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EFFECTS OF PERSONAL STYLING ON CONSTITUENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF CANDIDATES

By Cassidy Ktsanes

An Independent Study Thesis
submitted to the Department of Political Science
at The College of Wooster
March 25, 2019
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the I.S. Thesis

Advisor: Michele Leiby

Second Reader: Angela Bos

Abstract

This study aims to measure the extent to which personal styling and gender presentation has on public perceptions of candidates. The hypotheses in this study were that masculine styling leads to more positive trait evaluations which in turn leads to a higher number of votes and more conservative rankings—this all, however, was assumed to be conditional on the sex of candidate. This is due to gendered expectations that derive from the gender binary. The overall findings of this study cannot reject the null hypothesis. This study found that: as masculine styling increases perceptions of competence and compassion significantly decrease, as ratings of traits increase so does likelihood to vote for the candidate, male candidates in masculine styling are significantly rated more negatively on traits than female candidates in masculine styling, and finally as ratings of compassionate and cooperative increase the likelihood to be ranked as conservative decreases.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Women are faced with higher standards in the political world because men are already assumed to be leaders (but leaders are also coded to be males, if not specified the default is men), while women seem to have to prove that they are capable of such a position. The gender binary that has dominated most of the Western world is engrained in American politics. The binary is a prevailing view of how men and women should act, and what their characteristics look like. This research aims to investigate the extent to which personal styling and gender expectations play a role in constituents' analyses of candidates. The research question that this study addresses is: how does personal styling affect how constituents perceive candidates? This question is important to explore, because styling has an implicit gender bias to it. Female candidates have to dress in a more masculine way in order to be equated to their male counterparts in the political realm. Women political figures also face backlash when they act outside of the typical gender norms: there is an expectation for female presentation that male candidates and political figures often do not face. This implies a bias within constituents for male candidates over female candidates, and this study aims to find out to what extent does personal styling—be it masculine or feminine styling—has upon public opinion of candidates.

Based on the existing literature from social psychology, political psychology, and political science, I argue that gender stereotypes affect, not only voters' perceptions of candidates, but also influence how candidates must present themselves in terms of physical appearance. We know that stereotypes affect how voters perceive political candidates, but these stereotypes also inform how candidates are expected to dress, behave, and appear: different appearances will have a different effect on how voters perceive candidates. I present two hypotheses in this study. The first hypothesis is: more masculine styling will lead

to a more positive ranking of leadership traits and in turn lead to a higher number of votes, although it is conditional on the sex of the candidate. The next hypothesis is that more masculine styling will lead to more positive trait evaluations, which in turn leads to a higher conservative ranking although again conditional on candidate sex. Overall, masculine styling leads to a political candidate being taken more seriously despite their sex; however, it is assumed that the effect is stronger on male candidates and weaker for female candidates due to societal backlash. The level of gender stereotyping is measured by how the survey-taker gives trait attributions to candidates, ideological assignment, and likelihood to vote for the candidate. The null hypothesis is that gender stereotypes about appearance and personal styling have no effect on level of preference for or perceptions of candidates. The effect of appearance-based gender stereotyping is important to investigate, because gender stereotypes have implications on what roles females pursue, and whether they will be accepted in leadership roles.

I originally became interested in this topic because of the 2016 election. When Hillary Clinton ran for office, the amount of people that discussed her appearance was appalling to me. It was nothing new, but this does not mean it is any less frustrating. The focus on her appearance and physical dress distracted from her policies. Again, this is nothing new for female politicians. Currently, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez who is a representative in the state of New York faces scrutiny for her physical appearance and was once criticized for wearing a blazer. The list of female politicians who have been criticized for their physical appearance and the way they dress is exhaustive. My research has real-world implications; part of my motivation to pursue this research question is seeing the blatant sexism in candidacy.

Summary of Upcoming Chapters

Chapter 2 will look into the existing literature that is already available on this topic. It exemplifies how gender is often seen as a binary. This implies that one is greater than the other, and people often prioritize the masculine side of the binary; it gives biases to who will be viewed as a leader. Definitions of gender stereotypes are included in the review, because the stereotypes derive from the binary. There are also differing evaluations for female vs. male leaders—this bolsters the idea that there are perceptions of female and male leaders due to implications of the binary, although the output of both are roughly equivalent. When it comes to literature on personal styling in the professional world, there is more research available on female personal styling as opposed to male personal styling. This in it of itself exemplifies that personal styling is seen as more important for females because they are already taken less seriously in the business and political world—there are more critiques and rules for female leaders.

Chapter 3 goes into the methodology for examining this research. Essentially this study utilizes survey data in order to gain a better understanding of constituents' perspectives on personal styling. The survey was created in Qualtrics. The platform used is MTurk which is a branch from the company Amazon. The data was analyzed using Stata, and logistical/ordered logistical regression was used. Chapter 4 details the results of the survey experiment. Chapter 5 will give an overview of the results and give suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Gender as a Meaning System

Gender is the meaning system. It is used to ascribe meaning to the world around us. It is used to understand and ascribe value to behaviors, traits, the people, processes, and objects within in the world. It is important to note that these meanings are not inherent to any of

these objects, people, or processes, but rather are socially constructed and given out based upon the assumptions we make about gender.

In most Western societies, the way gender is understood is as a binary: a male and female. Though there has been increased visibility for other gender identities, those who are gender-fluid, transgender, and non-binary, there is unfortunately still a prominence of the gender binary even though it is not empirically justified to have one. Since gender is typically viewed as a binary, certain characteristics are associated with these binaries and specific traits are dichotomized as either feminine or masculine, with the masculine traits being prioritized or viewed as better. From this binary, the socially constructed system governs what it means to be a man or a woman in society and their assigned expectations. Society assigns certain traits to the male or female sex and assigns certain value-laden qualities to them. It constructs roles that each sex is meant to perform. This is what creates a binary and leads into prioritizing one sex over the other. If there was not this binary, it would be less likely that one side would be valued over another. Gender as a meaning system first begins as a set of symbols and associations which then go into the binary which create dichotomies and how we view the two sexes (Cohn 2012). Beyond this, if a male holds one trait then a female must not be able to hold the same trait—they are mutually exclusive (Cohn 2012).

Therefore, it creates a clear-cut distinction between the ways masculinity and femininity are perceived. As diagramed in Table 1, the masculine side of the binary is understood to be and ascribed with traits such as: leadership, toughness, and competence. The feminine half is there-in the mirror of these traits. Females are meant to be feminine in this binary, and males on the other hand are meant to be masculine. Feminine traits include: follower, passive, shy, compassionate, cooperative, sensitive/warm, and ineffective (or less competent). The male traits include: leader, assertive, outgoing, tough, competitive, serious/cold, and competent.

Most importantly, since it is a binary, one side is valued over the other and the valued side is the masculine side. These traits and associations are connected to objects, whether or not these objects have an actual gendered aspect to them. Even children have been known to attribute certain colors, shapes, and animals to different gender dichotomies on the binary (Winter 2010). For example, pink is classically associated with femininity and blue is associated with masculinity. The cultural expectation is that what is feminine is not masculine, and what is masculine is not feminine (Winter 2010). It is a clear divide between the two, and the binary does not allow for overlap. There is no leeway for some femininity and some masculinity; the binary assigns males to the masculine side and females to the feminine side, and often punishes those who try to cross from one to another.

1 Table 1: Traits Associated with Masculinities and Femininities

Masculine	Leader	Assertive	Outgoing	Tough	Competitive	Serious /Cold	Competent
Feminine	Follower	Passive	Shy	Compassion -ate	Cooperative	Sensitive /Warm	Ineffective

As briefly mentioned before, when these gendered meanings get assigned, not only are they assigned to either femininity or masculinity, the masculine traits are seen as more beneficial. It also means that certain masculinities are prioritized over other masculinities and all variants of femininities (Cohn 2014). It leads into different categorizations of what is male and what is female. Males are viewed as tougher, or ‘hard’, and females are perceived as more compassionate or ‘soft.’ These are then, in turn, placed onto issues that are hard or masculine and issues that are soft, or feminine (Cohn 2014). This has real life consequences

for what areas and policies receive more funding. In order to understand what this means, take for example how security and peace studies are viewed—universities invest more into security studies rather than they would peace studies, and has a more prestigious status (Cohn 2014). The ‘women’s issues’ are areas like healthcare and welfare, while issues like defense are seen as important and highly necessary, but defense is associated with masculinity (Cohn 2014). Security is strongly associated with males and masculinity. Men are seen as more forceful and capable to handle issues of defense and the military, while women as seen as warmer and gentler, and more likely to handle issues of the family and welfare. (Fridkin et al 2008, Dolan 2013). Security is seen as more important because it is seen as a masculine field; it is seen as a more serious field than the field of peace studies. The issues that are associated with masculinity are prioritized, better funded, and viewed as the better approach to political strife (Cohn 2014). The gender binary gives indication of what is important, and what is less important. It turns into masculinities having more priority and femininities being less meaningful.

The different value-laden traits often value those which are more masculine, and in turn value the quality of leadership, which is also associated with masculinity, so it gets elevated. The male is then a leader and the female is a follower. The latter is the one that is less desirable. If followers were as valued as leaders, the dichotomy of the gendered meanings would not matter. It is of great consequence, gender is not just a binary or abstraction that simply does not affect real world outcomes. It affects who is perceived as a leader. The gendered meanings are associated with gender stereotypes where individuals now expect the male and female sex to each act in specific ways. Gender stereotypes are about expectations and the shortcuts about how we evaluate them; we expect a certain behavior from women based on their gender and the same of men.

Gender Stereotypes Defined

The gendered meaning system creates expectations for what people can say, what roles they can hold in society, and how they should behave. The difference for gender stereotypes is that stereotypes are the shortcuts that people use in order to simplify the information around them; they are the cues that anyone who presents themselves as male or female should therefore act, speak, and occupy roles within their assigned side of the binary. The stereotyping comes in when one makes assumptions about the gender presentations expecting people to be more like a stereotypical male or female. The short-cutting cues are making assumptions due to gender presentation, particularly when we have no other information to go off of, there are assumptions made about an individual. To clarify, when discussing gender, it is the gender presentation and how it is perceived, one cannot know how someone identifies within their own gender. Gender stereotyping is only based off of the gender presentation which can be perceived incorrectly. This is often due to how one presents oneself; for example, skirts are often associated with the feminine side of the binary so one will be assumed to be more feminine when presented in a skirt. Gender stereotypes in this study are to be defined as conceptions of the male or female sex that are held by the general public and influence how they attribute certain traits to the male and female sex (Fridkin et al 2008). What is typically included in gender stereotypes are personality/innate traits, gender roles, physical characteristics, and types of occupations (Jackson and Cash 1985). Stereotypes are a way to easily modify information that is being processed. It is often referred to as a cognitive shortcut. The cognitive categories are what simplifies information about people and makes it easy to come to conclusions about them; when there is minimal information available people make connections and stereotypes about what type of positions and jobs a gender may undertake (Conover and Feldman 1989). These types of gender

stereotypes have broader implications for the political world and may lead to how a political candidate will be evaluated according to their perceived gender.

The gender stereotypes derive from the gendered meanings and attribute the traits to expectations of how women and men should be behaving within the society. Women have been described as more passive, shy, humanitarian, and compassionate (Rosen and Jerdee 1973, Klatt et al 2016, Boyce and Herd 2003, Banducci et al 2008). Men are often viewed as competent, tougher, more assertive, and competitive (Schuh 2014, Boyce and Herd 2003, Klatt et al 2016, Morgan 2004, Banducci et al 2008). Women are categorized as the warmer, softer sex while males are categorized as the tougher, harsher sex. Gender stereotypes are what garner expectations about each sex and how they should behave. It goes further beyond gender as a meaning system, because now it has established actual expectations from people living in a society of how a male and female should behave. Stereotypes are the actualization of gendered meanings.

Gender stereotypes can also be affected through the specific situations. There are still instances when both traits of each gender can be beneficial to them depending on the circumstance. Additionally, there is research that exists that demonstrates that gender stereotypes about women can at times be beneficial to women who are running for office (Sanbonmatsu 2002, Huddy and Capelos 2002). For example, if there needs to be a focus on social programs in a certain election, a woman is more likely to be chosen over a man because people believe women are naturally more compassionate despite whether it is true (Huddy and Capelos 2002). A man may be more likely to be voted for in times of war because stereotypes exist that associate males with being better equipped for issues of defense. Furthermore, women are sometimes seen as more honest than male candidates and

may have the upper hand in the election (Fridkin et al 2008). However, despite there being some advantages to either male or female candidates due to gender stereotypes, when there are low-information elections the attractive, white male candidates are often opted for over other candidates (Banducci et al 2008).

Leadership Traits and Who is Seen as a Leader

As a reminder, males are often who are seen as leaders; refer back to table 1 to see how leadership is commonly associated with the masculine component of the binary. Leadership is one of the traits that is assigned to the male in the binary (gender meaning system) as a result of its assignation to the male side. The traits that constitute leadership and what is a good leader tends to be ascribed to the male side of the binary. Leadership is a quality that is praised in modern society. The typical assessment of what makes a good leader includes someone who is serious, assertive, competitive, risk-taking, and confident (Schuh 2014, Boyce and Herd 2003, Klatt et al 2016, Morgan 2004). A good leader is someone who is able to handle crises; someone who is level-headed, decisive, and emotionally stable (Alexander and Andersen 1993). Again, these traits are all often associated with the masculine side of the gender binary. Leaders are the ones to take charge in difficult situations and who people turn to for guidance. It is of great consequence who is seen as a leader, and what characteristics and qualities are accepted as leadership, and which are not. Leadership traits are associated with masculine traits, and thus males will have an easier time being viewed as a leader. The female leaders are not perceived fully as female or a leader; rather they are seen as deficient in certain areas and lacking in both masculine and feminine traits (Bos and Schneider 2014). While women display similar leadership traits to men, and their subordinates tend to have similar satisfaction rates, some subordinates will report that they believe male superiors to be

more effective than female leaders even if they display the same characteristics (Morgan 2004, Dobbins and Platz 1968).

