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*Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates**

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We investigate the origins of voters' expectations of greater female competency on "compassion" issues, such as dealing with poverty or the aged, and greater male competency on military and defense issues. We contrast two alternative explanations: *gender-trait* stereotypes, emphasizing a candidate's gender-linked personality traits; and *gender-belief* stereotypes, placing greatest importance on the differing political outlooks of male and female candidates. We test contrasting predictions from these two approaches with data from an experiment in which 297 undergraduate participants were randomly assigned to hear about a male or a female candidate with typically masculine or feminine traits. Overall, there was stronger support for the trait approach. Warm and expressive candidates were seen as better at compassion issues; instrumental candidates were rated as more competent to handle the military and economic issues. Moreover, masculine instrumental traits increased the candidate's perceived competence on a broader range of issues than the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness. Finally, there was some limited support for the belief approach with gender-based expectations about the candidates' political views affecting their rated competency on compassion but not other types of political issues.

As increasing numbers of women run for local, state, and national elected office, slowly eroding the male-dominated nature of election campaigns, there is growing research interest in voters' reactions to female candidates. Most of this recent research has focused on the electability of female candidates in an attempt to uncover voter bias that might explain women's generally lower levels of representation, particularly at the national level. In general, researchers have searched for evidence that voters are more reluctant to vote for female candidates. Such straightforward gender bias, however, has been difficult to uncover in a range of studies based on self-reported willingness to vote for generic, qualified female candidates (Welch and Sigelman 1982), analyses of recent elections that included a female candidate (Frankovic 1988; Zipp and Plutzer 1985), and experimental studies that pit hypothetical female and male candidates against each other (Sapiro 1981–82). Based on present findings, voters cannot be blamed for current low levels of female political representation,

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though there is no shortage of alternative culprits (for reviews, see Carroll 1985; Darcy, Welch, and Clark 1987).

It would be a mistake, however, to abandon research on the political impact of gender just as its prominence in candidates' campaign strategies is increasing. Female candidates who have run recently for highly visible state or national elected office have waged increasingly combative campaigns in which they have stressed their toughness and aggressiveness, typically masculine qualities. At the same time, their male counterparts have clamored to appear sympathetic, kind, and accessible, typically feminine traits. Apparently, both male and female political candidates feel compelled to adopt at least some positions or traits thought typical of the other gender.

This recent growth in the number of self-styled androgynous candidates is designed, in part, to overcome persistent gender stereotypes that portray female politicians as better able to handle what Shapiro and Mahajan (1986) have labeled "compassion" issues—poverty, education, child-related, and health policy issues—but worse at dealing with big business, handling the military, or defense issues (Alexander and Andersen 1991; Leeper 1990; Mueller 1986; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988; Sapiro 1981–82, 1983).¹ The 1990 Senate race between Lynn Martin and Paul Simon provided a good example of voters' gender stereotypes in action. Throughout the campaign, liberal Senator Paul Simon was rated as less competent to handle family issues than Lynn Martin, his conservative opponent, even though his voting record on such issues was far better than hers (Clift 1990). This resulted in the defection of some liberal and pro-choice Democrats to Martin in this election (Wyckoff and Dran 1991). From even the most casual observation of recent political campaigns, it is clear that a candidate's gender is politically relevant, though not necessarily a harbinger of electoral success or defeat.

So far, these differing expectations among voters about the types of issues handled well by male and female politicians have proved the most consistent form of political gender stereotyping—the gender-based ascription of different traits, behaviors, or political beliefs to male and female politicians.² While the existence of gender-based expectations about

¹As with many stereotypes, there is an element of truth to these perceived differences in the issue competencies of male and female candidates. Female politicians and party activists are generally more liberal than their male counterparts and frequently place greater emphasis on family, education, and health issues (Dodson and Carroll 1991; Rapoport, Stone, and Abramowitz 1990; Welch 1985; Welch and Thomas 1991).

²Of course, these stereotypical expectations about the political strengths of male and female candidates are by no means new. Contemporary expectations of greater female honesty and compassion find their parallel in the social housekeeping arguments used to

politicians' areas of issue expertise has been amply documented, its explanation has received considerably less attention. We argue that this stereotyping may have two quite different origins. According to the *trait* approach, voters' assumptions about a candidate's gender-linked personality traits drive expectations that women and men have different areas of issue expertise. Thus, female candidates are seen as better at dealing with the aged because women are stereotyped as more compassionate and gentle than men; male candidates are expected to handle a military crisis more competently because men are typically seen as tougher and more aggressive than women.³ The *belief* approach, on the other hand, stresses another, more political aspect of gender stereotypes—expectations that women are more liberal and Democratic than men. From this perspective, female candidates are stereotyped as more competent to deal with compassion issues, issues traditionally seen as best handled by liberals and Democrats, because of their more liberal political outlook.

Gender Stereotypes

Trait Stereotypes

There are pervasive and remarkably uniform differences in the personality traits ascribed to men and women. There is considerable agreement across a large number of psychological studies that a typical woman is seen as warm, gentle, kind, and passive, whereas a typical man is viewed as tough, aggressive, and assertive. This same profile has been recorded in studies in which respondents are asked to describe the characteristics of men and women (McKee and Sheriffs 1957), check off adjectives that fit a typical woman and man (Best and Williams 1990), rate men and women on bipolar adjective rating scales (Broverman et al. 1972; Rosenkrantz et al. 1968), or rate themselves using the same bipolar adjectives (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp 1974). Moreover, findings persist across a diverse array of nations (Best and Williams 1990). The female dimension has been variously referred to as warmth and expressiveness (Broverman et al. 1972), communion (Eagly and Steffen 1984), or simply expressiveness (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp 1974). The male dimension has been labeled competence and rationality (Broverman et al. 1972),

gain women the vote in the 1900s and 1910s. Women deserved the vote, so the argument went, because their stronger social conscience and greater moral fortitude would motivate them to clean up politics, ushering in a new era in U.S. politics (Klein 1984).

³These expectations about male and female traits are linked, in turn, to assumptions about men's and women's gender roles: in addition to being rated as more warm and gentle than men, women are also assumed to take a greater role in caring for their children, performing housework duties, and so on (Deaux and Lewis 1984).

agency (Eagly and Steffen 1984), or instrumentality (Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp 1974).⁴ While recent social-psychological studies of gender stereotypes have expanded the different facets of gender stereotypes to include physical appearance and typical role-related behaviors (Ashmore, DelBoca, and Wohlers 1986; Deaux 1984), personality traits remain a core component.

