an advantage on education, though most respondents thought men and women would handle the issues equally well. Respondents were more likely to report a female advantage on education than they were a male advantage on crime. Meanwhile, women politicians are generally seen as more liberal than men. Here, respondents were more likely to perceive women as liberal on abortion. Thus, the direction of beliefs about men and women politicians in the Pilot is consistent with past research employing lab experiments and telephone surveys.

Respondents were more willing to depart from the egalitarian response on these issue competency and position stereotype questions than on the trait stereotype (emotional suitability). Of the three types of stereotypes, respondents were most likely to depart from the egalitarian response on the issue position stereotype (abortion).

The intersection of party with gender stereotypes represents a relatively new area of scholarship. Republican women candidates may be helped by gender stereotypes among Democratic and Independent voters, who see these Republican women candidates as more moderate than Republican men and express a greater willingness to vote for them (King and Matland 2003). At the same time, Republicans are *less* likely to choose the Republican women candidates for the same reason: they perceive a Republican woman as more moderate than a Republican man. Confirming these findings is research that shows that stereotyped thinking about women candidates increases the perceived ideological distance between Democratic women candidates and voters, with consequences for vote support (Koch 2000).

The Pilot data confirm that gender stereotypes work slightly differently by party. The largest difference in perceptions concerned abortion. Respondents saw a larger difference between women and men Democrats on abortion than they did among women and men Republicans. Overall, however, the distribution of responses was quite similar for the two parties. Thus, the Pilot data suggest that gender stereotypes transcend party.

For each stereotype item, respondents who believed that either men or women were better able to handle the issue (or more likely to take the position) were probed for the intensity of their views.

Table 5

Mod23_7, Mod23_9, Mod23_11, Mod23_13
"A great deal better, moderately better, or slightly better?"
Mod23_15, Mod23_17
"A great deal more likely, moderately more likely, or slightly more likely?"
(asked of those respondents expressing a preference)

	Democrats in Congress		Republicans in Congress	
	Man	Woman	Man	Woman
Better at handling crime				
A great deal better	19.5	36.6	22.2	21.9
Moderately better	55.9	47.3	49.3	55.8
Slightly better	24.7	16.1	28.6	22.3
N =	115	33	121	39
Better at handling education				
A great deal better	28.2	28.4	44.1	26.7
Moderately better	41.7	47.7	37.9	53.4
Slightly better	30.1	23.9	18.1	20.0
N =	22	165	19	163
More likely to support legal abortion				
A great deal more likely	31.1	35.5	20.6	21.9
Moderately more likely	48.2	41.0	30.7	48.7
Slightly more likely	20.6	23.5	48.7	29.2
Don't know	0	0	0	0.2
N =	51	274	60	234

Cell entries are percentages.

Respondents were more likely to think that women would be "a great deal better" at education than they were to see men as "a great deal better" at crime. Respondents were more likely to see Democratic women as "a great deal more likely" to support legal abortion than they were to see Republican women that way.

In sum, the Pilot data confirm the existence of trait, issue competency, and issue position stereotypes. The amount of variance on the trait and issue competency items was disappointing, however. Because respondents were explicitly offered an egalitarian response (i.e., that men and women were equally suited, competent, or likely to take the position), fewer participants chose

either women or men than did participants in surveys in which an egalitarian response was not

offered but instead was volunteered by some respondents (see the Appendix for the Ohio

frequencies). In order to increase the variance on future ANES studies, we strongly support the

inclusion of a probe that appeared on an early draft of the Pilot questionnaire. This probe asked

respondents who chose the egalitarian response whether they leaned one way or the other. In

addition, the inclusion of language prior to this stereotype battery that assures respondents that

people disagree about these issues would help address the problem of social desirability. If space

considerations come into play, we would argue that a probe to determine whether those who

chose the egalitarian response lean one way or another would be more valuable than a probe that

asks the smaller number of people who said either women or men how strongly they held their

belief.

Gender Preferences and Women's Representation

Related to voters' gender stereotypes are attitudes toward women candidates and

women's representation. The ANES has not included questions concerning women's descriptive

representation (the belief that elected officials should mirror the characteristics of the

population). However, attitudes toward descriptive representation affect electoral behavior. The

existence of a movement to elect more women to public office and the success of PACs such as

EMILY's List are evidence that attitudes toward women's officeholding are consequential. The

desire for greater women's representation is credited as a reason for the success of women in the

1992 congressional elections. Voter support for gender balance in government has implications

for gubernatorial vote choice (Fox and Oxley 2005) and may explain why U.S. women fare

better in states with multimember districts than in states with single-member districts (Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1994).