In most field settings, male leaders do not outperform female leaders and vice versa (Dobbins and Platz 1968). There are two specific types of leadership styles that will be discussed here: communal and agentic. Communal leadership styles are viewed as being cooperative, supportive, sympathetic, kind, focused on maintaining relationships, as well as directly motivating their workers and giving individual accommodations (Rosette and Tost 2010). Agentic leadership, on the other hand, is led as more hierarchal and possessing high levels of confidence and competitiveness (Rosette and Tost 2010). The communal role is the less valued leadership style, but this is likely due to the gendered meaning system and the communal role being associated with females. Whatever is associated with the side of the female binary is going to be valued less, because it is the less valued side of the binary, while the male side of the binary is valued. However, males are more likely to be perceived more positively in the agentic leadership roles over females in agentic leadership roles—even though the female may be viewed as a stronger leader when she portrays agentic characteristics. This is due to backlash from society and the female not being role-congruent. When females pursue this type of agentic leadership style it is seen as incongruent and may lead to detrimental effects on how women leaders are perceived (Rosette and Tost 2010). Furthermore, if a male leads in a communal style, he will likely be devalued compared to his agentic male leader counterpart; this would likely be due to the violation of expectations and understanding of the binary. Communal leadership is associated with the female side of the binary so it is less valued, and he would be performing outside of the binary boundaries.

Even when different leadership styles are analyzed, they are gendered. There is evident ascribed value to the different styles—agentic is often seen as the preferable style to communal due to the fact that agentic style is associated with the masculine portion of the binary. Both women and men can be transformational leaders, which is similar to a more communal leadership, but still agentic leadership is viewed as the most effective leadership style, even though all three forms can be as effective as one another (Eagly et al 2003). Again, the two types of leadership that will be focused on here are agentic and communal. Agentic leadership is what is often tied to male leaders, while communal leadership is what is tied to female leaders. Women are seen as having a communal leadership style which means it is a less hierarchal leadership style than how some men lead, and it focuses in on more collaborative work (Eagly et al 2003). It focuses in on working closely with subordinates. The tendency for women to remain in a communal style of leadership has relevancy to abiding by social norms. Again, there are meta-analytic results which imply that women tend to be more communal leaders; people will often attribute women to being person-oriented than men (Klatt et al 2016, Dobbins and Platz 1968). Despite this, studies point to women and men being equal in effectiveness and leadership competence (Dobbins and Platz 1968, Morgan 2004).

The adherence to a more communal type of leadership can also be attributed to women wanting to be able to be hired and the pressure to avoid negative consequences that may entail when they assume an agentic leadership style (Eagly et al 2003). There are stereotypes that exist that lead people to believe men innately possess an ‘agentic’ leadership style while women tend to be more ‘communal’ (Hoyt et al 2009). The agentic leader is seen as assertive and level-headed while the communal leader is seen as compassionate and warm (Hoyt et al 2009). This type of stereotyping often leads people to believe that since the

agentic leadership style is associated with males, that it is in turn incompatible with female leaders and causes a rift between the styles to be formed and a binary between male and female leaders (Hoyt et al 2009). Furthermore, this places barriers on women's leadership styles and can be one of the reasons as to why communal characteristics, as discussed earlier, can be shown to be more present in women versus men. Women are not typically correlated with leadership, which is why when women take initiative it can be seen as threatening and it will potentially receive negative feedback and reactions. The backlash is yet another barrier that places pushback on female leaders and can potentially inhibit their motivation to lead. There are arguments that masculine and agentic traits are more important than actually just being male, but this means that masculinity is still prioritized over femininity. Thus, feminine traits and communal leadership are seen as less effective even though studies point to show that both communal and agentic leadership are effective ways of leading (Hoyt et al 2009).

The reason why gender stereotypes are important to consider here is because ideas that people have about leadership are often tied into their ideas about male characteristics (Eagly et al 2003, Schuh 2014). It is no coincidence that the traits that make up a good leader are typically associated with males. The gender binary has implied that seriousness and leadership are associated with masculinity, so therein it excludes feminine characteristics from the typical stereotype of what a good leader should be. Earlier it had been mentioned that a good leader is considered emotionally stable, but gender stereotypes apply emotion and being emotional to femininity and women. In a variety of positions of leadership, assumptions that men are better leaders than women are prevalent (Morgan 2004, Dobbins and Platz 1968). Although both men and women leaders tend to on average be as effective as the other, the gender meaning system is used to attribute typical leadership traits to masculinity and men. Furthermore, if desirable leadership traits are ones that are closely

correlated with masculine traits, then it blocks out feminine leadership as being equally effective. It prioritizes one over the other and associates masculinity with leadership.

How Male and Female Politicians are Evaluated Differently

In office, male and female politicians are ranked differently according to their sex. Men are more likely to have support in political elections overall by their respective parties, and politics is a field that has been long dominated by males (Dittmar 2015). Women politicians have been described as being more honest, but when it comes to emotional stability and being able to handle the stress of political work, male officials are rated more highly (Alexander and Andersen 1993). This notion is not accurate, however. Evidence points to men and women leading just as competently as one another. Furthermore, the fact that women are more communal can potentially have something to do with the way society has conditioned them to behave.

When there is little information available about a candidate, stereotypes can be a quick way to analyze information about the candidate. Partisan cues and nonverbal cues also give information about a candidate (Banducci et al 2008, Barrett and Barrington 2005). People will at times prefer to rely on the gender stereotypes in order to make a quick decision about a political candidate, rather than doing an in-depth comparison of the candidates (Banducci et al 2008). There is also a difference of perception in what kind of political issues male and female leaders will be effective in. On average women are perceived to be better at domestic issues, or intragroup issues, and men are viewed to be stronger candidates for international or intergroup problems (van Vugt and Spisak 2008, Elprana et al 2015). People believing that women are more adept at managing intragroup conflict and men at intergroup conflict can possibly be attributed to the fact that people expect women to be

better at peacekeeping and men to be more attuned to war (van Vugt and Spisak 2008, Boyce and Herd 2003). It is a pervasive stereotype about political leaders that women are the peacemakers and men are the ones who instigate war; women are viewed as cooperative while men are viewed as competitive (Caprioli and Boyer 2001). Women who act in a more stereotypically 'masculine' way as leaders are more likely to be successful as political leaders in their states, especially in societies which are male-dominated (Caprioli and Boyer 2001). Most of these notions are based upon gender stereotypes. However, it is important to note that there have been times where there are different traits between women and men. One trait that was an outlier was that on average women do tend to be more communal, meaning unselfish and friendly, than men with their interactions with either sex (Eagly et al 2003, Dobbins and Platz 1968). Again, this difference can be tied back into the fact that women are often conditioned to be more communal. Both Republican and Democratic voters have attributed toughness more often to the male candidate at hand (Dittmar 2015). Furthermore, the voters regardless of party will attribute issues of foreign affairs, defense, and national security as being better-suited to male candidates (Dittmar 2015). Although voters have ranked men as more likely to be more adept at handling issues of the economy, most voters still believe both male and female candidates as equally capable in the area (Dittmar 2015). Despite viewing both female and male candidates as equally experienced, gender is also used as a cue in order to figure out what issues the candidate will likely be invested in (Dittmar 2015). There are often stereotypes that place female candidates into caring about topics like healthcare and male candidates into caring about other issues like the military. Voters will place female candidates into the camp of 'women's issues' and categorize them as being more supportive of the issues despite their party affiliation or actual beliefs (Dittmar 2015). These 'women's issues' include social programs, family programs, healthcare, and education

policy (Dittmar 2015). They are likely seen as women's issues because women tend to be rated as more compassionate, so they are stereotyped to be more interested in the social welfare sphere, despite whether they are actually in support of positive initiatives for the so-called 'women's issues.' However, depending on party alliance there are different views into what entails each of the social issues. For example, although the family sphere is perceived as a women's issue, Republican voters will view the family policies as something like maintaining the 'sanctity' of marriage and Democratic voters viewing it as social programs to bolster family wellbeing (Dittmar 2015).

Women candidates have to do a balancing act of being both feminine and masculine at the same time. If a woman acts too feminine, she is perceived as less competent as a leader, but if she appears too masculine then there is a backlash response to her performance. Candidates can also manipulate their perceived traits; men and women can adopt typical traits of the other gender in order to appear more sympathetic or more aggressive to others, respectively (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993). If a candidate decides to push that they possess another trait that tends to be associated with the opposite sex, for example if a female chooses to describe themselves as tough, they can at times be effective in altering perceptions. A woman can adopt traits that are typically associated with males and it may lead her to be more likely to gain the leadership position. However, there are shortcomings of this method because of societal backlash—women can be penalized for acting outside of social norms and may actually have less of a chance of being hired due to their non-conforming traits and behaviors (Klatt et al 2016). It is often a double-edged sword for women in the political and professional world; it is a nearly impossible balancing act.

Males tend to be more likely to have managerial positions and the position of a leader. It is detrimental that men tend to be hired and promoted to these positions, not only due to the stereotype that masculine traits equate to an efficient leader, but it continues that stereotype because they tend to be the higher proportioned gender in these positions. The stereotype is pervasive, and it is a cycle that continues as men are more often placed into these positions and gain more political ground. Leadership positions, although there have been more women assuming these positions than in the past, are still tied in with ideas about masculinity because it has long been the status quo (Winter 2010). Despite the move away from explicitly gendered roles that are exclusive, there are connotations that are pervasive and push for a masculine realm in the public sphere (Winter 2010).

Gender stereotypes also have implications for how leaders are evaluated in crisis situations. The two emotions that are correlated with negative crisis response are anger and sadness (Madera and Smith 2009). Leaders who express the positive emotions, such as excitement and enthusiasm, towards an issue are perceived as more competent (Madera and Smith 2009). Women have been described during crises as being more emotional in their approach, even if this is untrue. When leaders display traits of sadness during a crisis they are viewed as being more submissive than proactive (Madera and Smith 2009). It has been shown that when a leader displays traits of either sadness or anger, the followers will rate them lower than a leader who is viewed as neutral in crisis situations (Madera and Smith 2009). This poses problems because the gender binary often assigns level-headedness to masculinity and emotion to femininity. The idea of decisiveness is also often tied to male leaders. Decisiveness is seen as a strong trait for a leadership role and is associated with successful organizations and more assertive leaders (Williams et al 2009). High levels of self-confidence, assertiveness, and decisiveness are especially considered important in crisis

situations (Williams et al 2009). There have been studies that indicate that when there is a higher perceived risk of death there is a more likelihood for voters to rely on stereotypes and vote for an agentic masculine leader (Hoyt et al 2009). When people are presented with stereotypical data while there is death-related anxiety or what is called ‘mortality salience’, men participants will be more likely to choose the male leader who is agentic and women will be more likely to choose the individual who is agentic despite their sex (Hoyt et al 2009). Although the study conducted by Hoyt et al found that in-group bias plays a role and females were actually more likely to vote for the female candidate during the high level of anxiety, there was a strong preference for agentic leaders which is associated with the masculine side of the binary. (Hoyt et al 2009). Men are more hesitant to support the female candidate during mortality salience or high anxiety situations even if the female candidate displays masculine and agentic leadership traits (Hoyt et al 2009). Overall, the traits associated with an effective leader during a crisis is associated with the masculine portion of the binary, which implies that women may be perceived as less effective during crises.

The Effect of Ideology on Perception, and the Effect of Gender on Perceived

Ideology

Ideology has a clear effect on how constituents are going to perceive the candidates. Political parties are indicators of how a politician will represent the voter and the candidate’s overall qualities (Sabonatsu and Dolan 2008). When elections are partisan, the alliance to a particular political party is the biggest deciding factor for how the constituent is going to vote (Rahn 1993). Party identification of the candidate gives indications of their characteristics to voters, whether or not it is accurate (Rahn 1993). In presidential elections for example, party identification of the electorate will be a strong indicator of how the election will turnout. (Holbrook 1996). Partisanship, or party allegiance, is one of the ways

people use cognitive shortcuts in order to make a quick decision about a candidate's personal beliefs and policies—it is often seen as the principal way in which constituents make their decisions about who to vote for (Menand 2004). Furthermore, the factor of partisanship is not only important for presidential campaigns—it is important for smaller elections and less known candidates. When there are low-information elections most voters will look at the candidate's party affiliation and then the voter will decide what policies the candidate will likely have depending on their party identification (McDermott 1997). Overall, a voter who strictly identifies themselves as a Democrat will vote for Democrat candidates because they believe that their policies will align most closely with their beliefs; the same rings true for strongly self-identified Republican voters. Essentially, if it is a low-information election, voters are more likely to rely on cues such as political party identification in order to come to conclusions about how the candidate aligns themselves.