Our first goal, then, is to examine the impact of stereotypic expectations about male and female candidates' personality traits on expectations about their respective areas of issue expertise. Are female political candidates simply subject to the same sex stereotypes as women in general? If so, the perception that women are more competent at resolving issues concerning poverty or education may well stem from expectations that they are more compassionate and nurturing. Expectations that men are more competent at managing international negotiations and the military may arise because they are seen as more aggressive and assertive.

Trait stereotypes might also explain why there is little gender stereotyping on economic issues, on which males are seen to have a greater advantage in some (Leeper 1991; Sapiro 1981–82) but not all studies (for contradictory evidence, see Sapiro 1983; Alexander and Andersen 1991). Competency on economic policy presumably requires a politician to be fiscally responsible and possess the traits of frugality or thriftiness. However, personality traits that might improve a candidate's standing on economic matters are simply not thought of as exclusively male or female characteristics (Best and Williams 1990). On the basis of trait stereotypes, we would not necessarily expect voters to rate male or female politicians as better able to handle economic issues.

Belief Stereotypes

Alternatively, women may be seen as better at compassion and worse at military issues because they are stereotyped as more liberal and Democratic than men, not because they are seen to possess typical female traits. Our reasoning is twofold. First, there is some evidence to suggest that male and female politicians are stereotyped as holding different political views. Alexander and Andersen (1991) found that voters in Onondaga County, New York, perceived generic female candidates as much more liberal and somewhat less conservative than male candidates.

Second, there is good reason to suspect that candidates perceived as liberal and Democratic, the stereotypic political outlook commonly

⁴We regard these as equivalent concepts, though that has yet to be demonstrated conclusively (Ashmore, DelBoca, and Wohlers 1986).

ascribed to female politicians, are also seen as more competent to handle domestic and social welfare issues but less adept at dealing with economic and defense issues. An examination of marginals from the National Election Studies (NES) over the last 15 years demonstrates that the Democratic party and its candidates have been viewed as more competent on the unemployment issue than Republicans, whereas Republicans have been rated as more competent on inflation and other economic issues, at least through 1990. Flanigan and Zingale (1987) similarly report greater perceived Republican competency on economic issues in the early and middle 1980s. In addition, they report that Republicans were also viewed as more likely to keep the country out of war. This difference in the perceived issue strengths of the two parties is further demonstrated by differences in the issues cited by Bush and Dukakis voters as influencing their vote in the 1988 presidential election. Voters who mentioned taxes and defense were more likely to support George Bush, the Republican presidential nominee, whereas voters who cited unemployment were more likely to vote for Dukakis, the Democratic candidate (Pomper et al. 1989).

We, thus, plan to examine the impact of gender-based belief stereotypes on the perceived issue competency of male and female politicians. Ascribing stronger liberal and Democratic leanings to female politicians could explain why they are seen as better at compassion issues: Democrats are simply thought to work harder on the unemployment issue or to care more about eradicating poverty than Republicans. On the other hand, viewing Republicans as better able to deal with the military and defense might explain why male politicians, who are more likely to be viewed as conservative and Republican, are thought to handle such issues more masterfully.

While the existence of both trait and belief stereotypes leads to predictions of greater perceived female competency on compassion issues and greater male competency on military and defense issues, the belief approach predicts more pervasive stereotyping of male and female political candidates than the trait approach. This arises because, in addition to greater perceived competence on compassion and lesser competence on military issues, Democrats are also seen as less able to deal with economic issues and better able to cope with race relations and women's issues, for example (Clymer 1991). Additionally, the belief approach might also predict greater perceived female competency on women's issues because female politicians are assumed to be stronger feminists, though this possibility remains untested as yet. Based on belief stereotypes, then, male candidates should be seen as more competent on economic issues but less competent on racial or women's issues than their

female opponents. In contrast, the trait approach predicts that male and female politicians will be rated as equally competent on all three issues.

Traits versus Beliefs

In discussing whether perceived differences in male and female candidates' areas of issue expertise stem from stereotypic beliefs about their personality traits or political ideology, we enter an ongoing debate about the extent to which the different facets of gender stereotypes (or any other kind of stereotype for that matter) are linked. If gender stereotypes come as a tightly interconnected package of expectations about men's and women's traits, behaviors, and beliefs, our attempt to analyze their separate impact on assessments of political candidates is rendered futile. There is growing consensus that stereotypic expectations about behaviors associated with distinct gender roles, such as child rearing, are linked to expectations about gender-linked traits, such as compassion and warmth (Deaux and Lewis 1984; Eagly 1987; Eagly and Steffen 1984; Hoffman and Hurst 1990). However, for our purposes, findings on the degree to which different facets of gender stereotypes are interconnected remain inconclusive because imputed beliefs, including political beliefs, are not included in these social-psychological studies of stereotype structure.

This debate has its parallel in discussions about the degree to which impressions of a candidate's personality traits and political outlook are associated. There is consensus that at least some information about presidents is stored as information about their personality traits (Kinder 1986; Kinder and Fiske 1986; Miller, Wattenberg, and Malanchuk 1986; Trenamen and McQuail 1961; Shabad and Andersen 1979; Sullivan et al. 1990). However, the link between candidates' perceived personality traits and their presumed political views is less clear. Borrowing from social psychological models of impression formation, a number of researchers implicitly assume that information about a candidate's issue positions directly shapes impressions of their personal qualities (Rahn et al. 1990; Sullivan et al. 1990). There is greater disagreement over how this works. Rapoport and colleagues (Rapoport, Metcalf, and Hartman 1989) find evidence that a candidate's stance on *specific* issues results in voters attributing very *specific* traits to the candidate (i.e., support for government unemployment programs leads voters to assume that the candidate is compassionate); Rahn and colleagues (1990) find that general disagreement with a candidate's issue positions results in voters attributing more generally negative traits to the candidate (e.g., disagreeing with the candidate on foreign policy results in attributions of incompetence). Untangling the effects of assumed personality traits and political beliefs on assess-

ments of male and female candidates will contribute to this debate on the process of candidate impression formation.

Political Relevance

Are personality traits or political beliefs the most powerful source of political gender stereotyping? The answer to this question is of more than academic interest. It also has practical implications for political candidates who wish to overcome the possibly negative consequences of gender stereotypes that result in female candidates being viewed as less competent at handling typically male issues such as defense and the military. If such perceptions arise from stereotypic assumptions about male and female candidates' personality traits, they might be overcome by female candidates who downplay their soft compassionate qualities in favor of more tough masculine traits or male candidates who emphasize their compassionate and nurturing characteristics in addition to their assertiveness and self-confidence. Moreover, such a strategy should work even if candidates do not alter their positions on specifically "male" or "female" policy issues, or on any policy issue at all.