A desire for greater women's representation may partially explain "gender affinity" effects, whereby women voters' political participation is affected by the presence of women candidates. The presence of women candidates in 1992 was significantly associated with higher levels of political involvement, political efficacy, and media use by both women and men, with particularly strong effects for women (Hansen 1997). Other researchers have found that the presence of women Senate candidates increased the psychological engagement of women and that living in a state or district in which a woman was running for governor or Congress boosted the media attentiveness and electoral activities of women (Koch 1997; Sapiro and Conover 1997). Atkeson (2003) found that the impact of women candidates was conditioned by competition: in the presence of a competitive woman candidate, women voters had higher levels of efficacy, knowledge, and political discussion than those who experienced male-only races. All of these studies about the impact of women candidates relied on ANES data. Yet, it has been difficult for scholars to test the mobilization effects of women candidates without measures of attitudes toward women's representation.

Voters who desire greater women's representation or who view women as better able to handle important issues are likely to prefer female candidates over male candidates. This underlying predisposition or "baseline gender preference" means that some voters would rather vote for and be represented by a man while others would rather vote for and be represented by a woman, other factors being equal (Sanbonmatsu 2002). The baseline preference is a summary judgment about whether male or female candidates are best able to represent the voter. As a

summary judgment, it is similar to Fiorina's (1981) view of party identification as a running tally of voters' experiences with the two parties.

More than 50 percent of Ohio respondents surveyed in 2000 and 2002 expressed a baseline preference.[4] Respondents were asked: "If two equally qualified candidates were running for office, one a man and the other a woman, do you think you would be more inclined to vote for the man or the woman?" Among the determinants of this baseline gender preference are gender stereotypes—about candidate issue competence, issue positions, and personality traits— and voter sex (Sanbonmatsu 2002).

Although Democratic women candidates outnumber Republican women candidates, the baseline preference is not simply a reflection of party identification. For example, in the 2000 Ohio survey, 36% of Democrats preferred a woman, 21% a man, and 43% were neutral. Among Republicans, 37% preferred a man, 26% preferred a woman, and 36% were neutral.

Pilot Items

The Pilot included two versions of a question designed to isolate the marginal effect of candidate sex on vote choice.

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[4] See the Appendix for details.

Table 6

Mod23_A1 (Version 1)

"Imagine that two people are running against one another for President of the United States in 2008. And imagine that you agree more with one person about what the federal government should and should not do, and you also think that person's background and experience better prepare someone to be President. If it turned out that that person was a woman, would that reduce your chances of voting for her at all, would it increase your chances of voting for her at all, or would it have no effect on whether you'd vote for her?"

Mod23_B1 (Version 2)

"Imagine that a man and a woman are running against one another for President of the United States in 2008. And imagine that you agree more with the woman than with the man about what the federal government should and should not do. And imagine that you think the woman's background and experience make her a better candidate for President than the man. Would the fact that she is a woman reduce your chances of voting for her at all, would it increase your chances of voting for her at all, or would it have no effect on whether you'd vote for her?"

	Version 1	Version 2
Reduce chances	7.9%	4.8%
Increase chances	14.9	11.6
No effect	77.0	83.5
Don't know	0.1	0
Refused	0.1	0.2
N =	325	340

Cell entries are percentages.

The vast majority of respondents in both versions stated that a female candidate would not affect the likelihood of voting for a presidential candidate who is the most qualified and experienced candidate who agrees with the respondent on the size of government. Some respondents said a woman candidate would reduce the likelihood of their support (8% in the first version and 5% in the second version). More respondents said the fact the candidate was a woman candidate would increase their support (15% in the first version and 12% in the second version).

