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Breaking Barriers: Gender Disparities in Political Campaigns and the Effect of Gendered Campaign Strategies

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Breaking Barriers: Gender Disparities in Political Campaigns and the Effect of Gendered Campaign Strategies

Submitted to the Department of Political Science of Allegheny College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

I hereby recognize and pledge to fulfill my responsibilities as defined in the Honor Code and to maintain the integrity of both myself and the College community as a whole.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

In the political arena, where strategy often shapes destiny, Hillary Clinton's 2008 campaign stands as a beacon of both praise and critique—a groundbreaking experiment in navigating the complex landscape of gender and politics. Unlike her contemporaries, Clinton chose not to wield her gender as a political weapon, opting for a path less trodden by sidestepping the conventional narrative of becoming the 'first female president' (Dittmar 2015). In a move that was both bold and strategic, she submerged herself into traditionally masculine terrains, emphasizing issues and topics that transcended gender boundaries (Dittmar 2015). Clinton's decision to downplay her gender, while hailed for avoiding the pitfalls of identity politics, placed her at a unique disadvantage (Dittmar 2015, ; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; McDonald, Porter, and Treul 2020, 967-987). In a political sphere long dominated by men, her approach required her to relentlessly battle gender biases ingrained in the collective mindset of the electorate (Dittmar 2015). Some scholars argued that by not embracing her historic potential as a trailblazing woman, she inadvertently played into a system that perpetuates male dominance (Dittmar 2015, ; Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; McDonald, Porter, and Treul 2020, 967-987). As the campaign unfolded, Clinton found herself walking a tightrope between projecting competence and confronting the persistent gender biases in politics. Despite her focus on traditionally masculine issues, the undercurrent of gender-based challenges remained a constant companion throughout her journey. In spite of the ultimate loss, Hillary Clinton's campaign cracked open the door for women to compete fiercely in high-level elections, challenging the status quo. It paved the way for a new era where women, inspired by her audacious endeavor, could campaign competitively against their male counterparts. Yet, as the echoes of her campaign linger, the roots of gendered campaigning continue to entwine with the

fabric of American politics, shaping the narratives of candidates to this day (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255). Scholars grapple with the question of why women remain the exception rather than the norm in the political landscape, seeking to unravel the threads that perpetuate gender disparities in electoral pursuits.

The rationale behind Clinton's decision to conduct her campaign in a particular manner is found within the historical undercurrents that have shaped the trajectory of American governance—the dominance of male politicians (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255). Since the inception of American democracy, the political space has been dominated by men leaving an indelible mark on the nation's political landscape. From influencing national policies, to sculpting the very strategies employed in political campaigns, men have been the primary architects of power throughout the annals of American history (Dittmar 2015 ; Murray 2010). Some may contest that as time progresses, more diverse representation will take hold in numerous corridors of the American government. Specifically for women, this progression is lackluster, a faint spark rather than a bright flame. As of January 2024, the issue persists: only 28% of Congress comprises women, hitting a record high with 151 seats held (CAWP, 2024). However, the Senate has seen a decline since 2021, with women making up only 25% (CAWP, 2024). In the House, though boasting a seemingly high 29%, females occupy just 126 out of 435 seats (CAWP, 2024). Since the establishment of democratic representation in the United States, only one out of forty-nine vice presidents have been female, and no woman has ever assumed the title of President of the United States (CAWP, 2024). The stark numerical reality merely scratches the surface of the persistent challenge of gender imbalance in political representation. The enduring legacy of male-dominated governance exemplifies the need for an examination of how gender dynamics permeate today's political arenas. The significance of gender

representation in politics cannot be overstated; it transcends the individual and becomes a collective imperative (Dittmar 2015; Leeper 1991, 248-261; Murray 2010). Diversifying perspectives and experiences at the decision-making table is not just symbolic; it is a pragmatic necessity (Carroll, 1994).

The challenge of female underrepresentation in the United States is a complex issue that requires thoughtful examination. Because of the deeply entrenched male-dominated ideals in both the American government, and its citizens, it is difficult to facilitate representation. Hillary Clinton is just one example of an individual more than capable of holding office in a high political role, but because she was a woman, capability was not enough. Stigma and stereotypes are a plague to representative democracy—whether the candidate is male or female, the trajectory of their campaign is greatly influenced by their gender and the stereotypes associated with it (Leeper 1991, 248-261; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Gender is fundamentally embedded in American politics, significantly affecting candidates' behavior—especially female candidates—highlighting the urgency for more equitable and inclusive political representation (Hayes 2011, 133-165). To comprehend the roots of the representation gap and the role gender plays in this equation, we must pivot our focus to the inception of the political cycle—the campaign. While witnessing a candidate assume office and attributing their name and gender to a tally represents the final step in the process deemed as "representation," it is at the campaign's outset where the seeds of disparity are sown. The influence of gender on campaign strategy emerges as a crucial factor when considering how candidates shape their public image, prioritize issues, and employ overarching strategies (Dittmar 2013). Understanding the dynamics of gendered campaigning is necessary in

understanding the complexities that have contributed to the underrepresentation of women in American government.

Gendered campaign strategies encompass the deliberate alignment or misalignment of political candidates with traditional gender norms during election campaigns. Candidates may adopt aligned strategies, adhering to societal expectations associated with their gender, or misaligned strategies, deviating from traditional gender norms (Dittmar 2013). Typically, men adhering to aligned strategies, emphasizing traits associated with strength, decisiveness, and assertiveness, may benefit from societal perceptions that align with traditional leadership qualities (Dittmar 2015; Hayes 2011, 133-165). In contrast, misaligned strategies may challenge gender stereotypes, presenting both risks and advantages. As previously mentioned, Hillary Clinton chose to misalign her campaign strategy in order to be perceived by her qualifications—not her gender. Unfortunately this strategy does not always prove to be successful due to the deeply ingrained gender expectations in the United States. Voters have been conditioned to expect specific traits from political candidates, and because of the long standing underrepresentation of women in the field, those expectations have been built on generations of male candidates rather than female (Bauer and Santia 2022, 691-705; Dittmar 2015, ; Leeper 1991, 248-261). Gendered campaign strategy emerges as a byproduct of generation shortcoming, leading many female candidates to adapt their campaign to fit the engrained mold of the voters (Leeper 1991, 248-261). Traditional campaign strategies pose a significant problem in the United States due to their reinforcement of traditional gender stereotypes and the perpetuation of gender inequality in politics. When candidates adhere strictly to developed gender norms, it limits the diversity of leadership styles and perspectives represented in government (Campbell and Lovenduski 2005, 837-853). This perpetuates the underrepresentation of women in political

positions, as they may face challenges in conforming to traditional gender expectations that are placed on political candidates. There is no definitive solution to eradicate this disparity, but it is imperative to begin understanding how to move away from the traditions of the past.

Embedded gender stereotypes and societal norms continually challenge the advancement of women in politics, impacting their candidacy, campaign strategies, and public perception (Schneider and Bos 2014, 245-266). Because campaign strategies are pivotal in shaping public perceptions and policy agendas, analyzing them through the gender lens becomes a critical endeavor to address the persistent disparities in American democracy. Gendered approaches in campaigns often influence voter attitudes, candidate viability, and policy priorities (Windett 2014, 628-655). Understanding how gender dynamics intersect with campaign strategies offers a unique vantage point to identify and rectify inherent biases and systemic barriers (Werner and Mayer 2007, 661-667). The disparity in campaign approaches between genders begs the question: *under what conditions does gendered campaign strategy lead to success?* In this exploration of gender and political campaigns, I will look into the complexities of how gender stereotypes, party expectations, and candidate identity influence the strategies of female and male contenders.

Literature Review and Theory

Gender Stereotypes and Development of Gendered Campaign Strategy

An enduring theme in the study of gendered campaign strategy, when comparing male and female candidates, revolves around the explanations for the observed disparities. Recent scholarship suggests that one way gendered campaigns are developed is based on gender stereotyping. This plays a significant role in shaping campaign strategies, stemming from the perceptions of potential voters. These voter stereotypes pose substantial challenges to female candidates, leading to the common perception of them as less assertive, experienced, and knowledgeable (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; McDonald, Porter, and Treul 2020, 967-987; Schneider and Bos 2014, 245-266). In contrast, male candidates often grapple with expectations rooted in traditional masculinity, which pressure them to project confidence and authority while avoiding displays of vulnerability or sensitivity (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; McDonald, Porter, and Treul 2020, 967-987; Schneider and Bos 2014, 245-266; Schneider 2014, 55-77). This can hinder their authenticity and campaign outreach strategies. These gender-based stereotypes can significantly influence candidate evaluations, particularly early in the election season when candidates are introducing themselves to voters (Carroll 1994, ; Windett 2014, 628-655). Political campaigns and media coverage can activate these stereotypes, prompting voters to seek more information about candidates' competence and experience (Lee & Lim, 2016).

This phenomenon compels candidates to adopt a gender-focused campaign approach, even though it remains unverified whether this strategy yields success and the specific conditions conducive to its effectiveness (Schneider 2014, 55-77). Typically, female candidates are perceived as more adept in addressing "feminine" concerns like childcare and education, while being viewed as less competent in handling "masculine" issues such as the economy and national

defense (Carroll 1994, ; Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482; Windett 2014, 628-655). According to recent studies, female candidates often respond to these stereotypes in one of two ways. Firstly, female candidates may emphasize traditionally masculine traits and their competencies in certain policy areas, while downplaying household and family-related concerns. Conversely, female candidates will also choose to "play to their strengths" and tailor their campaigns to support the traditionally more feminine topics (Carroll 1994, ; McDonald, Porter, and Treul 2020, 967-987). This includes, but is not limited to education, reproductive rights, and healthcare.

Scholars have proven that women can leverage gender-based stereotypes to their advantage by emphasizing issues aligning with favorable perceptions of female candidates and targeting female voters. Although others claim that female candidates who move away from particularly feminine topics see more electoral success (Windett 2014, 628-655). This theorizes the relationship between gender-based stereotypes, candidate strategies, and electoral outcomes are all interconnected. It outlines how these stereotypes influence the campaign strategies of both male and female candidates and how candidates respond to these perceptions. Although this does not address the outcomes of gendered campaign strategy under multiple conditions. In order to fully understand this concept it is imperative to question how gender functions throughout the electoral process between male and female candidates while also considering other political aspects that are at play during elections. While some studies have explored the impact of gender on campaign strategies, there remains a gap in comprehending how these strategies interact with voters' perceptions and ultimately influence election outcomes.

Party Affiliation and Gendered Impacts

Another impactful aspect of gender and campaign strategy research is the influence of candidates' affiliated political parties. The deep-seated ideological divides between the Democratic and Republican parties extend beyond mere partisan labels; they significantly shape the approaches candidates adopt in their campaigns (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Numerous scholars have linked party affiliation to campaign strategy as a decisive factor, yet it hasn't been analyzed specifically concerning its connections with other influencing factors (Hayes 2011, 133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Notwithstanding this void in the literature, research has demonstrated that female candidates have seen more electoral success in the Democratic Party than the Republican Party (Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482; Windett 2014, 628-655). This phenomenon can be explained by understanding the theory of Gender Affinity (Windett 2014, 628-655). This theory suggests that female candidates are more likely to utilize persistent patterns of voting, creating a relatively strong support system among female voters (Windett 2014, 628-655). When a female candidate runs as a Democrat, she is effectively connecting with both Democratic and Republican female voters, potentially transcending party lines (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). It is more common to observe female Democratic candidates assuming a gender-affirming approach, which enables them to be perceived as women by voters, rather than adopting a traditionally masculine persona often associated with female Republican candidates (Dittmar 2015, ; Murray 2010, ; Windett 2014, 628-655). The Gender Affinity Effect suggests that female Democratic candidates don't need to over-appeal to female voters, as is commonly seen in female Democratic campaigns. Conversely, female Republican candidates tend to overemphasize appealing to male voters,

sometimes at the expense of connecting with female voters (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482; Schneider 2014, 55-77). These gendered campaign shortcomings open opportunities for male candidates to appeal to voters who may have been neglected by female candidates. For instance, a male Democrat might campaign more extensively on women's issues than his female Republican counterpart, thereby accumulating support from this specific subset of voters.

It is essential to recognize that the left-right political divide has indirectly widened the gender gap in politics, and gender-based changes in campaign strategy play a crucial role in the electoral success of Democrat and Republican candidates. Party affiliation, deeply entrenched in the historical fabric of our democracy, stands as an unassailable force that eclipses other considerations within gendered campaign strategies. Its pervasive influence will likely overshadow any other factors linked to gender-specific campaign tactics. The historical depth and intrinsic nature of party affiliations suggest that they significantly outweigh and overshadow any potential impact that gendered campaign strategies might possess within the electoral sphere.

Funding and Campaign Success

It is evident that both gender stereotypes and party affiliation are two major determinants of the development and success of a gendered campaign. Alternatively, one factor that has been individually more successful is the amount of funding a candidate acquires. Regardless of gender or party affiliation, funding is always a necessary factor in American elections (Fraga and Hassell 2021, 540-555; Harahap et al. 2023, 733-749; Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482). If a candidate is unable to secure adequate funding for their election campaigns they are likely to encounter a number of difficulties and potential setbacks (Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482). It has been theorized that a candidate who faces an opponent who

possesses more substantial financial resources will face a competitive disadvantage regardless of their gender or party affiliation (Werner and Mayer 2007, 661-667).