If, on the other hand, political gender stereotyping arises because women are seen as more liberal, the political solution may be more costly. To overcome gender stereotypes in this case, female candidates would need to adopt more conservative positions on at least some policy issues such as crime, defense, or the size of government, on which they are assumed to be less competent than their male colleagues; male candidates would need to adopt liberal positions on sexual harassment, health care, and other programs on which they may be at a disadvantage.

Recent female candidates have employed both strategies to overcome gender stereotyping—adopting masculine traits and emphasizing their competency on typically male issues. Thus, Geraldine Ferraro, the Democrat's vice-presidential nominee in 1984, emphasized her tough stance on crime throughout the campaign; Ann Richards portrayed herself as a tough political opponent in the 1990 Texas gubernatorial race by engaging in mud-slinging against her opponent, Clayton Williams; and support for the death penalty was one of Diane Feinstein's central issues in her 1990 bid for governor of California.

Data and Methods

Research Hypotheses

Our main objective is to explain why female candidates are stereotyped as better at compassion issues and males at military and defense-related issues—the most pervasive forms of political gender stereotyping.

To examine this stereotyping, we rely on data from an experiment in which undergraduate participants were asked to infer the beliefs and traits and rate the issue competency of a male or female political candidate with typically masculine or feminine traits. Based on trait stereotypes, we expected candidates described as possessing typically masculine traits to be rated as more competent on military, crime, and defense issues regardless of their gender. Similarly, candidates described as having feminine traits should be rated as more competent on compassion issues. However, candidates' rated competency on economic or women's issues should not be affected by gender traits because their competency on these issues does not seem to require typical male or female personality traits.

In contrast, the belief approach generated the competing hypothesis that inferences about a candidate's political ideology were responsible for their perceived areas of issue competence. Based on this approach, we expected the female candidate to be seen as more liberal, Democratic, and feminist than her male counterpart, more competent on compassion and women's issues, and less competent on military and economic policy regardless of her gender-linked traits. We further expected these differing inferences about the political outlook of the male and female candidate to have greater impact on their rated issue competency than inferences about their personality traits.

Participants

Two hundred and ninety-seven undergraduates at the State University of New York at Stony Brook participated in the study in partial fulfillment of political science and psychology class requirements in the fall of 1990. The average age of students in our sample was 21, though they ranged in age from 17 to 45; most were white Anglos (77%), though the sample also included a minority of Asians (9%), Latinos (4%), and African Americans (5%). The sample was evenly divided into men and women and was almost equally made up of students in their second, third, and fourth years of college. More than 50% of the sample were either political science or psychology majors. Politically, the sample was equally divided into Democrats and Republicans (38% and 40%, respectively).⁵

Manipulation

Undergraduate participants were randomly assigned to hear about a woman or man with typically masculine or feminine traits who was running for national or local office, resulting in a two-by-two-by-two factorial

⁵In our tally of Democrats and Republicans, we included independents leaning toward one of the parties in addition to strong and weak partisans.

design. Thus, the *candidate's gender* (male versus female), *gender-linked traits* (feminine versus masculine), and *level of desired office* (federal versus local) were manipulated as between-subject factors. Only findings on gender and gender-linked traits are reported in this paper. Findings for level of office are reported elsewhere (Huddy and Terkildsen 1991).

Respondents read a brief description of a candidate from a western Connecticut county similar to Suffolk County (in which Stony Brook is located) who was running for political office at either the federal or local level. Our hypothetical candidate was described to respondents as possessing typically masculine or typically feminine personality traits with his or her occupation, level of experience, and other personal information held constant. Elizabeth McGuire, the female candidate, was described in the following way when given feminine traits and running for local office:

Elizabeth McGuire, a lawyer, has been described by legal colleagues as an intelligent, *compassionate*, *trustworthy*, and *family-oriented* opponent with proven leadership skills and strong *people* skills. Ms. McGuire, forty-two, is a life-long resident of Connecticut, a long-time political activist, and currently is seeking office at the local level.

Robert McGuire was described similarly in the male candidate–feminine trait condition. In the masculine trait condition, both Robert and Elizabeth McGuire were described as intelligent, *tough*, *articulate*, and *ambitious*, and as having strong leadership and *administrative* skills. All four conditions were repeated for hypothetical candidates who ran at the national level.

Results

Trait Stereotypes

Inferred traits. Before assessing the political impact of trait stereotypes, we checked to ensure that we had successfully manipulated participants' impressions of the candidates' traits. We expected the candidate with feminine traits to be viewed as possessing additional feminine traits and the masculine candidate as possessing other masculine traits beyond those mentioned in the initial candidate description. Participants judged the degree to which the candidate possessed seven typically feminine traits: warm, gentle, feminine, sensitive, emotional, talkative, and cautious. These seven traits were combined to form a *warmth and expressiveness* scale ($\alpha = .76$). The exact wording of all items appears in the appendix. Participants also rated the degree to which nine typically masculine traits described the candidate: assertive, coarse, tough, aggressive,

stern, masculine, active, rational, self-confident, only one of which was included in the initial description (tough). These traits were combined to form an *instrumentality* scale ($\alpha = .83$).⁶

We were largely successful in overturning usual gender-based trait stereotypes. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) results, in which manipulated candidate gender and traits were between-subject factors, revealed a large and significant main effect of traits on the candidate's inferred instrumentality ($F[1,288] = 44.06$; $p < .01$); there was no additional effect for the candidate's gender. In other words, both the male *and* the female candidate described as tough and ambitious were seen as more aggressive, rational, self-confident, and so on, than the male *and* female candidate described as compassionate and trustworthy ($M = 13.34$ for the masculine and 10.68 for the feminine candidate on the instrumentality scale).

Likewise, there was a significant main effect of manipulated gender traits on the candidate's inferred warmth and expressiveness ($F[1,289] = 63.83$; $p < .01$). The candidate described as compassionate and trustworthy was seen as more sensitive, emotional, and gentle, regardless of gender ($M = 12.13$ for the feminine and 9.69 for the masculine candidate). However, the candidate's gender also slightly influenced assessments of their feminine traits. There was a significant main effect for gender on inferences made about the candidate's warmth and expressiveness ($F[1,289] = 4.88$; $p < .05$), with the female candidate seen as somewhat more warm and expressive than the male candidate ($M = 11.27$ versus 10.51). Apparently, we were slightly more successful in reversing stereotypes of women as less aggressive and tough than in overturning expectations of women as more gentle and sensitive than men.