Respondents who said that a woman would reduce or increase their chances of voting for the candidate were asked a follow up question about the intensity of that view.[5]

Table 7: Mod23_A2, B2
"Would it [reduce / increase] your chances of voting for her a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?"
(asked of those responding reduce or increase)

	Version 1		Version 2	
Reduce chances				
A great deal	38.7%		47.2%	
A moderate amount	47.0		28.0	
A little	14.4		24.8	
N =		27		15
Increase chances				
A great deal	57.1		66.0	
A moderate amount	28.5		21.7	
A little	14.4		12.3	
N =		46		45

Cell entries are percentages.

We should note that this question is significantly different from the one we proposed. Our item was drawn from Sanbonmatsu's Ohio survey ("If two equally qualified candidates were running for office, one a man and the other a woman, do you think you would be more inclined to vote for the man or the woman?"). As we discuss in our recommendations at the end of this report, we believe the original question is a better measure of the concept of a baseline preference. The original wording is simpler and better captures the extent to which voters have a general predisposition to favor men or women candidates.

The respondent's support for descriptive representation was measured with an item about the ideal sex distribution of elected officials. The vast majority of respondents answered this question about the ideal balance between women and men in government. Women respondents

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[5] For the remainder of this report, we pool the two versions of this presidential candidate gender item.

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were significantly more likely to give a response than men (85.9% of men gave a percentage

compared to 92.5% of women).

Table 8: Mod23_3

"In your opinion, in the best government the U.S. could have, what percent of
elected officials would be men?"

	Percentage
Percent given	89.4
It makes no difference	8.9
Don't know	1.2
Refused	0.5
N = 665	

The modal response, given by 48% of respondents, was that men should be 50% of

elected officials. About 28% gave a response between 50-75%. About 17% of respondents gave

a response that men should be over 75% of elected officials. Meanwhile, only about 7% of the

sample said that men should be less than 50% of elected officials.

"In your opinion, in the best government the U.S. could have, what percent of elected officials would be men?"
(reporting responses where percent was given)

Percent of elected officials who should be men	Percentage
5	0.4
8	0.4
10	0.3
20	0.2
25	0.9
30	1.5
35	0.1
40	2.2
42	0.2
45	0.4
47	0.1
48	0.5
49	0.3
50	47.9
60	9.0
65	1.2
70	5.9
75	11.8
80	7.0
85	1.6
90	4.0
95	1.8
98	0.5
100	1.9

N = 591

This level of support for descriptive representation is similar to an item from the 2000 Ohio survey: "Tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement: In the best kind of government, about half of all elected officials would be women." On this question, 19% agreed strongly that half of elected officials should be women; 27% agreed somewhat strongly; 32%

disagreed somewhat strongly; 22% disagreed strongly (Sanbonmatsu 2003a). Thus, in both the

2000 Ohio survey and the 2006 ANES Pilot, about half of respondents supported gender balance

in government.

Table 10: Bivariate Analysis

Pearson correlation coefficients

	% Men	Emo.	Crime(D)	Crime(R)	Educ(D)	Educ(R)	Abor(D)	Abor(R)
Emotion	-.35**							
Crime(D)	-.17**	.33**						
Crime(R)	-.22**	.26**	.51**					
Educ. (D)	-.09*	.10*	-.05	.02				
Educ. (R)	-.07	.08*	-.06	.16**	.54**			
Abor. (D)	-.11**	.03	.03	.05	.09*	.13**		
Abor. (R)	-.07	.01	-.02	-.02	.09*	.09*	.41**	
President	-.28**	.35**	.12**	.16**	.15**	.13**	.06	.03

$* < .05, ** < .01$
N ranges from 591 to 655
Note: Stereotypes and the presidential candidate variable range from -3 to 3, where -3 = strongly favor man, -2= moderately favor, -1= favor a little; 0=neutral; 1= favor a little, 2=moderately favor, 3 = strongly favor woman.
President is assembled from Mod23_ A1, Mod23_A2, Mod23_B1, Mod23_B2; % Men in office is Mod23_3perc; Emotionally suited is Mod23_4, Mod23_5; Crime (D) is Mod23_6, Mod23_7; Crime (R) is Mod23_10, Mod23_11; Educ. (D) is Mod23_8, Mod23_9; Educ. (R) is Mod23_12, Mod23_13; Abor. (D) is Mod23_14, Mod23_15; Abor. (R) is Mod23_16, Mod23_17.