Additionally, though partisanship plays a large role in voter decision, it is interesting how certain political parties and ideologies are associated with femininity or masculinity. Women have been found to be ranked more liberally than their male counterparts, despite what political affiliation they have—meaning, if the woman identifies as a Republican, she will still be ranked as possessing more liberal beliefs (Banducci et al 2008, Sabonatsu and Dolan 2008, Alexander and Andersen 1993). The two parties have become associated with gendered traits. Since the 1980s, there has been a trend towards the Democratic party being seen as feminine and the Republican party being seen as masculine (Winter 2010). Traits that are associated with the Republican party are those of 'serious' issues—defense and economic matters. The Democratic party is looked at as more of the softer and more domestic party. Men are often perceived to be more adept at defense and issues that deal with the economy, and women are stereotyped to be more suited for the domestic sphere and issues that deal

with social programs. It ties back into how women have been categorized as softer and men have been categorized as tougher in the gender binary.

There is a clear connection between gender associations and each party. The Republican party has been referred to before as the ‘daddy’ party and the Democratic party has also been referred to as the ‘mommy’ party. When people consider the two parties, they often will tie femininity into the Democratic party and they will attribute masculinity to the Republican party (Winter 2010). There has been an increase in partisan ideals that even give into ideas of how the Republican party is more masculine and the Democratic party is more feminine (Winter 2010). The Republican party has pushed for more anti-abortion positions and anti-feminist ideals, while the Democratic party has done the opposite (Winter 2010). The gender gap which was a pertinent issue during the 1980s, and still is now, also played a role in increasing public perception of each party within each binary—the Democratic party gave women more of a platform to decrease the gender gap in public positions and has a connection with the fact that the Democratic is seen as more of the feminine party (Winter 2010). However, their issue positions are not the full extent of why each party is assigned differently along the gender binary. Since the presidencies of Reagan to Bush, the Republican party has been perceived as manlier, giving further ideas about the Republican party being masculine (Winter 2010). Their appearances and the words they chose demonstrated a more masculine front of the Republican party.

Female candidates should try to highlight, if they possess them, the perceived undervalued traits of leaders which are typically associated with femininity in order for these traits to eventually be viewed as positive and strong leadership styles (Dittmar 2015). Images through campaigning can challenge these norms and push for a different view of leadership styles that emphasize the fact that feminine leadership styles are as effective as perceived

masculine leadership styles (Dittmar 2015). The emphasis is to restructure the political institutions to understand leadership and political candidates in a new way in order to have feminine traits valued as much as masculine traits, and that there becomes less of a distinction between the binary.

When voters are presented with a Republican female candidate, they are often confronted with two conflicting stereotypes about each category (Koch 2002). The Republican view is that they are meant to be tough and focused on defense, but females are viewed as soft and cooperative, so they face conflicting cognitive cues based on stereotypes. In one study, the voters who were Republicans were more likely to choose male candidates and those who were Democratic would choose female candidates more often (McDermott 1997). The problem is that gender stereotypes lead to political aligning of parties and gendering of parties (Koch 2002). Since issue areas of the economy, defense, and crime are all tied into conservatism and males are ranked as more conservative because of gender attributed traits, then they are associated with the Republican party (Koch 2002). The opposite is true of women; they are assigned to liberal positions despite their affiliation because liberal ideals are often associated with 'softer' characteristics and are associated with the Democratic party, so therein women are associated with this party (Koch 2002). In times of distress, voters may turn to the Republican party because of its association with defense and protection. Following the attacks of 9/11, there was an increased support for President Bush because of his push for the desire to be tough on those who committed the act of terror (Williams et al 2009). It is also possible that the turn towards Bush was due to the tendency for constituents to associate the Republican party with issues of defense and the party of protection. These are traits that are tied into the masculine binary, and the stereotypes are pervasive through time.

Personal Styling and How It Affects Perceptions

Gender roles are based on culturally specific ideas and notions of what the typical traits a male and female should display (van Vugt and Spisak 2008, Elprana et al 2015, Rosen and Jerdee 1973). The way one presents themselves has implications for how constituents are going to categorize them. How the candidate appears physically is important for the constituents' decision-making. Even very small details that are changed about a clothing's detail have larger implications for how someone is going to be perceived and the impression given out (Howlett et al 2013). Personal styling, for example, attributes to gendered perceptions; gender stereotypes are not the only way people categorize others, personal styling and clothing also give cues about traits of males and females (Bell 1991). Clothing is one of the first physical cues that is given to people; the way one dresses has associations with qualities such as competence, how social someone is, and their intelligence (Howlett et al 2013). Furthermore, the combination of makeup, jewelry, and pants also seem to increase perceptions of competence for women (Klatt et al 2016). The addition of pants may have been significant in the perceived levels of competence in an experiment conducted by Klatt et al 2016. It investigated how people would perceive a female who was styled in different ways. They created a survey wherein 354 participants of all genders aged 18-55 were shown 16 different photographs of 14 different women all paired with all possible combinations of hair up/hair down, make-up/no make-up, and skirt/pants. The researchers could not find solid findings to back up the assumption that masculine styling has a positive impact on perceptions of competence, but they did find that the combination of makeup, jewelry, and pants seem to increase perceptions of competence. Loose hair and no makeup is viewed as warm by the cases (Klatt et al 2016). When women in this certain experiment wore loose hair and no makeup, the participants rated the woman as warmer than the females who wore

their hair up—however when a female wore their hair up there was a higher perception of competence (Klatt et al 2016). This also has real-world occurrences. For example, on the campaign trail a candidate senate named Sue Lowden was instructed to cut her hair because if her hair was past her shoulders, she would not be taken as seriously as if she had shorter hair—either she needed to wear it up or cut it (Dittmar 2015). Shorter haircuts are typical for women candidates. It decidedly makes them appear more serious. It is possible that since short hair is more often associated with males, females have to conform to this look in order to be taken more seriously as a leader. The way someone looks may have an important effect on how one is going to be stereotyped. Personal styling that is more masculine has an effect on trait perceptions.

Furthermore, when a study was conducted by Sczesny and Kühnen to find whether masculine or feminine physical traits had an effect on perceived leadership capabilities, “stimulus persons with masculine appearance received higher ratings of leadership competence than did persons with a feminine appearance” (Sczesny and Kühnen 2004, 20). An interesting aspect of perceptions based on feminine or masculine appearances is that when ranking competence or likelihood to be an effective leader, men were more likely to rely on gender stereotypes and rate females more negatively than males (Rule and Ambady 2009, Sczesny and Kühnen 2004). Styling a female in a more stereotypically masculine way may lead to them being viewed as more competent and capable, but there is also the risk of backlash due to the female defying societal norms. This is due to societal expectations of what is called role-congruent norms wherein women are expected to act in a certain way (Klatt et al 2016). For example, the public is more likely to favor a female who pursues a fashion writer position and the male who pursues a sports writer position, and more likely to have a negative view if the roles were reversed (Madera and Smith 2009). This also means

that women are likely to have pressure to dress in a certain way. Again, despite these expectations, if a woman dresses in a more ‘masculine’ way, her competence is perceived to be higher (Klatt et al 2016). Research has found that if a female styles themselves in a more masculine way, the more likely it is for the woman to be hired for an executive position (Forsythe et al 1985). This may be due to the expectation that an executive or leadership position is meant for males in social norms, and if a female looks as though she fits into a masculine frame, people will expect her to perform better than a more ‘traditionally’ feminine-appearing counterpart. A survey used photographs of males and females, each styled more traditionally feminine or masculine independent of biological sex, and it led to “masculine-looking persons” being “perceived as more competent than feminine-looking persons, independently of their sex” (Sczesny et al 2006, 22). Essentially, if a male or female both dressed more masculine, their competency was overall perceived to be higher.

Female clothing choices are important for how constituents will evaluate them. For example, in the business world, if an applicant is not able to dress ‘appropriately’ for the job position they are less likely to be viewed as competent for the position (Amhorst and Reed 1986). The connection may be made for the realm of the political world. If a woman is not able to present herself in a way that will be perceived well, she may be ranked as less competent of a candidate by her constituents. Recall that there is little to no literature about how men must style themselves in the political or professional realm. This implies that styling is less important for men because they are already perceived to be the better leader due to societal norms and stereotypes while women have to work harder to prove themselves. The women candidate usually will have to neutralize her look in order to fit the male-appropriate description of the job (Dittmar 2015). It goes beyond attire alone, including jewelry that is not too glitzy but enough to still be considered feminine, and

enough makeup but not to the extent where it is overdone (Dittmar 2015). Women again have to play a balancing act of femininity and masculinity in order to avoid societal backlash as much as possible. There are recommendations for women candidates to actually create a sort of ‘campaign uniform’ in order to diminish attention paid to their actual wardrobe and keep more attention paid to their platforms—the ‘neutralization’ of their outfits tends to be key (Dittmar 2015).

Female candidates are more likely to receive higher judgment and scrutiny based on their appearance alone than male candidates (Dittmar 2015). Women candidates also tend to wear more formal attire than male candidates. (Dittmar 2015). This indicates that there is a higher expectation for women to have to present themselves in a certain way in order to be taken seriously, whereas men do not always have to meet that same expectation. Women also have to take into consideration how they style their hair and what they choose to accessorize with (Dittmar 2015). The most important factor for a woman in political office is the idea of ‘neutralization’ that was mentioned before where she maintains a feminine appearance, but minimizes it and makes it appear more masculine (Dittmar 2015). It is the delicate balance of appearing masculine enough to be considered competent, but feminine enough to avoid the backlash associated with too many masculine characteristics on a female. While men have more leeway in their personal styling, women must appear like they fit the job (Dittmar 2015). But this basic notion implies that men already fit the job of a political candidate; men are the standard of a politician. This is likely why personal styling is less important for men.

Unfortunately, there is less existing literature on personal styling of men in the business or political world. The more researched side of male styling is the ‘businessman’ style in gender studies. The more formal a male dresses, the more likely it is for him to be

perceived positively and be seen as intelligent (Bell 1991). A formal or conservative look includes some sort of suit which communicates competency and intelligence (Bell 1991). A way that would delegitimize the male's intelligence and competency would be through casual dressing (Bell 1991). This could possibly be tied into the 2016 election wherein Trump consistently wore a suit, and the other candidates had at times attempted a different look. Jeb Bush, Ted Cruz, and Marco Rubio all wore dress pants in combination with a zip-front pullover which Trump had criticized. The reasoning behind the zip-front pullover is derived from the 2016 election wherein Republican male candidates popularized this look in order to be viewed as more of a relatable person, and it began to be associated with a less masculine characteristic due to Trump's criticism of the look. Male candidates within the Republican party will often try to undermine the masculinity of other candidates and try to one-up them through trying to become the 'manlier' candidate (Winter 2010). Although there is not academic research into the specific zip-front pullover, it is a more casual and common look for political candidates who usually keep to a conservative or formal dress in the political realm. It is telling that there are fewer studies conducted on personal male styling. Masculinity tends to be associated with the 'powerful' suit, so logically it would follow that males who dress more formally and conservatively are more likely to be considered masculine along with strong leadership traits.

The minimal research conducted on male styling in the professional realm of itself is a comment on how styling is perceived to be more important for women, and how it is not considered as important for males. Personal styling has less of an effect on the authority that males convey—when a topic is not researched on it is taken as non-serious, but the fact that we have analyzed women's appearance and not men's is indicative of the underlying problem that styling matters more for women. Women candidates are almost certainly more

scrutinized when it comes to outward appearance and much more likely to be evaluated more harshly than male candidates (Dittmar 2015). Women are more likely to be judged on these outward cues than men who might be more likely to be given the benefit to be judged by their policies. Most women candidates are aware of this; as mentioned before the candidate named Sue Lowden was very aware of how important even a haircut is for female candidates—her campaign manager noted that he had worked only for male candidates before and their hair and dress was never really an issue of concern, no one worried about it (Dittmar 2015). Women candidates are under a microscope, not only in how they perform and how their personalities come off, but also how they present themselves. Men are allowed to have more variability because the emphasis of appearance is something that women have had to deal with for centuries—women are meant to be the stylish sex, the sex that is more pleasing to the eye and softer. Women candidates have to prove that they can be masculine and feminine at the same time; appear serious and ‘neutral’ while also maintaining a soft feminine look. Men are not held to the same standards of personal styling as women are.