Still, the point to underscore is that it was relatively easy to reverse trait stereotypes of both male and female candidates by describing them in counterstereotypic terms. For most respondents, information about the candidate's traits—not gender—shaped inferences about their gender-linked personality traits. Moreover, inferences extended to gender-linked traits other than those expressly mentioned in the manipulation.

Issue competency. According to the trait approach, male and female candidates with masculine traits should be seen as more competent to handle the military and other “male” issues, whereas candidates with feminine traits should be viewed as more competent on “female,” compassion issues, such as poverty and the problems of the aged. On the

⁶Traits were selected from Best and Williams's (1990) list of typical masculine and feminine items in the Adjective Check List. Both scales were standardized and had a possible range of zero to 20.

other hand, the trait approach predicts that the candidate’s gender-linked traits should have considerably less impact on inferences about their competency in other policy domains such as economic and women’s issues, in which gender-linked traits do not simply correspond to the personal qualities needed to master these areas.

To test these predictions, participants were asked to assess how well the candidate would handle different policy issues. *Military* competency was assessed by a single item on the candidate’s perceived competency to handle a military or police crisis (see the appendix for exact item wording). Competency on *compassion* issues was assessed with four items that tap perceptions of the candidate’s competency to handle the aged, the poor, child welfare, and child care that were combined to form an internally reliable scale ($\alpha = .90$). *Economic* competency was assessed with three items on the candidate’s perceived ability to handle the budget deficit, business leaders, and the savings and loan crisis, combined to form an internally reliable scale ($\alpha = .69$). Competency to handle *women’s* issues was assessed by rating the candidate’s ability to handle abortion and reduce the gender-based wage gap; these two items were also combined to form a reliable scale ($\alpha = .75$).

To examine the impact of the candidate’s manipulated traits on assessment of their competency in each area, we conducted four separate ANOVAs, one for each of the issue competency scales. In these analyses, manipulated traits and gender were between-subject factors. The outcome of these four ANOVAs is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. The Impact of Candidate Gender and Traits on Issue Competency and Political Beliefs

	Candidate Gender	Candidate Traits	Candidate Gender \times Traits
<i>Issue competency:</i>			
Military/police ($F[1,289]$)	5.52*	5.01*	0.23
Economy ($F[1,288]$)	0.64	2.42	1.40
Compassion ($F[1,288]$)	40.83**	21.87**	14.51**
Women’s issues ($F[1,286]$)	93.83**	0.47	12.30**
<i>Political beliefs:</i>			
Party identification ($F[1,268]$)	7.62**	6.99**	0.13
Ideology ($F[1,284]$)	16.99**	1.97	0.13
Support feminists ($F[1,283]$)	50.94**	7.24**	8.14**

Note: Entries are *F* ratios.

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

Table 2. Differences in Issue Competency and Political Beliefs by Candidate Gender and Traits

	Candidate Gender		Candidate Traits	
	Female	Male	Feminine	Masculine
<i>Issue competency:</i>				
Military/police (range = 1–4)	2.82	3.02*	2.82	3.01*
Economy (range = 3–12)	8.80	8.63	8.56	8.87
Compassion (range = 4–16)	13.29	11.45**	13.05	11.72**
Women's issues (range = 2–8)	6.62	5.19**	5.85	5.97
<i>Political beliefs:</i>				
Democrat (range = 1–3)	2.29	1.98**	2.28	1.99*
Liberal (range = 1–5)	3.45	2.97**	3.29	3.13
Support feminism (range = 1–5)	3.22	2.72**	3.06	2.88**

Note: Entries are means; significance of main effects is tested in ANOVA; comparable *F* ratios are presented in Table 1.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Results of these analyses lend initial support to the trait approach. There was a significant main effect of manipulated gender traits on military competency (the *F* ratio is presented in column 2 of Table 1). As seen from an examination of means presented in Table 2, both Robert and Elizabeth McGuire were rated as better able to handle military and police issues when described as tough and ambitious than as compassionate and family oriented ($M = 3.01$ for masculine versus 2.82 for feminine traits). In further support of the trait approach, the possession of feminine traits improved the candidate's perceived competency to handle compassion issues as demonstrated by a significant main effect of manipulated gender traits in the ANOVA presented in Table 1. Candidates described as possessing feminine traits were viewed as more adept at handling poverty, the aged, children, and child care ($M = 13.05$) than the candidate described in masculine terms ($M = 11.72$). And as expected, gender traits had no impact on the candidate's rated competency to manage economic issues. Male and female candidates were seen as equally competent to

handle economic issues regardless of whether they were described as tough and ambitious or compassionate and trustworthy.

According to the trait approach, manipulating the candidate's traits should have removed usual expectations of greater female competency on compassion issues and greater male strength on military issues. Yet the candidate's gender significantly influenced their perceived competency in both issue domains, as seen in Table 1. On military issues, the male candidate was rated as more competent than the female ($M = 3.02$ for the male versus 2.82 for the female); on compassion issues, the female candidate was rated as more competent than the male ($M = 13.29$ for the female versus 11.45 for the male). However, this finding is potentially consistent with both the trait and belief approaches because there is not a perfect correspondence between manipulated and inferred traits. For example, greater perceived male competency on the military might occur because the male candidate is assumed to possess typically masculine traits even if described as compassionate and trustworthy; alternatively this perception of the male candidate as more competent on military issues might arise because he is viewed as more conservative than the female. We need to contrast the impact of *inferred* traits and beliefs to unravel these two possibilities.

The importance of examining inferred, not just manipulated, traits is underscored by the existence of a significant interaction between the candidate's gender and traits on compassion issues in Table 1. Women were seen as more competent to handle compassion issues regardless of their gender-linked traits, whereas feminine traits proved a distinct asset to the male candidate, who was rated as substantially more competent in this area than his masculine counterpart. This interaction might arise because women were attributed with slightly more warmth and expressiveness than men, as already noted. Thus, tenacious stereotypes of women as more caring and sensitive than men may have contributed to the view that the female candidate would be more competent to handle compassion issues even when described as tough and ambitious. Again, we shall return to this possibility when examining the impact of inferred traits.