We turn next to how the Pilot items are related to one another. The bivariate relationships

in the first column are negative, indicating that respondents who thought men should constitute a

larger share of elected officials were less likely to favor women in terms of emotional suitability

for politics and competency on issues. These respondents were also less likely to think that Democratic women are more liberal on abortion than Democratic men.

The party versions of the stereotype questions are positively correlated. For example, respondents who view Democratic women as more competent on education than Democratic men also tend to view Republican women as more competent on education than Republican men. Beliefs about men and women's emotional suitability for politics are usually related to the other Pilot items.

The relationship of the Pilot items to demographics and party identification are in the expected directions. The absence of stronger relationships between respondent sex and stereotypes are consistent with the mixed results of past research; adherence to gender stereotypes often cuts across voter sex. Age and education are related to the Pilot items to some extent, as expected. For example, older individuals are more likely to believe men should be a greater share of elected officials. Meanwhile, more educated individuals believe women should be a greater share of officials.

Table 11: Pearson correlation coefficients

	Woman	Age	Education	Party Id.	Ideology	Political Knowledge
President	.07*	-.04	-.02	-.29**	-.10**	-.12**
% Men in office	.02	.11**	-.09*	.20**	.14**	0
Emotionally suited	.05	-.03	.04	-.24**	-.11**	-.09*
Crime (D)	.08*	-.05	.09*	-.11**	-.04	-.09*
Crime (R)	.04	.007	.03	-.26**	-.12**	-.05
Educ. (D)	.02	.003	.003	-.18**	-.07	-.006
Educ. (R)	-.02	.005	.01	-.16**	-.07	-.006
Abor. (D)	-.004	-.02	.10**	-.01	-.01	.16**
Abor. (R)	.001	.09*	.01	-.01	-.02	.10*

* <.05, **<.01
N ranges from 591 to 655
Note: Range of variables from the 2004 ANES: woman (0,1); age (18 to 90); education (1 to 7); ideology (1, 3, 5) where 1= liberal and 5=conservative; political knowledge (0 to 4). Party identification is from 2006 Pilot Study ranging from 0 to 6, where 0=strong Democrat and 6=strong Republican.

The strongest bivariate relationships are between the Pilot items and party identification: Republicans are more likely to believe men should be a greater share of elected officials. They are also more likely to favor men on the trait, issue competency, and issue position questions. Finally, political knowledge is somewhat more strongly related to the issue position stereotype on abortion than the trait or issue competency items, consistent with Sanbonmatsu (2003b). This evidence supports the perspective that issue position stereotypes may arise from knowledge about politics.

We examine one final set of bivariate relationships. Voters with more traditional gender role attitudes are expected to be more likely to hold gender stereotypes about politicians (Huddy 1994). We examine a range of gender-related items from the 2004 ANES time-series study. These items concern gender roles, modern sexism, and gender consciousness.

Table 12: Pearson correlation coefficients

	v043196 women's rights	v045183 special favors	v045184 job discrim.	v045185 harassment	v045205 working mother	v045206 best if man is achiever
President	-.15**	.11**	-.13**	.06	-.03	.09*
% Men in office	.28**	-.26**	.12**	-.17**	.15**	-.25**
Emotionally suited	-.19**	.12**	-.10**	.10*	-.09*	.10**
Crime (D)	-.13**	.02	-.10**	.05	-.05	.06
Crime (R)	-.17**	.15**	-.12**	.08*	-.09*	.02
Educ. (D)	-.03	.11**	-.11**	.03	-.01	.13**
Educ. (R)	-.06	.11**	-.10*	.03	-.05	.04
Abor. (D)	-.07	.06	-.05	.07	.02	.04
Abor. (R)	-.03	-.02	.01	.05	.01	.07

* <.05, **<.01
N ranges from 565 to 638
Note: Range of variables from the 2004 ANES:
v043196: women's rights scale (1 to 7; 1=women and men equal roles; 7=woman's place is in the home)
v045183: women demanding equality are seeking special favors (1 to 5, agree strongly to disagree strongly)
v045184: women face job discrimination (1 to 5, agree strongly to disagree strongly)
v045185: women claiming harassment cause problems (1 to 5, agree strongly to disagree strongly)
v045205: working mother can have warm relationship with children (agree; neither; disagree)
v045206: better if man is achiever outside the home (agree; neither; disagree)
See Appendix for question wording.