Theory

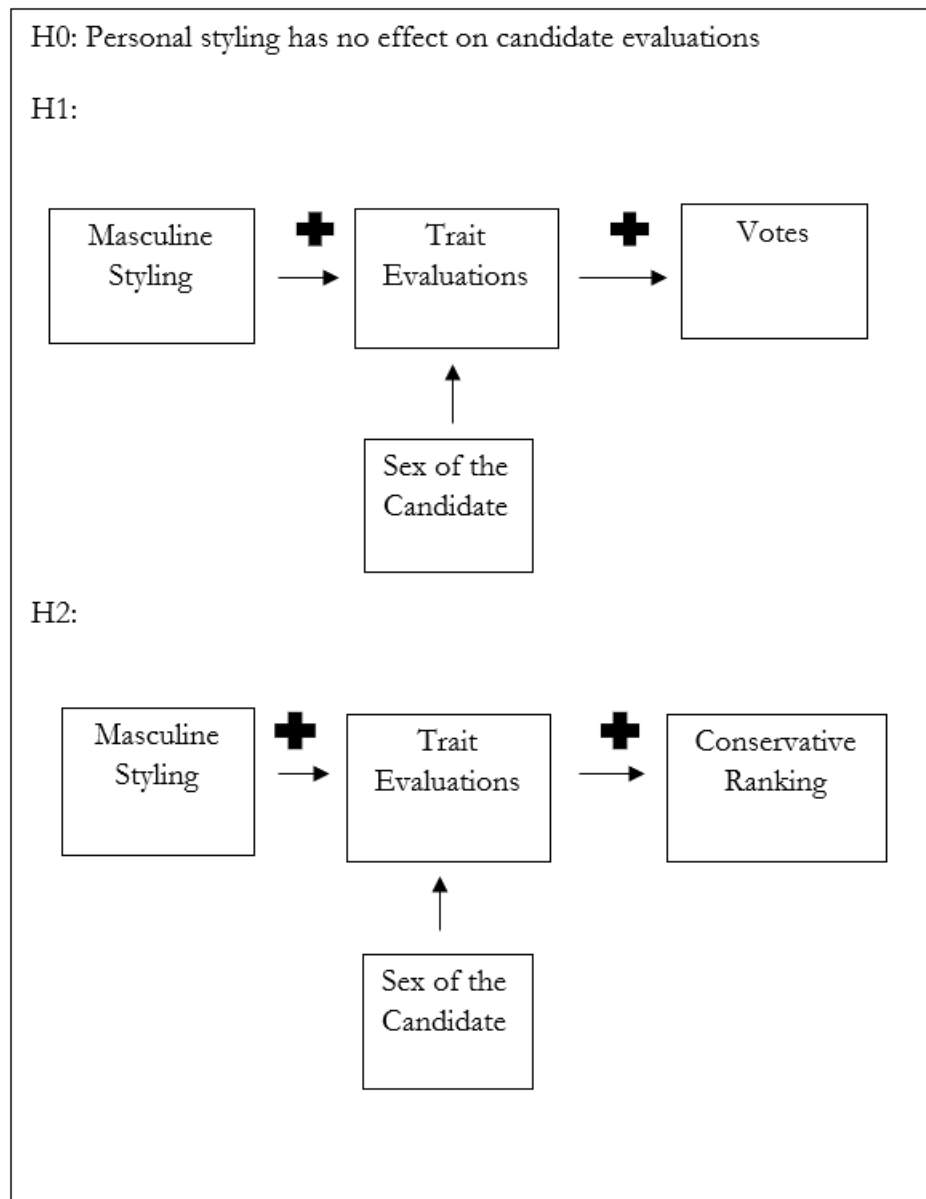
When humans are presented with minimal information, they tend to rely on the cognitive shortcuts or processes in order to make decisions. One of the shortcuts we rely on is stereotypes—stereotypes are a set of generalized information or traits that are assigned to a certain subset or group of people. Social psychology finds that we rely on stereotypes when we have incomplete information and therefore when constituents are given two candidates, male and female, they may use gender stereotypes in order to come to some conclusion about their traits and appropriateness for office. Gender expression and identity are two important factors in how one will be evaluated. If one presents oneself in a masculine style, for example, the candidate will be seen as possessing more masculine traits. This evaluation

is inherently gendered and biased because masculine traits are valued over feminine traits in the binary.

Masculine styling in this study is assumed to have a positive effect on how candidates are perceived due to the fact that the masculine side of the binary tends to be the one that is more positively received. Feminine styling will lead to less positive evaluations overall. Voters often use cognitive shortcuts and stereotypes in order to make up for missing information, which is why I expect the same will happen with gendered lines. For example, people will vote on party line tickets in order to make decisions with shortcuts, they indicate to the voter innate traits about the candidate, whether or not they are true. There will likely be similar decisions made based upon reliance on gender stereotypes.

Other studies have found that masculine styling for a female has led to better outcomes in the political realm. Within the research however, there has been a gap in evaluating how male styling specifically plays—or does not—a role in how they are perceived. One of the purposes of this experiment is to test whether or not masculine or feminine styling has a significant effect on how males are perceived. The other purposes of this study are to find how masculine styling has an effect on both female and male candidates.

Hypothesis



2 Figure 1: Hypotheses Arrow Diagram

I hypothesize that within the two different stylings of each male and female candidate, the most preferred styling will be masculine styling. The two main hypotheses that come from this are: 1. More masculine styling, which leads to more positive leadership trait evaluations, will lead to a higher number of votes and 2. More masculine styling, which leads to more positive leadership trait evaluations, will lead to a more conservative ranking. The

masculine styling however is conditional on one's sex—the masculinized styling for women may receive less positive evaluations because of the non-conformance to stereotypical gender roles and gender presentation because they are acting outside of the norm. Though the female candidate may be ranked more positively on her leadership traits and receive more votes if she abides by masculine styling, the effect will not be as strong as masculine styling on a male candidate. This sort of backlash may be also seen in male candidates who dress in a feminized styling; the female candidates may receive some positive feedback in their feminized and gender-conforming styles, but I expect that a male dressed in a feminine style will receive even lower evaluations than a female in a feminized styling. As mentioned before, backlash is a factor in how constituents will evaluate candidates.

This experiment will test the hypothesis that looking like a leader, i.e. stylized in a masculine way, leads to more positive and conservative evaluations of the candidate. It examines the comparison between female and male candidates with masculine styling versus female and male candidates with feminine styling. Overall, the biggest hypothesis is that masculine styling will have better perceptions overall and both the male and female candidates in a masculine styling will receive more positive outcomes. The comparison will be between six different treatment groups.

Chapter 3: Methods

The primary research question for this study is: how does personal styling affect how constituents perceive candidates' traits and ideologies? There are two hypotheses in this study. The first is that masculine styling leads to more positive trait evaluations which in turn leads to a higher number of votes. The second is that masculine styling leads to more positive trait evaluations which in turn leads to more conservative ideology rankings. Both of the hypotheses are conditional on the sex of the candidate, as the effects will be more

positive for the male candidate. This, of course, is when other variables and information are overall lacking, and the respondents must rely on minimal textual information about the candidate other than their sex or a combination of their sex and an image of the candidate.





This study will rely on the use of Mechanical Turk (MTurk) through Amazon.com. The survey was created through Qualtrics and distributed on MTurk; the selection of participants is not random, but they are randomized into the six different treatment groups, limited to the fact that they are a U.S. resident and at least 18 years old. There were 879 participants in the whole experiment in total, and around 100 participants assigned to each of the 6 treatment groups although there were variations due to the odd number of participants. 877 were survey respondents, while the remaining 2 participants were used as models for the photographs. Essentially, the participants each received one of 6 treatments, and then answered questions about the candidate's traits, readiness for office, and ideology. MTurk is not a fully representative sample, but this study thought it would be more beneficial to use MTurk as opposed to local college students in order to gauge a larger, more representative crowd. The study used 877 participants who have an MTurk account, were 18 years or older, and were a resident of the United States. However, only around 90% of the participants answered the validation questions correctly, so I only take 783 participants' responses into account. MTurk participants tend to be white, have a lower income, more education, have a higher incidence of male users, and often are more liberal in their views—these are some of the drawbacks of using MTurk because it is not fully representative of the United States population. (Levay et al 2016). Education is significantly higher than the national population, as of 2017 only 30.9% of the population over the age of 25 had a bachelor's degree or higher and are not representative of the full breadth of United States residents' ideologies (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). However, the utilization of random

assignment within the treatment groups should hopefully decrease the risk of low representative samples. The study began February 8th, 2019 and was completed on February 10th, 2019. All participants were randomly assigned through MTurk and were each paid \$0.50. As stated earlier, I used Qualtrics to create my survey because it was the most feasible way. Furthermore, I placed my survey on MTurk rather than using the college because I preferred to obtain a more diverse crowd to survey. The survey-takers, however, as mentioned before are people who reside in the United States and are over the age of 18 because I am interested in U.S. voting behavior.

There are 4 treatment groups and 2 control groups in this experiment, with 6 groups in total. Within each group, there are three different presentations of each sex, male and female: 1. Solely textual information with gender cues 2. Masculine styling of a candidate 3. Feminine styling of a candidate. The survey-takers will be presented with one of these six treatment groups, and then will evaluate their given candidate. Essentially, this is testing voter perceptions. The first portion of textual information will describe each candidate and is held constant through all 6 treatment groups: “Roger/Regina Collins is a candidate running for United States Senate. He/she has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.” The first two treatment groups will either have the textual information about Regina or Roger. The next four treatment groups will either be the textual information along with a masculine or feminine styling of either the male or female candidate. The woman will have combinations of either hair down/skirt and blouse (feminine styling) or hair up/pantsuit (masculine styling). The male will have either hair unstyled/suit (masculine styling) or hair styled/pullover (feminine styling). This survey experiment is essentially trying to test how constituents evaluate candidates based on their personal styling, but also based upon their sex and gender presentation. The respondents will be presented with one of the

six stimuli, and then will respond to each corresponding question that lines up with the particular treatment group. Refer to table 2 for more clarity.

3 Table 2: The Experimental Treatments

	Textual information	Masculine Styling	Feminine Styling
Female Candidate	Regina Collins is a candidate running for Senate. She has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.	 <p>Hair up/Pantsuit</p>	 <p>Hair down/Blouse and skirt</p>
Male Candidate	Roger Collins is a candidate running for Senate. He has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.	 <p>Hair unstyled/Suit</p>	 <p>Hair styled/Pullover</p>

The independent variables in this study are all six treatment groups, but in my hypothesis the independent variable is specifically masculine styling; it is the variable that is manipulated while everything else is held constant. The design of the stimuli is meant to hold factors like race, age, conventional attractiveness, and weight constant in order to account for any variants across treatments. This is why a Caucasian male and female both of conventional attraction and above the age of 30 were chosen. The two participants in this portion of the experiment were a staff member and a professor at the College of Wooster. The independent variables in this study are men and women with masculine styling which is coded as 1 and both in feminized styling which is coded as 0. Masculine styling for men is the suit, because it is typically associated with the classic type of businessman and politician, while for the female it is the pantsuit, because it is a closer styling to the male suit. Feminine styling for the female is the stereotypical styling of a skirt and blouse combination, while the feminine styling for the male is a pullover sweater. Most of the styling for the female is based off a study where Klatt and her coauthors had women wear loose hair or use a braid, no makeup or makeup, skirt or pants and no jewelry or jewelry, with sixteen different combinations of these (Klatt et al 2016, 486). Unfortunately, there is less existing literature on personal styling of men in the business or political world. The modeling of men is based more on typical stylings of politicians in the United States. The reasoning behind the zip-front pullover is derived from the 2016 election wherein Republican male candidates popularized this look, and it began to be associated with less masculine characteristics.

The intervening variable in this study is trait evaluations. There will be eight traits in total in the survey and they are as follows: trustworthy, competent, leader, compassionate, serious, passive, tough, and cooperative. The four that are genuinely taken into account are: competent, leader, compassionate, and cooperative. The competent and leader traits are

associated with masculinity, while compassionate and cooperative are associated with femininity. The survey-taker will only receive one randomized version of either the male or female and will rank each of their traits and ideologies. The way this question is presented is through a matrix that asks “Based on the candidate that you saw, please rate the extent to which you believe each of the following characteristics describe this person” and the four ways that they can respond are “not at all, not very well, somewhat well, very well.” This survey experiment will test how constituents evaluate candidates based on their personal styling. The control treatments are purely textual, only giving indication of their gender. This question is imperative because it gives weight to whether personal styling, or gender, plays a role in trait-evaluation decisions when there is minimal information available. This survey experiment will test how constituents evaluate candidates based on their personal styling. The control treatments are purely textual, only giving indication of their gender. Refer to table 2 for more reference.

The conditional variable is sex, because depending on the sex of the candidate they are more or less likely to have higher evaluations. To elaborate, though masculine styling leads to higher trait evaluations and in turn higher number of votes or conservative ranking, this effect is assumed to be stronger for the male candidate because in the political realm he is already viewed as a leader. The sex of the candidate is varied in the control treatment as she or he, and as Roger Collins and Regina Collins.

The dependent variables in this study are number of votes and ideological ranking. Number of votes is measured dichotomously, “Would you vote for this candidate?” It is ranked upon yes (1) or no (0). This question is imperative because it gives weight to whether personal styling, or gender, plays a role in voting decisions when there is minimal information available. There will also be a question asking the survey-taker to rank the

candidate on how liberal or conservative they are. The ideology of the candidate will be ranked on a scale of 1-7, 1 being strongly liberal and 7 being strongly conservative (strongly Liberal, Liberal, Independent who leans Liberal, Independent, Independent who leans Conservative, Conservative, strongly Conservative). This question is meant to investigate the extent to which gender plays a role in the evaluation of candidate ideology as reviewed in the literature, but also to see how masculine styling could possibly increase the perception of conservative leanings for both male and female candidates.

The control variables in this study are accounted for by the respondents' demographics. The respondents are asked about their gender identity, age, education level, and race. The questions that were used were as follows: 1. "Which of the following best describes your gender identity? (responses: Male, Female, Non-Binary, Transgender, Other (please specify))" 2. "What is your age in years? (responses: they were allowed to enter a number from 18-100)" 3. "What best describes your education level? (responses: less than high school degree, High school or equivalent (e.g., GED degree), Some college but no degree, 2-year associate degree, 4-year bachelor's degree, Graduate degree or higher)" 4. "Do you identify as multi-ethnic? (responses: yes or no)" 5. "Which of the following best describes your ethnic identity? (responses: White, Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Native American or American Indian, Asian, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, Other (please specify)). The person themselves is also a factor in the extent of gender stereotypes that are held. There are certain demographics of voters who may hold stronger ideas of gender stereotypes than others. People who have a more traditional view of gender roles are more likely to rely on gender stereotypes than those who have a more equal view of gender roles and are less likely to view females as viable leaders (Alexander and Andersen 1993, Elprana et al 2015). The constituents who hold more traditional views have

been seen to view women as having less appealing attributes and are more likely to rank them lower (Alexander and Andersen 1993). Overall, the way gender stereotypes are held will vary from person to person because different biases are held within different people. There will be people who have more strongly held beliefs about gender, and less strongly held beliefs about gender roles.