While gender and party affiliation are incredibly important in the analysis of gendered campaign success, without a well-funded campaign there is little opportunity to structure a campaign that is conducive to success (Hogan 2016, 499-501; Werner and Mayer 2007, 661-667). Typically, this funding is allocated from endorsements, which are public expressions of support or approval from influential individuals, organizations, or entities toward a particular political candidate or their policies (Cooperman and Crowder-Meyer 2020, 470-473; Hannagan, Pimlott, and Littvay 2010, 503-508). Politicians often seek endorsements to garner support from key constituencies and to signal alignment with certain policy positions or values (Cooperman and Crowder-Meyer 2020, 470-473; Hannagan, Pimlott, and Littvay 2010, 503-508). However, securing endorsements for female candidates proves challenging due to organizations' stringent emphasis on specific issues (Hannagan, Pimlott, and Littvay 2010, 503-508). Numerous organizations and individuals endorsing female candidates often demand strict alignment with their values, typically including unwavering support for access to abortion (Hannagan, Pimlott, and Littvay 2010, 503-508). This constraint on issue advocacy not only complicates the fundraising efforts for female candidates, but also hinders their ability to diversify their campaign focus—reinforcing stereotypically gendered campaigns. As mentioned earlier, the dual pressures of party affiliation and gender stereotyping already impose specific campaign expectations on female candidates. This creates a challenging scenario for female candidates in reconciling the demands of their affiliated party, the public, and the organizations potentially funding their campaigns.

Adequate financial resources are the lifeblood of a competitive campaign, enabling candidates to engage in vital activities such as advertising, grassroots organizing, and voter outreach (Herrnson, Hunt, and Kettler 2022, 463-482; Werner and Mayer 2007, 661-667). In the absence of sufficient funding, even highly qualified candidates may struggle to effectively convey their message to voters. Funding plays a crucial role in increasing a candidate's name recognition, a key factor in securing voter support. This leads many to believe that funding is a non negotiable for winning a campaign regardless of gender politics or party affiliation.

To comprehend electoral success in a gendered political landscape, it is imperative to grasp the factors influencing gender-based campaign strategies and the elements that take precedence over them. This understanding is pivotal in shaping the expectations of achieving victory in such an environment. It is known that gender stereotypes, party affiliation, and funding are two determinants of gendered campaign strategy. What many studies often overlook is the assessment of the effectiveness of a gender-based campaign strategy, and the specific conditions required for a candidate to achieve success through the utilization of this approach. Investigating these dynamics is crucial for a developed understanding of gendered campaign strategies and their effect on electoral outcomes. The dynamics of gendered campaign strategies are not static and can evolve over time. By investigating the relationship between gender stereotypes, party affiliation, and other contextual variables, we can gain a developed understanding of what drives electoral success in gendered political environments. This research aims to bridge this knowledge gap by looking deeper into the nature of gendered campaign strategies and identifying the conditions under which they yield positive results.

Hypotheses

In American gubernatorial elections, I hypothesize that gendered campaign strategies adopted by candidates will significantly affect their electoral success, but the effectiveness of these strategies will vary based on the candidate's gender, perception, and specific campaign focus. Traditionally, political campaigns have been characterized by gender-specific expectations and stereotypes, often favoring male candidates. Recent years have witnessed a shift in this phenomena, with an increasing number of women entering the political arena. Despite this progress, gender biases persist, and the way candidates navigate these biases can significantly impact their success. I hypothesize that female candidates are likely to be perceived through the lens of traditional gender stereotypes. Women are often assumed to possess traits such as compassion, empathy, and a nurturing demeanor. Additionally, I anticipate that female candidates will be evaluated based on these perceived characteristics, potentially facing expectations to prioritize issues aligned with stereotypical feminine concerns, such as healthcare, education, and social welfare. My hypothesis suggests that female candidates may encounter challenges when deviating from these expected traits. Straying from the traditional gender script might lead to scrutiny or perceptions of incongruence, as voters grapple with adjusting their expectations regarding how a female candidate should present herself and address certain policy areas.

Conversely, I hypothesize that male candidates will be perceived through the lens of traditional gender stereotypes, often associated with decisiveness, strength, and a focus on issues traditionally associated with masculinity. I anticipate that male candidates will be evaluated based on their perceived ability to handle matters related to national security, economic policies, and other traditionally "masculine" domains. However, deviations from these expected traits might not carry the same consequences for male candidates as they do for their female

counterparts. I hypothesize that male candidates might have more flexibility in presenting a diverse range of traits without facing the same level of scrutiny or perceived incongruence. My overarching hypothesis contends that gendered campaign strategies significantly influence the perceptions of political candidates. By examining assumed characteristics and focuses associated with gender, I seek to understand how candidates are evaluated by voters.

Methods

Based on the scholarly work that has been done in my area of research, it is clear that gender majorly influences campaign strategy in American politics. It is likely that a number of variables contribute to why candidates campaign based on their gender, but I am curious to see which strategies are the most fruitful between male and female candidates under a number of different conditions. This research design utilizes a twofold approach, integrating both a trait analysis and a simulated experiment to fully analyze gendered campaign strategies. In the initial phase, a trait analysis will be conducted using an *American Trends Panel* dataset from the *Pew Research Center.* This dataset offers a solid foundation, as it includes responses from a diverse pool of individuals, allowing for a comprehensive examination of perceived traits associated with political candidates based on their gender. The traits under scrutiny encompass a spectrum of characteristics, ranging from compassion and empathy to risk taking and strength. Following the trait analysis, the study transitions to a second phase involving a simulated experiment. The experiment presents mock election scenarios where candidates employ distinct gendered campaign strategies. The traits identified and analyzed in the preceding phase serve as the foundation for crafting these gendered strategies.

By deploying this experiment, the study aims to test how voters respond to candidates exhibiting different gendered approaches. The focus is on understanding whether certain traits associated with gender influence voter preferences and, if so, to what extent. I developed the simulated experiment to mirror a genuine election environment, allowing for a controlled yet realistic exploration of how gendered campaign strategies impact voter decision-making. This twofold approach, integrating a trait analysis with a real-world experiment, positions the research to provide a solid understanding of gendered campaign strategy.

Chapter 2: Understanding the Effect of Party Affiliation on the Alignment of Gendered Traits

When broadly analyzing political campaigns, the prevailing assumption is that individuals primarily base their voting choices on party affiliation over other factors (Hayes 2011, 133-165). Entrenched gender stereotypes that have developed in both the Democratic and Republican parties significantly affect the outcome of elections (Hayes 2011, 133-165). These stereotypes, deeply ingrained in societal perceptions, have significant influence over how individuals assess, and ultimately vote for political candidates (Dolan, Kathleen and Lynch 2014, 656-676; Dolan, Kathleen A. 2014,). As I examine the role of stereotypes, particularly those associated with gender, it becomes evident that these preconceived notions can mold the electorate's preferences and sway their decisions (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). Gender stereotypes often dictate perceived norms and expectations regarding the characteristics deemed suitable for male and female candidates. Historically, these stereotypes have influenced voters to associate certain traits more strongly with one gender. For instance, compassion and empathy are stereotypically linked with women, while traits like assertiveness and strength are associated more with men (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676).

In this chapter, I will be analyzing how traits affect voter decisions from both the Democrat and Republican Party as well as attempting to understand which traits are associated with men, or with women. I expect that the impact of gender based stereotypes will have significant influence over the way candidates are perceived. Voters, consciously or unconsciously, may align their preferences with the gendered traits they perceive as fitting for effective political leadership (Burns, Eberhardt, and Merolla 2013, 687-701). This alignment contributes to the emergence of gendered campaign strategies, as candidates tailor their

messaging and personas to conform to, or challenge, these entrenched stereotypes (Windett 2014, 628-655). In politics today, voters have to navigate a landscape shaped by gendered expectations, while candidates are compelled to adopt strategies that align with, or challenge, these norms to secure electoral success. This chapter will analyze how embedded stereotypes guide voting decisions and, subsequently, pave the way for the emergence of gendered campaign strategies. This preliminary analysis is a necessity in identifying key traits associated with gender and understanding how they intersect with party affiliations. The insights garnered from this trait analysis aid in the creation and deployment of the primary experiment.

While extensive scholarly research has noted the influence of gendered campaign strategies, an underexplored facet pertains to the role of party affiliation overshadowing these traits (Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003; McDonald, Porter, & Treul, 2020; Schneider & Bos, 2014). A major cause of gender imbalances in US politics lies within entrenched party ties. The steadfast loyalty to either the Republican or Democrat parties perpetuates entrenched gender norms, maintaining a status quo that favors traditional political actors—predominantly men (Dolan 2014). This allegiance constrains voter openness and contributes to a sustained preference for male candidates (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Recognizing the influence of party affiliation on perceptions of gendered traits is crucial, as it exemplifies how partisan ties shape voter attitudes and behavior (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). Examining gendered traits lays the foundation for understanding whether certain traits remain unaffected by party affiliation or if all voters perceive gender-based traits through the lens of entrenched stereotypes. This process not only enhances the comprehension of gendered campaign strategies but also offers essential insights for scholars investigating political behavior. This exhibits the influence of political affiliations on voter perceptions of traits commonly linked with gender,

revealing the underlying biases and influences that shape electoral decision-making. This chapter aims to elucidate how party affiliations influence perceptions of gendered traits. As previously mentioned, both parties are exposed to gender stereotypes and subsequently assess candidates based on the associated trait (Dolan 2014). By incorporating party affiliation into this chapter, my aim is to investigate whether male or female candidates are associated with specific traits within one party as opposed to the other. By demonstrating how these traits are perceived concerning party alignment, it sets the stage for the examination of the same traits devoid of party influence. This step is crucial in order to understand whether gendered traits themselves, when disassociated from party, play a distinct role in candidate evaluations. Ultimately, this chapter sets the foundation for understanding the overshadowing effect of party affiliations and the subsequent rationale behind excluding party-related variables in the primary experimental study.

In this study, "gender aligned" refers to the assignment of traditionally gendered traits to the anticipated gender in line with societal norms and stereotypes (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; Schneider 2014, 55-77). On the other hand, "gender misaligned" describes perceptions that deviate from these expectations, as traits are associated with a gender not traditionally linked to them (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255; Schneider 2014, 55-77). Consider the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump embodied distinct gendered campaign strategies (Dittmar 2015 ; Enli 2017, 50-61). In the case of Hillary Clinton, her campaign could be viewed as “gender misaligned.” Despite being a woman, Clinton's approach deviated from conventional gender expectations (Dittmar 2015). Her campaign focused on issues traditionally associated with male candidates, such as national security, economic policies, and a tough, decisive leadership style (Dittmar 2015, ; Hayes 2011,

133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). This departure from the anticipated gender norms in political campaigns marked her as a “gender misaligned” candidate. Donald Trump's campaign aligned more closely with traditional gender expectations, earning him the label of a “gender-aligned” candidate. Trump emphasized strength, assertiveness, and a no-nonsense approach, traits often associated with a stereotypical male leader (Enli 2017, 50-61; Hayes 2011, 133-165). His campaign leaned into traditional gender roles, portraying him as a strong and decisive figure, aligning with societal expectations of how a male candidate should present himself (Enli 2017, 50-61). Hillary Clinton, a Democrat, faces a unique challenge as a gender misaligned candidate within her party. Democrats, typically being more progressive with their viewpoints, might anticipate Clinton to campaign in alignment with her expected gender roles (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). When voter expectations are not met, it potentially results in a loss of support and votes (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). I theorize that party affiliation plays a pivotal role in shaping perceptions of gender-associated traits in political candidates.

Building on prior research, this theory asserts that entrenched party loyalties significantly influence the way voters evaluate candidate traits (Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003; McDonald, Porter, & Treul, 2020; Schneider & Bos, 2014). I theorize that individuals aligned with either the Republican or Democrat party tend to conform to gender-aligned perceptions for a more successful campaign and electoral outcome (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494; Stackhouse et al. 2005, 12-35). There are two scholarly findings that have driven this theory firstly, the idea that US elections are not gender neutral, which Kelly Dittmar’s work helps us understand. Due to the historical underrepresentation of women in political elections such as presidential, gubernatorial, and congressional races, there's a common assumption that gendered associations

may not be apparent, given the limited presence of women in these roles (Dittmar 2016, 807-812). Dittmar builds off the theory from Durest- Lahti which explains that "The masculinist assumption-made-normal is strong and is made even stronger when it goes unnoticed for its gendered aspects" (Dittmar 2016, 807-812). American politics is not gender neutral, but instead places a masculinist expectation on candidates. Dittmar then goes on to explain that this phenomena is magnified due to historically entrenched party loyalties and expectations (Dittmar 2016, 807-812). The herd mentality commonly seen in both the republican and democrat parties pushed female and male candidates to adhere to masculinist expectations (Dittmar 2016, 807-812; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494; Stackhouse et al. 2005, 12-35). This leads many to believe that women are capable of winning large scale elections if they adopt historically masculine traits (Dittmar 2016, 807-812; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494; Stackhouse et al. 2005, 12-35). However, Erin Cassese and Mirya Holman theorize that if female candidates do adopt a masculine campaign approach, they are more vulnerable to campaign attacks (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). A campaign attack is a phenomenon when either a male or female candidate presents traits that are not in line with voter expectations—similar to Hillary Clinton's case in the 2016 presidential election (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). Cassese and Holman draw from the expectancy-violation theory, which argues that, "attacks on a candidate's "home turf," or those traits or issues traditionally associated with their gender, may be more effective in reducing support for the attacked candidate" (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). This theorizes that candidates who do not adhere to traditional gender expectations are at risk of losing voter support from either party (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). Based on these scholarly sources it is clear that a masculinist approach is a vital part of electoral success,

but if this approach does not align with voter expectations, then candidates are more likely to lose party support.