Table 13: Pearson correlation coefficients

	v045174 linked fate	v045175 pride	v045176 angry
President	.14*	-.11*	-.16**
% Men in office	-.22**	.18**	.24**
Emotionally suited	.16**	-.18**	-.19**
Crime (D)	.10	-.13*	-.06
Crime (R)	.18**	-.12*	-.10
Educ. (D)	.06	-.05	-.13*
Educ. (R)	.18**	-.06	-.15**
Abor. (D)	.04	-.11*	.03
Abor. (R)	-.04	-.09	-.01

* <.05, **<.01
N ranges from 299 to 337
Note: Range of variables from the 2004 ANES:
Asked of women respondents only.
v045174,a: gender linked fate (1 to 5, a lot to not very much at all)
v045175: pride in accomplishments of women (1 to 4, a lot to hardly ever)
v045176: angry about treatment of women in society (1 to 4, a lot to hardly ever)
See Appendix for question wording.

These bivariate relationships confirm that voters' stereotypes are related to other gender attitudes in the expected directions. However, gender stereotypes about politicians and attitudes toward women's representation are distinct from beliefs about the appropriate social roles of men and women and gender consciousness.

Multivariate Analysis

We conducted preliminary analyses of the determinants of the Pilot items in order to examine whether gender stereotypes are related to preferences and behaviors-- a link that, to this point, scholars have been unable to explore in any depth. We focus on the usual suspects (e.g., demographic variables) and the effect of gender stereotypes on attitudes toward women candidates and women's representation.

Table 14: Ideal Percentage of Men Elected Officials

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Woman	1.39	.40	.94	.77
	(1.38)	(1.44)	(1.34)	(1.34)
Age	.11**	.11*	.08	.10*
	(.04)	(.05)	(.04)	(.04)
Education	-.96*	-.70	-.12	-.29
	(.42)	(.48)	(.45)	(.45)
Party id.	1.54**	1.85**	1.17**	.98**
	(.29)	(.35)	(.34)	(.34)
Ideology	--	0	.11	.14
			(.40)	(.40)
Political knowledge	--	-.04	-.14	-.30
		(.77)	(.73)	(.72)
STEREOTYPES				
Emotional	--	--	-5.44**	-5.51**
			(.70)	(.68)
Education	--	--	.007	.46
			(.58)	(.59)
Crime	--	--	-1.38*	-2.10**
			(.67)	(.66)
Abortion	--	--	-1.08*	-.92
			(.45)	(.50)
Intercept	53.87**	52.36**	51.33**	50.98**
N	584	541	538	537
R^2	.06	.08	.21	.22

* $<.05$, ** $<.01$

OLS. Age, education, ideology, and political knowledge are from the 2004 ANES.
Model 3 uses the Democratic version of the education, crime, and abortion stereotype questions;
Model 4 uses the Republican version.
Stereotypes range from -3 to 3 (-3=man great deal better/more likely; 0=no difference; 3=woman great deal better/more likely).

Older individuals, less educated individuals, and Republicans are more likely to believe that men should be a larger share of elected officials. The trait stereotype (emotional suitability) is the most strongly related of the stereotype items: respondents who view women as more emotionally suitable for politics are less likely to believe that men should be a larger share of elected officials. To some extent, crime and abortion stereotypes matter as well.

Meanwhile, the likelihood of voting for a presidential candidate who is the most qualified and experienced candidate who agrees with the respondent on the size of government is best predicted by party (with Republicans less likely to report that a female candidate would increase support) and the trait stereotype.

Table 15: Presidential Candidate Gender

	Model 1	Model 2
Woman	.01	.04
	(.24)	(.24)
Age	-.01	-.01
	(.01)	(.01)
Education	.01	.02
	(.08)	(.08)
Party id.	-.27**	-.26**
	(.06)	(.06)
Ideology	.06	.07
	(.07)	(.07)
Political	-.09	-.06
knowledge	(.13)	(.13)
STEREOTYPES		
Emotional	.89**	.90**
	(.13)	(.12)
Education	.08	.07
	(.10)	(.10)
Crime	.06	.11
	(.12)	(.12)
Abortion	.14	.10
	(.08)	(.09)
Intercept 1	-1.12*	-1.08*
Intercept 2	4.52**	4.56**
N	596	596
-2 Log Likelihood	572.78	573.50
chi 2 (10 df)	100.67**	99.26**

* <.05, **<.01

Note: Ordered logistic regression model, where -1=female candidate make the vote less likely, 0=no effect, 1=more likely. Age, education, ideology, and political knowledge are from the 2004 ANES. Party identification is from the 2006 Pilot. Model 1 uses the Democratic version of the education, crime, and abortion stereotype questions; Model 2 uses the Republican version. Stereotypes range from -3 to 3 (-3=man great deal better/more likely; 0=no difference; 3=woman great deal better/more likely).