The other questions that were asked in the survey are as follows: 1. “how likely would it be that you would want to work on this candidate's campaign? (responses: Extremely likely, Moderately likely, Slightly likely, Neither likely nor unlikely, Slightly unlikely, Moderately unlikely, Extremely unlikely)” 2. “How well do you think this candidate could handle stress? (responses: Extremely well, Very well, Moderately well, Slightly well, Not well at all)” 3. “This candidate is fit for office (responses: Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)” 4. “You can relate to this candidate (responses: Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree) 5. “I'd like to ask you to describe the candidate using your own words. (responses: a free space to fill in their own ideas). Finally, the other questions on the survey were questions to make sure the survey-taker had paid attention to the information and images that were provided to them. These are the validation questions. The questions for those treatment groups who saw the female in either masculine or feminine styling were as follows: 1. Was the candidate wearing a skirt or pants in the photo you just saw? (responses: Skirt or Pants) 2. What was this candidate's name? (responses: Regina, Taylor, or Lauren). The questions for those treatment groups who saw the male candidate in either masculine or feminine styling were as follows: 1. Was the candidate wearing a suit jacket or a sweater in the photo you just saw? (responses: Suit jacket or Sweater) 2. What was this candidate's name? (Roger, Tyler, or

Lawrence). The treatment groups who only saw the textual information for either the male or female candidate solely received one of the first questions regarding the candidate's name. Around 10% of the respondents answered the validation questions incorrectly, so only 90% of the 877 respondents were taken into account in the data analysis.

I expect to observe high levels of gender stereotyping and more likelihood to vote for the masculine-styled candidate as well as higher trait evaluations and conservative ranking in masculine styling. However, the effect will be stronger for male candidates. The strengths of my study are that I have, attempted to at least, control for variations in race, age, weight, traditional attractiveness/facial symmetry, and other factors. There is also a good amount of literature on the effect of sex in how it affects how people interpret trait characteristics, which I hope will appear in my results. The deficiencies of my design are that I am not able to include different races, ages, genders, weights, or levels of conventional attractiveness which all may have an effect on likelihood to vote for a candidate. Unfortunately, the experiment had time and monetary constraints, so those certain factors had to be excluded from the study. However, studies that examine these factors should be conducted. I also do not have a solid backing for the styling I have chosen to use for men, other than typical stylings of male-sex politicians. Furthermore, this study focuses on candidate's appearances and could be affected by general gender stereotypes. The experiment is controlling for certain variables that might conflict with perceptions. Demographics of the individual themselves are important as well, like the age of the audience, education of the audience, sex of the audience and how they align themselves with gender identity. Though the participant selection is not random, the assignments of the Mturk survey-takers are random, so it assumed that is covered in this way.

I used Stata to analyze the results of the survey because the results are coded with numbers. Since they are not ratio variables, I have to use logistical and ordered logistical regression to analyze the results of the survey. The variable for voting preference is a dichotomous variable, and the variables for ideological rankings and trait assessments were all ordinal variables which is why these analytical techniques were chosen. For the dichotomous variables, I used logistical regression, and ordered logistical regression was used for the ordinal variables. I also created a correlation matrix using a `pwcorr` command in Stata in order to test if there was significant correlation between any of my variables (refer to tables 4 and 5). The direct effect of treatment groups on the dependent variables (vote and candidate ideology) were tested using logistical and ordered logistical regression.¹

There was also a portion of further inquiry that I conducted beyond my hypotheses. I used ordered logistical regression in order to test the effect of the candidate's sex upon candidate ideology because the rating for candidate ideology is an ordinal variable. I used logistical regression to test whether the female candidate received a higher number of votes due to the fact that both the variables are dichotomous. Finally, in order to test the effect of feminine vs. masculine styling of a female candidate on trait evaluations, I used ordered logistical regression due to the ordinal nature of trait evaluations.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

Based on the literature, I expected to see a relatively high level of gender stereotyping when people evaluated the treatment groups. As a reminder, I had two hypotheses in this study.

¹ The effects that were most significant (possessing significant p-values) treatment 2 effect on vote (coefficient of 0.407, $p < 0.05$), treatment 5 effect on vote (coefficient of -0.583, $p < 0.01$), treatment 6 effect on vote (coefficient of -0.558, $p < 0.01$), treatment 1 effect on candidate ideology (coefficient of -0.921, $p < 0.001$), treatment 2 effect on candidate ideology (coefficient of -0.760, $p < 0.001$), treatment 4 effect on candidate ideology (coefficient of 0.378, $p < 0.05$), treatment 5 effect on candidate ideology (coefficient of 0.977, $p < 0.001$), treatment 6 effect on candidate ideology (coefficient of 0.712, $p < 0.001$)

The first was: more masculine styling leads to higher positive trait evaluations (but more for male candidates than for female candidates). In turn, higher positive trait scores will lead to a higher number of votes. The second hypothesis was: more masculine styling leads to more positive trait evaluations which in turn leads to more conservative ranking. Again, the trait evaluations' impact on ideology is conditional on the sex of the candidate, with the male candidate receiving higher trait evaluations than the female candidate.

Descriptive Statistics

According to studies conducted about MTurk demographics, the majority of MTurkers are white, with lower average income levels; they tend to be younger and have higher education than the national population. They also tend to be more liberal than the average United States' resident population (Levay et al 2016).

In my sample, the MTurkers are majority college-educated (49% having a Bachelor's degree, another 19% having a graduate degree or higher) and white (77%). The majority of the gender distribution identified as either male (54%) or female (45%). The majority of respondents (87%) are currently employed. The income variable (measured at the individual-level, not household) seems inconsistent with the studies of MTurk demographics. In my sample, we observe almost a full quarter are below \$25,000/year, another quarter are making less than \$49,999/year, and another quarter are making between \$50,000 and \$74,999/year. There are also people who reported making \$75,000/year or higher (12%) and 8% reporting \$100,000/year or more. For reference, the national poverty line for a family of four is \$25,750/year (aspe.gov).

The question is: is there an incentive for people to lie about their income? If someone is making \$100,000, it seems a little illogical that they would take the time to take a

low-paying survey. The people who report that they make this much may be inflating their income due to possible embarrassment of their income. Overall, however, these sample characteristics are relatively consistent with studies of MTurk (Levay et al 2016). The accuracy of the income variable is not directly relevant to the testing of my hypotheses. The results of my MTurk sample's demographics will not have a large effect on the conclusion of my studies because I do not compare their personal demographics to the way they respond to questions within my survey.

4 Table 3: *Demographics of the Respondents*

Age (mean in years)	37	
Gender	Female	45%
	Male	54%
	Transgender	>1%
	Non-binary	>1%
Ethnicity	White	77%
	Hispanic or Latino	7%
	Black or African American	9%
	Native American or American Indian	1%
	Asian	5%
	Native Hawaiian or other Pacific islander	>1%
	Other	1%
Education	Less than high school degree	0%
	High school or equivalent	6%
	Some college but no degree	17%
	2-year associate degree	9%
	4-year bachelor's degree	49%
	Graduate degree or higher	19%
Employed	87%	
Individual income (before taxes and not including other supplementary incomes)	Less than \$25,000	22%
	\$25,000 to \$34,999	13%
	\$35,000 to \$49,999	19%
	\$50,000 to \$74,999	26%
	\$75,000 to \$99,999	12%
	\$100,000 or more	8%

Refer to footnote for further information about demographics, treatment groups, and control variables.²

² In Table 4, a correlation matrix is provided in order to account for correlation between the variables in my hypotheses and the treatment groups. In Table 5, the control variables from the survey are provided to account for correlation between the controls, DVs, and treatment groups.

5 Table 4: Correlation Matrix (*com*=competent, *comp*=compassionate, *coop*=cooperative, *=significant correlation)

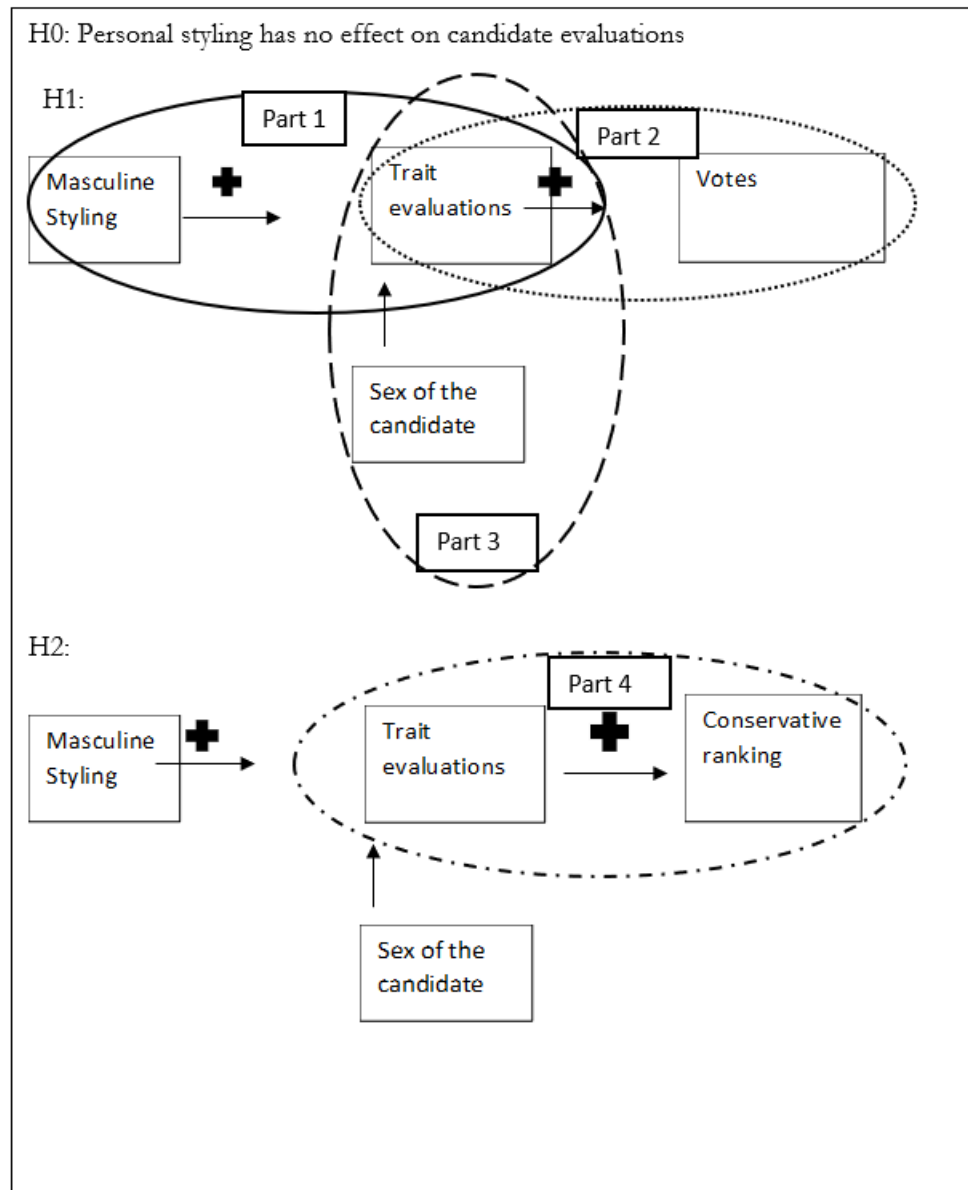
	Vote	C.I.	Trt1	Trt2	Trt3	Trt4	Trt5	Trt6	Leader	Com.	Comp.	Coop.
Vote	1.00											
C.I.	-0.147*	1.00										
Trt1	0.062	-0.193*	1.00									
Trt2	0.073*	-0.166*	-0.215*	1.00								
Trt3	0.021	-0.064	-0.191*	-0.190*	1.00							
Trt4	0.057	0.079*	-0.206*	-0.205*	-0.182*	1.00						
Trt5	-0.107*	0.201*	-0.202*	-0.200*	-0.178*	-0.193*	1.00					
Trt6	-0.107*	0.148*	-0.217*	-0.216*	-0.192*	-0.207*	-0.202*	1.00				
Leader	0.428*	0.015	0.015	0.051	0.027	0.068	-0.010	-0.121*	1.00			
Com.	0.432*	-0.026	-0.025	0.026	0.041	-0.002	0.019	-0.116*	0.563*	1.00		
Comp.	0.479*	-0.107*	-0.199*	0.086*	-0.025	-0.028	-0.127*	-0.145*	0.371*	0.422*	1.00	
Coop.	0.432*	-0.199*	-0.107*	0.085*	0.005	-0.044	-0.075*	-0.109*	0.406*	0.473*	0.581*	1.00

6 Table 5: Correlation Matrix of DV, Treatments, and Control Variables (*educ=education, empl=employed, IndIn.=individual income, ethn=ethnicity, values 0.05 starred*)