I believe that this theory largely applies to the two major parties, Democrats and Republicans, due to the unique characteristics of independent voters. Independents represent a diverse group, some completely disassociated from partisan affiliation, while others lean towards one party or the other (Pew Research Center 2019, 1-5; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Many independents choose non-affiliation precisely to avoid the entrenched ideologies commonly associated with Democrats and Republicans. This indicates that non-leaning independents might exhibit reduced vulnerability to entrenched gender expectations that strongly correspond with the values of either Democrats or Republicans. However, leaning Independents gravitate towards embracing the same values as Democrats or Republicans, resulting in similar perceptions of candidate traits as those favored by either major party (Pew Research Center 2019, 1-5; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). While independents represent a portion of the electorate, their tendency to either completely disengage from partisan affiliation or lean towards one party positions the focus of this chapter to be on Democrats and Republicans. Independents are likely to either align with similar choices as those within the major parties or refrain from perceiving candidates based on historically ingrained expectations.

The different ideological commitments of Democrats and Republicans imply that these parties may indeed pursue different approaches to gendered campaigning. Democrats, with their emphasis on progressive social policies and inclusivity, may continue to prioritize candidates that resonate with their values of equality and social justice. In contrast, Republicans, with their focus on traditional values, strong leadership, and fiscal conservatism, may opt for a candidate that emphasizes assertive leadership and adherence to conservative principles. By examining

candidate traits and partisanship, I aim to uncover whether party loyalties affect how candidates are perceived, exposing the role of political affiliations in shaping voter perspectives on the broader political stage.

Hypotheses

As I move into the hypothesis section, these theories serve as a foundation, guiding the examination into whether party affiliations influence the adherence to conventional gendered expectations. Specifically, I hypothesize that for the trait "honesty and ethics", individuals strongly associated with either party will conform to gender-aligned beliefs, perceiving women as more honest and ethical. This alignment extends to "compassion and empathy", where party affiliated voter expectation will likely reinforce gender-aligned perceptions that women will exemplify these traits more than men. I also believe that both Democrats and Republicans will continue to reinforce gender associations for the traits: "working under pressure" and "taking risks". These are traditionally considered masculine traits; therefore, party-aligned voters will likely adhere to gender-aligned expectations due to the historical masculinist approach (Dittmar 2016, 807-812). Overall, I hypothesize that both Democrats and Republicans will associate traditionally female traits with female candidates and traditionally male traits with male candidates; meaning, that both major parties will have gender aligned perceptions. (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807; Dittmar 2016, 807-812).

This theory builds upon existing literature on gendered campaign strategies, extending the discourse by accentuating the influence of party affiliations on the perception of gender-associated traits (Hayes 2011, 133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). It challenges the notion that gender dynamics alone significantly drive voter expectations by emphasizing the historical impact of party loyalties. The theorized relationship between party

affiliation and gender-aligned perceptions of candidate traits offers new insights into understanding the complex relationship between partisanship and gender dynamics in political campaigns. By highlighting the effect of party loyalties on trait perception, this theory challenges conventional assumptions and contributes to a more holistic comprehension of the nature of voter decision-making processes within the realm of political campaigns.

Methods

As understanding perceptions of gender-aligned traits within the context of political affiliations, this study employs a unique approach in measuring, analyzing, and interpreting these dynamics. The central purpose of this analysis revolves around uncovering how party affiliation affects perceptions of gender-perceived traits. The data utilized for this study was sourced from the *American Trends Panel 36* (ATP36). This dataset was chosen deliberately for its specialized focus on discerning the traits typically linked with individuals holding high political offices. The central focus of my data analysis centers around the question from the Pew ATP36 survey:'*In general, do you think men or women in high political offices are better at each of the following?'* The survey prompted respondents to express their thoughts regarding whether men or women were perceived as better for specific traits. The data set does not elucidate the party affiliation only the gender and the associated trait—only the affiliated party of the respondent is recorded. This is vital to the trait analysis because it directly tests the respondents' entrenched views based on their own party affiliation rather than the affiliation of the male or female candidate. The randomized survey structure employed by ATP36, posing questions in varied sequences, allows for a more thorough understanding of trait perceptions across different demographics, thereby aligning with my analysis goals.

The dependent variables in this study encompass perceptions of gender-aligned traits, specifically focusing on compassion and empathy, honesty and ethics, as well as the ability to work under pressure and take risks. By analyzing these traits in the context of partisan alignment, this chapter seeks to investigate the effect of a historical party influence that shapes candidate evaluations. These traits were recoded to be measured on a scale from 0 to 1, wherein 0 signifies gender misalignment and 1 denotes gender alignment. The coding strategy for these traits was structured to align with traditional gender perceptions. For traits traditionally associated with women (compassion and empathy, honesty and ethics), a value of 1 represented alignment with female gender traits, while for traits traditionally associated with men (working under pressure and taking risks), a value of 1 indicated alignment with male gender traits. The independent variable examined in this study is party affiliation. Party affiliation was coded as a categorical variable representing individuals' alignment with either major political party in the United States (Democrat or Republican). As previously mentioned, this variable was chosen due to its strong historical association with political ideologies and the robust influence it exerts over voters' expectations and decisions. Scholars should consider and accept this approach to measuring variables for two main reasons. Firstly, the method applied here offers a clear and straightforward interpretation of complex perceptions regarding gender-aligned traits. The scale's binary nature, ranging from 0 to 1, simplifies the assessment of trait alignments, aligning with traditional gender stereotypes. This coding strategy not only offers a systematic and intuitive method but also aligns with established societal norms, providing a familiar framework for understanding trait perceptions. Secondly, by aligning traits with conventional gender perceptions, this method captures the entrenched gender associations that are prevalent in society today. The clear coding strategy, where 1 represents alignment with gender stereotypes,

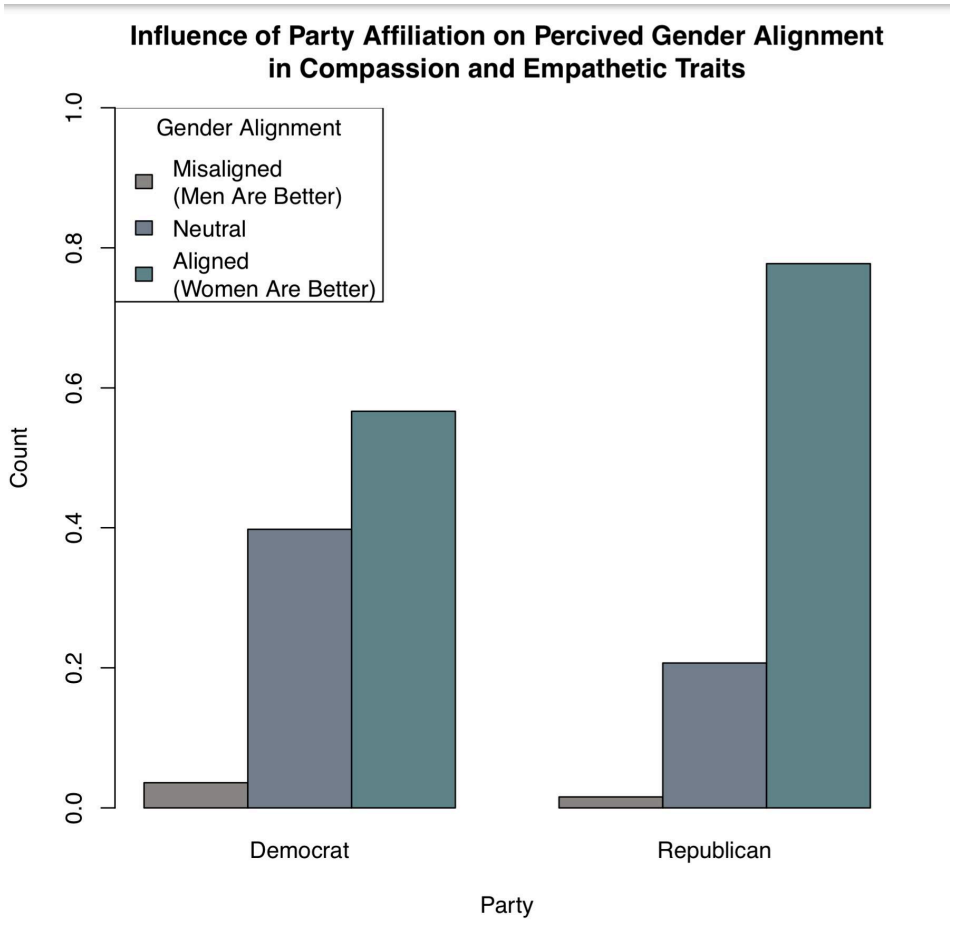
facilitates easy interpretation and comparison across traits. This alignment with societal norms ensures that the measurements are relatable and understandable.

I chose to visualize these variables in bar graph format to illustrate the alignment perceptions of specific traits with traditional gender stereotypes across the two major party affiliations. Each bar in the plot represents the alignment score for a particular trait, where a score closer to 1 indicates perceived gender alignment, while a score closer to 0 indicates gender misalignment. If a democrat or republican respondent answers 1, then they have gender aligned expectations, but if they answer 0, then that have gender misaligned expectations. The neutral bar in the plot serves as a crucial reference point for understanding trait perceptions regarding gender alignment. It signifies the midpoint between gender alignment and misalignment. It acts as a visual cue to gauge the intensity of alignment or misalignment concerning gendered traits.

The method used to analyze the data involves a combination of statistical techniques, predominantly linear regression analysis. Linear regression was chosen for its suitability in exploring the relationship between the dependent and independent variables, allowing for a quantification of the impact of party affiliation on perceptions of gender-aligned traits. This method provides statistical rigor in identifying the strength and direction of associations, offering insights into the extent of party affiliation's influence on trait perception alignment. The approach taken in this study to measure variables, the selection of the data source, and the method of analysis provide a solid framework for investigating the relationship between party affiliation and perceptions of gendered traits.

Trait Analysis Results

Figure 2-1:

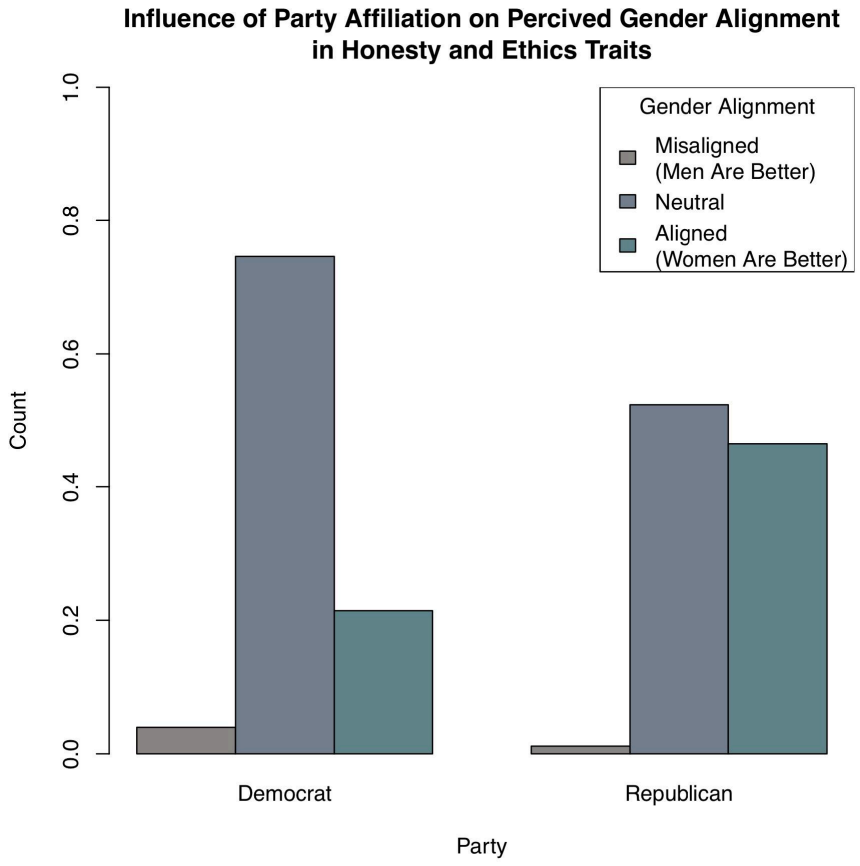


Note. Compassion and Empathy Trait Analysis - *Pew Research Center* ATP 36

After examining the trait compassion and empathy, it's evident that members of both political parties consistently perceive this trait as gender-aligned, predominantly associating women with higher levels of compassion and empathy compared to men. While there's a difference in perception between Democrats and Republicans, the majorities of both parties perceive women as more compassionate and empathetic. This finding indicates that Democrats and Republicans predominantly associate these traits with women, aligning them with historical female gender expectations. This analysis confirms my hypothesis revealing that gender

stereotypes are deeply entrenched in the roots of party affiliation. Regardless of associated group, both Democrats and Republicans continue to perceive women as compassionate and empathetic, meaning that party affiliation may heavily dictate the outcome of a gendered campaign further supporting the removal of party ties from the main experiment (Dittmar 2015, ; Hayes 2011, 133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009 485-494; Stackhouse et al. 2005, 12-35).