Table 16: Determinants of Stereotype-Consistent Responses

	Emotional	Crime (D)	Educ. (D)	Crime (R)	Educ. (R)	Abor. (D)	Abor. (R)
Woman	-.21	-.51*	-.35	-.14	-.28	.22	-.11
	(.24)	(.23)	(.21)	(.22)	(.21)	(.18)	(.19)
Age	-.001	-.002	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.02**	0
	(.01)	(.007)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	
Education	-.13	-.35**	-.12	-.07	-.06	-.05	-.04
	(.08)	(.08)	(.07)	(.08)	(.07)	(.06)	(.06)
Party Id.	.25**	.10	-.18**	.27**	-.16**	-.05	-.06
	(.06)	(.06)	(.05)	(.06)	(.05)	(.05)	(.05)
Ideology	-.01	.03	-.02	.005	-.03	-.01	-.05
	(.08)	(.07)	(.06)	(.07)	(.06)	(.06)	(.06)
PK	-.006	.26*	.12	.005	.13	.42**	.20*
	(.13)	(.13)	(.11)	(.12)	(.11)	(.10)	(.10)
Intercept	-1.68**	-.61	.45	-1.51**	-.09	.13	-.51
N	605	605	606	605	605	601	601
-2 Log likelihood	472.75	510.56	613.85	533.68	605.31	744.90	722.18
chi2 (6df)	24.72**	29.72**	22.63**	32.21**	17.82**	24.95**	9.71

* <.05, ** <.01

Note: Logistic regression model where 1=consistent with gender stereotype, 0 otherwise. Stereotype-consistent respondent coded as follows: men emotionally suited for politics; men better on crime; women better on education; women more liberal on abortion.
Age, education, ideology, and PK (political knowledge) are from the 2004 ANES. Party identification is from the 2006 Pilot.

Finally, we examine the likelihood that respondents provide the response consistent with dominant gender stereotypes (i.e., that men are more emotionally suited for politics and better at crime, and that women are more liberal on abortion and better at education). Party identification is an important predictor of stereotypes, though not necessarily in the direction of a stereotype-consistent response. Instead, the pattern of coefficients reveals that Republicans tend to favor

men and Democrats to favor women regardless of the dominant stereotypes. Political knowledge predicts the belief that women are more liberal on abortion, though it also predicts the view that men are better able to handle crime.

One of our major motivations in proposing the gender stereotype and preference questions for the Pilot was to be able to use these variables in a model of vote choice in elections involving a woman candidate. Whether gender stereotypes and preferences are strong enough to compete with traditional influences and shape vote choice is still unknown. Unfortunately, we were unable to analyze the impact of gender stereotypes and preferences on voting for women congressional candidates. The 2006 ANES Pilot study, which re-interviewed respondents from the 2004 ANES time-series study, included 665 respondents. A total of 439 Pilot respondents, or 86%, reported voting in the 2006 House elections. However, only 14% of these voters (N=65) lived in a district with a male-female contest.[6] According to the Center for American Women and Politics at the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, a total of 136 women were general election candidates for Congress in the 2006 elections in 126 districts. Thus, although women candidates ran in one-third of House races in 2006, an analysis of the effect of the Pilot items on the congressional vote would only include 65 respondents.

It will be possible to investigate the effects of gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women's representation on the vote in future ANES studies, which will include a larger number of respondents than the Pilot study. Since 1990, the ANES has included states and districts that have captured approximately half of the women candidates for Congress, something that would no doubt be the case in the larger samples planned for the 2007-2009 panel study and the time-series studies. Scholars will be able to investigate a range of questions concerning the effect of

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[6] These statistics exclude 10 woman vs. woman contests. Please note that our analysis is based on the geographic location of the 2004 ANES interview because the 2006 Pilot Advance Release does not contain respondents' 2006 congressional district.

stereotypes on vote choice; the interaction of stereotypes with other factors such as political knowledge, issue positions, and party identification; and the effect of representation and preference items on vote choice and turnout.