	Vote	C.I.	Trt1	Trt2	Trt3	Trt4	Trt5	Trt6	Age	Gendr	Educ.	Empl.	IndIn.	Ethni.
Vote	1.00													
C.I.	-0.147*	1.00												
Trt1	0.062	-0.193*	1.00											
Trt2	0.073*	-0.166*	-0.215*	1.00										
Trt3	0.021	-0.064	-0.191*	-0.190*	1.00									
Trt4	0.057	0.079*	-0.206*	-0.205*	-0.182*	1.00								
Trt5	-0.107*	0.201*	-0.201*	-0.201	-0.178*	-0.193*	1.00							
Trt6	-0.107*	0.147*	-0.217*	-0.216*	-0.192*	-0.207*	-0.202*	1.00						
Gendr	0.046	-0.035	0.024	-0.025	-0.000	-0.012	-0.104*	0.112*	1.00					
Age	-0.124*	0.017	0.008	-0.028	-0.007	0.000	0.017	0.009	-0.171*	1.00				
Educ.	-0.075*	0.074*	-0.064	-0.039	0.049	0.079*	-0.093*	0.068	0.084*	-0.136*	1.00			
Empl.	0.072*	-0.003	0.008	-0.064	0.048	0.036	-0.054	0.029	0.127*	-0.205*	0.165*	1.00		
IndIn.	0.032*	-0.097*	-0.307	-0.013	0.028	0.025	-0.019	0.012	0.131*	-0.078*	0.325*	0.280*	1.00	
Ethni.	-0.031	-0.051	-0.009	-0.077*	-0.046	-0.052	0.056	-0.028	0.046	-0.119*	0.029	-0.042	-0.023	1.00

I utilize the results of the survey to examine my hypothesis. There are some questions in the survey that will be excluded from the analysis due to time constraints. I will only focus on the results that directly relate to my hypothesis, and three other variables that are of interest to me (how sex of the candidate affects ideological rankings, how females in feminine styling are seen as more compassionate than in masculine styling, and how the female candidate across the board received more votes than the male candidate). In order to test my hypotheses, I have split them up into four steps. First, I will go into hypothesis one, and then delve into hypothesis two. The first step is to analyze the very first portion of hypothesis one where I am testing how masculine styling affects trait evaluations. Secondly, I examine how trait evaluations affect the likelihood to vote for the candidate. The third step is whether or not the sex difference between the two candidates affects trait evaluations. These three steps are all included in the very first portion of my second hypothesis. So, finally, to account for my second hypothesis I test the effect of trait evaluations upon conservative ranking. I am isolating each of these steps in order to see the validity of my hypotheses.

7 Figure 2 Hypotheses



Part 1: Evaluating Masculine styling and its effect on trait evaluations

8 Table 6: Masculine styling and its effects on trait evaluations

$p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

		Model 1 Leader	Model 2 Competent	Model 3 Compassionate	Model 4 Cooperative
Styling (1= masculine, 0= feminine)		-0.087 (0.162)	-0.317 [^] (0.164)	-0.339* (0.163)	-0.189 (0.165)
model statistics	N	539	540	540	540
	Log likelihood	-635.374	-597.255	-631.052	-612.018
	Pseudo-R ²	0.000	0.003	0.003	0.001

Masculine styling is measured as the two treatment groups of the male and female candidates where: 0 is assigned to respondents who viewed either the male or the female candidate with feminine styling (male- styled hair/pullover sweater, female- hair down/blouse/skirt) and 1 = respondents who viewed either the female or the male candidate with masculine styling (male- hair unstyled/suit, female- hair up/blazer/pants). What I originally expected was that masculine styling, regardless of the sex of the candidate, would increase positive trait evaluations of candidates across the board. However, according to the data in Table 4, we see mixed results. There were 540 respondents for this particular portion of the study (539 for Model 1 due to a blank response) because of the parsed out treatment groups. The masculine styling has no effect on perceptions of leadership and cooperation. We also see that respondents who viewed those candidates in masculine styling were *less* likely ($p < 0.10$) to evaluate the candidate as competent and *less* likely ($p < 0.05$) to view them as compassionate. The traits competence and compassion are both able to explain 0.3%, separately, of the variation in my models. In sum, when female (and male) candidates present themselves in a more masculine styling, they are less likely to be seen as compassionate and have a relatively significant decrease in competency perception.

These findings are interesting because my hypothesis and what I found in the literature, masculine styling should have led to more positive evaluations of leadership but it had no effect according to my data. Furthermore, it is surprising that masculine styling of candidates (both men and women) are punished in terms of perceptions of competency. These results are not congruent with what I found in my literature review. But, the results with regard to perceptions of compassion are consistent with the literature.

Part 2: Examining the Effect of Trait Evaluations upon Voter Decision

9 Table 7: Trait evaluations and their effect on vote

$p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

Trait effect on vote choice (Trait evaluations ranked from 1-4, 1 being least 4 being most; votes ranked as 0=no 1=yes)		Model 1 Vote
Model statistics for <i>Trait 1</i> (Leader)	Coefficient (standard error)	1.269*** (0.118)
	N	778
	Log likelihood	-443.310
	Pseudo-R ²	0.147
Model statistics for <i>Trait 2</i> (Competent)	Coefficient (standard error)	1.370*** (0.126)
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-443.001
	Pseudo-R ²	0.151
Model statistics for <i>Trait 3</i> (Compassionate)	Coefficient (standard error)	1.289***
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-443.508
	Pseudo-R ²	0.150
Model statistics for <i>Trait 4</i> (Cooperative)	Coefficient (standard error)	1.547*** (0.134)
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-422.663
	Pseudo-R ²	0.189

The survey provided the respondents with eight different traits to rank, but the important traits that are analyzed here include '*leader, competent, compassionate, and cooperative.*' As a reminder, the respondents could rate how well the traits described the

candidate in one of four ways: 1=not well at all, 2=not very well, 3=somewhat well, or 4=very well. **Vote** remains the same, 0=no, 1=yes. There were 781 respondents in this portion of the data (778 for Trait 1 Leader due to some blank responses). The traits leader, competent, and compassionate can explain 15% of the variation in my dependent variable (vote), while the trait cooperative can explain 19% of the variation. The results of this portion of the data demonstrate that as there are higher positive ratings in each of these four particular traits, the respondent is more likely to say 'yes' to voting for the candidate. In my original hypothesis, it was assumed that positive trait evaluations of all traits would lead to a higher number of votes. According to the data, this was a correct assumption. However, in my hypotheses I did not specify exactly which traits should have a positive effect on vote choice. In my literature review, I came to the conclusion that it is likely that more masculine traits are associated with leadership positions, so in general one would expect leader and competent to have the *strongest* effect upon vote choice. It is a little surprising that the traits compassionate and cooperative have just as a significant effect upon saying yes to voting for a candidate as the positive ratings of traits like leader and competent. These findings do not seem as consistent with the literature. It appears that all four traits have a strong effect upon vote choice. However, it is an interesting finding, because it implies that the public is interested in a broad range of positive traits for political candidates.

Part 3: Examining the Extent to which Candidate Sex Affects Trait Evaluations

10 Table 8: Sex of Candidate's Effect on Trait Evaluations (for masculine styling)

$p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

		Model1 Leader	Model2 Competent	Model3 Compassionate	Model4 Cooperative
Sex Difference in Masculine Styling (1= male candidate in masculine styling, 0= female candidate in masculine styling)		-0.694* (0.229)	-0.633** (0.230)	-0.896*** (0.233)	-0.737** (0.229)
model statistics	N	278	277	277	278
	Log likelihood	-329.660	-314.134	-321.421	-327.323
	Pseudo-R ²	0.014	0.012	0.023	0.015

This portion of the study examines whether or not positive *trait evaluations* for the candidate is actually conditional on *sex of the candidate* or not. This portion of the data had roughly around 278 respondents. In order to test this portion of the hypothesis, I had to create a new variable to account for the sex difference between candidates while in masculine styling (0= female candidate in masculine styling, 1= male candidate in masculine styling). The analysis for this portion of the data was conducted using ordered logistical regression. In my original hypothesis, I assumed that even though both candidates would still gain more positive trait evaluations when presented in masculine styling, the male candidate would have even higher positive trait evaluations. The opposite happened within my sample results. One of the highest rated traits, specifically for the female candidate in masculine styling, was *compassion* ($p < 0.001$). *Compassion* also explains 2.3% of the variation in my dependent variable. *Competency* and *cooperation* also were more likely to be rated highly when it was the female candidate in masculine styling rather than the male candidate in masculine styling (both $p < 0.01$). *Competency* explains 1.2% of the variation, while *cooperation* explains 1.5%.

It was most surprising that male candidates in masculine styling were significantly *less likely* ($p < 0.05$), to be rated as leaders. I would have expected that overall men in masculine styling would lead to the highest ratings for leader and competent. The trait ***leader*** also explains 1.4% of the variation in the dependent variable. Overall, it is very surprising that across the board the female candidate in masculine styling received more positive trait evaluations for all four traits than the male candidate in masculine styling. This is not what I expected to find; it is not congruent with the literature. Although in general the literature finds that females overall are viewed as more compassionate and cooperative than males, I expected this effect to be diminished when she was presented in masculine styling. It held constant that the female candidate was still seen as very cooperative and compassionate.

Part 4: Testing How Trait Ratings Affect Conservative Ratings

11 Table 9: Trait evaluations and their effect on conservative ranking
 $p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$, $p < 0.05 = *$, $p < 0.01 = **$, $p < 0.001 = ***$

Trait effect on conservative ranking (Trait evaluations ranked from 1-4, 1 being least 4 being most; votes ranked as 0=no 1=yes)		Model 1 Conservative Ranking (Conservative ratings 5-7= 1, other ratings from Independent to Strongly Liberal 1-4=0)
Model statistics for Trait 1 (Leader)	Coefficient (standard error)	-0.018 (0.091)
	N	778
	Log likelihood	-518.704
	Pseudo-R ²	0.000
Model statistics for Trait 2 (Competent)	Coefficient (standard error)	-0.041 (0.095)
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-521.023
	Pseudo-R ²	0.000
Model statistics for Trait 3 (Compassionate)	Coefficient (standard error)	-0.534*** (0.095)
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-503.481
	Pseudo-R ²	0.032
Model statistics for Trait 4 (Cooperative)	Coefficient (standard error)	-0.301** (0.094)
	N	781
	Log likelihood	-515.983
	Pseudo-R ²	0.009

In testing this variable, I created a variable to separate **conservative rankings** (5 meaning Independent who leans Conservative, 6 meaning Conservative, and 7 meaning strongly Conservative) which all were coded as 1. The other rankings (1-4 ranged starting at 1 from strongly Liberal, Liberal, Independent who leans Liberal, and 4 being Independent) were coded as 0. The two traits that were most statistically significant were **compassionate** and **cooperative**. They had a negative correlation with conservative ranking, which means

that those candidates who were ranked as more compassionate and cooperative were significantly less likely to be ranked as conservative. *Compassionate* had the most significance (p-value less than 0.001) which means candidates who were perceived as possessing compassion were significantly less likely to be rated as conservative.

Compassionate explains 3.2% of the variation of *conservative ranking*. Secondly, *cooperation* was statistically significant (p-value less than 0.01) which means that as cooperative ranking increased for the candidates, the perception of the candidate being conservative significantly decreased. Furthermore, this explains 0.9% of the variation in my dependent variable. These two traits being less associated with conservative ideologies makes sense due to the association of the conservative party being masculine, as seen in the literature, and the association of compassion and cooperation with the feminine side of the binary. My hypothesis assumed that as higher positive trait rankings went up across the board, so would conservative ranking—this is because my thought process was that conservative ideology is associated with masculinity, and masculinity often is associated with positive leader traits. However, this was not the case: the coefficient for all four traits was negative, which means that there is a negative correlation between a higher conservative ranking and higher (more positive) evaluation of traits. So, therefore, as trait ratings went up, the conservative rankings went down. Essentially, what this data is telling me is that when candidates are ranked as more compassionate and cooperative, they are highly unlikely to be ranked as conservative and much more likely to be ranked as liberal.

Discussion of Results and Speculation

First, I want to address step one which investigated how masculine styling, regardless of candidate sex, affected trait evaluations. What was truly surprising was when masculine

styling was a present variable, positive trait ratings significantly decreased. This is not consistent with the literature and it does not fit my hypothesis. A possible explanation for this is bias towards believing that female candidates are more liberal, and most MTurkers tend to be liberal. So, it is possible that respondents are more likely to rank those who they believe align with them ideologically more positively. What needs to be considered here is the MTurk demographics and population. Although I neglected to ask about the respondents' ideologies, the personal preferences may be having an influence here. However, when masculine styling was present, ratings for compassionate in particular went significantly down and they were much more likely to be attributed to a candidate in feminine styling which holds consistent with the literature.

Secondly, I looked at how trait evaluations affect vote choice. It is clear that as all four significant traits are ranked higher, as I hypothesized, votes for the candidate were significantly higher. However, due to work in my literature review, I was surprised to see that compassionate and cooperative had as much of a significant effect on higher vote as the traits leader and competent. This was unexpected; more often than not, compassion and cooperation are less valued than competency and leader perceptions when it comes to vote. However, my sample considered all of these traits to be of high importance, and the strongest statistical significance was for compassion and cooperation. A possible explanation for this trend is that it is important for candidates to have a broad range of positive traits, and certain circumstances in elections call for different preferences of particular traits.