Figure 2-2:

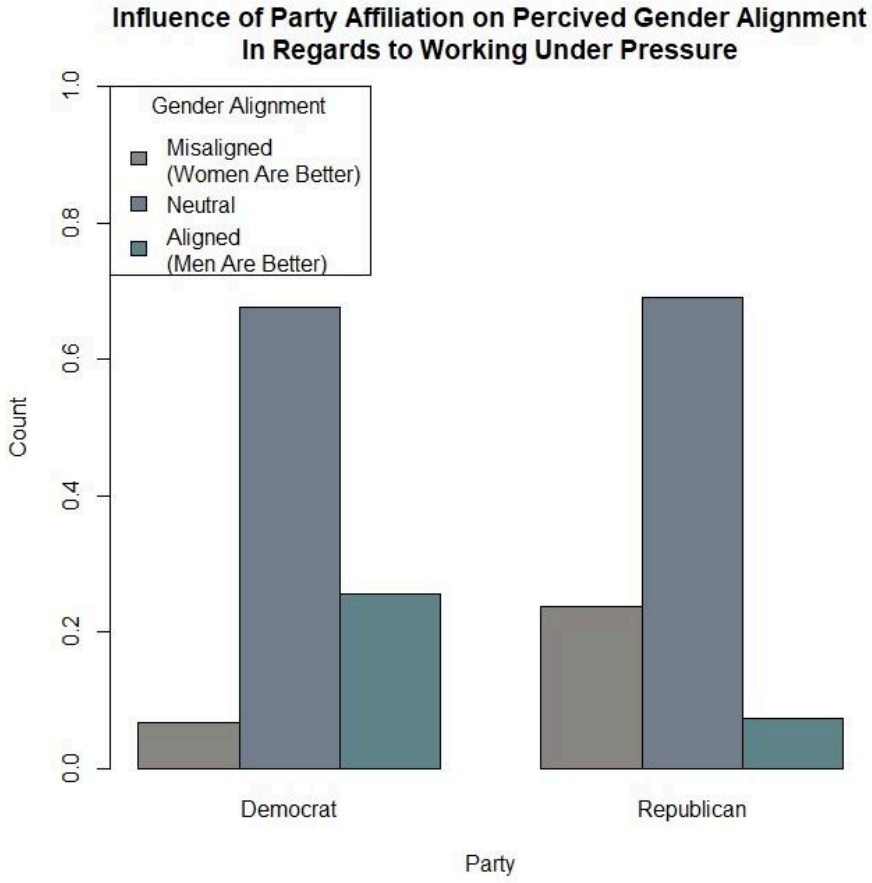


Note. Honesty and Ethics Trait Analysis - *Pew Research Center* ATP 36

Now, looking deeper into the perception of honesty and ethics, a consistent trend akin to the previous traits emerges. Despite a notable presence of neutrality, suggesting an expectation of these traits from both genders, both political parties continue to predominantly associate honesty and ethics with females over males, aligning with traditional gender stereotypes (Schneider and Bos 2014, 245-266). Notably, the Democrats demonstrated higher levels of neutrality, indicating a higher likelihood of expecting these traits from both men and women. Although twenty percent of democrats still associate honesty and ethics with females as well as fifty percent of republicans. This phenomenon likely emerges from the prevailing stereotypes associated with

men in leadership roles, particularly instances where male leaders have exhibited dishonest or unethical behavior (Grosch et al. 2020). An illustrative case of this was evident during President Trump's time in office, where he was frequently perceived as being dishonest (Hildreth & Anderson, 2018; Kenski, Filer, & Conway-Silva, 2018). This perception might contribute to the contrast in beliefs about women and their perceived honesty and ethics, as it may confirm negative experiences or stereotypes associated with male leaders, especially in high-pressure roles (Grosch, Müller, Rau, & Zhurakhovska, 2020).

Figure 2-3:

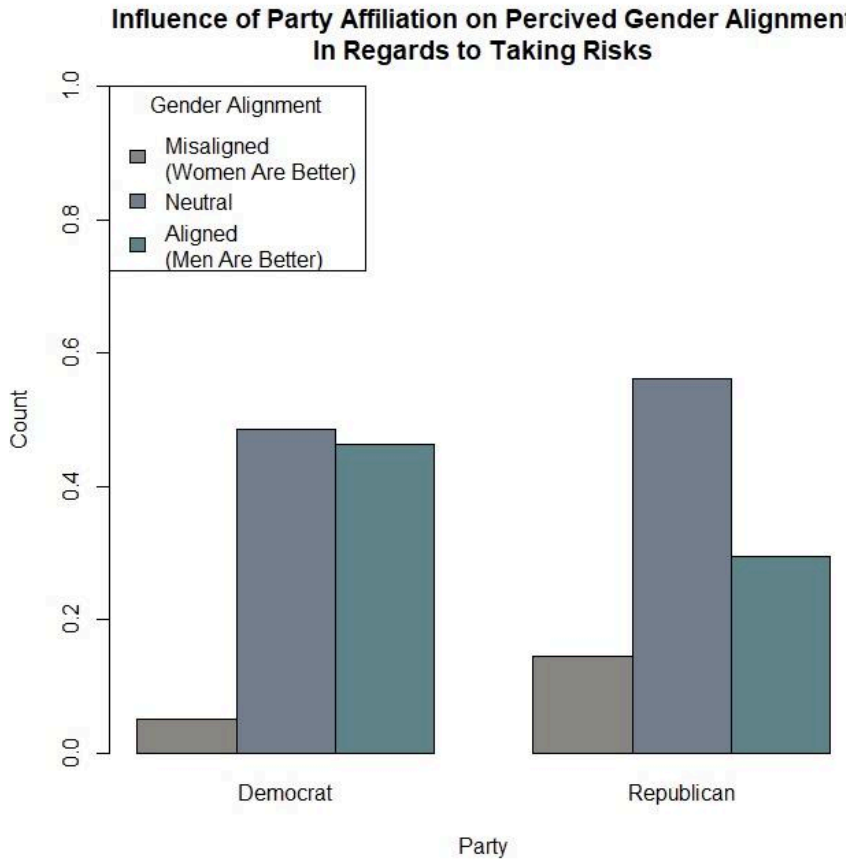


Note. Working Under Pressure Trait Analysis - *Pew Research Center* ATP 36

When looking at the impact of party affiliation on perceptions of working under pressure, a departure from the previously observed patterns in compassion and empathy as well as honesty and ethics becomes apparent. This specific trait exhibits some inconsistency, with Democrats aligning more closely with traditional gender norms, while Republicans exhibit a misalignment. This suggests that Republicans might be more inclined to perceive women as better suited for handling high-pressure situations compared to their Democrat counterparts. Several explanations would account for these results. One potential factor is rooted in the conservative viewpoints held by Republicans, which may position women to undertake more diversified roles compared

to men (Stackhouse et al., 2005, pp. 12-35). For instance, women might be expected not only to fulfill family obligations but also to traditionally participate in the labor market (Stackhouse et al., 2005, pp. 12-35). Despite the data not aligning with my initial hypothesis, it provides valuable insights into the differing perceptions of this trait among both political parties.

Figure 2-4:



Note. Risk Taking Ability Trait Analysis - *Pew Research Center* ATP 36

Upon closer examination of the perception of risk-taking, the trend seems to follow traditional gender roles more so in the Democratic party. Here, the perception leans toward men being more inclined to take risks compared to women. While there are discrepancies, particularly noticeable among Republicans, where women might be seen as having a similar tendency for

risk-taking, the overall results consistently align risk-taking behavior with traditional gender stereotypes. This suggests a subtle difference in how Democrats and Republicans perceive this trait. The negative coefficient for party affiliation suggests that, on average, Republicans might be slightly more inclined to associate women with the ability to take risks compared to Democrats. Although, the overall findings consistently align with the perception that men are more likely to take risks than women, despite some variations between the two parties, notably among Republicans. There isn't a single definitive reason why men are commonly seen as risk-takers, but there's an observation that women are frequently perceived as more cautious (Grosch et al. 2020). In the realm of political leadership, this perception can be viewed as a disadvantage, implying that women might lack the perceived boldness required for high-level leadership positions (Dittmar 2015). As for the control variable, it is imperative to note that the trends observed for gender perceptions aligning with specific traits mirrored those found within party affiliations, although the statistical significance was relatively lower for gender in comparison to party affiliation. This observation corroborates the hypothesis that party affiliation plays a more dominant role and tends to overshadow other variables, including gender perceptions, within the political landscape.

Linear Regression Analysis

Figure 2-5. Perceived Gendered Traits and Party Affiliation

	Women are more ethical and honest	***Women are more compassionate and empathetic***	***Men are better a taking risks***	***Men are better at working under pressure***
Republican	0.56*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)	-0.13*** (0.02)	-0.17*** (0.02)
Female	0.05*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.02)	-0.03*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Constant	0.06*** (0.01)	0.74*** (0.01)	0.72*** (0.02)	0.64*** (0.01)
Adj. R2	0.07	0.06	0.04	0.12
N	1132	1081	1144	1077

Note. ***p<0.001; **p<0.01;*p<0.05;+p<0.1. Estimated ordinary least squares models using survey weights. Standard errors are in parentheses. Data from *Pew Research Center* ATP 36

When deducing the effect of party affiliation on the association of gendered traits, the coefficients provide statistical evidence supporting the perceptions outlined in the previous analysis (Pew Research Center 2018). For the trait of honesty and ethics, the coefficient estimate for gender (Female) indicates a statistically significant positive association with perceived honesty and ethics (0.56***, p<0.001), suggesting that women are generally perceived to be more ethical and honest compared to men (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). Similarly, the coefficient estimate for party affiliation is positively associated with perceived honesty and ethics (0.11***, p<0.001), indicating that being a member of the Republican Party is associated with higher perceived honesty and ethics in women (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). When looking at compassion and empathy, both gender and party affiliation show statistically

significant associations with perceived levels of compassion and empathy. Women (Female) are perceived to be more compassionate and empathetic compared to men (0.05***, p<0.001), while being a Republican is associated with slightly higher levels of perceived compassion and empathy in women over Democrat counterparts (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807).

For risk-taking behavior, the coefficient estimates reveal a negative association with gender (Female), indicating that women are perceived to be less inclined to take risks compared to men (-0.03***, p<0.001) (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). This supports my initial claim that both party's associate this trait with males (Dolan 2014). However, there is a positive association with risk-taking observed in party affiliation (-0.13***, p<0.001), indicating a tendency for Republicans to view risk-taking behavior more in men compared to Democrats. In contrast, perceptions of the ability to work under pressure show a negative association with both gender (Female) (-0.09***, p<0.001) and party affiliation (Republican) (-0.17***, p<0.001). This suggests that women are perceived to be less capable of working under pressure compared to men, but Democrats are more likely to perceive this trait in women compared to their Republican counterparts (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676).

Conclusion

The primary focus on studying party affiliation was intentional. It was aimed at understanding the overpowering influence of partisan ties on shaping perceptions, even those typically associated with gender. The empirical findings clearly show that both Democrats and Republicans continue to align men and women with their stereotypical traits. However, upon closer examination, their perceptions are notably more alike than initially perceived. Despite neutralities, both parties have gender aligned view points—associating females with honesty, ethics, compassion and empathy; while associating males with the ability to work under pressure,

and the ability to take risks. This is likely due to the historical imbalances that have plagued both major parties since their inception (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807; Dittmar 2016, 807-812).

Despite having opposing viewpoints on various issues, voters in both major parties are entrenched in historical gender expectations (Dittmar 2016, 807-812). Based on this data, it is evident that for Democrats and Republicans, elections are not gender-neutral. Instead, the two major parties associate and expect candidates to campaign in a certain way based on their gender and associated traits. The prevalence of these entrenched gender norms within both major parties raises significant questions about the nature of contemporary political discourse and the extent to which historical biases continue to shape voter perceptions. For decades, traditional gender roles and expectations have been deeply ingrained in American society, influencing everything from household dynamics to workplace behavior. Within the realm of politics, these gender norms manifest in subtle yet pervasive ways, shaping the way candidates are perceived and evaluated by voters. The persistence of gendered expectations within the political sphere not only reflects broader societal attitudes but also highlights the enduring legacy of historical inequalities and power dynamics. This leads me to question whether these entrenched ideals are a result of America's antiquated system, or if, when removed from the traditional two party scenario, opinion could differ.