The one issue area in which the trait approach received no support at all was women's issues. There was a large and significant main effect for gender in Table 1, indicating that the female candidate was stereotyped as far more competent to deal with women's issues, but this was not even partially explained by trait stereotypes. There was no main effect for manipulated gender traits on the candidate's perceived competency to handle women's issues. There was a significant interaction between candidate gender and traits (column 3, Table 1). Possessing femi-

nine traits apparently improved the male candidate's rated competency on women's issues ($M = 5.0$ for masculine traits and 5.4 for feminine); holding masculine traits improved the female candidate's rating ($M = 6.9$ for masculine and 6.3 for feminine). Overall, women were seen as most competent to deal with women's issues, tough and ambitious women even more so; men were seen as less competent, though compassionate and trustworthy men received somewhat higher competence ratings. These findings are not accounted for by trait stereotypes which predicted few gender differences on women's issues.

In summary, these findings suggest that male and female candidates may be seen as competent in different policy domains, in part because they are stereotyped as possessing typically masculine and typically feminine traits. Describing a male or female political candidate as tough and aggressive increased perceptions that they would excel at handling a military or police crisis but would perform more poorly in dealing with problems of the aged or poverty; conversely, a compassionate and family-oriented candidate was seen as more competent to deal with compassion issues but less capable at handling military concerns. Manipulated traits had significant main effects on inferences about the candidate's competency on typically "male" (military) and "female" (compassion) issues, no impact on economic issues, and more complex effects that interacted with the candidate's gender on women's issues. The gender-linked adjectives used to describe candidates made a difference politically.

Nevertheless, personality traits tell only part of the story. Participants in our study were not entirely blind to our fictitious candidate's gender. The female candidate was seen as more competent on compassion and women's issues; the male candidate had the edge on military issues. Is this persistent gender difference accounted for by stereotypes of male and female candidate's political beliefs, as predicted by the belief approach? We turn, next, to a consideration of this alternative.

Belief Stereotypes

The belief approach rests on several basic assumptions. First, gender stereotypes of politicians are assumed to include a political facet, with women being viewed as more liberal, Democratic, and possibly more feminist than men. Second, these stereotypic assumptions about a male or female candidate's beliefs should not arise simply from stereotypic assumptions about their personality traits. For belief stereotypes to have their own independent political effects, female candidates should be stereotyped as liberal independently of whether they are also assumed to be compassionate. Third, a candidate's imputed political beliefs should

influence assessments of their areas of issue expertise. Female candidates should be seen as more competent to handle compassion and women's issues and less able to deal with the military and the economy because of their inferred stronger liberal, Democratic, and feminist leanings.

First, we have strong evidence that gender stereotypes of politicians include a political component. To assess the perceived political beliefs of the candidate, respondents rated the candidate's ideology, party identification, and feelings toward feminists; each belief was measured with a single item. In ANOVAs presented in Table 1, there was a significant main effect of the candidate's gender on each of the three political beliefs. As expected, the female candidate was rated as more liberal, more positive toward feminists, and more Democratic than her male counterpart (Table 2).

Second, expectations about the differing political beliefs of the male and female candidate seemed relatively independent of their manipulated gender-linked personality traits. Manipulated gender traits had no main effect on perceptions of the candidate's ideology as seen in ANOVAs presented in Table 1; a candidate with feminine traits was not seen as more liberal than a masculine candidate (Table 2). Traits had a somewhat stronger influence on perceptions of the candidate's feelings toward feminists; both male and female candidates with feminine traits were rated as more supportive of feminists (Table 2). There was also a significant interaction between gender and traits on the candidate's inferred support for feminists; masculine male candidates were seen as the least supportive of feminists, whereas masculine female candidates were seen as most supportive. Traits also had a strong impact on the candidate's inferred partisanship as indicated by sizable and significant main effects for both gender and traits in Table 1. Candidates with feminine traits and female candidates were seen as more Democratic.

More important, the relationship between inferred traits and inferred beliefs was even weaker than the link between beliefs and manipulated traits. This relationship is noteworthy because, as already mentioned, there was not a perfect correspondence between manipulated and inferred traits. Overall, women were seen as slightly more warm and expressive even when described as possessing masculine traits. Thus, the best way to examine the impact of traits on beliefs is to analyze the correlation between *inferred* traits and beliefs. The strongest bivariate relationships were between instrumentality and Democratic partisanship ($r = -.18, p < .01$), warmth and expressiveness and Democratic partisanship ($r = .16; p < .01$), warmth and liberal ideology ($r = .16; p < .01$), and warmth and support of feminists ($r = .15; p < .01$), but none of

these correlations exceeded 0.20. Overall, the absolute average correlation between all inferred traits and political beliefs was a mere .13.⁷ This further underscores the relative independence of stereotypic expectations about male and female candidates' personality traits and political beliefs.

Thus, general stereotyping of female candidates as liberal, Democratic, and feminist is, for the most part, unrelated to perceptions that women are more compassionate than men or that men are more tough and aggressive than women. Admittedly, candidates described as compassionate and family oriented were perceived as more Democratic, but a candidate described in feminine terms was no more likely to be seen as liberal and only somewhat more likely to be viewed as supportive of feminists. In the absence of specific information about a candidate's political beliefs, gender appears to be the primary cue used by participants to infer a candidate's political outlook.

Third, the candidate's inferred political beliefs were correlated with perceptions of their issue competency in three of the four policy areas, lending further support to the belief approach. There were moderate correlations between each of the candidate's three political beliefs and their rated competency to handle the military, compassion issues, and women's issues, with the strongest bivariate relationships between the candidate's beliefs and perceived competency to handle compassion issues. For all three beliefs, the correlation between political beliefs and rated competency to handle compassion issues was at least .30 (see Table 3). Candidates perceived as Democratic and liberal were seen as less competent to handle the military; Democratic, liberal, and feminist candidates were seen as more competent on compassion and women's issues (see Table 3). However, contrary to earlier predictions of greater perceived Republican and conservative strength on the economy, the candidate's political beliefs were not correlated with their rated competency on economic matters.

Traits versus Beliefs as Source of Issue Stereotypes

So far, we have evidence in favor of both the trait and belief approach. In support of the trait approach, ANOVA results indicated that candidates described as masculine were seen as more competent to handle military issues and less competent on compassion issues. In support

⁷This meager relationship between the candidate's inferred traits and beliefs is not simply a function of projection, participants inferring the candidate's beliefs from their own political views rather than the candidate's characteristics. No correlation between the participant's and candidate's views exceeded .10; the link was highest for ideology ($r = .10$) and lowest for feminism ($r = .05$).