Recommendations

Gender Stereotypes

We recommend maintaining the three areas of stereotypes (trait, issue competency, and issue position) in future ANES studies, but suggest several considerations for adaption and inclusion of these questions.

1). We recommend keeping the emotional suitability item and adding three traits: compassionate; honest; and provides strong leadership. Together, the four traits will include two items that "advantage" each sex. Women politicians are usually believed to be more compassionate and honest than men, while men are believed to provide stronger leadership and be more emotionally suited for politics than women.

2). One small change we advocate on the emotional suitability item concerns the question wording. The Pilot version asks whether "...most men candidates who run for political office are better suited emotionally *to work in government*..." (italics added). We recommend replacing "to work in government" with "to be in politics": "...most men candidates who run for political office are better suited emotionally *to be in politics*...". We believe that "work in government" may bring to mind "government employee" rather than "officeholder" or "political leader".

3). We recommend expanding the issue competency battery to include two additional items: health care and foreign affairs. We also recommend replacing the crime competency question with an item on terrorism. Including education, health care, foreign affairs, and terrorism would

maintain gender balance (by asking respondents about two issues that tend to favor women and two issues that favor men) while better capturing current issues (because terrorism is more salient than crime).

4). In addition to maintaining the abortion issue position item, we recommend including an item on government spending. Including these two issues will capture stereotypes on social and economic conservatism.

5). Were it not for space and time constraints on the ANES, we would advocate for party-specific items, as were used in the Pilot. However, given that the party-specific versions of the items performed very similarly, we believe that future ANES studies should use the generic man versus woman question wording (rather than Democratic man versus Democratic woman, and Republican man versus Republican woman). Because the Pilot study demonstrates that voters largely see the same gender stereotypes operating within both parties, we support dropping the party-specific versions in the interests of space.

6). As we discussed earlier, in order to increase variance on the stereotype items, we strongly advocate the inclusion of a probe of those respondents who give the egalitarian response in order to capture leaners. Prefatory language that suggests that many people do think along stereotyped lines should also increase the variance on the stereotype items.

Gender Preferences and Women's Representation

1). The percentage elected officials item performed well. We recommend leaving that item as is and that it be included in future ANES studies.

2). With regard to the baseline gender preference question, we advocate inclusion of the version we originally proposed rather than the version that appeared in the Pilot (the Pilot version concerned the sex of a presidential candidate). The item we propose is:

> "If two equally qualified candidates were running for office, one a man and the other a woman, do you think you would be more inclined to vote for the man or the woman?"
>> Man/ Woman/ Don't know

> If R answers "don't know," probe:
> "Do you lean toward thinking you would be more inclined to vote for the man, lean toward thinking you would be more inclined to vote for the woman, or do you not lean either way?"
>> Lean towards man/ Lean towards woman/ Don't lean either way

We believe that this simple question wording better captures the underlying concept: whether the respondent generally prefers to vote for a man or a woman when other factors are equal. The concept of the baseline preference is that some voters have a standing decision to support a man or a woman. Not all voters have an underlying preference. But many voters do have such a preference (see Appendix). This preference is likely to compete with other determinants of the vote such as party identification. Rather than building controls into the question wording itself, we believe that control variables should be incorporated into vote choice models in order to isolate the effect of the baseline preference item. Precisely because voters are likely to respond to other factors than merely candidate sex, we anticipate that the baseline gender preference will be used as an independent variable in vote choice models alongside other typical predictors of the vote (e.g., party identification, issue positions, demographics).

Conclusion

We believe that the gender stereotype and preference questions included on the Pilot study make a significant contribution to our understanding of the way in which gender dynamics influence public opinion and political behavior. As gender issues become more visible in American politics, we urge the ANES to continue to include these questions, taking into consideration the modifications we suggest in this report. The data provided by a systematic and regular consideration of gender issues in future ANES studies will broaden the scope of our understanding of these complex influences in many ways.