The intentional exclusion of party affiliation from the primary experiment serves as a methodological choice to isolate the effects of gender-aligned strategies from the overshadowing impact of partisan associations. This deliberate separation allows for a more focused analysis, untethered from the strong influences of partisan ties. Because of this, the primary experiment will clearly evaluate the outcomes of gender-focused campaign strategies, offering a clearer perspective on how gender dynamics operate within the realm of political campaigns, isolated

from the overpowering sway of party allegiances. In contrast to the data examined in this chapter, the primary experiment will introduce scenarios that challenge not only party affiliation but also demonstrate how candidates can deviate from historical expectations.

Chapter 3: The Experimental Study of Gendered Campaign Strategies

Shifting focus from gendered traits to gendered campaign strategy, it is evident that the interdependent relationship between party affiliation and entrenched gender expectations is prevalent in American elections (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807; Dittmar 2016, 807-812; Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). My primary experiment seeks to validate and extend these findings in a controlled, yet realistic, political scenario. The focus of this chapter is gendered campaign strategies and their effectiveness in today's political landscape. Gendered campaign strategies refer to political campaign tactics that deliberately emphasize or exploit gender-related attributes, stereotypes, or expectations associated with candidates based on their gender (Carroll 1994, ; Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676; Windett 2014, 628-655). These strategies often involve tailoring campaign messages, traits, and rhetoric to align, or misalign, with traditional gender roles or perceptions.

The trait analysis exemplified patterns in how voters perceive candidates based on party affiliations and gendered characteristics. Party affiliated voters assume that female candidates are more compassionate, empathetic, honest and ethical. Conversely, male candidates are seen as working better under pressure and taking more risks. In the context of gendered camping these traits would be manipulated for the candidates campaign to elicit a different perception from voters (Carroll 1994, ; Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676; Windett 2014, 628-655). For example, a female gendered campaign strategy emphasizes qualities such as compassion and empathy while downplaying traits associated with strength or assertiveness. Conversely, a male gendered strategy highlights traits like toughness, leadership, and decisiveness while avoiding characteristics traditionally deemed as feminine. While previous research has primarily focused on the development of gendered campaign strategies in the context of the US’s two party system,

my experiment seeks to broaden this scope by examining how candidates not affiliated with a party are perceived based on their gendered campaign strategies alone (Carroll 1994, ; Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676; Windett 2014, 628-655). This allows me to analyze not only the conditional success of gendered campaigns, but also the underlying expectations from the electorate. In this chapter, I will exemplify how American voters assess and vote for their preferred gender campaign through an experimental investigation. This will directly reveal if the electorate prefers a male or female campaign, and ultimately exposing any underlying gender preferences in US elections. Throughout this chapter, I will introduce four candidate strategies that have intentionally been manipulated to allow for more direct experimentation on gender and the correlating campaign strategies. My final experiment will put these strategies to the test, allowing for the expansion of knowledge on when, or if, gendered campaign strategy is successful.

Hypotheses

I have developed a number of hypotheses that will be tested throughout the experiment. The hypotheses will be divided into three categories: candidate perception, expected issue prioritization, and the overall election outcome. Candidate perception will investigate how voters perceive each one of the experimental candidates based on their gendered campaign. Considering that each campaign was developed based on the trait analysis in chapter two, these perceptions will serve as valuable tools for future analysis. Issue prioritization will look at what the voters expect candidates to focus on—based on their gendered campaign. Finally, the overall election outcome will depict which candidates would win in an electoral scenario. The hypotheses are positioned around four different gendered campaign strategies: female aligned candidate, male aligned candidate, female misaligned candidate, and male misaligned candidate.

Figure 3-1 Gendered Campaign Strategy Descriptions

Candidate	Candidate Gender	Gendered Campaign Strategy[1]
Female aligned candidate	Female	Female based strategy
Male aligned candidate	Male	Male based strategy
Female misaligned	Female	Male based strategy
Male misaligned	Male	Female based strategy

Looking first at candidate perception, each gendered campaign strategy is tested for perceived competence. H1: *I believe that voters will perceive candidates running male based campaigns as the most competent candidates.* The male based gendered campaign strategy is less focused on emotions typically associated with women, like compassion and empathy, and more focused on male traits (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). These traits include taking risks and working under pressure, which translates to more aggressive wording within their campaign descriptions (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). I anticipate that voters will correlate less emotion and more aggressive wording with more competency (Dolan 2014). Conversely, I expect that voters will perceive candidates running female based campaigns as less competent. Voters will likely correlate this strategy with less competence due to the softer wording and focus of the campaign descriptions (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255). As previously mentioned the female based campaign focuses on compassion, empathy, honesty, and ethics. Meaning, female aligned candidates are focusing on softer policies in the campaign descriptions such as teamwork

[1]The campaign strategies are categorized as either "female-based" or "male-based," terminologies that align with similar conventions found in existing literature, where "female stereotypic" and "male stereotypic" are commonly employed. The use of "female-based" and "male-based" clarifies that each strategy is rooted in one of the two gendered stereotypical ideals (Dittmar 2013; Schneider 2014, 55-77).

and inclusivity. I expect that some voters may not see these as vital campaign focuses prompting them to view these candidates as less competent.

Moving into issue prioritization, there are a number of different policies that are tested throughout the experiment. H2: *Beginning with economic policies and national security, I hypothesize that the female misaligned and male aligned candidates will be perceived as most qualified to deal with these policy matters.* These candidates are running male based campaigns that advocate for strength and stability, traits that are both associated with men and useful for upholding economic standards and national security (Hayes 2011, 133-165). Although, the female misaligned candidate will likely be seen as slightly less qualified to deal with these policies due to her female gender. I predict that the female aligned and male misaligned candidates will be seen as less qualified to deal with economic matters and national security as both of these campaigns focus on more feminine traits. Historically, voters do not correlate feminine traits with masculine policy areas, and I believe voters will not correlate a female based campaign strategy with historically masculine policies like economics and national security (Hayes 2011, 133-165). The only exception I expect to see is with the male misaligned candidate, despite his female based campaign, it that his presenting male gender may correlate with the more masculine policies (Hayes 2011, 133-165).

The next policies tested in my primary experiment are abortion access and upholding honest and ethical practice in governance. *H3: I hypothesize that the female aligned and female misaligned candidates will be perceived as more likely to support access to abortion and uphold honest and ethical standards in governance.* Both of these candidates are female, and despite the misaligned candidate running a male based campaign, I expect voters to rely heavily on the entrenched stereotypes surrounding female candidates *(*Bauer and Santia [2022], 691-705*)*. For

example, historically voters expect female candidates to support access to reproductive rights as well as act more honestly and ethically than their male counterparts (Bauer and Santia 2022, 691-705). Due to this historical narrative, I do not think utilizing a gendered campaign strategy will change the way voters expect female candidates to act when dealing with feminine policies (Bauer and Santia 2022, 691-705).

When looking at the head to head primary matchup scenarios, each gendered campaign strategy will be randomly positioned against an opposing strategy. *H4: I hypothesize that between a female aligned candidate and a female misaligned candidate, both strategies would garner similar amounts of support.* Considering that both candidates are female, one running a female based campaign while the other is running a male based campaign, I expect underlying party values to divide the electorate in half. Despite neither candidate being affiliated with a major party, the male based campaign will likely attract more republicans while the female based strategy will attract more Democrats (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676). *H5: In a match up scenario between a female aligned candidate or female misaligned candidate versus an aligned male candidate I hypothesize that the male aligned candidate will attract more voters.* Based on the electorate's historical resonance with masculine traits, the male aligned candidate is the most likely to satisfy that requirement. Although, I expect that by manipulating the gendered campaign strategy of the female misaligned candidate, she will acquire more votes than the female aligned candidate. H6: *When considering a matchup between an aligned female or a misaligned female against a misaligned male, I hypothesize that both females would acquire more votes than the misaligned male.* The manipulated gendered campaign strategy for the misaligned male gives him historically feminine traits, which I do not expect many voters will prefer as it does not align with historical patterns.

H7: *Overall, I hypothesize that gendered campaign strategies will be more effective in garnering support for female misaligned candidates in pursuing male based policies as it will allow them to adopt male based traits that appeal more to the electorate.* I do not expect gendered campaign strategies to garner more support for male aligned or misaligned candidates in their pursuit of feminine issues as the deeply entrenched expectations of votes will likely overshadow any manipulated strategy (Schneider, Bos, and DiFilippo 2022, 117-133). I expect that the female aligned candidate will attract the least support as her gendered campaign strategy was not manipulated beyond emphasizing her feminine traits. This expectation is a result of the historical representation of women in US political offices (Schneider, Bos, and DiFilippo 2022, 117-133). These hypotheses are based on the historical theories and outcomes from past studies and elections. Although my primary experiment is not a legitimate election, I believe that this study will mirror real world circumstances. The outcome of the experiment will shed light on the current perceptions and expectations of real voters in the United States today.

Methods

For the purpose of this study, an experiment will be conducted to gauge the effectiveness of different gendered campaign strategies in American politics. To ensure an adequate participant pool for the experiment, I employed various methods to enhance outreach. Designing multiple graphics across social media platforms and within the Allegheny College campus environment enabled me to recruit the participation of 155 individuals for the primary experiment. It's worth noting that the proximity to the Allegheny College campus community resulted in the recruitment of a predominant number of participants from that vicinity. Meaning, there was an influx of participants that were Democrats, as well as women. Out of the 155 responses gathered 70% identified as women, and 30% identified as men. Out of the participants that were women,

72% identified as Democrats. Although party affiliation is not directly tested in the experiment, the heavily Democrat participant pool is likely to skew results. As observed in the preceding chapter, Democrats and Republicans do not attribute specific traits to female and male candidates uniformly. Meaning, the results of the experiment will likely lean heavily towards the Democrat preferences for perception and party values.

I developed this experiment in the platform *Qualtrics* where I programmed extensively to create a realistic election scenario. Within the program, I collected each participant's gender and party affiliation to analyze the personal demographics alongside my conditional testing. In this study, I develop the fictional state of *Concordia* as a conceptual setting to explore political perceptions and candidate evaluations. *Concordia* is a hypothetical state created for the purpose of my research, providing a context in which participants can engage with simulated political scenarios. While not a real location, *Concordia* serves as a valuable tool to investigate how individuals form opinions about political candidates in a controlled and standardized environment. Concordia does not position voters to resonate with either major party which will allow direct analysis of voter preference and gendered campaign scenarios. Each survey respondent will be introduced to *Concordia,* and their upcoming gubernatorial election prior to beginning the experiment. The respondent will then move into the world of *Concordian* politics and begin the candidate introduction process.

I have developed four different candidate profiles: Amy Anderson, Barbara Benson, Charlie Peters and Harrison Williams. All four experimental candidates have been manipulated to bear a different name, gender, and one of two developed gendered campaign strategies. The two strategies were developed based on the results from the trait analysis and recent campaign descriptions: one female based gendered campaign and one male based gendered campaign.

Each of the developed strategies were then assigned to one male and one female candidate to create the gendered campaign strategies: female aligned campaign, female misaligned campaign, male aligned campaign and female misaligned campaign. The female aligned campaign and the male misaligned campaign are essentially identical bearing the same traits and priorities; the only difference being manipulated wording and the candidate's gender. The male aligned campaign and female misaligned campaign are identical as well, with the change only being the gender of the candidate as well as the description wording. This design ensures that any differences observed in participant responses can be attributed specifically to the gendered nature of the campaign strategy, rather than to variations in the content or presentation of the descriptions themselves.

Amy Anderson and Harrison Williams will serve as the two aligned candidates; meaning, they will utilize a campaign strategy that is associated with their gender. Amy Anderson's gendered campaign will align with traditional voter expectations of female candidates portraying compassion, empathy, honesty and ethics throughout her campaign description. Harrison William's will also adhere to voter expectations with his gender aligned strategy—embodying the idea of a candidate who is adept in taking risks and working under pressure.

See campaign descriptions below:

Amy Anderson

Amy portrays empathy, compassion, and a collaborative leadership style. She emphasizes community connections, inclusivity, and relationship-building. Amy is known for nurturing and supporting approaches, fostering care and support. She advocates for honesty, equity, and embracing diverse perspectives. She is an exceptional multitasker adept at meeting policy expectations and fostering robust public relationships. Amy Achieves and surpasses expectations while upholding steadfast integrity.

Harrison Williams

Harrison projects strength, assertiveness, and a decisive leadership style. He emphasizes efficiency, competitiveness, and result-oriented approaches. Harrison is known for problem-solving skills, strategic thinking, and directness. He advocates for stability, security, and a focus on protective measures. Harrison demonstrates innovation, forward-thinking, and a drive for progress.

Conversely, Barbara Benson and Charlie Peters will represent the gender misaligned candidates who utilize strategies that are associated with their opposite gender. Throughout the chapter, Barbara Benson will be campaigning with male aligning strategy, while Charlie peters will utilize a female aligning strategy. Both candidates do not align with traditional voter expectations.