Table 3. Correlations between Candidate's Inferred Traits, Beliefs, and Issue Competency

	Issue Competency			
	Military	Compassion	Women's Issues	Economics
<i>Inferred traits:</i>				
Instrumentality	.28**	-.14*	.15*	.20**
Warmth/expressiveness	.02	.35**	.20**	.09
<i>Inferred beliefs:</i>				
Democrat	-.13*	.31**	.15*	-.06
Liberal	-.15**	.30**	.18**	-.04
Profeminist	-.08	.40**	.29**	.05

Note: Entries are correlation coefficients.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

of the belief approach, correlations demonstrated that candidates perceived as Democrats, liberals, or feminists were seen as more competent on compassion and women's issues and less competent on military issues.

However, there is clearly some overlap between the traits and beliefs attributed to the candidate, though the relationship is relatively weak. To separate the effects of trait and belief gender stereotypes, we need to contrast simultaneously their effects by including both as predictors of the candidate's perceived competency in regression analyses. In running regression analyses, we regress policy competency on *inferred* not *manipulated* traits. Inferred traits should provide a more reliable test of the trait approach because respondents' judgments about the candidate's traits are not based solely on the experimentally manipulated description of their traits.

Overall, the trait approach gained stronger support from the regression analyses presented in Table 4 than did the belief approach. The candidate's inferred gender-linked personality traits had significant impact on assessments of their ability to handle the military, the economy, compassion, and women's issues. In contrast, the candidate's inferred political beliefs had significant impact on the candidate's rated competency in only one of the four possible policy areas: compassion issues. We examine the impact of inferred traits and beliefs on the candidate's rated competency in all four issue areas, beginning with typical areas of male expertise.

Table 4. Origins of Candidate’s Issue Competency

	Military 1	Economics 2	Compassion 3	Women’s Issues 4
<i>Manipulated candidate qualities:</i>				
Gender (male)	.61 (.28)**	–.15 (.21)	–1.08 (.22)***	–1.77 (.23)***
<i>Inferred candidate traits:</i>				
Instrumentality	3.98 (.86)***	1.81 (.62)***	–1.90 (.65)***	1.69 (.65)***
Warmth/expressiveness	.23 (.91)	.76 (.66)	4.06 (.69)***	1.33* (.69)
<i>Inferred candidate beliefs:</i>				
Democrat	–.15 (.35)	.17 (.25)	.64 (.26)**	.30 (.26)
Liberal	–.77 (.64)	.09 (.46)	.86 (.48)*	.13 (.50)
Profeminist	—	—	—	.86 (.54)
R ²	.109	.047	.290	.286

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables are on a scale that ranges from 0 to 1 and the dependent variables range from 1 to 10 to facilitate comparison of unstandardized coefficients.

p* < .1; *p* < .05; ****p* < .01.

Instrumentality and competence on typical “male” issues. For the policy area most commonly stereotyped as a “male” domain—issues concerning the military and police—regression analyses presented in Table 4 indicate that competency was largely a function of the candidate’s perceived instrumentality, lending strong support to the trait approach. In regression analyses presented in Table 4, in which all independent variables were converted to scales that ranged from zero to one and the dependent variables from one to 10, the unstandardized regression coefficient for instrumentality ($\beta = 3.98$) was considerably larger than any of the other coefficients in the equation that predicted military competency (column 1). In other words, the most instrumental candidate was rated as almost four times as competent on military matters as the least instrumental. The only other significant coefficient was for the candidate’s gender, included in all analyses to determine the success of traits and beliefs in eradicating customary gender differences. The male candi-

date was seen as more competent to handle military issues independently of his inferred gender-linked traits, though this effect was substantially smaller than that for instrumentality ($\beta = .61$). Candidates inferred to hold more liberal political views were also seen as somewhat less competent on military issues ($\beta = -.77$), though this did not reach significance.⁸ Overall, inferred instrumentality was by far the strongest determinant of the candidate's rated competency on military and police issues.

We had originally predicted that male and female candidates would be rated as similarly competent on economic issues because traits such as frugality, a presumed prerequisite for fiscal mastery, are not typical male or female traits. This prediction was confirmed in earlier ANOVAs in which manipulated gender and traits had no effect on the candidate's rated economic competency. However, the regression equation presented in column 2 of Table 4 demonstrated that candidates perceived as highly instrumental were also rated as better able to handle economic issues ($\beta = 1.81$). Thus, even though typical male traits such as assertiveness and rationality have little to do with economic competence on the surface, they apparently are viewed as crucial to the successful management of economic policy. None of the other variables that measure the candidate's inferred traits or beliefs significantly affected the candidate's rated economic competence.

Warmth/expressiveness and competence on typical "female" issues. On typical "female" issues concerned with children, the aged, and other needy groups, the candidate's competency was a function of both traits and beliefs, though the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness had slightly greater impact than did other factors. As seen in column 3 of Table 4, the most warm and expressive candidate was rated as four times as competent on compassion issues as the least warm and expressive candidate ($\beta = 4.06$). Conversely, the candidate rated as the least instrumental was seen as almost twice as competent on compassion issues as the most instrumental. In other words, masculine personality traits proved detrimental and feminine traits proved advantageous to candidates, at least in influencing judgments of their competence on compassion issues. Additionally, the male candidate was considered somewhat less able to handle compassion issues than the female candidate ($\beta = -1.08$).

Belief stereotypes had a stronger impact on the candidate's rated competency on "female" compassion than "male" military or economic

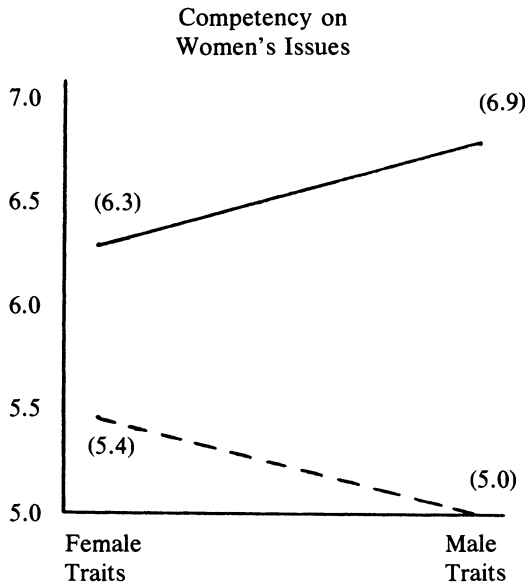
⁸Even when entered alone, without party identification, ideology does not quite reach significance ($\beta = -.89$) in this equation.

issues. The Democratic ($\beta = .64$) and liberal ($\beta = .86$) candidate was rated as more competent on compassion issues than the Republican and conservative candidate. The effects of both party identification ($\beta = .85$, $p < .01$) and ideology ($\beta = 1.38$, $p < .01$) were enhanced when added separately to the candidate's gender and inferred traits as predictors of competency on compassion issues. This effect fits with expectations that Democrats and liberals are traditionally seen as better at handling compassion issues.