Next, I tested the effect of the conditional variable: the sex of the candidate. I created a new variable that specifically compared masculine styling of the male candidate to the masculine styling of the female candidate. I wanted to test its effect upon trait

evaluations and to separate the sex of the two candidates, while still maintaining focus on the hypothesis of the importance of masculine styling. The female candidate was ranked consistently more positively across all four main traits (leader, competent, compassionate, cooperative) than the male candidate. I was surprised to see that across the board, the female candidate in masculine styling was ranked consistently as more of a leader and more competent than the male candidate in masculine styling. Again, I return to studies conducted upon MTurk respondents. I do not believe that MTurk is fully representative of the U.S. national population. There is a chance, due to literature conducted upon how ideological alignment affects perceptions of those who are either aligned or not with personal ideological beliefs, that the mostly liberal population of MTurk simply ranked the female candidate as more positive for all traits than the male candidate due to the fact that they viewed her as more liberal, and therefore more positive. The male candidate consistently being ranked as more conservative likely affected how his traits were perceived.

Finally, I examined the effect of trait evaluations upon conservative ranking. What was found was that consistently as there were more negative trait evaluations of the candidates, the more likely they were to be rated as Conservative. Specifically, the two traits compassionate and cooperative were most statistically significant. What this tells me is that liberal candidates were seen as significantly more compassionate and cooperative than their conservative counterparts. Again, some of my assumptions include that given that MTurkers are more liberal, so they may have given the woman more positive trait evaluations because they assume she is as liberal as they are. The population of MTurk is typically more liberal than the general U.S. population, so this could potentially be an effect of rating more positively those who ideologically align with one's beliefs.

As a reminder, what needs to be considered here is liberal versus conservative ideologies within the respondents. Although according to the literature, the Republican party is often associated with masculinity and the Democratic party is often associated with femininity, a factor that I am interested in testing is how the relationship between perception of the candidate's ideology and personal ideology leads to more positive rankings of the candidate. I failed to measure the ideology of the respondents, but it seems as though it is important. This research should be conducted in the future.

Furthermore, I cannot reject the null hypothesis. The findings of my hypotheses are that masculine styling despite sex leads to more negative trait evaluations, more positive trait evaluations across the board lead to higher vote count, the female candidate in masculine styling is preferable to the male candidate in masculine styling, and conservative candidates are less likely to be seen as compassionate or cooperative.

Examining other variables: Candidate Sex/Candidate Ideology; Female

Candidate/Vote and Feminine v. Masculine Styling for Female Candidate/Trait Evaluations

Although I tested all the variables in my hypotheses, I still had leftover questions and curiosity due to findings in my literature review that could still possibly be tested with data from my survey. I also wanted to test how there was a general trend to vote for the female candidate as opposed to the male candidate—in all treatment groups. I wanted to see if, like in the literature, the tendency to associate females with the Democratic party (or Liberal ideology) and males with the Republican party (or Conservative ideology) held true in my survey. I decided to first specifically test how candidate sex affects ideological rankings. Then, I tested how much of a preference there was for the female candidate overall,

regardless of styling. Finally, I proceeded to examine the effect of masculine vs feminine styling for the female candidate and its effect upon trait ratings.

12 Table 10: Sex effect upon liberal vs. conservative ranking
 $p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

		Model 1 Candidate Ideological Ranking
Sex Difference in Candidates (1= male candidate treatment groups, 0= female candidate treatment groups)		1.169*** (0.133)
model statistics	N	783
	Log likelihood	-1302.08
	Pseudo-R ²	0.029

I created a new variable specifically for ***sex difference in candidates***, regardless of their personal styling, by setting all the male treatment groups (treatments 4-6) to 1 and all the female groups (treatment groups 1-3) equal to 0. ***Candidate ideological ranking*** remains as the same ordinal variable (1=Strongly Liberal, 2=Liberal, 3=Independent who leans Liberal, 4=Independent, 5=Independent who leans Conservative, 6=Conservative, 7=Strongly Conservative). There were 783 respondents. By running an ordered logistical regression, I found that there was a positive coefficient of 0.379 and there was a p-value that was less than 0.001. Essentially, what this means is that the male candidate in all three treatment groups was rated as significantly more conservative than the female in all three treatment groups. The female candidate at the same time was consistently viewed as more liberal. This also explains 2.9% of the variation in ***candidate ideological ranking***.

According to the findings in my literature review, women are almost always ranked as more liberal than men. In my data analysis, I found that the female candidates (treatment one with textual information and a photo of feminine styling, treatment two with textual

information and a photo of masculine styling, and treatment three with solely textual information) consistently were significantly ranked as more liberal, and all three male treatments were significantly ranked as more conservative. Therefore, these findings appear to be congruent with the literature.

Examining Higher Vote for Female Candidates and Trait Perceptions in Varied Styling for the Female Candidate

13 Table 11: Preference for Female Candidates in Vote Choice
 $p < 0.10 = ^\wedge$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

		Model1 Vote Decision (1=yes, 0=no)
Sex Difference in Candidates (1= male candidate treatment groups, 0= female candidate treatment groups)		-0.485** (0.148)
model statistics	N	783
	Log likelihood	-517.591
	Pseudo-R ²	0.010

When I ran a logistical regression analysis for vote decision regarding the exact relation between vote and personal styling for the female candidate, it seemed as though there was not a significant relationship between masculine styling of the female candidate and higher vote choice as opposed to simply signaling her gender identity or having her styled in a feminine way. The p-value was not significant enough to make any definitive conclusions about females' masculine styling's effect upon voter decision-making. However, what I did find was that across the board my sample was much more likely to vote for the female candidate, despite the treatment group. I used the sex difference variable again to run a logistical regression examining the relationship between *vote choice* and *candidate sex*. Again, this portion of interest had 783 respondents. I coded all female treatment groups as 0

and all male treatment groups as 1, as vote choice remained to have the same coding (0-no, 1-yes). I found that my sample was much more likely to vote for the female candidate despite her treatment group and there was a statistical significance for this finding (p-value less than 0.01). It can explain 1% of the variance in my dependent variable here (**vote**).

		Model1 Trustworthy	Model2 Competent	Model3 Leader	Model4 Compassionate	Model 5 Serious	Model 6 Passive	Model 7 Tough	Model 8 Cooperative
Styling Difference in Female Candidate (masculine styling coded as 1, feminine styling coded as 0)		-0.247 (0.2584)	-0.047 (0.233)	0.225 (0.231)	-0.717** (0.236)	0.483* (0.231)	-0.371^ (0.221)	0.551* (0.230)	-0.286 (0.239)
model statistics	N	276	276	275	277	275	277	276	276
	Log likelihood	-245.824	-297.772	-312.158	-290.871	-303.085	-350.006	-314.756	-286.065
	Pseudo- R ²	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.016	0.007	0.004	0.009	0.002

14 Table 12: Perceptions of Traits of the Female Candidate in Masculine Styling vs. Feminine Styling
 $p < 0.10 = ^$; $p < 0.05 = *$; $p < 0.01 = **$; $p < 0.001 = ***$

Due to findings in the literature about how much females have to pay attention to their styling in the professional world, I was also interested in testing whether or not the varied styling of the female candidate had a significant effect upon perceptions of traits. I ran an ordered logistical regression for all eight traits that were provided in order to see if my findings were consistent with the literature. There were around 277 respondents for this section. In order to parse out *masculine versus feminine styling for the female candidate*, I coded treatment 1 (female candidate in feminine styling) as 0 and coded treatment 2 (female candidate in masculine styling) as 1. When I ran the regression analysis, the four traits that were statistically significant were *compassionate*, *serious*, *passive*, and *tough*. The female candidate in feminine styling was seen as much more compassionate than when she was styled in a more masculine dress ($p < 0.01$). It explains 1.6% of the variance in my dependent variable. This holds consistent with the findings of Klatt et al 2016 wherein when a female had her hair down and was wearing more feminine styling, she was seen as warmer and more compassionate. In feminine styling she was also seen as slightly more passive than when dressed in masculine styling (p-value less than 0.10). This explains around 0.4% of the variance in the dependent variable. This portion of the data also found that she was viewed as more serious in masculine styling (p-value less than 0.05 and explains 0.7% of variance). She was also viewed as tougher when in a more masculine dress (p-value less than 0.05 and explains 0.9% of variance). Unsurprisingly, serious and tough were two traits that were strongly associated with masculine styling as opposed to feminine styling for the female candidate. This holds consistent with the literature. It is also important to note that this was a simple change in styling, there were not stark differences in the female candidate's appearance. All that was changed was her hair (up or down) and the style of dress that were

still all neutral tones (pants/blazer/blouse or skirt/blouse). This implies that even minimal changes to gender presentation have an effect upon perceptions.

I am surprised that masculine styling did not have a stronger effect upon perceptions of leadership and competency. These two traits are often strongly associated with the masculine side of the binary. However, it is possible that since it is a female candidate, she may still be less likely to be seen as a strong leader despite her dress.

Speculation for Supplementary Variables and Explanation for Exclusion of Other Variables

The first portion that I examined dealt with how there is clear divide between perceptions of male and females when it comes to ideology. A question that this leaves me with is: are traits associated with political parties? And if so, then are political parties associated with the gender binary? In the literature there has been findings that the Democratic party is often seen as feminine, and the Republican party is seen as masculine. This again draws curiosity about why certain parties and sexes are associated with these two parties. Although there are more women officials in the Democratic party, it is also possible that the Democratic party is just more likely to view female candidates as leaders, which is why the MTurk population possibly preferred the female candidate to the male candidate overall.

Furthermore, the female candidate was ranked higher on compassionate and passive traits when she wore a skirt/blouse and hair down combination and seen as more serious and tough with her hair up and wearing a pants/blazer combination. This demonstrates the double bind that women have to deal with in the professional world: if she wants to be taken seriously she has to present herself in a more masculine way, but then she is punished for

not being compassionate enough. It also gives insight into the binary. Again, masculinity is associated with seriousness and toughness—and even minimal masculine styling leads to these traits being assigned to the female when presented in masculine dress. This also holds true with the feminine side of the binary and the feminine dress; the traits were congruent with femininity when she had a feminine styling.

The female candidate was more likely receive votes than the male candidate, and as seen before she was ranked much higher and positively on traits than the male candidate. However, what can be said of this is that although the female candidate was ranked more positively on the traits across the board, it is possible that the higher number of votes is due to MTurkers leaning more liberal on average, although unfortunately I left this very crucial detail out of my demographic question. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the respondents were significantly more likely to vote for the female candidate. Since there was a negative coefficient, this means that the female candidate received more positive trait evaluations and higher votes than the male candidate across the board. MTurkers may have assumed that she would have positive traits since she was assumed to align with their ideologies. Unfortunately, I cannot make assumptions about the reasoning because I neglected to ask my survey respondents about their personal ideologies. It is possible that since the majority of MTurkers are liberal, and since it is not uncommon for people in the United States to vote along ideological lines, the respondents may have been more likely to rank this candidate well. This however is only speculation and further research would have to be done in order to understand the phenomena.

As mentioned before, there were a few questions asked in this survey that I decided not to analyze, due both to time restraints and less significance to my hypotheses as well as

the literature review. For instance, there was a question following the trait ranking that allowed for description of the candidate in the respondent's own words. More often, Roger received some descriptions of serious while Regina received descriptions of compassionate and cooperative. There was a relatively high amount of people who decided not to give in-depth answers. Very often Roger Collins was described as a conservative man and Regina Collins was often described as liberal. Since these qualitative response options do not say anything markedly different than the trait rankings, so I decided to not analyze it. Furthermore, the supplementary questions included in the survey, such as interest in campaign work, relatability of the candidate, and fitness-for-office were questions used to prevent the MTurkers from fully understanding what we were testing in the survey, rather than provide substantive value to my research question. They were also not taken into account in my data analysis chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The research question that this study set out to answer was: how does personal styling affect how constituents perceive candidates? The two hypotheses that I tested using the data were: 1. Masculine styling leads to higher trait evaluations which in turn leads to more votes although the high trait evaluations are conditional on sex and 2. Masculine styling leads to higher trait evaluations (again conditional on sex) which in turn leads to more conservative rating. The null hypothesis is that gender stereotypes about appearance and personal styling have no effect on level of preference for candidates.

I cannot reject the null hypothesis. However, this does not mean that the study did not find worthwhile data. The findings of this study were that as masculine styling increases perceptions of competence and compassion significantly decrease, as ratings of traits

increase so does vote choice, male candidates in masculine styling are significantly rated more negatively on traits than female candidates in masculine styling, and finally conservative candidates are much less likely to be seen as compassionate or cooperative. The only part of the findings that held true with my hypothesis was that as trait evaluations went up, so did number of votes. Furthermore, the only part that would align most closely with the literature is that the traits compassion and cooperation are less associated with conservative candidates. I also ran other tests on variables of interest: the relationship between candidate sex and rating of ideological alignment, how sex of the candidate affects vote choice, and how the variance of styling of the female candidate affected her trait evaluations. What was found was that female candidates, despite treatment groups, are rated as significantly more Liberal than male candidates despite treatment groups. The most surprising finding was that the female candidate received more votes in all of her treatment groups than the male candidate did. Again, this could possibly be explained by ideological bias of MTurkers and believing that the female candidate is more liberal. Furthermore, the female candidate in masculine styling was viewed as more serious and tougher while when she wore feminine dress she was viewed as more passive and compassionate.