See campaign descriptions below:

Barbara Benson

Barbara exhibits forward-thinking innovation and a relentless drive for progress. She demonstrates a decisive leadership style, projecting strength and assertiveness. Barbara will prioritize the demands of her role above all, demonstrating unwavering dedication. She is known for directness, strategic thinking, and adept problem-solving skills. She advocates for security, stability, and a focus on protective measures.

Charlie Peters

Charlie exemplifies empathetic understanding and a compassionate approach to his campaign. He values emotional intelligence, fostering genuine connections and rapport among team members. Charlie highlights collaborative efforts, fostering inclusive and supportive team dynamics. He advocates for honesty, equity, and embracing diverse perspectives. He promotes inclusivity not only in policies but also within the team, ensuring diverse voices are heard and valued. Charlie strives for goals while maintaining a commitment to honesty and fairness.

Figure 3-2 Candidate Profile Table

Candidate Name	Gendered Campaign Strategy	Candidate Gender	Alignment
Amy Anderson	Female based campaign	Woman	Aligned
Harrison Williams	Male based campaign	Man	Aligned
Barbara Benson	Male based campaign	Woman	Misaligned
Charlie Peters	Female based campaign	Man	Misaligned

My experiment is divided into two phases, the first phase being the developed statements that directly test different gendered campaign strategies under multiple conditional independent variables (candidate perception and issue prioritizations). I opted to analyze the data using raw numbers and percentages instead of statistical testing due to the small sample size of my study. The limited sample size led to low levels of statistical significance across several variables. Utilizing raw data allows for a clearer presentation of the experiment's meaning and results, circumventing potential ambiguity or misinterpretation that may arise from relying solely on statistical tests.

In the first phase, candidate descriptions will be presented one at a time to each participant. After respondents read a candidate campaign description, they will be prompted with six statements about the candidate's competence, ability to deal with economic policies, stance on abortion access, ability to uphold honest and ethical governance, and lastly their ability to deal with national security. These variables were chosen due to their stereotypically associated nature. Historically, female candidates are seen as less competent than men in the political arena due to the lack of exposure the electorate has to women in politics (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Addtionally, voters expect female candidates to campaign for access to abortion

and ethical practices in government, while they expect male candidates to focus on national security and economic policies (Dolan and Lynch 2014, 656-676; Dolan 2014).

The data derived from this phase of the experiment focuses on both candidate perception and expected issue prioritization. Given that every candidate description is either male or female based, the effect the candidate's presenting gender and manipulated strategy have on voter preference can be examined. This facilitates a comprehensive assessment of how each candidate is perceived according to their gendered strategy, as well as the expectations voters hold based on this perception.

After each respondent individually assesses each candidate they will move into the second phase—*Concordia's* primary election. Here, respondents will be given two matchups that are randomized from the initial four candidates. The respondents will have to choose one of the two options for governor of *Concordia.* This is the final and most important part of the experiment as it puts gendered campaign strategies to the test. This data will depict who voters would choose in a head to head race and whether they prefer aligned or misaligned strategies.

In the context of this experiment, the various conditions applied to each hypothetical candidate acts as the independent variable throughout the survey. The outcome of the campaign will act as the dependent variable. This will allow my analysis to precisely measure when gendered campaigns are successful and how it relates to our current political landscape.

Chapter Four: Results and Analysis

Candidate Perception Results

The results from the perception of the candidates' competency revealed distinct differences among the candidates. Overall, the female misaligned candidate (Barbara Benson) and the male aligned candidates are perceived as more competent than the female aligned candidate (Amy Anderson) and the male misaligned candidate (Charlie Peters). In assessing the results of the two candidates perceived as less competent, Amy Anderson and Charlie Peters, a notable pattern emerged. Amy Anderson was perceived as competent by 68% of participants, and 3% did not perceive her as competent. Similarly, Charlie Peters received competency perceptions from 63% of participants, while 8% of participants did not perceive him as competent. Interestingly, Charlie Peters' slightly lower competence perception percentage suggests that his departure from the traditional male-aligned campaign strategy led some participants to perceive him as less competent, as it did not align with their expectations of how male candidates typically present themselves. This observation supports the initial hypothesis that Amy Anderson would be perceived as more competent because her gendered campaign strategy aligned with her gender. On average, 65% of participants viewed the candidates utilizing female based campaigns as competent.

When looking at the two male based gendered campaigns participants overall perceived competence seems to increase by around 10%. In evaluating the perceptions of Barbara Benson and Harrison Williams, a notable trend emerged. Barbara Benson was perceived as competent by 74% of participants, with only 2% of participants expressing doubts about her competence. Similarly, Harrison Williams received competency perceptions from 75% of participants, while 3% of participants did not perceive him as competent. This suggests that both candidates were

generally perceived as competent with a combined average of 75% of participants viewing them as competent. These two candidates were initially hypothesized to be perceived as more competent than the female based strategies due to their historically masculine approach. Additionally, Barbara Benson was perceived as 1% less competent than Harrison Williams likely due to her gender not aligning with her gendered campaign; thus, diverging from voter expectations.

Figure 3-3 Overall Perceived Competency

Candidate Name	Presenting Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Positively Perceiving Candidate Competence	Neutrally Perceiving Candidate Competence	Negatively Perceiving Candidate Competence
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	68%	29%	3%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	74%	24%	2%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	63%	29%	8%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	75%	22%	3%

Note: This table presents the responses to the statement: " Candidate X would be a competent governor" The data reflects participants' perceptions of the Candidate's competency based on their evaluation of the candidate's gender and campaign strategy.

These results indicate a small discrepancy in perceived competence between candidates running male based campaigns versus those running female based campaigns. Candidates who ran male based campaigns, such as Harrison Williams and Barbara Benson, tended to be perceived as more competent. When looking at the female based strategies, Amy Anderson, a female candidate who utilized a female based gender aligned campaign, was perceived as less competent than her aligned male counterpart (Harrison Williams). In addition to that, Charlie

Peters was perceived as less competent than the two male based campaigns. Reasoning behind this outcome is two fold, not only did Charlie utilize a female based campaign, which has proven to translate to less competency from participants, but he also is a misaligned candidate (Schneider, Bos, and DiFilippo 2022, 117-133). Charlie Peters did not exemplify any masculine traits, and his use of a female strategy does not align with his gender; likely not meeting historical voter expectations (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). This suggests that voters are still largely influenced by historical masculine expectations when assessing candidate competence void of candidate party affiliation (Dittmar 2015). Although, when looking at the other misaligned candidate, Barbara Benson, her competency was perceived at much higher percentages. These results demonstrate that my initial hypothesis was correct in assuming the candidates running male based campaigns strategy would be perceived as more competent. These results also suggest that in order to be perceived as the more competent, a female candidate would need to adopt a male-based campaign strategy. While a male candidate would need to utilize a male-based campaign strategy—not female.

Issue Prioritization Results

Moving into issue prioritization for the four experimental candidates, this section will cover the results for economic policies, access to abortion, ethical standards in government and national security. Beginning with economic policies, the outcome from participant voting is exemplified in the following table. Specifically, participants voted on each candidate's ability to uphold economic matters such as job creation, taxation policies and ensuring financial stability.

Figure 3-4 Expectation Candidate will have Beneficial Economic Policies

Candidate Name	Presenting Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Positive Perception Percentage	Neutral Perception Percentage	Negative Perception Percentage
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	35%	51%	14%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	33%	52%	15%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	58%	36%	6%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	65%	33%	2%

Note: This table presents the responses to the statement: " Candidate X would enact beneficial economic policies" The data reflects participants' perceptions of the candidate's likelihood to enact beneficial economic policies based on their evaluation of the candidate's gender and campaign strategy.

After reviewing the results from the economic policy issue prioritization, there is a clear pattern that emerges. Candidates who ran male-based campaign strategies, namely Harrison Williams and Barbara Benson, were perceived as more capable of dealing with economic policies, with participant percentages of 65% and 58%, respectively. On the other hand, candidates who ran female-based campaign strategies, Amy Anderson and Charlie Peters,

received lower participant percentages— Amy having the support of 35% of participants and Charlie having 33%, indicating less confidence in their ability to handle economic matters. These findings suggest gendered campaign strategies have a slight impact on perceptions of candidates' ability to handle economic policy matters.

Participants saw the male candidate running a male based campaign (Harrison Williams) and the female candidate running male based campaign (Barbara Benson) as more capable of dealing with economic matters. This finding confirms my initial hypothesis suggesting that voters continue to follow the traditional masculinist expectation (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). This positions women and female based campaign strategies to be less successful than male candidates and male based campaign approaches. These results suggest that in order for a candidate to be perceived as someone who can deal with economic policies they must utilize a male based campaign approach.

Figure 3-5 Expectation Candidate will Uphold National Security

Candidate Name	Presenting Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Positive Perception Percentage	Neutral Perception Percentage	Negative Perception Percentage
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	30%	56%	14%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	37%	50%	13%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	56%	32%	12%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	69.8%	30%	0.2%

Note: This table presents the responses to the statement: 'Candidate X would uphold national security.' The data reflects participants' perceptions of the candidate's likelihood to uphold national security based on their evaluation of the candidate's gender and campaign strategy.

The results on upholding national security clearly show the difference in perceptions of gendered campaign strategies, and a distinct pattern emerges. Candidates running male based strategies are perceived as more likely to support national security, likely due to the masculine viewpoints associated with male traits, which are often associated with strength (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807; Dolan 2014). On the contrary, female-based strategies face a hurdle in garnering similar support, as women are frequently viewed as soft and lacking in traditionally perceived strengths (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807; Dolan 2014). This bias is evident in the positive participant percentages. For instance, Amy Anderson, presenting as a woman with a female-aligned campaign, only garners 30% positive participant perception. In contrast, Charlie Peters, a man with a female-aligned campaign, receives a slightly higher percentage of 37%—likely due to his gender. Additionally, Barbara Benson, presenting as a woman with a male-aligned campaign, faces a significant increase in positive participant perception with 56%.

Similarly, Harrison Williams, a male with a male-aligned campaign, has a comparatively higher percentage of 68% positive participant perception and a negative participant percentage of less than 1%. This data reveals that voters associate male traits with upholding national security, and likely perceive these two candidates as strong. Whereas the candidates running female based campaign strategies were perceived as less able to uphold national security. This aligns with my initial hypothesis that the candidates running male based campaigns would be perceived as more likely to uphold national security. This continues to reflect the entrenched gender stereotypes that persist in American elections, although if gendered campaign strategies are being utilized, female candidates, like Barbara Benson, can still be perceived similarly to male counterparts (Dittmar 2015).

Figure 3-6 Expectation Candidate will Allow Access to Abortion

Candidate Name	Presenting Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Positive Perception Percentage	Neutral Perception Percentage	Negative Perception Percentage
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	69%	26%	5%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	47%	46%	7%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	58%	29%	13%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	14%	47%	39%

Note: This table presents the responses to the statement: "Candidate X would allow access to abortion"' The data reflects participants' perceptions of the candidate's stance on abortion access based on their evaluation of the candidate's gender and campaign strategy.

Based on the data on participants' views regarding candidates' stance on access to abortion, it is evident that the outcomes diverge from patterns observed in other issues tested in the experiment. The results align with my initial hypothesis confirming that candidates who are female will be perceived as more likely to allow access to abortion. Historically, access to abortion has been closely associated with female candidates, with the prevailing expectation that female candidates inherently support such access (Dittmar 2015). Considering the absence of party affiliation in the experiment, participants likely assumed that female candidates would automatically support access to abortion based on their gender alone. The results reflect this gender-based assumption to a significant extent. Amy Anderson, a female candidate who aligned her campaign with traditional feminine traits, garnered the highest percentage with 69% of participants that believed she would support access to abortion. Similarly, Barbara Benson, who

deviated from traditional gender norms in her campaign strategy, still received a substantial percentage with 58% of participant agreement on her support for abortion access. These two candidates also had the lowest levels of neutrality and negative responses from candidates, indicating that the majority of participants viewed them as likely to support access to abortion. Charlie Peters, a male candidate who adopted a female-based campaign strategy, also received a considerable percentage with 47% of participant agreement on his support for access to abortion. This deviation for a male candidate is likely due to his female based campaign strategy; resulting in participants perceiving him as someone who campaigns similarly to a woman. Although, his positive percentage was still lower than the female candidates indicating that because of his gender, some participants perceive him as less likely to support access to abortion. These results reflect that voters often expect female candidates, and those running a female based campaign, to support abortion access. Conversely, Harrison Williams, a male candidate running a male based campaign, had the lowest percentage with 14% of participants perceiving him as a candidate willing to support abortion access. This result exemplifies the effect of gender stereotypes on voter perceptions, with participants less likely to associate male candidates, particularly those employing traditional masculine campaign strategies, with not supporting access to abortion.

Figure 3-7 Expectation Candidate will Uphold Ethical and Honest Standards in Governance

Candidate Name	Presenting Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Positive Perception Percentage	Neutral Perception Percentage	Negative Perception Percentage
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	71%	25%	4%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	59%	30%	11%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	64%	29%	7%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	45%	37%	18%

Note: This table presents the responses to the statement:”"Candidate X will uphold honest and ethical standards in governance.” The data reflects participants' perceptions of the candidate's commitment to ethical and honest governance based on their evaluation of the candidate's gender and campaign strategy.