Gender, instrumentality, and competence on women's issues. Perceived competency on women's issues was a joint function of the candidate's gender and gender-linked traits, though results did not support the trait approach. There was a large, significant correlation between gender and competence on women's issues ($r = -.49$; $p < .01$), with the female candidate rated as substantially more competent than the male. This gender difference persisted in regression analyses. As seen in column 4 of Table 4, the male candidate was rated as significantly less competent on women's issues than the female ($\beta = -1.77$) even when controlling for the candidate's inferred traits and beliefs.

Traits influenced competency on women's issues, though not in the manner predicted. Trait stereotypes that portray women as more warm and less aggressive than men simply did not explain why women were rated as more competent to handle women's issues. In fact, the possession of masculine, instrumental traits had a large and significant impact on the candidate's rated ability to handle women's issues ($\beta = 1.69$); warmth and expressiveness had a smaller positive impact ($\beta = 1.33$). This finding that both masculine and feminine traits improved the candidate's perceived competence on women's issues is partly explained by earlier ANOVA results presented in Table 1, in which there was a significant interaction between manipulated gender and traits. This interaction is depicted in Figure 1. Apparently, female candidates with masculine traits were seen as the most competent to handle women's issues whereas male candidates with masculine traits were rated as the least competent. This accounts for the positive effects of both masculine and feminine traits in the regression equation in Table 4 that largely disappear when an interaction term between candidate traits and gender is added. Assertive women were rated as best equipped to deal with women's issues.

The candidate's inferred political beliefs had less impact than the candidate's gender and traits on their perceived competency on women's issues. Simply viewing the candidate as a Democrat, feminist, or liberal did not increase significantly the candidate's perceived competency on women's issues, as seen in column 4 of Table 4. Not surprisingly, the

Figure 1. Interaction between Candidate Gender and Traits on Women's Issues

Key:

—— Female candidate

----- Male candidate

Note: Entries are mean scores for candidate's rated competency on women's issues. The *F* ratio and significance of this interaction are presented in Table 1.

candidate's feminism had the strongest impact on perceptions of their competence on women's issues, as indicated by a substantial correlation between the candidate's rated feminism and competence on women's issues ($r = .29$) and a sizable regression coefficient for rated feminism ($\beta = .86$) in column 4, though it did not quite reach significance ($p = .11$).⁹ Overall, neither traits nor beliefs seemed primarily responsible for a candidate's perceived competency on women's issues.

Remaining gender effects. As seen in regression analyses presented in Table 4, the trait and belief approach did not entirely account for differences in the male and female candidates' areas of perceived issue

⁹This situation is not altered by adding the belief variables separately. The coefficients for party identification ($\beta = .38$), ideology ($\beta = .58$), and profeminist ($\beta = .99$, $p = .06$) still do not reach significance.

competency. In the regression equation for military competence presented in column 1 of Table 4, there was a slight, significant coefficient for the candidate's gender ($\beta = .61$). The male candidate was seen as somewhat more competent on military issues over and above inferences made about his personality traits or political beliefs. The candidate's gender was also significant in the equation that predicts competence on compassion issues ($\beta = -1.08$). Women were persistently seen as more competent on compassion issues even after controlling for their perceived traits and beliefs. However, gender effects were slight for both types of issues and may have simply reflected inadequate measurement of inferred traits and beliefs. The same is not true for women's issues on which the candidate's gender was the only factor considered by participants in determining the candidate's perceived competency on this issue. On women's issues, women were seen as more competent than men regardless of their traits or political outlook.

Summary

In summary, gender-trait stereotypes were largely responsible for the most pervasive forms of political stereotyping. Typical female traits such as warmth, sensitivity, and compassion were thought to qualify female candidates for dealing better with compassion issues, such as education, health care, and the problems of the poor and aged. Assertiveness, aggressiveness, and self-confidence, typical male traits, were thought to aid male candidates in coping better with military or police crises. Candidates with typical masculine traits were also viewed as more competent to handle economic issues. We found considerable evidence for the existence of gender-belief stereotypes, which portray a female politician as more liberal, Democratic, and feminist than a male politician. However, belief stereotypes had less influence than traits on expectations about both the male and female politicians' areas of political expertise. The female candidate was seen as more competent on compassion issues, in part because she was assumed to be Democratic and liberal. But beliefs did not explain the male candidate's advantage on military issues or the female candidate's greater expected competency on women's issues.

Discussion

In essence, the well-established tendencies of voters to expect greater expertise on military matters from male candidates and higher performance on compassion issues from female candidates stem from voters' gender stereotypes about men's and women's personality traits. Stereotypic assumptions about women's greater sensitivity and warmth is translated directly into assumptions about their greater competence in

handling education, health care, and poverty; normative expectations about men's greater assertiveness and aggression drives assumptions about their greater competence in dealing with military, defense, and economic policy. Competency in dealing with women's issues was the only policy area, in this study, in which pronounced differences in the expected performance of male and female candidates was not accounted for by trait stereotypes. Women were rated as more competent to handle the abortion issue and the wage gap because they were women, not because they were seen as more warm and expressive than men.

Moreover, of the traits investigated in this study, typical masculine traits proved more beneficial to the hypothetical candidate than typical feminine traits. The candidate seen as possessing the most instrumental personality traits was seen as more competent to handle military and economic issues. The female candidate rated as possessing the most instrumental personality traits was viewed as better equipped to handle women's issues. Apparently, instrumental personality traits were viewed as necessary to cope not only with typical "male" policy areas but also to further women's interests in the male-dominated world of politics. In contrast, warmth and expressiveness proved an asset to candidates only when dealing with compassion issues. This finding fits with other results that suggest that masculine traits are considered more central to politics than feminine traits, particularly at the executive and national level (Huddy and Terkildsen 1991).

These findings challenge our initial assumption that gender-trait stereotypes would only narrowly affect the perceived competency of male and female candidates in domains considered typically "male" or "female." Instead, the political effects of trait stereotypes were more ubiquitous, placing stereotypically feminine women at a considerable disadvantage. Apparently, respondents viewed assertiveness, rationality, and decisiveness as qualities needed to further policy goals in a range of policy domains.