Critique of Study

There were clear drawbacks of this study. Of course, people do not solely vote based upon physical appearance and gender presentation—however it is clear that they do hold weight in constituents’ judgment of candidates. Ideological alignment of both the candidate and the constituent are important factors at play. Individuation of candidates is another factor that greatly impacts views of candidates; giving constituents more information about a candidate leads to them more often believing these facts about the candidate and making

them less likely to stereotype. However, the findings of my study do point to the fact that styling, appearance, and gender presentation all have an effect on how constituents will perceive candidates.

Furthermore, I cannot make the assumption that my study is generalizable. I only used one male and one female model, so it is possible that the perceptions of the candidates may even be limited only to these two specific models. It was also a study that was created in a specific controlled environment rather than actually conducted within the real world. My study also does not include different races, genders, ages, weights, or levels of attractiveness.

Implications of Research

The results of this survey were genuinely unexpected. Masculine styling overall led to less positive trait evaluations and was still punished in the traits associated with the masculine side of the binary. This contradicts most of the literature that I had read. Furthermore, the importance of the four traits compassionate, competent, leader, and cooperative all holding equal weight in vote decision was also interesting. I would have expected leader and competent to be more valued than compassionate and cooperative. However, what this implies to me is that the public may be more interested in a versatile leader rather than a stereotypical leader. Not as surprisingly, as ratings of compassionate and cooperative increased, the likelihood for the survey-taker to rank the candidate as conservative went down significantly. More often than not, conservative ideologies are associated with harsher policies and the masculine side of the binary which those traits do not fit into. Finally, I found it very surprising that the feminine candidate in masculine styling received significantly more positive trait evaluations than the male candidate in masculine styling on all four traits (leader, compassionate, cooperative, and competent). This finding

really stuck out to me; the male candidate in masculine styling is typically viewed as the general image of a leader. It seems inconsistent with the literature. A possible explanation again could be the biases of ideological alignment and perceived alignment of the candidates; however, this is a portion of the data that requires further research.

The additional variables that I examined also were fascinating. Again, my model held true to other models wherein the female candidate is consistently rated as much more liberal than her male counterparts. However, the female candidate received more votes across the board. Due to the nature of the gender binary and overall stereotypes of a who a leader is, I was expecting the male candidate to receive the most votes. The fact that the female candidate in all three treatment groups received the highest number of votes could possibly, again, be attributed to ideological biases. The female candidate in feminine versus masculine styling is a variable that I still want to unpack more. As a reminder the *only* changes made in this female model (the female candidate) was the difference between her hair (up or down) and what type of bottoms and top she was wearing (very neutrally toned pants/blouse with blazer or neutrally toned blouse/skirt). It was nothing extreme; these are very subtle differences in styling, and still I found significant changes and gendered traits even with only changing very little about the female candidate's appearance. There was very minimal information about this person available, only giving a brief description about their experience in office and their physical presentation. This has implications for how people present their gender, and this gives further evidence of the double bind here. Women in leadership positions and women in the public in general are faced with this difficult balance because the male attributes that assigned on the binary are still valued over those assigned to the female side of binary. Although my survey gave evidence of all four traits (competent, compassionate, leader, and cooperative), in order to get votes or promotions there is still a

pressure to mimic and assimilate to the masculine attributes associated with the male binary, but not to an extreme extent.

When women dress outside and act outside of the norms, they are contravening people's expectations of how they should look and behave, and there is still a risk of being punished for the violation of the expectation. The expectation that women in public office have to provide a 'neutralized' gender look as examined in my literature review gives insight into a larger problem. What can end up happening is that people cannot understand the female because she does not perfectly fit into the binary gendered meaning system; this is often what causes the societal backlash. A woman has to play that delicate balance in office of being feminine enough but needs masculinity in order to be seen as a political candidate, but at the same time not be too masculine. Simply changing pants to a skirt affects the language that people use to describe a female candidate that they know very little about. This is seen in politics in other areas as well, not only in styling. There are implications for candidates and the tone of voice they use, how they sit or cross their legs, the color of the clothes they wear, how much jewelry they have on, if they are openly affectionate with their children, if they are married—the list goes on.

Overall, due to the results and evidence of correlation, I do believe that candidate ideology and personal ideology has a highly significant effect on voter decision and candidate perception. The respondents, consistent with the literature, consistently rated the female candidate as significantly more liberal and the male candidate as much more conservative. The female candidate also consistently received much higher trait evaluations and number of votes. The correlation of the female treatment groups and vote decision were positively correlated, so it seems as though further investigation should be pursued here.

Unfortunately, I neglected to ask respondents about their personal ideological alignment, but generally MTurkers are liberal leaning. Again, this does not mean that personal styling does not have an effect on voter decision and candidate perception. It was evident that even small changes in styling of the female candidate led to significantly different perceptions of the traits that she possessed.

Suggestions for Further Research

It would be extremely interesting to include an investigation of varying weights, races, ages, and gender presentations. This experiment unfortunately lacked diversity but held truer to the overall historical demographics of the U.S. Senate, as both models were white, middle-aged, and cis-gendered. It also held consistent relative attractiveness and fitness, as differences in facial symmetry and weight also have an effect upon perceptions. One could pursue a study changing the race of the candidate as opposed to varying gender presentation. If gender presentation is of interest, I recommend providing more extreme variations in gender presentation and styling in order to see a stronger effect upon perceptions.

If someone is interested in pursuing further research, it is recommended that ideologies are included within each treatment group. Although according to the literature, the Republican party is often associated with masculinity and the Democratic party is often associated with femininity, a factor that I am interested in testing is how personal prescription to aligning with one own's ideologies leads to more positive rankings of the candidate. In the future, I recommend that if someone is interested in this specific research question that they create twelve treatment groups (as opposed two candidates in six treatment groups), and split them in half between liberal candidates and conservative

candidates (six of the same treatment groups of candidates assigned to liberal ideology, and then six of the same treatment groups assigned to conservative ideology). The respondents' own ideologies should be tested alongside the ideology of the candidate, along with including varying sex and gender presentations. I think more detailed textual information of each of the candidates with ideological assignments may lead to better insight of how much of an impact personal styling has on perceptions. The United States voting patterns are too tied into political parties to leave this portion out.

However, there is a clear effect on gender and how one will be ranked due to gender presentation in my study. This leads to an interesting effect on how even starker masculine styling may lead to a more conservative ranking for a female candidate and possibly starker feminine styling of a male candidate would increase perceptions of him being aligned with liberal ideologies. Further investigation between the gendered assignment of traits and styling to political ideologies needs to be completed.

My experiment has very barely scratched the surface. There are even more factors at play here. My models had no variation in regard to race, ethnicity, or class, and I gave the respondent nothing about the gender roles of the candidate and how much they perform in these gender roles. There is still a lot to unpack here. Some of the findings cannot reject the null hypothesis, but we should not take this as gender and styling do not affect perceptions of political candidates; rather, they give influence in some aspects of trait perceptions even when the styling changes are miniscule. One of the findings that is most relevant here, although was a separate finding from my hypothesis, is the female candidate in masculine versus feminine styling. The very smallest of changes were made specifically to my female candidate, and simply having her put her hair up and putting on a pair of pants led to

increase in perceptions of seriousness and toughness. I would assume that if we examine more extreme gender stylings, it might have a very significant effect upon perceptions of the candidates. This experiment is just one drop in a big bucket that needs to be investigated.

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15 Appendix 1: Survey

[informed consent]

Purpose

You are being asked to participate in a research study. We are investigating perceptions of candidates.

Procedures

If you decide to participate, you will be presented with some information about a candidate and then asked to answer some questions about them.

Risks

There is no risk posed to you in taking this survey.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in the survey, aside from compensation of \$0.50.

Compensation

You will receive a payment of \$0.50 upon entire completion of the survey. You will only receive this payment if you complete the survey fully.

Confidentiality

Any information about you will never be requested. Your responses will be shown to me, but your personal identity is completely protected.

Costs

There is no cost to you beyond the time and effort required to complete the procedure described above.

Right to Withdraw

You may refuse to participate in the study. If you decide to participate, you may change your mind about being in the study and withdraw at any point during the experiment.

Consent

Clicking yes and choosing to continue onto the survey will indicate that you have decided to volunteer as a research subject, that you have read and understand the information provided above, you are a resident of the United States, you are eligible to vote, and that you are at least 18 years of age. Selecting no will take you out of the survey and you will receive no compensation.

-Yes

-No

The Treatment Groups:

(Treatment #1) This is Regina Collins. She is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. She has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.



Accompanying Validity Q: Was the candidate wearing a skirt or pants in the photo you just saw? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

-Skirt

-Pants

(Treatment #2) This is Regina Collins. She is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. She has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.



Accompanying Validity Q: Was the candidate wearing a skirt or pants in the photo you just saw? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

- Skirt
- Pants

(Treatment #3) Regina Collins is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. She has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.

Accompanying Validity Q: What was the name of the candidate you just read about? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

- Regina
- Taylor
- Lauren

(Treatment #4) Roger Collins is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. He has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.

Accompanying Validity Q: What was the name of the candidate you just read about? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

- Roger
- Tyler
- Lawrence

(Treatment #5) This is Roger Collins. He is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. He has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.



Accompanying Validity Q: Was the candidate wearing a suit jacket or a sweater in the photo you just saw? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

- Suit jacket
- Sweater

(Treatment #6) This is Roger Collins. He is a candidate running for U.S. Senate. He has ten years of experience in the Ohio state senate.



Accompanying Validity Q: Was the candidate wearing a suit jacket or a sweater in the photo you just saw? [forced validation in order to make sure the participant paid attention to important details for the experiment]

- Suit jacket
- Sweater

[Every treatment group will then respond to all of the following questions]

1. You just saw some brief information about a candidate running for senate. Although you may feel like you do not have sufficient information, please make your best guess. If this person was running in your district, would you vote for them?

- Yes
- No

2. Which of the following do you think best describes the candidates' ideology? Again, you may feel as though there is insufficient information, but please answer to the best of your ability.

- Strongly Liberal
- Liberal
- Independent who leans Liberal
- Independent
- Independent who leans Conservative

- Conservative
- Strongly Conservative

3. Based on the candidate that you saw, please rate the extent to which you believe each of the following characteristics best describe this person. *[this table represents the matrix of selections for the surveytakers, they will select one of the four options for each trait]*

	Not at all	Not very well	Somewhat well	Very well
Trustworthy				
Competent				
Leader				
Compassionate				
Serious				
Passive				
Tough				
Cooperative				

4. I'd like to ask you to describe the candidate using your own words.

[Text box for description of candidate]

5. How likely is it that you would want to work with this candidate's campaign?

- Extremely likely
- Moderately likely
- Somewhat likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely
- Moderately unlikely
- Extremely unlikely

6. How well could this candidate handle stress?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Moderately well
- Slightly well
- Not well at all

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree that this candidate is fit for office?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Somewhat agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Disagree

-Strongly disagree

8. You can relate to this candidate.

-Yes

-No

[Demographics portion]

9. Which of the following best describes your gender identity?

-Male

-Female

-Non-binary

-Transgender

-Other [please specify: ____]

10. What is your age in years?

[numerical value from 18-100]

11. What best describes your education level?

-Less than high school degree

-High school or equivalent (e.g., GED degree)

-Some college but no degree

-2-year associate degree

-4-year bachelor's degree

-Graduate degree or higher

12. Are you currently employed?

-Yes

-No

13. Estimate your individual income level (before taxes and not including other supplementary incomes)

- Less than \$25,000

-\$25,000 to \$34,999

-\$35,000 to \$49,999

-\$50,000 to \$74,999

-\$75,000 to \$99,999

-\$100,000 or more

14. Do you identify as multi-ethnic?

-Yes

-No

15. Which of the following best describes your ethnic identity?

-White

-Hispanic or Latino

-Black or African American

-Native American or American Indian

-Asian

-Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

-Other (please specify _____).

[Debriefing, final page of survey]

Debriefing:

Thank you for participating in this study. You read about either Roger or Regina Collins and may have been presented a photo of this person. This person was not actually a real candidate. The photo of the person is not Roger or Regina Collins. This study was meant to examine constituents' biases, perceptions, and stereotypes about gender and gender presentation of political candidates.

You will be compensated \$0.50 for your completion of this survey. Please remember to enter the code that Mturk gives you in order to receive your payment.

If you have any questions or concerns please contact me at cktsanes19@wooster.edu, or my advisor Michele Leiby at mleiby@wooster.edu

You may read more about your confidentiality and rights here: [HSRC link](#)

Codebook

Treatment groups 1-6 (dichotomous): 1 = assigned to treatment group, 0 = not assigned to treatment group

Validity question (categorical): 1 = answered validity question correctly

Vote (dichotomous): 1 = yes, 0 = no

Candidate Ideology (ordinal): 1 = strongly Liberal, 2 = Liberal, 3 = Independent who leans Liberal, 4 = Independent, 5 = Independent who leans Conservative, 6 = Conservative, 7 = strongly Conservative

All traits (ordinal): not well at all = 1, not very well = 2, somewhat well = 3, very well = 4

Sex Difference (dichotomous): treatment groups of female candidate 1-3 = 0, treatment groups of male candidate 4-6 = 1

Masculine v. Feminine Styling of Female Candidate (dichotomous): treatment 1 female candidate in feminine styling = 0, treatment 2 female candidate in masculine styling = 1

Conservative Ranking (dichotomous): independent and liberal rankings = 0, conservative rankings = 1

Sex Difference in Masculine Styling (dichotomous): 0= female candidate in masculine styling, 1= male candidate in masculine styling

Difference in Styling (dichotomous): 0= feminine, 1= masculine