The results of participant voting on the ability of candidates to uphold ethical and honest standards in governance revealed intriguing patterns reflective of gender-aligned and misaligned campaign strategies. Historically, male candidates have often been viewed with skepticism regarding their honesty and ethics, exemplified by figures such as Donald Trump (Kenski, Filer, and Conway-Silva 2018, 286-299). On the other hand, female candidates have frequently been perceived as more honest and ethical due to societal gender stereotypes (Schneider, Bos, and DiFilippo 2022, 117-133). Amy Anderson, a female candidate who employed a gender-aligned campaign strategy, garnered the highest percentage of participant agreement, with 71% perceiving her as capable of upholding ethical and honest standards. This result aligns with my hypothesis that female candidates, particularly those employing traditionally feminine campaign

approaches, would be perceived as more trustworthy. Barbara Benson, another female candidate, received a considerable percentage of participant agreement at 64%. Despite running a male based campaign, participants overlooked these traits due to her gender, contributing to her relatively high perception of honesty and ethics.

In contrast, Charlie Peters, a male candidate running a female-based campaign, received a lower percentage of participant agreement at 59%. This discrepancy suggests that participants may have found it challenging to reconcile traditional gender expectations with Charlie's campaign strategy, impacting their perception of his honesty and ethics. Finally, Harrison Williams, a male candidate who utilized a gender-aligned campaign strategy, received the lowest percentage of participant agreement at 45%. This result may reflect the historical association of male candidates with dishonesty and unethical behavior, requiring male candidates to adopt female-based campaign strategies to be perceived as honest (Grosch et al. 2020).

Primary Matchup Results

Having laid the groundwork through the analysis of candidate perception and issue prioritization, I now move into the outcomes of the primary matchups. In this section, I examine five key matchups, each directly exemplifying the relationship between candidates and participant preferences. These matchups include Barbara Benson versus Amy Anderson, Amy Anderson versus Harrison Williams, Amy Anderson versus Charlie Peters, and Barbara Benson versus Harrison Williams. In addition to examining the matchup results on their own, I also include the voting outcome by party affiliation and gender of voting participants. This allows me to further understand the conditions under which specific candidates may find success. Despite the experimental candidates being unaffiliated with major parties, the additional data gives more insight into the factors shaping voter preferences. By stratifying participant responses based on

party affiliation and gender, I aim to understand how these variables interact to influence candidate perception and electoral outcomes.

Figure 3-8 Amy Anderson and Barbara Benson Primary Matchup Results

Candidate Name	Candidate Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Total Number of Votes	Overall Percentage of Votes
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	28	50%
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	28	50%

Percentage of Participant Votes by Party Affiliation and Gender

Candidate	Democrat Man	Democrat Women	Republican Man	Republican Women	Independent Man	Independent Woman
Amy Anderson	33% (1)	67% (18)	0% (0)	14% (1)	14% (1)	87.5% (7)
Barbara Benson	67% (2)	33% (9)	100% (4)	86% (6)	86% (6)	12.5% (1)

Note: The table above presents the results of the primary matchup between Amy Anderson and Barbara Benson, including the breakdown of votes by candidate gender, alignment of campaign gender, total number of votes, and overall percentage of votes. The raw numbers of votes from each demographic group are presented in parentheses.

In the matchup between Amy Anderson and Barbara Benson, the even split of votes confirms my initial hypothesis and exemplifies the effect of the contrasting strategies each candidate adopted. Amy Anderson's gender-aligned approach resonates strongly with certain segments of the electorate, particularly among Democrat women and Independent women, who historically gravitate towards female candidates perceived as embodying traits associated with femininity (Bauer and Santia 2022, 691-705; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). On the other hand, Barbara Benson's misaligned strategy, which deviates from stereotypical gender

norms by utilizing a male-based campaign, found support among Republican women. This indicates a preference for a female candidate who runs a male based campaign over female based strategies (Stackhouse et al. 2005, 12-35). However, this preference was not mirrored among Democrat or Independent women, suggesting a divergence in perceptions based on party affiliation. Interestingly, among male voters, there are similar preferences, with Democrat and Republican men favoring Barbara Benson. Although it is important to note that 33% of Democrat men voted for Amy Anderson, while 0% of Republican men did.

These results still largely reflect the historical influence of party allegiance on candidate perception, but also shows that the gender of the electorate matters as well (Dolan 2014). These results suggest that male participants and republican women prefer a male based misaligned gendered campaign strategy. While the Democrat and Independent women prefer the female based aligned gendered campaign strategy. The overwhelming presence of female Democrats among the study participants significantly shapes the outcome of this primary matchup. This particular subset of individuals dominates the demographic composition, exerting significant influence on the outcome of the election. In analyzing the voting patterns, it is clear that while all Republicans, male Democrats, and male Independents favored Barbara, the outcome resulted in a tie between Barbara and Amy, both receiving an equal number of votes even with the composition disparity.

Had the participant pool been more diverse in terms of both gender and party affiliation, the outcome of the primary matchup might have been different. The equality in votes between Barbara and Amy, despite their differing gendered campaign strategies, suggests a potential resilience of gender bias in the electoral process (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). The majority of voters, except female Independents and Democrats, voted for the more masculine

candidate. This reflects that in a more realistic voting scenario the feminine candidate will likely lose to the more masculine candidate. Despite the progressive shift toward greater inclusivity and gender equality in politics, it appears that entrenched stereotypes and expectations continue to shape voter perceptions, even in races featuring female candidates exclusively (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807).

Figure 3-9 Amy Anderson and Harrison Williams Primary Matchup Results

Candidate Name	Candidate Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Total Number of Votes	Overall Percentage of Votes
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	26	54%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	22	46%

Percentage of Participant Votes by Party Affiliation and Gender

Candidate	Democrat Man	Democrat Women	Republican Man	Republican Women	Independent Man	Independent Woman
Amy Anderson	67% (2)	69% (18)	0% (0)	25% (1)	14% (1)	66% (4)
Harrison Williams	33% (1)	31% (8)	100% (2)	75% (3)	86% (6)	33% (2)

Note: The table above presents the results of the primary matchup between AmyAnderson and Harrison Williams, including the breakdown of votes by candidate gender, alignment of campaign gender, total number of votes, and overall percentage of votes. The raw numbers of votes from each demographic group are presented in parentheses.

In the primary matchup between Amy Anderson and Harrison Williams, Amy emerged as the favored candidate, receiving 54% of the total votes compared to Harrison's 44%. Both candidates aligned their campaign strategies with their presenting gender, with Amy running the female gendered campaign and Harrison running the male gendered campaign. Analyzing the

breakdown of participant votes by party affiliation and gender provides further insights into this outcome. Among Democrat participants, both men and women showed strong support for Amy, with 67% and 69% of their respective votes cast for her. In contrast, Republican participants favored Harrison, with 100% of votes from Republican men and 75% from Republican women going to him. Independent female participants also demonstrated a preference for Amy with 66% of votes from, but only 14% from Independent men going to her.

These results in a matchup setting show that party affiliation plays a significant role in shaping voter preferences (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). Amy's alignment with the female gender appealed to Democrat voters, while Harrison's alignment with the male gender resonated more with Republican participants. Independent voters showed a mixed response, with a slight preference for Amy. The disparity from this matchup arises when considering the outcome of the previous matchup between Amy and Barbara. Previously, the Democrat men supported Barbara significantly more than Amy showing their preference for a misaligned male based gendered campaign strategy. In this scenario, it is important to note that the traits in Barbara's campaign are very similar to those in Harrison's campaign. In the matchup between Amy and Barbara, Democrat men didn't strongly resonate with Amy's campaign, despite her alignment with typically progressive values. Instead, they opted for Barbara, suggesting a preference for a female candidate with a male based campaign. However, in the matchup between Amy and Harrison, Democrat men seemed to react differently. When seeing an aligned male candidate, they did not vote for him and likely associated him with more conservative values, leading them to pivot towards Amy, who they perceived as the more progressive choice. Amy's win does not align with my initial hypothesis for the primary matchup despite voters perceiving her as I hypothesized for candidate perception and issue advocacy. This divergence

does not just happen with male democrats, but rather with the majority of participants. Amy was perceived as less competent than Harrison and only perceived as having the ability to deal with historically feminine issues by the majority of all participants. Thus, showing that on a more technical level, the electorate has significant ties to historical gender expectations and norms (Bauer and Santia 2022, 691-705). Although, when it came down to voting head to head, the Democrat participants voted for the more progressive choice—in this matchup that is Amy Anderson. I believe that when presented with a voting scenario, participants relied heavily on party preferences (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Although the female candidate won in this scenario, when considering the previous results it was likely not because of her qualifications, but rather due to the desire to uphold progressive views from the Democrat participants. This suggests that Democrats adhere to gender norms when they are not considering their party ties, but in an election scenario, Democrats will vote more progressively even if it does not align with individual expectations (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). It is clear that Democrats prefer a female candidate with an aligned campaign over a male candidate with an aligned campaign. The same can not be said for Republican participants in this matchup as their voting for the male based gendered campaign remained consistent. Thus, proving that both male and female republicans prefer a male candidate with an aligned campaign over a female candidate with an aligned campaign. The independent participants seem to vote more heavily based on their gender over party ties with the females preferring the female aligned campaign and the males resonating more so with the male aligned campaign. Overall, this pool of participants voted for Amy Anderson, proving her strategy to be most likely to win in an election scenario, although the breakdown by gender and party suggests that with more diverse participants the results may differ.

Figure 3-10 Barbara Benson and Harrison Williams Primary Matchup Results

Candidate Name	Candidate Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Total Number of Votes	Overall Percentage of Votes
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	43	70.5%
Harrison Williams	Man	Male Based	Aligned	19	29.5%

Percentage of Participant Votes by Party Affiliation and Gender

Candidate	Democrat Man	Democrat Women	Republican Man	Republican Women	Independent Man	Independent Woman
Barbara Benson	75% (3)	90% (27)	17% (1)	40% (2)	45% (5)	83% (5)
Harrison Williams	25% (1)	10% (3)	83% (5)	60% (3)	55% (6)	17% (1)

Note: The table above presents the results of the primary matchup between Barbara Benson and Harrison Williams, including the breakdown of votes by candidate gender, alignment of campaign gender, total number of votes, and overall percentage of votes. The raw numbers of votes from each demographic group are presented in parentheses.

In the primary matchup between Barbara and Harrison, Barbara, despite her campaign being misaligned with her gender, emerged as the clear frontrunner, securing 70.5% of the total votes. Harrison, whose campaign was aligned with his gender, trailed behind with 29.5% of the votes. Analyzing the voter demographics based on party affiliation and gender, stark differences become apparent. Among Democrats, Barbara gained support from both men and women, with 75% of Democrat men and 90% of Democrat women casting their votes for her. In contrast, Harrison struggled to gain traction among Democrats, receiving only 25% of Democrat men's votes and a mere 10% of Democrat women's votes. Conversely, among Republicans, the situation flipped in favor of Harrison. He garnered more support from both male and female

Republican voters compared to Barbara. Specifically, 83% of Republican men and 60% of Republican women voted for Harrison, while Barbara received support from only 17% of Republican men and 40% of Republican women. The independent voter segment presented a more balanced response. Barbara received slightly more support from independent men, with 56% of their votes, while Harrison secured 44% of their votes. Among independent women, however, Barbara's support surged to 83%, while Harrison's dwindled to 17%.

Although this outcome does not align with my initial hypothesis, it does suggest that the matchup scenario positions voters to rely heavily on their party affiliations (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). The Republican participants' overwhelming support for Harrison's male based aligned campaign suggests that there is an underlying connection to the typically conservative candidate. Similarly the female Republicans voted more for Barbara's female misaligned campaign than they did for Amy Anderson's female aligned campaign. This suggests that some Republican women will vote for a female candidate under the condition that their campaign is male based, but male Republicans will prefer an aligned male candidate. The Democrats also voted heavily for Barbara's male based misaligned campaign, supporting her more than in her matchup against Amy Anderson. This suggests that both male and female Democrats prefer a female candidate with a male based misaligned strategy over a male candidate with an aligned strategy. Again, proving that in a matchup scenario Democrats prefer to see male traits, but will vote for a female candidate as it aligns more closely with the Democrat parties' progressive ideals (Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). The independent participants also voted more heavily for Barbara than they did for Amy in this matchup, proving that they prefer a female candidate with male based traits over a male candidate with male traits.

Overall, the participants prefer the female candidates with a male based gendered campaign strategy.

Figure 3-11 Amy Anderson and Charlie Peters Primary Matchup Results

Candidate Name	Candidate Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Total Number of Votes	Overall Percentage of Votes
Amy Anderson	Woman	Female Based	Aligned	28	56%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	22	44%

Percentage of Participant Votes by Party Affiliation and Gender

Candidate	Democrat Man	Democrat Women	Republican Man	Republican Women	Independent Man	Independent Woman
Amy Anderson	40% (2)	66% (18)	33% (1)	60% (3)	50% (1)	37.5% (3)
Charlie Peters	60% (3)	34% (9)	67% (2)	40% (2)	50% (1)	62.5% (5)

Note: The table above presents the results of the primary matchup between Amy Anderson and Charlie Peters, including the breakdown of votes by candidate gender, alignment of campaign gender, total number of votes, and overall percentage of votes. The raw numbers of votes from each demographic group are presented in parentheses.