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Appendix

Ohio Data

The 2000 Ohio survey was conducted between late March and mid-April 2000 by the Ohio State University Center for Survey Research using a CATI process. The sample of Ohio residents was contacted through random-digit dialing. The AAPOR Response Rate 5 is 37% and Cooperation Rate 3 is 42%. The sample is similar demographically to a nationally representative sample. Women are somewhat overrepresented in the sample (60 percent), and African Americans are somewhat underrepresented (8 percent). Respondents were told that the survey concerned "a number of very important political and social issues." See Sanbonmatsu 2002; 2003a; 2003b for more details. Sanbonmatsu (2003b) includes a comparison of the Ohio sample with the 2000 NES on demographics, partisanship, and political knowledge.

The Ohio Political Survey (TOPS) was conducted between November 8 and December 12, 2002. This telephone survey of 810 Ohio residents was conducted by the Ohio State University Center for Survey Research. Dean Lacy served as the Principal Investigator. The survey combined two samples: a sample of respondents who had previously taken part in a pre-election survey, and a random digit dial sample that was only contacted with the post-election survey. The RDD sample was obtained with a random-digit dial frame of the entire state. The panel consisted of 342 respondents who completed a pre-election interview and who agreed to be re-interviewed after the November election. The AAPOR Response Rate 1 for the RDD sample is 27% and for the panel, 80%. The Response Rate 5 for the RDD sample is 43% and for the panel, 85%. The Cooperation Rate 3 for the RDD sample is 44% and for the panel, 92%. The sample is weighted based on age, education, gender, and race.

Baseline Gender Preference

"If two equally qualified candidates were running for office, one a man and the other a woman, do you think you would be more inclined to vote for the man or the woman?"

	Man	**Neutral**	**Woman**
2000 Ohio survey			
(N=450)	28%	42%	30%
2002 TOPS survey	22%	48%	30%
(N=764)			
By Respondent Gender:			
2000 Ohio survey			
Men			
(N=178)	35%	49%	16%
Women			
(N=272)	24%	38%	39%
2002 TOPS survey			
Men	32%	50%	18%
(N=337)			
Women	14%	45%	41%
(N=427)			

"Neutral" includes those who volunteered "don't know" or "no difference."

Issue Competency and Position Stereotypes

	Man	**Neutral**	**Woman**
2000 Ohio survey			
Protecting social security	23%	36%	42%
(N=453)			
Dealing with the crime problem	51%	28%	21%
(N=455)			
Handling foreign affairs	56%	29%	15%
(N=455)			
2002 TOPS survey			
Handling foreign affairs	55%	28%	17%
(N=810)			
Support legal abortion	18%	15%	67%
(N = 810)			

"Please tell me who you think would probably do a better job of handling these issues in Congress: a man or a woman." ("Protecting Social Security"; "Dealing with the crime problem"; "Handling foreign affairs").

"Now please tell me who would be more likely to take these positions in Congress: a man or a woman. Who do you think would be more likely to support keeping abortion legal in all circumstances?"

"Neutral" includes those who volunteered "don't know" or "no difference."

2006 ANES Items

Woman, R_gender

Party identification, Mod19_0

2004 ANES Items

Age, v043250

Education, v043254

Ideology, v043086

Political Knowledge
Job or political office held by: Dennis Hastert (v045162), Dick Cheney (v045163), Tony Blair (v045164), and William Rehnquist (v045165)

v043196
"Please look at page 12 of the booklet. Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that a woman's place is in the home. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

v045183
"I'm going to read several statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree. The first statement is:"
"When women demand equality these days, they are actually seeking special favors."

v045184
"Women often miss out on good jobs because of discrimination."

v045185
"Women who complain about harassment cause more problems than they solve."

v045205
"A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work."
"(Do you AGREE, NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE, or DISAGREE with this statement)?"

v045206
"It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family."

v045174
"Do you think that what happens to WOMEN in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?"

v045174a
"How much will it affect you? A LOT, SOME, or NOT VERY MUCH AT ALL?"

v045175
"How often do you find yourself feeling a sense of pride as a woman in the accomplishments of women? Is it A LOT, FAIRLY OFTEN, ONCE IN A WHILE, or HARDLY EVER?"

v045176
"How often do you find yourself feeling angry about the way women are treated in society? Is it A LOT, FAIRLY OFTEN, ONCE IN A WHILE, or HARDLY EVER?"