Of course, the relative superiority of male traits does not necessarily mean that female politicians confront an insurmountable barrier in gaining voters' confidence. As seen in this study, a female candidate was able to successfully reverse gender-trait stereotypes by portraying herself as possessing typical masculine traits. This strategy is not fraudulent, given some evidence that female candidates perceive themselves as possessing masculine traits (Carroll 1985). Nor is it politically risky. A woman's image as more warm and caring is not jeopardized by emphasizing her masculine traits because masculine and feminine traits form relatively independent dimensions (Ashmore, DelBoca, and Wohlers 1986). In this study, for example, there was a relatively weak correlation between in-

strumentality and warmth and expressiveness ($r = .15$; $p < .01$). Moreover, the possession of instrumental traits did not lower a woman's rated competency in any of the four policy areas.

The real struggle faced by female candidates, then, is to convey successfully to voters that they possess masculine personality traits. There is some indirect evidence that female candidates have already accomplished this. For example, there is little evidence of voter bias against female candidates in both fictitious and real-world elections (Frankovic 1988; Leeper 1991; Sapiro 1981–82; Welch and Sigelman 1982; Zipp and Plutzer 1985). Perhaps female politicians are not penalized at the polls because they work hard to stress their masculine traits, a potentially fruitful strategy that might provide them with the double benefit of elevated competency ratings on typically “male” and “female” issues, including women's issues. Female politicians might gain credit on compassion issues because they are assumed to possess feminine traits and might benefit further from the possession of masculine traits on military, economic, and women's issues.

While trait stereotypes had the strongest influence on judgments about male and female candidates' areas of policy expertise, gender-belief stereotypes concerning the differing views of male and female politicians clearly existed, even if their political impact was largely confined to compassion issues. The female candidate was seen as more Democratic, liberal, and feminist than the male, and this partly explained why she was seen as handling compassion issues more competently.

This lends support to previous findings that social issues are viewed as a Democratic stronghold (Pomper et al. 1989; Clymer 1991). Participants who perceived the candidate as more Democratic also rated the candidate as more competent to deal with policies concerning children, the poor, and the aged. However, in other policy areas in which we expected the candidates' inferred beliefs to influence assessments of their competence, there were small or no differences between Democratic, liberal, and feminist candidates. Contrary to earlier findings, candidates perceived as Republicans were not seen as more competent to handle either the economy or the military (Flanigan and Zingale 1987; Clymer 1991).

The existence of a Democratic advantage on compassion but not on military or economic issues may occur because compassion issues have been consistently viewed as a Democratic stronghold. The Democratic party established many current social welfare programs such as Social Security, unemployment benefits, and Medicare and continues to gain high ratings for its handling of domestic social programs. On the other hand, credit for military and economic policies has been historically more

volatile, shifting back and forth between the two major parties. Sometimes Democrats are rated as better able to handle the economy; at other times, credit is given to the Republicans. The same holds for military and defense issues.

While gender-belief stereotypes had modest impact on assessments of a candidate's issue strengths, their existence might prove politically consequential, nonetheless. For example, belief stereotypes that depict female politicians as more Democratic, liberal, and feminist than males may shape voters' expectations about a candidate's specific issue positions. This may make it easier for liberal female candidates to get their message across to voters but may create problems for female Republicans who find that voters misperceive their political platform. The political impact of these belief stereotypes deserves further consideration.

In some sense, our findings that gender stereotypes include expectations about male and female politicians' political beliefs raise many more questions than they answer. Most obvious, where do such expectations come from? There are several possibilities. First, belief stereotypes might stem from the knowledge that female politicians in reality support more liberal and feminist positions (Dodson and Carroll 1991; Rapoport, Stone, and Abramowitz 1990; Welch 1984). This seems plausible despite generally low levels of knowledge on the issue positions of most politicians (Kinder and Sears 1985) because of a few highly salient liberal, Democratic female politicians such as Ann Richards, Pat Schroeder, and Geraldine Ferraro. Second, it might arise from knowledge that female voters were consistently less supportive of Republican presidential nominees in the 1980s and increasingly more inclined to describe themselves as Democrats (Kenski 1988), though this does not explain perceived differences in male and female politicians' support for feminism, on which there is no gender gap among voters (Sears and Huddy 1990). Further research is needed to untangle these two explanations.

Finally, we have some confidence that our findings would hold among a representative age sample, even though our current findings are based on college students. Previous studies suggest that, because they belong to more recent cohorts and are better educated than the general population, students should hold more egalitarian sex-role attitudes and, therefore, be less inclined to stereotype female politicians as possessing typical feminine traits (Thornton, Alwin, and Camburn 1983; Sears and Huddy 1990). Students may also be more inclined to stereotype female politicians as liberal and Democratic because they know more about the behavior of female politicians once in office or are more familiar with prominent female politicians. If so, trait stereotypes may be more pronounced and belief stereotypes less pronounced among a less well

educated representative age sample, forcing older respondents to rely more heavily on trait stereotypes when judging a candidate's issue competency.

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APPENDIX

Instrumentality

Based on what you know about Ms./Mr. McGuire, how well do each of the following adjectives describe her/him: *very well, somewhat well, not very well, not well at all*? Take a guess if you're not sure.

assertive	coarse	tough	aggressive
stern	masculine	active	rational
self-confident			

Warmth and Expressiveness

(Same question stem as above.)

warm	gentle	feminine	sensitive
emotional	talkative	cautious	

Policy Priorities/Competence

How well would Ms./Mr. McGuire handle each of the following issues: *very well, somewhat well, not very well, not well at all*?

Military:

A military or police crisis

Economics:

Reducing the local, state, or national budget deficit

Dealing with leaders in business and industry

The savings and loan crisis

Compassion:

Child care

Assisting the poor

Improving the welfare of children

Solving problems of the aged

Women's Issues:

Reducing the wage gap between men and women

The controversy over abortion

Candidate's Political Beliefs

Ideology:

Please indicate what you believe to be Elizabeth/Robert McGuire's general ideological stance: *very liberal, somewhat liberal, middle of the road, somewhat conservative, very conservative*.

Feminism:

How does Elizabeth/Robert McGuire feel about feminists: *very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, very negative?*

Partisanship:

Please indicate what you believe to be Elizabeth/Robert McGuire's political party: *Democrat, Republican, independent, other.*

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