In the primary matchup between Amy Anderson and Charlie Peters, Amy, whose campaign was aligned with her gender, secured 56% of the total votes, while Charlie, with a misaligned campaign, garnered 44%. Analyzing voter demographics based on party affiliation and gender reveals notable differences in support for the candidates. Among Democrats, Anderson received substantial backing from both men and women, with 66% of Democratic women and 40% of Democratic men voting for her. Charlie, however, received more support from Democratic men, with 60% of their votes, compared to 34% from Democratic women.

Among Republicans, the trend was reversed. Charlie received higher support from both male and female Republican voters compared to Anderson. Specifically, 67% of Republican men and 40% of Republican women voted for Peters, while Anderson garnered 33% of Republican men's votes and 60% of Republican women's votes. Independent voters presented a more balanced response, with Amy and Charlie each receiving equal support from men. However, among independent women, Charlie gained a slight edge, securing 62.5% of their votes compared to Amy's 37.5%.

The overall primary results suggest that the participants prefer a female candidate with a gender aligned strategy over a male candidate with a female based misaligned strategy. This aligned with my initial hypothesis that participants would not prefer Charlie due to his lack of masculine traits and his divergence from voter expectation by utilizing a female based campaign strategy (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). Although when looking at the results based on party affiliation the preferences change slightly. The male Democrats and Republicans preferred Charlie more so than Amy suggesting that they prefer a male candidate with a female strategy. The same can be said for the independent women who also supported Charlie more than Amy. Due to the similarities in their campaigns and traits, these preferences suggest that these specific demographics resonate more so with male candidates than female candidates.

Figure 3-12 Barbara Benson and Charlie Peters Primary Matchup Results

Candidate Name	Candidate Gender	Gender of Campaign	Aligned or Misaligned	Total Number of Votes	Overall Percentage of Votes
Barbara Benson	Woman	Male Based	Misaligned	25	52%
Charlie Peters	Man	Female Based	Misaligned	23	48%

Percentage of Participant Votes by Party Affiliation and Gender

Candidate	Democrat Man	Democrat Women	Republican Man	Republican Women	Independent Man	Independent Woman
Barbara Benson	20% (1)	39% (9)	86% (6)	100% (3)	60% (3)	60% (3)
Charlie Peters	80% (4)	61% (14)	14% (1)	0% (0)	40% (2)	40% (2)

Note: The table above presents the results of the primary matchup between Barbara Benson and Charlie Peters, including the breakdown of votes by candidate gender, alignment of campaign gender, total number of votes, and overall percentage of votes. The raw numbers of votes from each demographic group are presented in parentheses.

In the primary matchup between Barbara Benson and Charlie Peters, Barbara, whose campaign was male based and misaligned with her gender, secured 52% of the total votes, while Charlie, with a female based misaligned campaign, garnered 48%. Among Democrats, Charlie received overwhelming support from both men and women, with 80% of Democratic men and 61% of Democratic women voting for him. In contrast, Barbara did not garner as much support among Democrats, receiving only 20% of Democratic men's votes and 39% of Democratic women's votes. Among Republicans, Barbara received strong support from both male and female

Republican voters, with 86% of Republican men and 100% of Republican women voting for her. Charlie, on the other hand, received minimal support from Republicans, with only 14% of Republican men and none of the Republican women voting for him.

Independent voters presented a more balanced response, with Barbara and Charlie each receiving support from both men and women. However, Barbara had a slight edge among independent voters, garnering 60% of both men's and women's votes, compared to Charlie's 40%.

These matchup results reveal that among the misaligned candidates Democrats heavily prefer a male candidate with female traits which aligns with the voting in previous matchups. Inversely, the Republican participants prefer a female candidate with male traits. The Independent participants voted very closely between both Barbara and Charlie which suggests that the gendered campaign strategies did not have much effect on the independent voters in this matchup. Both candidates were perceived similarly in terms of voter expectation for the Independent participants, but overall Barbara took the win by 10%.

Findings and Discussion

The data obtained from the candidate perception and issue prioritization sections served as a foundational framework for comprehending the results of the five primary matchups. Through the analysis of participant perceptions regarding candidate traits and issue prioritization, I gained an idea of how individuals evaluated candidates prior to engaging in the voting process. This understanding was crucial in contextualizing the outcomes of the primary matchups, as it provided an overview of participant attitudes and preferences towards the competing candidates. It is clear that participants perceived candidates differently between the individual candidate assessment and the primary matchup scenarios.

When looking at the Democrat participants, the male participants strongly preferred a male based misaligned gender campaign strategy throughout the primary matchups. Despite ties to progressive ideals, the male Democrats voted more for the candidates that were male, or had male traits in their campaign. This is a direct alignment with the historical masculine exception that in order for a political candidate to be successful, they must adhere to the masculine norm (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). The only condition in which the male democrats voted for the female aligned candidate was when she was positioned against a male aligned candidate. This matchup scenario was the closest to a realistic Democrat versus Republican matchup due to the nature of a female vs male matchup. This exception suggests that despite individual preferences, when placed in a politicized environment, male Democrat participants rely heavily on party expectations (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003, 244-255). The same can not be said for the female Democrat participants as they voted consistently for the female campaign strategies. Under the condition that a female candidate, aligned or misaligned, was positioned against an aligned male candidate, female Democrats consistently voted for the female candidate. This suggests that female democrats would prefer to see female candidates with male, or female traits, over a male candidate with historically male traits. Although, the only condition in which the female Democrats voted for a male candidate was if the candidate was misaligned and running a female based campaign. This suggests that female Democrats are not stuck in entrenched masculine expectations, and are accepting of candidates who do not follow traditional gender expectations (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807).

Figure 3-13 Summary of Democratic Participants: Winners

Primary Matchup	Winning Candidate	Winning Candidate Gender	Winning Gendered Campaign Strategy
Amy vs Barbara	Tie	Woman (Both)	Tie
Amy vs Harrison	Amy	Woman	Female Based
Barbara vs Harrison	Barbara	Woman	Male Based
Amy vs Charlie	Amy	Woman	Female Based
Barbara vs Charlie	Charlie	Male	Female Based

Overall, the female gendered campaign strategy was most successful amongst the Democrat participants. This gendered campaign strategy focused on collaborative work efforts, empathetic leadership and equality. The winning candidates were perceived as adept in allowing access to abortion and upholding honest and ethical governance. The emphasis on reproductive rights highlights the significance of progressive social policies within the Democrat base, while the commitment to ethical governance reflects a desire for integrity and transparency in political leadership (Hayes 2011, 133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). Although, in the primary candidate assessment these candidates were perceived as less competent, less adept in upholding national security, and economic policies. This suggests a willingness among Democrat voters to prioritize values and social issues over traditional measures of political competence (Hayes 2011, 133-165; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009, 485-494). This may indicate a shift towards a more values-driven approach to candidate evaluation within the Democrat electorate, where candidates who are more are progressive are valued over those perceived as stronger in conventional areas of governance.

Now moving onto the Republican participants, the male participants consistently prefer the male candidate with a male aligned gendered campaign strategy. One condition in which male Republicans voted for a female candidate was if the female candidate was running a male based campaign, and was positioned against a female, or male candidate, who was utilizing a female based gendered campaign strategy. This reveals that male republicans rely heavily on ingrained masculine norms expecting political candidates to either be a male, or have male traits (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). This remained consistent throughout each matchup suggesting that male Republicans relied less on party norms and more on historically ingrained gender norms. When looking at female republicans, they also voted heavily for the male candidate with a male based gender campaign strategy, although they also heavily supported the female candidates with a misaligned male based strategy. Under the condition that a female misaligned candidate is positioned against a male misaligned candidate—republican females prefer the misaligned female candidate who is running a male based campaign. This suggests that female Republican participants still heavily value masculine traits, but they also value female representation in politics (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). Even though female republicans remain adhered to the masculine norm, they move away from traditional gendered voter expectations by supporting a female candidate that utilizes a male based campaign strategy.

Figure 3-14 Summary of Republican Participants: Winners

Primary Matchup	Winning Candidate	Winning Candidate Gender	Winning Gendered Campaign Strategy
Amy vs Barbara	Barbara	Woman	Male Based
Amy vs Harrison	Harrison	Man	Male Based
Barbara vs Harrison	Harrison	Man	Male Based
Amy vs Charlie	Charlie	Man	Female Based
Barbara vs Charlie	Barbara	Woman	Male Based

Based on the overall Republican winners, it is clear that the male gendered campaign strategy is most successful in this demographic of participants. The male gendered campaign strategy focuses on decisive leadership, stringent policies and a strong leadership style (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). The winning candidates were perceived as more competent, able to uphold national security, and able to deal with economic policies, which likely aligned closely with the values and policy preferences of Republican voters (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807). The emphasis on strength and competence in these areas reflects the traditional emphasis within the Republican base on issues of defense, national security, and fiscal conservatism. The winning candidates were perceived as less likely to allow access to abortion and less likely to uphold honest and ethical governance. This suggests that these issues may not be as central to the priorities of Republican voters. Instead, the focus on strong leadership and policy competency appears to have outweighed concerns about social issues or ethical considerations in candidate evaluation (Cassese and Holman 2018, 785-807).

Shifting focus to the Independent participants, it becomes clear that their preferences do not distinctly lean towards one gendered campaign strategy over the other. Unlike their

Democratic and Republican counterparts, Independent voters exhibit a more varied pattern of support across different candidate-gender and campaign-alignment combinations. This variability suggests that Independent voters may not be as strongly influenced by entrenched party norms as Democrats or Republicans. However, it is worth noting that while Independent voters demonstrate a degree of independence from party norms, some may still exhibit patterns of preference similar to those observed among Democratic or Republican voters, indicating a potential alignment with the broader trends seen within the electorate (Pew Research Center 2019, 1-5). This suggests that while Independent voters may resist strict adherence to party norms, they may still be influenced by historical gender norms and expectations, albeit to varying degrees depending on individual inclinations and contextual factors.

Conclusion

In sum, this research indicates that the usage of gendered campaign strategies can positively affect the degree of candidate success under specific conditions. An inherent limitation of this study is the relatively small candidate pool, which predominantly consisted of Democratic participants. This imbalance in party representation may have skewed the findings of the results. Future research endeavors should strive for a more diverse and representative sample to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of gendered campaign strategies across different political affiliations. Despite these limitations, my findings suggest that gendered campaign strategies may offer more advantages for female candidates, particularly when they adopt a misaligned approach. Unlike other studies, my research focuses not only on gendered campaigning, but also on the effect entrenched party loyalties and gender play on the perception of candidates who move away from traditional campaigning expectations. As discussed in chapter two, Democrats and Republicans linked certain traits with female and male candidates.

This discovery served as a foundation for my findings in chapter three, demonstrating that the implementation of gendered campaign strategies allows candidates to diverge from traditional expectations while still achieving success. By utilizing gendered campaign strategies, female candidates specifically, can focus not only on traditionally feminine issues, but also be seen as adept in handling more masculine policies. Specifically, female candidates adopting a misaligned approach, running campaigns based on male traits, were perceived as more capable of handling traditionally masculine policies compared to male candidates running a female based campaign in handling feminine issues. Conversely, the data showed that gendered campaign strategies were less effective for male candidates as the candidate running a traditional male based strategy was preferred. These findings overturn the belief that all candidates will be most successful when utilizing a campaign strategy that mirrors traditional gender expectation. Many studies link this belief to entrenched party beliefs, but as proven in chapter three, even though both parties affiliate candidate traits stereotypically, they do not reject all candidates who run campaigns that are inconsistent with their gender.

Although these results reveal another avenue to success for female candidates, it is underwhelming to see that they are esteemed more highly in certain domains only when they adopt male-based traits. The idea that men are not adept in female issues is not as concerning due to the historical insignificance of this shortcoming. Male candidates have consistently dominated US politics, making it clear that adeptness in feminine issues has not been a limitation for these candidates. Unlike male candidates, the norm that female candidates cannot successfully handle masculine issues has proven not only to be a limitation but also a rooted cause of the underrepresentation of women in American politics. The usage of gendered campaigning is the first step in closing the gender gap in politics, but truly perceiving both female and male

candidates equally is the only true solution to equitable representation. Future research can contribute to narrowing the gender gap by investigating the long-term effect of widespread gendered campaign strategies on the deeply entrenched norms of United States voters. Female candidates focusing on masculine issues, and male candidates focusing on feminine issues more commonly might lead to the dissolution of some gender norms and expectations. In the current political climate, female candidates continue to occupy the few rather than the many. Political science research should continue to investigate new approaches to campaigning that break the traditional mold. My research offers valuable insights that can inform future campaign practices and contribute to a more inclusive and equitable political landscape. As we continue to navigate the complexities of gender dynamics in politics, it is crucial to explore alternative pathways that empower female candidates and advance the goal of achieving genuine representation for all genders in governance.

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